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The Uses of Stance in Media Production: Embodied Sociolinguistics and Beyond

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Abstract: While many conversation analysts, and scholars in related fields, have used video-recordings to study interaction, this study is one of a small but growing number that investigates video-recordings of the joint activities of media professionals working with, and on, video. It examines practices of media production that are, in their involvement with the visual and verbal qualities of video, both beyond talk and deeply shaped by talk. The article draws upon video recordings of the making of a feature-length documentary. In particular, it analyses a complex course of action where an editing team are reviewing their interview of the subject of the documentary, their footage is being intercut with existing reality TV footage of that same interviewee. The central contributions that the article makes are, firstly, to the sociolinguistics of mediatisation, through the identification of the workplace concerns of the members of the editing team, secondly showing how editing is accomplished, moment-by-moment, through the use of particular forms of embodied action and, finally, how the media themselves feature in the ordering of action. While this is professional work it sheds light on the video-mediated practices in contemporary culture, especially those found in social media where video makers carefully consider their editing of the perspective toward themselves and others.

Abstract (Swedish): Medan många samtals- och interaktionsforskare använder videoinspelningar för att studera mänskligt samspel, är denna studie en av ett litet men växande antal arbeten som undersöker videoinspelningar av professionella videoredigerare när dessa arbetar med video. Studien bygger på videoinspelningar av hur en dokumentär långfilm produceras. Analysen fokuserar på en komplex sekvens där en grupp redigerare går igenom och reviderar en filmad intervju med dokumentärfilmens huvudperson, där realitytevematerial över samma person finns inklippt. Artikelns huvudsakliga bidrag är att den identifierar relevanta aspekter av professionellt redigeringsarbete. Den visar hur redigering utförs över tid med hjälp av olika former av förkropppligade handlingar och hur de inspelade media själva blir relevanta i och för denna aktivitet.

1. INTRODUCING VIDEO STUDIES OF VIDEO PRACTICES

Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis have had a longstanding interest in film and video production which reaches back into their origins (Hill and Crittenden 1968; Broth et al. 2014), yet this has been easy to miss because it has lain in the background of their interdisciplinary programmes. Equally, my home discipline of human geography, with a history of attending to the visual aspects of human practices, has only recently begun a fuller engagement with video-mediated practices and media-production practices more generally (Mains et al. 2015; Jacobs 2016). Sociolinguistics itself, as I have recently come to appreciate, has tended to be concerned with the sociolinguistics of existing media and, relatedly, the media's influence on language rather than engagement with media and mediatisation as an aspect of sociocultural change (Androutsopoulos 2014b). What I would like to pursue, then, in this theme article is the interactive work of media production, work that immerses us in 'talk and beyond'. My examination of media-making builds on the two 'turns' marked out in the the first paper in the Sociolinguistics Theme Series by Lorenza Mondada (2016: 340): 'the interactional turn and the visual turn [which] have important consequences for all disciplines, and in particular for linguistics and for CA'.

Where, for multimodal studies of language in interaction, video has been the 'data' for accessing varied linguistic practices, in media production settings the use of video plays a central part in the practices themselves. In this paper, to explore the implications of studying media production, I will use video data to examine the professional practices of an editor and director working together to edit a short sequence for a feature length documentary. My examination will involve considering how the video-makers accomplish video editing through sequences of talk, gesture and other visible actions while also simultaneously reporting on their orientation toward the sequences of talk, gesture and other audible elements (e.g. ambient sound, music, background noise) and visible actions (e.g. walking out of a house, smiling), in the edited sequence that they are working on. Moreover, I will consider how their editing orients toward the documentary's future and intended audience through recipient design and shifts of stance.

The leisure and work practices that have become more or less mediatized by video have expanded and diversified massively over the past two decades, with ethnomethodology, human geography and sociolinguistics becoming increasingly interested in the difference that mediatisation is making (Androutsopoulos 2014b). The growing set of video-mediated practices are varied; they range across political activism (Jones and Hang Li 2016), sharing Youtube clips (Georgakopoulou 2015), endoscopic surgery (Mondada 2003), monitoring closed circuit television, (Neyland 2006), court-room testimony (Licoppe 2015), video phone-calls (Licoppe and Morel 2012), making home movies (Moran 2002; Laurier 2014) and more. Political demonstrations, online sharing sites, editing suites, telemedicine units, court-rooms and family Skype calls are, then, distinctive places where video is being produced in distinctive ways and producing distinctive forms of talk around and through video (Androutsopoulos 2014b; Georgakopoulou 2015). Editing video in order to produce a documentary involves assembling what are often very short segments of visual and audio source footage, into the sequential language of film and television. Each editorial team builds an invitation to their future audience to take up a specific stance toward characters and events in the documentary. In the editorial work I will examine in this article there is the added, but

not uncommon, complication of using footage from other TV shows which offers a stance on characters at odds with the current editorial project.

2. RELATING RECIPIENT DESIGN TO PRODUCTION DESIGN FOR FUTURE AUDIENCES

In studies of language in ethnomethodology, linguistic anthropology, cultural geography and, of course, sociolinguistics there is an ongoing concern with how language is oriented toward a more or less distinct other. One element of this broad concern is with recipient design which focuses on how talk and/or text are both shaped by their intended recipient and also seek to shape their recipients' uptake (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Goffman 1981). Work on recipient design ranges across politeness theory, linguistic accommodation, common ground, Goffman's concept of footing, participation frameworks and, of particular relevance here, to audience design (Bell 1984; Duranti 1986; Deppermann 2014). For conversation analysis, recipient design has been used in a more restricted sense to examine the ways in which the participants in particular conversations select topics, words, next speakers, how persons are referred to, who has entitlement or responsibility to open and close conversations and so on.

