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## TALK SHOWS AS A NARRATION

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## INTRODUCTION

Talk shows have been objects of study since the late 20th century. However, conversation and narration in celebrity talk shows are an area of study that is underresearched. Some names of the scholars that have written works in this field include I. Hutchby, L. Loeb, A. Dunn, A. Tolson, and others. The ways in which the host, the celebrity guest, and the audience collaborate while creating a narrative of an intimate relationship and admiration are yet to be studied. Thus, the results of the research will provide additional data about the narration in media.

The object of the research is oral narratives and the act of storytelling in media. In theoretical and practical studies, oral narratives have mostly been explored in the context of casual conversations and storytelling has been looked at from the point of view of general structures and elements.

The subject of the research is narration in celebrity talk shows. Talk shows present a more constricting space for storytelling and carry with them unwritten rules about what is acceptable and what is unacceptable. By exploring the way the narrators in these shows interact with these rules and structure their stories in relation to their communicative purposes, we expand on already existing studies.

The aim of the research to distinguish the prevalent strategies and the common violations in the structure of storytelling by the participants of talk shows and to define the general features that influence the narration.

In accordance with this aim, we have the following tasks:

1. Choose methods to employ in conducting an analysis into the narration which occurs in media.
2. Select the source material for the research. In this case, this is the type of talk shows we want to explore.
3. Research the works of scholars and linguists who have studied this topic or topics related to it. Examine their definitions, classifications and conclusions in relation to the structure and the content of narration.

4. Apply the methods to the analysis of the compiled data to seek out the repeating formulas the narrators use.

5. Define the strategies, the tools, and the principles employed by the narrators and characterize them from the point of view of communicative purposes.

6. Draw the conclusions and suggest these findings to be used in further studies.

The methods of the research. We employ the qualitative and descriptive methods as we make inferences about the patterns by exploring and understanding the similarities and differences in how the participants tell their stories. The descriptive method is used to provide an accurate account of the data which supports the claims we make.

The compiled data of the research consists of 94 celebrity talk show interviews produced by “Jimmy Kimmel Live!”, “The Ellen DeGeneres Show”, “The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon”, and “The Late Show with Stephen Colbert”.

The novelty of the research lies in introducing a study with the focus on communication in settings with a third participant, the audience, and suggesting methods to apply while exploring storytelling in talk shows. We have expanded on already existing studies by focusing on one particular setting and one particular type of a guest. This has made us draw more concise and more concrete conclusions about the host-guest relationship and its influence on the narration. Our analysis has let us make informed assumptions about the trends that can be seen in this kind of entertainment programs. These trends include the dominant strategies the participants use to build the pretense of intimacy, the ways in which they operate when that image is threatened, and the tools employed by them to shape the narration.

The practical significance of the research lies in its possible use as an additional source of data in further studies into the topic of narration in media, and particularly talk shows.

The structure of the research is dictated by the requirements of the work: an introduction, 3 chapters, conclusions to chapters and overall conclusions, a list of used references and a list of used sources which together include 91 nominations.

# **I. THE NATURE OF ORAL NARRATIVE AND TOOLS TO ANALYSE IT**

## **1.1. Oral narratives and narratives of personal experience as outlets for self-expression**

Stories are an integral part of communication. They exist in every culture and all types of discourse. The fact that children start to compose stories as they acquire language shows that language tends to organize itself in narrative form almost automatically. We learn about the functions of the objects through stories [30].

In this way, oral narratives may be viewed as the prototypical form of narrative. Many literary genres intentionally use the structures of oral narratives. They dominate in early written texts. Postmodern narratives use them in order to move away from established literary models [9].

Roland Barthes points out that life itself is a story which is “international, transhistorical, and transcultural”. Narrative is present in all societies and it started with the beginning of mankind. People have never existed without narrative, without their own stories. People have been reinventing and injecting narrative with what they have lived through or have come to know. Nevertheless, narrative does not imitate. It uncovers the desire of discovering a higher order of relation and sequence that captures hopes, triumphs, and threats [2].

