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Stance Taking in News Interviews

Abstract

This paper has two aims. First, section 2 introduces a summary of the theory of my dissertation (Haddington to appear). In it I provide an overview of an approach which combines, on the one hand, the successes and tools of conversation analysis, and on the other hand, the discourse-functional “theory of stance” (Du Bois 2004). I further suggest that in order to look at how co-participants construct and display their stances, an analysis of the simultaneously deployed linguistic resources, sequential aspects of turn design and turn construction, is required. Second, in section 3, I focus on the question of how stance taking can be studied with news interview data and consider an example of an intersubjective stance-taking activity called *positioning / alignment*. The second part of the paper relates to the author’s other work (Haddington 2002, to appear, under review-a, under review-b) which provide more detailed empirical accounts of stance taking and also the stance-taking activity reported at the end of this paper.

1. General introduction¹

The main aim of this paper is to provide an understanding of stance taking. In order to do this a distinction is made between the notions of *stance* and *stance taking*. *Stance* is used to refer to the speakers’ subjective attitudes toward something. It is suggested that *stance* has remained an elusive and complex concept. However, *stance taking*, which is the focus in this paper, can be understood as a dialogical and intersubjective activity. When co-

¹ This paper would not have been possible without the help of several people. It stems from a talk I gave at Kielentutkimuksen Kevätkoulu 2004 -conference in Jyväskylä, Finland in April 2004. I want to thank especially Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Sirpa Leppänen for their comments in Jyväskylä and the positive and encouraging discussions we have every time we meet. I also want to thank my colleagues in the *Interactional practices and linguistic resources of stance taking in spoken English* -project, Elise Kärkkäinen, Tiina Keisanen, Mirka Rauniomaa and Maarit Niemelä for the numerous and never-ending discussions we have regarding the essence of stance—and for their heartfelt support. I also want to express my gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful criticism and comments. All the remaining mistakes are my own.

participants take stances in interaction, they do so by relying on multiple linguistic resources and interactional practices. It is suggested that a combination of conversation analysis and a discourse-functional “theory of stance” (Du Bois 2002b, 2004) provides a useful framework for investigating stance taking. This part of the paper comprises a summary of the theory of my dissertation (Haddington to appear).

In addition to this, this paper aims to discuss how stance taking can be studied with news interview data. This proves to be an interesting enterprise, because whilst there have been passing references to *stance* in prior news interview research, with individual emphasis on both linguistic and syntactic issues (e.g. Bull 1994, Bull and Mayer 1993) and on sequential aspects (e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, Heritage 1985), much more can still be said about stance *taking* in news interviews, i.e. the use of various linguistic practices within their sequential context, the combinations of different practices and actions, and the degree of intersubjective engagement between the co-participants.

What makes this endeavor interesting is that present-day news interviews—at least in the Anglo-American world—revolve around the activities of questioning and responding (Heritage and Roth 1995: 1). Questioning in the news interview context is an action that is primarily about eliciting a response and requesting information and opinions from informed interview guests, and the guests indeed cannot avoid uttering a response in front of a TV audience. Consequently, it can without a doubt be argued that news interviews are indeed *the* venues for politicians and other experts to publicly convey, formulate and defend their stances, and to align with the interviewers and other interviewees. Research which looks at stance taking in news interview data must naturally take heed of the previous work on stance, but it must also view this work with a critical eye. The type of work undertaken here has not yet, to my knowledge, been done with news interview data.

Even though the main aim of this paper is to provide an account for how stance taking can be studied with news interview data, the claims made are supported with examples along the way. In chapter 3 I analyze an extract from CNN’s *Crossfire*. This extract is only one part of a series of papers which investigate in greater detail stance taking as an intersubjective and dialogical activity in talk-in-interaction. With the help of this example, I investigate a stance-taking activity I call *positioning / alignment*.

2. Introduction to *stance*

1.0 What counts as *stance*?

Since the mid-1980s studies on *stance* have emanated from such different fields as functional linguistics, sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, linguistic anthropology and conversation analysis.² Although this vast and interesting body of work shares a common interest in capturing and explaining the linguistic, interactional and/or embodied practices and actions by which speakers express stances in spoken and written discourse, they do not—quite understandably—share the same agendas, aims, approaches or methodologies. In addition to this, for some of this work *stance* is the central analytic notion, whereas for other it is a word used in association with and as a synonym of such concepts as (epistemic and deontic) modality, evaluation, subjectivity, epistemicity, footing, alignment, assessment, agreement, and so on, to refer to a speaker's or writer's attitude, displays of emotions and desires, expressions of beliefs and certainty toward given issues, people, and the speakers' co-participants. In other words, research on *stance* by no means comprises a coherent and uniform paradigm.

Moreover, the notion of *stance* is often used as if it could unproblematically cover numerous linguistic and interactional phenomena. It seems therefore justified to claim that due to its increased usage and application, the notion of *stance* is in danger of becoming an all-embracing and elusive notion (similar to some of uses of "discourse" or "identity" or "ideology"), which includes everything and explains nothing, and which is used to describe phenomena that have already been described by using other notions and terminology. So to some extent, *stance* remains a debatable notion.

² Several symposia and seminars on *stance* have also been organized around the world, such as *Morality and Epistemology: Stance-taking in the Discursive Constitution of Personhood* session at the American Anthropological Association meeting in New Orleans, Nov 20–24, 2002; *Stance Day: 3 presentations on stance*, University of California at Santa Barbara, Feb. 28, 2003; *Stancetaking in Discourse: subjectivity in interaction*, The 10th Biennial Rice Linguistics Symposium at Rice University, Mar 31–April 3, 2004; *Stance in Social and Cultural Context* panel in the *Sociolinguistic Symposium 15* in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, Apr 1–4, 2004; *Workshop on Evaluation, Stance and the Implied Respondent* at University of Birmingham, Department of English, Jun 5–6, 2004.

Consequently, one way to disentangle the complexities of stance is to define it in relation to the analyst's analytic foci, objectives, methodology and the type of data being used. In order to do this, it is useful to split past and ongoing work under the umbrella term *stance* into the following five sub-categories based on their starting points and analytic foci.

1. Single-speaker contributions (syntactic and lexical) to stance
2. Interactional practices, actions, activities
3. A linguistic / syntactic practice in its sequential context
4. Turn construction
5. Larger discourses / texts

Table 1. Sub-categories of stance-related research: starting points and analytic foci

Although these sub-categories in Table 1 and the work done within them overlap with each other in many respects, observing this body of work through this categorization has clear advantages. For example, it shows the starting points from where stance-related phenomena have been investigated. For example in group 1³ the starting point for investigating stance is usually a linguistic form, for example a syntactic unit or a particular word. However, in groups 2, 3 and 4, which concentrate on spoken discourse, look at stance-related phenomena within their interactional contexts,⁴ and in group 5, the research concentrates on how stances are constructed and accrued in spoken and written discourse, for example in the telling of stories, narratives, or even broader texts and discourses.⁵ Furthermore, these different starting points mirror the implicit starting points concerning the “origins” of the stances speakers take. This relates to the notions of *subjectivity* and *intersubjectivity* and how they are understood in relation to stance and stance taking. This issue is discussed in the following sections.

³ See for example Barton (1993), Biber and Finegan (1988, 1989), Biber et al. (1999), Chafe (1986), Conrad and Biber (2000), Downing (2001), Field (1997), Martin (2000, 2003) and Scheibman (2001) and the papers in the special issue of *Journal of Pragmatics* 37 (2), 2005.

⁴ See Keisanen (in preparation), Kärkkäinen (2003), Scheibman (2000) and Rauniomaa (in preparation) *inter alia*.

⁵ See for example the individual sessions in the 'Stance in Social and Cultural Context' panel in <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/ss15/>.

2.0 Stance and subjectivity

The research undertaken in group 1 in Table 1 aims to describe ways in which these linguistic forms from a pragmatic or semantic vantage point express speaker/writer's *subjective stance*. The investigated linguistic forms are often decontextualized from their larger sequential/discourse environments, i.e. they are not considered outside clauses, sentences or utterances, but are mapped onto a stance a speaker conveys (cf. Wu 2004: 3). By implication this seems to suggest that the act of expressing a stance is engendered by an individual human being and hence is a subjective act (cf. Thompson and Hunston 2000: 21).

The notion of subjectivity has indeed received a lot of interest in linguistics. On the one hand, it has been seen to be related to the commitment of the *speaker* to the proposition (cf. Stubbs 1996), even to the degree that some grammatical units expressing subjectivity have become grammaticized in discourse (cf. Kärkkäinen 2003: 19). On the other hand, some work has considered linguistic subjectivity as a phenomenon that comprises markers that are attached to or index the speaker or the point of view or attitude that the speaker encodes in an utterance (cf. Finegan 1995, Stubbs 1986 as cited in Traugott and Dasher 2002: 20).

