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**FACE-WORK IN INTIMATE PUBLIC CONVERSATION:  
Men and Women's Talk in Ricki Lake Show**

**A Pro Gradu Thesis**

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Keskustelu kahden tai useamman ihmisen välillä luo väistämättä tilanteita, joissa puhekumppanin kasvoja uhataan ja hänen täytyy turvautua erilaisiin kasvojen säilyttämisstrategioihin. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli tunnistaa puheaktit, jotka aiheuttavat kasvojen menetyksen uhan sekä selvittää, millaisiin kasvojen säilyttämisstrategioihin kasvoja uhkaavien aktien jälkeen turvaudutaan. Miesten ja naisten väliset erot olivat tärkeässä roolissa sekä kasvojen uhkien numeerisessa tunnistamisessa että käytettyjen kasvojen säilyttämisstrategioiden tarkastelussa.

Tutkimuksen materiaali koostui amerikkalaisen talk show'n, *Ricki Lake Show*'n yhdestä transkriboidusta jaksosta. Analysoitu jakso valittiin siten, että mahdollisimman monipuolinen kasvojen uhkien ja kasvojen säilyttämisstrategioiden tarkastelu toteutuu. Kasvoja uhkaavat puheaktit määriteltiin alan pioneerien, Erving Goffmanin sekä Penelope Brownin ja Stephen Levinsonin teorioita apuna käyttäen. Lienee myös perusteltua väittää, että kieli ja puhetilanne ovat jatkuvassa vuorovaikutuksessa keskenään. Tästä syystä myös talk show'ta ilmiönä pyritään valaisemaan, sillä puhetilanne ja keskustelukumppaneiden väliset suhteen vaikuttivat myös merkittävästi tulkintojen tekemiseen.

Tutkimuksessa ilmeni, että naiset uhkasivat miesten kasvoja huomattavasti useammin kuin miehet naisten. Ero sukupuolten välillä pieneni kuitenkin merkittävästi, kun tarkasteltiin vastaanotettuja puheakteja, jotka vaaransivat puhekumppanin kasvoja; miehet vastaanottivat vain hieman enemmän uhkaavia akteja kuin naiset. Myös kasvojen säilyttämisstrategioiden käytössä sukupuolten välillä oli eroja, miehet turvautuivat tehokkaampiin strategioihin kuin naiset. Sukupuolten väliset erot eivät kuitenkaan näyttäneet olevan niinkään sukupuolisidonnaisia, vaan johtuvan miesten ja naisten erilaisista rooleista, jotka he omaksuvat keskustelun kuluessa.

Tutkimuksessa ilmeni myös, että puheaktit talk show'ssa poikkeavat huomattavasti puheesta niin sanotuissa arkikeskusteluissa; puhekumppaneiden kasvoja ei pyritty säästämään, vaan kasvoja uhkaavat puheaktit olivat eksplisiittisiä. Keskustelun aihe oli intiimi, mikä aiheutti runsaasti tilanteita, jotka johtivat kasvojen menetykseen. Naisten suorittamat kasvojen uhat olivat yleisesti ottaen vakavampia kuin miesten.

Asiasanat: embarrassment. face. face-maintenance. face threatening act. gender. politeness. talk show.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Politeness and face-work are socially and interactionally occurring processes in the context of the particular moment in time. Politeness is reflected in language, it is basic to the production of social order and a precondition of human cooperation. Thus, it is a feature of every conversation. It is at least as important to determine “how to say something”, as it is to determine “what to say”. Because politeness is the norm, participants often do not note that someone is being polite, but rather that the speaker is violating the rules of polite behaviour. The assumption that the speaker has multiple linguistic options from which to choose the most appropriate form in a particular situation is central to face-work and politeness studies.

There have been many studies about politeness, one of the most fundamental being the studies of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Goffman (1967). However, the number of studies directly related to the politeness behaviour in talk shows is small. It is interesting to see how the rules of politeness are adopted in talk shows, which represent a special genre in media culture. The uniqueness of the situational context and the often controversial nature of the relationship between the participants are essential factors when interpreting utterances as polite or impolite.

The purpose of the present study is to examine face threatening acts (FTAs) in the Ricki Lake Show. To be more specific, one aim is to find out what kind of acts occur and how they are distributed between the different conversations. Another focus of the study is to investigate speech acts and the different ways to handle the FTAs from the point of view of the recipient<sup>1</sup>. A revised typology of the recipient’s face-maintaining strategies will be developed, based on typologies by Cupach and Metts (1990) and Edelman (1985). Importantly, all these different sub-areas of the study will be examined through the gender perspective. Thus, the FTAs performed and received by men and women will be analysed, as well as the differences between the sexes in face maintenance.

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<sup>1</sup> In this context ‘the recipient’ means the one who has to deal with the FTAs, i.e. the one who “receives” the face threatening act.



The present study focuses mainly on verbal communication, since the main proportion of FTAs are performed verbally and the participants more often than not also resort to verbal face-maintenance strategies. Non-verbal communication is, however, included into the analysis in situations in which it clearly affects the participants' interpretation of FTAs. The undertaking of this study seems worthwhile, since face work is not something that we employ now and then, but which is unavoidably present in every interaction with another human being. Thus, it seems important to study politeness and face-work in social situations because misunderstandings could be avoided if the participants were more sensitive to each other's face concerns. The rules of politeness and face-work are also perhaps more complex in talk shows than in normal face-to-face interaction, and thus interesting to study. Since language varies according to its users, uses, where it is used and to whom, the talk show genre will inevitably influence the linguistic choices of the participants. Further, the face-maintenance from the recipient point of view has never truly been at the center of attention, which is in itself a motivation, and creates opportunities to examine this intriguing area of face-work more closely. The present study will begin with the review of the existing literature on politeness, gender and face-maintenance, after which the present data will be analysed with the help of tools provided by Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Cupach and Metts (1990).

## **2 POLITENESS AND THE CONCEPT OF FACE**

Face and politeness have inspired many studies during the last decades, starting from Lakoff's research (1975) to studies following the perhaps still most influential model of politeness, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of face threatening acts. Despite this vast interest, defining politeness still is not an easy task. The notion of politeness is said to be somewhat elusive, largely due to its cultural idiosyncratic variation. It is also of essential importance to remember that there is no necessary connection between the linguistic form and the perceived politeness of the speech act. Another important thing to realize is also that politeness is always context-dependent and it involves the interaction between

specific people in specific, also culturally determined situations. Thus, politeness is a dynamic concept, always open to adaptation and change in any group, at any moment of time.

The definition of politeness in talk show situation differs interestingly from the everyday notion of the term, since topics and conversations in general are usually more direct than in normal, everyday discussions. The time reserved for the discussions, the publicity (intimate matters talked about in front of millions of people) and the definite roles (the accused, the provocative role of the host, etc.) all affect the politeness strategies used. At the same time, the show's main function must also be kept in mind: it aims to shock and to entertain people.

Researchers have attempted to define politeness in somewhat different ways. Lakoff (1975) considered politeness from the conversational maxim point of view, and defined pragmatic competence and thus the polite way of using language in terms of two rules: be clear and be polite. The first of these rules is closely connected with Grice's co-operative principle, the Maxim of Clarity in particular, and the second rule consists of three sub-rules: don't impose, give options and make the hearer feel good. (Lakoff 1975:64.) The first two rules address the need for autonomy, while the third rule is related to the need for approval. Thus, for Lakoff politeness means saying the socially correct thing according to the norms of a particular culture.

Jenny Thomas distinguishes politeness and deference by stating that "deference is connected with politeness, but is a distinct phenomenon because it is possible to be deferential without being polite" (1995:153). According to her, deference is used to show respect to those with a higher status in social hierarchy (e.g. due to the age or the socioeconomical status of the person), while politeness is a more general way to show consideration through good manners. Thus, politeness is usually freely motivated behaviour, which takes the situation and interactional context into account. The next example from the present data is an illustration of general politeness.

### Example (1)

- 009 J: we we had children together so that was possible but uhm (0.5) it just wasn't good and it ended in divorce and a lot of the reason was because the sex was not there and and it became a violent marriage because the sex wasn't good
- 010 A: mumbling, laughing (2)
- 011 R: you beat him up coz you couldn't get enough
- 012 J: no he
- 013 A&J: laughing (1)
- 014 J: no he beat me up because i wouldn't give it to him because it wasn't worth giving
- 015 R: alright now i'm i'm not mocking (0.5) okay i'm not mocking your [ situation
- 016 J: oh i know

This example illustrates a situation, where the host of the show, Ricki Lake, wants to apologize for her behaviour to her guest (015), whose face she earlier jokingly threatened. The deference function of politeness can be seen in the next example.

### Example (2)

- 045 R: yes sir
- 045 A1: y'know you should really wait till that certain guy comes then to have sex after marriage
- 046 R: [ is that what you do sir is that what you practice
- 047 A: mumbling, laughing ](4)
- 048 R: you're waiting for that special girl you're not giving it up for anybody coz you're waiting for that special someone [aren't you
- 049 A: mumbling]
- 050 A1: it depends #
- 051 R: # [sit down sir

The host refers to the member of an audience as 'sir' (045), which is a clear sign of deference. The use of deference without being polite (Thomas 1995) is illustrated by the fact that Ricki continues to use the deferential form, even though she is performing acts that threaten the face of the audience member (046, 051). Thomas further argues that the showing of deference is not a matter of choice: in order to follow the behavioural norms of the given society, the speaker has to take into account the relationships of the others. (1995:150-152.)

Other researches have made similar distinction as Thomas; Janet Holmes (1992) distinguishes between general politeness, which she uses to refer to taking into account the feelings of others and making them feel comfortable, and linguistic politeness, which she says "is often a matter of selecting linguistic forms which express the appropriate degree of social distance or which recognise

relevant status differences.” (1992:285) Thus, for Holmes linguistic politeness has a deferential function, while general politeness refers more to the general consideration for the others.

Leech (1983) offers yet another way of defining politeness. He divides politeness into absolute and relative politeness. Relative politeness is a norm of particular culture, relative to the context, while absolute politeness is defined as generally minimizing the impoliteness, and maximizing the politeness (1983:83-84). Leech also talks about Politeness Principle, which means “minimizing the expression of impolite beliefs” (1983:82). Politeness principle is realized by six different maxims:

1. Tact maxim: minimize cost to other
2. Generosity maxim: minimize benefit to self
3. Approbation maxim: minimize dispraise of other
4. Modesty maxim: minimize praise to self
5. Agreement maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other
6. Sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other

As can be seen above, this notion of politeness is focused more on the recipient than on self (1983:132-133) (For elaboration on Leech’s Maxims, see for example Thomas 1995).

Although all these definitions share some similarities (e.g. social correctness, norms of particular culture, etc.) and shed some light into the question of politeness, exhaustive and unambiguous decription of the term is still wanted. In this study, I will rely on the face-saving theory of politeness, a theory which was first made famous by Goffman (1967) and which was elaborated twenty years later by Brown and Levinson (1987). These theories were chosen as the basis of the present study because they present a fairly exhaustive framework for politeness. The face-saving aspect of these studies is also highly relevant for the purposes of the present study, although it will be examined from a slightly different point of view.

## 2.1 Goffman's concept of face

According to the sociologist Erving Goffman, face is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.” (1967:5) Goffman includes in his definition of face both verbal and non-verbal communication, and by the line he means the acts by which people evaluate and express their views of the participants in a particular situation. (1967:5)

For Goffman, to “have face” or to “be in face” means that the person’s own internally consistent self image is valued and supported by other people, which creates feelings of security and confidence. Respectively, people can also “be in the wrong face” or “to be out of face” when other people do not conform to the image of the speaker’s internalized image of him/herself, to which s/he has become emotionally attached. The speaker may feel offended because of the lack of support to his or her face by other participants, or s/he may feel ashamed, if s/he feels that s/he is responsible for the unsuccessful communicative event, which might damage the speaker’s reputation as good a conversationalist. Goffman also stresses the fact that face is only a loan from society; unless a person does not behave in the way that’s worthy of it, it will be withdrawn. Thus, the term “facework” refers to the actions people take to make their verbal and non-verbal communication consistent with face. (Goffman 1967:6-12.)

Goffman (1967:12) divides facework into two different sub-categories: he talks about defensive and protective orientation. Defensive orientation means that the participants pay attention to their own face wants, i.e. each participant is allowed to sustain the role s/he appears to have chosen for him/herself. Protective orientation, on the other hand, refers to the fact that the face of the other participants should also be considered during the communication event. According to Goffman, the one who threatens someone else’s face, destroys his/her own face at the same time since the maintenance of one’s own face depends of everyone else’s face being maintained as well. Goffman states that the simplest way to prevent face threats is to avoid contacts and topics in which these threats are likely to occur. (Goffman 1967:10-12.) Sometimes this systematic avoidance

is possible, but more often than not threats to someone's face are unavoidable. Goffman (1967:14-15) lists three possible instances when a person may have caused a threat to another participant's face:

1. *Faux pas or gaffe*: the speaker appears to have acted innocently, because the offence seems to be unintended. For this reason the other participant usually does not feel severely offended: s/he understands that had the speaker foreseen the consequences of his or her actions, the threat would have been avoided
2. *Incidental open offences*: arise in interaction as unplanned but sometimes anticipated by-products. The speaker performs his or her action despite its offensive consequences, which s/he seems to be aware of. Nevertheless, s/he takes the risk and performs the act, although not out of spite
3. *Intended open insults*: the speaker appears to have acted maliciously and spitefully

Because face threatening acts are unavoidable, people also need strategies to cope with them and to save their own face after offending behaviour. Goffman talks about corrective process, in which one or more participants work for the re-establishment of social equilibrium. This corrective process is composed of four moves: challenge, offering, acceptance and thanking. The first move, challenge, refers to the participants drawing attention to the misconduct and demand some kind of correcting act. This comes in the form of offering, when the offender is given a chance to correct for the offence either by providing compensations for the injured or punishment for him/herself. During the third move, the injured party accepts the offering, which leads to the fourth and the last move; the offender expressing gratitude to the injured, who has given him or her the indulgence of forgiveness. Goffman calls this corrective process basic interpersonal ritual behaviour, which can be varied according to the situation.

(Goffman 1967:15-23.)

## 2.2 Brown and Levinson's concept of face

Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987) were greatly influenced by Erving Goffman's work. In addition to describing face merely as an emotional state of mind or losing face as a social embarrassment, they give the notion of face the central position in explaining the linguistic choices people make while communicating with each other. Although their study was published more than ten years ago, and has been heavily criticized, it continues to be the most influential theory of politeness even today. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that all new efforts to create a theory for politeness are compared with the study of Brown and Levinson.

According to Brown and Levinson, everyday face-to-face interaction consists of many possible threats to face. They divide the concept of face into two distinct categories, which they claim every individual possesses, and define the categories in the following way (Brown and Levinson 1987:62):

*negative face*: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, right to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition

*positive face*: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants

Influenced by Goffman, Brown and Levinson define face as emotionally invested public self-image, which can be lost, maintained or enhanced during a conversation. According to Brown and Levinson's theory of face, it consists of basic wants; the want to be unimpeded by others (negative face) and the want to be liked and approved of (positive face). They also point out that usually people value the opinions of those who have power or to whom they are emotionally attached. Thus, people prefer their facewants to be met not just by anyone, but by

some particular person, relevant to the particular goal. Brown and Levinson also claim that due to the mutual vulnerability of face, people in general cooperate in maintaining face in interaction. (Brown and Levinson 1987:62-63.) This statement is interesting in the light of the data of the present study, since the principle of cooperation is not self-evident in the talk show genre. Usually the guests are brought to the show to argue and to have contrasting opinions about the topic. Often they also criticise each other for something they did or did not do in the past, which naturally diminishes the cooperation and the want to maintain other participant's face in the conversation.

Brown and Levinson's theory rests on face threatening acts, which they say are the acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee or the speaker. These may be either verbal or non-verbal acts. Thus, speech acts intrinsically threaten the face of the participants. (Brown and Levinson 1987:65.) In fact, for Brown and Levinson every act can be considered to be face threatening. This is one of the reasons their theory has been criticised, and their extensive analysis of each speech act also presents a problem for the present study. Brown and Levinson consider, for example, a compliment to be face threatening, because according to them, it indicates that the speaker wants something that belongs to the hearer, giving reason that the hearer may have to take action to protect the object of the speaker's admiration. They also claim that it places the hearer in debt, since if s/he accepts the compliment, it has to be returned at some point in the future. (Brown and Levinson 1987:66,68.) This approach, however, seems a little extreme, since most compliments in every day conversations are just that, merely a positive act toward the hearer without any hidden or additional meanings. The intrusiveness of a particular FTA, then, is determined by the situational context, as well as the participants' roles and the way they expect the other's to behave toward them.

Brown and Levinson define different types threats to face. They make a distinction between acts that threaten the addressee's negative face and those that threaten his/her positive face. The acts that threaten negative face, indicating the speaker's lack of intention to avoid impeding the hearer's freedom are divided into three sub-groups. Acts, that predicate some future act of the hearer, and in



doing so put some pressure on him/her to do or to refrain from doing the act belong to the first subcategory. These are acts such as orders, requests, suggestions, threats and warnings. The second subcategory consists of acts that predicate the speaker's positive act toward the hearer, such as offers and promises. These acts put some pressure on the hearer since s/he has to either accept or reject them. Acts that predicate some desire of the speaker toward the hearer or the hearer's goods fall into the third subcategory. Acts like compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, or strong emotions, like hatred, anger or lust, threaten the hearer's negative face because s/he might feel the need to protect the object of the speaker's desire. (Brown and Levinson 1987:65-66.)

The second main category, the acts that threaten the hearer's positive face, are divided into two subcategories. These acts indicate that the speaker does not care about the hearer's wants or feelings, that is, the speaker makes clear that at least in some respect s/he does not want what the hearer wants. The first subcategory consists of acts that show that the speaker has a negative evaluation of some aspect of the hearer's positive face, such as expressions of disapproval, criticism, ridicule, complaints, accusations or insults, challenges or disagreements. The second subcategory includes acts that show that the speaker does not care about or is indifferent to the hearer's positive face. This subcategory includes for example expressions of violent emotions, irreverence, mentioning taboo topics, bringing bad news to the hearer, raising dangerously emotional or divisive topics, blatant non-cooperation, e.g. interruptions, and the use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters. An example of positive face threatening act can be taken from the data used in the present study. This is an extract from the fourth conversation, and the participants are Ricki Lake and a young, male guest called Creig.

### Example (3)

086 R: i get the feeling = let me play amateur psychiatrist that creig is deep down really insecure  
 087 C: [no no  
 088 A: clapping]  
 089 R: and he needs to pump up his ego  
 090 C: sometimes people say that but i think it's the #  
 091 R: # yes yes

092 C: other way

In this example Ricki Lake threatens Creig's positive face by stating that he is insecure and needs to pump up his ego (086, 089). This clearly indicates that she does not have high respect for Creig, nor that she accepts his actions. Creig is trying to cope with the FTA by denying it and offering his own opinion about it (087, 090, 092) (see chapter 3.1 for the review on face-maintenance strategies). Many of the above mentioned acts, however, cannot be confined solely to positive face or negative face threatening categories, since some of these FTAs (e.g. complaints, threats or interruptions) threaten both negative and positive face. (Brown and Levinson 1987:66-67.)

Beside the threats to the hearer's face, Brown and Levinson also distinguish acts that threaten the speaker's face. Acts that damage the speaker's negative face by imposing to his/her freedom of action include expressing thanks, accepting thanks or apology, accepting offers, excuses, responses to the hearer's faux pas and unwilling promises and offers. The speaker's positive face can be directly damaged by apologies, accepting a compliment, breakdown of physical control over body, stumbling, self-humiliation, confessions and emotion leakage, non-control of laughter or tears. (Brown and Levinson 1987:67-68.)

As has been noted, both the speaker's and the hearer's face can be threatened during a conversation. Because of this mutual vulnerability, any rational individual will attempt to avoid the threat or at least employ certain strategies to minimize it. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:68), during any conversation an individual has to consider the following factors: the want to communicate the FTA, the want to be efficient or urgent and the want to maintain the hearer's face to any degree. Unless the efficiency is greater than the want to protect the hearer's face, the speaker will attempt to minimize the threat of his/her utterance.

For minimizing the FTAs, Brown and Levinson offer five superstrategies, which are at the speaker's disposal. If the speaker decides to perform the FTA, it can be done baldly on-record, that is without any redressive action. (Brown and

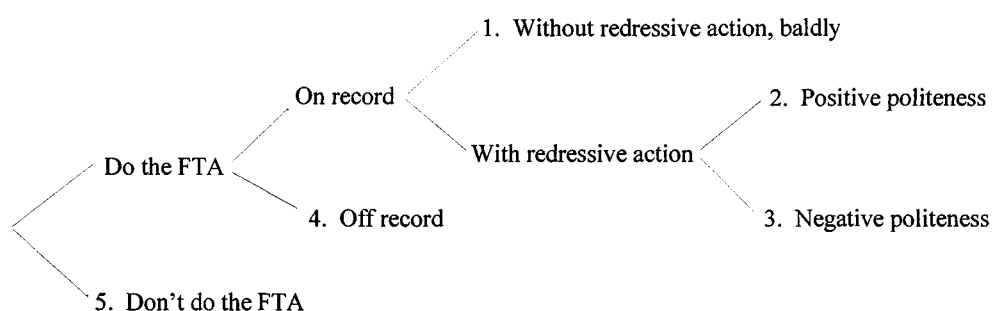
Levinson 1987:68). The speaker does not mitigate the utterance in any way, but says unambiguously what s/he wants to say. This strategy might be interpreted as simply following the Gricean maxims of quality, quantity, relevance and manner, while other superstrategies involve violating the maxims in specific ways (Watts et al. 1992:7). The main reason for bald on-record usage is the speaker's want to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than s/he wants to satisfy the hearer's face. Thus, the face threat is expressed directly because of urgency ("*Watch out!*") or because the danger to the hearer's face is very small ("*Take a seat.*") The speaker can also be superior in power, which enables him/her to threaten the addressee's face without losing his/her own. (Brown and Levinson 1987:94-97.) Face threatening acts of the data used in the present study are mostly performed baldly on-record, without any redressive action.

The second superstrategy realizes the FTA on-record, but with some redressive action. This redressive action is positive politeness, and it is oriented toward the hearer's positive face. The face threat is minimized by the assurance that in general the speaker wants at least some of the hearer's wants. The strategies for using positive politeness are for example attending to the hearer ("*Don't you look nice today!*"), exaggerating ("*That was absolutely fantastic!*"), using in-group identity markers ("*Have a drink, buddy!*") or joking. (Brown and Levinson 1987:101-129.)

Thirdly, the act can be performed on-record, with redressive action oriented toward the hearer's negative face. Negative politeness performs the function of letting the hearer know that the speaker does not intend to impose on his/her freedom of action. This strategy is avoidance based, and has been characterized as 'respect behaviour', while positive politeness is usually referred to as 'familiar and joking behaviour'. FTAs are redressed with apologies for interfering ("*I don't want to bother you, but..*"), hedges and other softening mechanisms ("*I guess that is right.*") and impersonalizing mechanisms like the passive. (Brown and Levinson 1987:129-130.)

The fourth superstrategy for performing an FTA differs from the above mentioned ones in that it is done off-record. The speaker is intentionally vague and indirect so that the hearer cannot attribute only one clear communicative

intention to the act. The speaker wants to do the FTA, but does not want to accept the responsibility for it. Thus, s/he does the act off-record, leaving it up to the hearer to decide how to interpret it. Usually the speaker gives the hearer some hints and hopes that s/he picks up on them and thereby interprets what the speaker really means. Linguistic realizations of off-record strategies include for example metaphors, irony, tautologies, hints (“*It is rather cold in here.*” [c.i. shut the door]) and understatements (“*Mary’s new jacket is alright.*” [c.i. I don’t particularly like it]). The fifth and the last superstrategy is to refrain from doing the FTA altogether. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 69.) Figure (1) provides an illustration of these possible strategies for doing the FTAs.



**Figure 1.** Possible strategies for doing FTAs (Brown and Levinson 1987:69).

Further, Brown and Levinson (1987:74-77) argue that the seriousness of an FTA can be calculated by using the following factors: the social distance factor, the relative power factor and the absolute ranking of impositions. The social distance factor refers to symmetric relation between the participants. Often the social distance is based on an assessment of the frequency of the interaction between the participants. Thus, familiarity is closely connected with social closeness. This, however, is not true in all situations. For example, in the present data the situation is meant to be intimate between the participants who are not all familiar with each other. The relative power factor is used when the relationship between the parties is asymmetric. It is influenced by two possible sources; the material

and the metaphysical source. In most cases an individual's power is drawn from both of these sources, but in the case of the present data, the latter source seems to be more relevant. The host in the show has the power to control at least to some extent the actions of the others because of the role assigned to her. The third factor, absolute ranking of impositions, is culturally and situationally defined and refers to the participants' evaluation of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or of approval. Naturally, the degree to which an act is considered to be an imposition, is determined by the power and distance factors. Thus, these three parameters, together with other factors, such as situational context, gender, race, age and education of the participants, determine the choice of politeness strategy.

### **2.2.1 Impoliteness framework**

In some circumstances, however, it is not in a participant's interest to maintain the other's face. This is especially true in talk show situations, where intimate and personal topics are discussed very directly, and the facework is usually minimal or completely absent. This may be because the participants have some particular interest in attacking the other's face, they want to know the truth, or they want to confront the other because they feel that the other participant has done something wrong or insulting. In light of the present study, Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness superstrategies are useful. Instead of enhancing or supporting face, like Brown and Levinson's (1987) above mentioned politeness superstrategies, Culpeper's impoliteness superstrategies are a means of attacking face. The first impoliteness superstrategy is bald on-record impoliteness, by which the FTA is performed in a direct and unambiguous way in circumstances where face is minimized. Brown and Levinson's bald on-record strategy differs from this impoliteness strategy in that their bald on-record is a politeness strategy, which is used in specific situations (e.g. when the threat to hearer's face is very small or when the speaker is much more powerful than the hearer.) (Culpeper 1996: 356.)

The second superstrategy is positive impoliteness, which is designed to damage the hearer's positive face wants, i.e. want to be approved and liked by

others. Positive impoliteness may be realized, for example, with ignoring the other, being disinterested or unsympathetic, seeking disagreement by selecting a sensitive topic, making the other feel uncomfortable or calling the other derogatory names. Positive impoliteness strategies are common in the data of the present study. The following example illustrates another stretch of interaction from the fourth conversation. In this example Ricki Lake decides, after hearing Creig out that she does not like him, and uses a derogatory name to describe him (044). The members of the audience seem to agree with her (045).

#### Example (4)

041 C: now let's get down to the business ladies y'know what i'm saying= they are talking about dinner = you go out to dinner sure but uhm we're going to the motel first = if you're good you'll get filet mignon

042 A: [yelling

043 C: if bad you're eating cheese burgers baby you're eating cheese burgers (3) (*goes on, unclear speech*)

044 R: wait let me let me get this straight = creig is a dog huh

045 A: yelling (*creig speaking, unclear*) (2)

Similarly, the third strategy, negative impoliteness, causes damage to the hearer's negative face wants, i.e. the want to be unimpeded by others. Negative impoliteness strategies include frightening the other, ridiculing or belittling the other by emphasizing your own power and invading the other's space either literally or metaphorically. The fourth superstrategy consists of sarcasm or mock politeness. This means that the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations. Culpeper (1996) defines sarcasm with the help of Leech's (1983) Irony Principle:

“If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the PP [Politeness Principle], but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of an implicature.” (1983:82)

Culpeper adds that it is important to distinguish between sarcasm, which is mock politeness for social disharmony, and banter, which can be used in intimate

situations as mock impoliteness creating social harmony. The fifth superstrategy in Culpeper's model is withholding politeness completely in the situation where it would be expected (e.g. failing to thank somebody). (Culpeper 1996: 356-358.)