Edited media has been a form of data that conversation analytic studies have predominantly avoided studying, preferring their data to arise out of continuous un-cut talk-in-interaction. There has, nevertheless, been an interest in conversation analysis in edited media and editing practices in classic studies of writing practices (McHoul 1982) and more recent studies of digital writing practices (Gardner and Levy 2010; Meredith and Stokoe 2013). While human geography has long been interested in the general idea that language is shot through with social relations, such as power, gender and race (Philo 1991, 2011) its engagement with recipient design has been negligible. Historically, human geography's connection with, and understanding of, work in sociolinguistics and conversation analysis has been a distant and tenuous one. There are fruitful, if limited, crossovers, for instance in work that explore geographies of speaking and how geographies are spoken (see the incipient lines of inquiry in (R. Scollon and Scollon 2003; Heritage 2007; Pennycook 2010)), maps in interaction (Brown and Laurier 2005) and, of pertinence here, how films and television programmes shape audience reception (Mains et al. 2015).

Conversation analysis work on broadcast talk has focused on 'live' shows (e.g. radio call-ins (Hutchby 2006), news interviews (Clayman 2010)), though with notable exceptions (e.g. Stokoe 2008). A central reason for focusing on live broadcasts is because they are uncut. Edited talk, through cutting up, removing and rearranging sequences of action, complicates the exploration of central topics in conversation analysis. Features of 'real-time' talk such as pauses, adjacent turns and even individual words are likely to have been adjusted, removed, repositioned and paired with non-adjacent parts. Where broadcast talk was already a complex phenomenon because it presents a double-construction of addressee (Goffman 1981), edited broadcast talk presents the problem of a double-construction of addresser. One part of this double construction is the 'original speaker' and the other is the editor (or editorial team) that reassembles that speech for later broadcast. It is into the very complications of the editorial work that we will enter in this article.

One further reason for considering a move beyond uncut broadcast talk into the work of editing and the intercut talk and action that results, is that it also takes us into the wider world of media design. While I will concentrate on the design work of film editing, this work sits within an array of creative workplaces concerned with media production. Sociolinguistics has become concerned with moving beyond ‘media influence’ on language to consider mediatisation in similar creative cultures, be they everyday or professional (Androutsopoulos 2014a; Jones et al. 2015). The media in a number of the professional design studies have not typically been themselves recordings of talk and other forms of embodied action. In Heath and Luff’s (2000) study it is architects working on plans on screen, for Fasulo & Monzoni (2009) it is fashion designers adjusting cloth, and for Alby and Zucchermaglio (2007) it is web designers working on-screen producing websites. Professional and everyday design settings do nevertheless have an equivalent to the film-makers ‘audience/viewer’ be they the ‘general public’ of Twitter (Page 2014) or Youtube sharers (Georgakopoulou 2014) or the client or the wearer or the user as ‘scenic features’ (Sharrock and Anderson 1994). Although human geography has not considered the details of workplace talk in spaces of design, it has taken an interest in the atmospheres of computer game studios (Ash 2015) the development of CGI images in architecture studios (Rose et al. 2014) and in the production of films (Parr 2007).

Assessments are one of the common actions that have been found in existing studies of creative workplaces and everyday situations that work with new and old media. Fasulo and Monzoni (2009) show how embodied actions upon the media are reflexively tied to the ongoing assessing of the media that is being made. In their case it is new clothing designs that are being assessed by a designer and a tailor with a view to their adjustment through cutting and re-stitching. In Büscher’s (2001) doctoral work on landscape architecture, she showed the routine uses of formulations in design work. Contrary to their routine uses in everyday conversation, formulations did not then make relevant acceptances or refusals. Instead because formulations were being used to formulate things-in-the-making, what the thing will be, remains open to further formulation. In the material that I will present we will come upon the uses of assessments of ‘things-in-making’ which have similarly complex properties because the media that is being assessed is still in process. Rather than assessments making relevant agreement/disagreement, they, in similar measure, make relevant changes, solutions and further assessments of parts of the media-in-the-making.

3. EDITING FOR STANCE USING MULTIMODAL MATERIALS

There are a number of workplaces whose professional concern is oriented toward establishing their stance on particular persons in order to then shape the understandings, judgements or opinions of their audience (Goffman 1981; du Bois 2007). An obvious case is legal defence and prosecution teams where, at a gross level, the defence, for example, will be expected to take a negative stance toward the plaintiff. When studied in more detail the defence and prosecution’s stances during trials are revealed to be shifting and much more finely tuned than we might expect (Tracy 2011). News journalists, also at a gross level, orient toward a neutral stance toward parties that they are interviewing but are also then skilled at shifting stance by using the reported speech of others as representative of ‘the public’, which allows them to occupy a more clearly critical stance (Clayman 2006). In the courses of action of groups whose professional business is in establishing their stance and using it as a method for