Moreover, as Kärkkäinen (2003) points out, several studies on conversational data have noted that the use of language and grammar in real interactional contexts is inherently subjective. Much of the time the use of language and grammar express the speakers' subjective views and display speakers' subjective identities, feelings and attitudes (e.g. Scheibman 2001: 61–62; Thompson and Hopper 2001: 53). In sum, what has been characteristic of much of this typological / grammatical research on stance and related phenomena is that stance has been considered first and foremost a subjective feature; a single speaker's stance, accomplished through a single linguistic act, toward the proposition in her own utterance, clause or sentence.⁶ The concern that this raises is how to develop this

⁶ Similar types of studies have also been done with news interview data. These have examined the use of some linguistic stance markers and the relationship of particular uses of interrogative syntax with the co-participants' acts. For example, Simon-Vandenberg (2000) looks at the functions that the expression *I (don't) think* has in political interviews (see section 3.3; see also Simon-Vandenberg (1996) and Jucker (1986)). Bull (1994), Bull and Mayer (1993) and Harris (1991) approach their data from slightly different vantage points. They concentrate on an interviewee activity of not answering the interviewer's questions. Their approach is purely syntactic and

understanding of stance and combine it with a more dynamic idea of stance taking in interaction—i.e., as Wu (2004) also asks, how can stance taking be accomplished as an intersubjective and contingent activity through the use of various linguistic resources and other practices.

One way to do this is to make a distinction between *stance* and *stance taking*. Whereas some studies see a *stance* as an expression of the speaker's subjective attitude toward something (e.g. the content of her subsequent utterance), *stance taking* is better understood as an intersubjective activity. The research in groups 2, 3, and 4 can be seen to approach *stance taking* from this perspective and it is the research in these groups that provides the foundation for the work reported in this paper. Consequently, in the following sections I suggest that one solution for moving away from stance as a subjective feature is to combine interactional analysis with the understanding of language and grammar as also intersubjective, emergent and contingent (i.e. a combination of groups 2, 3, and 4). Therefore, I move forward to consider the research done in conversation analysis and functional linguistics which has explored stance taking and stance-related activities by incorporating the immediate interactional context into the analysis.

3.0 Stance taking as an intersubjective phenomenon: the benefits of combining conversation analysis and “theory of stance”

In the previous section it was noted that the majority of the work in group 1 in Table 1 suggests that stances are expressed through certain syntactic and lexical forms (i.e. stances are linguistic acts). Therefore stances seem to have been treated fundamentally as expressions of the speakers' and

consequently meets with some problems. They suggest that by looking at the use of syntactic constructs, it is possible to make claims about what the speakers are doing. Consequently, they claim that certain types of answers can be classified as non-replies, without looking at what actually happens in the interactional context. Even though these behaviors seem to be attached or typical to the pre-destined participant roles that the participants possess, making such analytical shortcuts totally puts aside the issue of the intersubjective relationship between interviewers and interviewees, and how they engage, and "negotiate" their stances, with each other. Furthermore, this type of analysis suggests that the questions and answers are considered to be more or less independent of each other. For example, interviewees are claimed to do three types of responses: those that answer the questions, those that do not, and those that partly answer the questions. However, the interaction between the interviewers and interviewees is more contingent and dynamic than such an argument suggests.

writers' internal and subjective attitudes (i.e. speakers' stances). However, spoken interaction *de facto* takes at least two subjects, with individual consciousnesses and intentions, who, in spite of their individual input on the interaction, share moments in order to express their subjective understandings. This more intersubjective and emergent view of language hardly comes as a surprise to the scholars in the groups 2–4 in Table 1 (e.g. conversation analysts, linguistic anthropologists, functional linguists and interactional linguists). The research undertaken in this line of inquiry looks at a vast array of interactional practices (including linguistic items, prosody, embodiment, etc.) and how these contribute to the accomplishment of particular actions and activities (cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001, Schegloff 1997). As is suggested here, these practices and actions can also contribute to a stance-taking activity in the sequential context in which it occurs. Thus, stance taking is not seen as a unidirectional (or subjective) process, but as inherently intersubjective.

The presence of two subjectivities in interaction both constitutes and is a prerequisite to an intersubjective interactional event. The notion of intersubjectivity is central to all communication, and language is essentially the tool for accomplishing intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity becomes relevant in spoken discourse in two ways: the first I call *backward-type* intersubjectivity,⁷ which means that an utterance or an action reflects that what has been said or done in the immediate prior utterance. The second way I call *forward-type* intersubjectivity which refers to the potential of each utterance or action to be designed specifically for the present co-participant. These two different understandings of intersubjectivity are central in my analysis of the *positioning / alignment* stance-taking activity that I discuss below.⁷

In the following, I discuss two approaches to the study of spoken interaction which are not only firmly rooted in the above ideas of intersubjectivity, but are directly relevant for stance taking. The first one is conversation analysis (henceforth CA) and the other is here called the "theory of stance." It is worth noting that these two approaches should neither been seen as mutually exclusive nor in any way in opposition to each other. Rather, they should be viewed as approaches that can provide

⁷ This dichotomy reflects Benveniste's (1971) and Bakhtin's (Holquist 1990, Vološinov 1973) thinking and is later also acknowledged in Tomasello's (1999a, 1999b: 517) work. Since Benveniste and Bakhtin several different understandings of intersubjectivity have emerged. For some, see for example Nuyts (2001), Schiffrin (1998), and Traugott and Dasher (2002).

analytic support to each other for the understanding of stance taking. Nevertheless, they emphasize slightly different aspects of interaction and provide different vantage points which are discussed below.

CA provides a coherent analytic framework for examining and describing the interactional and sequential organization of human conduct in talk-in-interaction. This includes looking at how the interactants' practices, in their situated context, become understandable for the interactants themselves, and how the interactants co-ordinate their actions in relation to each other. In CA the social actions and activities are seen as the basic building blocks of intersubjectivity:

(...) conversational interaction is structured by an organization of action which is implemented on a turn-by-turn basis. By means of this organization *a context of publicly displayed and continuously up-dated intersubjective understandings is systematically sustained*. It is through this 'turn-by-turn' character of talk that the participants display their understandings of 'the state of the talk' for one another." (Heritage 1984: 259)

In other words, no instances of talk should be looked at in isolation. Rather, the shared understandings between interactants can be traced by interactants and analysts alike by considering the sequential context and what a speaker does with an utterance (cf. Schegloff 1996b).

The "theory of stance" (Du Bois 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004) is a discourse-functional approach to language and grammar (or functional linguistics as it is often called). Functional linguistics can be seen as a response to (formalist) views that treat language and grammar specifically as innate, abstract, technicalized, decontextualized and separate from issues of culture (cf. Cumming and Ono 1997: 113–114; Du Bois 2001a: 87). The primary objective of functional linguistics is to uncover functional motivations for particular linguistic patterned forms and structures in natural discourse settings. It looks how these forms and structures emerge from particular discourse situations as local and collocational patterns, which sometimes become routinized as new grammatical forms in language⁸ (see for example Cumming and Ono (1997: 112), Keevallik (2003: 21–22), Thompson (1992)).

Du Bois (e.g. 2002a, 2004), by drawing for example on Bakhtin (Vološinov 1973), on previous work in functional linguistics, and the more cultural contingencies of stance described in linguistic anthropology (e.g.

⁸ "Grammars code best what speakers do most" (Du Bois 1987: 851).

Besnier 1993, Haviland 1989, Ochs 1992), has introduced a framework which is here referred to as the “theory of stance.”⁹ This work is a response to the internal and subjective views of stance (see section 2.2). It claims that stance is not an individual experience or an inner act, but a shared intersubjective activity accomplished in interaction. In other words, a mere analysis of individual lexical or semantic stance expressions which have been removed from their context is inadequate.

According to Du Bois (2002a, 2004) stance taking is a tri-act (see Figure 1), which basically consists of three elements that he calls *Subject₁*, *Subject₂*, and *Object*. *Subject₁* and *Subject₂* stand for the co-participants and the *Object* is what they are talking about: a shared attentional focus, such as a person, an event, a proposition and so on. In very simple terms, as Figure 1 shows, stance taking begins when *Subject₁* introduces a Stance Object in an utterance which simultaneously evaluates the Stance Object. In other words, *Subject₁* takes a stance. By doing the act of taking a stance, *Subject₁* not only establishes a relationship between herself and the Stance Object (i.e. positions herself), but importantly also between herself and *Subject₂*. This latter relationship could be seen as one manifestation of the already mentioned *forward-type* intersubjectivity in interaction. In other words, an important part of *Subject₁*'s act of taking a stance is that she can “tailor” the utterance specifically for a particular recipient.

⁹ Du Bois's theory has also been influenced by research undertaken in such diverse fields as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, phenomenology, neuroscience, and cognitive science, and thereby aims to provide an informing and interdisciplinary framework of stance taking as an intersubjective activity in interaction.