### **2.2.2 Criticism of Brown and Levinson's theory**

Brown and Levinson's theory has been heavily criticized during the last decade. Most of the criticism is perhaps directed toward their claim of universality. One could argue that the claim of politeness strategies to be universal is questionable, particularly since there has been no universal empirical studies on the subject. Many researchers (Meier 1995, Mao 1994, Matsumoto 1988) have attacked especially the notion of face dualism as a universal phenomenon in Brown and Levinson's theory. According to Meier (1995:388), politeness can be said to be universal only in the sense that every society has some sort of norms for appropriate behaviour, although these norms will vary. Mao (1994), for example, argues that Brown and Levinson's theory of face cannot be extended to non-Western cultures where the underlying interactional focus is centered not upon individualism but upon group identity. (Mao 1994:452). While recognizing that the content of face is culture-specific and subject to much cultural variation, according to Brown and Levinson (1987:13) the notion of face and its two basic desires are nevertheless universal. For Mao, however, this concept presents problems in a non-Western context. He argues that face in Chinese and Japanese culture is connected with anticipated expectations of communal norms rather than personal desires. Thus, face is oriented toward an ideal social identity instead of an ideal individual autonomy. Mao also criticizes Brown and Levinson's overtly pessimistic view of social interaction, since they focus solely on face threatening aspects of interaction. According to Mao such speech acts as inviting or offering are not regarded as threatening in Chinese, on the contrary they are considered polite even if the invitation is declined. (Mao 1994: 456-464.) Bayraktaroglu (1991:15) shares Mao's view in that he also sees Brown and Levinson's model as too pessimistic. He suggests that face-boosting acts should be included into the FTA framework. Face-boosting acts (FBAs) appear to satisfy the face want of the

speaker and/or the hearer. Bayraktaroglu labels acts which boost the speaker's or the hearer's face FBA/self and FBA/other, respectively. An example of FBA/self is boasting; it boosts the speaker's positive face without affecting the face values of the hearer. Compliments, on the other hand, are examples of FBA/other strategy.

The classification of five superstrategies has also been criticized and is said to include deficiencies. Culpeper (1996), the designer of impoliteness superstrategies, argues that impolite implicatures can slip through Brown and Levinson's framework. He feels that in order to preserve its analytical coherence, politeness theory needs to consider also confrontational strategies. Brown and Levinson's theory also provides little information on paralinguistic or non-verbal politeness, which are also important factors in face-to-face communication. (Culpeper 1996:358.) Sifianou's (1995) criticism is directed towards the fifth superstrategy, do not do the FTA. She argues that while Brown and Levinson attribute the highest degree of politeness to refraining from speech, they ignore the fact that silences can also be extremely face threatening and awkward, when some kind of reply or answer is expected. Sifianou also criticizes the way in which Brown and Levinson see all acts as face-threatening, and argues that while acts like offers or compliments may entail face-threatening aspects, they are primarily face-saving or face-enhancing acts. She claims that remaining silent is polite if the act is clearly face-threatening, but not when the act involves face-enhancing aspects as well. Sifianou concludes by saying that silence seems to be more a reflection of psychological factors such as embarrassment, shyness or tension than of politeness. (Sifianou 1995: 96,100,107.)

Kopytko (1995: 487) argues, that the unit of analysis must be a longer stretch of discourse than just one speech act, which seems to be the basis of analysis for Brown and Levinson. The context of the utterances, individuals involved and their responses to each other must be taken into account when interpreting some speech act as face threatening. According to Lim (1990), one problem with Brown and Levinson's theory is the fact that it is confined to one kind of face threat at time, even though several speech acts may threaten the positive as well as the negative face of the hearer. Lim also states that Brown and



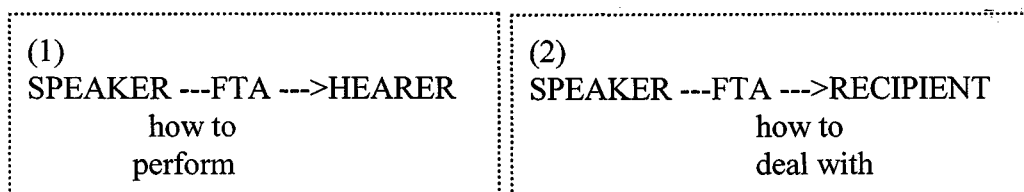
Levinson's social variables that determine the weightiness of FTA (social distance, power and intrusiveness) are inadequate. He does not, however, elaborate on what other kinds of factors may be relevant. (Lim 1990: 77-79.) Alternative models of politeness and strategies to save face have also been suggested, for example, by Lim (1990, 1994), Penman (1990) and Arundale (1999).

Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, despite the numerous criticism, is still a widely and commonly accepted framework of politeness research, at least in the sense that every effort to create a new theoretical basis is compared with it. Brown and Levinson themselves admit that their theory is not without problems, and that their framework was never meant to be understood as exhaustive. Some researchers, O'Driscoll (1996:14), for example, even argue that Brown and Levinson's notions of face can be viewed as universal. According to O'Driscoll, the constituents of good face are culturally variable, while the desire for a good face is indeed universal. Despite these controversies, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory provides a valid starting point for examining interaction in different situations, for the reason that critics have not yet been able to develop as exhaustive theory as theirs is. The politeness theory provides valuable tools for analysing the face threatening acts in different social situations.

### **3 FACE-MAINTENANCE IN CONVERSATIONS**

Although in interaction participants generally strive for smooth communication, and work for maintaining their own as well as the others' faces, sometimes face threatening situations cannot be avoided. The ability to successfully remediate social predicaments is considered a valued social skill (Cupach et al. 1986:181). This chapter will explore the different options the hearer has to be able to recover from a threatening situation and continue interaction. Research has mainly concentrated on the face threatening acts and the face restorations of the speaker after his/her own actions to threaten either his/her own or someone else's face. Thus, the emphasis has been on predicaments caused by the participant him/herself. Also Brown and Levinson (1987) employ this speaker-

centered approach to face-maintenance. The purpose of this study, however, is to find out how the recipient reacts to FTAs directed toward him/her by someone else. Figure (3) represents this division of these point of views.



**Figure 3.** The speaker-centered and the recipient-centered approaches to FTAs

The speaker-centered approach is illustrated in the first box, in which the main attention is directed to the way the speaker performs particular FTAs. The recipient-centered approach (box (2)), however, focuses on how the recipient of and FTA deals with the predicament. In face-maintenance, then, people try to deal with predicaments and seek redress from the individual who caused them to appear foolish or embarrassed by performing an face threatening act toward them.

### 3.1 Face-maintenance typologies

There has been quite a few studies examining face-maintenance strategies in conversations. However, as mentioned earlier, all of these studies have focussed on predicaments caused by the interactant him/herself. Since the purpose of the present study is to find out what kind of face-maintenance strategies people use when *someone else* commits the face threatening act, these studies cannot be directly applied to the present study. There are also other deficiencies in early research on embarrassment, as Petronio (1984:28-29) points out. Men's usage of face-maintenance strategies has earlier been the only interest with researchers and too limited a number of strategies has been taken into account. And again, research has completely ignored the recipient's strategies to avoid face loss, concentrating solely on the strategies that the person who performed the FTA used to avoid embarrassment.

Buss (1980) has identified five types of events that commonly lead to embarrassment. These are (1) impropriety (e.g. dirty talk, improper dress), (2) lack of competence (e.g. failing in a task), (3) conspicuousness (e.g. being the center of attention), (4) breach of privacy (e.g. physical or verbal invasion of personal space) and (5) overpraise (e.g. receiving more acclaim than is desired). In comparison, Sharkey and Stafford (1988) include in their classification six types of embarrassing situations: (1) revealing privacy (e.g. exposing private affairs), (2) forgetfulness or lack of knowledge/skill, (3) positive or negative criticism (e.g. teasing, flattery), (4) awkward acts (e.g. clumsiness), (5) verbal blunders (e.g. dirty talk, using a wrong name) and (6) image/appropriateness (e.g. concern for personal appearance). Although there are similarities in these typologies, they are not completely comparable. Nor are they exclusive in all situations, in particular if the embarrassment is created by someone else, not the interactant him/herself. In the case of the present data the breach of privacy seems to cause most of the embarrassment situations. Other factors leading to embarrassment are, for example, conspicuousness, negative criticism and verbal blunders.

Cupach and Metts (1990) claim that face-maintaining strategies vary according to the situation that creates the predicament. Thus, one can hypothesize that the strategies are different in talk shows and, for example, in more formal situations, like official meetings. Face-saving is also heightened if the person is under close scrutiny, for example, in front of an audience. Thus, publicity enhances the need to resort to face-saving strategies. According to Sharkey and Stafford (1990:333), the intensity level of embarrassment does not predict the responses of the embarrassed person, it is the situation and the agent that seem to have a direct link to the use of particular strategy.

There are many different strategies to maintain face. According to Cupach and Metts (1990), strategies used by persons caught in predicaments are typically divided into four main classes of acts: apologies, accounts, avoidance, and humour. One should bear in mind that these strategies are used to cope with all kinds of predicaments disregarding who causes the embarrassment. *Apologies*, naturally, are acts that accept responsibility and blameworthiness for the

inappropriate act. They express guilt and remorse over having violated social norms and caused harm to the victim. *Accounts* can be divided into two subclasses; *excuses* deny the responsibility of the act (e.g. “It was an accident”), while *justifications* accept the responsibility, but deny the negative consequences of the act (e.g. “I got what I deserved”). The third main category to deal with embarrassing predicaments is *avoidance*. By avoidance an individual may refuse to provide an account, or deny that the inappropriate event even occurred. Thus, the person avoids the personal responsibility and denies the severity of the event. This can be done, for example, by changing the topic, being silent or physically leaving the scene. *Humour* is also an important way of coping with embarrassment. It usually acknowledges the blameworthiness for the predicament without providing an explanation for it. Humour is not always appropriate for coping with embarrassment, particularly if the predicament is severe. But if the harm to others is not great, it can successfully reduce embarrassment and release tension. (Cupach and Metts 1990:328-329.)

In their later studies Cupach et al., however, found this five part classification system to be insufficient, and they added four other categories in their typology. Firstly, they divided the avoidance category to two different types of avoidance strategies: escape and remediation. *Escape* refers to physical withdrawal from the situation, without acknowledging the predicament or restoring the social order. *Remediation* means non-verbal actions one takes to resume the public self-image to correct the cause of the predicament, for example, wiping away the spilled coffee. *Description* is the seventh way to deal with embarrassment. They are simple statements, which acknowledge the problem but do not offer any excuse, regret or apology for the predicament. The last strategy, namely *aggression*, is in use when the embarrassed person turns his or her frustration into physical or verbal attack on another person, presumably to the one who has intentionally caused the predicament. Aggression is not a constructive remediation strategy because instead of reducing the embarrassment, it intensifies the face loss and disrupts the social order even further. (Cupach and Metts 1990: 330-331.)

Different researchers offered different classifications of the remedial

strategies. Sharkey and Stafford (1990), for example, include non-verbal, objective symptoms, such as blushing, laughing, smiling and crying in their typology. Petronio's (1984) classification consists of eight strategies, which differ slightly from Cupach's and Metts's (1990) typology. Her main categories include

1. Defensively changing the subject
2. Introducing information excusing the performance
3. Introducing redeeming or self-enhancing information
4. Denying or minimizing failure
5. Implicitly seeking identification
6. Scapegoating
7. Withdrawal
8. Requests for atonement

Categories 1, 3 and 4 can be said to represent justification, while categories 2, 5, 6 and 7 refer to escape. The eighth category is Petronio's own. Edelman's (1994) typology is quite similar to Cupach's and Metts's, but unlike Cupach et al. Edelman does not include remediation to avoidance strategies, but to apologies. According to him, remediation can mainly be referred to as offers of help.

Different studies have also concentrated on finding out which strategies are most often used in dealing with embarrassing predicaments. Metts and Cupach (1989:160-161) state that in their study excuses were more likely to be used in mistake situations and justifications in faux pas situations. Remediation was an appropriate strategy when violation of privacy occurred, while forgetfulness was associated with apologies and accounts. Apologies and remediation occurred in their study frequently. They are strategies which indicate the willingness to place one's own face needs second to the re-establishment of social order and the face needs of others. Humour was particularly appropriate in response to an accident, as a device to reduce tension, while avoidance was used infrequently, due to its ineffectiveness. Aggression as a remediation strategy was used only in recipient situations, that is, when someone else was responsible for the predicament, not the embarrassed person him/herself (e.g. criticism). Metts and Cupach conclude that both actors and observers often utilize a combination of different strategies to reduce an actor's embarrassment (for combination of different strategies see Cupach and Metts 1990). Since embarrassment is contagious in nature, the other's in the situation are likely to resort to remediation

strategies as well. Metts and Cupach (1990:334-335) found out that the observers used humour, accounts and empathy. However, the most common strategy employed by the observers was support, which included both verbal and non-verbal messages to assure the embarrassed person that s/he is still accepted in spite of the transgression. Sometimes the observers' strategies fail, and they increase the embarrassment instead of reducing it. This happens when the observer does not know what to do, or when s/he attempts to use a corrective strategy, such as humour that backfires, calling unwanted attention to the embarrassing event. And as Metts and Cupach point out, there is a fine line between "laughing with" someone and "laughing at" someone. Although the participants usually want to maintain the social equilibrium, there are occasions when intentional affronts occur. According to Metts and Cupach (1990:336) predicaments that cause intentional embarrassment to person attempt to control the relationship, to impress the other's at the individual's expense, to use the predicament as intentional norm violation or to retaliate.

Gender differences in face-maintenance have been studied less. Petronio (1984), however, found that women thought excuses and apologies to be more helpful in reducing embarrassment, while males relied on justifications and avoidance. Thus, women seem to prefer mitigating strategies, while men used more aggravating strategies. Cupach et al. (1986) found in their study that there was no meaningful differences in remedial strategies between men and women, although there was a slight trend for men to use humour more than women. (Cupach et al. 1986:193). Thus, there seem not be consistent results about gender and different face-maintaining strategies. However, gender may be one of the important factors according to which people respond to face threatening acts and because of this reason only, it is worth studying. Also many possible events of miscommunication could be avoided if there would be more information on how in certain cultural and situational contexts gender affects the linguistic choices in face remediation.

Besides gender, there are also other factors that may influence the choice of the remedial strategy. Holtgraves (1991) concentrated in his study on indirectness, and found out that the likelihood that utterances were interpret as

indirect was significantly more likely in a face-threatening than in non-face-threatening situations. Thus, one can suspect the utterance to be interpreted more directly when face threats do not exist. Hale (1986) was interested in gender and power relations in remedial strategies, as well as the impact of cognitive complexity on message structure. She claims that when both women and men have subordinate roles in conversation, the roles in face-maintenance do not differ. But when the roles shift from the peer to the superior, only women take the interactional aspect of face into consideration (Hale 1986:141). Also Holtgraves and Yang (1992:250) state that the politeness level of men's requests depends more on the power of the recipient than does that of women. Metts and Cupach (1990:348) remind that the interpretation of any particular utterance should depend on how the participants react to the act, instead of how the investigator sees it. Thus, the larger context of the utterance is of essential value when an outsider tries to make interpretations of the situation. The typologies presented above consider predicaments caused by the interactant him/herself, and cannot be, then, used as such for the purpose of this present study. However, they do provide a valuable starting point, on the basis of which a revised typology will be created to describe the responses of a person, whose face has been threatened by someone else. Gender, power and different social relationships between participants will also be considered in the light of the face-maintenance strategies.

### **3.2 Consequences of face threatening acts**

Face threatening acts, especially when performed without any mitigating devices, usually cause the recipient to feel self-conscious and embarrassed. The severity of the predicament is naturally relevant when assessing its consequences; embarrassing situations can range from an intensity level of minor annoyance to paralysing shock. Depending on the severity of the predicament, then, face loss may affect the rest of the conversation to the extent that the embarrassed person may lose his or her self-confidence so badly that s/he is no longer able to continue the interaction in an appropriate manner. After the embarrassment, the

participants lack a coherent plan with which to continue the social encounter (Schlenker and Leary 1982:650).

Responses to an FTA can be verbal or non-verbal, visible or invisible. According to Sharkey and Stafford (1990:318) subjectively felt symptoms of embarrassment include many physiological responses, such as dryness of the mouth, an increase in body temperature and a rising heartbeat. These symptoms remain unknown to the others unless the person refers to them verbally. Objective symptoms are visible also to the other participants, and these include, for example, blushing, shyness, speech disturbances, decrease of eye contact, smiling or laughter. Buss (1980:124,128) makes also the distinction between subjective and objective symptoms, but he uses the terms “feeling component” and “expressive component”, respectively. Acts, such as blushing, giggling or nervous laughter are manifestations of embarrassment, as well as the feeling of being closely observed by an audience. Buss sums up the main reactions to face threatening predicaments in the following way :

1. Self-awareness of blushing
2. A temporary drop in self-esteem
3. Attempts to escape from the situation
4. Attempts to save face, for example, by greater compliance

Buss (1980:237) claims that embarrassment is at least partly a product of socialization. A young child, who has not yet developed public self-consciousness, cannot become embarrassed. There are three possible ways to detect individual's embarrassment or some other emotional reaction. First of all, one can find out about the individual's emotional reaction from external, objective cues like blushing or giggling. Secondly, it can become evident on the basis of an immediately preceding stimulus and subsequent behaviour of the individual, and thirdly, if the observer is in the same situation than the experiencing individual, s/he can simply ask what kind of emotion the person is experiencing. (1980:128-129.) In the light of the present study the third alternative is obviously excluded, thus, the embarrassment is detected on the basis of the interactional context and the recipients' reactions to the particular



stimuli.

Further, Buss (1980:143) claims, that an individual's embarrassment evokes divergent reactions in others. Perhaps the most common reaction is to ignore the predicament altogether. This happens because the others want to spare the individual the further embarrassment of their scrutiny and because embarrassment is contagious in nature, thus, the others may be equally distressed by someone else's embarrassment. Sometimes people also offer sympathy and reassurance to help the person to overcome the predicament, and sometimes, mercifully rarely, they enhance it by laughter or scorn.

Face threatening situations are likely to create social anxiety which influences the individual's behaviour and linguistic choices. Schlenker and Leary (1982:663) claim that social anxiety is especially common in identity-threatening situations. Buss (1980:124) divides social anxiety into four varieties: embarrassment, shame, audience anxiety and shyness. Being the center of attention is an immediate cause of embarrassment and social anxiety. Also in the data of the present study the audience and the millions of television viewers may cause the guests to feel uncomfortable and embarrassed, especially since they are just ordinary people, not experienced performers. The symptoms of audience anxiety, according to Buss (1980:167), are stammering verbal fluency (vocalized pauses, speech blocks), quivering voice, too fast or too slow speech, lack of eye contact, tense posture, lack of motion or body-swaying. Audience anxiety can be divided into two different fears; a fear of performing poorly and failing, which is called evaluation anxiety, and a fear of not being accepted and liked, a worry of being rejected as a person.

Social anxiety has been explained with so-called skills deficit model (Edelman 1985:282), which presupposes that an individual does not possess the necessary behavioural repertoire to meet the demands of the situation. However, Edelman's own study did not support this model, he believes that an individual feels socially anxious not because s/he lacks necessary skills, but because s/he believes that his or her social skills are inadequate for the situation. According to Edelman (1985) socially anxious people are more sensitive to face-threateningness than not socially anxious people, and they often evaluate

themselves negatively, believing that they cannot handle the demands of particular situation.

In sum, then, embarrassment and audience anxiety are responses to face-threatening acts that cannot be controlled. More often than not embarrassment is caused by invasions of privacy, which can mean either awkward physical closeness or infringement on intimate emotions. Embarrassment is extremely difficult to hide, and it is commonly believed that face loss always ends in embarrassment. Face-saving strategies can, however, be helpful when trying to avoid or recover from embarrassment.

#### **4 GENDER AND LANGUAGE USE**

Gender has been a popular topic of linguistic research during the past thirty years. One of the pioneers in modern gender research was Robin Lakoff and her influential study about women's language, which when published in 1975 introduced the topic to a wider audience. Defining the term gender is not as difficult a task as defining the term politeness, since different researchers define gender more or less in the similar manner. Cameron (1985:188) distinguishes the terms gender and sex, by saying that the former is the social male/femaleness of an individual, while the latter can be described as biological male/femaleness. This is a commonly accepted definition. However, despite the unambiguous definition, there may be some inconsistency in the use of terms gender and sex; usually, for the sake of the clarity, the term gender is used to cover also the term sex. This approach will also be employed in the present study.

Gender researchers have commonly studied the differences between women and men's talk, for example, by focusing on the morphological features of language, or on the features of syntax and vocabulary. Gender can also be studied from the interactional point of view, when differences in communication can be better understood and miscommunication can be avoided. Studying these kind of male/female differences in a language is not completely without problems. Like Graddol and Swann (1989:8-9) point out, gender entails different degrees of masculinity and femininity. This means that every individual has both

masculine and feminine features, a fact which is important to take into account in gender research. Thus, gender identity is a matter of degree. Nowadays most of the researchers feel that men and women are after all more alike than different and differences related to gender are not so much gender-exclusive than gender-preferential. In light of these previous studies it is interesting to examine gender in the present data, in which different expectations for men and women are created because of the talk show format. It is also important to bear in mind that in social encounters there are several different factors influencing the interaction. Factors such as power, familiarity or distance, the type of situation, class and race of the participants are bound to affect the linguistic choices the individuals make. Although the present study focuses on politeness and the possible differences found between men and women, it is important to bear in mind the other possible factors which might also create the differences. Finally, when talking about gender, one should remember that neither women nor men are a homogenous group. There are also differences among women, just as there are among men, because the other possible factors influence the linguistic choices as well. In addition to the above mentioned factors, the interpretations of gender differences are also influenced by the particular researcher's way of seeing the connection between language and society.

#### **4.1 Gender manifested through language and society**

One can study language and gender from several viewpoints. According to Graddol and Swann (1989), there are three basic approaches, which are often behind gender studies: the deficit model, the dominance approach and the difference approach. The deficit model was popular among gender studies in the 1960s. According to this model, in men's and women's language there are features that directly reflect their gender. Women's language was seen to be defective when compared to men's speech because they used different features in social situations than men did. In other words, women's language was studied as a deviation from men's language, which was considered to be the norm. Researchers (e.g. Robin Lakoff 1975) tried to define the specific features that

particularly reflect one's gender. There were many problems with this model, not the least of which was the assumption that in order to appear effective and powerful, women should be taught to talk more like men.

The other two approaches hold conflicting views of women's status in society. The dominance approach sees the linguistic differences in women's and men's speech as a result of men's dominance and women's subordination. (Coates 1988:65.) The sex differences in speech are primarily caused by the hierarchical nature of the gender relations, since in interaction women have only marginal power, and they cannot or will not use "the masculine features" (e.g. interruptions, the control of the topic, the use of generic pronouns) to gain power or respect. Kramarae (1981:1) sees women as a muted group because words and the norms for their use have been formulated by the dominant group, i.e. men. Thus, the norms for speaking are not generated from women's experience. According to the difference approach, women and men are simply different because they are socialized in different sociolinguistic subcultures (Coates 1988:69). Researchers representing this approach (e.g. Tannen 1986, 1990, Maltz et al. 1982) resented the androcentric viewpoint of the dominance approach, and wanted to study sex differences in language from a positive and equal standpoint. Thus, the purpose was not to try to change female or male speech, because both are equally good, but to shed some light into how men and women differ in their expectations of what taking part in a conversation entails (e.g. minimal responses are meant to signal active listening in female speech, but in male speech they mean agreement). This knowledge is designed to avoid miscommunication between men and women. Although both dominance and difference approaches have their supporters, Coates (1988:72) concludes that both of them are necessary when explaining the linguistic differences between women and men. We need to incorporate in our interpretation the power dimension as well as subcultural factors in order to get a comprehensive picture of gender differences. The present study is based on the view that gender differences in language usage are a product of various factors, two of which are power and sociolinguistic subcultures.

The relationship between language and society is closely connected to the way one sees the connection between gender and language. According to

Graddol and Swann (1989), there are three basic views to understand this relationship. The first view can be summed up by the words of Coates (1986:vi): “Linguistic differences are merely a reflection of social differences.” In other words, society influences individuals’ language behaviour, just as it mirrors other social divisions and inequalities. This view of language and society is closely linked to the dominance approach discussed above. Although some of gender research still draws on this view, there are those who see things differently. For example Graddol and Swann (1989:9) argue that despite the fact that there inevitably are some sex differences in language that result from different social experiences, the relationship between language and society is not a straightforward one. They emphasize the fact that there are numerous significant social and economic processes that affect interaction and have only little or nothing to do with language.

The second view of language and society is in sharp contrast to the first one. According to this view it is language that affects society by creating gender divisions and forming the limits of our reality. When people are learning a language, they are at the same time learning something about their social and physical environment that is regarded as important in their culture. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is a well-known example of this point of view. This view, however, can be criticized as being too deterministic, as if individuals and their personalities were totally shaped by our language. (Graddol et al. 1989:10.) One must remember that languages do not develop in a vacuum because it is human beings who create them, maintain them and develop them.

Perhaps the most plausible view is the third one, according to which there is an interplay between language and social structure. Graddol and Swann (1989:10) argue that there is a truth in both of the positions mentioned so far. Language affects people, it creates and maintains social values. For example, negative stereotypes about women as gossips or about certain linguistic features about women’s speech will sooner and later become regarded as a fact or an example of “women’s language”, whether this actually is the case or not. On the other hand, our language not only reflects our place in society and our culture, but also helps to create that place. This view also takes into account the other various

factors influencing the linguistic output, such as age, class, race and religion. As can be seen, the gender-based differences in language can be attributed either to language or society, or to both of these sources. Thus, the way one sees the relationship between language and society, affects also the way s/he approaches gender issues in language.

#### **4.2 Gender research from “women’s language” to “situational language”**

Stereotypes of women’s and men’s speech are plentiful; layman-like observations about differences between male and female speech have been made for decades. However, only since the mid-1970s has gender research systematically started to study the differences between the linguistic usage of the sexes as a possible reflector of social differences. Early work on gender differences examined the gender differences from the viewpoint of the deficit model, thus female language was seen to be deficient from the male language usage which was considered to be the norm. Otto Jespersen, a Danish scholar, wrote in 1922 his often cited chapter “The Woman”. He presents women’s speech as an aberration of men’s interaction, and describes women’s vocabulary as less extensive and sentences as less complex than men’s. He also claims that women talk more rapidly and with less thought than men do.

Robin Lakoff started the modern gender research in 1975, made women’s language an issue in linguistics and invented the term “women’s language”, which she said to be less direct and less forceful than men’s speech. Lakoff (1975) claimed that there were certain features in female speech that distinguished it from the male linguistic usage. These features included for example hedges, various polite forms, the use of tag questions, empty adjectives, hypercorrect grammar, special vocabulary and lack of a sense of humour. The chart below shows some typical features in different gender studies connected with women and men, which are reflected in their language usage.

<b>FEMALE FEATURES</b>	<b>MALE FEATURES</b>
self-doubting	self-confident
introverted	extraverted
kind	cruel
cautious	bold
submissive	dominant
emotional	unemotional
incompetence	competence
speech	action

**Figure 2.** Some oppositions associated with gender (Smith 1985:136, Poynton 1989:19)

In conceptualizing women's language as problematic, Lakoff's goal was to help women change. The assertiveness training movement of the 1970s and 1980s was trying to help women to adopt more powerful and direct language, thus the language stereotypically connected with male speech, in order to gain status and power. One can doubt the usefulness of such training, since from the start it made women to view their own linguistic capacities as inferior to men's.

Lakoff's study, as influential as it was, was based more on casual observations and introspection than on empirical research. Cameron et al. (1989) define "the form and function" problem in Lakoff's work, meaning that equating a linguistic form with one particular communicative function as Lakoff does is questionable, since in real situations most utterances perform multiple functions at once. This applies also with acts fulfilling different politeness functions. Cameron et al. show in their study that the use of tag questions, for example, seems to correlate with conversational role rather than with just gender. They also found out that certain tags were used by powerful participants, instead of powerless ones, a finding that does not support Lakoff's claim that such forms are "weak". (Cameron et al. 1988:77). Dubois and Crouch (1975) also attempted to find out whether women used more tag questions, like Lakoff claimed. In their sample it was men who used them more. Thus, so called "women's language" is neither characteristic of all women nor limited only to women. A continuum of

these features are found in the speech of both sexes.