Richard Bauman suggests that the special nature of narrative lies in the fact that it is “doubly anchored” in human events. Oral performance is rooted in culturally defined events and constate meaningful contexts for interpretation and evaluation [3].

According to William Labov, oral narratives of personal experience have been one of the most prolific areas for the study because their structure is “unusually clear and well defined”. The surface order of the narrative clauses matches the projected order of the events described [23].

Usually, there is no independent source of information of what exactly happened and we rely on the narrative itself. However, inferences about the

connection of the events as reported with the original events may give us an insight into the way the narrator transforms the reality in order to report it to others. For example, the narrator may omit some events or exploit ambiguous constructions so that they can reassign their own guilt for something onto another person or general situation [23].

Labov and Waletzky introduced an approach to the analysis of personal-experience narrative that included both clause-by-clause linguistic analysis and the further study of how those structural units were connected with what those narratives were to accomplish. Their method was used in comparing the narrative styles across social groups and in measuring children's development of narrative skill. However, it was not used as frequently in the study of adults' narratives [19, 24].

Every narrative includes at least two "narrative clauses". A narrative clause cannot be moved without changing the chronology. Labov and Waletzky distinguished two functions of a clause [19]:

- referential – a clause concerns the events, characters, and setting.
- evaluative – a clause states or highlights the reason why the narrator is telling the story and why the audience should listen.

According to Labov and Waletzky, a fully-developed narrative has six functional elements [19, 52]:

- abstract (summary of the narrative) consists of one or two clauses and occurs at the beginning of the story. It helps the narrator announce that they have a story to tell and make a claim to the right to tell it, giving arguments as to why it is relevant or worth the audience's time.
- orientation is concerned with the setting (e.g., time and place), the characters of the story and the activities they partake in. It has the role of introducing the audience to the elements of the story. It usually occurs at the beginning but may be interjected later, too.
- complicating action is concerned with retelling the sequence of events which are leading up to the climax and to the resolution of the suspense. They create the tension that keeps audience's attention. They are often told in the past simple

tense. However, according to Wolfson and Schiffrin, there may occur the use of historical present or HP. It serves a partitioning function, and the switch from the past to HP may be have an evaluative function as it highlights the unique points of the story.

- evaluation is concerned with the attitude of the narrator towards the event and the significance of the event itself. These clauses highlight the unique or interesting points of the story and again show the reason why the audience should keep listening to the narrator. They may occur in clauses that include outsider commentary, in extra detail, in paraphrase/repetition, in intensifiers, in explicatives, in direct quotation, and so on.

- resolution resolves the tension and announce what happened in the end.
- coda – the narrator returns to the present. They may state that the story is finished, provide a summary or connect the story with the present.

However, the problem with defining the structure of the narrative is that a great number of texts do not fit in the frameworks proposed by the scholars. Some elements may be absent or occur in a different sequence. It is also necessary not to try and forcefully fit a story into a rigid framework because this will have a detrimental effect on the legitimacy of the study. Moreover, one also should take into an account that other cultures may have a different way of structuring a narrative and we should not try to look at it only through the lens of our own perspective and our own culture [52].

Later, the study of narrative moved away from the structuralist notions. Mieke Bal looked at a narrative as a heuristic tool which should be applied together with other notions and theories. She insisted that narrative is of common nature and that any narrative utterance cannot be understood unequivocally. For Mieke Bal, narrative analysis transforms into a cultural analysis through the study of various structure of narrative texts in different cultural contexts [52].

Monika Fludernik distinguishes four basic prototypes of oral narrative: spontaneous conversational narrative, or natural narrative, institutionalized oral

narrative in an oral culture context, oral bardic poetry, and simulations of orality in written text (for example, pseudo-orality) [10].