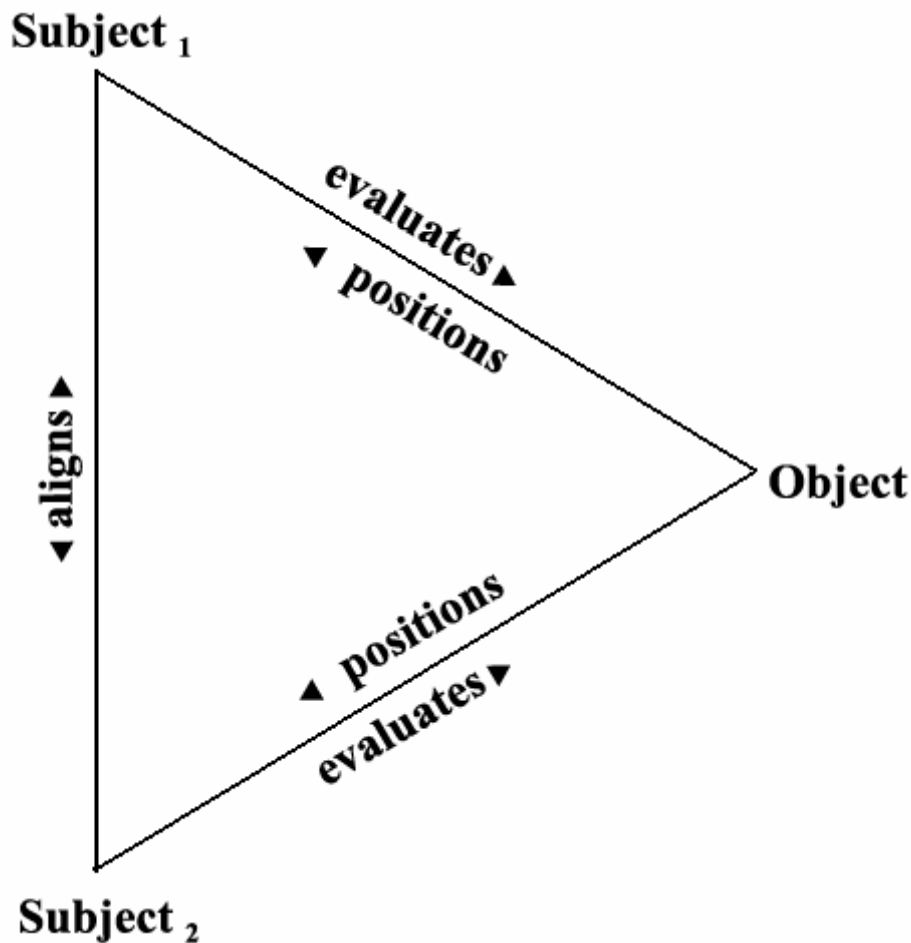


Figure 1. Stance taking framework (Du Bois 2004)

The next act occurs when Subject₂ evaluates the same object that Subject₁ has just evaluated. Also Subject₂ evaluates the Object, positions herself in relation to it and thereby aligns with Subject₁. This can be seen as the *backward-type* intersubjective act. The notion of alignment in Du Bois's "theory of stance" does not mean agreeing *per se*, but rather the ways by which interactants position themselves in relation to each other, or engage with each other. In other words, as Du Bois (2004) suggests, alignment is "putting my stance vs. your stance". Alignment is therefore not an either-or paradigm (aligning or disaligning with actions), but is better understood as a range of possible types of intersubjective alignment which are accomplished by subtle uses of the multiple interactional,

linguistic (morphosyntactic, lexical, prosodic) and embodied practices.¹⁰ Consequently, for Du Bois stance taking is a dynamic, dialogic, intersubjective, and collaborative social *activity* in which speakers actively construct stances by building on, modifying, aligning and engaging with the stances of other speakers. This understanding of course strongly resonates with CA's fundamental conception of interaction; that different practices must be taken into account within their sequential context in order to provide detailed accounts of interactional situations.

An important aspect of the "theory of stance" is the fact that interactants frequently use, borrow and recycle each other's linguistic units (morphosyntax, lexis and prosody) when they negotiate and take stances. This happens regardless of whether the meanings of the co-interactants' utterances are parallel or opposing, agreeing or disagreeing (Du Bois 2001b). Du Bois calls this Dialogic Syntax. One of the main ideas of Dialogic Syntax is that when the referential and indexical features of particular linguistic forms engage and are confronted with other linguistic forms in their interactional context, new local meanings can arise from the paradigmatic resonance between these forms. These meanings are then not fully understood until the forms or utterances are paralleled with each other (Du Bois 2001b; cf. Holquist 1990: 21–22).

The CA approach and the "theory of stance" have some differences between them, which lie in the different analytic emphases they accord to the phenomena they describe. The "theory of stance" provides a theoretical framework with a focus on various morphosyntactic, lexical and prosodic aspects of stance taking. CA, on the other hand, focuses on the social organization of interaction and how it is sequentially organized into actions, sequences, and other types of activities. Although CA does not exclude any linguistic or syntactic item from its analysis, it considers them relative to their relevance for turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974: 721) and as building blocks for actions and activities in talk-in-interaction (cf. Goodwin 2003: 60). Consequently, since the "theory of stance" does not give much attention to how stance taking is managed in the sequential context of interaction, CA provides the very important aspect of describing what actually happens—on the level of actions and activities—in interaction.

¹⁰ Therefore, 'alignment' here differs from the understanding of the same term in CA. In CA 'alignment' refers to the idea that an action fulfills the expectations raised by the previous action in terms of its sequential relevance and appropriateness, whereas here 'alignment' is very much a linguistic process in which speakers' stances are aligned with each other (see also Haddington under review-a).

After this has been described it is possible to examine the intersubjective unfolding of stance taking, i.e. how speakers take stances in relation to prior stances.

By bringing these two approaches together it becomes possible to investigate stance taking from different and alternative angles. One such alternative is the focus on different analytic units. CA has so far, in a successful and sophisticated manner, concentrated on describing relatively small units—turn constructional units (TCUs¹¹) and transition relevance places (TRPs¹²), among others—and bits of conduct and practices (Čmejrková and Prevignano 2003: 25). However, stance taking is better described as a larger activity which the co-participants orient to and which is relatively sustained in terms of its topical coherence and goal-coherent course of action (cf. the definition of “activity” in Heritage and Sorjonen 1994: 4; Kärkkäinen 2003: 106).

Although Du Bois does not give any primary focus on any such units in his work, some help is provided by Ford, Fox and Thompson (1996) and Ford (2002, 2004). In response to work in CA and as a suggestion for an alternative analytic direction, Ford et al. (1996: 431) suggest that

instead of searching out and attempting to define TCUs, we have come to see our task as asking and beginning to answer the following questions: What are the practices according to which participants construct their co-participation? What are participants orienting to in order to locate, situate, and interpret their own and each other’s contributions? (...) And how are subsequent contributions by a same speaker built to be understood relative to prior contributions?

Furthermore, they (Ford, et al. 1996: 431) suggest that it is worthwhile “to focus on the entire range of relevant practices for constructing conversational co-participation.” Subsequently, Ford (2004), by building on Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985), claims that the analysis of interaction

¹¹ Turn constructional unit (TCU) is a central and fundamental notion in CA. It is the basic unit out of which speakers set out to construct talk (Sacks, et al. 1974). One TCU can constitute a recognizably complete turn and can characteristically be lexical, phrasal, sentential or clausal. These linguistic characteristics of turn construction provide for ‘projectability of a turn,’ i.e. the possibility for co-participants to realize and understand what is under way and to project the possible completion point of a TCU (cf. Sacks, et al. 1974). In everyday conversation each speaker gets the right to construct a single TCU to a possible completion. In institutionalized interaction, however, the allocation of turns is different.

¹² TRPs refer to the end of TCUs, i.e. that there is a possibility for transition between speakers at the end of TCU (Sacks et al. 1974).

might benefit from an analytic focus that exceeds TCUs and TRPs, in order to consider larger practices (or discourse units) that are shown to be relevant for the co-participants.

In addition to the different focus on units in interaction, this combined approach allows a possibility to consider how various resources of stance taking are connected to cultural issues, for example values and beliefs (see below). Moreover, the combination of these approaches can shed light on the possibility that *stance taking* (in addition to for example repair, turn-taking, sequence organization) as an activity organizes interaction. Therefore, a stance (or the construction of a stance) is not just a feature of action, but stances taken in interaction are contingent and thus can affect the design of subsequent interaction (see section 2.5). Moreover, this combined approach is able to address how the sequential positioning of practices affects and organizes co-participants' stance taking. This is because the way in which particular practices are sequentially positioned can constitute and determine the meaning of these practices and stances they embody (cf. Wu 2004: 17).

Consequently, the focus is not on the propositions of the individual stances. Rather, the focus is on the activity of how stances are constructed; i.e. how co-participants express and negotiate their stances based on stances taken in prior discourse. This aspect of stance taking has not received much attention.

Many questions are still pending. How can we approach stance taking? Where do we start? How can stance taking be recognized and identified from data? What is the relationship between some of the analytic notions used in CA compared to similar notions that become relevant in the investigation of stance taking? Most importantly, what is the relationship between *action* and *stance taking*? What do we gain from working at the intersection of CA and the "theory of stance" when studying stance taking in news interviews? These are all potentially complicated questions, which are addressed and discussed in the following sections. First I discuss how stance taking can be recognized in talk-in-interaction.