O'Barr and Atkins (1980) took gender research further, while trying to verify Lakoff's claims about "women's language". They studied language in a courtroom, and found out that a better determinant of whether some individual scored highly on the "female features" was his or her status, not gender. O'Barr and Atkins claim that instead of "women's language" one should talk about "powerless language". Gender was not a sufficient variable in explaining the use of linguistic features, and the reasons for using "powerless language" were found to be in social status and education. Individuals with a lower status, occupation or education, whether a woman or a man, used more hesitant language than those who were well-educated and had a high social status. Hale's (1986) studies on remedial strategies and power relations can be used to verify O'Barr and Atkins's findings. She found out, as mentioned in chapter 3.1, that when both men and women employ subordinate positions in conversations, their roles in face-maintenance do not differ. O'Barr and Atkins (1980) conclude that not only does powerless language reflect a powerless social situation, but it may also reinforce such inferior status.

Gender differences will not be found in word counts, but in patterns of conversational assertiveness and supportiveness. Janet Holmes (1992:320-321) argues that dominance approach is not valid in the study of gender differences. Thus, for her, power and status are not sufficient parameters in explaining linguistic differences between men and women. In her studies Holmes has found out that women are in fact supportive and cooperative conversationalists, and the so-called "women features" are a sign of polite linguistic usage, rather than hesitancy markers or signs of subordination or unconfidence. In her study on compliments, Holmes (1988) noted that generally women used more compliments than men. Women saw compliments as positively affective speech acts that increased the solidarity between the speaker and the hearer, while for men they represented an FTA; they felt they owed a debt to the complimenter. (Holmes 1988:447). Petronio's (1984) study in chapter 3.1 also represents women as cooperative interactants; also in face-maintenance women seem to employ more mitigating strategies than men do. When studying tag questions,



Holmes (1984) found out that both women and men used them, but 59 per cent of women's tag questions were used in a facilitative sense as signs of positive politeness, while 61 per cent of men's tags were modal, expressing uncertainty. In her study about apologies, Holmes (1989) found out a difference in perception of an apology between women and men. While women saw apologies as other-oriented face-supportive acts and used them frequently, just like compliments, to facilitate social harmony, men perceived them as self-oriented face threatening acts, and avoided them when possible. Other studies also support the view of women as polite and supportive conversationalists. Kemper (1984) argues that being polite and showing concern for the listener are usually connected to femininity rather than masculinity. Also Herbert (1990) studied compliments, and found out that women used them more often than men as a sign of solidarity and a token of good will. Holtgraves and Yang (1992) discovered that women used more polite requests than men did. Graddol and Swann (1989) claim that there is an unequal distribution of work in conversation. Women do the support work while men are talking and it is the women who generally do the maintenance and continuation work in conversation. This can be seen, for example, from the use of minimal responses, which women use to indicate active listening. Men, however, use minimal responses rarely compared to women, and when using them they indicate not active listening, but agreement. Holmes (1992) concludes that the features claimed to form "women's language" like uncertainty and hesitancy markers, are, in fact, often positive politeness devices expressing solidarity and cooperativeness.

As a summary, one could say that despite the occasional differences in men's and women's speech, they are more alike than different. The so-called "women language" is neither characteristic of all women, nor limited only to women. The multifunctionality of single speech act must be taken into consideration; gender is not the only factor influencing the interpretation. Emotional factors (temperament, mood), speakers' motives, the topic, the formality of situation, speakers' understanding of particular situation, their relationship, shared speech norms, age and ethnicity of the participants also influence the outcome and the interpretation of the speech act (Kramarae

1981:102). This is relevant also for the present study. When interpreting face threatening acts and the way participants handle them, the context and the relationship between participants need to be taken into consideration. One must bear in mind that speech patterns are products of the activities that people are engaged in and not inherent to the participants. As Cameron et al. (1988) conclude, any interpretation of conversational features must be highly context-specific. The relationship between gender and language is influenced by many psychological variables, as well as such social and situational variables as the group status, the size and distribution of the group and the institutional support for the group.

### **4.3 Politeness and gender**

The dominance and difference approaches are relevant also when considering gender and politeness, as Holmes's studies above represent. In general, women are said to be more polite than men, and those in favour of the dominance approach consider this to be the case because women's subordinate position in society. In other words, women need to show respect to males who are viewed to be superior in status and power. Those who find the difference approach more accurate say that women learn polite language early in their speech communities. In addition to the fact that women are believed to be more polite than men, women themselves rate their own speech style as more polite than men do. (Shimanoff 1994:183.) The use of standard speech or correct grammar has also been attached to female speech. (see for example Milroy 1980). This has been explained by either in terms of status consciousness for women or solidarity for men. Trudgill (1983) argues that women use more standard speech because they are more status-conscious than men are. By using the linguistic form of the upper class, women are trying to reflect positively to their own social status. According to Milroy (1980), men use non-standard language as a marker of shared group identity, reinforcing the multiplex social networks they have created.

However, sometimes women and men are esteemed to be equally polite, and there are studies which show that women do not always act more politely

than men do. Cupach and Canary (1995), in studying conflict management between married couples, found out that women were more likely to use threats, intimidation, insults or criticism as conflict strategies. One reason for this rather surprising result, according to Cupach and Canary (1995:248), is the fact that power and status differences tend to diminish in a close and intimate relationship. Despite the common assumption of women being affiliative, cooperative and more likely to avoid conflict in interaction, while men are seen to be competitive, assertive and more likely to engage in conflict (e.g. Tannen 1993), Cupach and Canary found out that men and women were equally capable of cooperating and competing during an interaction. According to them, differences between the sexes were found inconsistently and they were overshadowed by other contextual, personal and relational factors. Neither men's nor women's behaviour was limited to traditional sex stereotypes, but both men and women could be flexible and adopt either masculine or feminine characteristics when appropriate. (1995:237, 247). Thus, it is important not to stereotype women's or men's language by interpreting them only in terms of a set of commonsense attributions which are applied to whole group. As Cameron (1988:8) argues, these attributions are always overgeneralised. Even if they are not completely false, they are only partially true, because they imply that the features in question are found in all members of the certain group. This is too simple a view because individual differences are at best overlooked and at worst denied. Thus, recent gender research has directed more attention to the variation within gender groupings because it is as significant a factor as the variation between them.

According to James and Clarke (1993) interruptions are one way of controlling the conversation. They interpret interruption as violating normal conversational rules, while constituting an attempt to exercise power and dominate the interaction. Schegloff (1981) considers the speaker change occurring smoothly only in transition-relevance places, ie. places where the current speaker comes to the end of the word, phrase or sentence, and signals also non-verbally that s/he is about to complete the turn. In doing so s/he can select the next speaker, the next speaker can self-select, or finally, if no one else wants to take the turn, the current speaker has a right to continue. (1981:76-78). Given the fact

that men generally have more power than women do, James and Clarke hypothesized that in conversations men would interrupt women (1993:232). However, they found no difference between the sexes concerning interruptions, and conclude that the commonly held assumption that interruptions by men serve primarily to dominate and control the conversation is overly simplistic. In their data women interrupted as much or even more than men. However, James et al. argue that interruptions connected with dominance may be particularly high in interactions which involve competition and conflict. (1993:235,249.) Other researchers (e.g. Tannen 1993, Pearson et al.1985 ) claim that the majority of interruptions in casual conversation are not dominance-related at all. In fact, simultaneous talk, for example relatively short overlaps, are viewed as promoting solidarity between the speakers. Overlaps can also be considered a sign of active listening and participation in the ongoing talk, as they normally do not attempt to “steal” the current speaker’s turn or disrupt social interaction. It is essential to make a distinction between interruptions that occur because people are enthusiastic about something they have to share, and those which are felt entitled because a person feels s/he has something more important to offer, or because s/he is of higher status than the other participants. When analysing interruptions, it is again important not to analyse them as isolated incidents, but to consider also the context of the conversation as well as the relationship and the conversational style between the participants.

According to a number of researchers (e.g. Cameron et al. 1989) politeness and gender studies have focussed too narrowly on white, middle-class, urban communities. There are, however, at least a few important exceptions to this pattern. Brown (1980) studied politeness and gender in a Mayan community, and the findings confirmed those of the western world; women were found to be more polite than men. The other two studies, however, differ from the western findings. Keenan (1974) investigated politeness in Malagasy community, and found out that women were more informal and direct, while men were more polite. At first sight this finding may seem to contradict the western studies, but if one studies the Malagasy community further, one finds out that polite and indirect speech is valued more than informal and direct speech. Thus, it were men

who employed the high regarded speech style, similarly than in the western world. Smith-Hefner (1988) conducted her study in Java, and found out that in the familiar context the findings in Java confirmed those in the western world. The Javanese women offered more and received less respectful speech. They were also perceived as talkative and polite. However, it was Javanese men who strived to cultivate politeness for the purpose of expressing their superior status and authority, since in the Javanese community polite codes were associated with public power and control. (Smith-Hefner 1988:535, 547.) Smith-Hefner's study thus both confirmed and differed from western findings. These three studies are a reminder of the fact that what is polite or impolite may vary from culture to culture. Thus, the estimation of politeness seems to be influenced by different cultural and even situational conceptions.

Nowadays several researchers (e.g. Mills 1999) argue that instead of analysing individual linguistic acts between individual speakers, the focus needs to be directed to a community based-perspective on gender and politeness. This involves the realization that politeness has different functions for different groups of people. Although there may be a generally accepted norm of polite behaviour, in different groups there will be different perceptions of these norms, gender being one important factor of determining the appropriate politeness. Thus, politeness is constructed of behaviour considered appropriate in a particular culture and situation, as well as of norms of behaviour people (or the others) place on themselves. (Mills 1999.) Individuals become gender-typed, ascribing to themselves the traits, behaviours and the norms meant for people of their sex in their culture. Thus, we behave in gendered ways, because there are different expectations and norms for women and men even in what might look like an identical situation. (Crawford 1995:16).

Mills talks about 'gendered politeness', which refers to assessments of an individual's behaviour according to gendered stereotypes of what is appropriate behaviour for men and women in particular situations, and claims that politeness is associated with middle-class white femininity. This assumption of gendered behaviour and gendered domains is the basis for people's judgements of what is polite. As Crawford (1995) notes, the process of creating gendered

human beings starts already at birth. Gendered politeness is especially interesting to look at in talk shows, where the situation creates expectations for men and women to behave perhaps even more pointedly in a gendered manner. Naturally, as already noted earlier, women or men are not only gendered, but also raced and classed, aged and educated, all factors, which all influence on the interpretation of politeness. All these previous studies of gender and politeness offer valuable background information and comparison points for the analysis of the present data, in which the unique, public situation and the roles of the participants are additional factors to be considered.

## 5 TALK SHOW AS A GENRE

Talk shows differ considerably from the other genres in the media. They have become one of the most popular programmes on television, especially in the United States, where they were originally developed. Livingstone and Lunt (1994:37), however, argue that since talk shows utilize other television programme types to create its entertaining form, it is questionable whether talk shows can be considered as a distinctive television genre of its own. Nevertheless, talk shows have established a permanent position in television as a popular source of combined entertainment and information, “infotainment”, as it is called. Despite the fact that talk shows have been criticised by more serious journalism as trash and accused of replacing the objective journalism by subjective point of views combined with entertainment, they have enjoyed continuous growth in popularity during the last decade. Because talk shows serve a number of functions, it is not surprising that different shows vary considerably in their form and content. According to Carbaugh (1988:2-3), there are at least two types of talk shows, personality-centered shows, which interview a popular figure in order to tell the viewers something about him or her, and issue-centered shows, which focus on social issues in general, displaying a group discussion about social and often controversial topic. The studio audience is also able to participate in discussion along with the host and the guests. *Ricki Lake Show* studied in the present study falls into the latter category.

Also Munson (1993:2-9) discusses different types of talk shows, and reminds us that the different varieties of talk shows are numerous; the genre is not a distinct or consistent one. He presents three different types of talk shows, the first being called a news/talk magazine. This type of talk show may contain news information as well as celebrity interviews or even include consumer advice or an investigative documentary. A talk/variety show is the second talk show type, and by this Munson means a celebrity talk show, similar to what Carbaugh (1998) refers to as personality-centered show. The third variant of talk shows is a talk/service programme, which could be compared to Carbaugh's issue-centered show. In comparison, Krause and Goering (1995:197) divide talk shows into three subcategories: the news/political talk show (i.e. *Meet the Press*), the entertainment talk show (i.e. *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*) and the social issue talk show (i.e. *Ricki Lake Show, Oprah*). Livingstone and Lunt (1994), in addition, claim that talk shows are gendered, since the shows are addressed to women and the topics are generally female-identified. This is the assumption behind the notion of gendered politeness (cf. Mills 1999) in talk shows, according to which the rules of politeness are often determined by the female behaviour. In Livingstone and Lunt's (1994) study they quote Oprah Winfrey, according to whom talk shows are made to empower women.

Talk shows rely heavily on Grice's (1975) maxims of Quality and Quantity, since one of the typical features of talk shows is the requirement of being honest. According to Carbaugh (1988:140), openness and sharing of unique and personal information are considered to be at the same time the guests' right and also their responsibility. Munson (1993) also considers the restrictions of talk shows from the outside. Talk shows have the demanding task of to be familiar, but yet to offer something new and different every time. The producers have to consider also the needs of the advertisers. The talk show should thus be both traditional and inventive, calculated and spontaneous at the same time. Munson (1993:112) defines this paradoxical nature of the talk shows as "organized planlessness".

There are four essential elements in talk shows; the host, the guests, the studio audience and the TV audience. The host has the central role in the show;

all the major talk shows are identified with the talk show host, which can be simply seen for example from the titles of the shows: *Ricki Lake*, *Oprah*, *Geraldo*, *Donahue*, etc. The host's personality plays an important part in the ratings of the popularity of the shows, and thus the shows have been described as "host-centered" (Penz 1996:6). Openness and intimacy is not expected merely from the guests, but the host must live up to these standards as well. If the host succeeds to speak intimately to millions of viewers, then usually the show will be well received. The hosts can be portrayed as the "good citizens", who selflessly provide a public service by getting information across to the people whom the traditional news shows are not reaching anymore. A "good citizen" is a wise counsellor, an investigator, somewhere between nice and nasty, bluntly honest but genuinely concerned at the same time. The host's attitude toward the guests can, however, be also aggressive, when s/he causes constant face threatening situations and in general fails to take into accounts the guests' face needs. Most hosts fall somewhere between these two extremes, since even the most considerate host has to threaten the face of his or her guests occasionally, to be able to achieve the required level of intimacy. (Munson 1993:124). Ricki Lake can be said to be moderately considerate and caring, but when events heat up, she can, because of her power, successfully ignore the face wants of the others. Thus, the personality of the host affects greatly the general nature of the show. The hosts also control the other elements of the show, they allocate the turns, and they have the right to ask questions or to interrupt. According to Nuolijärvi and Tiittula (2000) it is important to remember, however, that the host controls the discussion only to the extent that the other participants allow him/her to. Thus, all the participants actively construct the interaction; its success or failure is not merely dependent on the host, however strong his/her position in the show might be.

Beside the host, guests are also essential in talk shows. They are either celebrities or average citizens, who contribute a story or a particular problem from their own experience. Guests are sitting in a row on stage, opposite the host and the audience, which reflect their communicative situation: the guests are addressed by the host and the audience, they are not supposed to engage in a discussion among themselves. The motivation of the guests is also interesting.



For many of them the show is the only opportunity to appear in television and thus they will attempt to promote a positive self image. On the other hand, TV shows can be seen as therapy in which painful emotional issues are discussed in a personal manner. The guests feel relieved after unburdening themselves, others just want to retaliate against someone in their lives, who has hurt them earlier. (Penz 1996:7.) Sometimes experts are also invited to the show, in addition to the other guests, to legitimate the talk show performance (Krause and Goering 1995:193). They provide an objective point of view, because they have a special knowledge as helpers and they are not affected by the problem themselves (Penz 1996:7).

The studio audience interacts with the host and the guests both as a group and as individual people. With the guests the audience interacts by asking questions, taking sides, giving comments and showing other signs of reaction, for example applause. (Penz 1996:8.) According to Krause and Goering (1995:195), the audience in talk shows acts like the chorus in Greek drama, showing the television viewers how to respond and helping to build the drama of the performance. The guests get an immediate reaction from the audience for their behaviour. This often enhances the confrontation and builds up the emotional tension. The audience members have to signal the host that they want to ask something, however, because the host decides who gets the access to the microphone. The interaction with the host is in terms of collective audience responses, such as applause and laughter. The importance of the studio audience is evident for example from the fact that they prevent the guests from turning the show into private talk, which might become incomprehensible to the TV audience. (Penz 1996:8.)

Television discussions are always directed to a third party, the audience at home. This is self-evident also in the present data. Even though Ricki Lake attempts to create as natural a situation as possible, she also talks straight to the camera several times during the show. These messages are naturally directed to the viewer at home. Television shows also employ different camera and editing techniques which again contribute to the fact that there is the participants' realization and the home viewers' realization of the same events. (Nuolijärvi and

Tiittula 2000:13-16.)

According to Penz (1996:5), the topics of the talk shows usually deal with common human interests and experiences and every day life, such as relationships, sex and health. In this respect the topic of the show analysed in the present study is very typical; the guests are discussing the positive and negative sides of having sex before marriage. Berman (1987:40-53) argues that all talk shows concentrate around social problems created by social change. Talk shows offer a public forum for discussing the changing conditions of human life, while they try to find a possible solution to the problems. Munson (1993:3) argues that the topics defy classification, they range from “sensational and bizarre (teenage lesbian daughters and their mothers) to the conventional and advisory (natural childbirth, preventing the spread of AIDS) to politics and world affairs”. A major aspect of the talk show genre is that the topics are often sensationalised, with strong emphasis on personal and emotional expression. Emotionally involving and controversial topics are considered to be the best. (Penz 1996:5.) Occasionally the unconventional story becomes an aim in itself when unusual topics or guests are searched in order to maintain the viewers’ interest. Interestingly, concerns for face are often overshadowed if not abandoned, and it is surprising how many ordinary people are willing to sacrifice their face needs and talk in public about the topics that are personal and highly face threatening. Talk shows are controversial also in a more serious sense, people have even committed suicide after performing in a talk show and the press continually accuses talk shows for tasteless exploitation of people. The examination of the present data illustrates how the face wants of the participants are attacked or even destroyed during the show.

Talk shows, then, form an interesting and unique genre in media. Although they have an informative value as well, they want more to entertain than to persuade the viewers. They do this by talking about interesting or even sensational social subjects in an intimate way; even though personal topics are made public through national television, it nevertheless stays in the realm of the private experience. There are similarities and differences among the genre, but generally speaking talk shows can be said to strive for honesty, enclosure of

personal information and a familiar, yet changing, concept. They are host-centered, spontaneous but structured and designed to deal with the hottest topics of the day.

## 6 DATA AND THE PARTICIPANTS

The collection of data started with videotaping *Ricki Lake Shows*. Six different shows were videotaped and eventually one show was selected. The selection was mainly based on the topic of the show, I wanted it to be about a common social problem which would be considered from different points of view in order to ensure a fair amount of discussion and even some confrontation. With commercials, the total duration of the episode was 43 minutes and it consisted of five different segments or discussions with different guests, although all previous guests could participate in the discussion also later on. Besides commercials between the appearance of different guests, there are segments where Ricki Lake comments on the discussion or tells the viewers what they can expect to see next. The discussions are also cut by back-stage pictures of the guests appearing on the show next, with subtitles like “this man says who can think of marriage; I won’t even date a woman if she won’t have sex with me” to build up the tension among the viewers. After excluding all these “commercial segments” of the data, the total duration of the transcribed material was 34 minutes and 59 seconds.

As usual, all the guests in the transcribed episode are ordinary people, not celebrities or experienced performers. Although the topic of the discussion is the same in all conversations, the atmosphere and the way the guests relate to one another differs a lot. The first guests are Janis and Mike, 26-year-old people from Wisconsin. They are both white, Janis is a receptionist, Mike’s profession is not mentioned. Janis and Mike have known each other earlier in school, and they met again in a bar after several years. There is a fair amount of tension between them, which particularly from Janis’s side could sometimes even be interpreted as hostility. The guests in the second conversation are called Melissa and Mike. They are both twenty years old, white students from Illinois. The situation between them is the opposite of the situation in the first conversation, since

Melissa and Mike seem to be friends, not enemies. They have opposite points of view about the matter in question, but they seem to respect each other's opinions and remain friends despite their opposite viewpoints. The third conversation differs from the rest in that the guests are a mother and a daughter, not a man and a woman. The guests are Shirley and Nikki. Shirley is a 45-year-old hairdresser from Maryland, and Nikki is her fifteen-year-old daughter. They are a Hispanic family, and although it is not said in so many words, it becomes clear that Shirley is a single parent. This conversation is interesting in the sense that both the mother and the daughter defend each other from the face threatening acts others create, and at the same time Shirley cannot stop criticising the man who Nikki used to date although he is not even in the studio with them. The fourth conversation include Juanita and Creig, and this conversation differs from the others in that the guests have similar opinions about the subject, in other words they are "on the same side". It is also surprising that they are brought to the stage together, since it becomes evident that they do not know each other previously, like the rest of the guests. Juanita and Creig are both Hispanic, Juanita is 28 years old bartender from California and Creig is 20 years old student from Florida. Although all the guests are ordinary people, not used to perform in front of millions of people, the invited expert makes an exception. Tiffany Stoker is Miss California, and she is used to talking about this topic in public. She tells her opinion about the topic and answers to few questions from the audience. The host of the show, Ricki Lake, is a white woman in her thirties, who tries to solve the problems of her guests by criticising them, supporting them or giving them advice. The audience is rather large, there are men as well as women, and different races and ages are well represented. The audience is very active, they participate collectively with applause, laughter or yelling, as well as individually by asking the guests questions.

## 7 ANALYSIS

The purpose of this analysis is to find out what kind of face threatening acts occur, how the participants react to them and whether there is any gender difference related to face threatening acts or face maintenance. The specific research questions are:

RQ1: What kinds of face threatening acts occur and how are they distributed between the participants of the show?

RQ2: How do the participants maintain their face after it is being threatened?

RQ3: Are there any gender differences between the FTA distribution or face maintenance?

This effort could roughly be divided into two separate goals: first, an attempt will be made to identify and describe the FTAs between different participants on the basis of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory. Then the face threatening acts will be looked through Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness model, in order to find out what kinds of impolite speech acts occur in the data, and finally attention will be paid to how the face aggravating acts could be divided according to Goffman's (1967) theory. This section will answer the first research question. The second goal of the analysis section is to find out how the participants deal with embarrassment and predicaments, thus, how they maintain their face after it has been threatened. For this purpose a new typology on the basis of Cupach's et al. (1986, 1990) and Edelman's (1985) work will be developed. The second research question will be answered during this section. The gender differences related to both of these goals will be discussed in a section of its own, and this will cover the third research question.

Whether an act threatens the face of the participant or not is naturally dependent on the interactional situation and the relationship between the interactants. The participants' embarrassment is thus detected from symptoms defined by Buss (1980), such as nervous laughter, hesitation and speech blocks. The criteria according to which the FTAs and FBAs are defined, was Brown and

Levinson's politeness theory. The FTAs in the present data are divided into those that threatened the recipients positive face and into those that posed a threat to his/her negative face. Threats to positive face occur when the speaker indicates that s/he does not care about the recipient's wants, and thus threatens his/her self-image and the want to be approved of. Negative face is threatened by restricting the recipient's freedom of action. There are also speech acts that threatened recipient's positive as well as negative face wants, and one speech act could also threaten the face of several participants. During the analysis it should also be kept in mind that the interactional situation differs from everyday face-to-face interaction, since it takes place in a television studio and is broadcast to millions of viewers. Despite this publicity, the linguistic code used is informal and the relationship between the participants is intimate. This can be seen, for example, from the use of first names between the guests and Ricki and the unofficial atmosphere in general. The appropriateness of the host's, the guests' and the audience members' utterances is evaluated against this communicative context.

### **7.1 Faces threatened**

In the first conversation the participants are Ricki, Janis, Mike and six audience members. The total amount of face threatening acts in this conversation was 52, while also three FBAs were performed. Table (1) illustrates the way these acts were distributed.

**Table 1.** The distribution of FTAs and FBAs in first conversation

Partici- pants	N of FTAs done by him/herself	% of FTAs done by him/herself	N of FTAs done by someone else	% of FTAs done by someone else	N of FBAs done by him/herself	% of FBAs done by him/herself	N of FBAs done by someone else	% of FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	20	38.5	---	---	---	---	---	---
Janis	10	19.2	32	56.1	---	---	---	---
Mike	7	13.5	19	33.3	3/self <sup>2</sup>	100	---	---
A1	1	1.9	4	7.0	---	---	---	---
A2	1	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
A3	2	3.8	---	---	---	---	---	---
A4	1	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
A5	3	5.8	1	1.8	---	---	---	---
A6	1	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
Audience	6	11.6	1	1.8	---	---	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

<sup>2</sup> Refers to the speech acts the speaker performs toward him/herself.

What is perhaps most striking about these figures is the fact that even though Ricki threatens the other participants' face several times during the interaction, her own face is not threatened at once. This can be explained by the host's central role in the show; she controls the interaction. Because of the power she possesses, she is able to perform FTAs and she does not need to worry about counter-attacks against her own face. Another interesting observation from Table (1) concerns face threatening acts toward Janis. This large number (32) is surprising because initially Janis was 'the accuser' and Mike was 'the accused'. Even Ricki created certain preconditions about the guests' roles in the introduction of the show. Example (5) illustrates the way Ricki introduced the topic of the show to the viewers, while all the male guests stood in line on the stage.

#### Example (5)

- 001 R: i want you to take a good look at these men (0.5) they say that they would never buy a car without test-driving it first (1) they also say the same rule applies to women (0.5) they will not marry the woman of their dreams until they sleep with her first (1) to-day my guests are here to tell the people in their lives i won't wait for the wedding date i have to sleep with you first  
*(the theme song, headline, audience applauding)*
- 002 R: hey there (1) in the older days women not sleeping with men before they were married seemed to be the rule not the exception then as time went on women decided to have sex before marriage yet (0.5) there were some women who waited and back then men respected that but today it seems that if a woman wants to wait until after she's married to have sex (0.5) she just isn't going to get married do you guys agree with that
- 003 A: mumbling, cheering (2.5)

Ricki clearly implies the negative qualities of these men by comparing cars and women and referring to how men behaved 'in the older days'. However, in spite of all these expected roles assigned to the guests, Janis has to receive considerably larger amount of FTAs than does Mike. Thirteen of these face threatening acts toward Janis are performed by Ricki. The next example right in the beginning of the discussion illustrates Ricki's attitude toward Janis.

#### Example (6)

- 023 R: so what's been happening lately  
 024 J: (1.5) lately (1) uhm  
 025 A: laughing, mumbling (3)  
 026 R: what / what what (2) you've been doing it haven't you  
 027 J: can't beat 'em join 'em



028 A: uuuuuuh (2)  
 029 R: i bet all you guys are taking back your applause right now aren't you  
 030 A: yeah (1)  
 031 R: so what you figured you figured you can't you can't meet a guy that way [you  
 032 J: no]  
 033 R: have to sleep with them in order to get them to stay with you  
 034 J: pretty much that's the way it goes

In this example Ricki threatens Janis's face several times. First she inquires about personal information (023) which, judging by the longish pauses and hesitancy marker, Janis feels uncomfortable telling (024). When Ricki noticed these embarrassment cues, she should have stopped or changed the subject, but instead she goes on and because Janis does not answer her question, she draws her own conclusions (026). Ricki's utterance on line 026 could even be interpreted as an accusation and after Janis more or less admits that it is true, Ricki urges also the audience to show its disapproval (029). Ricki's next utterance (031) is also extremely face threatening, stating explicitly that men do not want Janis unless she sleeps with them. These several FTAs could be attributed to the controversial image Janis creates of herself during the conversation. She is on the show because she opposes sex before marriage, but later it turns out that she does not follow her own principles.

Ricki also threatens Mike's face; from the 19 FTAs toward Mike, Ricki performs five. She tries to make Mike feel uncomfortable right in the beginning when Mike comes on stage by repeating Janis's offending comment to him. Several discourse analysts (e.g. Gottlieb 1986:17) state that the opening of the social encounter is of extreme importance, since the whole conversation format and the smooth continuance of the interaction depend on the success of the opening exchange. Example (7) illustrates the opening of the encounter with Mike.