influencing their audience, they do this, then, through finely adjusted shifts in stance. Equally, skilled film and television editorial teams offer their audience not one stance but multiple and shifting stances on the events that they are reporting on and characters that they are presenting. The resources that they use to establish stance and shifts in stance, are the editing of the speech of their characters and the visuals that are reflexively tied to that speech. Through their editing they categorise their character's identities, as, for example, experts, victims, heroes, politicians and so on, on that basis they then seek to shift the viewer's stance toward each character within their larger narrative (Ochs 1993; Scannell 1996). In addition, through using the verbal actions of the speaker, such as, compliments, complaints, insults, questions and answers that are heard from the audio track as that speaker's (e.g. not from a narrator or other voice-over) the editors are able to further shape and shift the viewer's stance. In this sense, at the very least, editorial work itself is related to the uses of reported speech in stance-taking (Holt 1996). Goffman's (1981) influential work on footing provides a sense of the multiple footings that are offered in the production of speech. Editing suites provide a site to examine a group whose routine problem in their work is dealing with footing. As we will see in the documentary editing team's work, editing involves the occasional use of the future audience, as anticipated hearers and as a device for reassessing their edited sequences (Duranti 1986).

The footing provided by the speech of persons featured in documentaries is edited in combination with images. Each image of a person is understood to be presenting stances which are analysed as those of their characters, or upon their characters. Bovet & Sormani's (2014) examination of televisual accountability is of particular relevance to this paper because, firstly, they are analysing a reality TV show (which is one of the objects examined by the editing team in this paper) and, secondly, because they give careful consideration to how particular shots of judges showing disapproval offer the audience a stance on one of the competitors featuring in the reality TV show. The visual accountability of the characters evolves shot-by-shot (or cut-by-cut), building and shifting the perspective being offered to the audience by each of the key characters. What is all the more surprising in their study is that although the talent show is a singing show, the singing is made sense of through the visual shots being provided by the editors more than it is through the singing itself. The broadcasters make repeated use of reaction shots from the talent show judges in relation to the singer's performance. These shots are offered to invite the viewer into making their assessment of that performance in response to that of the judges, which has been artfully live-edited by the production team. In Bovet and Sorman's case, the shots of the judge's visual responses move from disapproval to hilarity.

The film editing work that we will examine, in what follows, involves a director and editor working together on a short sequence of a feature-length (i.e. 90 minutes or more) documentary for cinema release. The documentary itself is on the dangers to society of the celebrity industry and celebrity culture more generally. The editor and director have been editing the film together for about 3 months of a 9 month editing process. In the section of the film that the director and editor are working on, they are presenting the case of one of the interviewees in the documentary. It is part of their argument around the dangers of pursuing celebrity through becoming involved in reality TV shows. 'Jenni' tells her story of appearing in a multitude of reality TV makeover programmes where 'ordinary people' are invited on to the show in order to have their house decorated, get financial advice, make-up advice or help with what to wear and so on. In the second part of Jenni's interview she then tells of being

the subject of a newspaper interview where she was as willing to do ‘anything’ to appear on TV. In the video recordings, the editorial team review the current version of their sequence and propose changes that they might make to improve it. In editing a film there are typically multiple reviews across multiple sessions, where, in the light of each discussions the editor, will then make changes for the next review.

EDITING IN ACTION

4. ASSESSING MEDIA FOR PROBLEMS OF STANCE

As noted earlier, assessments play a major role in the work of creative professionals when they are in the midst of making, revising and editing media. The centrality of assessing as a joint activity in creative practices has been examined across a range of media production settings such as photography classes (Phillabaum 2005), architecture classes (Lymer 2010) design work (Murphy 2015) and clothing fashion (Fasulo and Monzoni 2009). Different media require different criteria of assessment and distinct forms of manipulation in order to make them available for that assessment. A clear contrast in media manipulation is between a painting and a film, while the former is potentially available for scrutiny in its entirety at any point in time and is gestured over (Heath and Lehn 2004), for the latter, the video must be played to make it available for scrutiny. Moreover for video the timing of gestures is usually more important than their spatial referencing. Gestures may precede and/or be interwoven with the manipulations of media (Murphy 2012). Depending on what the media are and what work is being done on them, their availability for assessing will then require rotation (Ivarsson 2010) scrolling (Gardner and Levy 2010), pressing and folding (Fasulo and Monzoni 2009), zooming in or out, exposure to particular light sources, an array of varied forms of pointing (C. Goodwin 2003) and, here, for video, playing, pausing, rewinding..

While exactly what aspects of the media are then targeted for assessment vary in relation to the medium, they are also reflexively tied to the ongoing projects of the speakers assessing them (C. Goodwin and Goodwin 1992). For instance, in Phillabaum’s (2005) study of assessing photographs as part of learning professional photography, it is colour balance that is assessed and so it is the qualities of colour that are being made available, attended to and assessed. At the stage of the editing that we will examine, the editorial project is focused on argument construction and the presentation of significant figures in the documentary. Over the course of action that we will follow through the rest of this article we will move from a vague, if sensitively produced assessment of existing footage to a more specified editorial problem of establishing, and then shifting the future audience’s stance. The gradual elaboration of the problem helps make relevant certain film editing solutions.

The first fragment in extract 1 is one step into a typical editing cycle. The first step was that for a few minutes beforehand, the director (D) and editor (E) have been viewing the longer sequence they are about to discuss. The sequence introduces ‘Jenni’, narrates her story of appearing in numerous reality TV shows, before turning to what happened when she then became the subject of the negative exposé story in the tabloid newspaper. Jenni’s sequence is built around an interview with her at her home which is intercut with footage from the reality TV shows (e.g. figure 1) and a scanned image of the tabloid newspaper headline and story

toward its end (e.g. figure 3 (later in the article). We join the editing team when the clip has just finished playing. The director provides an assessment of the clip, which is initially vague, then more clearly targets the visual presentation of the character that they have used from one of the reality TV shows. In overlap with the director's negative assessment, the editor begins rapidly skimming through the footage (an action known as 'scrubbing').