Spontaneous conversational narratives occur face-to-face, in a variety of contexts and within the framework of everyday interaction. They happen without the solicitation by the researcher. Interviews belong to the solicited narratives [10].

Institutionalized oral narratives and oral bardic poetry include oral poetry, traditional verse-form storytelling, anecdotes, parables and other similar short narrative forms. As opposed to the first prototype, these prototypes have an appointed practiced performer and a bigger number of interlocutors. The storyteller has the exclusive “turn” as the performer [10].

Pseudo-oral discourse is widely spread in literary texts. It can occur in two forms: as a representation of dialect or foreign speech or as an evocation of an oral narrator persona [10].

Elinor Ochs views narrative of personal experience as a discourse genre, mode of cognition, and social activity. Personal experience may be rendered either as a coherent narrative with a beginning, a middle and an end or as an enigmatic life episode [34].

Narratives of personal experience can follow one of two practices. In NP1, narrators present one consistent logic of experience, including an unexpected/problematic event and a resolution. In NP2, narrators question or dispute the meaning or accuracy of a recounted logic of experience [34].

The Dimensional Approach suggests five dimensions that are relevant to all narratives of personal experience. The five basic narrative dimensions comprise Tellership, Tellability, Embeddedness, Linearity, and Moral Stance [34].

- *Tellership*. This dimension includes the extent of participation in the co-telling of a narrative. There may be one active co-teller or multiple, active co-tellers. Narrative interaction may be dominated by a primary teller, who recounts events with a relatively passive co-teller. Some narrative interactions may start out with one variant of tellership, then shift to another [34].

- *Tellability.* This dimension concerns the significance and the rhetorical style of the storytelling. High tellability refers to an experience that is recounted as highly reportable and in a compelling manner. Low tellability refers to an experience that is recounted as moderately reportable and in an un compelling manner [34].
- *Embeddedness.* This dimension concerns the relation of a narrative to surrounding discourse and social activity. Detached narratives may concern an experience that is not connected with what has been discussed previously. Embedded narratives may be used to recount events that extend a current focus of attention [34].
- *Linearity.* This dimension concerns the narrative logic in organizing a sequence of events. Narrative may have closed or open causal and temporal order. In non-linear narratives, tellers may showcase confusion or memory lapses [34].
- *Moral Stance.* This dimension is central to narratives of personal experience. Elinor Ochs defines this as “tellers articulating a temporal and causal sequence of events in relation to principles of goodness”. Narratives may have certain, constant moral stance or uncertain, fluid moral stance. Depending upon situation and community, some tellers may use narrative to affirm a moral perspective [34].

Mark Freeman turns his attention to the relationship between the narrative and the identity. He suggests five dimensions which could explicate their connection: historical, cultural, rhetorical, experiential, and poetic [12].

The historical dimension is concerned with the changes the narrative undergone across the course of history as it reflected different forms of life. The conception of “self” went from being framed as cyclical pattern of growth and decay to being understood as a sequence of unique, unrepeatable events. The relationship between narrative and identity in itself is a product of distinct transformations in history [12].

The cultural dimension is central to this relationship. The narratives about self are culturally situated. The narrator’s story cannot be wholly theirs alone. The narrator articulates their existence through the models their culture provides for them.

Feldman points out the deep connection between personal stories and cultural stories. Our personal stories are shaped by our cultural worlds [12].

The rhetorical dimension is concerned with what is being done through narrative, what its functions might be, and what target audience it has. In order to understand the story, the audience has to have some knowledge about the world the narrator reconstructs. Via this communicative interaction, the narrator's identity is produced and reproduced again and again. It is important to explore the conditions of production and reception [12].

The experiential dimension is concerned with the following question: "What is psychological experience, or, in simple words, life, is like?" One may think that narrative imposes unity and meaning on life. Another may believe that identity is constructed out of discrete episodes of experience. M. Freeman highlights the more radical statement – that narrative is itself the source of the self's identity [12].