#### Example (7)

056 R: are we ready to meet mike  
 057 A: [yeah  
 058 R: mike come on out here]  
 059 A: (*buuing as mike comes on stage*)  
 060 R: [mike mike mike  
 061 J&M: (*talking, unclear speech, mike laughs*)]

062 R: she called you a dog  
 063 A: uuuuuuuuh (4)  
 064 M: if i'm a dog / i'm a great dane honey  
 065 A: uuuuh, laughing, clapping (4)  
 066 R: so mike mike / did you in fact dump her because she wouldn't sleep with you

The example clearly shows that the audience has already formed a negative-opinion about Mike which they demonstrate by showing their disapproval as Mike comes out on the stage (059). Mike is laughing rather nervously and talking with Janis which could be interpreted as a sign of his embarrassment, caused by the audience's reactions. Ricki tries to enhance the face threat further by quoting Janis's words to Mike (062). Ricki's utterance is clearly face threatening, but Mike does not seem to be embarrassed by it. He is able to regain his composure and to make a joke concerning the predicament (064). This could be explained by the publicity of the situation; there is a great deal of pressure to maintain one's face in front of millions of viewers. One could also predict that this funny and somewhat positive image Mike is able to create for himself is one factor which may influence the fact that the audience or Ricki does not attack his face wants as much as they do with Janis. Ricki, however, directs yet another FTA toward Mike on line 066, inquiring about his motives with Janis.

The guests almost never threaten the face of the audience members, who have the power of asking them questions. As Table (1) shows, also Ricki rarely threatens the audience members' face wants. Because of her status in the show, however, she has the power of performing an FTA also toward the member of the audience. This is exactly what she does in example (8).

#### Example (8)

045 R: yes sir  
 045 A1: y'know you should really wait till that certain guy comes then to have sex after marriage  
 046 R: [ is that what you do sir is that what you practice  
 047 A: mumbling, laughing ](4)  
 048 R: you're waiting for that special girl you're not giving it up for anybody coz you're waiting for that special someone [aren't you  
 049 A: mumbling]  
 050 A1: it depends #  
 051 R: # [sit down sir  
 052 A: applauding] (3)

In this extract a member of the audience, a black man under thirty, threatens Janis's face by implicitly criticising her for her actions on line 045. Ricki turns the table on him and asks him very personal questions (046, 048), to which he is unwilling to answer because they threaten his positive as well as negative face wants. Ricki also questions his right to comment on the issue if he does not live the way he is urging everybody else to live. This short exchange is extremely face threatening to the audience member, especially because Ricki does not even allow him to answer her questions, but dismisses him completely by ordering him to sit down and denying him the further access to the microphone (051).

After the host, Janis performs the second largest number of face threatening acts during the conversation. All of her ten FTAs are directed toward Mike. This is not surprising since she has invited him to the show in order to confront him about his behaviour.

#### Example (9)

- 095 R: janis why did you wanna confront him  
 096 J: (1) i wanted to know i mean / he came / back after i said that i wasn't gonna jump in bed  
           with him= he came back to dinner / and i fell asleep on him / and i woke up and he was  
           i'm out of here i call you later and that as it = this is the [first time  
 097 M: exactly]  
 098 J: i've talked to him since then = he didn't call didn't do anything  
 099 R: am i wh#  
 100 M: # you have a kid= you're also going to school I mean if (0.5) you were probably  
           burned out so why why not [why not let you sleep  
 101 A: uuuuuuh  
 102 J: oh no don't even go there]  
 103 M: i was being a gentleman and letting [you sleep  
 104 A: uuuuuuh  
 105 J: oh yeah]

In the above extract Janis criticises Mike for not getting in touch with her, implying that his behaviour was inappropriate (096, 098). When Mike tries to justify for his behaviour, Janis threatens his face by dismissing his comments and treating them as if he was lying (102, 105). Mike performs seven FTAs, and he also directs them all to Janis. He also commits three face boosting acts, which he directs toward himself. An example of these FBAs can be seen in example (9) on line 103, where Mike gives himself credit for behaving as a gentleman.

Also the members of the audience threaten the guests' face. Various

audience members threaten Janis's and Mike's face fifteen times. Twelve of these FTAs are directed toward Janis and four toward Mike. Some of these FTAs threaten both Janis's as well as Mike's face wants, as the next example illustrates.

#### Example (10)

089 A3: where are you hanging out = why don't you uhm find a new place where to- look at this  
guy (1)  
090 A: uuuuuuh  
091 A3: come on (1.5) hook yourself up with somebody that's worth [waiting for  
092 J: it was- it was this- ] it was  
a back of the hill / bar

Here a white woman from the audience threatens both guests' face by criticising Janis's judgement and Mike's appearance (089, 091). However, these FTAs are more severe toward Mike because they explicitly disapprove Mike's looks and behaviour, while Janis is being criticised more implicitly. Janis is also criticised on a few occasions for leading Mike on. Example (11) illustrates a young black woman's opinion.

#### Example (11)

127 A5: so / when you = i understand that he was drunk and you wanted to make sure he got safe  
home = safe alright and let him spend the night but why did you allow him to sleep in  
your bedroom = you should have made it perfectly clear that it wasn't = you you wa- you  
weren't gonna get down like that so maybe you #  
128 R: # you you saying she let him on  
129 A5: in a way = she [should have  
130 J: no]  
131 A5: y'know said to him well y'know you can spend the night but you're gonna sleep on the  
couch i'm gonna sleep in the bedroom # (unclear speech)  
132 J: # coz my brother and his friends were on the  
couch  
133 A5: but i'm saying by you allowing him to sleep in your bedroom#  
134 R: # y'know i i mean you're  
you're a much #  
135 M: # (unclear speech)  
136 R: you're a much more generous person than than i because y'know if it was me there's no  
way this drunken guy is gonna be sleeping in my bed

The member of the audience criticises Janis for her behaviour toward Mike (127). She states her opinion rather implicitly and Ricki steps in and transforms her thoughts into a more explicit form (128). Finally, the host 'steals' the spotlight from the audience member by stating in not unclear terms what she thinks of

Janis's behaviour (136). She, however, uses superficially polite linguistic form by saying that Janis is a more generous person than she is. Yet, it is quite clear that Ricki is disapproving instead of approving Janis's actions.

The second conversation differs in several respects from the first one. The participants are Ricki, Melissa, Mike and four audience members. The total amount of FTAs in this conversation is less than half of the amount in the first conversation, and face boosting acts are nearly as common as FTAs. Exact figures are illustrated in Table (2).

**Table 2.** The distribution of FTAs and FBAs in first conversation

Partici- pants	N of FTAs done by him/herself	% of FTAs done by him/herself	N of FTAs done by someone else	% of FTAs done by someone else	N of FBAs done by him/herself	% of FBAs done by him/herself	N of FBAs done by someone else	% of FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	6	35.3	---	---	8	50	---	---
Melissa	1	5.9	3	17.6	---	---	12	70.6
Mike	2	11.8	12	70.6	---	---	1	5.9
A1	---	---	1	5.9	1	6.3	2	11.8
A2	1	5.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
A3	3	17.6	1	5.9	1/self	6.3	2	11.8
A4	3	17.6	---	---	---	---	---	---
Audience	1	5.9	---	---	6	37.4	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>

In this conversation Ricki takes a position that differs a great deal from her previous one. From the beginning, when she introduces Melissa, she is more supportive than judgemental. During the whole conversation she threatens Melissa's face only once (example (13), (088)), while she performs six face boosting acts toward her. Example (12) illustrates the beginning of Ricki's interaction with Melissa.

#### Example (12)

- 001 R: meet melissa she and her friend argue all the time about having sex before you're married  
 / in fact he has even told her that one of the reasons that they are only friends is because  
 he knows he can never sleep with her why=because Melissa is a virgin and would like to  
 stay that way hopefully until after she's married
- 002 A: clapping, cheering (4) (*Melissa is urging the audience to applaud*)
- 003 R: i gotta say melissa you're a rarity it's it's great to see because we have so many young  
 people who are y'know pregnant with their fourth baby and have the hiv-virus so for you  
 i mean it's really it's really commendable to see you proud to be a virgin at twenty
- 004 Me: thank you
- 005 R: congratulations
- 006 A: applauding (4)

Ricki compliments Melissa twice during this short extract and thus performs two FBAs toward her (003, 005). The audience also perform FBAs by applauding and cheering to Melissa on lines 002 and 006. The positive beginning creates a positive atmosphere between Ricki and Melissa that lasts for the whole conversation. The only time Ricki threatens Melissa's face wants occurs when she enquires whether Melissa would be interested in Mike romantically (example (13), (088)). As the next example illustrates, Melissa's brief silence and her use of hesitancy markers (*I guess, maybe, kinda*) indicate that she's not comfortable talking about it (089, 091).

#### Example (13)

- 088 R: yeah i mean melissa would ] he he be your type of guy
- 089 Me: i don't see him that way [ i guess
- 090 Mi: it's it's]
- 091 Me: i mean maybe some day but we're just buddies kinda (1) y'know

Also Mike is treated very well by Ricki, his face is threatened three times during the conversation. All of these FTAs are threats to Mike's negative face wants.

Similarly as with Melissa, Ricki wants to know if Mike would date her. Mike does not know what to say or how to explain that he is not romantically interested in her. The reason for all this hesitancy could be Melissa's and Mike's relationship. Unlike Janis and Mike earlier, they are good friends and have no intention to turn against each other although they see the issue differently. Thus, they try to avoid saying anything hurtful to each other, which can be detected from the hesitancy markers in their utterances. This naturally also diminishes the total amount of FTAs in the interaction. Melissa threatens Mike's face only once, and Mike performs a threat to Melissa's face twice. These threats are most likely unintentional as they occur when Melissa and Mike are trying to resist Ricki's matchmaking. An example of an unintentional threat to Mike's positive face can be seen in example (13), on line 089, when Melissa denied the fact that she is attracted to him.

Most of the face threatening situations in the second conversations are created by the members of the audience. All of their FTAs are directed toward Mike, who is being criticised for his opinions, as the next example illustrates.

#### Example (14)

- 049 A2: hi first of all when you have sex you should do it for the right reason it should be because of love so if you love them you should wait anyway and anyway sex is not the main thing you should love her for her personality what ever and if you really love a person y'know for all those reasons then it'll be okay to wait / you're acting like you're a dog in heat or something
- 050 A: applauding (4)
- 051 Mi: but before (1)
- 052 R: yes
- 053 A3: well uhm one thing when it comes to marriage uhm the original reasons for the thing is the union of two people for the sake of love and happiness not to just have sex / because se- sex originally supposed to be something just to make children
- 054 Mi: [ but if you can't give your partner the biggest part of you / it you can't give your partner the biggest part of you then then how how are you are you supposed to know if you are compatible
- 055 A3: that's the point of it it's not supposed to be just uhm test (1) no i mean ] what what if you can't have sex with a person what if you're married to someone who gets paralyzed or something what are you gonna do dump them
- 056 A&Mi: laughing (2)

In this example two members of the audience voice their opinions. The first audience member is young, black woman and she severely threatens Mike's positive face by claiming that he is "acting like a dog in heat" and criticising his



values (049). Mike does not even have a chance to reply and try to defend himself (051), when Ricki already offers the microphone to another member of the audience. He is a young, black man, and he attacks Mike's face in a similar manner as the previous speaker did (053). Mike is trying to defend his position but the audience member challenges him again (055). Mike's embarrassment can be seen from his laughter on line 056.

Participants in the third conversation are Ricki, Shirley, Nikki, the two Mikes from previous discussions and one audience member, a young, black woman. This conversation differs again from the previous ones in an important respect; instead the guests being a man and a woman having opposing points of view, Shirley and Nikki are a mother and a daughter, who now see things similarly. Another difference between this and the rest of the conversations is the fact that 'the accused party', Nikki's ex-boyfriend is not present in the studio. This makes it easy to attack him, since he is not there to defend himself. Especially Shirley takes an advantage of this situation. The total amount of FTAs in the third conversation is 31, and four FBAs can also be found. The exact figures can be seen in Table (3).

**Table 3.** The distribution of FTAs and FBAs in first conversation

Partici- pants	N of FTAs done by him/herself	% of FTAs done by him/herself	N of FTAs done by someone else	% of FTAs done by someone else	N of FBAs done by him/herself	% of FBAs done by him/herself	N of FBAs done by someone else	% of FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	8	25.8	1	3.7	1	25	---	---
Shirley	6	19.4	11	40.7	---	---	---	---
Nikki	2	6.5	9	33.3	---	---	4	100
Mike	1	3.2	---	---	---	---	---	---
A1	11	35.5	6	22.3	1	25	---	---
Audience	3	9.6	---	---	2	50	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>

The interesting feature of these numbers is the fact that neither the host nor the guests are responsible for the largest number of face threatening acts. It is the member of the audience, a young, black woman, who, excluding the host, performs almost twice as many FTAs as the rest of the participants. She directs eight of the eleven FTAs toward Shirley, while Nikki's face is threatened five times by her. This conversation is unique also in a sense that she also threatens Ricki's face. Example (15) illustrates a positive face threatening act toward both Shirley and Ricki.

#### Example (15)

055 R: yes ma'am

056 A1: i wanted to say to the mother that / you need to look at your fourteen year old daughter  
#

057 R: # fifteen now

058 A1: fourteen year old daughter she does not look her age look in the mirror and instead of casting the blame on that young man you need to be home you need to raise your child on the proper way and it's nice to know that she's learned from her mistakes unfortunately the kind of mistake that it is and as a mother you have no business bringing that child on this stage where [ everyone can see (0.5) that your child had an abortion and if your mother

059 N: wait a minute wait a minute let me tell you first it wasn't it wasn't her it was my choice to come on this show]

060 A1: did not agree to it she should not be here supporting you you're [ fifteen years old and it is not for the rest of the world to know

First the woman threatens Ricki's face (058) by blatantly ignoring her when she corrects her on Nikki's age ("fourteen year old"), and then the audience member continues the threat to Shirley's face, claiming that she does not know how to raise her child. She seems to be really angry at Shirley for letting her daughter appear on national television. Ricki allows her the access to the microphone for an exceptionally long time, during which she is able to threaten also Nikki's face in spite of Ricki's or Nikki's attempts to control her and convince her otherwise. Example (16) is a good illustration of this.

#### Example (16)

079 N: this] show is not about with / what you're talking about

080 R: yeah this show is not about abortion

081 N: [ exactly so

082 A1: i agree with you] but what i'm saying i i applauded you because / you did learn your lesson that's great y'know unfortunately at your age it's the way you had to learn your

lesson what i'm saying it's sad that you're gonna come on television for the whole world to know [ your personal  
 083 N: no it's not sad that's my that's my choice (0.5)  
 084 R: it's not sad to her it's sad to you]

In the first lines of this example (079, 080) Ricki and Nikki threaten the audience member's positive face by arguing that she is speaking about the wrong topic for that particular show. The woman agrees and even compliments Nikki for learning her lesson, but in the same utterance she again criticises Nikki for coming on television and sharing her private issues with everybody, stating that to her "it's sad" (082). During this particular stretch of conversation there is a lot of overlapping speech, when neither parties are willing to properly listen to one another or let the other one finish their sentences.

Ricki threatens other participants' face wants eight times during the interaction. She threatens Shirley's face once, and both Nikki's and audience member's face three times. The next example illustrates both a negative and positive threat to Nikki's face.

#### Example (17)

025 R: so nikki do you feel like this guy did take advantage of you  
 026 N: in in a way yeah / but it was i agreed to it too it wasn't all (0.5) him it was me too it's not like he pre- he he talked me into it but he didn't really like  
 027 R: you wanted to do it too  
 028 N: well  
 029 A: yeah  
 030 R: yeah  
 031 S: wait a minute she was infatuated here's a kid out of school who's got a fine little vehicle he's very popular around the neighbourhood and he shows interest to a fourteen year old tell me one fourteen year old out there that's not gonna have an eighteen year old come by and you're not gonna jump on you're not gonna be there

On line 027 Ricki threatens Nikki's positive face by saying that she wanted something that was not necessarily acceptable ("you wanted to do it too"). The same utterance threatens also Nikki's negative face, since Ricki brings out something Nikki obviously is not willing to talk about. This is evident from her reply on line 026 which is filled with unfinished clauses and longish pauses. Ricki further aggravates her negative face with the audience by stating the answer she thought was obvious (029-030). All in all, however, Ricki does not play a

major role as a 'face-aggravator' in this conversation. On the contrary, she tries to protect both Nikki's and Shirley's face in discussion with the audience member by defending their position and their right to be on the show as the next example illustrates.

#### Example (18)

090 N: but it's not mine that's your opinion

091 R: i gotta say just you coming on and talking about what you're talking about not even about the abortion or getting pregnant but even talking about sex and and how you're grown as an individual and learned your lesson the hard way i really commend you for coming here

092 A: applauding

Here Nikki protects her own face against the audience member's accusations (090) by stating that her opinion differs from that of the audience member's. Ricki steps in and performs an FBA toward Nikki (091) by complimenting her for being on the show and for the lesson she has learned. The audience reinforce this by applauding.

All the threats which Shirley performed are directed toward Nikki's absent ex-boyfriend. It is obvious that she is furious with him. The next example shows how Shirley blames the boy for the whole incident, and Ricki has to remind her that her daughter was a part of it, too.

#### Example (19)

010 S: that's what i'm going to say she was going to school / i thought she= i work okay i'm a hairdresser i work out of my house two days i'm gone two days a week this little boy / would call my daughter and tell her that we could do this coz mama's not home (1) but she had enough respect for me not to do it at house but she has no respect for him he's a punk because he won't= he's all this and that but yet he couldn't come to a free show / to be here with you to verify that he's a good guy please

011 R: now let me just say something i mean your daughter yes she's you're fifteen now fifteen now you were fourteen but (0.5) you you you're coming down awfully heavy on the guy it takes when two people have sex it takes two people

012 S: okay okay / i i understand it takes all that and she did agree but (1) he took advantage he came in on a fourteen year old mind / nikki never dated nikki never went out but like i said the only times she left my house was when he confronted her on thursday and friday

As one can see from this extract, Shirley agrees with Ricki, but again states that she finds the boy to be mainly responsible and, thus, again poses a threat to his positive face (012). All in all, Shirley and Nikki are extremely protective of each

other's faces. From example (17) the interaction continues with Shirley's turn (031), when she steps in and defends Nikki's face against Ricki's and the audience's implications. Conversely, when the audience member attacks on Shirley's face, Nikki steps in immediately by saying that it was her choice to come on the show, not the mother's ("It wasn't her it was my choice to come on this show"). This can be seen in example (15) on line 059. It is interesting that Shirley does not comment on or argue against the audience member's comments. When Shirley first hears what the woman has to say, she looks astonished. Nevertheless, she does not join the conversation, she just sits there calmly and lets the audience member have her say. When Ricki compliments Nikki for coming on the show at the end of the conversation, Shirley starts to applaud, which clearly signals that she disagrees with the audience member. Thus, her silence could be interpreted as astonishment for the course that the conversation had taken, placing all of a sudden her face under attack. At first she gasps for air and is unable to talk, which is a sign of her shock and the severity of the face threat. She seems to be lost for words. However, according to Kramarae (1983), keeping distant as the others challenge you is a strategy for keeping the upper hand. Shirley seems to be self-confident and talkative person, thus, another possible interpretation of her silence is the fact that she does not consider the audience member's opinions worth responding to.

The fourth conversation is again a more typical example of talk show interaction because the number of FTAs is a great deal higher than the number of FBAs and the host has regained her role as a major face-aggravator. The participants are Ricki, Juanita, Creig, all the previous guests except Janis and three audience members. In this stretch of conversation it is again Ricki, who performs most of the FTAs, namely 19 of them. The total number of face threatening acts was 43. The figures are shown in Table (4).

**Table 4.** The distribution of FTAs and FBAs in first conversation

Parti- pants	N of FTAs done by him/herself	% of FTAs done by him/herself	N of FTAs done by someone else	% of FTAs done by someone else	N of FBAs done by him/herself	% of FBAs done by him/herself	N of FBAs done by someone else	% of FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	18, 1/self	44.2	3	9.1	---	---	---	---
Juanita	3	7.0	4	12.1	---	---	---	---
Creig	2, 5/self	16.3	23	69.8	2/self	66.7	---	---
A1	1	2.3	---	---	---	---	---	---
A2	2	4.7	---	---	---	---	---	---
A3	1	2.3	1	3.0	---	---	---	---
Melissa	1	2.3	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mike	---	---	1	3.0	---	---	---	---
Nikki	1	2.3	1	3.0	---	---	---	---
Shirley	1	2.3	---	---	---	---	---	---
Audience	7	16.3	---	---	1	33.3	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

While Ricki performs the largest number of FTAs in this conversation, it is Creig who receives the highest amount of them. Creig's situation is interesting because it seems like he almost deliberately aggravates the face of the others with his comments. Five of all the 23 FTAs directed toward him are done by he himself, when he says things that damage his own image on the eyes of the others. The next example illustrates such a situation.

#### Example (20)

037 C: you gotta you gotta = i wanna taste the milk before i buy the cow y'know what i'm saying

038 A: mumbling, yelling, clapping (3)

039 C: i get i get #

040 R: # that's a lovely analogy

041 C: no let's get down to the business ladies y'know what i'm saying= they are talking about dinner = you go out to dinner sure but uhm we're going to the motel first = if you're good you'll get filet mignon

042 A: [yelling

043 C: if bad you're eating cheese burgers baby you're eating cheese burgers (3) (*goes on, unclear speech*)]

044 R: wait let me let me get this straight = creig is a dog huh

045 A: yelling, applauding (*creig speaking, unclear*) (2)

In the beginning Creig compares women with cows (037) and Ricki sarcastically criticises him for it (040). According to Jorgensen (1996:614-616), this kind of sarcastic irony is typically used when criticising somebody's actions. Mock impoliteness in Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness model discussed in chapter 2.2.1 provides also a good illustration of the use of sarcasm in speech. Jorgensen sees sarcastic irony as an indirect form of speech, which benefits both the hearer and the speaker. The hearer may interpret the sarcastic comment as humorous or playful, and the speaker can avoid the responsibility for the potentially face-damaging interpretation of the utterance. Creig does not feel Ricki's comment to be face threatening, since he goes on like it did not even occur. Next Creig further aggravates his own positive face by implying that his basis of appreciating women is their performance in bed (041, 043). The audience reacts to this comment by indicating their disapproval by yelling and Ricki states her opinion ("Creig is a dog") very bluntly (044), with which the audience agree with applauding. Creig's self-destructive behaviour might be explained by Mills's (1999) finding. She argues that since the context and the perception of intimate



conversation in feminine, some males see this as an occasion to mark their speech in hyper-masculine ways. Creig seems to hide his embarrassment in self-degradatory comments; he does not quite know how to change his self-destructive image and thus he keeps on behaving the way he has behaved earlier. The next example illustrates two FBAs Creig performs toward himself.

#### Example (21)

061 R: yeah why would] she wanna be with you (with contempt)  
 062 C: coz she's gonna have the best sex of her life [if she's with me  
 063 A: uuuuuh  
 064 R: alright alright]  
 065 C: [in the house baby i'm in the house (0.5) hey hey you ladies you virgins (1) hey when you virgins see me out in the railroad waiting for a good time = just call me over (0.5) right  
 066A: mumbling]  
 067 R: we'll be running to the phone creig = yes

On line 062 Creig answers Ricki's FTA by boosting his own face by saying that whoever he is with is "gonna have the best sex of her life". The audience reacts to Creig's response and on line 065 he goes on and urges all the virgins to get in touch with him. In addition to boosting his own face, he also threatens his positive face wants by his arrogance.

All the participants, except Juanita and Melissa, threaten Creig's face wants. Ricki directs eleven of the nineteen FTAs toward him, and all the audience members' comments are directed toward Creig. Some of them are more face threatening than the others. In the next example a young, white woman from the audience, and Shirley from the third conversation both threaten Creig's positive face by criticizing his behaviour with women.

#### Example (22)

068 A2: i really can't say that / you shouldn't have sex before marriage coz i did and now i'm pregnant 9 months thank you so i mean (0.5) you're a dog = how can you say rather / no i'm sorry just because she's a virgin you'd sleep with her  
 069 C: no no she [would became my wife y'know  
 070 A2: and you want your] wife be only with you  
 071 C: (1) only me first and last (0.5) [nobody else  
 072 A2: first and last ] you're a hypocrite you're sorry  
 073 S: but then along the line when when you decide after eight or nine virgins oh well these aren't the right ones yet (1) [(goes on, unclear)  
 074 C: i keep on going = i just keep on going]  
 075 A:[ uuuuuh, buuing, some clapping (2)

The audience member's FTAs are quite severe on lines 068 and 072, she uses derogatory names to describe Creig ("you're a dog", "you're a hypocrite") and also her facial expressions express disapproval. After Shirley's FTA on line 073 Creig enhances the threat to his own positive face by aggravating the image of himself further by confirming everyone's negative opinion about him (074). Most of the audience reproach Creig for his comment by booing and thus perform yet another threat to Creig's positive face (075).

Juanita's face is also threatened during the interaction, though considerably less so than Creig's. All the FTAs directed toward her are performed by Ricki. The next example illustrates a situation where Ricki performs an FTA which is disguised in humour.

#### Example (23)

009 J: we we had children together so that was possible but uhm (0.5) it just wasn't good and it ended in divorce and a lot of the reason was because the sex was not there and and it became a violent marriage because the sex wasn't good

010 A: mumbling, laughing (2)

011 R: you beat him up coz you couldn't get enough

012 J: no he

013 A&J: laughing (1)

014 J: no he beat me up because i wouldn't give it to him because it wasn't worth giving

015 R: alright now i'm i'm not mocking (0.5) okay i'm not mocking your [ situation

016 J: oh i know

Juanita is disclosing some personal information about the marriage (009) and Ricki threatens her positive face (011) by twisting her words into something she knew Juanita did not mean and which she is quick to deny. Zajdman (1995) argues that humour offers a way to attack another person, while denying the responsibility for the act. In performing this humorous FTA Ricki did not attempt to minimize it. On the contrary, when she finds a way to perform it, she does it intentionally. For Brown and Levinson (1987), joking may serve to minimize social distance by putting the hearer at ease. In this extract, however, this seems not to be the intention. According to Zajdman (1995:328) the procedure of joke-telling often reflects, rather than diminishes, the social, hierarchical order, since people of a superior status tell jokes about or to their inferiors. Juanita feels

embarrassed by Ricki's suggestion, and tries to deny it at first. The audience, however, seems to find Ricki's comment funny which they indicate by laughter. After this Juanita also seems to accept the joke, though unwillingly, and she suspends her own face demands by laughing with the audience. Juanita's behaviour can be explained by the fact that 'being laughed at' may be one of the most threatening social situations. Zajdman (1995:332) argues that in order to avoid being laughed at, individuals behave according to the norms and behaviour of the reference group. Thus, Juanita's laughter serves as a social corrective, she allows the FTA to pass as humour rather than admit open offense. Nevertheless, she wants to explain what really happened, and after her confession Ricki claims that she did not mean to belittle Juanita (015). Thus, she threatens her own negative face by apologizing to her, but at the same time she claims innocence by implying that her comment was not meant to be face threatening. Juanita also threatens Ricki's face during the conversation, as the next example illustrates.

#### Example (24)

019 R: so maybe maybe the answer is to wait until you're / old enough

020 C: [it's it's easy

021 R: really]

022 C: to say but it's hard to do

023 J: i don't think that is that you need to wait until you're old enough either i think you just need to / maybe experiment well i'm not saying be twelve or something like that but i think you need to experiment a little more and

024 R: but maybe wait to get married [i'm not saying

025 J: oh yeah

026 R: wait to have sex i'm saying maybe you should have waited until you're older and more mature to get married

027 J: i don't know i think i was mature enough to be married i just don't think that (0.5) i think it's important to experiment and to (0.5) get to know / your partner and

On line 026 Ricki threatens Juanita's face by suggesting that maybe she was not mature enough to get married. First Juanita misunderstands Ricki's intention; she thinks Ricki is saying that she should have waited to have sex. Ricki clears up the misunderstanding, but Juanita still does not agree with her. Although she uses hesitancy markers (*I don't know, I think*) in order to minimize the force of her utterance, Juanita threatens Ricki's positive face twice during the extract by refusing her opinions and disagreeing with her (023, 027).