Figure 1 Jenni, her dogs and her house

```

168 D: But it kinda works but >it needs to be stronger I mean it[:'
169 says
170
171 E: [do you
172 mean much stronger image (.) wise
173
174 D: I- I- Yeah: there's something about the dog i- maybe it's just
175 my knowledge that that's what they did it's like here's a woman she's
176 got [dogs and cats and she's basically gentry
177
178 E: [((starts scrubbing-----[-----
179 E: [Yeah
180

```

Extract 1 Assessing the image

When experienced media producers are working together, their different perspectives on the media are routinely organised around institutional distributions of responsibilities, entitlements and expertise, such as teacher-pupil, architect-engineer or, as in this case, director-editor (Laurier and Brown 2011). In the case of film production, the editor is concerned with, and responsible for, the quality of picture and sound, while the director is concerned with, and responsible for, narrative and argument. It is commonplace that the editor acts as a proxy for a future audience while the director puts forward their creative project. However describing those roles in the production process is a gloss on how working together actually happens. When and how those roles are oriented toward and how their

work is organised are open to many other local forms of organisation and relevance as shown by studies of workplace roles in institutional talk (Drew and Heritage 1993; Hester and Francis 2000). An editor may shift to becoming more concerned about the argument, a director may invoke the audience's understanding as a basis for making a change. The initiation of assessments is also shaped by the immediate and local workplace organisation, especially if it is one party's recent work on a product that is being assessed (Fasulo and Monzoni 2009). In this case, it is the editor that has recently assembled the sequence that they are reviewing and so is accountable for it in one sense; however his edits are based on previous discussions, thereby making the director also accountable for the current version of the sequence. At other times, they may be reviewing unedited footage shot by their camera crew or sequences where the editor has worked on them many weeks ago. Moreover the editor may be the first to provide an assessment of their own work as part of showing awareness of their current edit's unfinished state or making a request for help and so on.

Nevertheless, because it is the editor's immediate work that is being reviewed there is a certain sensitivity around assessing the work, given that institutional competence and responsibility are at stake (Fasulo and Monzoni 2009). Equally, the showing of the current edit projects a pattern of dialoge because it is routinely the director that responds first given that it is the editor that is showing the sequence. That is what happens in the case here, where, at line 168, the director provides a first-positioned, vague, negative assessment, 'But it kinda works but it needs to be stronger'. It remains to be established what 'kinda works' and 'stronger' might mean in relation to the clip that they have just watched. Minimally articulated positive assessments (e.g. 'nice', 'okay', 'yeah') which do not initiate further discussion are common while playing (e.g. on musicians rehearsing (Becker 1982)), however, here, the playing is over. In this case, the play-through is complete and the negative assessment projects a discussion to follow, over what additional work needs to be done on the sequence. The editor's question 'do you mean much stronger (.) image wise' (line 171-2) indicates that, although the target is not obvious, he can anticipate what the director's vague 'stronger' is targeted at (e.g. the image). While the editor is asking for clarification, the image on the screen is of Jenni with her dogs outside her house (figure 1). The image is visible to them both, providing an immediately available referent for the director to begin working out what needs to be stronger, which he seems to do, in mentioning dogs (e.g. 'there's something about the dog'). It is a basic and abiding problem of editing films that both the spoken and visible narration of characters have to be analysed for their relationship to one another (Gordon 2013; Bovet et al. 2014).

However, when the director begins to clarify what the problem with the dog is, he places emphasis upon: 'That's what they did' (line 175). The material that the director and editor cut-in, to illustrate their interview with Jenni, is from another TV show. The makers of the previous programme were themselves establishing Jenni as a kind of character relevant to their makeover show (on financial advice). For the purposes of their reality TV show, they wanted her to be established through visual categorisation practices (Broth 2008; Hester and Francis 2010). The reality TV makers intended their audience to understand Jenni in a certain way, which then shaped their choice of location and activity: shots of a woman at her well-kept country house, of a woman with her dogs and of a woman with her estate car. For the director, the problem of 'what they did' is this previous work of establishing Jenni as one kind of character that the audience should have an initial stance toward. If so, the reported sequence from the other shot that they have intercut with Jenni's interview, will work against

the director and editor's current task: which is to establish Jenni as a fairly crazy and definitely unhappy victim of the celebrity industry.

Studies of gesture have shown how assessments precede and thereby initiate and project verbalisation of action (C. Goodwin 1986) and those very gestures are often in relation to media or actual actions with or upon that media. In this case, at line 178, the editor shows his alignment with the director's assessment by then beginning to search for other clips of Jenni, before he says 'yeah'. By contrast with the editor's immediate search, delays in acting upon the media presage some form of disagreement from the editor, or at least, consideration of other possibilities (as we shall see later). From this short episode in the work of editing documentary footage we begin to have a sense of how making assessments and responding to them is, itself, reflexively tied to the media. What we have also begun to see, in examining this brief fragment, is that and how the stance the viewer should take on each character, within a documentary, is an abiding concern for the editorial staff. As I argued earlier, it is not only establishing stance but shifting the audience's stance in relation to that character that is a key part of documentary editing.

