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„An analysis of radio phone-ins: an exploratory study into conversational structure and participatory roles"

Verfasserin

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to my parents
with love and gratitude

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1. Introduction

Radio phone-ins have been the subject of a number of studies (e.g. Hutchby 1996, Thornborrow 2001) using the methodology of conversation analysis (cf. Fitzgerald 2002: 579). The following study examines radio talk in a context in which the interlocutors do not share the same native language. Therefore I wish to add further insights to the study of talk-radio with a special focus to native – non-native interaction.

Eleven FM4 radio phone-ins are examined in order to analyze the conversational structure as well as the participatory roles of the interlocutors. This paper is structured into 6 chapters. After the introduction, in chapter two, the research aims of this study are outlined and comments on the data on which this study is based are made.

The third chapter examines characteristic features of the institutional setting in which radio phone-ins are conducted. All extracts that will be discussed are the result of media discourse, (Thornborrow 2001: 120) which is created within the broadcast context of a popular Austrian radio station. It will be shown that the institutional setting influences the structural organization of the speech event. Phone-ins possess structural features which are similar to those of telephone conversation, but their structure is influenced by the unequal power distribution of the participants. In order to examine the organization of phone-ins a theoretical overview of the underlying structure of telephone conversation is given and selected features which are specific to phone-ins are highlighted.

Chapter four focuses on participatory roles in radio phone-in programs. In this chapter it will be shown that the characteristic asymmetrical structure of institutional talk does not only influence the structure of conversation but also pre-allocates specific roles to the participants. Therefore the asymmetry of the phone-ins will become visible on various levels. The complexity of the relationships between speakers and various present and non-present addressees will be highlighted. Radio talk "minimally has a double articulation: it is a communicative interaction between those participating [in the phone-in] and, at the same time, it is designed to be heard by absent audiences (Scannel 1991: 1). Various participatory frameworks will be

discussed and it will be shown that the interlocutors fulfill their pre-allocated roles. The host, for example, enacts his institutional role as a moderator (cf. Tolson 2006: 89).

The core data for this study are taken from a series of phone-ins broadcast by the FM4 radio station (Thornborrow 2001: 120).Because of the multilingual formal of the radio station I decided to examine radio talk between interlocutors who do not share a mutual native language (cf. Polio & Gass 1998). In this context two important questions may arise: Do the NS—NNS speakers who are engaged in the FM4 radio phone-in really communicate successfully? What problems may arise and how do interlocutors overcome them? The fifth chapter deals with those two questions. I will show that all parties to the conversation are aware of potential difficulties and actively cooperate in order to achieve mutual intelligibility and hence successful communication. Yet, I will also show that there are instances of problematic talk in NS-NNS conversation. Therefore it will be examined what types of problems may arise and how the speakers manage such problems and negotiate meaning in their interaction.

2. Research Aims, Data and Methodology

2.1. Introduction

In this paper selected radio phone-in broadcasts are recorded and transcribed in order to find out specific patterns of radio phone-in interaction between native and non-native English speakers. This chapter provides the reader with the most important information about the data and outlines the methods used for the empirical research, namely the approach of Conversation Analysis. Furthermore, important information is provided about the setting within the conversations take place.

2.2. Research Question

Telephone conversations have been the subject of a number of studies (e.g. Schegloff 1973, Bell 1984, Hutchby 1996) using systematic qualitative analysis of naturally occurring speech. Especially "[r]adio phone-in programs are an increasingly popular site for discourse analytic attention" (Fitzgerald 2002: 579). In this paper one specific Austrian radio phone-in program is analyzed with the focus on a few selected features.

The present study attempts to deal with three major questions.

RQ1: *What are specific features of verbal interaction in radio phone-ins and how does this type of discourse differ from other forms of discourse?*

The aim of this question is to provide a general picture of radio phone-in interaction and to outline the institutional or rather semi-institutional character of talk radio.

RQ2: *What is the underlying sequential organization of radio phone-ins and how does it influence the role and the relationship of the interlocutors?*

It is shown that the participants and the host utilize a "recognizable sequential organization in the […] production and local social organization of a public access media event" (Liddicoat and Thornborrow referred to in Fitzgerald 2002: 579-580). The institutional character and the asymmetrical power relationship influence the roles that the host, the audience and the caller fulfill during the phone-in.

RQ3: *How does the non-native native speaker setting affect the conversation?*

Every recording displays spontaneous conversation between non-native and native English speakers. This question depicts the challenges met by the participants of the phone-in. It focuses on strategies which are used in order to avoid miscommunication, negotiate meaning and the answer to this question will show how non-native comprehension is assisted (Ahvenainen 2005: 50).

2.3. Methodology

To investigate specific features of spoken interaction between NS-NNS, I will describe communicative processes taking place in radio phone-in interactions. Interactive passages of a selected radio station, FM4, are streamed and carefully transcribed. The data are taken form a series of phone-ins broadcast by the Austrian radio station 'FM4' between October and December 2009. In the FM4 morning show, everyday listeners are invited to phone-in in order to play a game. This broadcast interaction between the host and one caller are recorded and subsequently they are analyzed qualitatively. I focused on the structural organization of the interaction and from this "inductive comments about [the] social organization" are made (O'Keeffe 1996: 34). Recorded calls to a certain radio program are analyzed therefore naturally occurring interactions are used as a basis for this study.

Within discourse analysis there is a great variety of approaches one may adopt. Whether one chooses to do an analysis based on the experimental approach, systemic functional grammar (SFG), discourse analysis (DA), conversational analysis (CA) or one of various others, strongly depends on the primary research interest of the analyst. The experimental approach highlights the importance of quantitative data and inferential statistic methods, whereas conversational analysis favors a qualitative and descriptive approach (Roger & Bull 1988: 5). I chose Conversation Analysis as the main approach to analyze typical features of interaction in selected passages of radio phone-ins, because this kind of approach does not only deal with the language as such but also takes the social organization between participants into account. In addition to this, CA has often been used to analyze institutional discourse, such as talk in workplace settings, political speeches or radio phone-in programs (Cameron 2001: 88).

"Social psychology emphasizes variable-based theoretic models and experimental research designs", whereas Conversation Analysis, "typically describe[s] message phenomena through repeated listening to tape-recordings, through transcription, and through example-driven analytic induction" (Roger & Bull 1989: 48). Discourse Analysis also tends to describe phenomena with reference to recordings and transcription. Yet, "discourse analysts seek coding procedures for dividing talk into categorized segments" and CA, avoids "premature theory construction" (Roger & Bull 1989: 52). Often data analysis is conducted in very carefully planned experimental or quasi-experimental settings in order to avoid distracting factors. In contrast to this experimental approach linguists often adopt other strategies for their analysis. Conversation Analysts, among others, argue "that the best tape-recordings are not those made in carefully controlled circumstances, but upon the stages of everyday-life" (Roger & Bull 1989: 54). This is one of the reasons, why I chose to record radio phone-ins for my analysis.

Every approach to analyze spoken interaction suffers from certain problems and does not allow the researcher to build up reality without any variances from the actual spoken data. There is a variety of methods which could be summarized under the rubric of discourse analysis and most of them have attracted positive as well as negative attention (Bucholz 2001: 167). It is argued that "discourse analysis needs to develop a more critical outlook" (Bucholz: 2001: 167). Conversational Analysis has also been criticized heavily (e.g. Bucholz 2001, Blommaert 2000) Blommaert, (referred to in Bucholz 2001: 169) for example, argues that in conversation analysis "the analyst is essentially absent from the analysis" and "meaning is discovered, not made." Blommaert (referred to in Bucholz 2001: 169) critically concludes that CA "is as an approach to discourse that presents a complementary set of analytic difficulties concerning the researcher's relationship to discourse meaning. Therefore CA could benefit from other methods of analysis to present the data in the best possible way. Nevertheless, I chose to use CA for this paper because I think it is the best approach to analyze the language of NS-NNS radio phone-in programs.

2.4. Conversation Analysis

The term Conversational Analysis may lead to confusion due to the word 'conversation' itself (cf. Holzbauer 2007: 21). As I will point out in chapter 3, there is more than one valid definition of it. A regular telephone conversation among friends would generally be considered 'a conversation'. However, would everyone agree that a business meeting or a radio phone-in is a form of conversational interaction as well? It is often claimed that institutional discourse "involve[s] rather different patterns of interaction from those found in ordinary conversational encounters" (Roger & Bull 1989: 33). Hence, differences between everyday conversation and institutional discourse can be found. Are a medical consultation, an interaction in a courtroom and the interaction between a host and a caller in a radio phone-in program to be considered conversational even though such conversations are conducted within an institutional setting and with participants who have institutional identities?

Due to the term 'Conversation Analysis' one may think that only 'conversational discourse' is to be analyzed with this approach. However, CA allows a description of how interlocutors "orient themselves towards mutual goals and negotiate their way forward in highly specific situations" (O'Keeffe 1996: 34). Especially for the analysis of institutional discourse, Conversation Analysis is often used. CA is involved in the study of the orders of talk-in-interaction, whatever its character or setting" (Ten Have 1999: 4). Bell and Garrett argue that media discourse, as a part of institutional discourse, has been the subject of a variety of studies "For the most part, such analysis has been conducted using the methods of CA, which sets out to describe how conversations are structured, for example in their openings, closings and turn-takings" (Bell & Garrett 1998: 13).

2.5. Setting

FM4 is an Austrian radio station, powered by the Austrian broadcasting corporation ORF. The most prominent characteristic is its multilingual format. Twice a day the news are broadcast in French. Apart from this, English is the predominant language of this station. The whole program from one a.m. until two p.m. is held in English. The

afternoon programs are produced in German. FM4 reflects the alternative music scene and culture in Austria. It offers a variety of music off the chart-mainstream but also educational and cultural programming (http://fm4.orf.at/sation/216427, 15 October 2009).

For the collection of my data I chose to focus on the Morning Show on FM4. The Morning Show takes place Monday to Sunday six to ten a.m. It is mostly hosted by Stuart Freeman, sometimes however by Hal Rock and Dave Dempsey, who are all native English speakers. Stuart Freeman and Hal Rock are native speakers of British English, whereas Dave Dempsey speaks American English. Every Morning Show is presented by one of those three hosts and one co-commentator. The co-commentator Lilly Gollackner, Judith Gruber, Barbara Mathews, Esther Csapo, Roli Gratzer or Martina Bauer are non-native speakers of English with an advanced level of the English language (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 8). All of them have a near-native like proficiency in both languages, English and German (http://fm4.orf.at/sation/216427, 15 October 2009).

Since FM4 broadcasts in a multilingual format, it is expected that not all data extracts are completely in English. The host, the co-commentator and the caller know more than one language and regularly engage in 'code-switching', hence they use more than one single linguistic variety in the course of a single phone-in conversation (Heller and Paff 1996: 594).

2.6. Data collection

As samples of data, recordings from authentic radio phone-in interactions will be used. I recorded about thirty entire broadcasts of the FM4 Morning Show and selected eleven phone-ins, which were broadcast during October and December 2009. The main criteria for the selection were the quality of the recording, the length of the interaction and the frequency of speaker turns. I chose eleven of the thirty recorded phone-ins and ended up with a corpus of about thirty minutes of spoken interaction.

For many reasons, I decided that radio talk is the best data source for my paper. First of all, it occurs more naturally than interaction which is recorded in some laboratory

setting. I am aware of the fact that participants know that their talk is being broadcast. However, it was found that "people do not shift to a completely different set of interactional procedures when they know their talk is broadcast" (Ten Have 1999: 63). The natural environment, most people call from home, and the accustomed feeling of speaking on the telephone often distract attention from the fact that many people are listening to them. In addition to this it is clear that even without my research observation exactly the same conversation would have taken place between the host and the caller. Moreover, radio talk "is everywhere available, particularly easy to record, and, because publicly transmitted words are involved, no further prior permission for scholarly use seems necessary" (Goffman 1981: 1987). "Callers to radio phone-in programs, clearly expect and indeed want their talk to be heard by large numbers of people" (Cameron 2002: 25). I consider talk radio to be an oral practice in its own right and as a data source with various advantages for a study like mine.

2.7. Data transcription

As I have pointed out, Conversation Analysis (CA) is the main approach in this paper. CA was developed by Harold Garfinkel, Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and some of their colleagues and students. Their main interest was not primarily the analysis of linguistic forms or the investigation of language samples that were extracted from its original context. Their main interest was to examine the social phenomena within communication. Social relationships among participants may be manifested in language use, for example in the structural organization of discourse. The CA approach was developed to analyze the "sequential patterns" of conversation and the social organization and function of interaction in spoken discourse (Cameron 2001: 87). In contrast to other approaches, the analyst applying CA is not gaining information about the speakers' identities, their belief system, their daily routines or any details of their biography. The collected data contains everything that is important for the analysis. The advantage of using radio phone-ins as the source of analysis is that the host and the caller do not have visual access to one another. Therefore the recording does not miss out on important visual stimuli, such as gaze or gestures (Hutchby and Wooffit 1988: 74).

The recorded data should be represented in the transcription as exactly as possible. However, it has to be mentioned that a 'final transcript' can never represent reality without any variations. Bublitz (1988: 146 reffered to in Walenta, 2007: 12) formulates it more precisely: "It is self-evident that transcriptions […] are only products of the transcriber's interpretation." Hence, every transcript includes aspects of the subjective interpretation of the transcriber. Nevertheless, the main aim of the transcriber is to represent the spoken data in the best possible way. This study is based on a transcription made from a data-stream and it should display natural human communication as faithfully as possible. To display every detail of conversation, elaborated transcription conventions have been developed by conversation analysts, notably Gail Jefferson. These conventions concern, for example, the sequential structure or the intonation of utterances in communication. Punctuation markers, such as colons or dashes are not used as grammatical symbols and not even the spelling is applied according to standardized rules. The goal is to "[...] achieve as faithful as possible a depiction of all the potentially significant features of speech, including sound, content and structure" (Roger & Bull 1989: 146). A tremendous benefit of a detailed transcription is that any reader has the possibility to reproduce and comprehend the results of the analysis (Roger & Bull 1989: 143-144). The transcription plays a tremendously important role in research on spoken discourse. For this reason I chose to apply the CA approach to represent the conversation as accurately as possible in transcribed form, using the symbols conventionally used in CA. Therefore every phone-in interaction, which is included in this paper is rendered in a textual form and can be observed in the Appendix.

CA emphasizes the importance of the use of transcribed extracts from a recorded interaction, which occurred in a natural environment. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1988: 73) claim that "the transcription of data is a procedure at the core of analysis". Therefore a careful transcription of the recorded phone-ins is the most important basis for the development and the understanding of my analysis. "[The] transcript functions as a permanent record of what you heard in a form that allows you to perform analytic operations […]" (Cameron 2001: 31). In the process of transcribing spoken interaction much information can be lost. With a careful transcription according to the conventions of CA I will try to overcome this problem. I will try to capture especially details of the opening and closing sequences and the beginning and the end of the

turns in the talk-in interaction. Furthermore characteristics of speech delivery, such as basic features of intonation are embodied in the best possible way. As the reader may study this paper without having access to the recordings, the transcript should provide a sense of how the interaction sounds on the tape. As I have mentioned, the transcription conventions in this paper are used as they are used in most current Conversation Analysis publications. Most of these symbols have been developed by Gail Jefferson (1974). In this paper the symbols are used with minor individual variations (cf. Ten Have 1999: 213). For more detailed information on transcription conventions the reader should consult Hutchby and Wooffitt (1988), Jefferson (1989), Heritage and Atkinson (1984) or Ten Have's *Doing conversation analysis: a practical guide* (1999). I am aware of the problems that the process of transcription raises. Nevertheless I have tried to capture as many relevant features, such as pauses, overlaps loudness and many others, as possible. For the transcription conventions see Appendix C.

3. Conversation in Institutions

3.1 Introduction

Before the conversational structure or the role of the speaker and the addressee in conversation can be examined, the term conversation or rather the action of it needs to be defined. The word *conversation* is a combination of two Latin roots *con* and *vers*. The first part of the word means 'with' or 'together' and *vers* has the meaning of 'turning about in a given direction'. "Thus, to engage in conversation, literally means, to turn about with others" (Miller 1999: 1) However, it is not enough to know the etymological meaning of the word because there are various ways in which this term may be understood. A straightforward definition of it is: Conversation is communication, although here the problem arises of how to define communication. Ellis and Beattie (1986: 3) formulated a broad and universal definition of communication. They support the opinion that

> communication occurs when one organism (the transmitter) encodes information into a signal which passes to another organism (the receiver) which decodes the signal and is capable of responding appropriately.

Therefore "[…] conversation is seen as the central most basic kind of language usage" (Levinson 1983: 285). It is "the primary means that people use to communicate, to construct identity, and to establish membership in communities" (Young 2008: 3). However, it needs to be considered that there is no generally accepted and universally valid definition of conversation. On a basic level "conversation […] involves a mutual exchange of information, thoughts and ideas […] which takes place on a here-and-now level and is therefore both a social and psychological, as well a linguistic activity" (Oreström 1983: 20). The study of conversation is a significant field of study throughout various academic disciplines. Conversational interaction has been studied in a variety of ways by a variety of disciplines with a variety of focuses. "Arguably, however, the contemporary study of conversation is dominated by the work of conversation analysts" (Forrester 1996: 78). At this point it is important to mention that form and content of any discourse, conversation or communication are influenced by who is speaking and who is listening, and for which purpose in which situation the conversation takes place.

"[A]nalysts tend to equate the term conversation with almost any type of everyday talk" (Wilson 1989: 7). This definition allows a substantial amount of speech situations to be classified as conversational. Other linguists claim that such a broad definition may not be appropriate. They "record any kind of "informal" interaction, say a family dinner, and assume that the resultant data are conversational" (Wilson 1989: 7). Yet again, others define conversation differently, such as Speier (1973: 72, quoted in Wilson 1989: 7) who states that "not all forms of talk are actually conversational". "He defines conversation as that kind of talk where there are shared rights of communication" (Wilson 1989: 7).

Levinson (1983: 284) gives a more restricted definition and takes conversation

> to be the familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking, which generally occurs outside specific institutional settings like religious services, law courts, classrooms and the like.

This leads to a perspective that conversation is the prototypical kind of language usage. Does this definition imply that interaction in radio phone-in programs should not be called conversational?

The majority of psychologists, whose main interest is talk organization and not the language as such,

> have argued for a concept of "natural conversation" which would define any kind of talk as conversation as long as the talk would have arisen whether anyone was interested in recording it for analysis or not (Beattie 1983: 22, quoted in Wilson 1989: 10).

Hence, the mere verbal exchange between participants is called *conversation*, no matter for which purpose the message was uttered. For this reason conversation includes the interaction in televised interviews, interaction within the classroom, telephone interaction and also the verbal exchange within radio phone-in programs.

Another common view among linguists is that communication can be defined as a speech event. However, "[w]ithin linguistics, finding a definition of conversation as a specific speech event is equally difficult" (Wilson 1989: 11). It would be legitimate to say, that "no generally agreed definition of conversation as a speech event type has emerged" (Wilson 1989: 12). It is not clear what kind of speech event can be described as a conversation or as conversational interaction (Wilson 1989: 18). Yet, Hymes (1977 quoted in Wilson 1989: 19) defined a speech event as an "activity

specified by rules and procedures of operation manifested in the organization of talk".

According to this definition, various kinds of speech events, such as "[…] committee meetings; lectures; seminars; courtroom encounters" (Wilson, 1989: 19) as well as radio phone-in programs, tabloid talkshows, which are also known as daytime talk shows or daytime talk, and broadcast interviews can be defined as speech events. "These events may be distinguished according to what might be called "speaker rights"" (Wilson 1989: 19). In the interview it normally is the interviewer who asks the questions and the interviewee who answers them. They both adhere to turn-types such as questions and answers. In radio phone-ins ordinary people are invited to tell about their problems, utter their opinion to a specific topic or participate in a game in order to win a prize. In those cases the host controls the direction of the talk. In a classroom or a seminar the teacher or lecturer controls the topic and direction of the talk, whereas the students normally have a passive function. The pupils and also the candidates who phones in still have the right to ask question however their right is controlled within the speech event. Generally, it can be considered that "each context reflects and is reflected by a variation in the distribution of speaker rights" (Wilson 1989: 19). Wilson (1989: 20) claims that if conversation was seen as a specific speech event it can be argued that "conversations may be distinguished by an equal distribution of speaker rights". "Equal distribution" refers to the fact that "any individual has an equal right […] to initiate talk, interrupt, respond, or refuse to do any of these actions" (Wilson 1989: 20).

Drew and Heritage (1992: 19) for example, see "ordinary conversation" as "the predominant medium of interaction in the social world" and variations of ordinary conversation such as institutional discourse "will show systematic variation and restriction of activities and their design relative to ordinary conversation." There is no clear cut boundary, nevertheless differences in the organization of talk between different speech events can be traced. Regular face to face interaction differs, in some aspects, from an informal telephone conversation among friends and also from a telephone interaction live on air. The differences in the conversational organization of different speech events will become clear in the analysis.

Speakers have an intuitive understanding what can be said in a certain situation to specific people. Generally, the linguistic behavior is adjusted depending on the

context in which the conversation takes place. Conversation is a "multichannel communication phenomenon" which includes a variety of verbal and non-verbal aspects. The usage of non-verbal behavior, however, also depends on the context and the setting in which the conversation takes place. Someone engaged in a phone-in, will not consciously use gestures, body language, facial expressions or other nonverbal communicative strategies to convey the message because he or she knows that it will not facilitate the understanding. In face to face interactions such nonverbal strategies are often deliberately used.

Regular face to face interaction as well as interaction between two participants on the telephone is both seen as conversational interaction. Hence, conversation is always an interactional activity. It "make[s] use of the language, the texts, of others and because of that, those other voices provide both amplification and limitations of our own voices" (Scollon 1998: 15). Every conversation no matter in which context it occurs, requires the participation of two or more participants and speech as its basis. This shows that there are general universally valid features of conversation. Therefore, it is impossible to draw a clear cut line between various types of discourses.

It can be summarized that conversation in radio phone-ins possesses features of conversational interaction as well as features of institutional discourse. "Broadcasting is an institution – a power, an authority- and talk on radio . . . is public, institutional talk" (Scannell 1991:2 quoted in O'Malley 2008: 346).

3.2. Institutional discourse

3.2.1. The Institution

In this paper the terms *institution* and *organization* are used synonymously. Generally, the first one is used as a linguistic term whereas the latter is often used in sociology. Though they both refer to an organized body in a specific setting in which a specific form of language is used (Holzbauer 2007: 3). Giddens (1989: 279 in Holzbauer 2007: 3) defines an organization as a "large association of people run on impersonal lines, set up to achieve specific goals". In order to achieve those goals institutions are organized in a specific way. The institutional setting, the language used among the individuals involved and the context in which the institution is organized play an important role. "Institutions conduct their institutional business by means of a variety of discourse which is suited to the overarching institutional aim or goal" (Seedhouse & Richards 2007: 18).

Different institutions aim at different goals, hence the language within one institution may differ significantly from the language used in another. Yet, not only the language in different institutional settings may vary but also within one institution different varieties of discourse can be traced. The English used in a courtroom differs from the variety used in a hospital, which again differs from the variety used in a classroom or in the media. Institutional discourse "cannot realistically be treated as an undifferentiated, homogenous entity" (Seedhouse & Richards 2007: 18). When episodes of institutional discourse are recorded and analyzed, it is actually a "sub-variety", a variety within an institutional discourse variety, which is the data source for the examination. In this paper such a sub-variety, the radio phone-in interaction, is analyzed (Cf. Seedhouse & Richards 2007: 22).

When analyzing institutional discourse one should bear in mind, that there are several varieties of it and even within one variety there are various kinds of discourse involved. Members of different institutions use different discourses and even within one institution different groups may use different forms of it. "All kinds of talk are shaped by the context in which they occur" (Cameron 2002: 29). Hence, when

focusing on an extracted piece of institutional discourse it is important to analyze it within the context from which it emerged.

3.2.2. Radio industry in Austria

The first attempts at radio broadcasting were made in Austria at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1923 the first broadcasting station in Austria was opened, owned by the technical school in Vienna.[1] Regular broadcasting started in 1924. Today the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) is Austria's largest media provider and dominates the radio market. The ORF holds a two-thirds share. According to recent studies approximately 83,1% of all Austrians are radio listeners. 74, 6% of them listen to one of the stations owned by the ORF.[2] The ORF holds three television channels, three national and nine regional radio stations. The three national radio channels "Hitradio Ö3", "Ö1" and "FM4" aim at different audiences. Ö1is the ORF's cultural channel, Ö3 focuses on pop music and FM4 is the third and youngest national radio station of the Austrian Radio Corporation, which focuses on alternative music and youth culture. (http://fm4.orf.at/radio/stories/about 15 October 2009).

Figure 1 Distribution of radio programs in Austria

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[1] Mishkind, Barry. http://www.oldradio.com/archives/international/austria.html
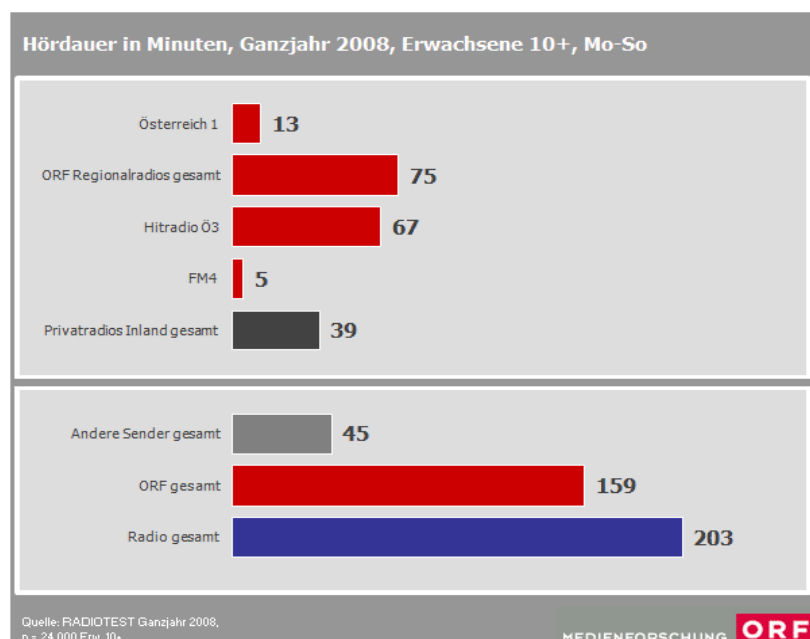
[2] "Vienna facts and figures" http://www.wieninternational.at/en/node/3474

Figure 1 gives information about the amount of time Austrians spend listening to the radio. Each Austrian aged ten and older, listened on average for 203 minutes, more precisely, three hours and twenty three minutes to the radio each day in the year 2008. It shows that the pop station Ö3 continues to be the market leader. It holds about 37% of the market. The bilingual youth-orientated station FM4 holds approximately 5 % of the Austrian radio market share.

Radio is the most used and most popular mass medium, even more common than television or newspapers. Radio is often reduced to background entertainment while doing household activities or a variety of other activities, such as eating, or even while speaking on the telephone. There are a variety of advantages of radio over television. It is not limited to its use at home. It can be turned on in the car or in the office, and there is a variety of portable radios that allow everyone to be part of the listenership while going jogging or shopping. The mobile and portable radio reception and the affordability are only some of the reasons for its popularity (cf. Trappel http://www.bka.gv.at/DocView.axd?CobId=899; 6 November 2009).