The poetic realm invites interpretation and the creation of meaning. It explores the narrative construction of identity and experience. It includes such categories as "verisimilitude", "lifelikeness", "capacity to express depth of human feeling", and "ability to convey the utterly contradictory nature of human existence". It opens a more expansive conception truth and a more humane conception of a human life [12].

The exploration of the connection between the structure of the narrative and the identity of the narrator has been undergoing since the beginning of the 1970s. Then, sociolinguists tried to link social characteristics of narrators with the characteristics of their narratives. Later, they started paying attention to the strategic use of categories by the narrators as they express themselves and their relationship with others through the structuring of the story. The narrators use linguistic resources, ways of sounding associated with gender, class, ethnicity or age, not only to display who they are but to make a statement about who they think are and how they want to be viewed [20].

Narratives form an important part of material for identity work. An example of a narrative form of expressing and claiming identity is a self-narrative. It is centered around making a point about the narrator and is simultaneously expressive and

constitutive of identity. However, it is not given adequate attention and there is no clear distinction between the forms it may take on and functions it may have [17].

## **1.2. Narrative and media in the USA**

Broadcasting heavily features directly addressed talk as radio and television have become parts of the domestic environment. They accompany the daily life of ordinary people and are also forced to constantly compete for attention and ratings [43].

Media talk has three key concepts which are based around the necessity of appearing ‘friendly to the listener’: interactivity (direct address, the use of forms of talk which evoke listener response (e.g., greetings), performativity (media talk is a type of performance), and liveliness (the illusion of spontaneity) [43].

All types of media talk have their own ways of storytelling, all of which depend on the conditions under which that medium operates. This includes the technical side of things, the available time given for one story, the traditional devices of unfolding the story, what kind of roles the participants play in the interaction, etc. Celebrity talk shows work on time-constraint, are conducted face-to-face, involve the use of visual components, and are intent on creating the atmosphere of intimacy between the host, the guest, and the audience [6].

TV talk shows emerged out of three decades of radio and five decades of television practice [41]. Starting from its inception in 1920s and up until the 1950s, radio talk shows developed two types of interviews: news interviews, which focused on serious subjects and were appropriately formal in tone, and talk shows of all types, which featured ordinary people and celebrities, concerned popular culture and life in general, and were casual in tone. The first type was taken far more seriously than the second one [28].

Nowadays there is no such strict distinction between the news programs and the entertainment shows. Not only do these shows discuss the personal issues and

popular culture, they also feature politically- and culturally-important conversations [28].

The move from radio to television was complicated. At the time of conception of television, there were no facilities for storing and editing the footage, so broadcasting was happening live. The first video tapes appeared in the USA and the UK only at the end of the 1950s. Another problem was the immobility of the equipment. The radio broadcast could freely operate outside of the studio while television practice was dealing with heavy cameras and unreliable technology. Thus, their space for operating was limited. As a result, television was at first considered only a visualization of a radio show. The ability to show the visual and do it in real-time were the defining features of the TV of that time [4].

Bernard M. Timberg defines a talk world as an intersection of the public and the private, where a group of people talk among themselves and also address an invisible but defined collective audience and distinguishes five historical cycles of talk shows [41]:

1) the first cycle (1948 – 1962) was the era of founders. Arthur Godfrey, Edward R. Murrow, Dave Garroway, Arlene Francis, Mike Wallace, and Jack Paar all had great credit in establishing major subgenres of TV talk. Starting from 1948, the ownership of a TV per household grew from 1 percent to 90 percent at the end of the 1950s. The era started with experiments and then gradually became dependent on a handful of hosts. By the end of the cycle, the founders were gone and replaced by controlling companies which imposed censorship [41].

2) the second cycle (1962 - 1974) saw the rise of network power. They were in control of programming and video tapes, and were more concerned about not upsetting advertisers. During this time, there was a shift away from live broadcasting. Few hosts from syndicated talk industry were able to be as successful as those who worked on networks [41].