5. CREATIVE USES OF THE STANCE TRIANGLE

Throughout the editing process there are distinct stances taken by the director and the editor toward existing assemblies of the film and proposals for changes to the assemblies. The three entities of two subjects assessing a shared object forming what du Bois (2007) calls a stance triangle. Exactly what is made of their divergent stances by the director and editor is an open question for them in the editing process. It is common practice that one or the other's stance reveals a problem and/or becomes a resource for a solution in the process of making (Büscher 2001). In the case at hand, just after the assessment in the first fragment, the editor and director's divergent stances become apparent during a second playback. Initially, the editor and director are both attentively and quietly watching the clip of Jenni with a hypnotist. When Jenni's head falls suddenly forward at the word 'sleep', the director laughs loudly (see extract 2a, panel 2). The director produces his laughter at the episode, but in an embodied manner that makes apparent that it may be inappropriate: he bends forward laughing into his hand. In the face of the director's giggling, the editor could have joined in briefly or smiled, showing some appreciation of the potentially comic aspect of the sudden sleep at the hypnotist's command, but he maintains an un-moving and silent orientation toward the screen. In response to the editor's non-response, the director buries his head further into his hand, showing a further self-suppression of his laughter. Meanwhile the clip itself is continuing with further potential for comedy as the hypnotist re-awakens Jenni in a similarly rapid fashion.



Extract 2a Divergent stances on the hypnotism scene (square speech bubbles for film audio)

```

268 ((hypnotist hits J on head to wake her up))
269
270 D: TE HE HE ((continues laughing into his hand))-----
271 [------]
272
273 E: [I mean (4.0) we could just get to
274
275 D: >No no< no I think it's really important to see a shot of her
276 before we cut back t-to- go back to the street hypnosis
277
278 E: >Yeah no no< absolutely but
279
280 D: I think that- that works

```

Extract 2b Divergent stances on the hypnotism scene (cont.)

The editor and director's divergent stances toward Jenni, as one of the characters within their documentary, while seeming to emerge out of the momentary discovery of humour in Jenni's sudden movement, then do become a marker of a potential problem with her sequence. The editor appearing to respond to the director's laughter as showing that taking a comic stance on Jenni's hypnosis is still a possibility. At line 273 ('I mean (4.0) we could just get to-') the editor begins to provide a suggestion which would involve cutting to another clip, yet to be identified. The director responds to the editor's suggestion with a straightforward positive assessment of the clip: 'it's really important to see a shot of her'. The director is, thereby, securing the importance of the clip, through an account that orients toward the editorial logic of cutting regularly to shots of Jenni. It is a visual logic of repeating the appearance of the central character, similar to that of re-iterating a character's name in a text in order to help the reader keep track of which character is the protagonist. In the face of the director's account the editor agrees with that principle, 'yeah no no absolutely' (line 278). Though, he finishes his agreement with a 'but' discourse marker (Schiffrin 1987) indicating there may still be a problem with the clip.

In extract 3 which is shortly after extract 2b, the director prefaces his identification of a further problem by saying that he is in ‘two minds’. In other words, that he is undecided. In his long pause before formulating the problem as a transition problem (e.g. ‘to go from that the newspaper’), there is also an invitation for the editor to formulate the problem for him. It is a routine feature of showing not just an aligned stance but shared awareness of a problem that either party in the editing suite completes the other’s utterance (Lerner 1996) be it a formulation, an assessment or a proposal. By inference, from the director’s identification of the problem as one of transition, either ‘that’ (the medical TV show clip) or the newspaper coverage (see figure 2) will need to be altered and potentially removed.



Figure 2 – The problem transition from reality TV programme to newspaper headlines

421 D: I'm in two minds about this but I t- I think (7.0) to go from
 422 that to the new- newspaper (3.0)
 423
 424 E: ((Nods)) I liked her (.) being: happy (2.0) at the experience
 425 of [having done that programme wh- which you actually
 426 [((turns to look at D))
 427
 428 D: Think
 429
 430 E: [((gesturing toward screens))
 431 [Think each time we see her in all those ehm reality shows
 432 [((shaking head))
 433 [you just think (1.0) she's crazy she's been [exploited
 434 [((looks at D))
 435
 436 D: [((nods))
 437
 438 E: [you know they make you do stuff

Extract 3 'you just think she's crazy'

The editor, in response to the transition problem, begins to formulate the value of the clip they have finished their sequence with, 'I liked her being happy' (line 426). The editor's formulation is then built through the examination of the viewer's stance toward Jenni marked by: 'which you actually think'. A non-subject-side stance established by a contrast with his earlier subject-side 'I liked her' and by 'actually' establishing this stance as emerging from viewing the film (rather than their project of how the film ought to be viewed).

In considering what has been seen by the notional audience: 'each time we see her', the editor draws the conclusion that 'you just think she's crazy, she's been exploited' (line 435). In other words, Jenni has been produced, by the inclusion of multiple clips of her on TV makeover shows, as a character that 'we' will see as 'crazy', if perhaps also have some sympathy with her because she has been 'exploited'. However the editor's account implies, by his use of the modifying 'just' in 'you just think', that there is a problem with a simple stance upon the character. The director nods along with the editor's account.