1.0 Recognizing stance taking in talk-in-interaction

Let's continue by asking the following two questions: Where do we start? How can stance taking be recognized and identified from data? It would seem that the notions of subjectivity and intersubjectivity and how they relate to each other provides a possible solution. Although subjectivity and

intersubjectivity were treated separately above, they are not mutually exclusive notions. Rather they are intertwined, since intersubjectivity requires subjectivity (Heritage 1984), or, as Du Bois (2004) aptly formulates it, intersubjectivity occurs when “my subjectivity engages with your subjectivity.” Thus the different linguistic units and structures that act as single-speaker (subjective) contributions to stance mentioned in section 2 indeed play an important part in identifying the places in interaction in which stance *taking* could occur. In other words, individual linguistic forms or linguistic practices can and do signal stances.

Another way to examine stance taking is naturally to take a closer look at already described actions or activities which seem to be organizing the co-participants’ stance taking (e.g. assessments and assessment sequences) and see whether those actions or activities contain linguistic or embodied practices that contribute to the co-participants’ stance taking.¹³

Nevertheless, what guides both of the above approaches of identifying patterns of stance taking is (as in CA) the

“unmotivated” examination of naturally occurring interactional materials—that is, an examination not prompted by prespecified analytic goals (...) but by “noticings” of initially unremarkable features of the talk or of other conduct (Schegloff 1996a: 172).

But rather than looking at actions as is done in CA, the focus is on orderly practices of stance taking and the analysis of how the co-participants jointly express and negotiate their stances first, through the management of various interactional and sequential organizations and second, by designing their language and grammar in particular ways at particular moments in time.¹⁴ Since this definition allows an infinite number of individual stance-taking activities, the aim is to find recurrent linguistic, interactional and dialogical patterns of stance taking. In the following section I move to a discussion of the relationship between the CA notion of *action* and the notion of *stance*.

¹³ See Haddington (2002, 2004) who looks at how particular gaze directions function as meaningful resources of stance taking in the production of assessment sequences.

¹⁴ This approach is therefore similar to Sandlund's (2004) work. She looks at the social organization of emotions and how emotions are done in talk-in-interaction. She considers for example how particular emotional expressions can provide a new context for co-participants to formulate a next action.

5.0 The relationship between interactional organization (*action*) and stance taking (*stance*)

At this point it is relevant to tease out the difference between the notions of *action* and *stance*. *Action* is one of the most—if not the most—central analytic notions in CA. Throughout the 20th century the notion of action was accounted for in very different ways, but these accounts frequently bypassed the analysis of what speakers actually do—or “do do,” as Schegloff (1996a: 167) puts it—in the course of interaction. Rather than hypothesizing or attempting to give exhaustive theoretical accounts of what an action is, the best way to understand it, is to understand it not in terms of how an analyst defines an action pursued by interactants, but rather in terms of what the interactants themselves understand their own and their co-participants’ actions to be doing:

(...) there must be a grounding of this formulation [of what action or actions are being accomplished] in the “reality” of the participants. Here the investigator undertakes to establish that the formulation is not an academically analytic imposition on conduct that may have been quite differently understood and experienced by the participants. This requires some demonstration that the interlocutors in the data being examined have understood the utterances (or other conduct) in question to be possibly doing the proposed action(s) or that they are oriented to that possibility—a demonstration ordinarily grounded in the interlocutors’ subsequent talk or conduct (...). This immediately subsequent talk, being appropriate to—or even responsive to—what preceded it, ordinarily displays an understanding of what that preceding talk was “doing” (Schegloff 1996a: 172).

In other words, understanding *action* is first and foremost an empirical undertaking and should not be prespecified by a theoretical characterization of action (cf. Schegloff 1996a: 172). An action is an action when the interactional trajectory is affected by a co-participant’s understanding of a prior action.

An action is constituted by various practices of talk-in-interaction, such as linguistic forms, repetition and so on. These practices of talk-in-interaction are the devices that are used to construct turns and if these devices are used in association with particular interactional phenomena they may form orderly organizations of practices. In other words, certain practices of talk-in-interaction accomplish or produce certain actions (Schegloff 1997: 499–500). A description of an action is thus “a characterization of some form or practice of talking and some

characterization of the place or location in which that practice is employed” (Schegloff 1996a: 169).

Even though *action* and *stance* are fairly elusive notions, there is one important factor that differentiates them. And it is here that Du Bois’ framework becomes important. In CA an action is first and foremost defined in relation to what an utterance is doing (a question, an assessment, an agreement, etc.) and moreover, what the co-participants understand an utterance to be doing. However, as was already mentioned above, when we describe a stance (and consequently stance *taking*) it is necessary to pay attention to the “content” of the utterance, i.e. the stance that is indexed by the linguistic practices in the utterance and the Stance Object in the stance triangle (see Figure 1). Moreover, it is important to look at how the co-participants frame, introduce and negotiate that “content” by certain (recurrent) uses of language and grammar. However, this does not mean describing stance taking would be an explanation of the propositions, statements or arguments in the speakers’ utterances. On the contrary, what is important is to consider how the co-interactants’ stances are motivated by the interactional setting. That is, it is necessary to investigate the role various actions, activities and turn designs have in the stance-taking activity and how they contribute to stance taking in the sequential context of talk-interaction. In addition to this, stance taking becomes apparent in the use of linguistic (morphosyntactic, lexical, and prosodic) practices that are affected by and engage with practices used in prior discourse. And in relation to this, it must be remembered that throughout the process of producing actions and practices, the interactants take into account what they talk about, who their co-interactant is and whom or what this co-interactant represents. As Holquist (1990: 65) argues, following Bakhtin, the speakers’ evaluative attitudes toward what they are talking and their judgment of to whom they are talking, determine the choice of lexical and grammatical units in discourse. So in this sense, the language used when speakers engage in taking stances not only has the potential to reflect social values, beliefs and categories, but also to constitute them.

So stance taking, although composed of individual stances, is indeed an intersubjective activity in interaction. It is therefore important to look at how stances are occasioned, how they are displayed, received and responded to and managed in interaction. Nevertheless, stance taking can be understood neither as an action nor an action sequence in the CA sense, but rather as a larger *activity*. Neither do instances of turn-taking, repair or sequential organization alone explain stance taking, nor can stance taking

be explained solely by the above interactional organizations. In other words, my intention is not to try to rename any of the actions such as *first assessment*, *second assessment* or *assessment sequence* (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, Heritage and Raymond under review, Pomerantz 1984), even though these necessarily involve taking a position or a stance. The reason for this is that these actions and sequences are used to explain the sequential organization of interaction¹⁵ and not how speakers express stances with the help of them.

What, then, is the relationship between the interactional organization(s) and stance taking? Which is more important for interactants? The interactional organization and the social actions that interactants produce or the stances that they take? In other words, which one of these—stances or the interactional organization and actions—is more consequential for the description of the organization of interaction? In CA the question is crystal clear: the first one, interactional organization and social action, is primary. However, also a stance expressed in an utterance, and the way a stance is designed, can locally impinge upon subsequent turn selection and turn design and the types of turns / actions that are made relevant.

Consider the following example from CNN's *Crossfire*. In this example the way in which a stance is constructed in its interactional setting affects the interactional organization and the design of a subsequent turn and stance. In this extract, the host, Tucker Carlson, and the guest, James Zogby (who is the president of the Arab-American Institute) are talking about an incident in which an Arab-American secret service agent, who was also President George W. Bush's personal agent, was removed from an airliner. In the wake of the events on September 11, 2001, this incident caused major controversy about racial profiling, racism and prejudice against Arab-Americans.¹⁶

¹⁵ Pomerantz (1984) claims that the action of producing an assessment is a routinized way of partaking in a social activity in which a speaker invokes a referent of which he or she has direct knowledge and provides an experience or an assessment about the referent. Assessments frequently act as first assessments which preface and engender a second assessment by a co-participant, who then takes a stance about the same referent and either agrees or disagrees with the first assessment.