3) during the third cycle (1974 – 1980) network power began to fade, individual stars became profit-makers, and new broadcasting entities came to be. Networks encountered competition in the face of independent station groups, cable,

etc. B. M. Timberg points out two main images that sum up this time: the battle for ratings and the realization of the impact and the reach talk shows may have [41].

The fourth cycle and the fifth cycle saw the post-network era. During this time, the line between news and entertainment began to blur. Scholars and critics started to discuss the impact of talk shows as a platform for self-expression [41].

4) the fourth cycle (1980 – 1990) entailed a growth in cable television and the accelerated producing of reality shows and infotainment. The hybrid programs marked a change in the future development of talk shows. At that time, viewers started to see people of color and people of various ethnical background in the role of hosts. For example, Oprah Winfrey who made over 100 million dollars in her first year on national television. Studio audiences also experienced a change, starting to feature more than just the typical Midwestern look. The 1980s also saw the first woman who could challenge the most known male hosts – Joan Rivers. By the end of decade, an estimated 75 million people were watching daytime and late-night shows [41].

5) the fifth cycle (1990 – 2000) saw talk shows be a critically recognized genre which was to be taken seriously. They became a force to be reckoned with within American society as the hosts were the mediators and the points of public opinion. Talk shows of this time could be described as “retro” and “hybrid” as some returned to the earlier formats and others continued to experiment. The former is for example the Tonight show with then-host Jay Leno, which intended to preserve its massive audience. The latter is for example the Larry Sanders Show, which blended news and comedy into its structure. Technology introduced a new level of competitiveness and the ownership became to be focused in the hands of a smaller group of people [41].

Nowadays, many have belief that live television is the “real” television. That is something that the audience desires because it may seem that if something is happening live, then it is a genuine reflection of true events and reactions, and an imitation of reality. People feel included and immersed when they think that they are experiencing something at the same time as it is happening on the screen. This is why some of the productions try to sell their shows as “live on tape” and live experience.

In these cases, editing is limited in its possibilities. Hanne Bruun marks this degree of unreliability and immediacy as one of the main points of the people's attraction to talk shows [4].

There is no one typology of talk shows. One may distinguish them by the time they are airing (daytime, late night), the type and number of the hosts (interviewer, moderator; one host or a roundtable of hosts), the type of the audience (actively partaking, passive), the type of audience ("ordinary people", celebrities, experts, sportspeople, etc.), the issues discussed (family problems, societal problems, sports events, politics, etc.) [50]. We are focusing on talk shows which feature celebrities as guests and which are built on telling personal stories with the intention of entertaining and promoting oneself. The audience is present but does not have a voice, only gives non-verbal reactions and follows the cues of the host and the guest.

Talk shows from the USA are easier to distinguish based on the format and the time they air. Bernard M. Timberg divides them into late-night entertainment talk shows, daytime audience-participation shows and the early-morning news talk shows [41]. We are taking into account the first two types.

As the ratings go, for the 2019-2020 TV season, the top-rated late-night talk shows were *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert*, *The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon*, *Jimmy Kimmel Live*, *Late Night with Seth Meyers*, and *The Late Late Show with James Corden*. Stephen Colbert's talk show has been a prominent leader for the last four years and that season attracted 3.6 million viewers. However, on Youtube, the most views are garnered by Jimmy Fallon and Jimmy Kimmel [32].

Daytime talk shows have had a less stable year. In 2020 a scandal arose when clips of interviews from the "*The Ellen DeGeneres Show*", the leader in ratings, were shared around on the Internet. Later, the situation was worsened when former staff came forward with claims of the toxic environment backstage too. Ellen, the host, was called out for her rudeness and ignorance towards her guests, and as a result, the show was forced to go on a break [44]. When it returned, it started with a big apology and a promise to do better from Ellen. Nevertheless, as of the beginning of 2021, the show lost more than a million viewers [22]. Thus, we should not underestimate the

influence the audience now has on these shows, which are built on appealing to people.