Nevertheless, there are also challenges to this medium. Communication through radio lacks visual stimuli. Every piece of information which is necessary for appropriate understanding needs to be included in the spoken utterance. The hearer of the program interprets the message according to his or her experience and predisposition. There is no possibility to see the speaker's body or facial expression, which may sometimes lead to misunderstandings. Listening to the radio involves an active audience, since everyone needs to picture and visualize the words in his or her mind. The level of activity of the listeners varies within radio programs. Radio phone-in shows could not exist without an active audience, whereas news could easily be broadcast no matter whether or not the audience participates. Phone-ins however, "depend on an audience which is prepared to impose itself upon media output to the extent of originating it" (Crisell 1986: 209).

3.2.3. Radio phone-ins as institutional discourse

The conversations that are the basis for this paper is talk of an Austrian radio program. It is a form of discourse which is produced in an institutional setting. Hence, conversations on the radio between the studio host and a caller may be defined as 'institutional discourse'. "[B]ut there are still disagreements as to what institutional discourse actually is and how it might be defined" (Thornborrow 2002: 2). In this context, I want to stress that I, as well as Drew and Heritage, (1992: 22) "do not accept that there is necessarily a hard and fast distinction to be made between [institutional talk and ordinary conversation]".

Jürgen Habermas (1984 taken from Thronborrow 2002) defines institutional discourse

> as an example of 'strategic discourse', which he distinguishes from another form of talk, 'communicative discourse'. Strategic discourse is, he claims, power laden and goal-directed, while communicative discourse, in its ideal manifestation, is about speakers symmetrically engaging in achieving mutual understanding.

Drew and Heritage (1992:3) mention two important features that characterize institutional discourse. "The interactions […] are basically task-related and they involve at least one participant who presents a formal organization of some kind". Conversation within radio phone-in programs is task-related. "Talk radio hosts talk to those members of the audience who have called in to have their say on a topical issue" (Hutchby 2006: 2). The caller phones in to state his or her personal opinion concerning one certain issue, or because he or she wants to participate in a game in order to win a prize. Another reason why a person may be engaged in a radio phone-in interaction is because he or she asks the host to play a specific song. All of these interactions are task-related.

Furthermore, the host presents a formal organization. He represents the interests and the values of the radio station. Interactions within a radio show always take place in a very specific context and for a specific reason. The conversation is conducted between an ordinary citizen, the caller, "and the host, who both occupies the specialized space of the studio and is an employee and public representative of the broadcasting organization" (Hutchby 1996:7). The host represents the institution

whereas the listener of the show or the active participant in the phone-in does not represent this institution. The participant and every other member of the audience represent domesticity. This shows that "[t]he places from which broadcasting speaks and in which it is heard are completely separate from each other" (Scannel 1991: 3 quoted in Hutchby 2006: 14).

> Broadcast talk may be received, in large part, in the home, and consumed within the interstices of ordinary everyday domestic routines and activities; but it is produced, mainly, in the distinctive institutional setting of the studio (Hutchby 2006: 14).

This shows clearly that there is an interface between the public and institutional sphere, with the private and domestic sphere. Characteristic about phone-ins is that there is a "host who represents the broadcasting institution and who,[…] is a known public person". There is a caller who is from the private sphere and there is an audience listening to the interaction. Therefore an "unknown caller" from the private sphere interacts with a host who is known in the public sphere (O'Keeffe 1996: 33). The host is not necessarily a well-known person in the Austrian community, but he is definitely a well-known person to the listeners of FM4. This creates a unique setting in which the interaction between the host and the caller takes place. "It is a space created at the interface of private and public spheres of modern society" (Hutchby 1996: 7). Characteristics of institutional discourse intermingle with characteristics of casual conversation. Radio phone-in programs

> seem to have emerged as a public extension of the private sphere of casual conversation, thus bridging the gap between the public conditions of the media and the private conditions of the consumers. As a result, a 'public-colloquial' language (Leech, 1966) has developed (Ilie 1999: 215).

According to these definitions the institutional character of radio phone-ins cannot be denied. Levinson (1992 in Thornborrow 2002: 2) suggests that institutional talk differs from ordinary conversation in three essential respects.

> It is goal or task oriented, […] involves constraints on what counts as legitimate contributions to that goal or task and […] it produces particular kind of inferences in the way speakers interpret, or orient to, utterances.

Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) also summarize some of the main features of institutional talk in opposition to non-institutional discourse:

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

The main reason why a person phones in and participates in the FM4 Morning Show is to play a game in order to win a prize (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 10). One of the main reasons why phone-ins are included in the program is that the company wants to offer a variety of activities within the shows to keep the listeners interested. More generally, the core goal and the main purpose of the radio phone-ins in the FM4 Morning Show is to entertain the audience. Therefore in the recorded phone-ins there is an "orientation to the institutional goal", there are certain "restrictions on the kinds of contributions" made and since the host influences the caller and vice versa, "features of interactional interferences" can be traced.

Another defining feature of institutional discourse which can be traced in the phone-in conversations is 'asymmetry'. Drew and Heritage (1992: 47) argue that institutional discourse is "characteristically asymmetrical". In Phone-ins the host has an "institutionally inscribed identity." This affects "the asymmetrical distribution of speaker rights and obligations in the talk" (Thornborrow 2001: 119). During the broadcast conversation between the host and the participant, the host usually asks questions while the caller is in the position of the answerer. Hence the host is in the position to control the conversation (Thornborrow 2002: 3).

A general characteristic of radio talk is that always two or more people are interacting and an audience is listening. Radio talk always takes place in a particular kind of setting. It occurs "within an organization, the broadcasting company, which has its own structure and stability" (Hutchby 1996: 7). Every person that is involved in the

production of the radio program is a member of this institution and all of them "operate to provide the environment in which the host-caller interactions […] can take place" (Hutchby 1996: 7). This institutionalized setting leads to institutionalized roles and institutionalized power. The host is given institutionalized power through which he is enabled to decide when and how to open the interaction, how to structure or frame it, when to start with the relevant part of the interaction, and when and how to close it (O'Keeffe 1996: 4). Because of the setting and the asymmetrical power relationship the interactions to be analyzed can be seen as a form of institutional discourse.

Talk in the FM4 phone-in interaction possesses features of institutional discourse, nevertheless in some interactions either the caller or the host do not use language as it is typically used in formal institutional settings. In all the recorded phone-ins the talk is very conversational and "patterns of interaction exhibit considerably less uniformity" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 27). Such speech characteristics are often used in a variety of less formal forms of institutional interaction-commonly occurring for example in medical environments. It will be shown that talk on the FM4 radio, is a variety of institutional discourse which is more open to individual variations than other forms of institutional discourse, such as court room interaction or political news interviews. Therefore, discourse that occurs in phone-ins, especially the kind of discourse that occurs in the FM4 radio phone-ins, could be defined as a variety of "non-formal institutional discourse" or "semi-institutional discourse". Nevertheless the recorded phone-ins do represent a form of institutional discourse, since all of the interactions emerge from an institutional setting and the host has an institutional inscribed identity. Furthermore, characteristic features of institutional discourse, such as the asymmetrical relationship between the host and the caller, or the goal orientation of the conversation can be found throughout the data.

In my data there are also examples where the recorded phone-in does not represent institutional discourse according to the features mentioned above. One specific example where the recorded piece of data deviates from the stereotypical situation of institutional discourse is the interaction in the game "pop, poetry, or crap". (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 13). "Pop, poetry or crap" is a very popular game on the FM4 morning show. The commentator (SF) and the co-commentator Lisa (L) read out

three texts and the caller has to guess whether the texts comes from a song, a poem or were invented by the studio. If the caller gives at least two correct answers he wins a prize.

Extract 3.1 (Appendix 4)

1.	L:	genau the next bit
2.	SF:	please
3.	L:	listen
4.	S:	please
5.	SF:	((laughing))
6.	L:	my t@ (.) >my timing is off but sometimes but sometimes that's
7.		how it all works believe it or not we don't have a choice in
8.		matters of the heart just gotta be brave enough(.) to love and let
9.		yourself be loved< (0,1)
10.	S:	I think that's pop
11.	SF:	wa:u::=
12.	L:	=wuu::
13.	SF:	It's the way she read it
14.	FM4:	**[[wwwwoooaaaa]]**
15.	SF:	in her beautiful sexy [voice
16.	L:	[@@@yeah it was from the eels my
17.		timing is off=
18.	SF:	=all right number three we already got the °the°two out of three
19.		ah (.) so just get this ok? (.) @@[@
20.	S:	[maybe I get the sunny side up
21.		cd for ah free? (.) when I have the ( )
22.	SF:	all right I see what we can do all right? I have got I have got
23.		friends in our marketing department ok here we go Stefan(.)
24.		>mein Herz es ist
25.		ein tiefes Tal ein Meer von Tränen (.) durchschschwimmt der
26.		i::l<

Extract 3.1 is an example of how the caller fails to adhere to the 'rules' of institutional discourse. According to Levinson's definition, institutional discourse is "goal or task oriented" and "involves constraints on what counts as legitimate contributions to that goal or task" In this case the caller's contribution in line 20 is not task oriented, because he was supposed to keep on playing the game (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 12). A legitimate contribution would have been for example, 'yes', or 'ok' or any other word or sound which would have indicated that he is ready to answer the next question. Addressing a question to the host, which occurs in lines 20 and 21, does not count as a legitimate contribution in this situation. This "conversational pattern clearly deviates from a typical institutional host-monitored discussion" (Ilie 1999: 220). Therefore this extract does not represent institutional discourse according to the characteristics of Drew and Heritage. It shows that institutional discourse can be adapted according to

the context in which it occurs and therefore it becomes clear that it is impossible to draw a clear cut line to divide institutional from non-institutional discourse.

In addition to this, the extract shows that the deviation from the expectations and the conventions of institutional discourse do not have any consequence for the caller (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 12). It does not reduce his chance of winning the prize, neither does it influence his relation to the host. In other institutional setting those deviations would have an impact on the development of the interaction. Harris (1984: 5) mentions instances where defendants at court did ask questions even though they were not invited to speak hence did not have the right to take over the turn at this moment. They were immediately censured for doing so "showing that their questions were not treated as allowable contributions to the business at hand" (Harris 1984: 5, referred to in Cameron 2002: 101). In other institutional settings deviations from the expectations may cause negative consequences (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 13) for the speakers because the conventions are much stricter than in the phone-in situations of the FM4 Morning show. It can be concluded that "Institutional discourse represents a continuum including a range of varieties, some of which are more, some less institutionalized" (Ilie 1999: 219).

The examples from my data show clearly that radio phone-ins "do not represent a *homogeneous* discourse type" (Ilie 1999: 216). One phone-in may vary significantly from another, because different callers have different intentions for participating and different expectations of the conventions of phone-ins. Therefore, a straightforward classification into precast categories cannot be made. It becomes clear that it is impossible to draw a clear cut boundary between institutional discourse and casual conversation. When analyzing radio phone-in interaction, which can be seen as "a host-controlled, participant-shaped and audience-evaluated speech event" (Ilie 1999: 209), it is not possible to define where casual conversation stops and institutional discourse starts. It seems that discourse produced in radio phone-in shows has a "semi-institutional nature". It "exhibit[s] a mixture of characteristics pertaining to both casual conversation and institutional discourse in terms of discursive configuration and goal, participant role assignment and role switching, talk and topic control (Ilie 1999:209).

3.3. Conversation in phone-ins

It has been outlined, that "'ordinary talk', meaning the kind that prototypically occurs in private or domestic settings between people whose relationship is close rather than distant" (Cameron 2001: 100) differs from conversation on the radio in so far as that the latter one is a form of media discourse.

Through the participation of the audience in phone-in shows the caller takes an active role in the production of broadcast talk, therefore he or she is actively engaged in the process of creating and shaping media output. Radio, as well as television and newspapers are used for mass communication and have great impact on the public opinion, and belief system of entire generations (cf. McCombs 2004).The influence of mass communication, such as talk radio, on the decisions and opinions of people and also the influence of print media, television and radio on contemporary processes of social or political change is an important research topic. Many studies (e.g. McCombs 2004) are concerned with the power of the mass media to influence social consciousness or behavior. Language is used to form ideas and beliefs and manipulate people in one way or the other. Topics are chosen carefully and events are normally not communicated neutrally (Cf. Hutchby 1996: 2). I am aware of the great impact of mass communication, however in this study I am interested in the actual talk that is produced within the radio phone-in and not its influence on public opinion or radio as a mass communication phenomenon in general.

In many face-to-face social interactions which are conducted each day the interlocutors share the same space and time zone, and often the people who are involved in the conversation know each other. Phone-ins differ from face-to-face conversation in various aspects. The person who calls the radio station has a distant relationship to his respondent. He or she knows that thousands of people may be listening to him or her at this moment. The participants do not share the same place, sometimes not even the same time zone. Interactions, which are broadcast live, are always characterized by a specific time frame, around which the conversation is built up. Hence brevity is an important characteristic for the recorded phone-ins and almost every form of broadcast material. In general, the host of the show decides on

the content and the length of the caller's contribution. It is his duty to keep the conversation going and also stop the caller, when the allocated time is over.

So far a number of differences between regular face to face interaction, casual telephone calls and radio phone-ins have been mentioned. Yet, there are more differences which are relevant. Hopper (1992: 30) mentions that "[t]he phone is a medium built for two". This may be true when the telephone is used for private calls. However, in the case of radio phone-ins the situation is different. There is no longer a "private mini-community" in which only two participants are engaged. Rather the opposite is true. Phone-ins may vary in their number of interlocutors within one single conversation. In the present data at least three parties are actively engaged in each conversation, hence radio phone-ins are examples of "multiparty conversations" (Gregori-Signes 2000: 198). Radio talk is a type of media discourse therefore a broad audience is addressed. The interaction in such programs is characterized by a triangular structure. The presenter, the caller and the listener at home, to whom I will refer as the audience, are participants in the interaction. A telephone conversation and also a phone-in may be perceived as an interaction, in which merely the caller and the presenter are involved. Yet, it will be shown that the triangular structure of phone-ins cannot be neglected and that it is an important aspect to keep in mind when analyzing data taken from the radio.

"Radio phone-in has a reflexive function in bringing the voices of a community to a community" (O'Keefe 2002: 91). The person who phones the program, participates in interpersonal communication. For the listener such programs also provide a "vicarious form of interpersonal interaction". By listening to radio phone-in programs the listener is "brought into ordinary people's problems and come[s] into contact with other people's opinion" (O'Keeffe 2002: 91).

Radio phone-in shows have become very popular and important over the last years because they are an important force in formulating public opinion. "Talk radio is one of the few public media which allows for spontaneous interaction between two or more people" (Avery 1977: 3). In addition to this, these programs function as a platform to exchange personal views and opinions. Ordinary citizens have the opportunity to call in to such programs for various reasons. They may want to give

their opinion, seek advice and often they simply call to ask questions. The reasons why people listen to it are as varied and many-sided as the motives why people participate in those interactive radio shows. Such interactive programs are not only liked by the public but they are also lucrative for the broadcasting companies since they are rather cheap to produce.

There are various different types of radio phone-ins such as "'open line' phone-in[s]", "single issue phone-in[s], various "advice-giving shows" and of course game shows (Hutchby 2006: 81). Ordinary citizens call in order to state their opinion, ask for help or advice or take part in a game or a quiz to win a prize. All these phone-ins resemble the overall structure of a normal telephone conversation, and they display many features of face-to-face interaction. However, the language in phone-ins, as a form of broadcast talk is different from ordinary conversation in the sense of being a form of institutional discourse. "Broadcast talk has special characteristics which arise from the nature of the medium and the relationship it produces between speakers and (different sets of) addressees" (Cameron 2002: 26).

The phone-ins in the FM4 Morning Show always include a game. The majority of them comprise a sort of quiz show. It deviates from standard quiz shows in so far that chat occurs throughout the interaction (Culpeper 2005: 48). The casual chatting between the host, the co-commentator and the participant mainly occurs in the opening and closing sequences, but here are also instances where chat occurs before or after a question during the quiz. Chat does not only occur in brief sequences but is a major part of the broadcast discourse. Therefore, structurally the phone-ins resemble regular telephone conversations but they also resemble news interviews and display characteristic features of informal face to face conversation and, as I have outlined, quiz shows. "[R]adio phone-in talk seeks to simulate the intimacy of casual conversation" (McCarthy 2003:153). In contrast to a casual conversation between friends in radio phone-ins strangers, the host and the caller, only talk as if they know each other. Like interviews, radio phone-ins "exhibit more often than not question-answer sequences, the interviewer being the show host, while the interviewee or respondent is […] the calling-in [listener]" (Ilie 1999: 217). News interviews, in contrast to phone-ins on the FM4 Morning Show, are normally

information-focused and do claim objectivity. It has been shown that there are similarities between those discourse types, however also differences are noted.

3.4. Conversational structure of phone-ins

Phone-ins seem to have the overall structure of a regular telephone conversation, but various unusual or rather different features can be witnessed. For example the unequal status of the interlocutors, the institutional setting, and the limited time available for their interaction. In addition to this, the content of the talk is predetermined and restricted. This part of the paper focuses on the structural organization, especially the opening and closing sequence of the phone-in. It outlines the role distribution of power between the host and the candidate concerning the ability to guide and structure the conversation It will be shown that the host guides the sequential organization and takes over the role of the questioner, which has been found to be the more powerful position in the conversation (Thornborrow 2001: 119).

"By definition, the caller and the radio host have unequal status, implying different ability to initiate, sustain, and terminate arguments". (Hutchby 1996: viii). The host is normally a professional speaker, who has undergone some training to sustain speaking skills and he or she is often an expert on the topics that are discussed. This leads to an unequal power relationship between the interlocutors and therefore influences the quality and the structure of the talk. An exceptional turn-taking system and a notable "asymmetry between the host and the caller in terms of how and when their positions may be articulated" (Hutchby 1996: 58) can be traced. In the case of the FM4 radio phone-ins, the host always introduces the game. He briefly explains the procedure and asks the audience to "phone-in now". The radio commentator has the right and the power, even the obligation, to determine when it is the caller's turn to speak. He also decides on the length of the caller's contribution whereas the caller, who is the participant in the game, is expected to give his answer or take his turn at the right moment. There is an "asymmetrical distribution of questions and answers" in the conversation (Ten Have 1999: 164). The caller is the subordinate party in the interaction, he or she has a restricted right to ask question and should 'only' answer the questions of the host. If a caller does not adhere to these rules,

expectations are violated. When he or she suddenly takes over the function of the dominant party, for example by addressing questions to the host, he or she "[…] transgresses both the norms of the context and the expectations embedded […] in this situation (Cameron 2002: 102). The majority of the callers are aware of the fact that they are engaged in an asymmetrical discourse relationship and do not attempt to challenge the predetermined structure.

In my data there are a few examples of situations where norms and expectations of the typical radio phone-in situations are ignored. The caller transgresses the implicit rules and takes over the dominant role. As I have pointed out above, normally the host is the dominant party throughout the whole conversation. It is the task of the host (Stuart Freeman-SF) to explain the game, ask the questions and tell the caller what prize he can win. The following extract shows that the caller does not completely accept his allocated role. If he wants to win a prize he has to guess whether the text read by the host has to be assigned to the genre pop, poetry or neither of them.

Extract 3.2 (Appendix 4)

1.	L:	genau the next bit
2.	SF:	please
3.	L:	listen
4.	S:	please
5.	SF:	@@@
6.	L:	my timing is off but sometimes but sometimes that's how it all works
7.		believe it or not we don't have a choice in matters of the heart just
8.		gotta be brave enough to love and let yourself be loved.
9.	S:	I think that's pop
10.	SF:	wa::u=
11.	L:	=wu::
12.	SF:	It's the way she read it in her beautiful sexy voice
13.	L:	yeah it was from the eels my timing is off=
14.	SF:	=all right number three we already got the two out of three so just get
15.		this ok?
16.	S:	maybe I get the sunny side up cd for free? (.) when I have the ( )
17.	SF:	all right I see what we can do all right I have friends in our marketing
18.		department ok here we go Stefan mein Herz es ist ein tiefes Tal ein
19.		Meer von tränen durchschschwimmt der i::l

In radio phone-ins there is usually a constraint on the right to talk. In this case the host wants to go on with the game and clearly indicates the beginning of the third question in lines 14 and 15. Furthermore, he wants to ascertain whether the caller is ready to go on with the game. The caller is expected to utter his preparedness but he

takes over the floor and directly addresses the host. In line 16 Stefan interrupts the ongoing flow of the conversation. He violates the expectations of the host and also the expectation of the audience in two ways. Hence the caller's contribution in line 16 violates the norms and expectations of the radio phone-in program. First of all he asks a question at a time when it was not his turn to speak and secondly he asks to win a specific prize. It is definitely the role of the host to decide on the prize for the candidates. In this situation the caller "challenge[s] the pre-established asymmetrical power relation" (Ilie 1999: 211).

As mentioned above, private telephone calls seem to have a similar structure to radio phone-ins. Both of them start with an opening move on to the relevant topic and end with a negotiated closing. In contrast to phone-ins, in private telephone calls the participants normally do not necessarily discuss one single topic but move on to various topics within the same conversation. In radio phone-ins on FM4 there is only one specific topic which always depends on the game of the day. The host controls the structural organization of the talk and brings the caller back to the relevant topic whenever it is necessary. In my data participants generally do not challenge the set organization of the show but adhere to the predetermined rules.

The course of the phone-in conversation shows three identifiable phases. Any extract of the phone-in is comprised of the following noticeable segments: Before the phone-in starts, the host explains the game and asks the audience to phone-in. Immediately after this, a caller decides to phone-in. Then the conversation starts with an opening sequence, followed by the game and ends with the closing sequence. In the first phase of the call typically greetings are exchanged and the name and geographical location of the caller are presented. The second phase comprises the game to be played. This game is the primary reason for the phone-in and hence the most important part of the phone-in sequence. It is the primary goal of the show to play this game in order to identify a winner who is rewarded with a prize. Generally, this part is constituted by one major question, a series of questions or a short role play. This leads to the typical question-answer structure which will be analyzed in the following chapter. The questions generally test the participant's knowledge of a certain topic. There is, however, no attempt to humiliate the participant if he or she 'does not succeed', since this interactive show is included in the program for the purpose of

entertainment (Culperer 2005: 47). After the game the host announces the prize which was won by the candidate. This initiates the closing sequence which is part of the third phase. In this last phase of the interaction the conversation is brought to an end. Depending on the time available the length of the opening and closing sequences are adjusted. They are elaborated or shortened accordingly so that they fit within the timeframe of the show. (Cf. Rainer & Grommes 2003: 106).

3.4.1 Openings

The opening sequence is an important part of any conversation. Yet, especially in telephone conversations, in which the participants do not share the same place and have a restricted timeframe for their conversation, the opening sequence is an important part of the conversation and has a variety of functions.

Schegloff (1986) analyzed a large data set of telephone calls and identified a typical structure of opening sequences. This "canonical opening" for private telephone conversations starts with a "summons/answer sequence" (the telephone rings and someone answers it) followed by a "identification/recognition sequence", (the interlocutors display recognition for each other), a "greeting sequence", a "how are you sequence" and often ends with a sequence in which the reason for the call is stated (Schegloff 1986: 115 in Paltridge 2006: 110). For a clearer illustration of the opening sequences an example is listed below. This transcript is a typical example of a private telephone conversation taken from a large data set (Palrtidge 2006: 111).

	((ring))		
1.	Recipient:	Hello	summons/answer sequence
2.	Caller:	Hi Ida?	Identification/recognition sequence
3.	Recipient:	Yeah	
4.	Caller:	Hi, this is Carla=	
5.	Recipient:	=Hi Carla.	Greeting sequence
6.	Caller:	How are you.	How are you sequence
7.	Recipient:	Okay:.	
8.	Caller:	Good.=	
9.	Recipient:	=How about you.	
10.	Caller:	Fine. Don wants to know…	reason for call sequence

Schegloff describes this example as a set of "sequential entities" and claims that almost every telephone call corresponds to this pattern. However, not every telephone opening is predetermined. "The first few turns of telephone calls are interactively constructed upon a scaffolding of conversational routines" (Hopper 1990: 370).Hence, there is still room for individual variation. "Telephone partners improvise actual telephone openings from a fixed set of resources: Four basic slots with a limited number of alternatives for each" (Hopper 1990: 370).

Openings of radio phone-ins show a very similar sequence in their development but also structural differences. In phone-ins the summons/answer sequence does not occur and the identification/recognition sequence occurs in a different way. Additionally, the reason for the call is not stated since it had been mentioned beforehand, during the show when the task was explained. The following extract is an example from an opening sequence of a radio phone-in. It is shorter than the opening in the example above, which is a transcript from a telephone conversation. Nevertheless, similarities between them are visible. The phone-in starts with a greeting sequence followed by a "how are you sequence". Other entities of a typical telephone opening are generally omitted in phone-ins.

Extract 3.3 (Appendix 1)

1.	SF:	hello Gerhard
2.	G:	hello
3.	SF:	how are you?
4.	G:	fine thanks

In almost every opening the host offers a greeting in his first turn. However, some phone-ins reveal different features. In extract 3.4 the opening phase does not contain an accomplished greeting sequence. The host does not offer a greeting at all and the greeting produced by the co-commentator is neither a first nor a second part of an adjacency pair since there is no utterance preceding or following it. Generally a greeting turn elicits a return-greeting but as it is shown, for conversational interaction in radio phone-ins this need not be true. It seems like the co-commentator, Lisa, has produced the first part of a greeting pair but the caller did not cooperate, or was not given a chance to cooperate and did not finish it. In this example the opening of the host in lines 1 to 3 may be designed to capture the attention of the overhearing audience and provides information which is necessary for them.

Extract 3.4 (Appendix 4)

1.	SF:	yes and we have someone here who happens to actually think
2.		they know the answer to the question which we po::st (.) and ah
3.		I hope now (.) Romana? (0,3) @@@ Romana?
4.	R:	yeah?
5.	SF:	<u>Yes</u> you are there [lovely
6.	L:	[Hallo
7.	SF:	you ah are you on your way to work right now if I am not
8.		mistaken?

From the present data it can be concluded that in all recorded examples of FM4 phone-ins certain sequential entities of the typical opening sequence of telephone calls were omitted. In most conversations the four adjacency sequences, which are mentioned in Schegloff's model are found in a modified and restricted version.

In the following example there is, like in every other extract, an omission of the summons/answer sequence and also the greeting sequence is reduced to a minimum since the caller does not utter a greeting. Furthermore, there is no self-identification. In addition to those restrictions, there is also no sequence in which the caller states his reason for the call. The host and the audience obviously expect that the participant called in for one specific reason. In most of the cases he or she wants to be a participant in the game in order to win a prize. Therefore the reason for the call is known and this part of the sequence is omitted in every recorded example. One example is illustrated above in extract 3.5. This reduction of the typical formula could be attributed to the institutional roles of the parties and the goal orientation of the conversation (Hopper 1990: 372).