In the last discussion Creig's plight continues; his face is threatened nine times during the conversation. The total number of FTAs is seventeen and face boosting acts are performed five times. This conversation differs from the others in that Ricki has invited an expert guest, Miss California, to join the other guests to give them advice and share her opinions about the issue. The other participants beside Creig and Tiffany are Ricki, Nikki and three members of the audience. The distribution of FTAs and FBAs is illustrated in Table (5).

**Table 5.** The distribution of FTAs and FBAs in first conversation

Parti- pants	N of FTAs done by him/herself	% of FTAs done by him/herself	N of FTAs done by someone else	% of FTAs done by someone else	N of FBAs done by him/herself	% of FBAs done by him/herself	N of FBAs done by someone else	% of FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	4	23.55	---	---	---	---	---	---
Tiffany	1	5.9	3	20.0	1	20.0	4	100
Creig	2, 2/self	23.55	7	46.7	1	20.0	---	---
A1	3	17.6	1	6.7	---	---	---	---
A2	1	5.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
A3	1	5.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nikki	---	---	4	26.6	---	---	---	---
Audience	3	17.9	---	---	3	60.0	---	---
<b>Total</b>	17	100	15	100	5	100	4	100

The fifth conversation begins with FTAs toward Nikki. A young, black woman from the audience threatens her face on line 002 by criticising her for getting pregnant (“it’s bad to get pregnant did you use condom”). The exchange is illustrated in example (25).

#### Example (25)

001 R: hi we are back yes what do you wanna say  
 002 A1: alright it’s it’s bad to get pregnant did you use condom  
 003 N: the first time yeah  
 004 A1: so how did you get pregnant  
 005 N: (1) no it was  
 006 A: mumbling  
 007 A1: you pregnant right you was pregnant right  
 008 N: [ no the first time  
 009 R: the first time ] weren’t you paying attention the first time she did it more than once (0.5)  
 alright yes hang on (*a door bell rings*) who is it come in (2) oh my god it’s miss california  
 (2.5) hi

The audience member continues the FTAs toward Nikki by pressing the issue (004, 007) although Nikki is obviously reluctant to talk about it. Finally Ricki steps in, leaning on her status on the show, and threatens both Nikki’s and the audience member’s face (009). Towards Nikki she performs a negative face threatening act because she interrupts her and answers the audience member’s question herself. The audience member’s positive face is threatened when Ricki criticises her for not paying close enough attention. After that Tiffany comes on to the stage, and she explains her attitude to the issue at hand. Ricki brings Creig to the spotlight again by threatening both his positive and negative face in warning him not to come near Tiffany. The next example illustrates rather severe threats to Creig’s face by the member of the audience and Ricki (038, 041).

#### Example (26)

038 A2: i have a comment for creig i think the only reason he likes to have sex with a virgin is  
 because they can’t tell a difference between good and bad sex  
 039 A: [ laughing, cheering (6)  
 040 C: like i said you eat if you’re good you eat filet mignon if you’re bad you eat cheese burger  
 ] but i #  
 041 R: # alright (1) creig i gotta say i met your cousin in the audience and he’s embarrassed  
 to know you and even be related to you  
 042 A: [applauding, cheering (1)  
 043 C: what is this what do you #

044 R: # tiffany let me ask you are you involved with anybody right now  
045 T: absolutely i have a wonderful boyfriend he's a football player at stanford

Especially Ricki's FTA on line 041 seems to make Creig uncomfortable. He shows his open offence (043) but is interrupted and ignored when Ricki turns back to Tiffany. Tiffany's face is threatened twice and boosted four times. One of the FTAs is performed by Creig when he shows with his tone of voice that he does not believe Tiffany's boyfriend is a virgin. Another FTA is committed by a young, white man from the audience, who is arguing for contraception instead of abstinence. The audience performs three FBAs toward Tiffany by cheering and applauding at her thoughts, and Creig boosts her face by admitting that Tiffany would be perfect for him (example (27), (030)). Tiffany disagrees, though, and threatens Creig's positive face on line 032 as the next example illustrates.

#### Example (27)

029 R: yeah but y'know what ] maybe that woman sets her standards high and she doesn't wanna  
          guy who's been with [all these other women  
030 C:                                 miss california] she'd be perfect for me  
031 A: laughing, mumbling (2)  
032 T: i have something to say i set my standards high too / and i want someone who's a virgin

### 7.1.1 Figures summarised

One hundred and sixty FTAs were found in the data, and only nineteen of them pose a threat to the recipient's negative face. These nineteen FTAs also include acts that threaten negative as well as positive face of the recipient. This finding is not surprising, however, since the show is intimate, unofficial and controversial, having an atmosphere which makes the questioning of the guests' self-image more likely than the restriction of their freedom of speech. All in all, these five conversations form a typical stretch of talk show discourse. Some of them are more typical, as shown in previous pages, than the others, for example in terms of the host's control and the amount of FTAs she performs. In particular the host's role in the second and the third conversation differs from the other conversations. In the third conversation Ricki's role as a major face-aggravator is challenged by

a member of the audience, who performs almost ten per cent more FTAs (35.5%) than Ricki does (25.8%). In the second conversation the host performs the largest number of FBAs in the whole show. In terms of the few occasions of Ricki's own face being threatened, the third and the fourth discussions stand out. In the third conversation Ricki receives 3.7 per cent and in the fourth conversation 9.1 per cent of all the FTAs. The first and the fifth conversations form more typical stretches of talk show discourse also when considering the percentages; Ricki performs most of the FTAs and receives none of them. The conversations where the situation between the participants is hostile, for example in the first and in the fifth conversations, naturally produce most of the FTAs. The total amount of FBAs in the data is thirty one, and most of them occur in the second conversation, where Ricki performs more FBAs than FTAs.

Janis and Creig are two individual guests that receive the largest number of FTAs. The number of FTAs directed toward Janis in the first conversation seems particularly high, 56.1 per cent, compared to Mike's 33.3 per cent. However, as Nuolijärvi and Tiittula (2000:285) argue, in television discussion it is important to convince the audience and not so much the person having the opposite points of view. How the guests are able to present themselves and how plausibly they can argue for the particular topic are highly essential determinants for the audience's judgement of them and their performance. Thus, the FTAs directed toward Janis seem to originate from the fact that the audience judges her to be inconsistent and even insincere. During the show Creig's face is threatened more than anyone else's. In the fourth conversation Creig receives 69.8 per cent and in the fifth conversation 46.7 per cent of all the FTAs. Penman (1990) argues that face work may become more complex in stressful situations, over which the individual has little or no control. In the fourth conversation Ricki clearly has the power which can be seen from the fact that most of the time she does not even allow Creig to defend himself against her FTAs. In the second conversation Mike receives as much as 70.6 per cent of all the FTAs. This large number is, however, due to the generally small number of FTAs performed in the second conversation and Mike does not have to face as frequent or as severe FTAs as Janis or Creig do. The possible gender differences related to face



threatening acts will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.3.

In general FTAs are rather severe in the present data which can be attributed to the fact that the criticism is directed toward a particular person, not so much toward a particular point of view, exception being the second conversation. This makes the confrontation more pointed and emotional. In addition, the participants do not have to worry about reaching certain conclusion in the conversation, the host functions as a referee and directs the attention elsewhere when the time reserved for the discussion is up.

Self-disclosure is also an essential characteristic of a good talk show. It has been defined as intentional sharing of personal information by Pearson et al. (1985:148). Honesty is also expected from the guests. All the guests, for the possible exception of Nikki, are willing to talk about their intimate affairs and even reveal some painful information. This is, of course, a part of the show's format, but maybe Ricki also contributes to this disclosure; it has been found out that men as well as women share more information with women than with men. (Pearson et al. 1985:155).

In addition to Brown and Levinson's typology, FTAs can be divided according to Culpeper's (1996) model of impoliteness. Table (6) illustrates how Culpeper's impoliteness strategies are distributed in the present data.

**Table (6).** The division of impoliteness strategies.

Strategy	N of strategies	% of strategies
Bald on-record impoliteness	117	79.1
Positive impoliteness	13 <sup>3</sup>	8.8
Negative impoliteness	10	6.8
Mock impoliteness	7	4.7
Withholding politeness	1	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>100</b>

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<sup>3</sup> Since most of the positive impoliteness strategies are incorporated into bald on-record politeness category, for the sake of clarity the number refers only to strategies that are not performed in the form of bald on-record impoliteness.

Culpeper's Impoliteness model is highly relevant for the present study, since the FTAs are numerous in the present data, and they are usually not mitigated in any way. Thus, it is not surprising that the bald on-record impoliteness strategy is the most common way to perform FTAs in the present data. The total number of FTAs in the data classified according to the criteria suggested by Culpeper was 148<sup>4</sup>, and most of them, 117, qualified as bald on-record impoliteness strategies. They are, as explained in chapter 2.2, FTAs that are performed in an unambiguous way, without any face concerns. One can argue that the talk show format "requires" bald on-record language usage, since the time is limited. When the guests and the audience members get a chance to speak, they have to be as efficient as possible, since there is no time for the search of hidden meanings in indirect speech acts. The host naturally also uses the bald on-record strategy and because her status is so high, she does not have to worry about her own face being lost. Naturally, the use of bald on-record strategy also contributes to the drama and entertainment in the talk show. Several examples in this chapter illustrate this impoliteness strategy, example (26) on page 74 being a particularly good illustration of it. Ricki's utterance on line 041 is very impolite, and she is not afraid of stating the opinion of Creig's cousin explicitly.

The second superstrategy in Culpeper's model is positive impoliteness, which damages the hearer's positive face wants, i.e. the want to be liked and approved by others. One could argue that positive impoliteness strategies are even more common in the present data than bald on-record impoliteness, since the latter strategy almost exceptionally includes the former. Thus, the positive impoliteness strategy is incorporated into the bald on-record impoliteness category. The example (26) discussed above can also function as an example of positive impoliteness, when Ricki threatens Creig's positive face wants. In the data there are, however, a few situations when the speech act is expressed impolitely and poses a threat to the hearer's positive face, but the act itself is not in the form of bald on-record utterance. The speaker has chosen to use hesitancy

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<sup>4</sup> Although the remaining twelve FTAs in the data threaten the face of the participants, they are performed either unintentionally or without impoliteness.

markers, or otherwise mitigates the face threat in his/her utterance. Positive impoliteness strategies, which were not used in the form of bald on-record impoliteness, are found in the data in 13 incidents. The next example illustrates this strategy.

#### Example (28)

076 A4: [ there's a lot of people that you can be with  
 077 Mi: it could be like in this month i never know]  
 078 A4: between now and the time you're #  
 079 R: # so what are you saying you're saying a woman may  
           not want him because he has slept with so many girls  
 080 A4: i'm saying both / it it goes both ways i mean you're not gonna want somebody oh i  
           shouldn't say that you might not want someone who's been around you might want  
           someone who / is  
 081 R: [ like melissa

This is an extract from the second conversation, and a white woman from the audience criticizes Mike for having too many sexual experiences (076,078,080). Line 080 illustrates a positive impoliteness strategy that is not performed baldly. There is a hesitancy marker (I mean) and after stating her opinion too strongly, the audience member corrects herself and uses more mitigated linguistic form (might).

The third superstrategy, negative impoliteness, was also found in the present data. Negative impoliteness causes damage to the hearer's negative face wants, ie. the want to be unimpeded by the others. In the data there were 10 instances of negative impoliteness strategy. The number is significantly smaller than those of the previous strategies. In interpreting utterances as belonging to the negative impoliteness strategy, the context of the interaction is again important to take into consideration. Almost all questions in the show could be interpreted as restricting the freedom of the hearer. However, the guests in the show are prepared to answer them and tell everybody something about their private lives, as a part of the interactional deal of the talk show. Thus, only those situations, in which the hearer is embarrassed or clearly unwilling to perform the required task are included in the negative impoliteness framework. Line 023 in example (6) illustrates negative impoliteness.

## Example (6)

023 R: so what's been happening lately  
 024 J: (1.5) lately (1) uhm  
 025 A: laughing, mumbling (3)  
 026 R: what / what what (2) you've been doing it haven't you  
 027 J: can't beat 'em join 'em  
 028 A: uuuuuuh (2)  
 029 R: i bet all you guys are taking back your applause right now aren't you  
 030 A: yeah (1)  
 031 R: so what you figured you figured you can't you can't meet a guy that way [you  
 032 J: no]  
 033 R: have to sleep with them in order to get them to stay with you  
 034 J: pretty much that's the way it goes

Ricki impedes in the area of Janis's private life, about which she is reluctant to talk about. This can be seen in the long pauses and hesitancy marker in Janis's turn (024).

The fourth impoliteness superstrategy consists of mock impoliteness or sarcasm. When using mock impoliteness, an FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere. There are seven acts in the data that could be included in this strategy. Usually it is Ricki who performs them, leaning on her authority on the show. There are several examples of mock impoliteness in above examples, for instance line 067 in example (21) illustrates this strategy, when Ricki sarcastically comments on Creig's utterance.

## Example (21)

061 R: yeah why would] she wanna be with you (with contempt)  
 062 C: coz she's gonna have the best sex of her life [if she's with me  
 063 A: uuuuuuh  
 064 R: alright alright]  
 065 C: [in the house baby i'm in the house (0.5) hey hey you ladies you virgins (1) hey when you  
 virgins see me out in the railroad waiting for a good time = just call me over (0.5) right  
 066A: mumbling]  
 067 R: we'll be running to the phone creig = yes

The fifth and the last superstrategy, withholding politeness completely in a situation in which it would be expected, is rare in the present data. There are not many occasions when a certain polite act (e.g. thanking) would be required, and even if in some occasions an apology would be expected in another linguistic forum, in talk show situation it is not required. Thus, there is only one incident in

the data that could fall into the last superstrategy. Example (12) illustrates this particular situation.

#### Example (12)

- 001 R: meet melissa she and her friend argue all the time about having sex before you're married  
/ in fact he has even told her that one of the reasons that they are only friends is because  
he knows he can never sleep with her why=because Melissa is a virgin and would like to  
stay that way hopefully until after she's married
- 002 A: clapping, cheering (4) (*Melissa is urging the audience to applaud*)
- 003 R: i gotta say melissa you're a rarity it's it's great to see because we have so many young  
people who are y'know pregnant with their fourth baby and have the hiv-virus so for you  
i mean it's really it's really commendable to see you proud to be a virgin at twenty
- 004 Me: thank you
- 005 R: congratulations
- 006 A: applauding (4)

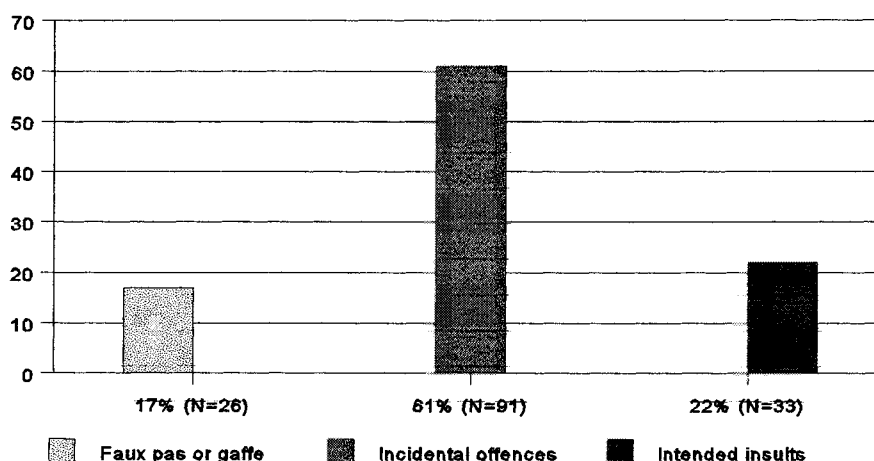
Ricki compliments Melissa for being a virgin (003) and Melissa appropriately thanks her for her comment (004). Ricki, however, continues and again congratulates her (005), to which Melissa does not respond. Thanking Ricki would perhaps have been an appropriate reply also after her new speech act.

Face threatening acts can also be divided according to Goffman's model to faux pas or gaffes, incidental open offences or intended open insults. As explained in chapter 2.1, a faux pas or a gaffe is an unintended offence, which would not have happened had the speaker foreseen the consequences of his/her actions. Intended insults are FTAs performed spitefully and even maliciously, while incidental offences are unplanned but anticipated by-products of interaction. The speaker is aware of the offensive consequences of his/her act, but s/he performs the act anyway, although not out of spite. The next example illustrates Goffman's categories.

#### Example (29)

- 053 N: well then what do you think all the other men feel #
- 054 R: # yes ma'am
- 055 N: when they've been with you
- 056 A1: i wanna know uhm what makes you think that a virgin's gonna wanna be with you [if you  
have to taste
- 057 N: yeah exactly]
- 058 A1: the milk before you bought a cow (0.5) with everybody
- 059 C: (1.5) [because that's
- 060 R: yeah why would] she wanna be with you (with contempt)

In this extract one can see an example of all three categories. On line 054 Ricki performs a faux pas toward Nikki by ignoring her comment (053). Perhaps she did not hear what Nikki said or had already signalled to a member of the audience to have her turn. In any case, this FTA is not performed intentionally or spitefully. An example of an unintentional offence is found in Nikki's turn (053, 055), when she performs an FTA toward Creig. Judging by her tone of voice, her question is meant to be more information seeking than insulting, thus it can be evaluated as unintentional. Intended open offence can be found two times in this example; when an audience member questions Creig (056, 058), and when Ricki repeats her words with a contemptuous tone of voice (060). These speech acts are clearly performed spitefully and intentionally, and are, thus, classified as intended open insults. Figure (4) illustrates the division of these three categories in the present data.



**Figure 4.** The division of FTAs in the data according to Goffman's model.

As can be seen, FTAs belonging to the category of faux pas are used only 17 per cent of the cases (26 incidents), 22 per cent of the cases are intended open insults (33 incidents) and 61 per cent of the cases are categorised as incidental open offences. FTAs belonging to the last category occur 91 times, and it is unquestionably the most popular strategy. This division between these three

strategies is not surprising, considering the situation in which the FTAs occur. The topic of the discussion is controversial and most of the guests have different opinions about the issue. They have come to the show to confront their acquaintances. Thus, incidental offences and intended insults seem to be natural strategies to perform an FTA under these circumstances. Despite the need for efficiency and the lack of mitigation in FTAs, the difference between the occurrence of these two strategies seems to indicate that the participants tend to avoid the intended open insults to some extent. Especially Ricki avoids this strategy, only 9 of 33 incidents (27%) of intended insults are performed by her. The host clearly does not want to make her guests uncomfortable by maliciously attacking their face wants. However, according to the show's format, she is willing to perform acts that may turn out to be face threatening. The main purpose of these acts is naturally to entertain and keep the audience in the studio and home interested.

## **7.2 Strategies to maintain face**

Face maintenance is an important way to deal with predicaments toward one's face. It is particularly interesting to study the strategies of face-maintenance in the present data because the status differences between them seem to be small, but in reality the host has all the power. Thus, also in the present data it is Ricki Lake who performs most of the face threatening acts, and the guests and the audience members resort to face maintenance when possible. As explained in chapter 3.1, the typology of face-maintenance has solely focused on predicaments performed by the speaker him/herself. Thus, the typology cannot as such be used in the purpose of the present study where the focus is on the predicaments committed by someone else. This chapter re-examines the current face typology in order to find out which categories can also be used in the present study. A new, revised typology will be created and the efficiency of different strategies will be briefly discussed.

Cupach and Metts (1990) have divided the strategies used in face maintenance into nine categories. The first class of acts, namely *apologies*,

acknowledges the blameworthiness for the predicament. Naturally a person, whose face is threatened by someone else, cannot use apologies as a face maintaining strategy. The second category of *accounts* are divided into excuses, which express denial for an accountable act, and justifications, which accept the responsibility, but deny any negative effect of the act. Both of these strategies can be used by the recipient, but somewhat differently. *Excuses* can be used as a face maintenance strategy when the person excuses for his/her behaviour, for which s/he is being criticized. The next example from the first discussion illustrates such a situation in the present data.

#### Example (29)

- 016 R: all these guys turned you down after they figured out that you wouldn't sleep with them  
 017 J: yeah and some of them i mean (0.5) and i i kept on going after them (0.5) i'll admit it sure  
       / i wanted it but uhm (0.5) they'd say oh come on now and i'd be like uhm well maybe  
       maybe and i do a little flirty thing y'know and (0.5)  
 018 A: mumbling  
 019 J: i don't see there's nothing wrong with flirting

Janis interprets the audience's mumbling on line 018 as a sign of disapproval toward herself, and she tries to maintain her face by excusing her behaviour (019) for which she was being criticized. *Justifications* can also be used by the recipient, but not as a face maintenance strategy. When the recipient of an offending act uses justification, s/he is not protecting his/her own face, but giving face to the offender by minimizing the negative consequences of the predicament. (e.g. "No harm done.").

By the fourth strategy, *avoidance*, a person denies the severity of the acts and avoids taking responsibility over it. Avoidance as a face-maintaining strategy is illustrated in the next example.

#### Example (30)

- 089 A3: where are you hanging out = why don't you uhm find a new place where to- look at this  
       guy (1)  
 090 A: uuuuuuh  
 091 A3: come on (1.5) hook yourself up with somebody that's worth [waiting for  
 092 J: it was- it was this- ] it was  
       a back of the hill / bar  
 093 R: it was a back of the hill bar but #



This is an extract from the first conversation, and the audience member performs an FTA toward both Janis and Mike. A threat toward Mike is more severe though, and perhaps because of this severity he chooses to ignore the FTA completely and thus avoids dealing with the insulting predicament. Avoidance is divided into remediation and escape by Cupach et al. *Escape*, which refers to physical withdrawal from the predicament or situation, can also be used by the recipient. Perhaps this strategy is more common in everyday situations, but in the present data it was completely absent, since the guest cannot leave the studio even if they feel embarrassed or insulted by someone. *Remediation* refers to non-verbal action to correct the cause of the predicament, and cannot thus be considered as a recipient strategy.

*Humour* is an important way to deal with embarrassing predicaments, and can naturally also be used by a person whose face is threatened by someone else. When the recipient resorts to humour as a face maintaining strategy, s/he accepts the predicament but diminishes its weight by showing that s/he was not hurt by it. Example (31) from the first conversation illustrate the use of humour as a face-saving strategy.

#### Example (31)

058 R: mike come on out here]  
 059 A: (buuing as mike comes on stage)  
 060 R: [mike mike mike  
 061 J&M: (talking, unclear speech, mike laughs)]  
 062 R: she called you a dog  
 063 A: uuuuuuuuh (4)  
 064 M: if i'm a dog / i'm a great dane honey  
 065 A: uuuuh, laughing, clapping (4)

This extract illustrates two rather severe FTAs toward Mike, and he deals with both by resorting to humour. On line 059 the audience performs an FTA toward Mike by buuing, and the resorts to laughter as a face maintenance strategy. When Ricki threatens his face by quoting Janis (062), Mike is able to save his face by resorting to a humorous response (064). *Description* is yet another way to deal with untoward acts and as a face maintaining strategy, it can be used by both, the speaker and the recipient. Description refers to simple statements, which usually

are not exceedingly informative. Nevertheless, they succeed in settling the matter at hand. The extract from the fifth conversation illustrate the use of this strategy.

#### Example (32)

044 R: # tiffany let me ask you are you involved with anybody right now  
 045 T: absolutely i have a wonderful boyfriend he's a football player at stanford  
 046 C: and he's a virgin (*unconvinced*)  
 047 T: and he's a virgin

Tiffany's response to Creig's FTA (046) illustrates the use of description as a face-maintenance strategy. On line she 047 she resorts to simple statement that answers to the FTA and settles the matter in question. The last category of Cupach's et al. typology is *aggression*, a strategy which is also in their model reserved only to the recipients of untoward behaviour. By aggressive behaviour Cupach et al. mean verbal or physical attacks on the person, who has caused the embarrassment. In the present data there is only one comment, which could be interpreted as aggressive. This exchange is illustrated in example (26) on page 70. Creig's response to the severe FTA on line 043 can be categorized as aggressive, from his tone of voice and posture one can see that he is very upset about Ricki's comment.

For the purposes of the present study, Cupach's et al. typology needs to be extended by adding three other strategies, namely denial, explanation and remorse. When using *denial* as a strategy, the recipient naturally denies the predicament, usually very directly. This is illustrated in example (33).

#### Example (33)

005 M: why was eighteen year old going to fourteen year old girl for]  
 006 S: he was sneaky like all you men he was sneaky you want it you're going to get #  
 007 M: # she was  
           only fourteen years old  
 008 S: [she wasn't dating  
 009 Mi: i don't sneak]

In this extract from the third conversation Shirley directs an FTA toward all the men on the stage (006) and Mike responds to it by simply denying the accusation (009). With *explanation* the criticism directed toward the recipient is also not

accepted. The recipient tries to give explanation to his/her behaviour and in doing so s/he attempts to refute the predicament, as shown in example (9).

#### Example (9)

- 095 R: janis why did you wanna confront him  
 096 J: (1) i wanted to know i mean / he came / back after i said that i wasn't gonna jump in bed with him= he came back to dinner / and i fell asleep on him / and i woke up and he was i'm out of here i call you later and that as it = this is the [first time exactly]  
 097 M:  
 098 J: i've talked to him since then = he didn't call didn't do anything  
 099 R: am i wh#  
 100 M: # you have a kid= you're also going to school I mean if (0.5) you were probably burned out so why why not [why not let you sleep  
 101 A: uuuuuuh  
 102 J: oh no don't even go there]  
 103 M: i was being a gentleman and letting [you sleep  
 104 A: uuuuuuh  
 105 J: oh yeah]

In this example Janis threatens Mike's positive face (096, 098) and Mike resorts to explanation in order to save his face (100, 103). By using this strategy, Mike is able to refute the criticism and also explain his version of the events. *Remorse* as a face maintenance strategy was used only by Creig in the fifth conversation. This strategy refers to the fact that the person accepts the criticism and shows that s/he regrets the way s/he has behaved. This strategy is illustrated in example (34).

#### Example (34)

- 030 C: miss california] she'd be perfect for me  
 031 A: laughing, mumbling (2)  
 032 T: i have something to say i set my standards high too / and i want someone who's a virgin  
 033 C: [ alright  
 034 A: clapping, cheering (2.5)  
 035 C: i wish i was a virgin i wish i was (0.5) if i could go back in time i would ]  
 036 R: alright yes ma'am  
 037 C: i'd give it all back

In this example Creig shows his appreciation to Miss California (030), and she threatens his face by indicating that she does not feel the same way about Creig (032). Creig resorts to remorse as a face-maintaining strategy, stating that he regrets his past behaviour (035,037).

A very common strategy used by recipients in the present data is also a

*combined* strategy. Naturally, this means that the recipient combined two or more of the above strategies. A combined strategy is illustrated by the next example.

Example (35)

066 R: so mike mike / did you in fact dump her because she wouldn't sleep with you  
 067 M: no i just dumped her because it just wasn't going anywhere i mean it [just  
 068 J: exactly going  
           anywhere  
 069 A: mumbling, laughing]  
 070 M: i mean (0.5) i really didn't (0.5) have any feelings y'know / more than just friend[ship

In this example from the first conversation Mike responds to Ricki's predicament by first denying the face threat and then explaining how he sees the situation (067). He continues the face maintenance in response to Janis's predicament on line 070 by combining excuse and explanation.

Thus, the face maintenance typology based on the present data can be summed up in the following way:

<b>excuse:</b>	denial for accountability, a safety net for past or future actions
<b>avoidance:</b>	avoidance of responsibility, evading the threatening situation
<b>humour:</b>	diminishing the weightiness of the predicament, creating a good atmosphere by replying humorously to criticism
<b>aggression:</b>	a verbal or non-verbal hostile response toward untoward act as well as the speaker who performed it
<b>description:</b>	a short, often uninformative statement about the situation or topic
<b>denial:</b>	explicit denial of the predicament, not accepting the criticism
<b>explanation:</b>	even elaborate clarifications of the criticised issue, not accepting the criticism
<b>remorse:</b>	regret of the past behaviour, accepting the criticism and gaining sympathy
<b>combined:</b>	joining two or more strategies appropriate for a particular situation

**Figure 5.** Summary of the face-maintenance strategies used in the present study.

Different strategies were also used with different frequency in the data. Table (7) illustrates the frequency of face-maintenance strategies in the present data.