¹⁶ The examples in this paper come from a corpus that I have collected myself and with the help of colleagues and friends. The corpus contains about 20-25 hours of news interviews from the United States and Britain, which have been recorded between October 1999 and March 2004. The data in this study have been transcribed by using

- (1) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: Racial profiling
 IR: Tucker Carlson, IE: James Zogby (003 / 4 / 1:21)

1 IR: [Wait a 'second],
 2 IE: ^Before I 'start ^getting hate mail,
 3 coming in,
 4 because ^people 'say,
 5 I'm not ^sensitive.
 6 (H) (0.6) ^We 'believe,
 7 ^scrutiny is 'going to be important,
 8 and 'we ^understa=nd,
 9 ^what September eleventh 'meant,
 10 in ^terms of 'people looking,
 11 and ^taking a 'second look at at,
 12 ^people of 'Arab 'descent,
 13 (H) (0.8) But a ^Secret 'Service 'agent,
 14 [A ^guy who] --
 15 IR: [Wait,
 16 'wait a] --
 17 IE: [2who has2] ^passed --
 18 IR: [2'<A> No no 2].
 19 .. No,
 20 (0) <A> you're ^missing the 'distinction.
 21 This is interes% --
 22 He ^said he was a 'Secret Service agent.
 23 'Mohamed 'Atta said he was a ^crop duster.
 24 The ^point is,
 25 <MRC> ^we= 'don't 'kno=w </MRC> ,

The interviewee's utterances that start in line 6 *^We 'believe, ^scrutiny is 'going to be important* etc. and in line 8 *and 'we ^understa=nd, ^what September eleventh 'meant*, etc. report two stances. This is most evident in the use of the two stance markers *believe* and *understand* which are preceded by the first plural personal pronoun "we." In other words, the stances are attributed to the group or the institution that the interviewee represents. It is important to look at how this turn is constructed. First, the two stances in the complement utterances display acquiescence to the fact that in the post-9/11 world there is a connection between increased scrutiny at the airports and what people look like, and that Arab-Americans or the institute that Zogby represents understand this. These two stances are part of a turn design that strongly projects a counter point by the current speaker. This counter point is then produced in line 13: *But a ^Secret 'Service 'agent?* It is noteworthy that this TCU is accomplished by using the *but* together with a single NP that invokes a category. The category

the conventions of Discourse Transcription (hence DT) developed by Du Bois et al. (1991, 1992, 1993) in which one line represents one intonation unit. The key to the relevant transcription conventions can be found in the Appendix.

engages with the category invoked earlier in the same turn (people of Arab descent) and of course its aim is to cast the previous category in a different light or to replace it altogether with this new one. In other words, the aim of the interviewee's turn as a whole is to acknowledge that people in general may be concerned and worried when Arab-American people try to get on planes, but that in this particular case, there are additional circumstances (the fact that the person was a Secret Service agent) that have an impact on this issue.

Immediately after the interviewee mentions the category, the interviewer intervenes in the interviewee's turn at the TRP in line 15 (cf. Piirainen-Marsh 2003). After this the interviewer hastens to produce a disagreeing action. This action *Wait*, 'wait a -- is produced as a repair-initiator (in lines 15–16) and furthered by rapidly produced negative markers <A> *No no* . .. *No*, in lines 18–19.

Even though the design of the interviewee's turn strongly projects the counter point, the interviewer does not produce the disagreeing action only because of this. There are two pieces of evidence for this. First, even though the counter point is foreseeable for the interviewer, he could not possibly know *what* the interviewee was going to say (i.e. what stance is on its way). Second, the interviewee's TCU projects more talk, since it is pragmatically, syntactically and prosodically incomplete (cf. Ford and Thompson 1996). This means that the interviewer intervened in and subsequently disagreed with the category "Secret Service agent" and the assumptions that are attached to it and did not produce the disagreeing action only because the interviewee's turn projected the counter point.

Moreover, as we can see in the interviewer's subsequent turn, the interviewer recycles and uses the category "Secret Service agent" and thus engages with the use of the same category in the interviewee's turn. The interviewer uses it to produce a stance that disagrees with the interviewee's stance in the previous turn. To put it differently, it is both the action type and the implied stance in the interviewee's turn that affect the trajectory of the subsequent interaction and how it is organized. There is a lot going on in this extract,¹⁷ but suffice it to say, the way in which the interviewee constructs his turn, the action that he does in line 13, the language that is used to construct the action and the stance therein affect the turn organization and the design of the subsequent turn.

¹⁷ For more detailed analysis of this sequence and how the racial overtones are constructed through dialogic language use, see Haddington (under review-b).

Consequently, as the above example indicates, the question, which is primary, an action or a stance, is not clear-cut. Even though in the above extract the guest clearly produces an action that shifts the focus of his argument, the interviewer understands that behind the action there is a stance which has been made about a particular issue (about not letting an Arab-American Secret Service agent on a plane), based on a particular background presupposition (that a Secret Service agent should receive special treatment at airports, notwithstanding his ethnic background). The host then displays this understanding by designing his turn in a particular way, by responding to the presupposition implied in the interviewee's turn. So, in sum, the stance in the interviewee's turn plays a significant role in the turn taking and the design of the subsequent turn.

1. Stance taking in news interviews

In the following I combine previous CA findings from news interview interaction with the stance-taking approach outlined above. I introduce a stance-taking activity in which the interviewer sets up a position for the interviewee to take a stance, which is then sequentially followed by the interviewee's attempt to align with that position.

1.0 Conversation analysis and news interviews

CA has successfully adopted a dynamic view of news interview interaction. It sees news interviews as a version of *institutional interaction* (see for example, Drew and Heritage 1992, Drew and Sorjonen 1997, Heritage 1997, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Schegloff 1992), i.e. as type of interaction whose turn-taking system differs from ordinary or everyday talk-in-interaction. It approaches news interviews "as a form of spoken interaction and thus examines the recurrent communicative practices that constitute it" (Clayman 1988: 474). As Heritage (1985: 95) points out, such an approach is also of central importance in the investigation of how opinions (i.e. stances) are interactionally generated in news interviews.

A great deal of the practices and the actions these practices accomplish, such as "maintaining a neutralistic stance," "producing hostile / adversarial questions," "not answering questions," and "agenda shifting," are actions that are produced and identified within single TCUs. However, as was already mentioned above, Ford et al. (1996) claim that it is

worthwhile to consider larger practices (or discourse units) which are relevant for the co-participants. This is indeed particularly relevant for news interview interaction in which turns are recurrently composed of several TCUs. In addition to this, since the TRPs have been “neutralized” in news interviews¹⁸ (Schegloff 2001) TCUs play a less significant role in news interviews than they do in everyday talk. Thereby combinations of TCUs are not only frequent, but fundamental elements of interaction in news interviews.

The multi-unit question turns in news interviews provide for several contingencies for the interviewee to design a response. One such contingency is naturally that the interviewer’s question projects an answer from the interviewee. However, as we just saw in the previous section, it is worth asking whether presupposed, implied and actual stances (cf. Clayman and Heritage 2002, Heritage 2002) in a question turn affect the interactional trajectory, i.e. can a stance provide a projectable, but contingent response in the answering turn? And as we saw above, the answer is yes.

However, in addition to this, it seems that way in which stances are invoked and negotiated in news interviews require a broader view of “a unit.” I suggest that a multi-unit question turn in news interviews can be perceived as a discourse unit, which in complex ways, through the different actions it incorporates and the linguistic resources it relies on, expresses some kind of a stance or stances. In other words, the questioning turn as a sum of its components contributes to the construction of a particular stance. The whole question turn and the stances therein provide several paths or trajectories for the interviewee; trajectories which are relevant both sequentially (e.g. answer the question first) and relevant as a response to a stance in the question. As a consequence, additional patterns can emerge which not only play an important role in how speakers show their understanding of the topical matter, but also in the ways in which the guest and the host display an (intersubjective) understanding of each other.

Indeed, the special stance-taking activities that I discuss in the following section, namely *positioning* and *alignment*, are recurrent activities formed by combinations of practices and actions that construct conversational co-participation across the questioning and answering turns. In the first one, the interviewer sets up a position for the interviewee and, in

¹⁸ 'Neutralized' because of the pre-determined turn-taking system and pre-allocated turn types.

the second one, the interviewee tries to engage with the question and constitute a responsive stance. Furthermore, recurrent uses of certain linguistic resources may contribute to the production of these activities.

1.0 Setting up a position for the interviewee to take a stance

In the following I examine another example from CNN's *Crossfire*. This particular program was broadcast on December 27, 2001 in the wake of the terrorist attacks to New York and Washington D.C. The interviewer is Paul Begala and the interviewee Frank Gaffney.¹⁹ They are talking about the possible repercussions of the most recent so-called "bin Laden-tape." I consider some findings made in CA about news interview interaction and how these contribute to the interviewer activity of setting up a position and to the interviewee alignment.

- (2) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

1 IR: .. Uh the ^new bin Laden tape.
2 (H) ... that's,
3 aired by Al-Jazeera ^today?
4 ... (H)(TSK) When,
5 .. he ^began sending these tapes out,
6 .. the President's National Security Adviser,
7 ^told the 'networks.
8 ...(0.7) They ^shouldn't run these,
9 because 'she ^feared,
10 ... ^first that he would whip up --
11 .. uhv,
12 uhm,
13 .. anti-American 'views,
14 but then ^second,
15 and probably more .. 'ominously,
16 (H) that there were <MRC>secret coded messages</MRC>,
17 ^potentially in these tapes.
18 ... <A>Now they've had some of these tapes for eight weeks.
19 We have the best cryptographers in the world.
20 (0) Is there <MRC>slightest shred of evidence</MRC>,
21 that she was right.
22 IE: ...(1.0) (H) (TSK) Well ^nothing,
23 .. has been blown up,
24 ... so 'fa=r.
25 .. So,
26 ... you might deduce from that,

¹⁹ Paul Begala served for example in the Clinton administration as a counselor to the President. Frank Gaffney is the former Assistant Secretary of Defence and an expert on foreign and defense policy.

27 'no.
 28 ... I don't think this is a matter of ^cryptography,
 29 I think this is a ^question of whether,
 30 <MRC>people have gotten instructions</MRC>,
 31 ...(0.7) (H) who are ^here in this country,
 32 or perhaps ^elsewhere in the world,
 33 ... (H) and will be prepared to ^operate on them.