Extract 3.5 (Appendix 10)

1.	SF:	hello (.) yeah: how are you?
2.	J:	I am fine thanks a lot.
3.	SF:	good (.) what are you doing in Stockerau then?

A characteristic feature of telephone conversation, "which might be called: "a distribution rule for first utterance" is: *the answerer speaks first* (Schegloff 1968: 1068). The phone rings and the person picks-up and says "hello" or his or her name. Generally, there is an information gap between the interlocutors. The person who calls knows his own identity and also that of his interlocutor whereas the answerer only knows who he or she is but does not know the identity of the person who calls.

In radio phone-ins there is no gap in the answerer's information. Quite the opposite seems to be true. The caller to the phone-in does not have direct access to the host. He or she has to compete with others for the host's attention and the chance to be on air (Talbot 2007: 163). "The callers will have previously encountered other institutional agents on their way to getting on the air" (Hutchby 1996: 13). Another possibility is that their call is screened after the callers have identified themselves at the radio station's switchboard. This switchboard operative takes all details necessary for the opening of the host. Hence before the candidate comes on air typically his or her name and geographical location are elicited and passed on to the host (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1988: 157). Therefore the host knows a variety of details from the caller before he is engaged in the interaction. In the example above this reversed information gap can be traced. The answerer of the phone, the host, already knows who is calling and addresses the caller by his name.

In general the opening sequences are "interactionally compact and brief" (Schegloff 1986: 112) In the case of phone-ins the openings are even shorter, since the entire conversation normally does not last longer than two or three minutes. In the transcripts that I examined, Stuart Freeman's opening sequences do not vary significantly from one another. Immediately before the phone-ins start he personally asks the audience to call in and at this point he often mentions the telephone number and the name of the game. The actual opening always contains a casual greeting of the caller. In the majority of the phone-ins the host of the show does not explicitly introduce the caller to the audience. All information relevant to the audience is communicated through the interaction between the host and the participant. When the host starts talking to the caller, it becomes clear that he knows more about the caller than the audience at home. Extract 3.6 shows that "over the course of interaction within the public access media events, participants´ identities are progressively developed" (Ferencik 2007: 356).

Extract 3.6 (Appendix 10)

1.	SF:	hello (.) yeah how are you?
2.	J:	I am fine thanks a lot.
3.	SF:	good (.) what are you doing in Stockerau then?
4.	J:	ah well I am having my breakfast
5.	SF:	are you? (0,2) what are you eating? what are you eating we are hungry
6.	J:	oh well I am drinking hot chocolate=
7.	SF:	=oh ya

8.   J: ah::m some Striezel
9.   SF: o: mh::(0,2) Johannes we hate you (.) cause all we've got here is
10.   healthy stuff like fruit, carrots yeah::

The host, Stuart Freeman, (SF) starts the phone-in with a casual greeting. In this situation, he does not address the participant by his name like in many other examples in the present data. In line 9 the host directly addresses the caller hence his name is introduced to the audience at home. "This identification offered by the host, then, produces a 'call-relevant identity' for the caller" (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002: 9). Therefore the call-in listener is no longer only 'any caller' but a particular speaking partner on air. (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002: 9). In line 3 the host asks what his interlocutor "is doing in Stockerau", therefore he already knows the participants name and also more detailed information, such as the place from where the participant is calling, before the actual phone-in starts. The following example again shows that the host possesses more knowledge about the caller than a person who answers the phone in a casual conversation. Furthermore, extract 3.7 illustrates that the host has an information advantage over the overhearing audience and how he provides this knowledge to the audience in his first few turns.

Extract 3.7 (Appendix 1)
1.   SF: hello Gerhard
2.   G: hello
3.   SF: how are you?
4.   G: fine thanks
5.   SF: good what what are you doing on a holiday at this time of the year?
6.   G: oh:: I get up early to listen to the morning show

Here it is shown that not the entire phone-in situation is broadcast live on air during the show. Just before this particular phone-in the host explained the game and asked the "listeners" to give him a call if they know the answer. After this announcement two songs were played. Right after the second song the phone-in begins by greeting the caller. The host addresses the caller by his name and engages him in a casual conversation about his holiday plans. Hence he knows beforehand who called and where the candidate is located. The host works with his knowledge about the candidate. "A (first name) vocative […] and phatic language are used strategically to invoke a pseudo-intimate relationship" (O'Keeffe 1996: 25)

Occasionally, the host greets the caller and decides to start directly with the actual task. However in the majority of the transcripts that I examined there is a short casual conversation before the game starts. Extract 3.8 shows one incident where the host skips casual conversation and comes straight to the actual task of the program. This phone-in fulfills a more institutional function than the others. The contributions of both participants, the host and the caller, are completely task orientated.

Extract 3.8 (Appendix 6)

1.	SF:	hello Christoph
2.	Ch:	hi Stuart
3.	SF:	good morning (.) how are you?
4.	Ch:	I am great thanks
5.	SF:	listen did you get the tune by me playing the xylophone?
6.	Ch:	Yeah yeah ah I really ah got it

In contrast to extract 3.8 the following one, extract 3.9, includes a clear and direct introduction of the caller. In this conversation the host opens the conversation by saying who is on the line. The host's greeting occurs in the final position of his first turn after he has identified the caller by name and place (cf. Holzbauer 2007: 90). This structural regulation is an exception in my data. There are only two instances of the recorded data which displays this structure. In every other phone-in the caller is not explicitly introduced in the opening sequence.

In addition to this, the opening sequences from the phone-ins reveal the institutional character of this interaction. As Schegloff (1986) points out, in private telephone conversations the participant who was called would answer to the "summons" (the telephone's ring) in his or her first turn. This first turn mostly consists of utterances like 'hello' or utterances to express self-identification. In extract 3.9 the first turn of the conversation is an announcement in which the caller is identified. Hence, not the answerer of the phone, who is the host, identifies himself but the name of the caller is introduced.

Extract 3.9 (Appendix 11)

1.	SF:	we got to interrupt uncle because we've got <u>Lisa</u> on the phone right
2.		now (.)
3.		from Vienna(.) hi Lisa
4.	L:	good morn[ing
5.	SF:	[good morning (.) what do you think was the best or worst
6.		kleidungsstück?

Extract 3.10 (Appendix 8)

```
1.   L:     so we have a winner
2.   SF:    we have a winner and I hope he is not running around in his underwear
3.          at the moment (.) @here is martin von Leonding (.)  hello martin=
4.   M:     =good morning no no I am I am fully [dressed right now]
```

This specific form of opening pattern seems to be unique for radio phone-in programs and cannot be generalized to every institutional setting. Thus, there are clear similarities to be drawn between phone-ins and telephone calls that occur in other institutional setting. In emergency calls for example "the first turn consist of a self-identification of the called party" (Hutchby 1996: 13). Hutchby (1991 in O'Keeffe 1996:55) identified that in a typical radio phone-in opening, in contrast to other institutional telephone conversations, the hosts "mentions the caller's name and call location". This is exactly what occurs in lines 1, 2 and 3 in both extracts. He argues that "[t]his turn places the caller (the original summoner) in the position of 'answerer'. So the [name] + [location] serves as a summons on the part of the [host]." When examining the 11 recorded openings it is found that in every single opening the host mentions the caller's name but the caller's location is used as a part of the identifying sequence in just three calls. In some of the extracts there are references to the location of the caller at a later point in the conversation.

Extract 3.11 (Appendix 6)

```
1.          do an eight at the end )(.) so we have got a brand new fm4 sound
2.          selection number twenty-one for you ah: we gonna send it to you in
3.          your home in Feldkirch is that ok?
4.   Ch:    great thanks
5.   SF:    ok listen I wan want you to answer one question (0,1) Christoph.
6.   Ch:    mhm
```

In some of the other nine calls there is a reference to the location but in a less formulaic way compared to the way in which it is presented in the extracts 3.8 and 3.9 (O'Keeffe 1996: 55). In the following extract the host's reference to the candidate's location occurs in lines 3 to 7. O'Keeffe argues that "the lack of formulaic location reference […] creates a more intimate and less institutional effect at the opening of the interaction".

Extract 3.12 (Appendix 7)

1. SF: guten Morgen Barbara
2. B: morning
3. SF: morning where are you I know you are driving with your schp (.)
4. Freisprech (.) an anlage (.) where are you?
5. B: ahm I am on my way to work=
6. SF: =ok (.). in the city or in the land?
7. B: ahm:: (.) I am on the:: highway
8. SF: ok: right (.) we gonna give you ten questions (.) for beat the toaster and

In every phone-in the name of the caller is introduced in the same manner but there is not one single example where the host introduces himself to the audience. This is due to the fact that the phone-ins are extracted from a longer program. In contrast to talk-show programs, phone-ins are often not an entire show. The phone-ins analyzed in this paper form only a very small part of the FM4 Morning Show which has its own cohesive structure. This show can be seen as a unity with a structured opening and closing sequence of its own which includes an introduction of the host at the beginning of the program.

Schegloff's canonical model provides one possible description of the structural organization of telephone openings. Still, few telephone openings follow exactly this sequence. Hardly any telephone call will display all four sequences as described in the theory. Especially when it comes to radio phone-ins this model has a restricted view of the possible range of features contained in the opening sequence (Hopper 1990: 371). Hopper and Doanay (1989 in Hopper 1990: 380) proposed two generalizations based on the recognized restrictions of the canonical opening sequence. "First, summons-answer sequences are necessary first occurrences in telephone speaking; and Second, mutual recognition is the next business in-and-after answering". Their findings may be true for private telephone calls, but as is has been outlined above, openings in radio phone-in programs seem to follow their own rules upon matters of structural organization.

From the present data it can be concluded that callers do not come straight on air but engage in a short conversation with someone else who transfers the elicited information to the host. After this, the caller comes on air and the actual opening begins. It was found that the open sequences in the FM4 phone-ins deviate from Schegloff's canonical model of openings (1986), yet they still "follow a fairly routine

pattern" of a two or three turn-sequence (Thornborrow 2001: 122). In every recorded phone-in the host takes the first turn in the conversation, which always includes a greeting and an identification of the caller. Hence, one of the main functions of the host's first few turns is "to bring the caller into the participatory frame by identifying them" (Thornborrow 2001: 122).

3.4.2. Closings

Unlike openings of telephone calls, which start at a specific point in time, the starting point of the closing sequence has to be negotiated between the interlocutors. There are many situations in which the relevant topic has been discussed and yet it would be peculiar to just turn around and leave or add a "good-bye" after the last sentence, which was relevant to the business at hand. Therefore, the conversational partners have to work together and negotiate the right moment to end the conversation in an acceptable way (Forrester 1996:101). In contrast to casual telephone conversations, closings in radio phone-in programs are not negotiated between the host and the caller. Because of the power of the host's role it is his task to open and also close the program sections (O'Malley 2008: 350).

Generally, interlocutors do not end their conversation abruptly, but indicate the end by a certain signal. Like openings closings ideally consist of a two part structure. "Closing sequences require *at least* two sets of adjacency pair exchanges as sub-components: the exchange to initiate closing and the terminal exchange" (Lerner 2004: 262). Whenever one of the participants decides that the conversation should come to an end he or she "must produce a 'first pair part' which has a certain kind of special status" (Forrester 1996: 101). Typically the party who wishes to end the conversation employs a pre-closing such as an 'ok' or a 'right'. The end of the talk could also be signaled by summing up what has been said so far (Cf. Schegloff & Sacks 1973). This strategy is not used in the 11 phone-ins which I have recorded. It is often used in talk-shows especially when the topic of the show calls for a rounding off or the host wants to give some advice concerning the problems discussed in the show.

Closings in phone-ins are not negotiated in the same way as closings in face to face conversations or in a casual telephone call. Wong (2007: 275) argues that closings in casual conversations, generally occur in a very systematic pattern. "They are fluid and dynamic in that participants engaged in interaction *arrive at* a closing site through a process of joint orientation, collaboration and negotiation" In Radio phone-ins, especially in game orientated phone-ins like those on FM4, the closing is not necessarily negotiated between the host and the caller. This difference is due to the

asymmetrical power relationship between the speakers, the institutional setting in which the phone-in takes place and the high degree of its goal orientation. The host generally controls the talk event and possesses the power to guide the direction of the talk. Nevertheless, he does not always demonstrate his power and allows the caller to influence the structure of the talk. Yet in most cases it is the decision of the host how long the caller is allowed to be on air, therefore he initiates the first pair part of the closing sequence. The host, Stuart Freeman signals the end of the phone-in by thanking the candidate for participating and saying good-bye to him or her. Normally, the host initiates the closing, hence ends the caller's turn with an 'acknowledgement token', like 'thank you'. The co-commentator also takes an active part in the closing sequence. Even in phone-ins in which the co-commentator is passive, he or she always takes a turn in the last few lines. In every single recording, the co-commentator participates in the closing sequence.

Extract 3.13 (Appendix 8)

1.	SF:	cool well(.) well done to [you] you were the first one through
2.	L:	[yeah]
3.	SF:	and you won yourself a FM4 goodie bag (.) ok?
4.	M:	thank you very much
5.	SF:	thanks very much ah martin and have a great day
6.	M:	yes have a nice day (.)
7.	SF:	thank you (.) [bye-bye
8.	M:	[bye-bye
9.	L:	danke ciao

In extract 3.13 in line 3 Stuart Freeman (SF), uses 'ok' ending with a rising intonation to indicate that the conversation moves towards an end. The candidate takes up the hint and moves on with the closing sequence by thanking the host. Martin recognizes the pre-closing strategy and reacts appropriately. After the pre-closing, in line 7 the host initiates a finale first pair part of the terminal closing sequence, followed by a typical adjacency pair which completes the phone-in conversation (Forrester 1996: 102). There is a variety of techniques that can be used to move towards a closing of the conversation. Such pre-closing utterances typically occur immediately prior to the last turns and determine the terminal closing. It was found that the pre-closing sequence builds the foundation of the final closing of the conversation. A properly initiated closing sequence may lead to a final closing that "contains nothing but a terminal exchange and accomplishes a proper closing thereby" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 317). Lines 6 to 8 represent such an appropriate terminal exchange.

As mentioned before in the majority of the phone-ins, it is the host who controls the floor, and determines when the closing sequence is started. Sometimes the caller initiates the closing sequence him or herself. In radio phone-ins it is rather clear at which point the purpose of the call is over. Whenever the game is played and the host has announced the prize, the purpose of the call is fulfilled. Therefore, the announcing of the prize may function as a form of pre-closing. At least some of the candidates recognize it as an attempt to initiate the closing.

Extract 3.14 (Appendix 4)

1.	SF:	your are right my friend
2.	S:	ok=
3.	SF:	=ok you won yourself a copy of the:: Wortlaut book Null Neun and ah(.)
4.		we'll have a word and see if we can find you a cd of sunny side up all
5.		right?
6.	S:	all right tanks a lot@
7.	SF:	<can't promise too much but ah I'll see what I can do.>
8.	S:	@ok ciao
9.	SF:	bye-bye Stefan
10.	L:	danke Stefan

In lines 3-5 of extract 3.14 the host tells the candidate what prize he won and waits for an acknowledgement on the side of the caller, which is uttered in line 6. Thereafter, in line 7 Stuart Freeman takes an unexpected turn, which does not follow the routine of a typical closing sequence. However, this sentence is uttered in a faster pace than the surrounding talk and ends with a falling intonation. Neither the host, nor the candidate interprets it as an initiation to restart the conversation. Therefore, they both continue with the closing. However, in this extract the candidate self-initiated the first pair part of the terminal closing adjacency pair. The data proved that initiated closings by callers do not happen very often. Generally, it is the host who controls the floor and decides when the participants are taken off the air.

Extract 3.15 (Appendix 10)

1.	SF:	magnifique ok ah listen ahm we have got a cd to give to you its Julian
2.		Casablanca's new one (.) is that alright?
3.	T:	that is wonderful I think I have just heard the song quickly ah it
4.		sounded good thanks
5.	SF:	mh mh we gonna send this to you and ah (.) did you get the new
6.		foo fighters album (.) the greatest hits?
7.	T:	I did actually (.) two days ago=

8.	SF:	=got the dvd as well?
9.	T:	I got the dvd.=
10.	SF:	=<u>yeah</u> me to
11.	T:	it's brilliant=
12.	SF:	=it is super (.) ok one of the best videos of that goes with this song and
13.		I am gonna dedicate it to you

In contrast to the example above, in extract 3.15 the ending which has, strictly speaking, no closing is totally determined by the host. This phone-in does not have a closing sequence and it does not come to a negotiated ending. It shows that the "caller does not play any role in negotiation the termination of the call (Hutchby 1996:15). The host and the candidate do not exchange goodbyes and the host does not thank the caller for his participation, which is an inherent component of almost every other closing sequence in the present data. In a regular telephone call such a closing sequence would not be appropriate. In the case of the FM4 phone-in this method of ending the call and leading back to the program does not appear to be discourteous. It shows that the scheduled time for the phone-in was over and that the host uses his institutional power to guide the program and fit the allocated time frame.

Extract 3.16 (Appendix 5)

1.	SF:	yeah somebody typed the wrong thing there just go to the fm4 site go
2.		to the shop and buy Wandsticker for your friends and family but you've
3.		got some Wandstickers Sabine ah and ah we send them to you soon
4.		(.) alright?
5.	S:	[yeah
6.	L:	[noch dran bleiben bitte
7.	S:	cool
8.	SF:	thank you very much indeed=
9.	S:	=thank you very [much
10.	SF:	[cool yeah (.)] and keep up your good work we love
11.		what you are doing
12.	S:	I will do
13.	L:	[@
14.	SF:	[good (.) ah if you didn't know what it meant ah here is Jo with the (.)
15.		Auflösung

In extract 3.16 the host uses a pre-closing device, which is quite common for him and his show. After the prize was announced in line 3, he adds an 'alright' (line 4) with rising intonation. Again it seems like he is waiting for a signal of acknowledgement from the participant. However, Sabine does not have much time to reply and manages to utter a quick 'yeah'. In the following turn the co-commentator Lisa intervenes and tells her to stay in the line, which again is an indication that she will be

removed from the show soon. Thereafter, the host continues the closing and thanks the candidate for being part of the program.

In most cases the callers immediately understand that the host wants to close the conversation when he thanks the candidate for his or her participation and they react appropriately. In this case Sabine was cut off the line before she could have reacted. Hence the closing is sometimes carried out by the host without any participation or response from the candidate who phoned in. This reflects the asymmetrical relationship between the host and the caller. The host clearly has a technological advantage over the caller. Anytime "a caller may be put on hold or cut off altogether, whenever the host feels so inclined" (Talbot 2007: 163). Shortly after thanking Sabine the host directly turns to the overhearing audience at home. In line 12 'you' refers to the participant of the game, the caller and in line 14 'you' suddenly refers to the overhearing audience. It shows how quickly the host moves between different participation frameworks.

From the present data it can be concluded that closing sequences in radio phone-in programs tend to be initiated by the host. The conversation between the host and his candidate is generally closed through both "a reduction and a specialization of the closing sequence which holds in ordinary conversation" (Clayman 1989 referred to in Thornborrow 2001: 137). Thornborrow (2001: 137) claims that closings in phone-ins "exhibit […] a pattern of reduced and specialized turn sequences". Exactly this phenomenon was found in the data. In telephone calls both participants tend to co-operate in the negotiation process, whereas in phone-ins there is an unequal distribution of power which leads to less co-operation, simply because it is not necessary. Callers are placed in a subordinate position and the host decides on the structural organization and length of the closing sequence. On the whole, the structure and organization of the opening and closing sequence reflect the institutional character of radio phone-in programs. Furthermore, it was shown how diverse closing sequences within one specific radio phone-in show can be.

4. The role of the interlocutors in radio phone-ins

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned to give an account of how the host and the caller interact and examine the roles they have in the phone-in interaction. It will be shown that communication is not a straight-forward phenomenon, where one speaker utters a sentence, waits for an answer from an ideal listener and shortly thereafter starts speaking again. The communication partner has not only the task of answering questions, he or she has also the "task of shaping the individual contribution to the conversation in a relevant and coherent way, […], organize the relevance and coherence within a sequence of texts while alternating between production and reception" (Dietrich & Grommes 2003: 104). Every caller to the phone-in fulfills a variety of roles. He or she is part of the overhearing audience at home, becomes an active participant in the communication, therefore he or she is a speaker and by alternating between production and reception he or she also takes over the role of a listener. In order to explore the nature of the behavior of the interlocutors which occurs in the data I give an overview of the roles of the audience, the caller and the host and show the cooperative intention that is established between them.

4.2. The role of the speaker

As we all know communication is not achieved by a speaker having a thought in mind and then putting it into the only possible set of words ordered in the only possible way (Brown 1996: 24). There are more than a hundred ways to utter a phrase or a sentence. There may be variations in syntax, grammar, vocabulary, word structure, pronunciation or intonation. Only a slight variation of the same set of words can mean something completely different or may lead the hearer to interpret the message in a totally different manner. Native speakers have a broad knowledge about the language they speak, and this knowledge shapes communication. In every conversation the speaker makes assumptions about what the hearer knows and according to it, he or she phrases the sentences. Every language has mechanisms to indicate whether the objects to which the speaker refers are known by the hearer and every user of a language has an intuitive knowledge about how to use the past and

future tense and how to interpret their relationship. Furthermore, every native speaker of a language knows several registers or styles which are appropriate for different forms of communication and this is also reflected in the media. Newspapers, broadcasts, books, radio phone-ins and talk shows, among others, have their own specialized registers.

In addition to this, the hearer or reader has more than one single possible interpretation of what he or she has heard or read. It is important to keep in mind that apparently satisfactory and effective communication may often take place without the hearer arriving at a full interpretation of the words used by the speaker (Brown 1996: 8). Especially, when it comes to an interaction between a native and a non-native speaker it may come to false interpretations and misunderstandings. It is always an important decision of the speaker how to "package the message in such a way that it is likely to be understood by the hearer in the context of utterance". "[T]his means taking into account what the hearer can reasonably be expected to know, as well as the nature of the social roles that the speaker and hearer are playing" (Brown 1996: 24). Hence speakers design their utterances for particular audiences. This phenomenon is called "audience design". Clark and Carlson (1982: 342) proposed this feature of utterances. They argue as follows:

> When the speakers design their utterances, they assign different hearers to different roles: and then they decide how to say what they say on the basis of what they know, believe, and suppose that these hearers, in their assigned roles, know, believe, and suppose.

Furthermore, the speaker has to make his or her contributions relevant to the situation of discourse. The interlocutors do this by "anchoring what they talk about to the spatio-temporal context of utterance" (Levelt 1991: 44).

> [T]he spatio-temporal context of an utterance involves […] at least one addressee, and audio-visual scene which is more or less shared between the interlocutors, the places and orientations of the interlocutors in this scene at the moment of utterance, and the place of the utterance in the temporal flow of events (Levelt 1991: 45).

The core goal of communication is to achieve mutual understanding. The speaker generally tries to be "informative, truthful, relevant, and clear" (Grice 1975: 124) He or she has to make an effort to utter his message in a processable manner and the

listener has to make an effort to process it. Therefore, the speaker and the listener are constantly engaged in a process of coordination and cooperation. These processes do not occur randomly but follow acquired routines, rules and principles. Grice (1975: 124) defines this cooperative effort more precisely and formulated the "Cooperative Principle". Every speaker is required to "make [his or her] conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which [he or she] is engaged".

According to the British language philosopher Grice interlocutors assume that their contributions are governed by this principle. Grice (1975: 125) distinguishes four sets of rules, as a realization of this principle.

1. **Maxim of quantity**: The speaker should make his or her contributions as informative as necessary but not more informative than required.
2. **Maxim of quality:** The speaker should not say what he or she believes to be false nor should he or she say that for which he or she lacks adequate evidence. Hence, the speaker should only give information that is true.
3. **Maxim of relation:** The speaker should be relevant or make his or her contributions relate to the ongoing exchange of talk.
4. **Maxim of manner:** The speaker should avoid obscurity of expression, ambiguity and he or she should be brief and orderly.

Grice distinguishes between the literal meaning of the words and the intended meaning of the speaker's utterance. Recipients assume that the speaker adheres to the cooperative principle and tries to interpret the message in a way that does not violate the maxim. Through this process of conversational implicature "the conversational participants resolve apparently illogical meanings by recourse to the assumption that all parties to the conversation follow the Cooperative Principle" (Young 2008: 25).

However, in some situations the speakers do not adhere to all of the maxims. In the authentic data from the FM4 radio phone-in program a variety of talk-in interactions regularly violate the Gricean maxims, particularly the maxim of quality. Due to the format of the phone-in, the host is not completely committed to the truth. In almost every recorded phone-in the primary task is to play a game which entertains the participant and the audience. Therefore often humorous sequences are included. It is claimed that conversational humor does not have to present trustworthy information.

Raskin (1985 in Norrick 2001:1349) argues that "humor follows its own CP" and maxims. Lakoff (1973 in Norrick 2001: 1349) gives another explanation why a violation of the maxims may occur. He sees the Cooperative Principle and Grice's maxims as "adequate for more formal, consultative styles of communication where [..] distance between participants reign supreme". Such interactions may reflect "negative politeness" whereas conversations, which are based on solidarity, could reflect "positive politeness" therefore "it need not adhere to the Gricean maxims." Because of the pseudo-intimate relationship between the host and the caller, the conversational interaction on talk radio may be seen to ground on solidarity. According to Lakoff (1973) this is reason enough to justify the violation of the maxims.

Another critical remark against the application of Grice's maxims in the context of radio phone-in interaction has been raised by Fairclough (1985) and Mey (1987 in Ladegaard 2009: 652). They have raised the problem of applying Grice's theory to conversations in which the interlocutors have an asymmetrical relationship. "They argue that in order for the CP to apply to conversations in the Gricean sense, the interactants must be socially equal". So far we have seen that the host and the caller do not hold the same amount of institutional power, do not have "the same discoursal and pragmatic rights" and are not equally authorized to take turns, or initiate the opening or closing sequence (Ladegaard 2009: 652). This shows that the maxims do not have universal application and must not necessarily be applied by the host or the caller.

One example in my data, in which the maxims are violated, occurs in the game "pop, poetry or crap". During this game the host or the co-commentator basically read out a succession of disconnected words which are not embedded in a context. Hence, it is clear that there is a certain amount of uninformative and irrelevant information in the utterance, which obviously does not adhere to the Gricean maxims. In addition to this, also the quality maxim, "do not say what you believe is false", is being flouted in the extract 4.1. In lines 2-6 the host reads out a phrase, which is strictly speaking not true. In line 8 the candidate answers the third question of the game and comes to the conclusion that these words are nonsense. The host knows from the beginning that his contribution is false. It can be concluded that the interlocutors' non-cooperative

behavior during the game is attributed to the setting and the context in which the radio phone-in interaction occurs.

Extract 4.1 (Appendix 4)

1.	SF:	all right I see what we can do all right? I have got I have got friends in
2.		our marketing department ok here we go Stefan(.) >mein Herz es ist
3.		ein tiefes Tal ein Meer von Tränen (.) durchschschwimmt der i::l<
4.	L:	der Aal=
5.	SF	=oh oh der Aal sorry
6.	SF:	der Schmerz durchfährt meine Knie ich liebe dich wie noch nie (.)wau it
7.		rhymes too
8.	S:	@phu: it rhymes but i think that's crap or?