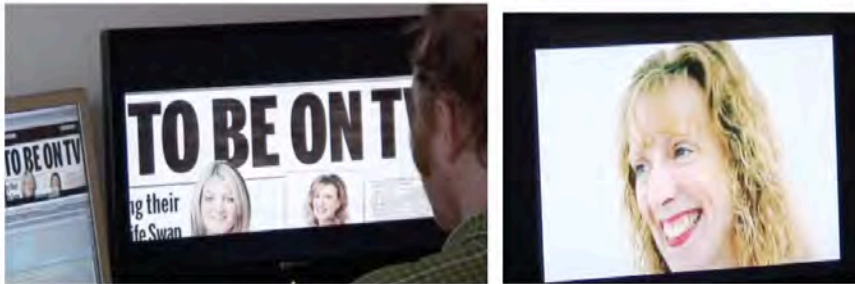
A consideration of stance has been occasioned, in this case, through reconsidering the transition between two parts of the story which are currently recognisable to the editing team as requiring further refashioning. In consider both excerpts together, it becomes apparent how stance is serving as a resource to make visible the different perspectives that can be taken toward the character of Jenni. Exploring the potential stances that can be taken toward their object (in this case a character within a documentary) is then part of using du Bois's (2007) stance triangle for creative purposes. It assists in making apparent what each assembly of a sequence currently lacks and that, as part of their editorial imagination, the editor and director can supply (Laurier and Brown 2014).

6. TALKING THROUGH AND WITH THE QUALITIES OF THE MEDIA

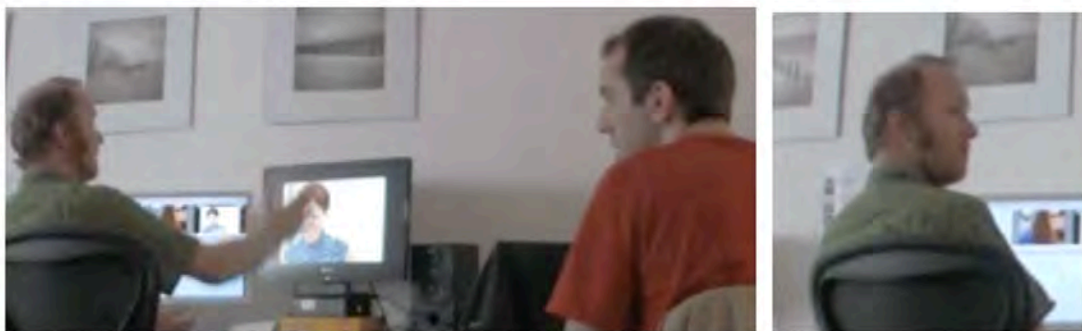
In the discussions that are at the heart of the making of media, its makers re-examine the work so far and this re-examination brings to the surface the qualities and reasoning which are at work in the current build, or version, or selection etc. (Fasulo and Monzoni 2009; Murphy 2012). The makers' ongoing work is to attend to the relative merits of what they currently have, in an exercise of considering what they need to retain, alter, substitute or excise, as well what they will have to add. In the previous section, the director had raised the problem of the transition between the reality TV show to the tabloid newspaper story. The editor had defended the clip that formed the first part of the transition and rehearsed how they have assembled a stance which provides the viewer with a simple understanding of Jenni as crazy and exploited. In this next section, the editor and director remind themselves of the value of the wrong-footing shift of stance that they have built for their future audience. The editor leads them through three stances: from the obvious stance to be taken toward Jenni as a victim of reality TV shows, to the surprising revelation that she has also found happiness through the help that one of the shows offered her and, finally, to then a further shift when Jenni becomes a victim again, but this time at the hands of the popular press.

The first stance is brought up in lines 440-44 in extract 4 where the editor continues to expand his formulation of the viewer's perspective on Jenni and the reality TV shows that she has been on. His formulation is prefaced with a common knowledge discourse marker (e.g. 'you know' (Schiffrin 1987)) 'they make you do stuff that ehm is demeaning'.. The common knowledge is that the stance being produced by the extended series of TV makeover programmes needs no further elaboration for professionals like themselves, well aware of what they are doing. In other words, their sequence of Jenni is formulaic rather than filmic (on the formulaic compared to the poetic see (Livingston 1995)). To leave her constructed as a victim of the reality TV shows is failing to move beyond the formulaic.

438 D: (((nods))
 439
 440 E: [you know they make you do stuff
 441
 442 D: >yeah yeah yeah<
 443
 444 E: That ehm (1.0) is demeaning and all that
 445
 446 E: And then ((reaches for mouse))
 447



448
 449
 450 D: This one you actually [eh
 451 #fig 3
 452 #fig 4
 453 E: [A:nd at the end you actually ((gestures
 454 to screen)) reveal actually she- she's happy ((gestures to
 455 screen)) [she's got something out of it
 456
 457 D: (((nodding))
 458
 459 D: >yeah yeah yeah<
 460
 461 E: She's smiling from: ear to ear
 462
 463 E: And then
 464



465
 466
 467 #fig 5 #fig 6
 468 E: ((chops, halts, pauses)) Bing ((looks to D for response))

Extract 4 – Demeaning, to happy, to tabloid victim

In describing the edited sequence, the editor secures his occasioned re-viewing of that sequence by cueing up the sections that he is referring to. The manipulation of the video occurs at lines 446–453 when the editor uses the mouse to rewind, back from the newspaper footage, to the closing clip of the reality TV makeover show. While the director initiates an agreeing contrast, ‘this one you actually eh’ (line 450) with the viewer’s current stance, the editor is shuttling backwards. At line 452, when the editor has the clip on screen, the editor

not so much interrupts, as picks up from the director's initiation, to provide the justification of the clip 'And at the end you reveal actually- actually she's happy, she's got'. Part of the editor's warrant for regaining the floor is that the video is now cued to provide the visual and audible referent for his 'and then' at line 446. The video's movements to cue, and then to play, are monitored by, and available to, both parties.