Let's first consider some of the general characteristics of this news interview question/answer -sequence. Already the design of the two turns here show that this extract is not from mundane interaction. Moreover, even if we did not know, we could infer that the above extract comes from a news interview, because of the lengthy turns and the question / answer -design (Greatbatch 1988).²⁰ As the above example shows, the interview sequence is question-driven (Heritage and Roth 1995) and the turn-types are already pre-allocated to the participants according to their institutional identities, i.e. the interviewer confines himself to asking the question (note that the question is syntactically formulated as a yes/no -question in lines 20-21, cf. Raymond (2000)) and the interviewee answers the question (Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 2003). Importantly, the interviewee *does not* answer the question before the interviewer produces the actual questioning element (in lines 20–21). Furthermore, Heritage (1985) points out that certain interviewer activities in news interviews display a tacit orientation to the overhearing audience. For example, interviewers generally avoid producing “small gestures of alignment and solidarity characteristic in question-answer sequences in conversation” (1985: 100), such as third-turn receipt objects (assessments, oh-prefaces, newsmarkers or continuers). In the above extract, for example, the beginning of the interviewer's turn (lines 1–3) seems not only to be addressed to the interviewee, but also to the members of the overhearing audience, who might not be aware of the most recent developments in the world. And simultaneously lines 1–3 introduce the Stance Object.

The interviewer's turn incorporates a so-called question preface (lines 1–19) (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 104), also sometimes called a “prefatory statement” (Heritage 2003: 60) or a “statement turn component” (Greatbatch 1988: 407). The most important function for question prefaces is that they invoke the particular topical agenda or the background that the question is intended to address in the remaining questioning turn

²⁰ Sacks et al (1974: 730) note that the speech-exchange system and the turn-allocation system therein affects the turn-size of the individual turns: the more restricted the turn-allocation system, the longer the turns tend to be.

components (Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 2003). Note that the interviewee could possibly self-select at any transitional relevance place and construct a response, but rather than doing that, he waits until the interviewer produces the question and thus displays orientation to the restricted turn-taking organization. It is noteworthy that question prefaces have important functions in stance taking. This is most evidently perceived in the ways in which interviewees use the questions as linguistic resources for constructing their responses and their own stances.

An important part of the question preface is the third-party attributed statement in lines 6–17 (attributed to "the President's National Security Adviser"). According to Clayman and Heritage (2002: 155) third-party attributed statements cannot by themselves do questioning, but still they frequently invoke controversial topics. The most important interactional function that third-party attributed statements do is to help interviewers maintain a neutralistic stance toward the topical agenda and also toward their guest. The notion of neutralism is an important element of news interviewing. As is exemplified by Clayman (1988), Heritage (2003) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1991), one of the main reasons broadcast journalists work hard to design their turns as questions is that the questions are a resource for them to sustain and display a neutralistic stance toward the question content and other participants. It is noteworthy, however, as Heritage (2003: 59) points out, that

as the term neutralistic suggests, news interview question is not, and cannot be, strictly neutral. Because questions unavoidably encode attitudes and points of view (Harris, 1986), [interviewers] must still design their questions to strike a balance between the journalistic norms of impartiality and adversarialness.

Neutralism can also be explicated by modifying Du Bois' stance-taking triangle. First, (see Figure 2 below) interviewers usually do not *explicitly* evaluate the Stance Object. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that the interviewer's turn in one way or other "evaluates" (NB. grey text in brackets) the Object, and the interviewer thereby positions himself/herself in relation to the Stance Object. Second, even though the interviewers avoid taking a standpoint in relation to what their guests say, i.e. their refrain from aligning with them, some kind of alignment always takes place between the interviewer and the interviewee, in both directions.

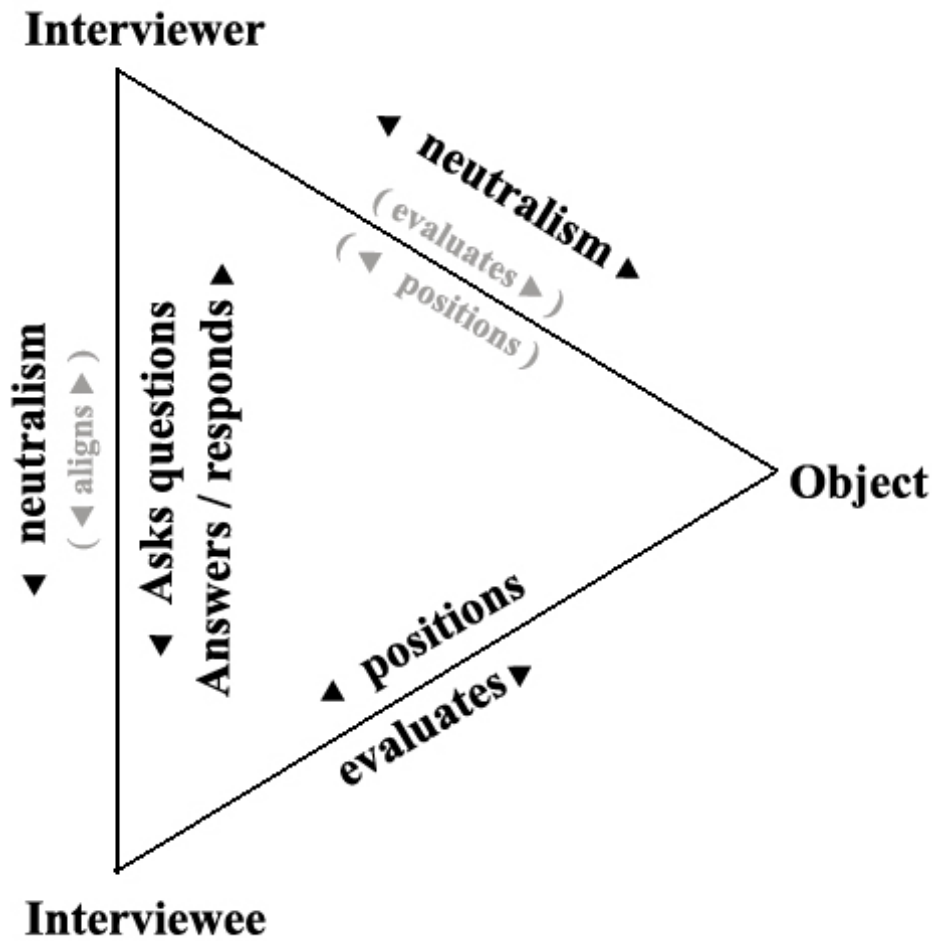


Figure 2. Stance taking in TV interviews

This aspect of the notion of neutralism is very important as we look at stance taking in news interviews. Even though we admit that interviewer questions are designed to be neutralistic, there are always stances embedded in the questions (a third-party stance, a commonly-held fact, presuppositions or whatnot) that the interviewee is expected to engage and align with. Consider the following extract of the above example in which we can identify several individual and subjective stances:

(2a) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
 IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

6 IR: .. the President's National Security Adviser,
 7 ^told the `networks.
 8 ...(0.7) They ^shouldn't run these,
 9 because `she ^feared,

Here the stance is a third-party statement (cf. Clayman and Heritage 2002) attributed to "the President's National Security Adviser" (Subject₁) who has taken a stance about "airing the bin Laden tapes" (Stance Object). The stance is that "the networks should not run these tapes."

(2b) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

16 IR: (H) that there were <MRC>secret coded messages</MRC>,
17 ^potentially in these tapes.

Here the same third-party is reported to have taken another stance "that there are potentially secret coded messages" in the "bin Laden tapes." In other words, the third-party takes a stance about the Stance Object.

As was just mentioned, even though interviewers are expected to remain neutralistic, this does not mean that their questions can not also embody presuppositions, assert propositions or incorporate preferences which invite and favor particular kinds of responses over others (Heritage 2003: 61). Sometimes interviewers apply various techniques to design their questions as downright hostile and adversarial (e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, Heritage 2002). The interviewer's turn in the above example does not contain hostile or adversarial elements *per se*, but still he implicitly adds his own voice in the question. Consider the next two extracts:

(2c) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

15 IR: and probably more .. 'ominously,

Here the adverbials *probably* and *'ominously* frame the third-party stance in (2b), but these adverbials are not part of that third-party stance, but rather the interviewer's way of framing and presenting it in lines 16–17 in a particular light. Thus the adverbials represent the interviewer's voice or his stance relative to the third-party stance.

(2d) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

18 IR: ... <A>Now they've had some of these tapes for eight weeks.
19 We have the best cryptographers in the world.

Here the interviewer momentarily shifts the footing and voices a presupposed stance. These two TCUs are uttered much faster than the surrounding talk, which prosodically distinguishes the footing shift from

the rest of the turn. They are also uttered in an almost casual way. The rapidity and the casualness imply that this utterance is produced only as an insignificant side-comment. Nevertheless, they are contextually relevant and affect the way in which the other turn units are perceived, and thereby contribute to the positioning stance-taking activity that the whole turn is doing. Even though the interviewer here does not explicitly disagree with the reported third-party statement, he frames it in a particular light and basically undermines its reliability and accuracy. In addition to this, the question that finishes the interviewer's turn (lines 20–21) contains a preference.