Levinson summarizes that the Gricean "maxims specify what participants have to do in order to converse in a maximally efficient, rational, cooperative way" (1983: 102). My data reflects that the host and the participant try to communicate in a maximally efficient way and adhere to the Cooperative Principle whenever they are engaged in the casual part of the conversation. The majority of the opening and closing sequences reflect an intention of the participants to cooperate. However, in the interaction during the game there is a non-observance of some of the maxims. Therefore it can be assumed that the conversation between the host and the caller during the phone-in situation, especially when the game is played, follows its own set of maxims.

It is generally accepted that in a conversation there is an ongoing interaction between all participants. Often there is one participant who acts as the primary speaker and the other one plays the role of the primary listener. It is important to mention that these roles are not fully predetermined but are interchangeable among the interlocutors. In the FM4 Morning Show the host, nonetheless, functions as the primary speaker. He moderates and guides the daily program. Stuart Freeman fulfills a variety of activities. As we have seen in the last chapter, he is summoning the audience's attention, explaining the game of the day, providing access to the telephone number and he is asking them to "phone-in now". Hereupon it is his task to bring the "participant in to the 'participatory framework'" and engage him or her in a conversation which allows to establish his identity for the time on air. He guides the whole Morning Show, therefore he decides and verbalizes when the phone-in starts,

organizes the structural unfolding and he decides at what time the closing sequence is initiated (Ferencik 2007: 359-360).

The speaker is the active partner who initiates and guides the interaction, selects the information which is presented to the listener and leads the conversation (Brown 1996: 28).This role distribution becomes very clear in radio phone-in interactions. It is always the task of the host to select and ask the relevant questions for the ongoing conversation. In the case of the FM4 Morning Show, it is the host who decides how much time is spent talking about private belongings and he decides when to stop the casual conversation and start with the game. He decides on the right moment to start the game and communicates this starting point in a very clear manner.

Extract 4.2 (Appendix 7)

1.	SF:	guten Morgen Barbara
2.	B:	morning
3.	SF:	morning where are you I know you are driving with your schp (.)
4.		Freisprech (.) an anlage (.) where are you?
5.	B:	ahm I am on my way to work
6.	SF:	ok (.). in the city or in the land?
7.	B:	ahm:: (.) I am on the:: highway
8.	SF:	ok: right (.) we gonna give you ten questions (.) for beat the toaster and
9.		ah if you get them right six out of then I think we'll have as our (.)
10.		standard tod[ay
11.	L:	[mhm
12.	SF:	ah we will give you an FM4 goodiebag (.) ah what do you do for a for a
13.		for a job then Barbara?
14.	B:	ah: I work in an office (.) hm in hr
15.	SF:	in HR:: alright. are you recruiting[or are you]=
16.	B:	[Yeah]
17.	SF:	=you letting people go at the moment
18.	B:	ah:: no we are recruiting at the moment
19.	SF:	[ok
20.	L:	[good
21.	SF:	good (.) lisa and me will be in your office at eleven o'clock this
22.		morning@@
23.	L:	@@[@@@
24.	SF:	[@@
25.	B:	@what kind of job do you want?
26.	SF:	anything you wanna give us we don't mind do we?
27.	L:	no@@
28.	B:	great that's the people ah I am looking for=
29.	SF:	=that's right (.) we are the perfect candidates for the job alright Barbara
a.		let's get on with the game here we go it's all to do with money alright?
30.	B:	ok
31.	SF:	here we go
32.	**FM4:**	**((music))[[Then questions in one minute bea::t the toaster]]**
33.	SF:	number one in is there are <u>face</u> on the ten euro bill?

Extract 4.2 shows that the host guides the direction of the talk. In this particular phone-in Stuart Freeman decided on a long opening sequence. He asks the caller where she is at the moment of calling, asks about her occupation and about the current situation in the company where she is working. He does not start with the first question of the game until line 34. In other phone-ins, the host does not spend time for private conversation.   Such phone-ins have a more purpose-orientated and institutionalized character. To show that the phone-ins may differ another extract is given below. Extract 4.3 shows a very short opening sequencing including a greeting sequence in lines 1 and 2, followed by a "how are you sequence" in lines 3 and 4. Immediately after the short opening, in line 5, the beginning of the game is indicated.

Extract 4.3 (Appendix 6)

1.	SF:	hello Christoph
2.	Ch:	hi Stuart
3.	SF:	good morning (.) how are you?
4.	Ch:	I am great thanks=
5.	SF:	=listen did you get the tune by me playing (.) the xylophone?
6.	Ch:	yeah yeah ah I really ah (.) got it
7.	SF:	it was so easy right it was easy?
8.	CH:	really easy
9.	SF:	I just do it again because ah I'm getting talented now hang on ((SF
10.		playing the xylophone)) oh no I have lost that ((playing the xylophone))
11.	SF:	What was that then Christoph?

Extract 4.2 and 4.3 clearly indicate the dominant role of the host in the phone-in conversations. Nevertheless, communication in radio phone-ins is a joint activity between the host and the caller, which is determined by a specific goal. The goal of the phone-in in the Morning Show is to play the game and this goal is "jointly pursued" by the interlocutors. In every phone-in the host and the caller "act jointly in a predefined manner on a joint task, at the same time" (Dietrich & Grommes 2003: 106). Furthermore, all participants "implicitly show that they are willing to cooperate in the joint activity" and adhere to conversational rules to achieve this goal.

For a successful communicative interaction each participant needs to be aware of the common goal for their interaction. Furthermore every party to the phone-in needs to be aware of his or her rights and also of the right of the other person involved. The speaker and the hearer both need to adhere to a variety of linguistic conventions. In

addition to various aspects that I have mentioned so far, the speaker has to consider that the message is framed in a "socially appropriate manner" (Brown 1995: 24). Furthermore, utterances in radio phone-ins do not only have to be socially appropriate and follow the conversational rules, they also need to be shaped to suit the institutional setting and the rules by which the radio station is organized.

4.3. The role of the listener

There are many ways to exchange information between two or more people. Depending on the medium through which the message is delivered and the social context in which the conversation takes place, the structural framework can vary greatly. Normally,

> [t]he phone is a medium built for two. The phone call cuts a dyad out of the speech community and wires it into an exclusive, private two-person mini-community. The telephone conversation creates an event intended for just two partners" (Hopper 1992: 30)

Radio phone-ins use the telephone as the medium of communication however the original framework of this medium was changed. Conversation in phone-ins takes place on the phone but it is no longer a dyadic form of communication. When analyzing the role of the addressee(s) in radio phone-ins it is important to bear in mind that radio phone-ins "are *audience-oriented events;* they target simultaneously a *multiple audience"* (Ilie 1999: 235) First of all such phone-ins, which are part of a regular radio show which is broadcast on a daily basis, address an "overhearing audience" at home. This overhearing audience includes every person who listens to the radio program at the moment the phone-in takes place. The other type of audience can be labeled as a "directly addressed audience" which includes the caller who phones in to be on air. Special attention has to be drawn to the "double status" of the phone-in participant. Throughout the whole radio phone-in broadcast he or she appears as the 'listener' or 'liebe listener', as Stuart Freeman calls him or her. The caller is a member of the overhearing audience or the audience at home

> who, upon having decided to actively participate, having taken necessary steps (viz. dialling the access phone number) and having been successful in getting through to the live broadcast, is shifted to the category of […] 'caller' for his/her time on-air" (Ferencik 2007: 359).

Cameron and Hills (1990, in O'Keeffe 2006: 17) distinguish between two different levels of listeners in radio phone-in programs: "'the individual who is actually calling and the collectivity of listeners "out there"'. This definition, however, fails to include the listening activity of the host. Obviously the host functions as a listener during the conversation as well. Clark and Carlson (1982, in O'Keeffe 2006: 16) were also concerned with the problem of distinguishing various types of hearers in mediated radio discourse. They define one type of hearer as the 'particpant' and the others as 'addressees' or 'overhearers'. This leads to the problem that "[t]he term 'hearer' fails to discriminate between different reception formats, for example hearers who are addressed, hearers who are not addressed, hearers who overhear" (Goffman 1981 in O' Keeffe 2006: 16).

In the literature on radio discourse many different terms to describe the hearer status of the audience in phone-ins are mentioned (e.g. Goffman 1981, Oreström 1983). Most of the time, however, the audience "out there" is described as 'overhearers', which is among others, a term that I adopt in this paper. What is becoming clear so far is that "the basic dyadic conversational paradigm of speaker-hearer is not broad enough" to account for the interaction between the host and the caller in radio phone-in programs (O'Keeffe 1996:16) because there are more than 2 participants with various activity levels involved in the interaction. Therefore, there is more than one participation structure inherent in radio phone-ins. The possible participation frameworks of the FM4 radio phone-in interactions are illustrated in Figure 4.1[3]. (cf. O'Keeffe 2006: 66).

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[3] Figure 4.1 is adapted from O'Keeffee 2006

Figure 4.1 Participation frameworks in FM4 radio phone-ins.
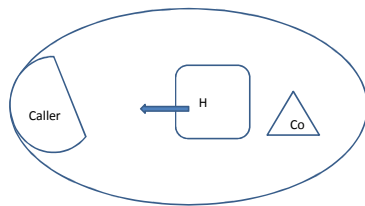
Structure 1: The host addresses the audience

Extract 4.4. (Appendix 2)

SF:	We:: wanted to know <u>from you</u> what <u>this</u>
FM4:	**[[ik heb echt trek in een patatje oorlog]]**
SF:	could mean (.)
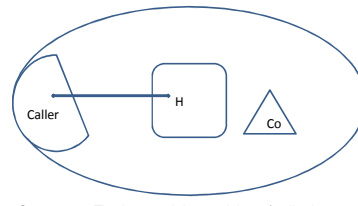
Structure 2: The host and the participant/ caller interact

Extract 4.5.(Appendix 2)

1.	SF:	(.) think (.) we have <hold on> (0,3) Jean-Paul on
2.		the on the line (.)
3.		hello?
4.	JP:	ah: hello?
5.	SF:	and ah Jean-Paul you know what that means?
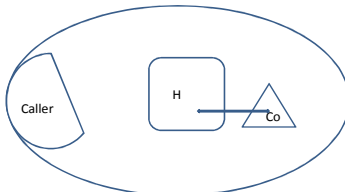
Structure 3: The host and the co-commentator interact

Extract 4.6. (Appendix 1)

1.	SF:	[@ok (.)hh right you are a winner (.) what does
2.		he win by the way Lisa?
3.	L:	a goody bag
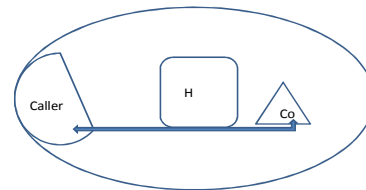
Structure 4: the co-commentator and the Caller interact

Extract 4.7. (Appendix 6)

1.	SF:	@ @ @ alright
2.	L:	er nimmt dich auf den Arm=

In the case of the FM4 radio phone-in program different relations between all people involved can be traced. There is the primary relationship between the host, Stuart Freeman, and the caller who phones in to be on air. Furthermore, there is a relationship between the host and his co-commentator. Yet, there is also another speaker-listener relationship inherent in radio phone-in shows. The audience at home, who is not actively engaged in the conversation, functions as the unaddressed recipient at the moment of the interaction between the host and the caller. The audience at home has a rather passive role while the presenter of the show and the participant are actively engaged in the interaction. It is important to mention that it is not possible to draw a fundamental distinction between the caller and the audience, since every caller is also part of the audience and every person from the audience may become a caller, hence an active participant in the interaction.

> [S]peakers and audience are equals not simply because their roles are interchangeable […] but rather because every act of speaking is directed to and must be ratified by an audience" (O'Keeffe 2002: 93)

An extract taken from a radio phone-in may create the illusion of a conversation that takes place between one speaker and one single listener, hence a conversation among two participants. On the surface the conversation seems to be a dyadic communication between the host and one specific member of the audience. They take turns, therefore their roles alternate. The caller is sometimes the speaker and sometimes the listener and exactly the same is true for the host (O' Keeffe 2006: 15). Therefore, two parties are actively engaged to achieve a successful communication. Nevertheless the audience, the listeners of the radio station, who are not actively engaged in the communicative cooperation, play an important role. Every single member of the "audience is capable of understanding and responding to the message which the station transmits" (Crisell 1986: 81). Let us imagine a phone-in in which a person calls to be on air on the FM4 Morning Show and massively discriminates against, another race or an ethnic group, for example Turkish immigrants in Austria. This call would produce an immediate response from a variety of Turkish immigrants who also listen to the FM4 Morning Show. Specific members of the audience would thereupon try to call and state their opinion. Another example is given by Crisell (1986: 81). If a mother called a radio station and told the host, that she is tempted to batter her baby, immediate responses would follow. In all likelihood a social worker would be part of the audience. This person would try to get in contact with either the host of the show to express his or her concern on air or he or she would try to contact someone else to take care of this tenuous situation.

In radio phone-ins more than one audience is involved. This is reflected in the way the host addresses his listeners, as illustrated in extract 4.8.

Extract 4.8 (Appendix 2)

1.	SF:	we:: wanted to know <u>from you</u> what <u>this</u>
2.	FM4:	[[ik heb echt trek in een patatje oorlog]]
3.	SF:	could mean (.) and of course the question is now what did our
4.		listeners (.)
5.		think (.) we have <hold on> (0,3) Jean-Paul on the on the line (.) hello?
6.	JP:	ah: hello?
7.	SF:	and ah Jean-Paul you know what that means?

Stuart Freeman addresses the overhearing audience. The phrase "we want to know from you what this could mean" should reach a "broad and heterogeneous audience" (Ilie 1999: 235). The host encourages all listeners to become active, phone-in and

answer the question. A few lines later, in line 4 the caller, Jean Paul is introduced. At this moment he represents the directly addressed audience. Jean Paul is not exclusively a member of the directly addressed audience but he also formed part of the overhearing audience who was addressed earlier. Immediately after the phone-in he becomes a member of this non-present, overhearing audience again. The show host switches from addressing the audience as a whole to addressing an individual interlocutor (Ilie 1999: 236). In the following extract the host also moves between addressing the audience and the caller. In line 5 the host shifts to the second person. Such a shift, "an incitement for those thus addressed to respond directly, without mediation, and almost invariably result in an unmediated response", which occurs in line 6 (Guillot 2008: 191).

Extract 4.8 above and extract 4.9 below illustrate the "phenomenon of changing alignments within participation frameworks" (Goffman 1981 in O' Keeffe 1996: 67.)

Extract 4.9 (Appendix 3)

1. SF: yes and we have someone here who happens to actually think they
2.   know the answer to the question which we po::st (.) and ah I hope now
3.   (.) Romana? (0,3) @@@ Romana?
4. R: yeah?
5. SF: <u>Yes</u> you are there [lovely
6. L: [Hallo

The greatest part of the observed data consists of an interaction between the host and the participant. Therefore, it is important to take a closer look at this relationship. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, the host and the caller are strangers, but converse as if they were friends. The host normally does not know the participant and if the caller knows the host, "it is only at a level of a public persona" (O'Keeffe 2006: 63) It has been found that the language in phone-ins shows linguistic markers of intimacy even though the interlocutors do not know each other. For this reason O'Keeffe (2006: 90) defines the relationship between the host and the caller to be "pseudo-intimate". One lexico-grammatical feature which is normally associated with conversation between interlocutors with a close relationship to each other is the use of vocatives. In mundane conversation "vocatives are frequently used [...] between friends as markers of intimacy and solidarity" (O'Keeffe 1996: 103). In the phone-in interaction on FM4 Stuart Freeman often uses this form to address his candidates. It

helps to "sustain and maintain a sense of pseudo-familiarity within the participation framework" between the host and the call-in listener (O'Keeffe 1996: 90). Another reason for the usage of vocatives in the phone-in program is that it facilitates the management and organization of the phone-in and additionally "vocatives can be used to mitigate face threat" (O'Keeffe 1996: 103).

Extract 4.10 (Appendix 4)

1.	SF:	mhm help me out here Stefan help me out good morning
2.	S:	hello good morning, Stuart
3.	SF:	he listen Stefan (.) you are from the weinviertel right?

Another device which is used to create an illusion of a pseudo-intimacy between the host and his participant is the use of the pronoun 'we'. Pronouns such as 'we' or 'us' of deliberately used by the host in order to "construct a collective identity" (Tolson 2006: 7). Extract 4.11 is an example which shows how "a [...] 'we' relationship is carefully built up" between the host and the candidate of the radio phone-in show. O'Keeffe (2006: 92) claims that consistent use of the pronoun helps to "reinforce inclusion within the participation framework of the presenter and audience as a group familiar to each other".

Extract 4.11 (Appendix 4)

1.	SF:	I am from the weinviertel we are all the drinkers (.) we don't play lotto
2.	L:	@ @ @ @ @
3.	SF:	ok that's a good idea. (.) alcohol statt lotto that's all right we can go for
4.		that

"Central to creating and sustaining pseudo-relationships, is the development of a sense of co-presence when the show is on air" (O'Keeffe 1996: 92). Of course the relationship between the host and the caller can never be of physical co-presence. Therefore, "a sustained sense of commonality must be simulated to transcend physical distance" (O'Keeffee 2006: 92). The regularity of the show, which allows regularity in the contact between the host and his audience, specific rituals or routines are some of the important aspects which help to create this kind of mediated pseudo-intimacy and a feeling of co-presence.

As mentioned before, radio phone-ins on the FM4 Morning Show occur in an institutionalized setting. This setting influences the relationship of the interlocutors

and the function of the audience. In casual conversation the audience is typically the directly addressed addressee, or if more than two people are involved the addressed addressees. However, there is no non-present overhearing audience involved in the conversation. It is important to bear in mind that every participant in a radio phone-in program constantly addresses two non-present audiences, the host and the co-commentator, and at the same time, the overhearing audience at home (cf. Ilie 1999: 235). The host may also address more than one audience: The overhearing audience at home, the participant and his co-commentator.

Listeners and speakers may have intentions and goals in listening which are diverse, since they may have interests which vary significantly. Yet, there are not only differences between speakers and listeners but, as I have pointed out, also among listeners differences can be noted. According to Goffman three types of listeners can be distinguished:

> Those who *over*hear, whether or not their unratified participation is inadvertent and whether or not it has been encouraged; Those (in the case of more than two-person talk) who are ratified participants but are not specifically addressed by the speaker; And those ratified participants who *are* addressed'(Goffman 1981: 9-10 quoted in Brown 1996: 201)

Oreström (1983: 105) also differentiates between three types of listeners: the "active listener", the "passive listener" and the "simulating listener". The active listener is actively and consciously listening, the passive listener is silent and does not actively listen to the speaker and the simulating listener "only pretends to be attentive and interested", but he or she is not prepared to react appropriately when he or she should give an answer. In the case of radio phone-ins it is assumed that the person who phones in, consciously took the decision to be engaged in the conversation with the host, and therefore is highly motivated to listen and respond appropriately. The participants in the FM4 morning show represents the ideal case of the listener, the active one, who pays attention and is interested in the speaker's utterance. The active listener performs a variety of activities while listening, such as repeating some of the speaker's utterances to show and assure comprehension.

In all of the recorded phone-ins an interaction with more than two participants takes place. Normally the host of the show, one co-commentator and one caller are involved in the conversation. In interactions with more than two participants the

listener, at least one of them, may choose to be a passive partner. This occurs for example if the listener does not feel that his contributions are helpful or necessary for the ongoing conversation or when he or she does not feel attracted by the topic. The listener then chooses "to take no active part, […] simply playing the part of ratified non-participating observer (Brown 1996: 216). My data shows that the caller generally is the active partner, whereas the co-commentator has the possibility to adopt a passive role. Some phone-ins display as little as two contributions of the co-commentator. It is not possible to say whether or not he or she was present at the studio during the whole conversation or whether he or she was not talking for any other reason. Nevertheless, it may be possible that the co-commentator deliberately chose not be an active participant in this specific phone-in because his or her contributions would not have been necessary or because there was not enough time. One example where the co-commentator Lisa is not actively engaged in the phone-in situation can be noted in extract 4.12.

Extract 4.12 (Appendix 1)

1.	G:	ye[ah@@
2.	SF:	[@ok (.)hh right you are a winner (.) what does he win by the way
3.		Lisa?
4.	L:	a goody bag
5.	SF:	<u>a goody bag Gerhard</u>
6.	G:	ok
7.	SF:	ah where about are you (.) where are you living?
8.	G:	I live in Schwarzau in lower austria
9.	SF:	yeah ok. is that near a river?
10.	G:	mh:: not actually (.) no no=
11.	SF:	=no ok so you can't go swimming on your holiday then?
12.	G:	@@no@
13.	SF:	right well listen thanks you for playing=
14.	G:	=thank you
15.	SF:	have a good day you are a good man you guessed it right and we send
16.		you a big parcel (.) so expect that (.) through the post in the next two or
17.		three days
18.	G:	ok thank you
19.	SF:	alright bye Ger[hard
20.	G:	[bye
21.	SF:	bye-bye=
22.	L:	=ciao

Throughout the whole conversation Lisa only takes two turns. In line 2 the host directly addresses the co-commentator with a question. She answers the question, hence fulfills her role as an assistant. This is the first time she becomes active in this phone-in interaction. The second time the co-commentator becomes an active participant is at the very end of the conversation in line 22. As I have pointed out earlier, in every single recorded phone-in the co-commentator contributes at the very end of the conversation. Lisa makes the final contribution and closes the conversation by saying "ciao" to the caller. This extract shows that the co-commentator takes over an active role at the very end of the interaction but she is not really engaged in the negotiating process of the closing. It seems that she is only adding a brief 'ciao' but without her contribution the interaction between the host and the caller would not have been structured in a different way.

Nevertheless, the co-commentator has a variety of responsibilities in the program. Among many others he or she functions as the assistant of the host. He or she is responsible for assuring song requests, helping the commentator to read out dialogues or play role games if it is necessary for the game. Furthermore it is his or her responsibility to remind the commentator of various things, such as which prize can be won. In addition to this, the co-commentator has an important function as an assistant not only for the host but also for the callers. He or she provides assistance to the host and the caller when language problems or misunderstandings occur. During some phone-in interactions no language problems occur and the co-commentator is not addressed by the host for any other reason. Thus, in such situations he or she may chose to be a "non-participating participant".

Concerning language problems in the conversation, the co-commentator functions as an assistant for both parties, the caller and the host. Whenever language difficulties on either side occur, the co-commentator becomes active and tries to help out with appropriate words or he or she rephrases or even translates the utterance to facilitate understanding. Below, in extract 4.13 there is an example from my data which shows active participation of the co-commentator. The host does not understand the contribution of the listener, therefore the co-commentator functions as his assistant. This extract shows that the co-commentator Lisa (L) assists the host with language problems and gives administrative support when needed. Lisa summarizes the

contribution of various callers. Because of the pause in line 7 Lisa may assumes that Stuart Freeman has been unable to arrive at a full understanding. In line 8 she asks whether he understood the meaning of her utterance. In line 10 it becomes clear that he did not arrive at a complete understanding and hence she gives explanatory information.

Extract 4.13(Appendix 5)

```
1.    L:    also es war keine richtige Antwort dabei also kein Übersetzung dabei
2.          aber gute Vorschläge=
3.    SF:   =ok
4.    L:    ah Lukas meint (.) >ich hebe auf was du hingelegt hast.<
5.    SF:   @@
6.    L:    ja: (.) u:nd die Jule hat gemeint ah so quasi das heißt so viel wie ja jetzt
7.          muss ich ah das ausbaden was du eigentlich verursacht [hast (.) so
8.          (0,1) verstehst du?
9.    SF:                                                         [@@@
10.   SF:   y: ah no (.)@@ ahm is a misunderstanding there@
11.   L:    @ok
12.   SF:   ok (.) erklär mir
13.   L:    So you do something wrong=
14.   SF:   =ya::
15.   L:    and ah I have to take care about it
16.   SF:   oh that's good
17.   L:    yeah ah that's how it works here actually@@@
18.   SF:   that's that's ganz normal@ for us thank you very much for tha@t
19.         call@@
```

It has been shown how the co-commentator supports the host. Extract 4.14 illustrates that the co-commentator also supports the candidate whenever it is necessary.

Extract 4.14 (Appendix 6)

```
1.    SF:   =ok listen I wan want you to answer one question (0,1) Christoph=
2.    Ch:   =mhm
3.    SF:   I m thinking of applying for a job do you think it should be the ORF
4.          Symphony orchestra or do you think it should be the n: New Year's
5.          Day concert?
6.    Ch:   (0,2) ah[:: (0,1) what was the last one?
7.    SF:        [@@
8.    L:    Neujahrskonzert oder Radio Symphonieorchester (.) was glaubst du
9.          wo soll er sich bewerben?
10.   Ch:   ah:m ah (.) ah at the at the radio-Symphonieorchester=
11.   SF:   =oh:: I am not good enough for the New Year's concert [am I? (0,2)
12.   L:                                                        [@@@@@@@
13.         (.) al[right
14.   L:         [er nimmt dich auf den Arm=
15.   SF:   =ok
16.   L:    [@@@@@@@
17.   SF:   [it's getting better (.) thank you very much indeed Christoph have a
18.         good day and a nice weekend.
```

All extracts in this chapter show that the roles of listening and speaking are interchangeable, therefore the host (and also the candidate) is a speaker and a listener at the same time. Furthermore they support the findings from other studies tis the host, who functions as the primary speaker in most conversations, holds more institutional power than his candidates. Hence, the activity of listening and speaking alternates but the unequal distribution of power is persistent. The host does not necessarily show his power, but "in the reality of the broadcasting context, power is pre-allocated to the […] host" (O'Keeffee 2006: 62).

4.3.1. Listener's activity

As I have pointed out, listeners do not only have one possible way of interpreting what they have perceived. They have to decide how much attention they will pay to the speaker. It may occur that speakers think their message is "sufficiently important to be paid attention to, [whereas] listeners may have other priorities and may not listen in detail but only partially, or perhaps not at all" (Brown 1996: 26). Furthermore, it may occur that listeners are able to makes sense of a message in one context of use, which, in another context they cannot adequately interpret (Brown 1996: 9)

In general, speakers always try to package their message in such a way that the addressees do not have difficulties understanding it in the context of utterance. The fact that speakers want to be understood influences the way messages are framed. With the addressee in mind speakers make an effort to choose the most appropriate frame for their utterance. A native English speaker will use a specific language repertoire when he or she is engaged in a conversation with an academic linguist. If the same person is communicating with a regular language user he or she will use a different language repertoire and if the very same person is engaged in a conversation with a non-native speaker of English he or she will again use language in a different way. When analyzing the role and speaking behavior of the interlocutors, it is important to take into account that language is always influenced by a variety of factors such as the relationship between the speakers, their age, sex,

social status; the time and place and the degree to which the speakers do –or do not-share the knowledge of a common language.