**Table 7.** The frequency of face-maintenance strategies.

strategy	N of strategies	% of strategies
excuse	1	1.3
avoidance	15	20.0
humour	8	10.8
aggression	1	1.3
description	6	8.0
denial	7	9.3
explanation	19	25.3
remorse	2	2.7
combined	16	21.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>

Aggression is the most rarely used strategy, which can be explained by its destructive nature. Despite the numerous predicaments, the participants seem to want to keep the situation cooperative, and do not resort to aggressive behaviour as a face-maintenance strategy. Even Creig's hostile response to Ricki's face threat (example 26) cannot evolve to severe aggression because Ricki ignores him and turns back to Tiffany. Excuses on their own are also used rarely, but they are fairly common in combined with explanation. Explanation seems to be the most frequently used strategy in the present data. Nineteen face maintenance strategies can be categorized as explanations, and is was also used almost all of the combined strategies (in 13 instances). As Table (7) illustrates, the participants often use combined strategies. The most common combination is explanation and denial, which is used six times by the participants. The frequent use of this combination can be explained by the nature of the interaction; when face threats occur, the participants first deny them and then explain their sides of the story.

Other combinations in the present data are description and humour (2 instances), excuse and explanation (3 instances), explanation and description (2 instances), explanation and humour (2 instances) and denial and description (1 instance).

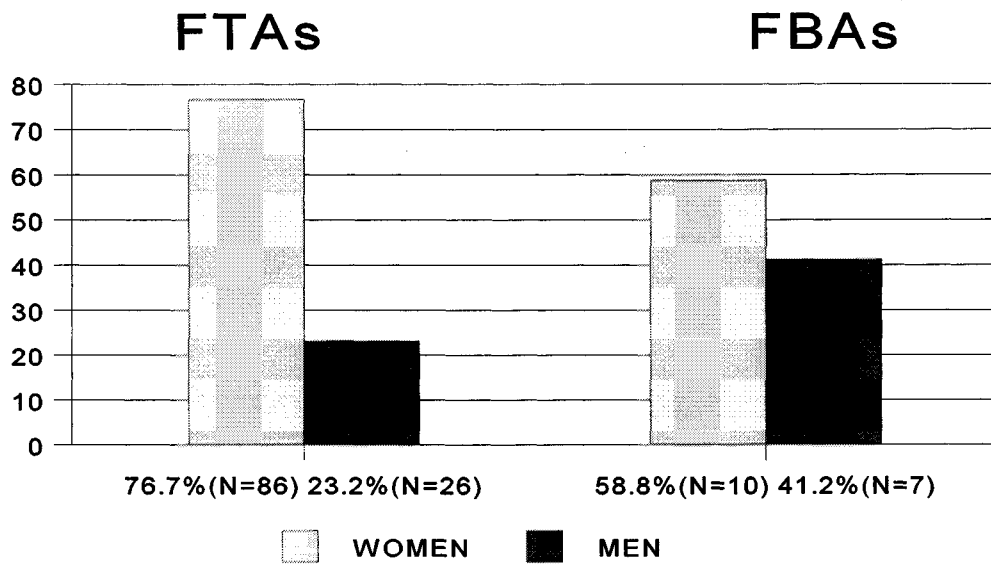
Avoidance is also a common strategy when the participants deal with predicaments. This strategy refers to “conscious silence”, which means that for some reason the participants choose to ignore the face threat. A good example of this strategy can be seen in the third discussion when Shirley resorts to avoidance strategy several times during the predicaments performed by the audience member. Humour, denial and description are used as face maintaining strategies almost with the same frequency. Denial and description do not contribute much to the conversation, these strategies mainly offer a short answer to a particular predicament. Humour, on the other hand, seems to make everybody at ease. Even severe FTAs can be rejected with the help of humour, and the other participants seem to value a person with a sense of humour more than more socially anxious people, who are unable to resort to humour as a face maintenance strategy. Remorse as a strategy is also a rare one, it is used only on one occasion. This can be explained by the show’s format; people have come to the show to defend their differing opinions, not to apologize for them.

The efficiency of different face maintenance strategies was determined by face restoration. If a participant is able to save his/her face or at least protect it from being completely lost, a face maintenance strategy is evaluated to be successful. According to this criteria, humour and explanation seem to rise above the other strategies. When using these two strategies, the participants are at least partly able to save their face, and while doing so they also contribute positively to the interactional atmosphere and the continuance of discussion. The combined strategies are also successful in face maintenance, especially those combinations that use either humour or explanation as the other strategy. Denial, description and excuse are remotely efficient, they succeed in rejecting the attack, but not in the restoring the face equilibrium, i.e. gaining back some of the respect of the other participants, which the predicament had diminished. Aggression and avoidance seem to be the least effective ways to deal with predicaments, since they neither enhance the productive atmosphere

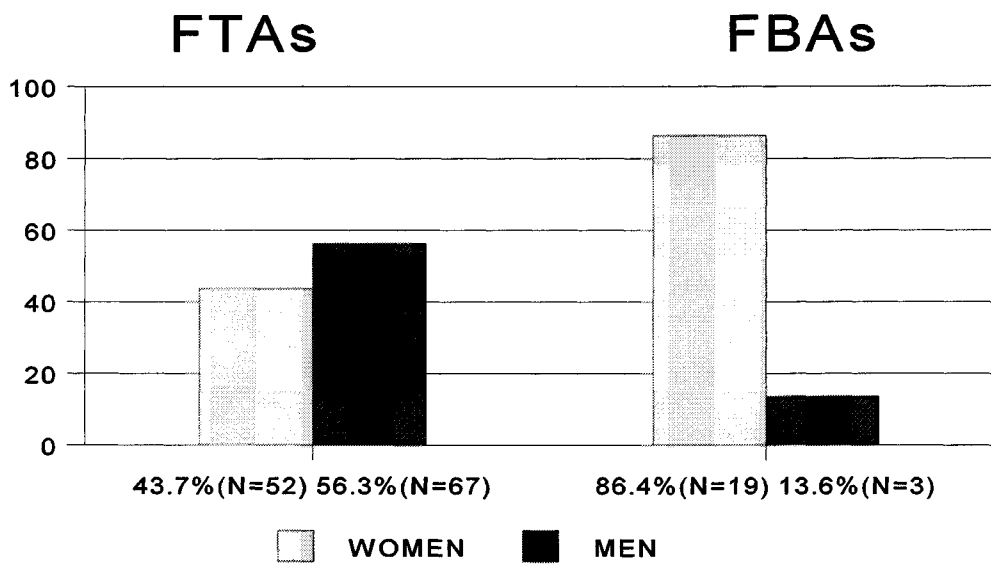
between the participants nor restore the threatened face wants. Remorse as a strategy may be effective in a sense that it produces compassion in the others. However, the person using this strategy threatens at the same time his/her own face, since s/he expresses to be ashamed for his/her behaviour. Thus, because of this additional face threatening component remorse cannot be considered very effective face maintenance strategy. The possible gender differences in using these strategies will be discussed in chapter 7.3.

### **7.3 Gender differences**

On the basis of my own experiences of watching talk shows it could be hypothesized that gender differences may be quite big in talk show discourse. The differences may be due to the specific genre of talk shows; in fact the gender division may be seen from the start also in the present data when Ricki introduces the guests. Men are invited to the show to defend themselves, and in most of the cases it is the woman who does the accusing. Of course the host of the show, Ricki Lake, also contributes to the gender division simply by being a woman. When considering gender differences in the present data, the third discussion was omitted because the participants were all women. The remaining four discussions present an equal portrait of the possible gender influence in the data, since both men and women are represented. When considering the FTAs, the amount of FTAs performed and received by men and women will be counted. In the present data women perform 86 of the FTAs and 10 of the FBAs, while men commit only 26 FTAs and 1 FBA toward other people. Men also perform 6 FBAs toward themselves. Women's face is threatened 52 times and boosted 19 times during the show, while men receive 67 FTAs and 3 FBAs. Figure (6) and Figure (7) illustrate the percentages in performing and receiving FTAs and FBAs in the data.



**Figure 6.** Performed and received FTAs and FBAs by sex in the present data.



**Figure 7.** Received FTAs and FBAs by sex in the present data.

The percentages in performing FTAs and FBAs are not surprising, considering



the show's nature: it seems natural that women perform most of the FTAs since they are the ones confronting the male guests. Although this division is clear, in exact numbers the variation is great (the first conversation: females (F) 37, males (M) 9, the second conversation: (F) 11, (M) 5, the fourth conversation: (F) 29, (M) 7, the fifth conversation: (F) 9, (M) 5). All four conversations are also typical in the sense that it is the host who performs the largest number of FTAs. The first conversation differs from all the others in the particular high number of FTAs women performed. This might be explained by the fact that already from the beginning of the conversation the gender division seems to be particularly visible. Janis is allowed to take her time in telling her version about Mike first, and the audience seems to have formed a negative opinion about Mike before even seeing him, which they indicate by showing their disapproval when Mike comes on stage. Mike succeeds, however, in correcting his image and, in fact, over half of the FTAs in the first conversation are directed toward Janis. Ricki and the audience members seem to criticize her for her lack of consistency, as was already mentioned in chapter 7.1. Janis does not seem to live according to her own principles. Also Creig in the fourth conversation seems to provoke FTAs from women by his arrogant and chauvinistic behaviour.

FBA's are significantly smaller in number when compared to FTAs, which is again explained by the show's format: people have come to the show to disagree, not compliment each other. These speech acts are more evenly divided between men and women, although there are differences between the conversations (the first conversation: (F) 0, (M) 3/self, the second conversation: (F) 9, (M) 1/self, the fourth conversation: (F) 0, (M) 2/self, the fifth conversation: (F) 1, (M) 1). Men also perform six FBAs toward themselves, which can be explained with the amount of FTAs directed toward them. These FBAs function as humorous attempts to deal with the predicaments. The second conversation is important when considering FBAs. Its uniqueness can be seen from the fact that the host performs more FBAs (8 instances) than FTAs (6 instances) toward the guests. This finding can be explained with the relationship between the participants and the host, as there seems to be very little disagreement between them. In comparison, in other conversations FBAs are quite rare.

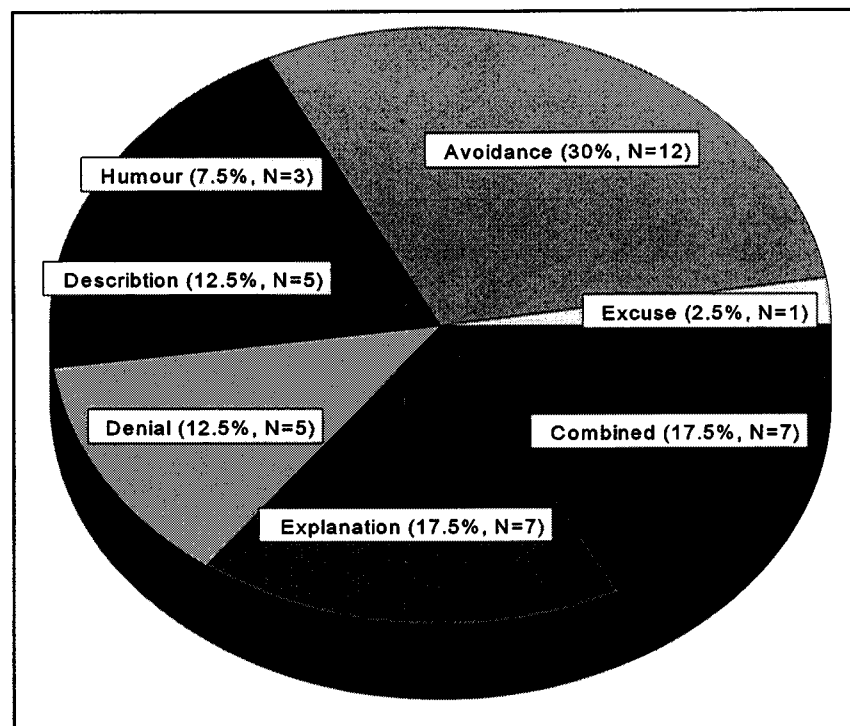
The numbers in receiving the FTAs are more surprising than the percentages in the first figure. Although women perform significantly more FTAs, they receive only slightly less of them than men do ((F) 52 instances, (M) 67 instances). In the second and the fourth conversations the number of FTAs directed toward men is clearly bigger than that directed to women (the second conversation: (F) 4, (M) 13, the fourth conversation: (F) 9, (M) 24), but in the first and the fifth conversation the numbers are reversed (the first conversation: (F) 33, (M) 23, the fifth conversation: (F) 8, (M) 7). Janis from the first conversation receives the largest number of FTAs during one particular conversation (32 instances). One reason for this might be, as mentioned earlier, the fact that she does not seem to be consistent with her opinions, which Ricki and the members of the audience use against her by threatening her positive face wants. Creig from the fourth conversation receives the second largest number of FTAs (23 instances), which can be explained by Creig's own attitude. During the fourth conversation he even performs five FTAs towards himself with his opinions which are really pointed. These comments further threaten his positive face. The FTAs in the fifth conversation are quite rare, and the larger amount of FTAs directed toward women are mostly due to the audience member's personal question to Nikki. During this short exchange there were already five FTAs directed toward women, and only three occurred later on.

With FBAs the situation differs a great deal from that of FTAs. Women receive over eighty per cent (19 instances) of all FBAs, particularly Melissa's (second conversation) and Tiffany's (fifth conversation) face is boosted during the show. Men receive three FBAs, which again reflects their position in the show; they are accused, not complimented. In sum, then, one could argue that the gender of the participants creates certain preconditions when FTAs are performed, but gender does not solely seem to influence the amount of FTAs received.

Gender differences, as investigated with the help of Goffman's model are also quite unsurprising in the light of the present data. Women perform most of the FTAs and naturally they employ Goffman's three categories more than men do. Women use faux pas 23 times, while men perform a faux pas only twice. Incidental open offences are the most popular strategy with both sexes, women use it 61 times, and men in 14 instances. Women dominate also the last category,

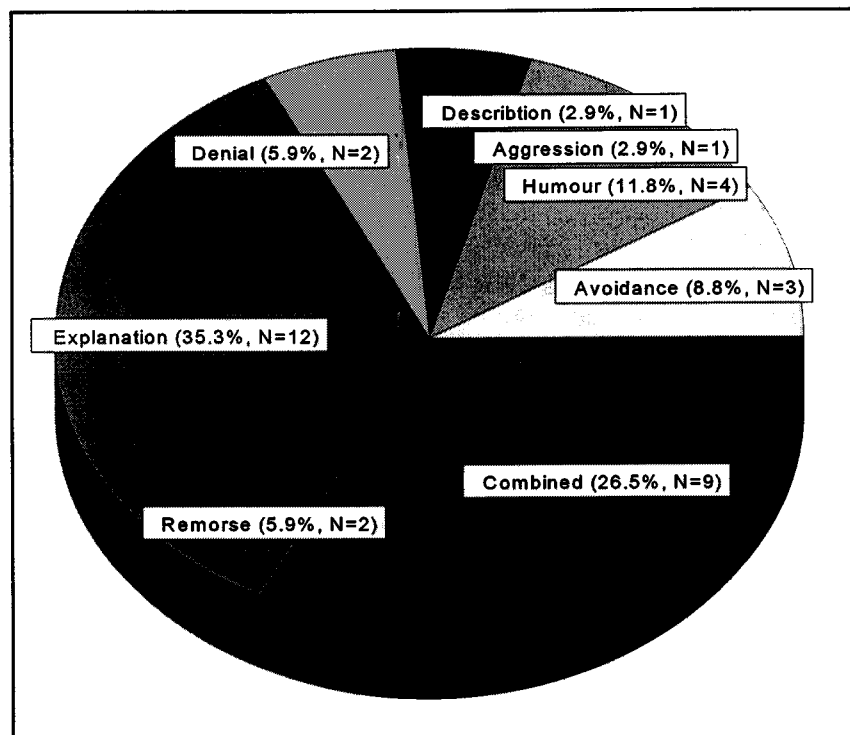
intended open insults, with their 32 instances, while men do not use this category at all. This can be explained by the position of women in the show. As has been mentioned, they are not happy about the way men have behaved and do not hesitate to confront them even with open insults. The discussions differ greatly in the amount of intended insults they contain, the highest number can be found in the first conversation (10 incidents), while in the second conversation there is only one incident of intended insults. The rest of the conversations fall between these two extremes.

The difference between men and women could also be found in the face maintenance strategies employed to deal with FTAs. In the present data face maintaining strategies are employed 74 times. Women use these strategies in 40 incidents, while men try to save their face with the help of them 34 times. In response to 53 FTAs directed toward them women use seven face-saving strategies and men deal with 64 FTAs with eight different strategies. The face-maintenance strategies used by women are illustrated in Figure (8).



**Figure 8.** The face-maintenance strategies used by women

As can be seen, when women are concerned, avoidance is the most common strategy to deal with predicaments. Avoidance covers 30 per cent (12 instances) of all the strategies. Both explanation and combined strategies are used 17.5 per cent (7 instances) of the cases, while description and denial cover 12.5 per cent (5 instances) of all the strategies. Most frequently used combination of strategies is denial and explanation (4 instances), while other three combinations are used only once (description + humour, excuse + explanation and explanation + humour). Women use humour as a face-saving strategy in 7.5 per cent (3 instances) and excuse in 2.5 per cent (1 instance) of the cases. The strategies employed by women can be compared to those of men. The distribution of face-saving strategies used by men can be seen in Figure (9).



**Figure 9.** The face-maintenance strategies used by men.

Men use eight strategies in trying to cope with predicaments. The most common strategy is explanation, which was used in 35.3 per cent (12 instances) of all cases. It is followed by combined strategy, which cover 26.5 per cent (9

instances) of the strategies. Men do not use one particular combination more than others, since three different combinations (explanation + denial, explanation + excuse and explanation + description) are all used twice. Men also used three other combined strategies (description + humour, humour + explanation and denial + description) each once during the show. Humour covers 11.8 per cent (4 instances) and avoidance 8.8 per cent (3 instances) of all strategies. Denial and remorse cover both 5.9 per cent (2 instances) of the cases, while aggression and description are the least used strategies, covering 2.9 per cent (1 instance) of the strategies.

When the percentages of the strategies employed by men and women are investigated, it seems that men favour the most effective strategies in terms of ensuring their face wants and enhancing the positive interactional atmosphere. As mentioned in chapter 7.2, explanation, humour and combined strategies were found out to be most efficient in face restoration. Men use all these strategies more than women, who most often resort to one of the least effective strategies, namely avoidance. Women also use humour as a face-saving strategy less than men do. Explanation and combined strategies, however, are fairly common also among women, but they are used significantly more by men. These findings could be said to be rather surprising, since because men are defending themselves against women's attacks one could expect women to be more assertive and self-confident and thus use more effective face-saving strategies in the case of an FTA. The topic of the discussion cannot be a factor in different face maintenance strategies, since it is constant throughout the show. Thus, the gender differences found seem not to be issue-bound or any way related to the topic of the discussion. One possible explanation for the different use of strategies might be the different roles men and women have employed during the interaction. Since men are invited to the show to defend themselves, they might be better prepared to effectively reject the FTAs than women, who most likely do not expect to be confronted in a similar manner than men. Especially Janis from the first and Shirley from the third conversation seem to resort to ineffective strategies when trying to protect their face, simply because they are unprepared for the severe FTAs they receive. According to Edelman (1990), social anxiety reduces the

individual's capacity to use humour as a response to a predicament. This might be one explanation why women use less humour as face-saving strategy in the present data; they are unprepared for the face threatening situations, which raises the level of social anxiety and reduces the individual's capacity to use communicatively or strategically effective face-saving strategies. Thus, the topic and the gender itself seem to be irrelevant when considering the differences between men and women in face-saving strategies in the present data. The roles of the participants and the behaviour they expect to confront seem to be more significant factors in choosing a particular face maintaining strategy.

#### **7.4 The effect of publicity and the talk show genre on the interaction**

Television discussions have become very popular during the last decades. As Nuolijärvi and Tiittula (2000:13) argue, public interaction has its own rules, which differ from private face-to-face conversations. The roles of the participants and the time of the interaction seem to be among the most important factors to consider. In the case of the present data, time is strictly structured by network airtime and commercial breaks, which naturally affect the interaction making it more intense and fragmented. The roles between the guests and the host are asymmetrical, which explain why Ricki Lake is able to perform several threats toward her guests, and she does not need to worry about her own face being lost. Another essential element in publicly displayed talk shows is confrontation. Different television channels have to compete in order to maintain viewers interest, and thus the topics are continuously designed to be more personal, entertaining and spontaneous. The confrontational element affects the linguistic choices of the participants also in the present data. The guests are brought to the show to disagree and they are placed in simple "for-against"-positions. Ricki also contributes to the divisive element of the show by summing up the argument or adding new elements to it. This kind of host intervention is illustrated, for example, on page 53 in example (7). Ricki repeats Janis's words to Mike on line 062, and clearly hoping to get some kind of reaction out of him.

One important element of American talk show genre is the demand for honesty and openness. The host asks the guests questions about their private lives hoping that they are willing to disclose some private information honestly. This is rewarding both to the viewers of the show as well as to the host, who wants her guests to offer something special for the home audience. The present data is an extract from American culture, where social skills and openness are highly valued traits in an individual. This is also visible in the data, since the participants fulfill quite successfully the demands for honesty and frankness of the talk show genre. Most of the time the guests and the audience members are willing to share their intimate issues with the host and the rest of the viewers. The next example illustrates such a situation.

#### Example (36)

- 055 A3: that's the point of it it's not supposed to be just uhm test (1) no i mean ] what what if  
you can't have sex ith a person what if you're married to someone who gets paralyzed  
or something what are you gonna do dump them
- 056 A&Mi: laughing (2)
- 057 A3: what happens to love what's up with love / i mean if you love a person it shouldn't even  
make a [difference
- 058 R: so sir] what you are telling me is that you waited untill you were [ married  
no] i'm not
- 059 A3:  
gonna lie i i didn't wait but the simple fact is right now (0.5) me and my girl not having  
sex we had we had but we're not doing it no more because it's / right now it's a matter of  
her choice and everything but i decided that / if i love her the way i say i do i wait i don't  
care
- 060 R: you're gonna wait
- 061 A3: yeah
- 062 A: [ applauding
- 063 R: good for you ]
- 064 A: applauding (5)

This extract is taken from the second conversation, when a black man criticizes Mike for having sex for the wrong reasons (055, 057). Ricki steps in and asks the member of the audience if he is living according to his own advice (058). He is willing to answer Ricki's question and tell everybody something about his private life (059), which Ricki and the audience reward by complimenting him (062-064). The disclosing of private information naturally increases the risk to lose one's face, but it seems that the participants of the data are willing to take this chance in order to make the show interesting and entertaining to the audience.

Interruptions and overlapping speech are another typical feature of the talk show genre. The guests are competing for turns and overlapping speech is more a rule than an exception. According to James and Clarke (1993), interruptions are one way of controlling the conversation. Especially Ricki employs interruption in this function, since she has the power to allocate turns, she can also determine them by starting to talk herself or giving somebody else a chance to speak. Overlapping speech is common also between the guests and the audience members. One function of overlapping speech is to dominate the conversation, but in the case of the present data overlapping speech can also be interpreted as enthusiasm. The participants are anxious to say something and they cannot bring themselves to wait until the end of the previous turn. Thus, simultaneous speech does not necessarily mean rudeness or the attempt to dominate the conversation, especially if overlaps or interruptions are reciprocal in a sense that they occur among different speakers, and not just with the turns of certain participants in an attempt to dominate the others.

## **8 CONCLUSION**

Face concerns are an important factor in every conversation. Although it is usually assumed that people strive to protect their own, as well as their co-interlocutor's face wants, there are situations where other participants' face is threatened either intentionally or for the purpose of entertainment. The present study examined such a situation; in talk shows the common rules of face-to-face interaction are often abandoned. The purpose of this study was to examine the division of FTAs in a situation in which the male participants seemed to be condemned to the role of the accused party. These FTAs were then considered from a slightly different point of view, namely that of the recipient. This is a rarely investigated area of study, and on the basis of the present data, a face maintenance typology was developed.

FTAs in the data were analysed following the lines of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. Almost all FTAs were directed to participants' positive face, threats to negative face were in such an intimate



context very rare. Unsurprisingly, it was the host who performed most of the FTAs; and it was only in the third conversation in which a member from the audience performs more FTAs than Ricki does. Most FTAs were directed toward the guests, although also the audience members' face wants were threatened. FTAs were further analysed according to Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness model and it became evident that bald on-record and positive impoliteness were most common ways to perform face threats. This can be explained by the larger context of the discussion; the network time as well as individual's turns are limited. Thus, when the participants have the chance to speak, they need to be as efficient and explicit as possible. Naturally the topic of the show arouses controversies as well, which often erupt as very explicit impolite speech acts. Explicitness contributes also to the entertainment of the show; in order to keep the viewers interested, a direct speech style is chosen. FBAs were also analysed in the data, although they occurred in significantly lesser amount than FTAs. Men performed FBAs mainly toward themselves, and women received them from the host and the audience. Melissa from the second conversation receives the largest number of FBAs in the show, mainly because of her positive and humorous appearance.

Gender differences were also examined in the present data. The female participants performed significantly more FTAs than the males and their threats were also usually more severe. This finding was expected in the light of the subordinate role of the men when considering the topic of the discussion. What was interesting was the fact that the difference between men and women was a great deal smaller, when the gender differences in FTA reception were considered. Thus, women did not only threaten the face of the male participants, they also posed threats to other women's face wants. This finding confirms the fact that the FTAs in the present data are not connected to the gender of the participants, but to the roles they succeed to change or acquire during the show. In the first and the third conversations the female guests receive particularly many FTAs. This could be due to the fact that in the first conversation Janis's behaviour differs from her beliefs, which creates an insecure and insincere impression of her. Shirley in the third conversation does not defend herself

against an audience member's FTAs, which makes it easy for her to continue the threats toward Shirley's positive face wants. Differences between men and women could be detected also according to Goffman's (1967) typology. Women performed more FTAs in all three categories (faux pas, unintended open offence, intended open insult) and men did not, for example, use intended open insults at all. This is natural when considering the position of men in the show; their main purpose is to defend themselves, they do not feel the need to counter-attack women's face in such a severe manner.

In the present data nine different face-maintaining strategies were detected. Women and men shared some of these strategies, but also differences occurred. Both sexes used combined strategies and humour fairly often, although women resorted mostly to avoidance, while men preferred explanation as a face-saving strategy. Explanation, combined strategies and humour were evaluated as the most efficient face-saving strategies on the basis of restoring the face wants and enhancing the positive communicative atmosphere. The reason why women resorted to less effective strategies than men was interpreted to be more influenced by different role expectations men and women have during the show than the topic of the conversation or the gender itself. Men were prepared to defend themselves and thus were able to resort to more effective face-saving strategies, while women were often unprepared and taken aback by the FTAs, and could not defend their face wants with the same efficiency. Thus, in the case of the present data, the situational roles men and women employ in the show proved to be the most significant factor in determining the choice of face-saving strategies.

One problem in the present study was subjectivity. It was sometimes hard to evaluate how the participants themselves experienced certain speech acts. Their verbal and non-verbal responses were, of course, helpful in determining what they judged to be face threatening, but in situations where the camera turned away and several people spoke at the same time, the assessment of the degree of seriousness of the predicament was sometimes difficult to make. The three main typologies (Brown and Levinson (1987), Goffman (1967) and Culpeper (1996)) together with the larger interactional context, however, provided guidelines for

the analysis, and fairly representative and objective account of face threateningness was achieved. Because of the lack of studies from the recipient point of view, the face-maintenance framework presented another problem. Luckily, the previous studies helped in creating a typology appropriate for the present data. The present typology is based only on limited amount of data from one source, so naturally the generalizability of the findings is also restricted.