The question of authenticity of broadcast talk has been explored by J. Thornborrow and L. van Leeuwen. Authenticity is a complex term and has many definitions. In this case, it relates to the notion of someone being perceived as truthful and natural. Authentic talk, including broadcast talk, is a talk that can be accepted as “a source of truth and sincerity” [45].

Spontaneity, impulsiveness, and quickness of response to a question generally is believed to show the true reflection of the person’s reaction. Anything that seems to be premeditated and scripted is usually believed to be an ingenuine reaction. However, the way people judge whether someone behaves themselves authentically hinges on culturally-specific aspects. Extremely restrained response may seem insincere to one culture while being completely appropriate in another. The judgement of whether something that is said is a lie or a true can be based on assessing pitch changes, body language, choice of words, etc. [45]

However, commonplace judgements like these (even though they can be valid) have not been undoubtedly adequate for assessing authenticity in a long time. Authenticity is not objective and is relative to norms, and as they change, our interpretation of someone and their words will change, too. T. van Leeuwen suggests moving on from the question “How authentic is this?”, and towards questions like “Who takes this as authentic? /Who does not?” and “On the basis of which visible or audible cues are these judgements made [45]?”

Since talk shows are built on different variations of the same format, in this case of interview, it is important to note that it involves the appearance of the second narrator - an interviewer. Both the interviewee and the interviewer take on the narrative roles. According to Bell and van Leeuwen, the interviewer can take the following roles: interrogator, counsellor, teacher/student, interpellator, or colleague [6].

Talk show hosts can take on any of the abovementioned roles. The role of interpellator involves the interviewer taking on the role of the common people or the

fans in relation to the guest. It gives them the power to ask invasive questions or ask about uncomfortable topics because they can justify it by saying that that is not them asking. Famous example of this is an American day-time talk show “The Ellen Show”. When the host, Ellen, sees that the guest does not like the question, she can sometimes say, “... but the fans want to know”. In this way, she applies additional pressure on the celebrity by suggesting disappointing their fans and successfully forcing them to answer the uncomfortable question [6].

In interviews the host has the control over time allotted to each part of the conversation and the topic of discussion. Phillips and Lindgren suggested four purposes of doing an interview [6, 35]:

- to elicit information;
- to comment, justify, or interpret;
- to recount a personal experience;
- to explore/enjoy a personality.

We can see more of the latter two than the former two in talk shows, especially the celebrity talk shows. The reason for this is that the goal of the host is to promote the show and raise the ratings by entertaining the audience, and the goal of the guest is to promote themselves or their work. In this way, following the first two reasons could only be an obstacle for these goals.

Talk shows are also characterized by the dramatization of the events and the performed retelling done collaboratively by the host and the guest. It is also important to note the passive and reactionary role of the audience who is in this case the designated generalized listener. Their reactions in the studio are expected to represent reactions of people watching at home [16].

Ian Hutchby writes that talk shows feature a narrative that provides two different versions of one event: “straight” and “performed”. The “performed” version is created when the speaker changes the exact words, the tone, or the context of what took place in order to dramatize the events [16].

The use of reported speech is also an important aspect of storytelling in talk shows. It may be used when the speaker tries to relate what they themselves or

someone else said during a past event. The speaker can also use when they are telling someone else's story in which they themselves were not a participant. In this way they avoid the responsibility of the story and the words said being completely accurate [14].

In fact, reported speech is not restricted to reenacting the events with 100% accuracy at all. It can appear in speech when the speaker is making up what a stereotypical character may say or what someone else could have said on some hypothetical occasion. According to E. Holt, reported speech of this character produces enactments, meaning sequences of speech in a conversation where the participants make up or add on to a (humorous) story together in order to create an extended interaction. In order to do it, both of them have to shift footing to play a character. We can see an example of this when the host does an ad-lib during a guest's story or predicts the words of other people in the story based on their job position, gender, age, and so on [14].