(2e) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

20 IR: (0) Is there <MRC>slightest shred of evidence</MRC>,
21 that she was right.

The question is designed as a yes/no-type interrogative which restricts the possible relevant answers to a “yes” or a “no” answer. It has been shown that negative yes/no questions and tag questions prefer particular types of answer (Heritage 2003), but this question is neither of these. Even though the issue regarding the preference structure of yes/no -type interrogatives as actions is complex and in some respects unanswered (cf. Raymond 2000), the above question still seems to prefer an agreeing negative-type answer, which would agree with the idea that there are no secret coded messages in the tapes. But how does it do so?

The yes/no interrogative contains the adjective “slight” and the noun “shred” which invoke the idea of smallness and insignificance. These could be seen as so-called negative polarity items, which contribute to the design of the question so that the question prefers a negative answer (Heritage 2003). Moreover, the interviewer emphasizes the preference further by using the superlative construction. The use of these words and the superlative structure suggests that in spite of all the available intelligence resources and information, Condoleezza Rice, the National Security Adviser, probably does not have even the least bit of evidence to support the claim that the interviewer reported in lines 6–17. This stance is further emphasized by the interviewer's voice quality. Each word in this unit is distinct and emphasized (*marcato* voice quality), and is uttered with a pitch that is higher than the pitch in the surrounding talk. In sum, these linguistic elements, together with the apparent relationship that the interrogative has

with the previously reported third-party statement ("any evidence that *she* was right"), contribute to the impression that the question prefers a "no" answer. This puts the interviewee between a rock and a hard place, because if he complied with the preference structure and answered "no," he would strongly disalign with the a high government official, who works in close co-operation with the President only a couple months after 9/11, i.e. during the time when everyone was expected to and in fact almost everyone did support the government's actions.

It is here that an analysis of the combined effects of what the individual TCUs are doing and the evidence from language use become relevant. First of all, even though third-party statements help interviewers to maintain a neutralistic stance (Clayman and Heritage 2002), the fact that the interviewer brings up a statement by the third party already builds up a relationship between the third party and the interviewee. The interviewee is expected (by the audience and due to the turn-taking rules) to state something, or to take a stance, in relation to the reported stance. This expectation is then made overt by the design of the actual question, which not only requests the interviewee to respond to this stance from a particular angle ("any evidence that *she* was right"), but which prefers—through the linguistic design of the question and the presupposed stance voiced through the footing shift earlier—one of two possible relevant answers. Finally, since the action the interviewer produces is indeed a question (and because this is a live news interview broadcast), the interviewee is—in spite of being put in a difficult spot— bound to respond to the question.

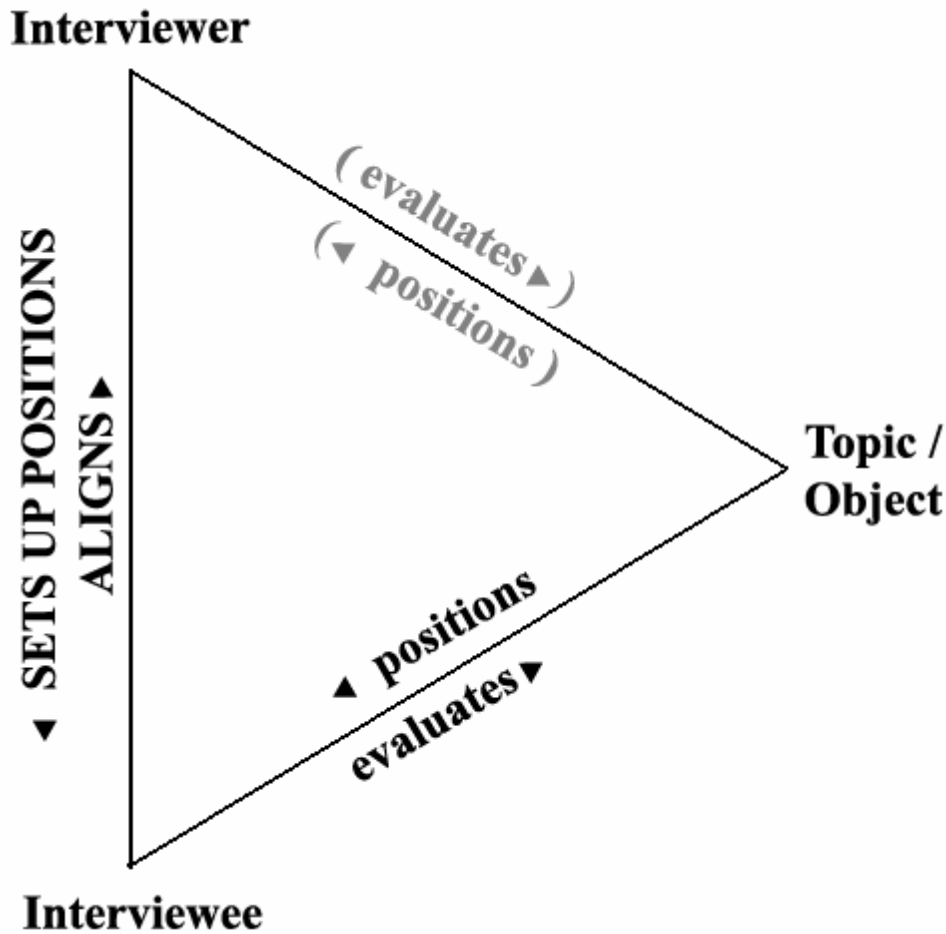


Figure 3. Positioning/alignment in TV interviews

So in effect, these practices and elements in the question turn together contribute to an activity in which the interviewer sets up a position for the interviewee, which he has to take into account when designing his response (see Figure 3). This is a good example of *forward-type* intersubjective activity, because it aims to constrain the possibilities for the interviewee to construct his responsive stance. Moreover, as is shown below, the interviewee's turn-internal trajectory is not only affected by the individual elements in the interviewer's turn, but also by the position that the interviewer set up for him.

1.0 Interviewee's alignment with the position in the question

Also the interviewee's response in example (2) contains features described in the conversation analytic literature on news interviews. According to Clayman and Heritage (2003: 62), interviewees can in general

formulate their responses in ways that accept or resist (or reject altogether) any or all of [the preferences in the interviewer's question]. Thus [interviewees'] responses engage (or decline to engage) [with] the agenda set by [interviewers'] questions, confirm (or disconfirm) its presuppositions, and align (or disalign) with its preferences.

Consider example (2f) below.

(2f) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

22 IE: ... (1.0) (H) (TSK) Well ^nothing,
23 .. has been blown up,
24 ... so `fa=r.
25 .. So,
26 ... you might deduce from that,
27 `no.

The interviewee's response and the stance encoded therein display fine-tuned orientation to and alignment with the question. First of all, the interviewee initially responds to the most recent TCU in the question and only after that responds to earlier TCUs in that turn (cf. fn 4 in Clayman and Heritage 2002 106–107).²¹ The interviewer also complies with the action agenda of the question, by choosing one of the two alternatives to answer the question, i.e. he answers “no.” By doing so, he also provides the preferred response that the question projected. However, it is important to notice that the interviewee carefully designs the TCU so that he explicitly avoids claiming the stance to himself, and rather relies on evidence or induction (cf. Chafe 1986). He further distances from the stance by using the generic pronoun “you” and the modal verb “might” (cf. “can”) (line 26). In sum, the interviewee displays intersubjective engagement with the interviewer's question, but simultaneously bypasses the position set up in the question.

Next, the interviewee says:

²¹ See also Sacks (1987 [1973]) and Heritage and Roth (1995).

(2g) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec 27, 2001: The new bin Laden tape
 IR: Paul Begala, IE: Frank Gaffney (003 / 1 / 1:13)

28 IE: ... I don't think this is a matter of ^cryptography,
 29 I think this is a ^question of whether,
 30 <MRC>people have gotten instructions</MRC>,
 31 ...(0.7) (H) who are ^here in this country,
 32 or perhaps ^elsewhere in the world,
 33 ... (H) and will be prepared to ^operate on them.

Here (in lines 28-29) the interviewee begins to shift the topical agenda (cf. Clayman 2001, Greatbatch 1986). Since the topical agenda is shifted after the appropriate answer ("no") is given, the interviewee is doing a post-answer agenda shift (Greatbatch 1986). However, the interviewee does not just shift the agenda. He does this by engaging with one part of the question, namely the part in which the interviewer shifted the footing and added his own voice in the question. Simultaneously by engaging with the question, he disaligns with the presupposition in it. In other words, the interviewee takes a stance "that this issue is not about cryptography" in relation to "airing the bin Laden tapes" (Stance Object).