In order to test the typology created on the basis of the present data, more extensive analysis should be carried out. It would be interesting to study different episodes of the same talk show, in order to find out whether the topic of the show influences the FTAs and face-saving strategies or not. In order to verify the importance of the participants' roles in gender differences, a show where women were invited as the 'accused' party also offer interesting possibilities for future study. The face-maintenance typology could also be used in analysing different types of talk shows, for example a celebrity show, in order to find out if the show's format influences the choice of strategies. Studies that concentrate solely on recipient strategies and gender differences in them are also needed to produce a distinct picture of recipient face-maintaining strategies. In addition, different FTAs could be also examined in more detail to find out whether particular face-saving strategies depend on certain types of FTAs.

Face-work and conversational politeness affects us all in our everyday communication. It is essential to shed some light to the processes that affect our speech choices in different contexts. Familiarizing oneself with possible causes and consequences of face-threateningness can prevent miscommunication and enhance the sensitivity to the co-interlocutors' face needs. Examination of male and female usage of FTAs and face-maintaining strategies also help to diminish the common stereotypes connected to male/female speech, and show that the situation is much more complex and multidimensional than the black-and-white stereotypes make us believe.

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## Appendix 1. THE TRANSCRIBED DATA.

TRANSCRIPTION NOTATION (adapted from Coates and Cameron 1989)

- [ ] square brackets indicate the beginning and the end of overlapping speech
- # 'fence-sign' indicates overlapping speech
- / oblique indicates short pause between the words
- (2) brackets indicate longer pauses in seconds
- = an equals sign indicates the absence of a discernible gap
- a dash indicates an unfinished utterance or word
- my underlining indicates an emphasis

**DISCUSSION ONE***Participants : Ricki, Mike, Janis, first audience member: a black man, under thirty**second audience member: a black man, under thirty**third audience member : a white woman, over thirty**fourth audience member : a black woman, under thirty**fifth audience member : a black woman, under thirty**sixth audience member : a black woman under thirty*

001 R: i want you to take a good look at these men (0.5) they say that they would never buy a car without test-driving it first (1) they also say the same rule applies to women (0.5) they will not marry the woman of their dreams until they sleep with her first (1) to-today my guests are here to tell the people in their lives i won't wait for the wedding date i have to sleep with you first  
(*the theme song, headline, audience applauding*)

002 R: hey there (1) in the older days women not sleeping with men before they were married seemed to be the rule not the exception then as time went on women decided to have sex before marriage yet (0.5) there were some women who waited and back then men respected that but today it seems that if a woman wants to wait until after she's married to have sex (0.5) she just isn't going to get married do you guys agree with that

003 A: mumbling, cheering (2.5)

004 R: well at least that is what some of my guests are saying today meet janis janis says she has been in lots of bad relationships and has made the decision that she wants to wait until after she's married to have sex

005 A: cheering, applauding (5.5)

006 R: you big hypocrites

007 A: laughing (1)

008 R: but (0.5) you didn't let me finish but (0.5) then janis said the dream of ever getting married faded after being dumped every time she told a guy she didn't want to have sex (1) janis what happened

009 J: every time i ever got into a relationship everything would go fine (0.5) a couple of weeks later they'd be like come on come on let's go let's go / and i'd be like no i wanna wait i wanna wait / no no no come on now everything's gonna be fine (1.5) (laughs)

010 R: how many how many guys are we talking about

011 J: lots

012 R: what's lots [a hundred

013 J: uhm no

014 A: laughing]

015 J: ten twenty thirty

016 R: all these guys turned you down after they figured out that you wouldn't sleep with them

017 J: yeah and some of them i mean (0.5) and i i kept on going after them (0.5) i'll admit it sure / i wanted it but uhm (0.5) they'd say oh come on now and i'd be like uhm well maybe maybe and i do a little flirty thing y'know and (0.5)

018 A: mumbling

019 J: i don't see there's nothing wrong with flirting

020 R: no there i mean there is nothing wrong with flirting but were you teasing these men

021 J: no (1.5) sure i'd i'd say stuff but i mean i wasn't like i was jumping on them or anything (1) but uhm (1)

022 A: mumbling

023 R: so what's been happening lately

024 J: (1.5) lately (1) uhm

025 A: laughing, mumbling (3)

026 R: what / what what (2) you've been doing it haven't you

- 027 J: can't beat 'em join 'em  
 028 A: uuuuuuh (2)  
 029 R: i bet all you guys are taking back your applause right now aren't you  
 030 A: yeah (1)  
 031 R: so what you figured you figured you can't you can't meet a guy that way [you  
 032 J: no  
 033 R: have to sleep with them in order to get them to stay with you  
 034 J: pretty much that's the way it goes  
 035 A: uuuuuuh (1)  
 036 J: if you ever if you (0.5) no if you ever wanna get married not with today's so-society (1)  
 037 R: so wait so what happened with this guy mike  
 038 J: (laughs) i haven't seen mike we went to school together and i hadn't seen him for five years (0.5) and i saw him  
 one night / at the bar / and i saw a whole bunch of other people and i was talking to him hi how are you doing oh  
 i haven't seen you for a while this that this that / then me and a bunch of my friends and uhm him we all went  
 out driving around for a little bit / and then / my friend cathy decided that she wanted to take off with a  
 truckdriver and uhm  
 039 R: no just get back to mike did you sleep with mike  
 040 J: no (1,5) [no  
 041 R: and] what did mike do when you wouldn't sleep with him  
 042 J: he went back to my house because he was extremely drunk and uhm / i told him that he could stay at my house /  
 that i had no problem with it uhm (1) he went in my bedroom i went into livingroom to go to do some stuff i  
 came back and he was in his underwear laying in bed going oh come lay down with me oh [come on sweetie  
 043 A: laughing,  
 mumbling]  
 044 J: and i said no i have things i gotta do  
 045 R: yes sir  
 045 A1: y'know you should really wait till that certain guy comes then to have sex after marriage  
 046 R: [ is that what you do sir is that what you practice  
 047 A: mumbling, laughing ](4)  
 048 R: you're waiting for that special girl you're not giving it up for anybody coz you're waiting for that special  
 someone [aren't you  
 049 A: mumbling]  
 050 A1: it depends #  
 051 R: # [sit down sir  
 052 A: applauding] (3)  
 053 R: alright (laughter) (2) so janis (1) you came all this way today to confront mike to tell him what  
 054 J: that he's a dog and that uhm (0.5) if he had the balls of a dog that he could have at least called me  
 055 A: uuuuuuh (2)  
 056 R: are we ready to meet mike  
 057 A: [yeah  
 058 R: mike come on out here]  
 059 A: (buuing as mike comes on stage)  
 060 R: [mike mike mike  
 061 J&M: (talking, unclear speech, mike laughs)]  
 062 R: she called you a dog  
 063 A: uuuuuuuuh (4)  
 064 M: if i'm a dog / i'm a great dane honey  
 065 A: uuuuh, laughing, clapping (4)  
 066 R: so mike mike / did you in fact dump her because she wouldn't sleep with you  
 067 M: no i just dumped her because it just wasn't going anywhere i mean it [just  
 068 J: exactly going anywhere  
 069 A: mumbling, laughing]  
 070 M: i mean (0.5) i really didn't (0.5) have any feelings y'know / more than just friend[ship  
 071 R: you had] enough feelings to  
 get down on your underwear  
 072 M: [i was also extremely drunk that night i mean  
 073 A: mumbling]  
 074 M: (1) i woke up the next morning and she obviously wasn't in bed with me so / i mean i never slept with her

- 075 R: so what do you think about what she's saying = she's saying that all these men wouldn't / spe- spend time with her because she wouldn't give it up = I mean do you think that's tru#
- 076 M: #that may be true / I mean from  
where we come from I mean (0.5) sex before marriage is pretty common (2)
- 077 A: [laughing]
- 078 R: and now it's now it is common in janis' household too (1) ] yes come over here sir
- 079 A2: yes i wanna know where do you all come from
- 080 A: laughing (3)
- 081 A2: answer my question
- 082 R: where are you guys from
- 083 J: I'm from wisconsin
- 084 A: mumbling, laughing (3)
- 085 R: alright (1) here in new york we always wait until we're married
- 086 A: [laughing, clapping (3)]
- 087 M: i don't think so ]
- 088 R: come on over here / yes
- 089 A3: where are you hanging out = why don't you uhm find a new place where to- look at this guy (1)
- 090 A: uuuuuh
- 091 A3: come on (1.5) hook yourself up with somebody that's worth [waiting for
- 092 J: it was- it was this- ] it was a back of the hill /  
bar
- 093 R: it was a back of the hill bar but #
- 094 M: #a back of the hill bar (*surprised*)
- 095 R: janis why did you wanna confront him
- 096 J: (1) i wanted to know i mean / he came / back after i said that i wasn't gonna jump in bed with him= he came back fo dinner / and i fell asleep on him / and i woke up and he was i'm out of here i call you later and that as it = this is the [first time
- 097 M: exactly]
- 098 J: i've talked to him since then = he didn't call didn't do anything
- 099 R: am i wh#
- 100 M: # you have a kid= you're also going to school I mean if (0.5) you were probably burned out so why why not [why not let you sleep
- 101 A: uuuuuuh
- 102 J: oh no don't even go there]
- 103 M: i was being a gentleman and letting [you sleep
- 104 A: uuuuuh
- 105 J: oh yeah]
- 106 M: i mean-
- 107 R: [ so mike
- 108 M: if i wanted] to sleep with you i'm sure i would have done it that night
- 109 R: mike / between you and me would you ever go out with a girl who didn't wanna have sex with you = who [just wanted to take it
- 110 M: i have gone out with ]
- 111 R: slow
- 112 M: i have gone with women who / i haven't slept with (1.5)
- 113 J: and where are they now
- 114 M: (2) [everybody
- 115 R: alright]
- 116 M: dates don't they
- 117 R: yes ma'am
- 118 A4: if you had sex with him and he was all good you wouldn't be calling him a dog
- 119 M: exactly
- 120 A: [clapping (2)]
- 121 M: i'd probably been the best sex you ever had honey]
- 122 R: yes ma'am
- 123 A5: (1) hi uhm i just wanna ask you a question
- 124 R: you gotta speak up (*whispering*)
- 125 A5: i just wanna ask you a question = before the night that you uhm allowed him to spend the night at your house

- di- did you like- did you like him before that
- 126 J: yeah
- 127 A5: so / when you = i understand that he was drunk and you wanted to make sure he got safe home = safe alright and let him spend the night but why did you allow him to sleep in your bedroom = you should have made it perfectly clear that it wasn't = you you wa- you weren't gonna get down like that so maybe you #
- 128 R: # you you  
saying she let him on
- 129 A5: in a way = she [should have
- 130 J: no]
- 131 A5: y'know said to him well y'know you can spend the night but you're gonna sleep on the couch i'm gonna sleep in the bedroom # (*unclear speech*)
- 132 J: # coz my brother and his friends were on the couch
- 133 A5: but i'm saying by you allowing him to sleep in your bedroom#
- 134 R: # y'know i i mean you're you're a much #
- 135 M: # (*un-  
clear speech*)
- 136 R: you're a much more generous person than than i because y'know if it was me there's no way this drunken guy is gonna be sleeping in my bed
- 137 A: mumbling (2)
- 138 R: alright yes you wanted a say / come on yes
- 138 A6: uhm you said you wanted to wait until you got married to have sex / what if after you get married and / your mate can't satisfy you what are you gonna do then
- 139 A: [ clapping
- 140 J: doctor ruth
- 141 M: exactly ]
- 142 R: (1) i mean yeah where are you at now janis janis you you you're actually / having sex before marriage you you decided that (0.5) if you can't beat them join them i think that that was those we- those were your words
- 143 J: i just recently started a relationship (0.5) uhm (0.5) we're not getting very serious uhm we #
- 144 R: # have you slept  
together
- 145 J: yes
- 146 A: mumbling (2.5)
- 147 J: but it [wasn't
- 148 M: voila]
- 149 A: [mumbling
- 150 J: no no it wasn't because #
- 151 M: # i gotta i gotta
- 152 R: (1) yes mike] (0.5)
- 153 M: how many of you guys out there (0.5) would y'know / kinda get the hint that maybe she wants to sleep with you if she ca- asks you over for a dinner at her house i mean
- 154 A: mumbling, buuing, laughing
- 155 R: mike what are you saying (2)
- 156 J: so if if somebody invited you over for dinner and it was a guy did you think that he would wanna have sex with you
- 157 M: [no
- 158 A: mumbling, laughing]
- 159 J: well then what makes it any different
- 160 M: because i mean just / the relationship the way it was going i mean
- 161 J: [ hospitality
- 162 M: yeah
- 163 R: alright] so there's no chance you two getting back together
- 164 J: [ no
- 165 M: no]
- 166 A: laughing, clapping (2)
- 167 R: that's all a needed to know / when we come back a guy who says a reason he won't date her is because she's a virgin we'll be right back after this

**DISCUSSION TWO**

*Participants: Ricki, Melissa, Mike, first audience member : a black woman, under thirty  
 second audience member : a black woman, under thirty  
 third audience member : a black man, under thirty  
 fourth audience member : a white woman, over thirty*

- 001 R: meet melissa she and her friend argue all the time about having sex before you're married / in fact he has even told her that one of the reasons that they are only friends is because he knows he can never sleep with her why= because Melissa is a virgin and would like to stay that way hopefully until after she's married
- 002 A: clapping, cheering (4) (*Melissa is urging the audience to applaud*)
- 003 R: i gotta say melissa you're a rarity it's it's great to see because we have so many young people who are y'know pregnant with their fourth baby and have the hiv-virus so for you i mean it's really it's really commendable to see you proud to be a virgin at twenty
- 004 Me: thank you
- 005 R: congratulations
- 006 A: applauding (4)
- 007 R: wh- why are you waiting till you're married
- 008 Me: uhm it's not so much y'know a lot of people wait for the moral value i'm just i don't wanna get a disease i don't wanna get aids i have like my whole life ahead of me i wanna be a teacher i don't wanna (0.5) have to deal with that or pregnancy or anything
- 009 A: applauding (6)
- 010 R: so melissa what is dating like for you
- 011 Me: well i mean (0.5) if= i'm really upfront about it i'm really upfront that / i'm not gonna have sex with you so / i mean guys have stayed guys have left (0.5) if i if they don't wanna be with me because i won't sleep with them well then (0.5) [ they are not the kind of person i wanna be with
- 012 R: you don't wanna be with them anyway]
- 013 Me: anyway
- 014 R: right
- 015 A: applauding (4)
- 016 R: yes ma'am
- 017 A1: i congratulate you because i'm the same way i'm twenty-eight i haven't done it yet and i'm very proud of it
- 018 A: [ applauding
- 019 R: well nice to meet you (1) now (2) look you're getting standing applause in that corner ] (0.5) now let me say twenty-eight what's it like for you dating
- 020 A1: for me it's great once you have / y'know you can have a good time but you don't need sex with these diseases aids and everything you don't need it
- 021 Me: yeah
- 022 A1: so you y'know it's too hard to bring up a baby and then knowing that you gonna have / uhm aids is no # (*goes on, unaudible because Ricki takes the microphone away*)
- 023 R: # how do guys react to you when you tell them that you're virgin at twenty-eight
- 024 A1: well at first it was a (0.5) uhm okay we'll so y'know we'll have fun and then / they don't like it they keep going i go i close the door #
- 025 R: # you have a man right now
- 026 A1: (1.5) yep
- 027 A: [ cheering (2)
- 028 R: she had to think about it for awhile thanks ma'am (1) melissa
- 029 Me: (*speaking to Mike*) she's gonna ask me]
- 030 R: what is gonna happen if you don't find a guy how long are you gonna wait
- 031 Me: i'll find a guy
- 032 R: alright (1) tell me about your buddy mike
- 033 Me: uhm mike's a good friend of mine and we just have really / opposing view points he says y'know that you have to have sex with someone before you marry them to know how the sex is and i heard someone / before say that how do you know if it is bad sex well / practise makes perfect if they are not good at first y'know when you had sex your first time it wasn't good anyway
- 034 A: applauding, cheering (4)
- 035 R: alright (1) do we wanna hear from mike and hear what he has to say i sure do mike come on out here
- 036 A: applauding (8)

- 037 R: mike (0.5) what do you think about sex before marriage
- 038 Mi: i think you have to have it right
- 039 A: cheering (3)
- 040 Mi: coz coz really how you're supposed to know what's the girl like and all that / you can't just can't just / go into it without (0.5) without having having sex first
- 041 R: so did you ever think about melissa romantically
- 042 Mi: (1) no no
- 043 R: why not she's a cute girl
- 044 Mi: yes she is she's a beautiful girl (0.5) just not on on that level
- 045 R: the sex level
- 046 Mi: right / because y'know there sort of has to be like a pile of gold at the end of the rainbow (0.5) so you have to know you're getting somewhere
- 047 A: mumbling (3)
- 048 R: yes
- 049 A2: hi first of all when you have sex you should do it for the right reason it should be because of love so if you love them you should wait anyway and anyway sex is not the main thing you should love her for her personality what ever and if you really love a person y'know for all those reasons then it'll be okay to wait / you're acting like you're a dog in heat or something
- 050 A: applauding (4)
- 051 Mi: but before (1)
- 052 R: yes
- 053 A3: well uhm one thing when it comes to marriage uhm the original reasons for the thing is the union of two people for the sake of love and happiness not to just have sex / because se- sex originally supposed to be something just to make children
- 054 Mi: [ but if you can't give your partner the biggest part of you / if you can't give your partner the biggest part of you then then how how are you are you supposed to know if you are compatible
- 055 A3: that's the point of it it's not supposed to be just uhm test (1) no i mean ] what what if you can't have sex with a person what if you're married to someone who gets paralyzed or something what are you gonna do dump them
- 056 A&Mi: laughing (2)
- 057 A3: what happens to love what's up with love / i mean if you love a person it shouldn't even make a [difference
- 058 R: so sir] what you are telling me is that you waited until you were [ married
- 059 A3: no] i'm not gonna lie i i didn't wait but the simple fact is right now (0.5) me and my girl not having sex we had we had but we're not doing it no more because it's / right now it's a matter of her choice and everything but i decided that / if i love her the way i say i do i wait i don't care
- 060 R: you're gonna wait
- 061 A3: yeah
- 062 A: [ applauding
- 063 R: good for you ]
- 064 A: applauding (5)
- 065 R: yes
- 066 A4: my question is what's gonna happen when you do find that girl you wa- wanna marry and / she's been with all these guys how are you gonna feel about that
- 067 Mi: well she'll understand who i've been with too and we gotta be open about that y'know
- 068 A4: how old are you
- 069 Mi: [ uhm as long as she practises safe sex
- 070 A4: ho- how old are you]
- 071 Mi: ho- how old am i
- 072 A4: yeah
- 073 Mi: twenty
- 074 A4: how old do you wanna be when you get married
- 075 Mi: depends on when i find the right person it could be forty it could be twenty-one
- 076 A4: [ there's a lot of people that you can be with
- 077 Mi: it could be like in this month i never know]
- 078 A4: between now and the time you're #
- 079 R: # so what are you saying you're saying a woman may not want him because

- he has slept with so many girls
- 080 A4: i'm saying both / it it goes both ways i mean you're not gonna want somebody oh i shouldn't say that you might not want someone who's been around you might want someone who / is
- 081 R: [ like melissa
- 082 Mi: i want ] someone who's compatible with myself (1) i need to find someone that's right for me right i don't care as long [ we get hiv-tests
- 083 R: but aren't you maybe melissa]
- 084 Mi: and we're both negative and she doesn't have herbies or rabies or any of that
- 085 A: laughing (1.5)
- 086 R: mike (0.5) you just said melissa is a beautiful girl y'know you might be passing up the best thing that comes along simply because she won't sleep with you right away
- 087 Mi: well you gotta ask her the same question too right i i didn't say i wouldn't be with her i mean marry her but you gotta ask her that too because we have to be compatible [ we are more friends
- 088 R: yeah i mean melissa would ] he he be your type of guy
- 089 Me: (1) i don't see him that way [ i guess
- 090 Mi: it's it's]
- 091 Me: i mean maybe some day but we're just buddies kinda (1) y'know
- 092 A: laughing (1.5)
- 093 Me: maybe someday y'know but we're (1)
- 094 R: alright y'know what keep us all posted
- 095 Me: we'll we'll send you a postcard
- 096 R: alright
- 097 Me: alright
- 098 R: coming up next a mother tells her daughter he promised if you slept with him he'd never leave you so where is he now we'll meet them next
- 099 A: applauding

### DISCUSSION 3

*Participants Ricki, Shirley, Nikki, Mike from the first conversation, Mike from the second conversation, one audience member : a black woman, under thirty*

- 001 R: many mothers dream about their daughter's wedding day and grand children that's what my next guest shirley had hoped for until her daughter nikki started dating the wrong guy who took all that away from her shirley what happened
- 002 S: he was lying he thought he was all that he wasn't even close to it
- 003 A: laughing
- 004 S: eighteen years old comes in and tells my daughter that she would never have to worry about a thing (0.5) she was beautiful and that he could do just what ever she wanted it was right there talked a little fourteen year old into doing what ever [he wanted
- 005 M: why was eighteen year old going to fourteen year old girl for]
- 006 S: he was sneaky like all you men he was sneaky you want it you're going to get #
- 007 M: # she was only fourteen years old
- 008 S: [she wasn't dating
- 009 Mi: i don't sneak]
- 010 S: that's what i'm going to say she was going to school / i thought she= i work okay i'm a hairdresser i work out of my house two days i'm gone two days a week this little boy / would call my daughter and tell her that we could do this coz mama's not home (1) but she had enough respect for me not to do it at house but she has no respect for him he's a punk because he won't= he's all this and that but yet he couldn't come to a free show / to be here with you to verify that he's a good guy please
- 011 R: now let me just say something i mean your daughter yes she's you're fifteen now fifteen now you were fourteen but (0.5) you you you're coming down awfully heavy on the guy it takes when two people have sex it takes two people
- 012 S: okay okay / i i understand it takes all that and she did agree but (1) he took advantage he came in on a fourteen year old mind / nikki never dated nikki never went out but like i said the only times she left my house was when he confronted her on thursday and friday
- 013 R: hey mom can i can i talk to nikki for a sec



014 S: uuh go ahead (laughs)  
 015 A: laughing (1)  
 016 R: nik- nikki what do you have to say  
 017 N: (1) about the whole thing  
 018 R: [ yeah  
 019 N: he's]  
 020 R: coz i understand you did get pregnant  
 021 N: yhym  
 022 A: mumbling (1)  
 023 R: yeah that does happen when two people have sex y'know  
 024 A: laughing (3.5)  
 025 R: so nikki do you feel like this guy did take advantage of you  
 026 N: in in a way yeah / but it was i agreed to it too it wasn't all (0.5) him it was me too it's not like he pre- he he talked me into it but he didn't really like  
 027 R: you wanted to do it too  
 028 N: well  
 029 A: yeah  
 030 R: yeah  
 031 S: wait a minute she was infatuated here's a kid out of school who's got a fine little vehicle he's very popular around the neighbourhood and he shows interest to a fourteen year old tell me one fourteen year old out there that's not gonna have an eighteen year old come by and you're not gonna jump on you're not gonna be there  
 032 R: but let me say something mom you're saying that that her life is now ruined  
 033 S: no no no no no #  
 034 N: # no it's #  
 035 S: # it was on hold for a year and a half (0.5) because she had a modelling career set up (0.5) the whole nine yards and because she had to spend this this little time / this three months of getting over the pregnancy the abortion by the way mr. (*name erased*) was going to pay for but now all of a sudden it's not even his he was the big man on campus yeah i got that one i got that one  
 036 R: i'm confused (1) he was the father of the baby  
 037 S: [ oh yeah  
 038 N: yes he was] and and everybody knows that he was the only one i was with and for the pa- for the eight months ten months that we were together [and  
 039 R: okay but nikki nikki] how okay it's been year and a half since you've been with this guy  
 040 N: [no  
 041 S: no  
 042 R: no  
 043 S: no]  
 044 N: it's been like / maybe four months  
 045 R: oh (0.5) okay four months do you feel differently about sex before marriage [ now  
 046 N: yhym]  
 047 R: how do you feel now  
 048 N: (0.5) i just it i don't think that you should / go rushing to things like this because #  
 049 S: # you you see what #  
 050 N: # i found out what happened the hard way  
 051 R: and you're gonna wait  
 052 N: exactly  
 053 R: okay  
 054 A: applauding (4.5)  
 055 R: yes ma'am  
 056 A1: i wanted to say to the mother that / you need to look at your fourteen year old daughter #  
 057 R: # fifteen now  
 058 A1: fourteen year old daughter she does not look her age look in the mirror and instead of casting the blame on that young man you need to be home you need to raise your child on the proper way and it's nice to know that she's learned from her mistakes unfortunately the kind of mistake that it is and as a mother you have no business bringing that child on this stage where [ everyone can see (0.5) that your child had an abortion and if your mother

- 059 N: wait a minute wait a minute let me tell you first it wasn't it  
wasn't her it was my choice to come on this show]
- 060 A1: did not agree to it she should not be here supporting you you're [ fifteen years old and it is not for the rest of  
the world to know
- 061 N: it was not like that and i was not forced to  
come on this show
- 062 A1: about you [ should be ashamed of yourself you should
- 063 A: applauding
- 064 N: but it was no i should not be ashamed of myself (0.5)[ no i came on
- 065 R: wait wait wait]
- 066 N: this show because it was my choice
- 067 R: exact- i mean (2) that is her choice i mean
- 068 A1: we all make mistakes ricki but unfortunately in this country no one knows how to raise their children the  
proper way anymore # (*goes on, unaudible speech without the microphone*)
- 069 R: # and a fourteen year old certainly doesn't know how to raise a child
- 070 A1: exactly but a mother has no business bringing a fourteen year old to television to let everybody know that her  
child had an abortion (0.5)
- 071 A: applauding
- 072 A1: that is a private issue that is a private #
- 073 R: # it might be a private issue for you but it might not be a private issue  
for them
- 074 A1: (*goes on, unaudible without an microphone*) # a little self respect i would be ashamed to tell # (*goes on*)
- 075 R: # but you know  
what some people would be ashamed if their fourteen year old had a baby
- 076 A1: exactly but y'know what keep it to yourself the whole world does not need to know okay
- 077 N: let me say something
- 078 R: yes [nikki
- 079 N: this] show is not about with / what you're talking about
- 080 R: yeah this show is not about abortion
- 081 N: [ exactly so
- 082 A1: i agree with you] but what i'm saying i i applauded you because / you did learn your lesson that's great  
y'know unfortunately at your age it's the way you had to learn your lesson what i'm saying it's sad that you're  
gonna come on television for the whole world to know [ your personal
- 083 N: no it's not sad that's my that's my choice (0.5)
- 084 R: it's not sad to her it's sad to you]
- 085 N: that's my choice that's your opinion
- 086 A: mumbling
- 087 A1: to me it's sad
- 088 N: [ well that's your opinion
- 089 R: well okay (0.5) yes]
- 090 N: but it's not mine that's your opinion
- 091 R: i gotta say just you coming on and talking about what you're talking about not even about the abortion or  
getting pregnant but even talking about sex and and how you're grown as an individual and learned your lesson  
the hard way i really commend you for coming here
- 092 A: applauding
- 093 R: when we come back a woman who says you have to have sex before marriage or you're in real trouble and a  
guy who says he believes in sex before marriage especially with virgins we'll be right back after this

#### DISCUSSION 4

*Participants: Ricki, Juanita, Creig, Mike from the first conversation, Melissa and Mike from the second  
conversation, Shirley and Nikki from the third conversation, first audience member : a black woman, under thirty  
second audience member : a white woman, under thirty  
third audience member : a black woman, under thirty*

- 001 R: some people feel you should not have sex before marriage but my next two guests say that sex before marriage  
is the only way to go because it's the only way to know for sure if you're sexually compatible with somebody  
please meet juanita and creig (0.5) now