This is complicated by the fact that the use of forms such as "be like" and "like" as introductory components blurs the line between the direct and indirect speech. A remarkable number of reported speech items does not have an introductory component at all. E. Holt notes that the omission of a framing component may occur due to various reasons, for example, when the speaker is playing a stereotypical character and using it would disrupt the flow of the interaction they were at the time having with the other person [14].

As Goffman wrote, oftentimes, in conversations, speakers are focused not on transferring information but on "presenting dramas to an audience". This is amplified in talk shows since the conversation between the participants of a talk show is built on having the third person, audience, there. They are constructing a story together for the sake of the audience. An example may be an issue-based talk show. All parties provide their own perspective and appeal to the audience because the audience's reaction decides who is right and who is wrong [16].

It is also important to pay attention to the way the guest is presented by the host. This helps frame the later story through the categories which have been used to

define the guest. The audience has a better understanding of how to react when being told a story if they are aware of the speaker's position towards other participants or in society/societal expectations in general. We can usually see it in all types of talk shows as the introduction by the host is an integral part of their structure [8].

E. R. Martinez explores the closing sections of talk show interviews as in comparison with news interviews. The reason for this is that the former topic lacks research and attention. While comparing the data, he discovered that talk show interviews emulate real-life conversations while news programs lean towards straightforward exchange of information between the host and the guest (in most cases, an expert) under conditions of extreme time-constraint [31].

Laura Loeb also defines two other things, or norms, that distinguish interviews in celebrity talk shows from those in news programs or done by a journalist include personalization and congeniality. The former concerns the interviewer's stance in the interview. They have to appear interested and may disclose their own personal experiences as a way to relate to the guest and question them. The latter concerns the treatment of an interviewee. It is the host's duty to facilitate the creation of a friendly and intimate environment which would help the guest promote themselves and their product in a positive light. It includes not only cooperation but also the host's "hyped up" and active engaging of the interviewee. However, as L. Loeb notes, as these are not laws, there are times when one of these norms may be not followed and this will not be a serious mistake but only a deviance with the framework and boundaries usually remains intact [28].

Some hosts are famous for not following the norm of congeniality, for example Wendy Williams, Letterman, radio talk show host Howard Stern, and others. They attract their audience by being not like other hosts, but still the most popular and well-known of talk shows do follow these norms as they do not want to make their audience disengaged, upset, or uninterested.

According to Andrew Tolson, celebrities became the personification of the American dream within a consumer culture and individualism. Their actions and life are not ordinary but 'tellable', they can become a topic of conversation. In contrast,

TV personalities, who host talk shows, are closer and more familiar to the ‘ordinary’ audience, address it in a conversational manner and “insist on their co-membership of a common ... ‘imagined community’. Their role is to affirm the celebrity status of their guests [42].

The reach talk shows have is not limited only to the TV viewers who are lucky enough to catch it when it airs. Re-runs, online streaming platforms, and ‘Youtube’ allow for parts of them to be continuously shared online and gives the possibility to become viral and reach even those who have never been interested in watching it in the first place. Market pressures are a driving force in the talk show environment.

### **1.3. Methods of verbal and non-verbal communication analysis**

#### **1.3.1. Communicative strategies: conflict management, non-verbal communication, stereotypes**

**Conflict management.** As it is important for celebrity talk shows to flow smoothly and be beneficial for both the ratings of the talk show and for the interests of the entertainer, conflicts are something to be dealt with immediately and effectively. We will use the Thomas-Kilmann mode instrument in order to study the cooperation or a lack of thereof of the host and the guest in saving the completeness of the story they are presenting.