The editor's conclusion: 'reveal actually she- she's happy' at line 454, underlines that this is a surprising progression from establishing a character that has been understood to be crazy and demeaned. Although the end of the sequence, where Jenni is happy, has been assessed earlier by the director earlier as part of a problematic transition, the editor has provided an extended account of its value in shifting and complicating the stance that the future audience will take toward their interviewee. As this ends, the director is nodding the editor's justification through and providing a continuing and agreeing 'yeah yeah yeah'.

As noted above, the clip when played, shows both Jenni's smiling face and makes audible the host of the reality TV programme saying clearly 'you're smiling from ear to ear'. The editor lifts the host's speech into his commentary on the clip to re-iterate the happy state of Jenni as a result of what happened in the show. What he then provides is a lovely dramatization of the juxtapositional pair produced across the transition from smiling face to the press expose, by an initial part: 'and then'. Before providing what that 'and then' is, he makes a chopping motion, stops the video and pauses his speaking for a moment before finishing with 'Bing' (line 468) and returning his gaze to the director.

As Fasulo and Monzoni (2009: 373) put it in relation tailors and designers working together:

Collaborative decisions over modifications of an object imply reaching alignment about the reasons for the object to remain as it is, as well as the reasons for it to be changed. In other words, participants are comparing their understandings and opinions about intrinsic qualities and properties of the object, and this exposes their expertise and responsibility vis-a-vis the object and various aspects of its creation and alteration.

The editor's reading of the sequential logic of the media that they have produced works toward providing a backdrop against which the director's push for editorial change needs to take account. The editor, through his extended formulation of the simple stance and the ensuing shifts, has shown the value of the closing clip of Jenni. It brings out other aspects of what happens by becoming involved in reality TV makeovers that the viewers might otherwise miss and thereby taking them beyond an understanding of Jenni as merely an exploited and demeaned victim of the celebrity industry.

7. THE TURN TO THE VISUAL

In this last section I focus on the film's qualities as a sequential medium that allows for the laminar construction of sequential visuals and sequential talk in distinction from one another (Thompson and Bowen 2009) while also briefly considering the talk and embodied action of the editorial team. The latter shifts our attention toward the different stances of director and editor in relation to the transition, which make visible both one party's struggle with the

problem and then their ensuing alignment as one candidate solution is offered. The former makes apparent how a visual sequential pairing of a face with a newspaper headline is understood by the film-makers as the inferior method for shifting the audience's stance toward Jenni. The director and editor draw upon the laminate quality of film in providing the solution to the transition problem raised by the director. The editor and director are aware of the need to help the audience over a sequential difficulty, which the director has formulated as to go from 'that' to the 'newspaper'. While the newspaper (see figure 2) is a visual image, which is visibly a newspaper headline, it is also presented to the viewer as for reading through the limited set of words, the large typeface and its duration on screen in the sequence. Moreover, the headline appears before Jenni begins speaking, thus offering it to be read in the absence of a next action for the viewer.



Figure 2. Smiling face to newspaper headline

Meanwhile, the director continues to make apparent that he has a problem: 'I just thought th't', in the wake of the editor's having made his case for the retention of the closing clip. His struggle is made apparent in the director's posture (see extract 5, panel 3) where he leans down and bows his head, withdrawing his orientation from the editor. A posture that makes apparent he is searching for a solution himself rather than looking to the editor to provide it.





Extract 5. 'we should see her'

Yet, even as the director withdraws, the editor then provides a potential solution 'or maybe we should see her' (extract 5, panel 3), though prefaced carefully as one amongst other alternatives ('or') and with a lower commitment ('maybe'). The editor's markers offering the another image of Jenni as a suggestion rather than as a definite solution. It is fitted within the tentative venturing that is common in beginning to explore what may be one of several solutions (see also Buscher 2001). However, the director, rather than also offering his own suggestions or wait on further suggestions from the editor, agrees.

When the editor makes his suggestion, he also moves the playhead forward to bring up the clip (his hand moving to the mouse in panel 4), presumably to make visible to them both what the shot of Jenni looks like. Ahead of the editor completing that anticipated action, the director is agrees verbally (panel 4). The director re-uses the format of the previous turn 'we should see her' to mark his agreement (Yasui 2012). In this case, his 'I think' adding increased certainty in stance rather than marking it as subjective stance. With the editor's solution firmly accepted, we can note the use of 'and then' as the device for tying their verbal account to a sequence of cuts. The first 'and then' is from the editor as a preface to the next item which is Jenni's statement 'and then I do regret' (panel 5). The editor providing just enough of her phrase (e.g. to 'regret') to index the support of the shift in Jenni's appearance made by her words. The director repeats and extends Jenni's speech, 'and then into the Daily Mail I do regret that' (panel 7), thereby aligning with the editor's previous formulation of the cut. The director provides the completion of the editor's incomplete 'and then into' (panel 6) by providing 'and then go to the article' (panel 8) which completes their formulation of the cuts. There is, in the director's repetition and completion, a show of understanding as well as a restatement of what it is the editor will now do. It is, then, a mutual show of agreement and shared understanding of the revised sequence that the editor is about to produce.