- 002 A: applauding (1.5)
- 003 R: juanita / you believe that a woman should have sex before marriage why is that
- 004 J: i was married to a man who uhm he couldn't / we were not compatible [we
- 005 A: laughing]
- 006 J: we did we did have sex before marriage #
- 007 R: # picture it guys he couldn't (0.5) they weren't compatible alright
- 008 A: mumbling, laughing
- 009 J: we we had children together so that was possible but uhm (0.5) it just wasn't good and it ended in divorce and a lot of the reason was because the sex was not there and and it became a violent marriage because the sex wasn't good
- 010 A: mumbling, laughing (2)
- 011 R: you beat him up coz you couldn't get enough
- 012 J: no he
- 013 A&J: laughing (1)
- 014 J: no he beat me up because i wouldn't give it to him because it wasn't worth giving
- 015 R: alright now i'm i'm not mocking (0.5) okay i'm not mocking your [ situation
- 016 J: oh i know
- 017 R: but did you wait did you not have sex with him before hand so you didn't know #
- 018 J: # we did have it before hand  
but i was young and unexperienced and i didn't know any better
- 019 R: so maybe maybe the answer is to wait until you're / old enough
- 020 C: [it's it's easy
- 021 R: really]
- 022 C: to say but it's hard to do
- 023 J: i don't think that is that you need to wait until you're old enough either i think you just need to / maybe experiment well i'm not saying be twelve or something like that but i think you need to experiment a little more and
- 024 R: but maybe wait to get married [i'm not saying
- 025 J: oh yeah
- 026 R: wait to have sex i'm saying maybe you should have waited until you're older and more mature to get married
- 027 J: i don't know i think i was mature enough to be married i just don't think that (0.5) i think it's important to experiment and to (0.5) get to know / your partner and
- 028 M: how do you know that it's good
- 029 J: yeah
- 030 Me: it doesn't matter
- 031 J: it does matter (0.5) no it does matter it's extremely important  
[(all guests talking at the same time)
- 032 R: yeah i (0.5) creig (4) ] excuse me mike let me let me talk to creig for a minute = creig you you agree with what juanita says
- 033 C: right I think sex is uhm very important to a relationship
- 034 A: mumbling, laughter
- 035 C: all the women y'know
- 036 R: i'll bet you do
- 037 C: you gotta you gotta = i wanna taste the milk before i buy the cow y'know what i'm saying
- 038 A: mumbling, yelling, clapping (3)
- 039 C: i get i get #
- 040 R: # that's a lovely analogy
- 041 C: now let's get down to the business ladies y'know what i'm saying= they are talking about dinner = you go out to dinner sure but uhm we're going to the motel first = if you're good you'll get filet mignon
- 042 A: [yelling
- 043 C: if bad you're cating chccsc burgers baby you're cating cheese burgers (3) (goes on, unclear speech)]
- 044 R: wait let me let me get this straight = creig is a dog huh
- 045 A: yelling, applauding (creig speaking, unclear)-(2)
- 046 R: creig i understand that you also prefer to have sex with virgins
- 047 C: aah yes yes that's great
- 048 A: yelling (2)
- 049 C: [what's
- 050 R: well what happens] when they lose their virginity = what happens then = [then you move on

- 051 C: oh that's that's that's] it's not uhm  
virginity y'know it's not the most important thing = there's gotta be other qualities = we gotta get along like  
the girlfriend i have now = i like to say hello to carmen (laughter) (0.5) [my baby
- 052 R: but don't you think] but let's just say-  
okay let's say that this woman you're with now you two get married = don't you think that later on because  
you've been with all these other virgins = you've been with all these other women and she's only been with  
you= don't you think she's she's gonna feel cheated and wanna go explore
- 053 C: uhm some some do some don't but i i can't take that i mean i want my girl my wife to be me that's it (0.5) first  
and last baby
- 054 N: well then what do you think all the other men feel #
- 055 R: # yes ma'am
- 056 N: when they've been with you
- 057 A1: i wanna know uhm what makes you think that a virgin's gonna wanna be with you [if you have to taste
- 058 N: yeah exactly]
- 059 A1: the milk before you bought a cow (0.5) with everybody
- 060 C: (1.5) [because that's
- 061 R: yeah why would] she wanna be with you (*with contempt*)
- 062 C: coz she's gonna have the best sex of her life [if she's with me
- 063 A: uuuuuuh
- 064 R: alright alright]
- 065 C: [in the house baby i'm in the house (0.5) hey hey you ladies you virgins (1) hey when you virgins see me out in  
the railroad waiting for a good time = just call me over (0.5) right
- 066 A: mumbling]
- 067 R: we'll be running to the phone creig = yes
- 068 A2: i really can't say that / you shouldn't have sex before marriage coz i did and now i'm pregnant nine months  
thank you so i mean (0.5) you're a dog = how can you say rather / no i'm sorry just because she's a virgin  
you'd sleep with her
- 069 C: no no she [would became my wife y'know
- 070 A2: and you want your] wife be only with you
- 071 C: (1) only me first and last (0.5) [nobody else
- 072 A2: first and last ]= you're a hypocrite you're sorry
- 073 S: but then along the line when you decide after eight or nine virgins oh well these aren't the right ones yet  
(1) [(goes on, unclear)
- 074 C: i keep on going = i just keep on going]
- 075 A: [ uuuuuuh, buuing, some clapping (2)
- 076 C: i'm young- i'm too young]
- 077 R: i gotta say as as a married person i really y'know- i i had sex with my husband before we we married and (1.5)  
and i'm not [nonono
- 078 A: first buuing, then clapping, laughing (3)
- 079 R: guys (3) i'm not wait wait wait i'm not asking for ] y'know applause or anything i'm just i'm just  
i'm sharing and (*laughter*)
- 080 A: laughter (1)
- 081 R: i gotta say that y'know both my husband and i had other partners in the past and i appreciate having that  
because we both learned from those experiences
- 082 C: it's not like the first thing y'know these girls they have sex with their their first guy they're- you can get that  
anytime my man you're the first man you're always the man [ you with me you with me
- 083 R: so what since you have]
- 084 C: [you with me = anytime baby
- 085 A: yelling, mumbling ]
- 086 R: i get the feeling = let me play amateur psychiatrist that creig is deep down really insecure
- 087 C: [no no
- 088 A: applauding]
- 089 R: and he needs to pump up his ego
- 090 C: sometimes people say that but i think it's the #
- 091 R: # yes yes
- 092 C: other way
- 093 R: yes ma'am
- 094 A3: i would like to know who told mike he was all that

- 095 guests: which mike  
 096 A3: mike in burgundi  
 097 R: that's creig  
 098 A3: creig in burgundi (*laughter*)  
 098 A: laughing (1.5)  
 100 R: yeah all you virgins out there= look out for creig and run to the opposite direction when we come back what does miss america padgeon and waiting for sex until after marriage have in common find out when we come back

### DISCUSSION 5

*Participants Ricki, Tiffany, Creig, first audience member : a black woman, under thirty  
 second audience member : a black woman, under thirty  
 third audience member : a white man, under thirty*

- 001 R: hi we are back yes what do you wanna say  
 002 A1: alright it's it's bad to get pregnant did you use condom  
 003 N: the first time yeah  
 004 A1: so how did you get pregnant  
 005 N: (1) no it was  
 006 A: mumbling  
 007 A1: you pregnant right you was pregnant right  
 008 N: [ no the first time  
 009 R: the first time ] weren't you paying attention the first time she did it more than once (0.5) alright yes hang on (*a door bell rings*) who is it come in (2) oh my god it's miss california (2.5) hi  
 010 A: applauding (4)  
 011 R: ladies and gentlemen please meet tiffany stoker she's the third runner up from miss america padgeon miss california it's nice to have you here  
 012 A: applauding (7)  
 013 R: miss california or should i call you tiffany  
 014 T: tiffany's fine  
 015 R: okay tiffany have you been listening  
 016 T: [ i have  
 017 R: to what's going on]  
 018 T: i have  
 019 R: what do you think about sex before marriage  
 020 T: it is a personal commitment that i have made and with the miss america organization we have a platform which is an issue that we champion during our year / and for years ago i was america's junior miss in 1992 and during that year i had the chance to spend a lot of time with the youth of our country and i really realized that teenage sexual activity is a threat to the health and the well being of our young people uhm y'know health-wise every year threemillion teens contract sexually transmitted disease uhm and i know it's not easy i'm human i have hormones just like the rest of you but it's a personal commitment it's a matter of self-discipline and it's a personal choice that i have made #  
 021 R: # and how old are you  
 022 T: i'm 21  
 023 R: (1) you're 21 so  
 024 A: applauding (4)  
 025 R: creig (1) if you come near her [ i'm gonna  
 026 C: oh that's why ] you put me so far away right  
 027 A: [laughing  
 028 C: i'd like to tell i'd like to tell] y'know (0.5) a virgin is i'm not just going after the sex y'know a virgin i want my wife (0.5) i set my standards high y'know [ no diseases no  
 029 R: yeah but y'know what ] maybe that woman sets her standards high and she doesn't wanna guy who's been with [all these other women  
 030 C: miss california] she'd be perfect for me  
 031 A: laughing, mumbling (2)  
 032 T: i have something to say i set my standards high too / and i want someone who's a virgin  
 033 C: [ alright  
 034 A: clapping, cheering (2.5)

- 035 C: i wish i was a virgin i wish i was (0.5) if i could go back in time i would ]
- 036 R: alright yes ma'am
- 037 C: i'd give it all back
- 038 A2: i have a comment for creig i think the only reason he likes to have sex with a virgin is because they can't tell a difference between good and bad sex
- 039 A: [ laughing, cheering (6)
- 040 C: like i said you eat if you're good you eat filet mignon if you're bad you eat cheese burger ] but i #
- 041 R: # alright (1)  
creig i gotta say i met your cousin in the audience and he's embarrassed to know you and even be related to you
- 042 A: [applauding, cheering (1)
- 043 C: what is this what do you #
- 044 R: # tiffany let me ask you are you involved with anybody right now
- 045 T: absolutely i have a wonderful boyfriend he's a football player at stanford
- 046 C: and he's a virgin (*unconvinced*)
- 047 T: and he's a virgin
- 048 A: [cheering, clapping (5) (*creig throws his arms*)
- 049 C: i play football] (1)
- 050 R: yes sir
- 051 A3: tiffany you said something against diseases and stuff don't you think it would be better to educate towards contraception
- 052 T: y' know i've done a lot of research on that and i heard someone= mike say something if they use= practise safe sex let me give you a little message about safe sex there is no such thing [ condoms
- 053 R: abstinence]
- 054 T: condoms some condoms break 36 per cent at the time now like when i speak in the schools i use the scenario y'know if you and two of your friends were going sky diving and you knew one of the parachutes would not open i don't think there's anyone in this studio that would jump from that plane i would not i value my life too much i have too much of a future i want an education i want a beautiful family i want something very very special between my husband and i that only us have experienced on our wedding night
- 055 R: alright fair enough thank you tiffany
- 056 A: cheering

## Appendix 2. FTAs AND FBAs IN THE DATA.

**Table (1).** The first conversation.

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	<p>(1) you big hypocrites (006)</p> <p>(2) what's lots a hundred (012)</p> <p>(3) ... but were you teasing these men (020)</p> <p>(4) so what's been happening lately (023)</p> <p>(5)...you've been doing it haven't you (026)</p> <p>(6) i bet all you guys are taking back your applause right now aren't you (029)</p> <p>(7)...you have to sleep with them in order to get them to stay with you (033)</p> <p>(8) no just get back to mike did you sleep with mike (039)</p> <p>(9) is that what you do sir is that what you practice (046)</p> <p>(10) you're waiting for that special girl you're not giving it up for anybody coz you're waiting for that special someone aren't you (048)</p> <p>(11) sit down sir (051)</p> <p>(12) she called you a dog (062)</p> <p>(13) ...did you in fact dump her because she wouldn't sleep with you (066)</p> <p>(14) you had enough feelings to get down on your underwear (071)</p> <p>(15) ...now it is common in janis' household too (077)</p> <p>(16) you gotta speak up (124)</p> <p>(17) you you saying she let him on (128)</p> <p>(18) you're a much more generous person than i because y'know if it was me there's no way this drunken guy is gonna be sleeping in my bed (136)</p> <p>(19) i mean yeah where are you at now janis you you're actually / having sex before marriage you decided that (0.5) if you can't beat them join them i think that that was those we- those were your words (142)</p> <p>(20) have you slept together (144)</p>	-----	-----	-----

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Janis	(21) that he's a dog and that yhm (0.5) if he had the balls of a dog that he could have at least called me (054) (22) exactly going anywhere (068) (23) it was a back of the hill bar (092) (24) ...he didn't call didn't do anything (098) (25) oh no don't even go there (102) (26) oh yeah (105) (27) and where are they now (113) (28) so if somebody invited you over for dinner and it was a guy did you think that he would wanna have sex with you (156) (29) well then what makes it any different (159) (30) no (164)	(2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (12), (15), (17), (18), (19), (20), (31), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (37), (38), (39), (40), (41), (42), (43), (44), (45), (46), (47), (48), (51).	----	----
Mike	(31) ...i really didn't (0.5) have any feelings y'know / more that just friendship (070) (32) if i wanted to sleep with you i'm sure i would have done it that night (108) (33) exactly (119) (34) exactly (141) (35) voila (148) (36) how many of you guys out there (0.5) would y'know / kinda get the hint that maybe she wants to sleep with you if she ca-asks you over for a dinner at her house i mean (153) (37) no (165)	(12), (13), (14), (18), (21), (22), (23), (24), (25), (26), (27), (28), (29), (39), (39), (40), (41), (50), (52).	----	----
A1	(38) y'know you should really wait till that certain guy comes then to have sex after marriage (045)	(9), (19), (11), (49).	----	----
A2	(39) answer my question (081)	-----	-----	----
A3	(40) where are you hanging out = why don't you uhm find a new place where to look at this guy (089) (41) come on (1.5) hook yourself yp with somebody that's worth waiting for (091)	-----	-----	----
A4	(42) if you had sex with him and he was all good you wouldn't be calling him a dog (118)	-----	-----	----



Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBA's done by him/herself	FBA's done by someone else
A5	(43) ...why did you allow him to sleep in your bedroom = you should have made it perfectly clear that it wasn't = you you wa- you weren't gonna get down like that... (127) (44) in a way = she should have y'know said to him well y'know you can spend the night but you're gonna sleep on the couch i'm gonna sleep in the bedroom (131) (45) but i'm saying by you allowing him to sleep in your bedroom # (133)	(16).	-----	-----
A6	(46) ...what if after you get married and / your mate can't satisfy you what are you gonna do then (138)	-----	-----	-----
Audience	(47) mumbling (018) (48) yeah (030) (49) applause (052) (50) buuing (059) (51) mumbling (146) (52) mumbling, buuing (154)	(1).	-----	-----

**Table 2.** The second conversation.

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBA's done by him/herself	FBA's done by someone else
Ricki	(1) she had to think about it for awhile...(028) (2) so did you ever think about melissa romantically (041) (3) so sir what you are telling me is that you waited until you were married (058) (4) so what are you saying you're saying a woman may not want him because he has slept with so many girls (079) (5) ...you just said melissa is a beautiful girl y'know you might be passing up the best thing that comes along simply because she won't sleep with you right away (086) (6) yeah i mean melissa would he be your type of guy (088) -----	-----	(1) i gotta say melissa you're a rarity it's it's great to see because we have so many young people who are y'know pregnant with their fourth baby and have the hiv-virus so for you i mean it's really it's really commendable to see you proud to be a virgin at twenty (003) (2) congratulations (005) (3) you don't wanna be with them anyway (012) (4) right (014) (5) well nice to meet you (1) now (2) look you're getting standing applause in that corner (019) (6) why not she's a cute girl (043) (7) good for you (063) (8) like melissa (081)	-----
Melissa	(7) i don't see him that way i guess (089)	(6), (8), (9).	-----	(1), (2), (3), (4), (6), (8), (9), (11), (12), (13), (14), (16).
Mike	(8) no no (042) (9) yes she is she's a beautiful girl (0.5) just not on on that level (044)	(2), (4), (5), (7), (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17).	-----	(17).

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
A1	-----	(2).	(9) i congratulate you because i'm the same way i'm twenty-eight i haven't done it yet and i'm very proud of it (017)	(5), (15).
A2	(10) hi first of all when you have sex you should do it for the right reason it should be because of love so if you love them you should wait anyway and anyway sex is not the main thing you should love her for her personality what ever and if you really love a person y'know for all those reasons then it'll be okay to wait / you're acting like you're a dog in heat or something (049)	-----	-----	-----
A3	(11) well uhm one thing when it comes to marriage uhm the original reasons for the thing is the union of two people for the sake of love and happiness not to just have sex / because se- sex originally supposed to be something just to make children (053) (12) that's the point of it it's not supposed to be just uhm test (1) no i mean ] what what if you can't have sex with a person what if you're married to someone who gets paralyzed or something what are you gonna do dump them (055) (13) what happens to love what's up with love / i mean if you love a person it shouldn't even make a difference (057)	(3).	(10, SELF) no] i'm not gonna lie i i didn't wait but the simple fact is right now (0.5) me and my girl not having sex we had we had but we're not doing it no more because it's / right now it's a matter of her choice and everything but i decided that / if i love her the way i say i do i wait i don't care (059)	(7), (18).
A4	(14) my question is what's gonna happen when you do find that girl you wa- wanna marry and / she's been with all these guys how are you gonna feel about that (066) (15) there's a lot of people that you can be with between now and the time you're # (076, 078) (16) i'm saying both / it it goes both ways i mean you're not gonna want somebody oh i shouldn't say that you might not want someone who's been around you might want someone who / is (080)	-----	-----	-----

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Audience	(17) applause (050)	-----	(11) applause (002) (12) applause (006) (13) applause (009) (14) applause (015) (15) applause (018) (16) applause (034) (17) cheering (039) (18) applause (062, 064)	-----

**Table 3.** The third conversation.

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	(1) you you you're coming down awfully heavy on the guy it takes when two people have sex it takes two people (011) (2) you wanted to do it too (027) (3) yeah (030) (4) fifteen now (057) (5) wait wait wait (065) (6) it might be a private issue for you but it might not be a private issue for them (073) (7) yeah this show it not about abortion (080) (8) i gotta say just you coming on and talking about what you're talking about not even about the abortion or getting pregnant but even talking about sex and and how you're grown as an individual and learned your lesson the hard way i really commend you for coming here (091)	(19).	(1) i gotta say just you coming on and talking about what you're talking about not even about the abortion or getting pregnant but even talking about sex and and how you're grown as an individual and learned your lesson the hard way i really commend you for coming here (091)	-----

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Shirley	<p>(9) he was lying he thought he was all that he wasn't even close to it (002)</p> <p>(10) eighteen years old comes in and tells my daughter that she would never have to worry about a thing (0.5) she was beautiful and that he could do just what ever she wanted it was right there talked a little fourteen year old into doing what ever he wanted (004)</p> <p>(11) he was sneaky like all you men he was sneaky you want if you're going to get # (006)</p> <p>(12) that's what i'm going to say she was going to school / i thought she= i work okay i'm a hairdresser i work out of my house two days i'm gone two days a week this little boy / would call my daughter and tell her that we could do this coz mama's not home (1) but she had enough respect for me not to do it at house but she has no respect for him he's a punk because he won't= he's all this and that but yet he couldn't come to a free show / to be here with you to verify that he's a good guy <u>please</u> (010)</p> <p>(13) okay okay / i i understand it takes all that and she did agree <u>but</u> (1) he took advantage he came in on a fourteen year old mind / nikki never dated nikki never went out but like i said the only times she left my house was when he confronted her on thursday and friday (012)</p> <p>(14) # it was on hold for a year and a half (0.5) because she had a modelling career set up (0.5) the whole nine yards and because she had to spend this this little time / this three months of getting over the pregnancy the abortion by the way mr. (name erased) was going to pay for but now all of a sudden it's not even his he was the big man on campus yeah i got that one <u>i</u> got that one (035)</p>	(1), (17), (18), (19), (20), (22), (23), (24), (25), (26), (31).	-----	-----
Nikki	<p>(15) in in a way yeah / but it was i agreed to it too it wasn't all (0.5) him it was me too it's not like he pre-he he talked me into it but he didn't really like (026)</p> <p>(16) this show it not about with / what you're talking about (079)</p>	(2), (3), (21), (25), (26), (27), (28), (29), (30).	-----	(1), (2), (3), (4).

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBA's done by him/herself	FBA's done by someone else
Mike	(17) why was eighteen year old going to fourteen year old girl for (005)	-----	-----	-----
A1	<p>(18) i wanted to say to the mother that / you need to look at your fourteen year old daughter # (056)</p> <p>(19) fourteen year old daughter she does not look her age look in the mirror and instead of casting the blame on that young man you need to be home you need to raise your child on the proper way and it's nice to know that she's learned from her mistakes unfortunately the kind of mistake that it is and as a mother you have no business bringing that child on this stage where everyone can see (0.5) that your child had an abortion and if your mother (058)</p> <p>(20) did not agree to it she should not be here supporting you you're [ fifteen years old and it is not for the rest of the world to know (060)</p> <p>(21) about you should be ashamed of yourself you should (062)</p> <p>(22) we all make mistakes ricki but unfortunately in this country no one knows how to raise their children the proper way anymore # (068)</p> <p>(23) exactly but a mother has no business bringing a fourteen year old to television to let everybody know that her child had an abortion (070)</p> <p>(24) that is a private issue that is a private # (072)</p> <p>(25) # a little self respect i would be ashamed to tell # (074)</p> <p>(26) exactly but y'know what keep it to yourself the whole world does not need to know okay (076)</p> <p>(27) ...unfortunately at your age it's the way you had to learn your lesson what i'm saying it's sad that you're gonna come on television for the whole world to know [ your personal (082)</p> <p>(28) to me it's sad (087)</p>	(4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (16).	(2) i agree with you] but what i'm saying i i applauded you because / you did learn your lesson that's great (082)	-----
Audience	<p>(29) yeah (029)</p> <p>(30) applause (063)</p> <p>(31) applause (071)</p>	-----	<p>(3) applause (054)</p> <p>(4) applause (092)</p>	-----

Table 4. The fourth conversation.

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	<p>(1) picture it guys he couldn't (0.5) they weren't compatible alright (007)</p> <p>(2) you beat him up coz you couldn't get enough (011)</p> <p>(3 SELF) alright now i'm i'm not mocking (0.5) okay i'm not mocking your situation (015)</p> <p>(4) so maybe maybe the answer is to wait until you're / old enough (019)</p> <p>(5) but maybe wait to get married i'm not saying wait to have sex i'm saying maybe you should have waited until you're older and more mature to get married (024,026)</p> <p>(6) ...excuse me mike let me let me talk to creig for a minute(031)</p> <p>(7) that's a lovely analogy (039)</p> <p>(8) wait let me let me get this straight = creig is a dog huh (043)</p> <p>(9) creig i understand that you also prefer to have sex with virgins (<i>with contempt</i>) (045)</p> <p>(10) well what happens] when they lose their virginity = what happens then = [then you move on (049)</p> <p>(11) but don't you think] but let's just say- okay let's say that this woman you're with now you two get married = don't you think that later on because you've been with all these other virgins = you've been with all these other women and she's only been with you= don't you think she's she's gonna feel cheated and wanna go explore (051)</p> <p>(12) yes ma'am (054) (<i>ignores Nikki</i>)</p> <p>(13) yeah why would] she wanna be with <u>you</u> (<i>with contempt</i>) (060)</p> <p>(14) we'll be running to the phone creig = yes (066)</p> <p>(15) i gotta say that y'know both my husband and i had other partners in the past and i appreciate having that because we both learned from those experiences (080)</p> <p>(16) i get the feeling = let me play amateur psychiatrist that creig is deep down really insecure (085)</p> <p>(17) and he needs to pump up his ego (088)</p> <p>(18) that's creig (096)</p> <p>(19) yeah all you virgins out there= look out for creig and run to the opposite direction (099)</p>	(20), (21), (41).	-----	(3).

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Juanita	<p>(20) i don't think that is that you need to wait until you're old enough either i think you just need to / maybeexperiment well i'm not saying be twelve or something like that but i think you need to experiment a little more and (023)</p> <p>(21) i don't know i think i was mature enough to be married i just don't think that (0.5) i think it's important to experiment and to (0.5) get to know / your partner and (027)</p> <p>(22) it does matter (0.5) no it does matter it's extremely important (031)</p>	(1), (2), (4), (5).	-----	-----
Creig	<p>(23) you gotta you gotta = i wanna taste the milk before i buy the cow y'know what i'm saying (037)</p> <p>(24) now let's get down to the business ladies y'know what i'm saying= they are talking about dinner = you go out to dinner sure but uhm we're going to the motel first = if you're good you'll get file mignon if bad you're eating cheese burgers baby you're eating cheese burgers (041,043)</p> <p>(25 SELF) aah yes yes that's great (047)</p> <p>(26 SELF) i i can't take that i mean i want my girl my wife to be me that's it (0.5) first and last baby (053)</p> <p>(27 SELF) in the house baby i'm in the house (0.5) hey hey you ladies you virgins (1) hey when you virgins see me out in the railroad waiting for a good time = just call me over (0.5) right (065)</p> <p>(28 SELF) i keep on going = i just keep on going (074)</p> <p>(29 SELF) it's not like the first thing y'know these girls they have sex with their their first guy they're-you can get that anytime my man you're the first man you're always the man [ you with me you with me you with me = anytime baby (082, 084)</p>	(7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17), (19), (30), (31), (32), (33), (35), (36), (37), (38), (39), (40), (42), (43).	<p>(1 SELF) coz she's gonna have the best sex of her life [if she's with me (062)</p> <p>(2 SELF) in the house baby i'm in the house (0.5) hey hey you ladies you virgins (1) hey when you virgins see me out in the railroad waiting for a good time = just call me over (0.5) right (065)</p>	-----
A1	(30) i wanna know uhm what makes you think that a virgin's gonna wanna be with you [if you have to taste the milk before you bought a cow (0.5) with everybody (057, 059)	-----	-----	-----

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
A2	(31) ...i mean (0.5) you're a dog = how can you say rather / no i'm sorry just because she's a virgin you'd sleep with her (068) (32) first and last= you're a hypocrite you're sorry (072)	-----	-----	-----
A3	(33) i would like to know who told mike he was all that (094)	(18).	-----	-----
Melissa	(34) it doesn't matter (030)	-----	-----	-----
Mike	-----	(6).	-----	-----
Nikki	(35) well then what do you think all the other men feel when they've been with you (054, 056)	(12).	-----	-----
Shirley	(36) but then along the line when when you decide after eight or nine virgins oh well these aren't the right ones yet (073)	-----	-----	-----
Audience	(37) yelling (042) (38) yelling (045) (39) yelling (048) (40) uuuu, buuing (075) (41) first buuing (078) (42) yelling, mumbling (085) (43) applause (088)	-----	(3) clapping, laughter (078)	-----

**Table 5.** The fifth conversation.

Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Ricki	(1) the first time ] werent' you paying attention the first time she did it more than once (009) (2) creig (1) if you come near her [ i'm gonna (025) (3) yeah but y'know what ] maybe that woman sets her standards high and she doesn't wanna guy who's been with [all these other women (029) (4) creig i gotta say i met your cousin in the audience and he's embarrassed to know you and even be related to you (041)	-----	-----	-----
Tiffany	(5) i have something to say i set my standards high too / and i want someone who's a virgin (032)	(8), (9), (14).	(1) absolutely i have a wonderful boyfriend he's a football player at stanford (045)	(2), (3), (4), (5).



Participants	FTAs done by him/herself	FTAs done by someone else	FBAs done by him/herself	FBAs done by someone else
Creig	(6 SELF) i wish i was a virgin i wish i was (0.5) if i could go back in time i would (035) (7 SELF) i'd give it all back (037) (8) and he's a virgin (unconvinced) (046) (9) (creig throws his arms) (048)	(2), (3), (4), (13), (15), (16), (17).	(2) miss california] she'd be perfect for me (030)	-----
A1	(10) alright it's it's bad to get pregnant did you use condom (002) (11) so how did you get pregnant (004) (12) you pregnant right you was pregnant right (007)	(1).	-----	-----
A2	(13) i have a comment for creig i think the only reason he likes to have sex with a virgin is because they can't tell a difference between good and bad sex (038)	-----	-----	-----
A3	(14) tiffany you said something against diseases and stuff don't you think it would be better to educate towards contraception (051)	-----	-----	-----
Nikki	-----	(1), (10), (11), (12).	-----	-----
Audience	(15) applause, cheering (034) (16) laughing, cheering (039) (17) applause, cheering (042)	-----	(3) applause (024) (4) applause, cheering (034) (5) cheering, applause (048)	-----