Sperber and Wilson (1986: 158) assert that every utterance comes with a presumption of its own optimal relevance for the listener". The listener however knows that the speaker's message may in certain circumstances not be relevant to his or her interests. Someone who is sitting on the sofa after a long day at work, reading the newspaper, may be able to ignore the detail of the spoken message on the radio because he or she may have decided that the message on the radio is not relevant to his or her interest, whereas a person who consciously decides to phone a radio station to participate in a phone-in program, knows that every piece of information is relevant for his or her purpose[4]. This shows clearly, that it is the choice of the listeners whether or not to pay attention to a message and, if they do pay attention, on which part of the message they will concentrate. Because of this decision, the listener

> always risks missing what the speaker takes to be the main point of what is said and is, in any case, bound to assimilate the interpretation of what was said into a different matrix of beliefs. Most accounts of communication assume a co-operative listener who is prepared to adopt the point of view of the speaker (Brown 1996: 27).

Hence the person who takes on the role of the primary listener in a conversation, is active in so far as he or she decides when to listen. In most cases the listener is a co-operative partner in the conversation therefore the view of an active speaker and passive listener cannot be supported. Furthermore it ignores the frequently occurring occasions, when the listener was "originally the prime mover in the interaction, and was responsible for requesting the current speaker to provide required information" (Brown 1996: 28). Brown (1996: 28) gives various examples of such situations; one of them is outlined to clarify my point.

> [A]customer in the travel agency who has requested information about package holidays in Venice hears the laid-back person behind the desk begin to provide information on holidays in Vienna, it is the customer, the current listener, who is likely to take the initiative in redirecting the speaker's attention

---

[4] Cf. Brown's example (Brown 1996: 27).

In the case of radio phone-ins it is primarily the host who forms and directs the conversation. If he asks the caller about his current place of residence, his occupation or about the plans for the weekend and the caller answers with a lengthy description of his business activities, the host, the current listener, will take over the turn in order to redirect the conversation. He monitors the time spent on each sequence and assures that there is enough time for the actual purpose of the phone-in, the game. Whenever the host directs a question to the caller he does this for a certain purpose. The co-operative caller will of course answer his questions but at the same time he or she attempts to select information relevant to the host's or the audience's stated interests (Brown 1996: 28).

Extract 4. 15 is an example of a situation in which a person from the audience, who was invited to call, is engaged in a conversation with the host. Stuart Freeman was originally the prime mover of the conversation. He explained the game, invited the caller to phone in and decided about the starting point of the game. He requested information about the movie "tell me the plot" and so the caller begins to provide information. Therefore the host (SF) is the current listener in this part of the interaction.

Extract 4.15 (Appendix 10)

1.	SF:	ok so tell me the plot cause I have not seen it why should I watch this
2.		movie?
3.	J:	the movie is quite interesting because I think it was ah quite advanced
4.		at its time oh it has some ah special [ahm
5.	SF:	[mh
6.	J:	graphics in there ah and basically It is a a plot from ah (.) getting into a
7.		computer game (.) from the outside world as a user=
8.	SF:	=mh
9.	J:	and ah:: trying to save ah ah ah well
10.	SF:	[save the world
11.	J:	[save the computer world the computer world

Speakers and listeners take turns and subsequently exchange places. The speaker becomes the listener and the listener becomes the speaker. Therefore it is wrong to summarize that the listener has a passive function in the conversation. He or she actively contributes to the conversation by taking over the floor and by performing various acts to assure comprehension.

> The traditional division between the so-called productive or speaker side and the so-called receptive or hearer side could lead to the false conclusion that the speaker is actively doing something is 'acting' whereas the hearer is adopting a passive position, is 'not doing anything, just listening' (Bublitz 1988: 143).

It has been shown that the host functions as the primary speaker whereas the candidate often plays the role of the primary listener. It is, however, important to acknowledge the active participation of both parties. The listener also performs a great amount of activities to show that he is engaging with the contributions of the primary speaker. The listener produces a range of verbal devices which signal his or her active listenership (Farr 2003: 69). Therefore, listeners perform important activities to maintain the fluidity of the conversation. Nevertheless it is not easy to distinguish whether to define such listenership devices as a full turn, a turn within a turn or simply a backchannel device without claiming the floor (Farr 2003: 69).

Such listenership devices have several functions. First of all, they are closely linked to the floor management and turn-taking system which will be outlined later. The listener either indicates whether he or she acknowledges the speaker's turn to continue or whether he or she is ready to take over the role of the speaker and wants to enter the floor. A second important function of listenership devices is one which is especially important in the FM4 radio phone-in interaction. The candidates who phone-in to converse with Stuart Freeman are non-native speakers of English. Therefore, listenership devices in the FM4 phone-in conversation are often employed to signal if the candidates have understood the utterance or if there have been problems with comprehending the messages.Furthermore, the activities of the listener may influence politeness, accommodation and aspects of face (Farr 2003: 70).

It can hardly be denied that the role of the speaker and the role of the listener are equally important for a successful conversation. Bublitz (1988: 141) claims that "conducting a conversation means conducting a conversation with someone and not without that someone." While the speaker is talking the listener is constantly expressing reactions to show his or her attention and understanding without actually taking over the floor. "Together, the interactants are building a conversation, alternating as speaker and listener, between action and reaction between foreground

and background activity" (Oreström 1983: 104). The success of the conversation depends on all parties involved. Every interlocutor has to play his or her role appropriately in order to achieve mutual understanding.

4.3.1.1 Turn-taking

The host and the participant constantly alternate between speaking and listening to each other. The host and the caller exchange the speaking and listening roles among each other and hence negotiate the floor. The appropriate organization of turn-taking is fundamental to achieving mutual understanding in the phone-in interaction. Therefore the relationship between participatory roles and the system of floor management has to be examined. In addition to this, the relationship between the distribution of turns and the conversational structure of phone-ins is explored. In every conversation the participant's orientation to the rules of turn-taking is essential for the quality of the interaction. This is especially true for telephone conversations between strangers, who are not familiar until the phone-in conversation and who do not share the same native language. It has been outlined that the role of the speaker and the role of the listener cannot be separated, since every person engaged in a conversation usually does adopt either of these positions. A caller to the FM4 Morning Show may patiently listen to the host's comments without interrupting him but he or she has also the possibility to interrupt the host, hold the floor and become the speaker in the interaction. Therefore it is absolutely essential to provide a short overview of the complex phenomenon of turn-taking to find out how the host and the participant distribute turns in the phone-in interaction.

Conversation, no matter in which setting it occurs and regardless of how many people are speaking and listening, is always characterized by turn-taking. A turn is the "period of time during which a person is talking" (Oreström 1983: 23). Such turns can be "single lexical items, such as '*yes'*, phrases, clauses, or sentences" (Fox 1987: 10). The end of a turn is indicated so that at this point another person can start taking. The end of a turn is thus a "*transition-relevance place"* (TRP), since it is a place at which a transition from one speaker to another can (but need not) occur" (Fox 1987: 10).

To conduct a successful conversation there have to be at least two interlocutors who adhere to certain rules. Without such rules a great amount of speech stream would be delivered in simultaneous talk. Normally, one of the interlocutors starts talking, stops, hereupon the next one starts talking, and stops so that another one or the one who talked first may start to talk again. This leads to an "A-B-A-B-A-B distribution of talk across two participants" (Levinson 1983, 296). Levinson (1983: 297 based on Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) argues that

> [...] the mechanism that governs turn-taking, and accounts for the properties noted, is a set of rules with ordered options which operates on a turn-by turn basis, and can thus be termed a **local management system.** One way of looking at the rules is as a sharing device, an 'economy' operating over a scarce resource, namely control of the 'floor'.

The 'floor' is seen as an "interactional unit" (Jenks 2006: 610). Every speaker controls the floor when speaking and the former listener takes over the floor at the moment when he or she utters a sentence. Hayashi (1996 in Jenks 2006: 610) refers to 'floor' as "a cognitive space that is created by interlocutors as a result of their interpretation of the immediate interactional context". Therefore the development of the floor and the decision for the right moment to take over a turn is negotiated between the host and the participant during the phone-in interaction. The floor is an "interactional space" where the interlocutors work collaboratively to reach a common goal. There is a collaborative negotiation process, but the unequal distribution of power and the superior knowledge of the host, decreases the mutual collaboration "in 'developing and controlling a topic'" (Jenks 2006: 610).

The roles of the speaker and the role of the listener are closely connected to and dependent on a system of turn-taking. When analyzing conversation and especially conversation that takes place in a radio phone-in program, it is important to find out how turns are allocated and how speakers know when to talk and when to stop talking. Without knowing when to start talking it would be impossible to maintain the ongoing flow or a smooth dialogue.

In the phone-in interaction the host holds institutional power and demonstrates superior knowledge, therefore he dominates the floor. Different institutional settings also influence the way the floor is managed. Furthermore, the power of controlling the floor is distributed according to institutional power. Managing the floor therefore "can be described as the contributions […] of all interlocutors to move the discourse in some direction" (Jenks 2006: 611). In the FM4 radio phone-in interaction Stuart Freeman and one particular candidate play a game, which often leads to a question-answer sequence in the broadcast setting, which affects the ability to manage and control the floor. In the game situation the host controls the topic of the ongoing conversation, while the candidate functions as a subordinate party. This allocated role limits his or her ability to control the floor (Jenks 2006: 611). It can be noticed that turns are in principle allocated by the most powerful party. The host knows that he is required to manage the turns and the overall organization of the verbal interaction and fulfills his role in the majority of the observed interactions. Nevertheless, also departures may be traced.

The host holds more power, though it cannot be claimed that every single recorded talk-in interaction is completely host controlled, while the participant plays a totally passive role in the interactional process. In the radio phone-in interaction between the host and the caller ""floor" can be conceptualized as a continuum that allows the flexible organization of talk within and between activities" (Jones & Thornborrow 2004: 400). The amount of the host's dominance depends on various features such as the time available, the informational advantage and the selected game for the show.

The institutional setting of the phone-in program influences the role distribution of the host and the participant and also the participation framework, which has been outlined. Four different participation frameworks were mentioned. Such participation structures constitute the framework for the radio phone-in interaction. Furthermore they "correspond to the sense in which we want to define a floor as a set of possible rights to speak for a certain activity" (Jones & Thornborrow 2004: 402). There may be an interaction between the host and the participant but there are also conversations during the phone-in in which the host, the co-commentator and the participant interact. In the latter situation the floor is potentially open to more than

two interlocutors. Whenever the host indicates that his turn is coming to an end either of the two may take over the speaking activity and hence control the floor. In another situation the host may address all potential participants, the overhearing audience. In the case of radio phone-in programs, no more than one member of the audience can answer due to technical restrictions.

It has been shown that the host shifts between different participation frameworks. A shift in the participation framework which causes a change of the floor is illustrated in extract 4.16. The dyadic conversation between the host and his co-commentator Lisa is stopped in line 11. At this point the co-commentator introduces the caller to the audience. Without any indication the host shifts between the participation framework and starts talking to his candidate (lines 12-17). He establishes a new floor between himself and Sabine while the co-commentator remains silent (cf. Jones & Thornborrow 2004: 405).

Extract 4.16 (Appendix 5)

1.	SF:	y: ah <u>no</u> (.)@@ ahm is a misunderstanding there@
2.	L:	@ok
3.	SF:	ok (.) erklär mir
4.	L:	So you do something wrong=
5.	SF:	=Ya::
6.	L:	and ah I have to take care about it
7.	SF:	oh that's good
8.	L:	yeah ah that's how it works here actually@@@@
9.	SF:	that's that's ganz normal@ for us thank you very much for tha@t
10.		call@@
11.	L:	und wir haben Sabine
12.	SF:	yeah Sabine is on the line hang on a second oh:: >just a minute just a
13.		minute< ah she should be there (.) I think?
14.	L:	nein, ja?
15.	SF:	I think I have got her (.) hello no hang on let me just kick it
16.	L:	ja jetzt. warte jetzt
17.	SF:	ya there she is (.) Sabine hi
18.	S:	hi?
19.	SF:	yeah sorry about that I just had to use th[e:: ah
20.	S:	[don't worry
21.	SF:	russische method on this computer in this studio
22.	S:	@@
23.	SF:	so what do you reckon it means then?

In the FM4 Morning Show the host initiates several shifts of address within one radio phone-in interaction. In most phone-ins the host starts with addressing the audience as a collective listener. One member from this audience may "self-select" by calling

whereupon he or she is entering the floor. Then the conversation between the host and the caller develops. The host addresses the participant as an individual, not as a representative of the overhearing audience. The host and the self-selected participant collaboratively manage the floor. During a conversation between the two parties, the co-commentator as a third party may interrupt. Either because the host addresses him or her or because the co-commentator decides to self-select. In the following transcript a shift of address occurs in lines 14-15. The host directly addresses his co-commentator, who gives a brief answer in line 16. This shift is very brief and does not disrupt the established floor between the host and his participant Gerhard. The interruption has no consequence for the ongoing activity between the two interlocutors. Such brief shifts of address "are accomplished without any confusion as to what is going on or any change in activity" (Jones & Thornborrow 2004: 416).

Extract 4.17 (Appendix 1)

1.	SF:	great so you just pottering around the house?
2.	G:	yeah@@
3.	SF:	@doing nothing?
4.	G:	ah y(.) not yet though
5.	SF:	alright@ (.) so listen who was our mystery man (.) that Lisa was paired
6.		to with?
7.	G:	ah Karl-Heinz Grasser
8.	SF;	It wa::s
9.	SF:	I just I ve been away a few days has he done something wrong this
10.		man?
11.	G:	(0,1) ahm mh ah@ I am not sure@@
12.	SF:	@so you don't wanna commit yourself life on air right@?
13.	G:	ye[ah@@
14.	SF:	[@ok (.)hh right you are a winner (.) what does he win by the way
15.		Lisa?
16.	L:	a goody bag=
17.	SF:	=a goody bag Gerhard
18.	G:	ok
19.	SF;	ah where about are you (.) where are you living?
20.	G:	I live in Schwarzau in lower austria
21.	SF:	yeah ok. is that near a river?
22.	G:	mh:: not actually (.) no no=
23.	SF:	=no ok so you can't go swimming on your holiday then?
24.	G:	@@no@

Extract 4.18 also shows a shift of address. In contrast to the extract above the co-commentator Lisa is not addressed by the host but self-selects to enter the floor. The instance of interruption is brief and does not interrupt the ongoing conversation between the host and the participant. In line 7 her contribution consists of one lexical item whereas in line 10 she utters a full phrase. Neither of these contributions disrupts the established floor between the host and the caller.

Extract 4.18 (Appendix 5)

1.	SF:	so what do you reckon it means then?
2.	S:	ahm I mean when the season is over and you put the Christmas tree
3.		down I pick up the sweets
4.	SF:	ah::@@@
5.	S:	the rest of it
6.	SF:	that's goo::d that's the sort of thing I do
7.	L:	yeah:@
8.	SF:	don't ever ask me to put up the Christmas tree because there will be
9.		less chocolates on the Christmas tree than there were at the beginning
10.	L:	you take it while you are picking it up=
11.	SF:	=yeah I just well I think I broke that one
12.	S:	but maybe there are some forgotten anywhere in the middle of the tree
13.		or something
14.	SF:	yeah sometimes (.) but hey listen you are a goldsmith is that right?
15.	S:	Yes it is
16.	SF:	so what do you make? gold rings and stuff like that?
17.	S:	Yeah everything
18.	SF:	and you design everything yourself
19.	S:	Yeah::? I do
20.	SF:	fantastic and wao:: (.) so you know lisa and I you know very armer
21.		people
22.	L:	mh::
23.	S:	ah ok

Generally it is proposed that one speaker is speaking at a time while the other parties are listening until the speaker has completed his or her turn. Nevertheless in the data many instances of simultaneous talk or simultaneous turn-beginnings are found. According to Duncan (1974: 165, referred to in Farr 2003: 79) simultaneous speech results "when the listener claims the turn at times where the relevant turn switching signal has not been displayed". The following extract gives an example of such an interruption during the host's turn. Nevertheless the host does not relinquish the floor therefore a short part of the speech is delivered simultaneously and hence a turn-taking violation can be observed.

Extract 4.19 (Appendix 3)

```
1.    R:      =thanks a lot to you guys
2.    SF      thank you very much have [a lovely day
3.    R:                              [good bye have a great day
4.    SF:     ok
5.    L:      danke
```

Sacks et al. (1974: 700) found a great amount of simultaneous talk in their data and proposed that such occurrences are "common, but brief" and do not necessarily have a negative influence on the conversation. This example supports their findings.

A second form of simultaneous speech regularly occurs in the data: Instances of turn completion. In such cases the listener interprets hesitations or pauses as a sign of search for new words and offers the other party a possible completion. Thereafter the speaker decides whether or not to take on the offer. In extract 4.20 it can be observed how the host offers his candidate one possible word to complete his utterance. The host or the co-commentator generally offer assistance with the completion, since the host and the co-commentator hold more institutional power and have higher proficiency in English. Therefore the institutional context and the asymmetrical power relationship have an influence on the floor management. "Maintaining and relinquishing the floor is therefore closely related to the participatory roles of interlocutors" (Jenks 2006: 611).

Extract 4.20 (Appendix 10)

```
1.    SF:     =mh
2.    J:      and ah:: trying to save ah ah ah well
3.    J:      sa[ve the computer world the computer world
4.    SF:       [save the world
5.    SF:     there you go you sold it to me I get it out of the video shop this
6.            weekend and watch it
7.    J:      yeah
```

Another form of turn-violation can be found in extract 4.21. In contrast to the examples above the following extract reveals no instance of simultaneous talk. Nevertheless, the turn-taking between the host and his participant is violated. In line 1 the host clearly asks Christoph, the caller, a question. The pause in line 4 indicates that he does not comprehend. Therefore, the co-commentator steps in with a face-saving act and translates the question. Hereupon the candidate is clearly expected to answer the question, which he does. In the following line the host asks him another question. The candidate is expected to take over the turn because after the host's

utterance a transition-relevance-place occurs. A pause of at least 2 seconds follows. The co-commentator realizes that Christoph does not know how to react and again she steps in with a face-saving comment in line 12. The utterances in lines 10-11 of extract 4.21 may be interpreted as a turn-taking violation (cf. Ladegaard 2009: 657).

Extract 4.21 (Appendix 6)

1.	SF:	I m thinking of applying for a job do you think it should be the ORF
2.		Symphony orchestra or do you think it should be the n: New Year's
3.		Day concert?
4.	Ch:	(0,2) ah[:: (0,1) what was the last one?
5.	SF:	[@@
6.	L:	Neujahrskonzert oder Radio Symphonieorchester (.) was glaubst du
7.		wo soll er sich bewerben?
8.	Ch:	ah:m ah (.) ah at the at the radio-Symphonieorchester=
9.	SF:	=oh:: I am not good enough for the New Year's concert [am I? (0,2)
10.	L:	[@@@
11.		@@@ (.) [alright
12.	L:	[er nimmt dich auf den Arm=
13.	SF:	=ok

Before proceeding to analyze the way in which the host a short overview of turn-taking in the institutional setting is given. As I have mentioned before, it is very important that every party involved adheres to certain rules. Without an organized system of turn-taking it would be impossible to reach mutual understanding. According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: 725) turn-taking for non-institutional conversation operates on a local "turn by turn basis". They formulated a set of rules which can be applied to turn-taking (Levinson 1983: 300 based on Sacks et al. 1974).

Rule 1 – applies initially at the first TRP of any turn

(a) If current speaker selects next speaker in current turn, then current speaker must stop speaking, and next speaker must speak next, transition occurring at the first TRP after next speaker – selection

(b) If current speaker does not select next speaker, then any (other) party may self-select, first speaker gaining rights to the next turn.

This key formulation of structural organization and turn distribution is important to avoid simultaneous talk or silence in an ongoing conversation. Sacks et al. proposed that it has become clear, that mostly one party is talking at a time while the other party is listening. At this point it is important to mention that this mode of turn-taking

is very common, but "[those] rules are not the only possible or rational solution to the organization of the 'economy' of turns at talk" (Levinson 1983: 301). Especially in institutional settings the turn-taking system may differ from this locally managed system. In institutional settings turns "are (at least in part) pre-allocated rather than determined on a turn-by turn basis" (Levinson 1983: 301). The phone-in conversation takes place in an institutionalized (or at least semi-institutionalized) setting. This limits the opportunity of the callers to negotiate the points to take over the floor because there is a persistent and established pattern of turn-taking. The outlined case of 'utterance completion' is one example which shows a possible deviation from this rule.

"[T]he turn-taking systems used in institutional settings are the product of systematic transformations of the one used for mundane conversation" (Greatbatch 1988: 402 based on Sacks et. al). The host, the co-commentator and also the participant take turns with respect to the institutional identities they have (Greatbatch 1988: 404). Therefore, the radio phone-in interaction on the FM4 Morning Show reflects the use of a system of turn-taking that differs from a straightforward system of casual conversation. The data shows that the host and candidate take turns "that are at least minimally recognizable as questions and answers" (Greatbatch 1988: 404). As I have outlined, the host possesses more knowledge about the candidate than the overhearing audience at home. This is one reason why he often uses his turns to elicit information that is important and meaningful for the audience. In the following phone-in situation the host asks a variety of questions. This fulfills the function of introducing the candidate.

Extract 4.22 (Appendix 5)

1.	SF:	yeah sometimes (.) but hey listen you are a goldsmith is that right?
2.	S:	yes it is=
3.	SF:	=so what do you make? gold rings and stuff like that?
4.	S:	yeah everything
5.	SF:	and you design everything yourself?
6.	S:	(.) eah::? I do

In the second example, in extract 4.23, the task of the game is to give a correct answer in order to win a prize. After a recorded sequence the host asks a question which should be answered by the participant. Because of the nature of the game the

host and the candidate have to use their turns to ask and answer at least one major question. This occurs in lines 11 and 12. The questions of the host in line 1 and lines 5-6 have an introductory function and lead the conversation towards the essential part of the phone-in.

Extract 4.23 (Appendix 3)

1.	1SF:	you ah are you on your way to work right now (.) if I am not mistaken?
2.	R:	yeah I [yeah
3.	SF:	[do you know your current speed?
4.	R:	sorry?
5.	SF:	do you know <how fast you are you are tr travelling> on your way to
6.		work?
7.	R:	ahm (.) yeah I am ah on the autoroute so:: it is one hundred and thirty
8.	L:	oh
9.	R:	@@
10.	SF:	considerably faster than the the the the ah Meereskreaturen we were
11.		asking about the question of course was wer schwimmt schneller der
12.		Blauhai oder der Thunfisch? and ah (.) Romana you said?
13.	R:	(.) I think it is the tuna
14.	L:	wu::
15.	SF:	yes indeed I think you would be correct do you know just how fast they
16.		actually swim?
17.	R:	no ahm I am not sure
18.	SF:	they they (.) you would be able to catch them fairly easily they they ah
19.		go seventy seven kmh
20.	R:	ah ok

Another example which illustrates the strong question-answer turn-distribution of the host and the candidate is outlined in Extract 4.23. The aim of this game, which is called "beat the toaster", is to answer as many questions as possible. Therefore the game is played through a series of questions and answers. The host elicits information from the candidate and he or she takes over the reactive role of answering his questions. Therefore most turns, throughout the whole interaction, are pre-allocated and not negotiated. It becomes clear that the turn-taking system in the institutional setting of the broadcasting company "pre-allocates particular types of turns to speakers with specific institutional identities" (Greatbatch 1988: 404).Drew (1992: 506 quoted in Thornborrow 2001: 120) argues that

> in many contexts of institutional interaction […], the role of the questioner is typically occupied by a participant whose institutional status is such that the range of actions they can take is generally much broader than the participant who is in the role of the answerer. As a result, this puts them in a much stronger position to control the direction, progression and outcome of the talk

This finding is reflected in my data. Within the 31 lines of extract 4.24, the host only takes two turns that do not include a question. In line 12 he assists the candidate and answers the question because it is his interest to maintain the candidate's face in the interaction. The second turn which does not raise a question occurs in line 31. Here, Stuart Freeman indicates the end of the game, and hence the beginning of the closing sequence.

Extract 4.24 (Appendix 7)

1.	SF:	number one in is there are <u>face</u> on the ten euro bill?
2.	B:	no=
3.	SF:	=no there are just buildings correct. how many schillings were one
4.		euro?
5.	B:	ah dreizehn Komma sieben sechs null drei?°ir gend so was°
6.	SF:	amazing how the austrians always remember that (.) how much money
7.		do you have got in your Geldtasche today? Do you know?
8.	B:	mh (.) maybe ten cents
9.	SF:	@ ok ten cents ah not enough for a coffee who is austria's minister of
10.		finance?
11.	B:	uh:: you got me th[ere ( )]
12.	SF:	[Josef] <u>Prö::ll</u> (.) Josef PRÖLL
13.	B:	oh (.) ok
14.	SF:	ok what were the Lehman brothers?
15.	B:	(0,1) bankers?
16.	SF:	yes they were (.) ah do you pay your orf gis?
17.	B:	yeah I pay for my radio because I don't have a (.) tv
18.	SF:	good girl that's what we like to hear (.) twenty-two years ago the Berlin
19.		wall came down what was the currency then in the ddr?
20.	B:	ah::m (0,2) ah mark?
21.	SF:	it was the ostmark so a half point for that so have you ever been to a
22.		casino?
23.	B:	yeah
24.	SF:	have you ever won money in a casino?
25.	B.	a little bit
26.	SF:	don't go again then. what is important money, love or health?
27.	B:	ah all the three of them.
28.	SF.	@@yeah very good (.) one and a half for that Lisa can add them all up
29.		now how many did she get?
30.	L:	I think eight it was
31.	SF:	eight all together. that means you are a winner Barbara.

All of these examples show that questions are generally pre-allocated to the host whereas answers are pre-allocated to the candidate who phoned-in. Therefore the turn-taking system which is employed in the host-participant phone-in interaction "strongly defines the participants' access to the use of turn allocational procedures" (Greatbatch 1988: 414). The interaction between Stuart Freeman and the person who phones-in often occurs within a very specific "framework of host allocated

questions and [participants'] responses to these questions, roles to which all are in principle confined" (Guillot 2008: 184).

Turn-taking in this institutional setting depends on a variety of features. First of all it has been outlined that the turn-taking system is closely connected to the institutional setting and the institutional roles of the participants. Furthermore, it has been shown that the turn-taking system is "based on the production of question/answer adjacency pairs, and is primarily managed by [the] host" (Guillot 2008: 183). In the last extract however, it has also been shown that the host intervenes whenever the candidate's face is threatened. Therefore, politeness strategies which are employed in the interaction between the host and the participant also influence the distribution and allocation of turns.

2.3.1.2 Politeness phenomena

Brown and Levinson (1987) have developed the most influential pragmatic theory of politeness. Their theory has been criticized heavily especially in recent studies e.g. Watts 2002. Nevertheless it is the most influential theory of politeness so far and it provided a basis for the development of other theories about the notion of politeness and face. Furthermore, it provides a basis for the discussion of politeness phenomena in this paper.

According to their theory (cf. Brown and Levinson, 1987), politeness strategies are important in order to maintain the hearers' "face". In every conversation the interlocutors want to be acknowledged by others. Every participant claims a specific identity and a specific position and he or she wants others to appreciate it. Many authors, such as Goffman (1981), Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest face to be the "essential motivating factor for politeness" (Tiefenbacher 2002: 85).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) assume that "all competent adult members of a society have 'face', the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself consisting in two related aspects", namely "negative face" and "positive face". "Negative face" can be described as the speaker's wish to be free and not to be

imposed on by the speaking partner and "positive face" means that every person wishes to be appreciated by others (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 62). "negative face" is defined as "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition". The second aspect, "positive face" is "the desire to be appreciated and approved of", to be accepted and liked by others (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61). Brown and Levinson claim that it is important that face is, to be maintained and loosing face must be avoided within cooperative conversation.