The director and editor, in talking through this solution, temporarily twist their orientation from side-by-side facing the screen to talking toward one another, which further marks their alignment around the solution, even as they continue to construct and confirm that solution (panels 5 & 6). What we can then see is that while the director is verbally spelling out their course of action, the editor shifts his embodied orientation, bringing his torso back around to the screen (panel 7), thereby making visible his return to the task, with the solution agreed. The director, following the editor, shifts his orientation back to the screen (panel 8).

The full force of the transition that they have agreed upon is apparent from looking at the image sequence in figure 3 in the revised edit. Analysing Jenni's appearance across this edit forms a shift from one gestalt: brightly-lit, white backgrounded, lip-sticked, smiling face; to another: a figure that is in natural light, duller coloured, in a domestic kitchen with downturned head, and on her face, a serious expression. The lamination of 'I do regret' over Jenni's contrasting appearance is part of the juxta-positon, given its contrast with 'smiling ear to ear'.



Figure 3. The old (above) and new visual sequence (below) 'smiling' to 'regret' to 'article'

The juxtaposition of visible faces in settings and the hearable shifts between 'smiling ear to ear' and 'regret' makes apparent to the audience some as yet to be clarified shift in stance toward this character.

In this final section, then, we have seen the editor providing the director with a first suggestion which is quickly accepted, triggering a 'eureka' like moment of a seen-in-common solution. The solution being that they have this alternate sequential order of visual materials which will produce a better transition. While other parts of their editorial work involve close inspection and manipulation of the media, in coming to the solution here, we witness also how closely agreed solutions were marked by a change in their participation framework while

the team shifting their attention away from the screens while then sustaining a close, if brief, attention to one another (Hindmarsh and Heath 2000).

8. CONCLUSION – LEARNING FROM MULTIMODAL MEDIA PRODUCTION

The increasing spread and infiltration of video media into the worlds of work, play and sociability comes with the consequence that editing practices are more deeply involved in, and draw upon, our senses of our selves along with our familiar and imagined others. While this article has examined experts at work in a professional setting, their orientation to and manipulation of video, grow ever more commonplace. An example of this in a more everyday setting is the telling of a ‘small story’ by editing out and then sharing a clip on Facebook from an existing TV programme, which is also likely to involve analysing the shifts in the stance that we expect our friends to take upon it (Georgakopoulou 2015). While not as everyday as sharing video via social media, complex forms of editing sit at the heart of popular vlogs (Frobenius 2014) and, equally the heavily edited, short films made by extreme sports enthusiasts (Laurier 2015) and other hybrid video cultures. To investigate particular forms of mediatization, then, means not just understanding these local communities but also understanding the properties of the production of the particular media involved, be they vlogs, political party tweets or Facebook updates, which both resemble, diverge from and draw upon local forms of talk-in interaction.

Media production raises interesting problems for the study of language in media workplaces and everyday media production because, while many of media products are linguistic objects, they are also multimodal objects. Products such as TV programmes, cinema films, Youtube vlogs are constituted out of speaking practices, while also exceeding speech through the use of visual and audio materials. The visual materials are themselves highly varied: *talking heads, panoramas, animations, newspaper headlines, slow motion shots and so on*; the audio materials similarly so: *background music, foley sound, ambient sound, sound effects*. The work of editing is to assemble those varied materials into the sequential language of film and television. In this article I have begun to outline how those varied materials are assembled to be received by a future audience with an orientation to their sequencing, visual categorisation, stance toward a character and her actions and transitions that secure shifts in stance. My interest has also been in the embodied practices of the editing team to do that assembling through assessments, formulations, analysis of visual materials, differences in their own stances toward the object that they are constructing, while coming to agree on editorial changes.

Talk is at the heart of the places of media production, whether that medium is video, as it was here, or whether it is clothing, furniture, websites or architectural plans. Using the fragments from one brief round of reviewing and editing, I traced out the uses of assessments, formulations and laughter along with other details of the editor and director’s talk. Talk is then also, as Mondada (2016) argued in the first article in this series, itself a more than linguistic practice, it is part of gestalts of action that are gestural, mobile, environmental and populated with objects and other materials. My analysis of the brief editing cycle attended to gesture, posture and the movements toward and away from the screen made by the director and editor. Developing Mondada’s argument over what is beyond talk and interaction I have turned our attention toward, in this case, video media which require specific practices (such as playing, rewinding, zooming, amplifying, muting etc.) to make them available for media production work. Documentary makers are themselves vernacular analysts of video materials, pursuing and producing their own visual and talk-based analysis. They have production

concerns that are conjoint with those of speakers of a language in their construction of stories, concern with recipient design and the stance of other parties. For example, in the article I outlined the difficulties that the media producers have with with secondary footage which comes with already produced and recognisable stances toward its characters.

Work in the editing room is, then, mediated in and through the particular medium of video and its conventions of production and reception. It is a medium that requires 'playing' and, in its production, is filled with rewinding, forwarding, jumping-to, pausing, and so on. It draws upon sequential logics that are tied to grammars of cutting (Thompson and Bowen 2009). In this quality, it is beyond talk, yet studies of language in interaction have much to offer how we understand the production of media. For linguists with an interest in media I have, through teasing apart this episode, offered directions toward engaging with media production studies (Thornton Caldwell 2008) and, in a methodological vein, toward how video recordings can be used to study places which themselves are reliant on video as a production object, or, as a means of communication, or, form of recording (Broth et al. 2014). Sociolinguistics can then learn about many of its key interests, such as recipient design, stance and multimodality, from studying the varied creative settings where talk around media plays a central part, such as architecture, design, theatre, fashion.

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