What makes lines 28–29 particularly interesting is that the agenda shift is a combination of two actions: a denial and a counter-stance (cf. Ford 2002). Based on a collection of this combination, both of these actions have important functions: by first doing the denial, the interviewee dialogically engages with one part of the question and thereby addresses and responds to it. Interviewees frequently construct the denial by using a stance marker, which is often of the type *I don't think*, as in the above example.²² Simon-Vandenberg (2000) argues that in news interviews, *I don't think* conveys and frames the speakers' subsequent opinion (cf. the idea of subjectivity above). However, based on my data, it is not only doing that, but interviewees can also use it in some interactional contexts as a linguistic resource in order to orient to the position set up in the question (i.e. the marker is doing intersubjective work). Therefore, it displays a *backward-type* intersubjective relation between the two stances. What acts as further evidence for this is that the remaining parts of the interviewee's TCUs, which are framed by this type of stance marker, frequently recycle linguistic elements from the interviewer's turn, such as the NP *cryptography* in the example above.

²² However, it can also be composed of a combination of the first person pronoun, a negative particle and another cognitive or epistemic verb.

After the denial, the second action—the production of a counter-stance—then does the actual agenda shift which enables the interviewee to steer away from the position in the question. In other words, by doing the counter-stance, interviewees are able to express their own stance. The use of this action combination and the linguistic pattern

1st person pronoun + NEG + (cognitive / epistemic) verb + predication₁
 1st person pronoun + (cognitive / epistemic) verb + predication₂

which is here realized as

I don't think
 I think²³

is a resource for producing the agenda shift.²⁴ This action combination and linguistic pattern in it could be perceived as a turn-constructive format (Ford 2002), a pattern in which two actions are closely connected. The connectedness can clearly be heard in the prosody. The intonation contour at the end of the denial (in line 28) is produced with clear continuing intonation. There is also no pause between the two actions. Rather the second part is almost latched onto the first part. In addition to the prosodic evidence, the denial also pragmatically projects an explanation or a solution. A denial alone in the news interview context (as well as in everyday talk, cf. Ford (2002)) would be inadequate, because it is expected that the interviewee gives a reason for why he denies some aspect of the question. Therefore, the denial projects a move toward the second part, the counter-stance, and thereby strengthens the claim that the two actions are not just doing individual actions, but that they are organizing a larger intersubjective stance-taking related activity (i.e. an understanding between two subjectivities, cf. Heritage (1984)) of responding to an implied, presupposed or overtly voiced stance in the question. In spite of this, interviewees engage with the question and by using this pattern align with the position set up in the question, rather than just bluntly not answering it. This combination of actions featuring *this particular linguistic pattern* is not only frequent in news interviews, but very rare in everyday conversation. Finally, it is noteworthy that first person personal pronouns occur very frequently in both parts of this linguistic pattern. It is possible

²³ Haddington (2005, under review-a) discusses this pattern in greater detail.

²⁴ Cf. research done in interactional linguistics which looks at the relationship between linguistic structure and everyday language use. See for example Couper Kuhlén and Selting (2001), Ford et al. (2003), Keevallik (2003) and Thompson (2001).

that these pronouns express a more subjective way of approaching the issue than, for example, if the interviewee's used the generic "you." However, the question of how much these first person pronouns actually refer to the speaker, or whether they are completely void of referentiality in different stance markers (e.g. *I think*, cf. Kärkkäinen (2003)) or discourse markers (e.g. *I mean*, cf. Schiffrin (1987)) is problematic and cannot be discussed here. Nevertheless, they would seem to focus attention to the talk that follows them and therefore be important in terms of how stances are constructed in talk-in-interaction.

4. Summary

This paper has approached the notion of stance taking with two foci in mind: first of all, it has discussed the notions of stance and stance taking by outlining some linguistic work on stance, which focuses on various linguistic markers and how these semantically express stance. It has claimed that such approaches are inadequate for describing stance taking as it occurs in talk-in-interaction. Consequently, it has suggested that in order to study stance taking in interaction, one solution is to combine the views provided by Du Bois in this "theory of stance," with the methods, tools and findings of conversation analysis. Both of these provide an understanding and tools for approaching stance taking as an intersubjective and contingent activity. Stance taking has here been defined as an intersubjective activity in which co-participants display their stances by simultaneously using the multitude of linguistic resources available to them and by deploying the sequential aspects of interaction and turn design. In addition to this, it has been shown that stances can construct and organize subsequent interaction. In other words, stance taking is a contingent activity.

Second, scant attention has been given to a combined interactional and linguistic analysis in news interview data. I showed how previous work on news interviews has concentrated primarily on some individual linguistic aspects of stance or on actions within relatively small fragments of talk. I suggested that by looking at how the participants construct their long turns (which are characteristic in this type of interaction) in news interview interaction, certain action combinations and turn-constructional formats (Ford 2002) emerge, which show that co-participants not only carefully design their stances, but that they also display a clear orientation to their co-participants' prior stances. In other words, stance taking in news interviews is intersubjective and dialogical.

The last point was supported with an analysis of an example from CNN's *Crossfire*. With the help of the example, I showed how interviewers set up positions for the interviewees that the interviewees must take into account in order to construct their own stances (cf. the notion of *forward-type* intersubjectivity). In order to do this, interviewers rely on various linguistic resources (morphosyntactic design of questions, particular uses of words and prosody) and other practices (invoking third-party stances). Interviewees, on the other hand, carefully take into account what interviewers have said and what issues they have highlighted (*backward-type* intersubjectivity). Various linguistic forms in their responses resonate with the language in the interviewer's question and thereby display engagement between the host and the guest and their utterances. One particularly recurrent linguistic pattern in this context is

I don't think
I think

The function of this turn-constructural format is to respond to a position or presupposition set up in the interviewer's turn and finally to steer away from it.

Finally, the stance-taking activity (positioning / alignment) is characteristic to news interviews. The reason for this is that it is a result of the combinations of various practices and actions in questions and answers, which altogether are provided for by the turn-taking system in news interviews and the possibility of producing multi-unit turns. In addition to this, the ways in which the co-participants use various linguistic resources contribute to the production of these stance-taking activities.

In spite of all the apparent complications regarding stance as an analytic notion, *stance taking* seems to be a highly meaningful activity for co-participants when they talk to each other. And the news interview data provides an interesting area for the investigation of stance taking.

The Appendix: Transcription conventions

Based on Du Bois (1991), Du Bois et al. (1992) and Du Bois et al. (1993).²⁵

UNITS

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| Intonation unit | {line break} |
| Truncated intonation unit | -- |
| Truncated word | - (en dash) |

TRANSITIONAL CONTINUITY

| | |
|--|---|
| Final | . |
| Continuing | , |
| Appeal (seeking a validating response from listener) | ? |

SPEAKERS

| | |
|--|-------|
| Speech overlap | [] |
| (numbers inside brackets index overlaps) | [2 2] |
| Name/identity/address is pseudo | ~Jill |
| Name/identity/address is real | Jill |

ACCENT AND LENGTHENING

| | |
|---|---|
| Primary accent (prominent pitch movement carrying intonational meaning) | ^ |
| Secondary accent | ' |
| Unaccented | |
| Lengthening | = |
| High booster | ! |

PAUSE

| | |
|---|--------|
| Long pause (0.7 seconds or longer) | ...(N) |
| Medium pause (0.3 - 0.6 s) | ... |
| Short (brief break in speech rhythm, 0.2 or less) | .. |
| Latching | (0) |

VOCAL NOISES

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Alveolar click | (TSK) |
| Glottal stop | (GLOTTAL) |
| Exhalation | (Hx) |
| Inhalation | (H) |
| Laughter (one pulse) | @ |
| Laughter during speech (1-5 words) | @ (e.g. @two @words) |

²⁵ I use Courier New font type in the examples because it is a monospace font. This makes aligning simultaneous actions easier than with proportional fonts such as Arial or Times, for example.

Laughter during speech (+6 words) @ (e.g. <@>six words </@>)
 Others (SNIFF), (DRINK), etc.

QUALITY

Special voice quality <VOX> two words </VOX>

Loudness
 Forte: loud <F> </F>
 Piano: soft <P> </P>

Pitch
 Higher pitch level <HI> </HI>
 Lowered pitch level <LO> </LO>
 Parenthetical prosody <PAR> </PAR>

Tempo and rhythm
 Allegro: rapid speech <A>
 Lento: slow speech <L> </L>
 Marcato: each word distinct and emphasized <MRC> </MRC>
 Arrhythmic: halting speech <ARH> </ARH>

Voice quality
 Whispered <WH> </WH>
 Breathy
 </BR>
 Creak %
 Creak during speech % (e.g. %two %words)
 Crying <CRY> </CRY>
 Yawning <YWN> </YWN>
 Quotative <QUOT></QUOT>

TRANSCRIBER'S PERSPECTIVE

Uncertain hearing # (e.g. #two #words)
 Researcher's comment (())
 Indecipherable syllable #

SPECIALIZED NOTATIONS

Duration (in seconds) <D:1.2>
 Intonation unit continued &
 Restart {Capital initial}
 False start < >
 Nontranscription line \$

SOME SPELLINGS AND GLOSSES

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| uh, unh, um | hesitation (filled pause) |
| m, hm | awareness, wonder, backchannel |
| huh, hunh | awareness, wonder, backchannel |
| mhm, unhhunh, uhuh | backchannel or affirmative response |
| unh-unh | negative response (initial syllable stressed) |
| uh-oh | alarm cry |

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