> [F]ace is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate […] in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face. That is, normally, everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and if defending their own to threaten other's faces, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each other's face. (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61)

Face consists of a set of wants which can only be satisfied by the actions of others. Normally, a strategy is chosen that will satisfy the ends of all participants. According to Brown and Levinson's theory, the need to balance face needs derives from the fact that most acts of communication are face threatening and so it becomes clear that the mutual interest of the participating interlocutors is to maintain each other's face. (Brown & Levinson 1987: 60)

> [C]ertain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 65)

Face Threatening Acts can be seen as acts that violate the hearers' need to maintain his or her self esteem. FTAs lead to a situation in which one of the participants does no longer feel valued and appreciated or respected. It can be distinguished between acts that threaten positive face and acts that threaten negative face.[5] Threats to positive face and threats to negative face have in common that "in the context of the mutual vulnerability of face, any rational agent will seek to avoid these face-

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[5] I will not go into detail here, for further information on this theme, cf. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65-67)

threatening acts or will employ certain strategies to minimize the threat" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 68).

Listeners constantly employ devices in order to maintain the speaker's face. Hence every listener has the "capacity to attend to politeness wants and face needs" (Farr 2003: 70). Lakoff (1974, referred to in Farr 2003: 70) implies three rules of politeness: "hesitancy", "equality" and "formality". Hesitancy means that the addressee is given his options about whether or not to respond and about how to respond in the ongoing conversation. Equality can be described as an activity by an individual participant that makes the other interlocutors feel good and formality creates "distance so as not to impose". Listenership devices which fulfill these three functions are found in the present data. The first example shows hesitancy. The host employs backchannel devices in lines 3 and 6. The second example in extract 4.26, is likely to demonstrate equality. In lines 2 and 3 the host and the co-commentator seem to express that they are impressed by the contribution of the candidate.

Extract 4.25 (Appendix 10)

1.	J:	the movie is quite interesting because I think it was ah quite advanced
2.		at its time oh it has some ah special [ahm
3.	SF:	[mh
4.	J:	graphics in there ah and basically It is a a plot from ah (.) getting into a
5.		computer game (.) from the outside world as a user=
6.	SF:	=mh
7.	J:	and ah:: trying to save ah ah ah well

Extract 4.26 (Appendix 4)

1.	S:	I think that's pop
2.	SF:	wa:u::=
3.	L:	=wuu::
4.	SF:	It's the way she read it

The present data is characterized by the host's use of positive face support. Culpeper (2005: 46) found in his studies of game, quiz and talk-shows that such shows "generally treat guests and studio participants with a degree of deference". In fact, they are typically opportunities for a celebration of the achievements of the guests, and are characterized by lots of face-support. From the data it becomes clear that the host and the participant in the FM4 radio phone-in program generally feel obliged to the politeness norms and standards of the show.

4.3.1.3. Backchannelling

As mentioned earlier, not every verbal signal from the listener marks an attempt to take over the turn. Contributions like *mh* as in the example above may be used without any intention to take over the turn. Nevertheless, such devices are very important to signal politeness, comprehension or acknowledgement. "Certain brief, spontaneous reactions from the listener" may signal attention but not an intention to take over the floor. It can be seen as a kind of feedback given by the listener to indicate that one is listening and paying attention to the speaker (Oreström 1984: 23). Backchannels are also known as minimal responses. As such responses occur throughout my data, I will briefly explain which forms of backchannelling can be traced and which function they have in phone-ins. It is important to distinguish back-channeling from turn-taking. In both cases the listener utters a verbal signal. Yet back-channeling signals do not have the function to take over the role of the speaker. Oreström (1983: 24) states that backchannels "confirm that the person is still assuming the listening-mode without an intention to take the floor".

> [Back-channeling] refers to noises (which are no full words) and short verbal responses made by listeners which acknowledge the incoming talk and react to it, without wishing to take over the speaking turn. Typical back channels in English are *Mm, Uhm, Yeah, No, Right, Oh,* etc. […] (Carter & McCarthy 1997, Glossary 12)

In extract 4.27 an example of a conversation between the host and the caller will clarify the difference between turn-taking and back-channeling.

Extract 4.27 (Appendix 9)

1.	SF:	you think you might alright (.) and ah do you go ah sightseeing or are
2.		you a a resident now?
3.	T:	I am a resident now so I am a bit over the usual tourist kind of [thing
4.	SF:	[yeah
5.	T:	but when I have friends ahm over I I take them to the to the (.)
6.		the classic tour
7.	SF:	yeah you take them to the Eiffel tower?
8.	T:	sometimes=
9.	SF:	=yeah=
10.	T:	=I have done it seven times now

Excerpt 4.27 shows that not every utterance functions as an attempt to take over the turn. In this example, Theresa has three utterances and all of them are full turns. Stuart Freeman asks a question in his first turn, hence he utters a full turn. In lines 4

and 9 however, his utterance are backchannel devices. He does not attempt to take over the turn, therefore the candidate continues talking. The host uses the informal back-channel device 'yeah' to express solidarity. It presents the pseudo-intimate relationship of the interlocutors in the institutional setting. Furthermore, it may again create the illusion of a symmetrical relation between the host and the caller. The main function of it, however, is the acknowledgement of the candidate's contribution. The host shows that he has received and processed the message in so far that the candidate may continue speaking (cf. Farr 2003: 75).Such devices are especially important in telephone conversations because the lack of visual impressions.

4.4. Concluding remarks

There are a variety of theories of how listeners actually decode and process messages sent by the speaker. Schober and Clark (1989 referred to in Brown 1996: 202) proposed two opposing views. The autonomous view is the traditional view of how listeners process information from their speaking partner. "[E]ach listener decodes each utterance and interprets it against what they take to be the common ground, or mutual knowledge, of the participants in the conversation". In opposition to this view they suggested the collaborative view, in which the interlocutors have a more active role and do not only process autonomously.

> They actively collaborate with each other to ensure that understanding takes place, and they do not proceed with the conversation unless they feel secure in having achieved mutual understanding up to that point (Brown 1996: 202).

In the next chapter it will be shown that especially when it comes to an interaction between a native and a non-native speaker of English in the phone-in interaction, an active collaboration between the interlocutors takes place. NNS-NS interactions carry a higher risk of misunderstanding or comprehension problems than conversations in which only native speakers are involved. Therefore, it is even more important that the participants cooperate in order to achieve mutual understanding and accordingly a successful communication.

In addition to this the examined extracts are taken from a radio phone-in program, therefore non-verbal clues cannot be used to facilitate comprehension. Brown (1996:

16) summarizes this point by claiming that "communication does not consist of a […] safe exchange of the same thought, but is rather, a system which requires effort" on the side of the speaker and it requires also effort on the side of the listener. It is the speaker's responsibility to construct a helpful message and the hearer is responsible to process the message and actively work out what the speaker intended to say. To achieve mutual understanding various aspects play a fundamental role. As I have mentioned, the cooperation of the participants is indispensible but also the context and the specific patterns of behavior between the speaker and the hearer may minimize or maximize the risk of misunderstanding (Brown 1996: 29).

The listener, for example, sends short messages during the speaker's turn to indicate his or her listenership. Furthermore both parties adhere to predefined turn-taking rules in order to manage their conversation and during the whole interaction all interlocutors actively cooperate in maintaining face. There are more activities which are important to maintain a smooth conversation, however, these three are primarily found in the present data and hence were outlined in this chapter.

In general, it is assumed that the listener is a co-operative interlocutor and is "designated to respond in an appropriate manner to what the speaker says" (Brown: 1996: 201). The host and the candidate share common knowledge and understanding of their responsibility. They are aware of their roles, and of the institutional setting in which their conversation occurs. It has been shown that in general all parties try to make their contributions clear and relevant to the present situation of discourse.

5. NS - NNS Communication

5.1. English as a lingua franca

Communication between the host and the caller within the FM4 morning show is an interaction between speakers who do not share the same first language. The person who phones-in is a native speaker of German, who has to resort to another language, a lingua franca, because of the format of the show.

Lingua franca is understood as "an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages" (Seidlhofer 2001: 146). English has become an international language due to globalization, socio-political development and progressing development in the accessibility of written and spoken media. The usage of English as a lingua franca is the most common form of interaction in different areas such as international politics, business, education and science. Yet, its use ranges beyond these formal or institutional interactions. It is also the predominant language spoken among foreign friends. It is the language widely used in informal chats or emails between them. This development has caused that "the majority of the world's English users are now to be found in countries where it is a foreign language" (Seidlhofer 2004: 209).

Normally, the term lingua franca refers to the interaction of non-native speakers, who can use a third language for communicative purposes. In such a case the participants to the conversation "use a lingua franca, a language which is the mother tongue to neither of them" (cf. Meierkord 2001). The conversation partners do not share a common native language but they are "presumed to share knowledge of, and [...] access to, a common linguistic code, which is itself underpinned by a *shared and stable* linguistic and interactional competence" (Firth 1996: 249).

As mentioned in the first chapter, the host, Stuart Freeman is a native speaker of English who was born and raised in England. Stuart Freeman moved to Vienna in 1990, therefore it can be assumed that he has a proficient level of German and is used to the Austrian culture. The callers to the FM4 morning show are generally born and raised in Austria. Nevertheless the speakers come from different cultural

background, hence the interaction between them may be defined as 'intercutltural' or 'cross-cultural communication'. According to Kramsch (1998: 81) these terms usually refer to the interaction between two or more people of different nationalities or cultures, who may not share the same native language. Therefore the term could be used to characterize the communication between the host and the candidate on the FM4 Morning show. When it comes to an interaction between a native speaker of English and a native speaker of German, more than one linguistic and cultural background is involved and more than one language may have an impact on the conversation.

Intercultural communication is mainly concerned with the relationship between language and culture. It is assumed that members of a specific discourse community encode cultural experience in their language use. Therefore communicative features which could be assigned to a specific cultural group can be analyzed (cf. Kramsch). In this paper there is no focus on cultural differences or similarities between the host and the callers. Neither cultural difference in their language use is examined. For this reason I will not label the interaction as intercultural communication but rather as native - non-native speaker interaction. It will be shown that the host and the caller do not share a common native language or a common culture nevertheless they do communicate successfully.

5.2. Native - Non-native discourse

In this study it is not the case that all people engaged use a language that is not their first language, since the host, Stuart Freeman is a native speaker of English. Yet, besides the commentator, there are always a co-commentator and a caller involved, who both are non-native speakers of English. Hence, it occurs that two native speakers of German are engaged in a conversation in English. The majority of each phone-in consists of the interaction between the host and the caller. This means that a native and a non-native speaker of English are engaged in a conversation using English as their "contact language" (Firth 1996: 240).

When analyzing talk which comes from a radio interaction taken from FM4, it is important to draw special attention to the multilingual format of this Austrian radio

station. All extracted data display interaction between native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) of English. The concepts 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' are to use with caution, since it is not always clear when a person may be defined as a native speaker. In this paper, every speaker labeled as NS is born in an English speaking country, whereas NNS are mainly born in Austria, hence within a German speaking community. In all extracts, the host of the morning show, a native speaker of English is engaged in a conversation with a non-native speaker of English, in general an Austrian citizen, who phones in to be on air. In every recorded conversation at least one participant speaks a language other than his or her mother tongue.

Kasper (1997: 348) points out that NS-NNS conversation differs from conversation among native speakers and also from conversation among two or more non-native speakers in so far, that both interlocutors "are somewhat defective in their possession of a shared assumptive framework and resources". She claims that in the NS-NNS setting the speaker and the listener "do not share assumptions and conventions of meaning and form". Therefore the NNS as well as the NS are handicapped in the communicative process. The NNS may be handicapped because he or she does not have the contextually relevant knowledge and the NS is handicapped because he or she cannot fully use his or her knowledge without adjusting to his speaking partner. Another aspect which has to be mentioned is the asymmetrical relationship in NS-NNS conversation. Generally, the NS is the dominant party "deriving from [his and] her familiarity with the language" (Ahvenainen 2005: 20). Hence, the host does not only hold institutional but also linguistic power and dominance in the phone-in interaction.

Conversations between NS and NNS may lead to communicative problems, but from my data it may be concluded that such interactions may occur without any instances of severe miscommunication. The interlocutors in such conversations know about the possible restrictions and modify their speech according to the situation in order to communicate effectively. Most native speakers, who have acquired their first language during childhood, reach a different level of proficiency than Austrians who have German as their first language, and learn English in school and through communicative contact with English speakers. Due to the variety of proficiency and

differences concerning the linguistic repertoire of the speakers, the language used among the callers may deviate from a native English model. Sometimes linguistic conventions are ignored and it comes to deviant or 'incorrect' language use. Nevertheless in all cases of the recorded phone-ins, the interlocutors communicate effectively in a sense that meaning is negotiated.

When analyzing NS-NNS interaction which is conducted on the FM4 morning show, it is important to keep the main function of the show in mind. This radio program does not draw on producing perfectly correct grammatical structures. The main purpose is to communicate successfully in order to entertain the audience. The Singaporean linguist Nadkarni (1992:338) states "the function of a world language is to foster an international or global consciousness without suppressing diversity in its manifestation" (quoted in Anderson 2001: 13). Advocating international consciousness and underlining the positive aspect of diversity and individuality is one of the motives of FM4 and one reason for their multilingual format.

5.3. Characteristics of effective NS - NNS communication

I have mentioned that some deviations from the native English model can be traced in the conversation between NS and NNS. Nevertheless, I try to avoid the usage of terms like 'normal' or 'abnormal' in this paper because I think these terms are problematic and it would go beyond this paper to justify them. Alan Firth (1996: 242) claims

> [t]he crucial point, though, is that the talk is *made* 'normal' and 'ordinary' by the participants themselves, in their local discursive practices. […] the orderly and 'normal' character of the talk is an *accomplished* and *contingent* achievement, sustained through locally-managed interactional, interpretive and linguistic 'work'.

As mentioned above, it is not the goal of this study to judge whether or not an utterance deviates from a given norm, or whether or not the speakers adhere to the conventions encoded in an accepted grammar model. It is not correctness but mutual comprehensibility which is the primary goal and most important in the host-caller conversation. NS-NNS interaction is a form of interaction in its own right and the standard strongly depends on the context in which it takes place. The priority and the

goal of the phone-in interactions on the FM4 morning show is to achieve mutual intelligibility. The callers are not expected to speak perfect Standard English. In addition to this

> in speech "normal" does not mean "perfect". The norm for spontaneous speech is demonstrably imperfect. Conversation is characterized by frequent pauses, hesitation sounds, various interruptions, false stars, misarticulations and corrections (Boomer and Laver 1968:2, in Goffman 1981: 206).

All of these characteristics may occur in every form of talk to a certain extent. In my data, however, there are a variety of features that seem to occur because of the NS-NNS setting. Such features may include a restriction in vocabulary and grammar, the usage of synonyms or paraphrases, specific types of errors and a high number of repetitions. In addition to these activities, which are performed by the speaker, there are a variety of activities which are set by the listener. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 125) list many features which typically occur in NS-NNS interaction. "These include more frequent understanding checks, clarifications checks, and typically confirmation checks" Furthermore, there is an overall tendency to speak slower and clearer when a NNS is involved in a conversation. Along with these features the most prominent characteristic in my data, were code-switching and accommodation.

Overall, the host, the co-commentator and the caller do communicate successfully because they are aware of the problems which could occur and actively cooperate to overcome the difficulties. All parties, but especially the NS, constantly try "to compensate for listeners' linguistic and extralinguistic inadequacies" (Jenkins 2000: 77). The interlocutors address potential problems with appropriate activities, so called "problem-solving mechanism (PSM)" (Ahvenainen 2005: 9).

> A problem-solving mechanism is every potentially intentional attempt to cope with any at least partly language-related problem of which the speaker is potentially aware during the course of communication" (Dörnyei and Scott in Ahvenainen 2005: 158).

Whenever a communication problem between the host and the caller occurs, a specific strategy is employed to solve the problem. Generally, there is a variety of strategies which could be used to maintain the conversation between NS-NNS. Tarone (1983: 64) defines the phenomenon to avoid understanding problems as follows.

Communication strategies are used to compensate for some lack in the linguistic system, and focus on exploring alternate ways of using what one does know for the transmission of a message.

Due to the usage of a variety of activities on the side of the speaker and the listener, the radio phone-in conversation is conducted without severe communicative problems or misunderstandings.

5.3.1 Accommodation

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) was developed in the 1970's in order to explain why interlocutors in a conversation modify their speech according to the situation in which they communicate. It is assumed that situational, conversational, personal and interactional features influence the speech style of the speaker. Furthermore, this theory is concerned with people's motivation to adapt their language and communicative patterns towards their conversational partner (cf. Giles 1991).

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) argues that interlocutors "accommodate linguistically towards the speech style, accent or dialect" of their conversation partner, in order to gain social approval and/or because "they desire a high level of communicational efficiency" (Gallois in Ladegaard 2009: 659). When it comes to NS-NNS interaction, this phenomenon plays an important role. In the present data there are many examples which show that especially the host and the co-commentator, attempt to converge linguistically towards the level of proficiency or towards specific speech pattern of the caller. Giles et al. (1991: 7) define this activity as "convergence". This strategy "whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behavior" (Giles et. al 1991: 7) includes a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic features. It can express "in group solidarity", which is important for the establishment of the pseudo-intimate relationship between the host and the caller. Furthermore, "personal affiliation can be expressed by converging communication towards others" (Williams 1999: 152). Williams (1999: 152) claims that convergence typically occurs in "co-operative interpersonal encounters and, in general terms, tends to be responded […] favorably". In contrast to this, speakers also have the

possibility to diverge from their speaking partner. Speakers generally "tend to diverge from those persons whom they don't like" (Myers-Scotton 2006: 31). In the recorded host-caller interactions, there is a tendency to converge towards each other.

In my data there are many instances where the host and the co-commentator apply "*interpretability strategies*". They modify certain utterances in order to clarify what they have said and hence facilitate understanding on the side of the caller. "Changes in vocabulary, modifications of pitch and tone, placing emphasis on certain keywords or staying within certain easy-to-understand topic areas are examples of this (Williams 1999: 153).

Extract 5.1 (Appendix 3)

```
1.    SF:           [do you know your current speed?
2.    R:     sorry?
3.    SF:    do you know <how fast you are you are tr travelling> on your
4.           way to work
```

Extract 5.1 shows that the host accommodates to the participant by displaying a speech style which is more likely to be processable for a NNS of English. The host changes the noun phrase to an easier synonymous lexical construction. Furthermore, he utters the sentence in line 2 at a slower pace than the first question in line 1. This "encourages further interaction by reducing perceived differences between them" (Bull & Roger: 1989: 77).

The host and the candidate tend to accommodate their speech to each other. They do so to facilitate understanding. Yet, they use this strategy not only to convey information, but also to establish a relationship between each other. Through "the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities" the interactants try to build solidarity (Giles et. al in Myers-Scotton 2006: 155). "Accommodation Theory is listener-or audience-centered. That is, speakers choose the way they talk with their audience foremost in mind" (Myers-Scotton 2006:155). The host of the morning show is well aware of the limitations of the callers' knowledge of the English language. Therefore he designs his speech "for and in response to" his speaking partner (Bell 1984 in Myers-Scotton 2006: 156) and since there is a multiple audience who listens to the show, he accommodates at the same time to the candidate of the show and the over-hearing audience at home.

At this point it is important to highlight that not only the host and the co-commentator accommodate to the NNS in the radio phone-in conversation. What is important about speech accommodation in relation to a NNS-NS interaction on the FM4 Morning Show is that the participant, who is a native speaker of German, engages him- or herself in a conversation in English. His or her attempt to conduct the entire conversation in a foreign language can be seen "as the very attempt as one of the best examples of accommodation" (Myers-Scotton 2006: 132). Myers-Scotton (2006: 132) argues that in this situation the speaker even goes "beyond accommodation to practice assimilation". Yet, it can also be argued, that the participant in the show simply operates under the cooperative principle, which tells him to be cooperative and make his or her contribution as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs (cf. Grice 1975). The caller is a cooperative partner in the conversation who resorts to another language because of the format of the radio show and, of course, because of the host's power advantage.

5.3.2 Code-switching

Since the early 1950s, bilingualism and code-switching have been a topic for linguistic research. Earlier the term code-switching had a slightly negative connotation, because it implied a lack of language capacity. After a long period of research, today's definition of it has definitely a very positive connotation (cf. Neuwirth 2009:17).

Code-switching is a linguistic term for the phenomenon when speakers of more than one language mix their languages within one conversation. It is seen as "the creative manifestation of bilingual speech behaviour, which is similar to shifts in styles and varieties among monolinguals" (Hoffmann 1991, referred to in Klimpfinger 2007: 38). This occurs frequently in NS-NSS talk, especially if the participants in the interaction share at least some knowledge of a language other than the one they are using as their main language in their conversation. In such settings code switching occurs when a word or a phrase is substituted with a word or phrase from another language, assuming that the listener is capable to make sense of the utterance. Hence, code-switching is the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation. The switching may occur "between turns of different speakers in the conversation, [...]

between utterances within a single turn, and sometimes even within a single utterance" (Milroy 1995: 7).

In the literature on bilingualism and code-switching distinctions between 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing are made. Furthermore, terms such as 'code-shifting', 'language mixing', 'language alternation' or 'borrowing' are frequently used to describe the phenomenon of the appearance of two languages or two varieties of languages within one conversation. Yet, in this paper code-switching is the selected term to refer to all occurrences of German lexical items, phrases and sentences in interactions between the host and the caller during their conversation on air.

In the present data there are many occurrences of code-switching. The main reason for this may be the German speaking environment in which the conversation is conducted. The FM4 studio is located in Vienna and the majority of the participants call from a city in Austria. In addition to this, the host has a proficient knowledge of German and he has an assistant who could helps to overcome difficulties and misunderstandings. Every caller is aware of the fact that he or she is not expected to speak perfect correct grammatically. Additionally, the listeners know that they will not be reprimanded for possible mistakes. They know that there is always the possibility to switch to their native language whenever they feel that it is necessary. These factors, among others, encourage them to call and participate in the show.

Throughout the eleven recorded phone-ins, more than 40 German sentences, phrases or words appear in the data. In some exchanges there is a very high usage of the German language. The following extracts show two interactions in which code-switching occurs. One of them has a high amount of code-switches. The second one is an example of an interaction in which only a few words are uttered in the co-commentator's and caller's native language.

Extract 5.2 (Appendix 11)

1.	L:	but ah do you know you know why I like it because I saw a guy in
2.		Vienna
3.		at the alte donau wearing exactly that bathing suit
4.	SF:	((laughing))
5.	Co:	das ist unglaublich=

6.   L: =at the öffentlichen strand in Vienna yeah? and we were talking like
7.   behind his back and ah about what a women would have such a ah a
8.   broad back but it was not a women actually he turned around and he
9.   had a lot of ah >I don't know< Brusthaare and it was a guy and he
10.   wore the same bathing suit in (0,1) yelling pink(.) and nobody cared
11.   °and that's [the point°
12.   SF: [oh my god
13.   L: that was fabulous
14.   Co: das ist ein Bild, dass du mit ins Grab nimmst wahrscheinlich
15.   L: [yeah
16.   Co: [eine Erinnerung die sich eingefräst hat
17.   L: yeah ((laughing))
18.   SF: @@furchtbar
19.   L: I hope I have ot (.)other things to remember to take them ah into my
20.   grave ah [but
21.   Co: [yea@@
22.   SF: [I hope so too@ lisa I hope so too thanks very much for your
23.   call Lisa
24.   Co: vielen Dank
25.   SF: @und guten Rutsch (.) ja
26.   L: ok [dankeschön
27.   SF: [Ciao

Extract 5.3 (Appendix 7)

1.   SF: guten Morgen Barbara
2.   B: morning
3.   SF: morning where are you I know you are driving with your schp (.)
4.   Freisprech (.) an anlage (.) where are you?
5.   B: ahm I am on my way to work=
6.   SF: =ok (.). in the city or in the land?
7.   B: ahm:: (.) I am on the:: highway
8.   SF: ok: right (.) we gonna give you ten questions (.) for beat the toaster and
9.   ah if you get them right six out of then I think we'll have as our (.)
10.   standard tod[ay
11. L: [mhm
12. SF: ah we will give you an FM4 goodie-bag (.) ah what do you do for a for a
13.   for a job then Barbara?

It is a usual practice to differentiate 'intersentential' and 'intrasentential' code-switching. Intersentential code-switching involves switches between different sentences and clauses whereas intrasentential code-switching occurs within the same clause (Meyers-Scotton 1993: 4). An important difference between these two types of code-switching is that the first one "involves a switch at a boundary and is thus concerned with alternating passages of speech, each of which involves only one code" (Jones 2005: 2). The latter one typically involves shorter passages and occurs less frequently. Often such code-switches consist of one single word (Jones 2005: 2). An example of each is given below.

Extract 5.4 (Appendix 5)

1.	L:	und wir haben Sabine
2.	SF:	yeah Sabine is on the line hang on a second <u>oh::</u> >just a minute just a
3.		minute< ah she should be there (.) I think?
4.	L:	nein, ja?
5.	SF:	I think I have got her (.) hello no hang on let me just kick it
6.	L:	ja jetzt. warte jetzt
7.	SF:	ya there she is (.) Sabine hi
8.	S:	hi?
9.	SF:	yeah sorry about that I just had to use th[e:: ah
10.	S:	[don't worry

Extract 5.5 (Appendix 4)

1.	SF:	=ok you won yourself a copy of the:: Wortlautbook Null Neun and ah(.)
2.		we'll have a word and see if we can find you a cd of sunny side up all
3.		right?

Several scholars have approached the problem of code-switching and introduced a variety of subcategories or distinctions. Poplack (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988) introduced the distinction between 'smooth' and 'flagged' switching. She defines the terms as follows. Smooth switching is a smooth or fluent transition between the two languages, whereas flagged switching includes no such smooth transition. Flagged switching is characterized by "pauses, hesitation phenomena, repetition, metalinguistic commentary and other means of drawing attention to the switch, with the result of interrupting the smooth production of the sentence at the switch point" (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988: 1176). The following extracts show one conversation in which a smooth switch occurs and a second one which includes a flagged switch between English and German. In the second extract the caller switches to her native language in line 2. Shortly before the code-switch occurs she utters a metalinguistic commentary. This indicates that she lacks knowledge of the appropriate word in English. This lack of knowledge forces her to resort to a compensatory strategy. Hence, she switches to German.

Extract 5.6 (Appendix 3)

1.	SF:	on the Autobahn? (.) I don't know I don't know Romana was that on
2.		your list of things to do today? (.) Catch a tuna?

Extract 5.7 (Appendix 11)

1.　　　　broad back but it was not a women actually he turned around and he
2.　　　　had a lot of ah >I don't know< Brusthaare and it was a guy and he wore
3.　　　　The same bathing suit in (0,1) yelling pink(.) and nobody cared [ʔand
4.　　　　that's the point°

In addition to intrasentential and intersentential switches another type of code-switching is mentioned: 'Tag switching'. Tag switching involves the insertion of a tag from one language into the ongoing conversation in another language, e.g. *you know* or *I mean* (cf. Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1989). The usage of tag-switches is common in NNS-NS or ELF conversations (cf. Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1989). Nevertheless, in the present data there was no occurrence of this type of code-switching. The reason for this may be that the callers know that if they call to be on air they are expected to conduct the conversation in English. They are prepared and do their best to avoid switching to German because they know that they are expected to speak English. Another reason for the absence of tag switching may be the proficiency level of the callers. Poplack (1989: 589) claims that this kind of code-switching requires the least bilingual fluency of all. The participants in the morning show generally possess a high expertise in English which allows them to avoid such switches.

There are many reasons for the usage of German words in the phone-in interaction. On the side of the candidate, the native speaker of German, the main reason for the code shift may be a lack of the linguistic ability. Appel and Muysken (1987: 118) refer to it as the 'referential function' of code-switching. They claim that code-switching "often involves lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language on a certain subject". Myers-Scotton calls this phenomenon "the virtuosity maxim", which she describes as a "switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 148). The following example shows that the caller switches to her native language because of imperfect competence in the target language. The code-switch is used in order to maintain the flow of the ongoing conversation.

Extract 5.8 (Appendix 11)

```
1.    L:     at the öffentichen strand in Vienna yeah? and we were talking like
2.           behind his back and ah about what a women would have such a ah a
3.           broad back but it was not a women actually he turned around and he
4.           had a lot of ah >I don't know< Brusthaare and it was a guy and he
5.           wore the same bathing suit in (0,1) yelling pink(.)  and nobody cared [
6.           °and that's the point°
```

Extract 5.8 is also an example of the virtuosity maxim. In this example the host accommodates to the caller by switching to her native language. He may assume that the lexical item 'hands-free equipment' is a term which is not familiar to the caller. For this reason he code-switches to prevent a non-understanding. Another reason may be that the host himself is unable to recall the word 'hands-free equipment' and therefore replaces it with the German translation.

Extract 5.9 (Appendix 7)

```
9.    SF:    morning where are you I know you are driving with your schp (.)
10.          Freisprech (.) an anlage (.) where are you?
11.   B:     ahm I am on my way to work=
```

The data shows that there is a general tendency of the co-commentator to use German words or expressions. His or her rate of code-switches during the phone-in interaction is considerably higher than the rate of the caller or the host (cf. Neuwirth 2009: 18). The co-commentator is a native speaker of German with a highly proficient level of English. His or her knowledge of English is generally more elaborated than the caller's knowledge of English. This shows that code-switches do not necessarily indicate that a speaker lacks appropriate vocabulary. It can also be considered as "making full use of the resources of a bilingual situation" and may be appropriate in a specific bilingual setting (Ma & Herasimchuk, referred to in Jones 2005: 3).

It becomes clear that there are various reasons and motivations for language alternation. Gumperz (1982) and others, give entire list which should explain specific functions of code-switching. I think it is not useful to analyze the function of specific code-switches according to predetermined categories because every conversational interaction is unique and the meaning and function of a code-switch must be interpreted according to its context and with reference to the function and power of the participants (cf. Auer 1995: 116). Furthermore, such "lists can never be exhaustive" (Bassiouney 2006: 158)

5.4. NS-NNS problematic talk

So far it has been shown that generally the host and the caller do communicate successfully. Nevertheless, also instances of problematic talk can be traced in the recorded phone-in interactions. Participants in NS-NNS conversations are more likely to face troubles in their interaction than native speakers. Such troubles often occur because of individual differences in the ability to speak the target language (Ahvenainen 2005: 8). Most of the problems are solved with the help of specific communicative strategies or problem solving mechanism, as we have seen above. Yet, some of the problems are manifested in forms of mis- or non-communication.

There is more than one definition of miscommunication and the phenomenon is broad and complex. "Miscommunication can refer to unintentional glitches and misunderstandings inherent in talk and meaning transfer" (Williams 1999: 154). Milroy (1984: 15) defines this term as a "simple disparity between the speaker's and the hearer's semantic analysis of a given utterance". Communication problems occur whenever there is a "mismatch between the speaker's intention and the hearer's interpretation" (Milroy 1984: 8). Both parties, the speaker and the listener, are actively engaged in the process of meaning negotiation. Hence, it cannot be claimed that communication problems are produced by only one of the speakers. Basically there is a differentiation between 'misunderstanding' and 'non-understanding'. In some cases miscommunication or misunderstandings may occur without the speaker's knowledge (Ahvenainen 2005: 21) Whenever a "misunderstanding" occurs the listener may interpret an utterance differently to the speaker's primary communicative intention and remain under the false impression that he or she has understood the intended meaning (Tzanne 1999: 33). Usually the problem is detected retrospectively. "*Non*-understanding, on the other hand, means that [the] interlocutor(s) sense that no (mutual) understanding is achieved, and usually the interlocutors can detect this more promptly" (Ahvenainen 2005: 21). If there is an instance of non-understanding, the problem is recognized and meaning is negotiated in order to solve the communicative problem.

These definitions roughly explain what problematic talk can mean in the setting of the FM4 radio phone-ins. It is helpful to mention the problematic aspect of these

definitions. They may create the impression that miscommunication lies in the responsibility of the listener. Especially when applying these concepts in the analysis of radio phone-in interactions it may convey the wrong notion that the caller, the less powerful party with the lower proficiency of the target language, is responsible for the communicative problem. Yet, this is not the case. As we have seen in the last chapters, the participants cooperate and jointly construct and negotiate the meaning in the ongoing conversation (cf. Pitzl 2004: 32).

It has been outlined that listeners perform a variety of activities which signal comprehension but they also signal if there has been a problem with comprehension. Farr (2003: 71) claims that every listener has a variety of choices to demonstrate his or her lack of understanding. First of all he or she has the choice of whether or not to indicate the 'non-understanding' at all. This decision strongly depends on the necessity to know the meaning of the utterance for the ongoing conversation (cf. Bremer et al. 69-71). If the speaker decides not to indicate that he or she has trouble to understand the utterance he or she acts according to a principle which is called 'let-it-pass principle'. Firth (1996 referred to in Ahvenainen 2005: 30) explains that this principle indicates that "the hearer lets an unknown or unclear action, word, or utterance 'pass' on the […] assumption that it will either become clear or redundant as talk progresses."

If the listener has come to the decision that it is important to indicate his or her problem, he or she can employ a variety of strategies to signal that he or she wants additional information. In such a situation "negotiation comes as a consequence of some clarification request […] and […] the ensuing negotiation often results in a resolution of a nonunderstanding" (Polio & Gass 1998: 310). To indicate a request for clarification the listener may for example "employ a relevant linguistic device with accompanying intonation". In extract 5.10 the candidate employs exactly this strategy. In line 5 she utters 'sorry' with rising intonation which signals a request for clarification. The caller seems to realize that she cannot make sense of the host's utterance and the host immediately cooperates and rephrases his sentence. Hence the host and the caller engage in a process of negotiating which finally leads to comprehensibility.

Extract 5.10 (Appendix 3)

```
1.    L:                              [Hallo
2.    SF:   you ah are you on your way to work right now (.) if I am not mistaken?
3.    R:    yeah I [yeah
4.    SF:          [do you know your current speed?
5.    R:    sorry?
6.    SF:   do you know <how fast you are you are tr travelling> on your way to
7.          work?
8.    R:    ahm (.) yeah I am ah on the autoroute so:: it is one hundred and thirty
```

In this conversation the problem occurs because there is a language based miscommunication. Other forms of miscommunication, such as operational or conceptually based miscommunication do not occur very frequently in the Fm4 host-caller interaction and will not be explained in this paper (cf. Ahvenainen 2005: 21). A more detailed distinction of language-based miscommunication is made by Smith and Nelson (in Ahvenainen 2005: 21). They divide language-based understanding problems into the following three levels: Intelligibility, Comprehensibility, Interpretability. The extract above is an example of a language-based understanding problem on the level of comprehensibility. The caller seems to have a problem with the recognition of the words. It seems that he or she has a problem to understand the propositional meaning of the host's utterance and not, for example to understand the illocutionary force of the sentence.

Another way to demonstrate a lack of understanding is to use a variety of non-verbal devices, such as appropriate body or face movement or the raising of eyebrows (Farr 2003: 71). This device is common but obviously it is not deliberately operated in radio phone-in interaction. Furthermore, by remaining silent, the listener could indicate that he or she could not follow the speaker. In extract 5.11 there is an exchange which shows that the host cannot follow the summary of the callers' contributions which are narrated by his co-commentator Lisa. In lines 2 and 3 Lisa waits for an acknowledgement token from the host but he remains silent, whereupon Lisa becomes an active assistant and helps to clarify the situation. She assures that her listener, Stuart Freeman, is able to construct meaning as intended by the callers from the overhearing audience.

Extract 5. 11 (Appendix 5)

```
1.    L      ja: (.) u:nd die Jule hat gemeint ah so quasi das heißt so viel wie ja jetzt
2.           muss ich ah das ausbaden was du eigentlich verursacht [hast (0,1) so
3.           (0,1) verstehst du?
4.    SF:                                                          [hh.@
5.    SF:    y: ah no (.)@@ ahm is a misunderstanding there@
6.    L:     @ok
7.    SF:    ok (.) erklär mir
```

The following conversation, in extract 5.12 is another example of problematic talk. In contrast to the example above, the listener does not directly state that he has a problem with the expression. In the former example the host indicates his problem to his speaking partner by asking for assistance. In this case it seems that Christoph does not fully understand the host's contribution. Yet, he does not make his uncertainty explicit. The problem is indicated through implicit signals. Especially the pauses signal that he could not follow the speaker's utterance. For this reason the co-commentator makes use of code-switching which helps to clarify and facilitate the conversation for the listener. A general observation from my data is that the co-commentator more frequently tends to switch to the caller's native language, when he or she has a low level of proficiency. In conversations between the host and a very fluent caller the co-commentator rarely intervenes or code-switches.

Extract 5.12 (Appendix 6)

```
1.    SF:     I m thinking of applying for a job do you think it should be the ORF
2.            Symphony orchestra or do you think it should be the n: New Year's
3.            Day concert?
4.    Ch:     (0,2) ah[:: (0,1) what was the last one?
5.    SF:            [@@
6.    L:      Neujahrskonzert oder Radio Symphonieorchester (.) was glaubst du
7.            Wo soll er sich bewerben?
8.    Ch:     ah:m ah (.) ah at the at the radio-Symphonieorchester=
9.    SF:     =oh:: I am not good enough for the New Year's concert [am I? (0,2)
10.   L:                                                           [@@@
11.   @@@ (.) al[right
12.   L:         [er nimmt dich auf den Arm=
13.   SF:     =ok
14.   L:      [@@@@@@@
```

Overall it seems that the host and the candidate communicate very successfully. Nevertheless, there are instances of miscommunication. Thomas differentiates between two levels of miscommunication. At the first level the listener "fails to understand which proposition [the speaker] has expressed". It is not possible for him

or her to assign sense to the speaker's utterances, especially if the meaning is ambiguous (Thomas 1983: 93). At level two, the listener "fails to understand the pragmatic force". In this case the listener may understand the meaning of the words but is not able to make sense out of them and interpret the "intended pragmatic force" (Thomas 1983: 93). These forms of miscommunication arise from grammatical errors. Such instances are frequently observed in native – non-native interaction, however they are not restricted to this setting and may also appear in communication among two native speakers. Thomas (1983: 91 referred to in Miller 1974) claims that the majority of miscommunications occur because the listener fails to understand the speaker's primary intention. She calls this phenomenon, when a listener fails to understand "what is meant by what was said", "pragmatic failure". According to Thomas this form of misunderstanding frequently occurs in interactions between native and non-native speakers.

In her article, Thomas (1983: 100) additionally focuses on two other forms of pragmatic failure, which may occur only in intercultural or cross-cultural or NS-NNS communication. Firstly, the "pragmalinguistic failure" is described. This form of miscommunication is "a linguistic problem, caused by differences in the linguistic encoding of pragmatic force" (1983: 101). A non-native speaker may fail to interpret the pragmatic force of the uttered phrase in the language in which he or she is communicating. This may happen because in the hearer's native language a different force is assigned to the same utterance. The non-native speaker may further "inappropriately transfer speech act strategies from one language to the other", which is called "pragmalinguistic transfer" (Thomas 1983: 101). In extract 5.12 there is an inappropriate pragmatic transfer which leads to a pragmatic failure. Most likely the caller means to express that her opinion is the following. Therefore an utterance such as 'I think it means' would have been more appropriate in this situation.

Extract 5.13 (Appendix 5)

1.	SF:	so what do you recon it means then?
2.	S:	ahm I mean when the season is over and you put the Christmas
3.		tree down I pick up the sweets
4.	SF:	ah::@@@
5.	S:	the rest of it
6.	SF:	that's goo::d that's the sort of thing I do
7.	L:	yeah:@

In extract 5.13 another instance of a pragmalingustic failure can be observed. The host asks the candidate what he is doing on a holiday at this time of the year. By asking this question he could have meant to say that it is rather unusual to be on a holiday in the middle of October and wanted to know what the candidate is doing or planning to do on his holiday. Hence the host conveys more than the literal meaning of the words. The candidate, however, takes the question literally and tells him what he was doing immediately before his call. The candidate does not have any problems to understand the literal meaning of the sentence but he does not interpret the utterance correctly. The miscommunication is caused by differences in the linguistic coding of the non-native speaker of English and the coding of a native speaker. This brief instance of a communication problem does not influence the quality of the conversation. The host continues the conversation as if it was exactly the response he had expected.

Extract 5.14 (Appendix 1)

1.	G:	fine thanks
2.	SF:	good what what are you doing on a holiday at this time of the year?
3.	G:	oh:: I get up early to listen to the morning show
4.	SF:	do you? You get up early for the nation( ) do you?
5.	SF:	wow so there is me, Lisa, Didi, and you Gerhard who are definitely
6.		awake this morning right?

This shows that every language learner should acquire the skill to differentiate what he or she can interpret literally and what he or she has to infer from the context in the target language and culture (Thomas: 1983: 108).

The second type of pragmatic failure is called "sociopragmatic failure". It refers to the failure of interpreting "the size of imposition, cost/benefit, social distance, and relative right and obligations" (Thomas 1983: 104). Kasper (1992: 209) claims that this type of transfer "is operative when the social perceptions underlying language users' interpretation and performance of linguistic action in L2 are influenced by their assessment of subjectively equivalent L1 context". Furthermore, she argues that non-native speakers are confronted with problems of evaluating situations in the same way as native speakers. They may have difficulties in assessing certain features and may reach a different interpretation than a native speaker. Sociopragmatic failures

occur frequently in cross-cultural conversations. One example of it is if the candidate misjudges the size of imposition or the relative power of the host.

In the present data, instances of misunderstandings are rare. Generally the effectiveness of a NS-NNS conversation is affected by a variety of variables. Such variables can include pronunciation, grammar and of course the familiarity with the native speaker's accent (cf. Polio & Gass 1998: 308). Of course there is a variety of other features which affect the effectiveness of conversations no matter whether they occur between NS-NNS or a group of native speakers.

The conversations between the host and his participants are highly successful. The main reason for this is the high proficiency level of English of the majority of the callers. In addition to this the callers are familiar with the accent of the host because generally a person who phones-in is a member of the overhearing audience and regularly listens to the show. Nevertheless, there are some instances of misunderstandings. In such cases the listener does not understand the utterances as they were intended by the speaker. In all cases, however, such instances are brief and to not interrupt the ongoing flow of the conversation. The interlocutors always manage to clarify their problems and keep the conversation going.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter examines the use of English between one native and one or two non-native speakers of English. 11 extracts of phone-in conversations were examined. Because of this limited database it is not possible to generalize the findings but it can serve to illustrate which variables may be important in NS-NNS conversation. This paper aims to give an overall view of various problems which occur in the NNS-NS conversation on an Austrian radio station. Furthermore a variety of problem solving mechanisms were introduced, which are employed to overcome these problems in the communicative process. Special attention was drawn to the use of two communication strategies: accommodation and code-switching. Generally it was shown that the host and the participants in the phone-ins communicate effectively because they are aware of the restricted linguistic ability of the NNS and actively

cooperate to overcome misunderstandings. As a concluding remark it is important to mention that this paper is "treating communication between [NS-NNS] in its own right, without using the native-speaker communication as a model" (Ahvenainen 2005: 3).

6. Conclusion

One of the main aims of this paper is to contribute to the knowledge about radio talk with a focus on NS-NNS interaction. To reach this aim the thesis is based on naturally occurring speech between one native speaker of English and at least one native speaker of German.

In the first chapter the data gathering and transcribing process was described in detail to help the reader to estimate the validity and reliability of the study. In order to increase the reliability of the data gathering the phone-ins were recorded and carefully transcribed (cf. Ahvenainen 2005: 62).

In this paper the role of the host and the caller in FM4 radio phone-ins, as well as the conversational structure of such interactions, have been characterized. First of all there was a focus on the institutional setting in which the recorded conversations are conducted. It was shown that the institutional setting and the institutional role of the host influence the ability to sustain and maintain the ongoing conversation. One important finding in this study was that the institutional setting strongly influences the structural organization of the phone-ins. Overall, it is the host's right and obligation to initiate, lead and close the interaction which he conducts with one selected member from the overhearing audience.

It was shown that the host and the caller communicate very successfully because of the speaker's behavior in the interaction. It has been clarified that comprehension is not a static phenomenon, but involves active cooperation and negotiation on the side of all participants to the conversation. During the whole conversation, each participant actively contributes "in varying degrees to the success or lack of success of the conversational output" (Polio & Gass 1998: 308). Meaning is constantly negotiated between the NS and NNS, in order to avoid misunderstandings. "This, of

course, is predicated on the assumption that, in its simplest form, conversation takes place through the mechanism of turn-taking" (Polio & Gass 1998: 208). It has been shown that the speaker and the listener have to fulfill a variety of roles and activities which influence the quality and the outcome of the conversational interaction. Therefore, this study highlights the cooperative nature of NS-NNS conversation. In addition to this, I claim that the cooperative nature of the participants is even stronger in FM4 radio phone-ins than in NS-NNS face to face interaction because they have not possibility to gain information from the visual channel.

In the very last chapter specific patterns of language use in the phone-in interaction were described. As we have seen throughout the study there is a very high rate of mutual understanding. Yet in the last chapter instances of problematic talk were outlined and various strategies, which serve to avoid conversational problems, were discussed. A variety of strategies, which facilitate comprehension, such as code-switching and accommodation were found in the corpus. My data reveals instances of problematic talk but hardly any instances of severe misunderstandings were found. The host and the co-commentator are aware of the non-native status of the participants and because of this they put great emphasis on the usage of problem preventing and problem solving strategies. The present study clearly shows that NNS-NS talk between the host and the caller is "characteri[z]ed by cooperation rather than misunderstandings" (cf. Meierkord 2001).

As a concluding remark I want to emphasis that this paper uses a corpus of authentic data from broadcast radio phone-ins. Therefore media discourse is examined. Such mediated discourse "represent endlessly and rapidly changing hybrid media phenomena [and] constantly reconstruct and redefine themselves by violating and transgressing their own discursive conventions (Ilie 1999: 241).

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Figure 1:
http://mediaresearch.orf.at/c_radio/console/console.htm?y=4&z=4

Appendix A:

Abstract

The present paper seeks to contribute to the linguistic description of mediated native-non-native conversation. This study examines talk on an Austrian multilingual radio station and explores radio talk as a form of institutional or rather semi-institutional discourse. The sequential organization of phone-ins is explored using the methodology of Conversation Analysis. Furthermore the management of participation in calls to a FM4 radio phone-in program is analyzed and participatory roles of the host, the audience and the caller are examined. In this context the role of the speaker and the listener as well as a variety of activities which are performed by them, such as turn taking, backchanneling or politeness phenomena are outlined. The paper concludes with a chapter in which aspects about the multilingual setting in which the phone-ins are conducted are discussed. It includes the use of more than one linguistic variety within the same conversation, miscommunication and strategies to overcome potential problems.

Appendix B:

German Abstract

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Analyse von Phone-In Sendungen am Beispiel der „FM4 Morning Show". Als Grundlage dieser Arbeit dient ein Korpus von 11 Gesprächen, zwischen Stuart Freeman (SF), dem Moderator der „FM4 Morning Show" und dem jeweiligen Kandidaten. Diese Interaktionen, welche täglich live ausgestrahlt werden, wurden sorgfältig transkribiert und anschließend analysiert. Es wird besonders auf die Verlaufsform sowie die strukturelle Organisation des Gesprächs eingegangen und typische Phasen des Gesprächs werden analysiert. Dabei wird ein Augenmerk auf die Gesprächseröffnung und –beendigung gelegt. Aus den Rahmenbedingungen und der Struktur der Phone-in Sendung ergibt sich ein spezifisches Machtverhältnis zwischen den Sprechern, welches die Rollenverteilung im Gespräch beeinflusst. Daher werden in dieser Arbeit verschiedene Typen von Sprechern und Hörern unterschieden und ihre Aufgaben und Aktivitäten, wie zum Beispiel die Übernahme und Aufrechterhaltung des Gesprächs, untersucht. Als letzter Punkt wird wegen dem mehrsprachigen Format des Senders auf spezielle Aspekte der „native - non-native communication" (NS-NNS) eingegangen.

Transcription Conventions

The transcription symbols listed below are those used by the majority of conversational analysts (e.g. Gail Jefferson 1974, Heritage and Atkinson 1984, Ten Have 1999). Furthermore, this set of transcription conventions illustrates the symbols I have used in the transcription process of my data.

[ ]   Square brackets indicate the beginning and end of overlapping talk.

[[Two square brackets after each other indicate a simultaneous start.

=   Equal signs, one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of the next indicate that there is no hearable silence between the two lines. It shows the continuation of a speaker's utterance across intervening lines of transcript. This is often called latching.

(0.5)   Numbers in brackets indicate elapsed silent time in tenths of a second.

(.)   A dot in brackets indicates a pause less than one tenth of a second.

Underline   Underscoring indicates speaker emphasis.

::   Colons indicate the stretching or lengthening of a sound or word.

-            A dash indicates a cut-off during an utterance.

CAPITALS   Capitals mark a section of speech markedly louder than that surrounding it.

°word°   degree sign indicates a passage of talk noti ceably softer than surrounding talk.

<word>   Indicates a section of talk uttered in a faster pace than the surrounding talk.

>word<   This sign indicates a section of talk uttered in a slower pace than the surrounding talk.

@	Laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol, approximating syllable number.[6]
.,?	Punctuation marks are used to indicate characteristics of speech production, especially intonation; they are not referring to grammatical units.
.	A full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone. Not necessarily the end of the sentence.
,	A comma indicates a continuing intonation, like when you are reading items from a list.
?	A question mark indicates a rising intonation.
( )	Empty brackets are used to indicate indecipherable talk or the inability of the transcriber to hear what was said.
((word))	double brackets indicate scenic details.

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[6] Follows the VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1] (see: www.univie.ac.at/voice)

Appendix 1 (10/7)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)		
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)		
G: caller [m] (Gerhard)		

1.	SF:	hello Gerhard
2.	G:	hello
3.	SF:	how are you?
4.	G:	fine thanks
5.	SF:	good what what are you doing on a holiday at this time of the year?
6.	G:	oh:: I get up early to listen to the morning show
7.	SF:	do you? You get up early for the nation( ) do you?
8.	SF:	wow so there is me, Lisa, Didi, and you Gerhard who are definitely
9.		awake this morning right?
10.	G:	@@yes
11.	SF:	good (.) so are you actually on holiday or are [you working
12.	G:	[yeah yeah I am on
13.		holiday this week
14.	SF:	great so you just pottering around the house?
15.	G:	yeah@@
16.	SF:	@doing nothing?
17.	G:	ah y(.) not yet though
18.	SF:	alright@ (.) so listen who was our mystery man (.) that Lisa was paired
19.		to with?
20.	G:	ah Karl-Heinz Grasser
21.	SF;	It wa::s
22.	SF:	I just I ve been away a few days has he done something wrong this
23.		man?
24.	G:	(0,1) ahm mh ah@ I am not sure@@
25.	SF:	@so you don't wanna commit yourself life on air right@?
26.	G:	ye[ah@@
27.	SF:	[@ok (.)hh right you are a winner (.) what does he win by the way
28.		Lisa?
29.	L:	a goody bag=
30.	SF:	=a goody bag Gerhard
31.	G:	ok
32.	SF;	ah where about are you (.) where are you living?
33.	G:	I live in Schwarzau in lower austria
34.	SF:	yeah ok. is that near a river?
35.	G:	mh:: not actually (.) no no=
36.	SF:	=no ok so you can't go swimming on your holiday then?
37.	G:	@@no@
38.	SF:	right well listen thanks you for playing=
39.	G:	=thank you
40.	SF:	have a good day you are a good man you guessed it right and we send
41.		you a big parcel (.) so expect that (.) through the post in the next two or
42.		three days
43.	G:	ok thank you
44.	SF:	alright bye Ger[hard
45.	G:	[bye

```
46.  SF:      bye-bye
47.  L: ciao
```

Appendix 2 (10/15)

```
SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
Co: co-commentator [m.]
JP: caller [m] (Jean-Paul)
```

```
1.   SF:      We:: wanted to know from you what this
2.   FM4:     [[ ik heb echt trek in een patatje oorlog]]
3.   SF:      could mean (.) and of course the question is now what did our listeners
4.            (.) think (.) we have <hold on> (0,3) Jean-Paul on the on the line (.)
5.            hello?
6.   JP:      ah: hello?
7.   SF:      and ah Jean-Paul you know what that means?
8.   JP:      yes <yes yes> it means ahm (.) patatje oolrog is ah frittes aso ah a
9.            french fries=
10.  SF:      =yeah
11.  JP:      with ah every ah: thing there is on it ahso >mayo, ketchup, curry< and
12.            (.) ah the thing you eat late at night when you:
13.  SF:      ok=
14.  JP:      = going out
15.  SF:      it sounds like a three o'clock in the morning kind of thing that you
16.            gonna end up saying
17.  JP:      it's delicious
18.  SF:      @@@ (.) so my ah how do you know what this means?
19.  JP:      ah I am dutch, I am dutch
20.  SF:      oh::: I see I guess that is sort of a (.) is that cheating?
21.  Co:      no that's not cheatin[g (.) he knew it because it's his language
22.  SF:                           [°no no°of course of course
23.  SF:      and how often (.) when (.) what would be the normal situation literally
24.            when you would say that? °give me°
25.   JP:     ahm It would be like ah (.) you had like (.)  lots of beer at night and you
26.            like are hungry and then you eat you eat a patatje oorlog=
27.  SF:      =ok=
28.  JP:      =and then ( )
29.  SF:       well congratulations
```

Appendix 3 (10/19)

```
SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)
R: caller [f] (Romana)
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```
1.   SF:      yes and we have someone here who happens to actually think they
2.            know the answer to the question which we po::st (.) and ah I hope now
3.            (.) Romana? (0,3) @@@ Romana?
4.   R:       yeah?
5.   SF:      yes you are there [lovely
```

6.	L:	[Hallo
7.	SF:	you ah are you on your way to work right now (.) if I am not mistaken?
8.	R:	yeah I [yeah
9.	SF:	[do you know your current speed?
10.	R:	sorry?
11.	SF:	do you know <how fast you are you are tr travelling> on your way to
12.		work?
13.	R:	ahm (.) yeah I am ah on the autoroute so:: it is one hundred and thirty
14.	L:	oh
15.	R:	@@
16.	SF:	considerably faster than the the the ah Meereskreaturen we were
17.		asking about the question of course was wer schwimmt schneller der
18.		Blauhai oder der Thunfisch? and ah (.) Romana you said?
19.	R:	(.)I think it is the tuna
20.	L:	wu::
21.	SF:	Yes indeed I think you would be correct do you know just how fast they
22.		actually swim?
23.	R:	no ahm I am not sure
24.	SF:	they they (.) you would be able to catch them fairly easily they they ah
25.		go seventy seven kmh
26.	R:	ah ok
27.	SF:	as opposed to the Blauhai (.) which only goes seventy so ah not not (.)
28.		bad actually
29.	L:	but do you think it is easy to catch?
30.	SF:	a tuna?
31.	L:	yeah@@
32.	R:	@@@@
33.	SF:	on the Autobahn? (.) I don't know I don't know Romana was that on
34.		your list of things to do today? (.) catch a tuna?
35.	R:	@@ ( )I will try it out one time@@@
36.	SF:	ok (.) well you have caught a goody bag and other fabulous things all
37.		you have to do now is basically stay right where you are and ah (.) Lisa
38.		is gonna talk to you?
39.	L:	yeah I will
40.	SF:	and everything is fairly cool (.) so=
41.	R:	=thanks a lot to you guys
42.	SF:	thank you very much have [a lovely day
43.	R:	[good bye have a great day
44.	SF:	ok
45.	L:	danke

Appendix 4 (11/4)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)
S: caller [m] (Stefan)

1.	SF:	mhm help me out here Stefan help me out good morning
2.	S:	hello good morning, Stuart
3.	SF:	he listen Stefan (.) you are from the weinviertel right?
4.	S:	a:: yeah
5.	SF:	are you the guy who won that seven million euros last week on the
6.		lotto?

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7.	S:	@@no no that is the waldvi[ertel
8.	SF:	[ahh that's right the waldviertel right.
9.	S:	I am from the weinviertel we are all the drinkers (.) we don't play lotto
10.	L:	@@@@@
11.	SF:	ok thats a good idea. (.) alcohol statt lotto that's all right we can go for
12.		that
13.	S:	I ve got to say something fo=to you first Stefan that Lisa finds that you
14.		have a very sexy voice
15.	S:	oh thank you
16.	SF:	yeah
17.	L:	thank you Stuart
18.	SF:	@@@
19.	L:	don't tell you anything again
20.	SF:	listen I think you=ve got a very sexy voice as well Stefan all right so
21.		there we are both of us think you have a very sexy voice. Pop poetry
22.		or crap you have to decide here we go first one is mean (.) Ah (.) Tote
23.		Enten hängen in der Straße die Schildkröten kommen lebend ins (.)
24.		kochende Wasser mit den @Tieren haben sie es nicht so (.) is that
25.		pop poetry or crap?
26.	S:	ahm (.) that's poetry I think
27.	L:	wao:h
28.	SF:	yes it is and I read it beautifully
29.	L:	yeah really good
30.	SF:	don't you think
31.	L:	yeah and it was one piece of the actual Wortlautbuch
32.	SF:	oh was it?
33.	L:	it was from Kilian Jung einer der Finalisten
34.	SF:	there you go
35.	L:	genau the next bit
36.	SF:	please
37.	L:	listen
38.	S:	please
39.	SF:	((laughing))
40.	L:	my t@ (.) >my timing is off but sometimes but sometimes that's how it
41.		all works believe it or not we don't have a choice in matters of the heart
42.		just gotta be brave enough(.) to love and let yourself be loved< (0,1)
43.	S:	I think that's pop
44.	SF:	wa:u::=
45.	L:	=wuu::
46.	SF:	It's the way she read it
47.	FM4:	**[[wwwwoooaaaa]]**
48.	SF:	in her beautiful sexy [voice
49.	L:	[@@@yeah it was from the eels my timing
50.		is off=
51.	SF:	=all right number three we already got the °the° two out of three ah (.)
52.		so just get this ok? (.) @@[@
53.	S:	[maybe I get the sunny side up cd for ah
54.		free? (.) when I have the ( )
55.	SF:	all right I see what we can do all right? I have got I have got friends in
56.		our marketing department ok here we go Stefan(.) >mein Herz es ist
57.		ein tiefes Tal ein Meer von Tränen (.) durchschschwimmt der i::l<
58.	L:	der Aal=
59.	SF:	=oh oh der Aal sorry
60.	SF:	der Schmerz durchfährt meine Knie ich liebe dich wie noch nie (.)wau it
61.		rhymes too
62.	S:	@phu: it rhymes but i think that's crap or?

63.	FM4:	**[[wwwwoooaaaa]]**
64.	SF:	your are right my friend
65.	S:	ok=
66.	SF:	=ok you won yourself a copy of the:: Wortlautbook Null Neun and ah(.)
67.		we'll have a word and see if we can find you a cd of sunny side up all
68.		right?
69.	S:	all right tanks a lot@
70.	SF:	can't promise too much but ah I'll see what I can do.
71.	S:	@ok ciao
72.	SF:	bye-bye Stefan
73.	L:	danke Stefan
74.	SF:	enjoy the wine in the Weinviertel
75.	S:	thanks=
76.	SF:	= and don't play the lotto
77.	S:	@

Appendix 5 (11/5)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)
S: caller [m] (Sabine)

FM4: [[I am picking up what you are putting down (.) music]]

1.	SF:	mhm
2.	L:	mh::
3.	SF:	could you hear that little magic one
4.	L:	yeah
5.	SF:	( )you did
6.	L:	yeah
7.	SF:	what did the ah (.) did the liebe listener say please?
8.	L:	also es war keine richtige Antwort dabei also kein Übersetzung dabei
9.		aber gute Vorschläge=
10.	SF:	=ok
11.	L:	ah Lukas meint (.) >ich hebe auf was du hingelegt hast.<
12.	SF:	@@
13.	L	ja: (.) u:nd die Jule hat gemeint ah so quasi das heißt so viel wie ja jetzt
14.		muss ich ah das ausbaden was du eigentlich verursacht [hast (0,1) so
15.		(0,1) verstehst du?
16.	SF:	[hh.@
17.	SF:	y: ah no (.)@@ ahm is a misunderstanding there@
18.	L:	@ok
19.	SF:	ok (.) erklär mir
20.	L:	so you do something wrong=
21.	SF:	=ya::
22.	L:	and ah I have to take care about it
23.	SF:	oh that's good
24.	L:	yeah ah that's how it works here actually@@@
25.	SF:	that's that's ganz normal@ for us thank you very much for tha@t
26.		call@@
27.	L:	und wir haben Sabine

28.	SF:	yeah Sabine is on the line hang on a second <u>oh::</u> >just a minute just a
29.		minute< ah she should be there (.) I think?
30.	L:	nein, ja?
31.	SF:	I think I have got her (.) hello no hang on let me just kick it
32.	L:	ja jetzt. warte jetzt
33.	SF:	ya there she is (.) Sabine hi
34.	S:	hi?
35.	SF:	yeah sorry about that I just had to use th[e:: ah
36.	S:	[don't worry
37.	SF:	russische method on this computer in this studio
38.	S:	@ @
39.	SF:	so what do you reckon it means then?
40.	S:	ahm I mean when the season is over and you put the Christmas tree
41.		down I pick up the sweets
42.	SF:	ah::@ @ @
43.	S:	the rest of it
44.	SF:	that's goo::d that's the sort of thing I do
45.	L:	yeah:@
46.	SF:	don't ever ask me to put up the Christmas tree because there will be
47.		less chocolates on the Christmas tree than there were at the beginning
48.	L:	you take it while you are picking it up=
49.	SF:	=yeah I just well I think I broke that one=
50.	S:	=but maybe there are some forgotten anywhere in the middle of the
51.		tree or something
52.	SF:	yeah sometimes (.) but hey listen you are a goldsmith is that right?
53.	S:	yes it is=
54.	SF:	=so what do you make? gold rings and stuff like that?
55.	S:	yeah everything
56.	SF:	and you design everything yourself?
57.	S:	(.) eah::? I do
58.	SF:	fantastic and wao:: (.) well ah you know Lisa and I you know very
59.		armer people
60.	L:	mh::
61.	S:	ah ok
62.	SF:	and nobody gives us any Christmas presents
63.	L:	°Weihnachten°((whispering))
64.	SF:	Weihnachten ( )
65.	SF:	because we are gonna give you a prize anyway because we think this
66.		was the best one that came [in
67.	S:	[wau:
68.	SF:	we give you a prize today it is the FM4 Wa::ndsticker (.)set
69.	L:	genau ganz neu
70.	SF:	so you get it by the way in the fm shop online Shop.orf.at/fm4 that's
71.		wrong! it's got to be wrong. (.) or?
72.	L:	I think fm4 shop it is
73.	SF:	yeah somebody typed the wrong thing there just go to the fm4 site go
74.		to the shop and buy Wandsticker for your friends and family but
75.		you've got some Wandstickers Sabine ah and ah we send them to you
76.		soon (.) alright?
77.	S:	[yeah
78.	L:	[noch dran bleiben bitte
79.	S:	cool
80.	SF:	thank you very much indeed=
81.	S:	=thank you very [much
82.	SF:	[cool yeah (.)] and keep up your good work we love
83.		what you are doing

84. S: I will do
85. L: [@
86. SF: [good (.) ah if you didn't know what it meant ah here is Jo with the (.)
87. Auflösung
88. FM4: **[[Misunderstanding]]**

Appendix 6 (11/6)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lilly)
Ch: caller [m] (Christoph)

1. SF: hello Christoph
2. Ch: hi Stuart
3. SF: good morning (.) how are you?
4. Ch: I am great thanks=
5. SF: =listen did you get the tune by me playing (.) the xylophone?
6. Ch: yeah yeah ah I really ah (.) got it
7. SF: It was so easy (.) right it was easy?
8. CH: really easy=
9. SF: =I just do it again because ah I'm getting talented now hang on ((SF
10. playing the xylophone)) oh no I have lost that ((playing the xylophone))
11. SF: what was that then Christoph?
12. Ch: that was the hidden cameras with(.) in the Na::
13. SF: wo[w:: it was (.)
14. L: [wuw:
15. SF: should have sounded like this ((music)) yeah ((singing))
16. and Lilly was going(.) come on its (eight at the end its eight at the end
17. you got to do an eight at the end)(.) so we have got a brand new fm4
18. sound selection number twenty-one for you ah: we gonna send it to
19. you in your home in Feldkirch is that ok?
20. Ch: great thanks=
21. SF: =ok listen I wan want you to answer one question (0,1) Christoph=
22. Ch: =mhm
23. SF: I m thinking of applying for a job do you think it should be the ORF
24. Symphony orchestra or do you think it should be the n: New Year's Day
25. concert?
26. Ch: (0,2) ah[:: (0,1) what was the last one?
27. SF: [@@
28. L: Neujahrskonzert oder Radio Symphonieorchester (.) was glaubst du
29. wo soll er sich bewerben?
30. Ch: ah:m ah (.) ah at the at the radio-Symphonieorchester=
31. SF: =oh:: I am not good enough for the New Year's concert [am I? (0,2)
32. L: [@@@
33. @@@ (.) [alright
34. L: [er nimmt dich auf den Arm=
35. SF: =ok
36. L: [@@@@@@@
37. [it's getting better (.) thank you very much indeed Christoph have a
38. good day and a nice weekend.

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)
B: caller [f] (Barbara)

1.	SF:	guten Morgen Barbara
2.	B:	morning
3.	SF:	morning where are you I know you are driving with your schp (.)
4.		Freisprech (.) an anlage (.) where are you?
5.	B:	ahm I am on my way to work=
6.	SF:	=ok (.). in the city or in the land?
7.	B:	ahm:: (.) I am on the:: highway
8.	SF:	ok: right (.) we gonna give you ten questions (.) for beat the toaster and
9.		ah if you get them right six out of then I think we'll have as our (.)
10.		standard tod[ay
11.	L:	[mhm
12.	SF:	ah we will give you an FM4 goodie-bag (.) ah what do you do for a for a
13.		for a job then Barbara?
14.	B:	ah: I work in an office (.) hm in hr
15.	SF:	in <u>HR::</u> alright. are you recruiting[or are you]=
16.	B:	[Yeah]
17.	SF:	=you letting people go at the moment
18.	B:	ah:: no we are recruiting at the moment
19.	SF:	[ok
20.	L:	[good
21.	SF:	good (.) lisa and me will be in your office at eleven o'clock this
22.		morning@@
23.	L:	@@[@@@
24.	SF:	[@@
25.	B:	@what kind of job do you want?
26.	SF:	anything you wanna give us we don't mind do we?
27.	L:	no@@
28.	B:	great that's the people ah I am looking for=
29.	SF:	=that's right (.) we are the perfect candidates for the job alright Barbara
30.		let's get on with the game here we go it's all to do with money alright?
31.	B:	ok
32.	SF:	here we go
33.	FM4:	**((music))[[Ten questions in one minute bea::t the toaster]]**
34.	SF:	number one in is there are <u>face</u> on the ten euro bill?
35.	B:	no=
36.	SF:	=no there are just buildings correct. how many schillings were one
37.		euro?
38.	B:	ah dreizehn Komma sieben sechs null drei?° irgend so was°
39.	SF:	amazing how the austrians always remember that (.) how much money
40.		do you have got in your Geldtasche today? Do you know?
41.	B:	mh (.) maybe ten cents
42.	SF:	@ ok ten cents ah not enough for a coffee who is Austria's minister of
43.		finance?
44.	B:	uh:: you got me th[ere ( )]
45.	SF:	[Josef] <u>Prö::ll</u> (.) Josef PRÖLL
46.	B:	oh (.) ok

47.	SF:	ok what were the Lehman brothers?
48.	B:	(0,1) bankers?
49.	SF:	yes they were (.) ah do you pay your orf gis?
50.	B:	yeah I pay for my radio because I don't have a (.) tv
51.	SF:	good girl that's what we like to hear (.) twenty-two years ago the Berlin
52.		wall came down what was the currency then in the ddr?
53.	B:	ah::m (0,2) ah mark?
54.	SF:	it was the ostmark so a half point for that so have you ever been to a
55.		casino?
56.	B:	yeah
57.	SF:	have you ever won money in a casino?
58.	B .	a little bit
59.	SF:	don't go again then. what is important money, love or health?
60.	B:	ah all the three of them.
61.	SF.	@@yeah very good (.) one and a half for that Lisa can add them all up
62.		now how many did she get?
63.	L:	I think eight it was
64.	SF:	eight all together. that means you are a winner Barbara.
65.	B:	yea::h great
66.	SF:	super duper duper have a great day, thank you for playing and don't
67.		forget have the coffee ready when Lisa and I be at your office ⌐looking
68.		for a jo[b°
69.	B:	[@@great
70.	SF:	bye-bye
71.	B:	have a nice day
72.	SF:	thank you very much and drive carefully wont you
73.	B:	thanks (.) bye
74.	L:	ciao

Appendix 8 (11/25)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)
M: caller [f] (Martin)

1.	L:	so we have a winner
2.	SF:	we have a winner and I hope he is not running around in his underwear
3.		at the moment (.) @here is martin von Leonding (.) hello martin=
4.	M:	=good morning no no I am I am fully [dressed right now]
5.	SF:	[((laughing))]
6.	L:	[((laughing))]
7.	SF:	I am very pleased to hear that @@@ anyway Martin ah you listened to
8.		our little ah sort of ah audiopostcard and worked out where Jonny was
9.		which city was he in?
10.	M:	ah he was in Reykja[vik
11.	SF:	[In Reykjavik of course of course we also get your
12.		major clue before the news
13.	SF:	anyway >I have gather< you have been to Reykjavik, yes?
14.	Ma:	ah yes it was this summer (.) ah ( ) gr[eat
15.	SF:	[How was it I have never
16.		been that far north what is it like?

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17.	M:	it's it is very nice in summer it's it's there is light till maybe around
18.		midnight and ah Reykjavik is a is a small city maybe like Wels or like
19.		Baden bei Wien or something like that but there is a nightlife like
20.		Vienna (.) nearly
21.	SF:	ok ah mean a very stupid question I have a question I mean even in in
22.		summer I mean does it get really really hot up there or does it stay
23.		°steady° fairly cool?
24.	M:	ahm it is about ah I don't like it that hot so for me it's nice it is about 15
25.		to 20 [degrees]
26.	SF:	[°alright°]
27.	M:	all the time we had luck it was not raining very much which also can be
28.		in summer but (.) it was great
29.	SF:	cool well(.) well done to [you] you were the first one through
30.	L:	[yeah]
31.	SF:	and you won yourself a FM4 goodie bag (.) ok?
32.	M:	thank you very much
33.	SF:	thanks very much ah martin and have a great day
34.	M:	yes have a nice day (.)
35.	SF:	thank you (.) [bye-bye
36.	M:	[bye-bye
37.	L:	danke ciao

Appendix 9 (12/2)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
N: co-commentator [f.] (Nina)
T: caller [f] (Theresa)

1.	[…]	
2.	SF:	what are you doing in Paris then?
3.	T:	I work here
4.	SF:	ok (.) working for a telecom company ha?
5.	T:	yes
6.	SF:	alright (0,2) preferantal rates?@@@
7.	T:	o::h I don't do rates@@@ I do everything else but the rates
8.	SF:	all right so we don't have a telephone in France then ok Nina we can't
9.		have one in France
10.	SF:	so you know the game you have played it before I think Theresa
11.		haven't you?
12.	T:	I haven't no
13.	SF:	so basically its 60 seconds (.) of music and ticking and you have not
14.		got to say no and you have not got to say yes. right you can go
15.	T:	got you
16.	SF:	so something else instead of that so and if you say yes or no Nina will
17.		[go
18.	T:	[ok
19.	N:	I will go Sacre bleu
20.	T:	sacre blue
21.	SF:	sacre bleu (.) excuse me I will go notre dame anyway und und (.) I
22.		want you to go in a restaurant today and I want you to say to the guy
23.		for your breakfast when you go in you say I have a crock madame

24.		monsier
25.	T:	@@@ I love crock madame
26.	SF:	me to ok lets go on the way so (.) Theresa how long have you been in
27.		Paris?
28.	T:	I have been here for about 5 years now.
29.	SF:	wow and are you gonna stay there?
30.	T:	I think I might
31.	SF:	you think you might alright (.) and ah do you go ah sightseeing or are
32.		you a a resident now?
33.	T:	I am a resident now so I am a bit over the usual tourist kind of [thing
34.	SF:	[yeah
35.	T:	but when I have friends ahm over I I take them to the to the (.) the
36.		classic tour
37.	SF:	yeah you take them to the Eiffel tower?
38.	T:	sometimes=
39.	SF:	=yeah=
40.	T:	=I have done it seven times now
41.	SF:	seven times?
42.	T:	@mh getting a bit bo::ring=
43.	SF:	=alright, ok. you should take it to one of the batton battom rou::ge trips
44.		round the ah=
45.	T:	=the <u>batteaux mouches </u>yeah those boats
46.	SF:	yeah are they good to go on?
47.	T:	ah it depends if the weather is ok?
48.	SF:	ah alright ok (.) and how many friends have visited you already?
49.	T:	ah about (.) mh not all of them yet (0,1) [I'd say] ah in five years
50.	SF:	[no?]
51.	SF:	=have you asked them all?
52.	T:	(0.2) they asked me actually
53.	SF:	do they? (0,1) @@@
54.	T:	all of [them @@
55.	SF:	[all of them (.) you are brilliant
56.	T:	wau::?
57.	SF:	you did not say [yes you di]d not say now
58.	N:	[manifique]
59.	SF:	magnifique ok ah listen ahm we have got a cd to give to you its Julian
60.		Casablanca's new one (.) is that alright?
61.	T:	that is wonderful I think I have just heard the song quickly ah it
62.		sounded good thanks
63.	SF:	mh mh we gonna send this to you and ah (.) did you get the new
64.		foo fighters album (.) the greatest hits?
65.	T:	I did actually (.) two days ago=
66.	SF:	=got the dvd as well?
67.	T:	I got the dvd.=
68.	SF:	=<u>yeah</u> me to
69.	T:	it's brilliant=
70.	SF:	=it is super (.) ok one of the best videos of that goes with this song and
71.		I am gonna dedicate it to you

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
L: co-commentator [m.] (Roli)
J: caller [m] (Johannes)

1.	SF:	hello (.) yeah how are you?
2.	J:	I am fine thanks a lot.
3.	SF:	good (.) what are you doing in Stockerau then?
4.	J:	ah well I am having my breakfast
5.	SF:	are you? (0,2) what are you eating? what are you eating we are hungry
6.	J:	oh well I am drinking hot chocolate=
7.	SF:	=oh ya
8.	J	ah ahm some Striezel
9.	SF:	o: mhhh (0,2) Johannes we hate you (.) cause all we ve got here is
10.		healthy stuff like fruit, carrots yeah::
11.	J:	sounds bad sound bad
12.	SF:	we need we need a Knödel to keep us going that's what we need (.)ok
13.		what was the movie then Johannes?
14.	J:	ah the the movie ah the movie is called Tron
15.	SF:	yeah ((clapping)) it was (.) with sixty year old Jeff Bridges it was made
16.		in 1982 ah have you seen the movie?
17.	J:	I have seen it yeah=
18.	SF:	= was it [a good movie?
19.	J:	[not in cinema but=
20.	SF:	= alright ah (.) you did not download it did you?
21.	J:	no oh no::
22.	R:	no one does ((in a smiley voice))
23.	SF:	no oh no good no noh nobody does that ((in a smiley voice))
24.	SF:	ok so tell me the plot cause I have not seen it why should I watch this
25.		movie?
26.	J:	the movie is quite interesting because I think it was ah quite advanced
27.		at its time oh it has some ah special [ahm
28.	SF:	[mh
29.	J:	graphics in there ah and basically It is a a plot from ah (.) getting into a
30.		computer game (.) from the outside world as a user=
31.	SF:	=mh
32.	J:	and ah:: trying to save ah ah ah well
33.	J:	sa[ve the computer world the computer world
34.	SF:	[save the world
35.	SF:	there you go you sold it to me I get it out of the video shop this
36.		weekend and watch it
37.	J:	yeah
38.	SF:	ahm was it a good movie or a bad movie?
39.	J:	I thought at the time when I was ah watching it that it was a brilliant
40.		movie because of the special effects=
41.	SF:	=yeah
42.	J:	its quite a ( )movie and I think it is
43.		a second one coming out now
44.	SF:	yeah that's right (.) Roli told me about that too
45.	R:	ja genau und zwar mit Musik von Daft Punkt und geschrieben wird das
46.		Ganze-und das ist das wirklich lässige dran(.) ah von den zwei

47.		Drehbuchschreibern die Lost geschrieben haben
48.	SF:	oh yeah the lost series yeah ok
49.	SF:	well Johannes thank you very much for taking time from your Striezel
50.		and your hot chocolate this morning [ahm and=
51.	J:	[your are welcome
52.	SF:	=and ah have a nice day and have a lovely weekend and we send you
53.		the goody bag in the post
54.	J:	(.) thank you very much
55.	SF:	alright bye-bye

Appendix 11 (29.12)

SF: commentator [m.] (Stuart Freeman)
Co: co-commentator [f.] (Lisa)
L: caller [f] (Lisa)

1.	SF:	we got to interrupt uncle because we've got <u>Lisa</u> on the phone right
2.		now (.) from Vienna(.) hi Lisa
3.	L:	good morn[ing
4.	SF:	[good morning (.) what do you think was the best or worst
5.		[kleidungsstück?
6.	L	[Well
7.	L:	definitely you remember Bruno ahm (.) you definitely remember his
8.		bathing thing he wore
9.	SF:	[oh
10.	L:	[that (.) was def(.)initely the best ever seen in this decade
11.	SF:	Borat, Bruno (.) >Bruno Bruno< the outfit he wore yes (.) you[liked
12.		that?
13.	L:	[yeah the
14.		bathing suit, the_bathing suit
15.	SF:	yeah
16.	L:	but ah do you know you know why I like it (.) because I saw a guy in
17.		Vienna at the alte donau wearing exactly that bathing suit
18.	SF:	((laughing))
19.	Co:	das ist unglaublich=
20.	L:	=at the öffentichen strand in Vienna yeah? and we were talking like
21.		behind his back and ah about what a women would have such a ah a
22.		broad back but it was not a women actually he turned around and he
23.		had a lot of ah >I don't know< Brusthaare and it was a guy and he
24.		wore the same bathing suit in (0,1) yelling pink(.) and nobody cared
25.		[°and that's the point°
26.	SF:	[oh my god
27.	L:	that was fabulous
28.	Co:	das ist ein Bild, dass du mit ins Grab nimmst wahrscheinlich
29.	L:	[yeah
30.	Co:	[eine Erinnerung die sich eingefräst hat
31.	L:	yeah ((laughing))
32.	SF:	@ @furchtbar
33.	L:	I hope I have ot (.)other things to remember to take them ah into my
34.		grave ah [but
35.	Co:	[yea@ @

36.	SF:	[I hope so too@ lisa I hope so too thanks very much for your call Lisa
37.	Co:	vielen Dank
38.	SF:	@und guten Rutsch (.) ja
39.	L:	ok [dankeschön
40.	SF:	[Ciao
41.	Co:	bye
42.	L:	bye-bye

Appendix E

CURRICULUM VITAE

Persönliche Daten:

Vor- und Zuname: Stephanie Grafinger
Geburtstag: 28. Juli 1985
Geburtsort: Gmunden
Staatsbürgerschaft: Österreich
Familienstand: ledig

Akademische Ausbildung

10 / 2003 - 6 / 2010	**Universität Wien** Englisch, Psychologie und Philosophie LA
9 / 2006 - 6 / 2007	**Universitat de Valencia, Spanien** Austauschprogramm, Erasmus
Seit 2004	**Universität Wien** Diplomstudium Psychologie
1995- 2003	**BRG Schloß Traunsee, Gmunden** Bundesrealgymnasium Abschluss: Matura
8 / 2000 - 7 /2001	**Tivy High School,TX, USA** Austauschprogramm Rotary International

Berufstätigkeit:

5/ 2009 - 7/ 2009	**„Gsub" Gesellschaft für strategische Unternehmensberatung** Back Office, Organisation von Veranstaltungen Kundenbetreuung Nord Amerika
12/ 2008 – 4 / 2009	**STZ Wien** Ordinationsassistentin bei OA Dr. Selim
8/ 2008	**Kulturamt Gmunden** Ferialpraktikum
8 / 2007	**Festwochen Gmunden** Ferialpraktikum -Assistenz bei der Organisation vonVeranstaltungen -Kartenverkauf, Kundenbetreuung
7 / 2005 – 9 / 2005	**Black Horse, UK** Ferialtätigkeit Service

Fremdsprachen:

Englisch: Verhandlungsfähig
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