The five-part classification of conflict management was first introduced by Blake and Mouton in 1964, and then reinterpreted by Thomas in press [21].

Thomas and Kilmann observed how people behave during conflicts and, using two axes, introduce the scale of five modes of conflict management. These two axes are based on the level of assertiveness and cooperativeness. Assertiveness concerns how much a person is determined to satisfy their own interests. Cooperativeness concerns how much a person is determined to satisfy the other person’s interests. The five modes are called accommodating, avoiding, collaborating, competing, and compromising. All of these modes are equally valid for dealing with conflicts

because their effectiveness varies from person to person and from situation to situation [29].

Accommodating is implemented by a person who is unassertive and cooperative. This person puts the other's needs and interests over their own. Accommodating may occur in the cases of one's opinion changing, one person being less concerned with the issue than the other, valuing harmony over satisfying one's needs, being outnumbered, and so on. It is often associated with trying to "soothe the other person and seek harmony" [21, 29].

Avoiding is for those who are unassertive and uncooperative. The person ignores the conflict and chooses to withdraw oneself from the conversation, sidestep the topic, or delaying dealing with the issue until later time. This may happen when there are other issues in priority for the individual, when it is more beneficial for them to ignore it rather than solve it, when they need more time to be able to start managing the conflict, and so on. It is identified with "withdrawal and failure to take a position" [21, 29].

Collaborating is the opposite of avoiding. People who employ it are assertive and cooperative. They work together with the other person in order to find a way to satisfy both the other person's needs and their own. These cases occur when the both of the interests are equally important with no chance of perfect balance otherwise or when both people try to gain commitment from each other by valuing each other's concerns. It is identified with "confronting disagreements and problem solving to find solution" [21, 29].

Competing is opposite to accommodating and is a mode which is employed by a person who is assertive and uncooperative. They are after their own interests, are willing to sacrifice the interests of the other person, and able to use any means in order to prove they are right or win in the conflict. Competing may occur when one is defending one's position or rights. It is often associated with "forcing behavior and win-lose arguing" [21, 29].

Compromising is a mode which is employed by a person that is assertive and cooperative. The individual tries to find a way to satisfy both the other person's

interests and their own. It is similar to collaborating, however here there is a shallower exploration of the issue and the focus is on seeking the middle ground. It is used when both parties are equally strong, when there is a time limit, and so on. Compromising is identified with the proposal of the middle ground [21, 29].

**Non-verbal communication.** The importance of the correct use of interactional rules during a taping of a talk show is unmeasurable. The interactional rules concern not only verbal signs but also non-verbal signs. They help the guest and the host to facilitate their conversation in a polite and visibly pleasant way. They also help the audience assess both the personalities in front of them and the situational cues which they should react to. Cues are an integral part of working with the audience.

We are analyzing talk shows produced in the USA and in the UK and it is important for us to remember that these countries are low-context cultures and thus, straightforward manner of speech is more important and non-verbal signs are not so much a means of communicating for the guest and the host as a tell for their natural, unguarded reaction. However, the same cannot be said for the interaction with the audience, here we will see exaggerated facial expressions and hand gestures used to complement a point to make it explicitly understood [49].

Irina Alexeyeva defines non-verbal communication as a set of non-verbal means, symbols and signs used to convey information and messages. They cover mimic, gestures, body positions, timbre, etc. [47]

The idea that non-verbal means appeared before verbal ones was first suggested by Charles Darwin who believed that the basis of all non-verbal communicative means is human emotions that express biological reactions to external stimuli. Scientists have proved that both humans and primates have in-born mimic, certain gestures, and body movements to express emotions. Non-verbal messages are usually unconscious and spontaneous by nature, non-verbal behaviour is practically uncontrolled [47].

The founder of kinesics, Ray Birdwhistle, noted that in a normal interaction between two people, 65% of social meaning is conveyed through non-verbal means.

[34]. Albert Mehrabian, known for his publications in the area of verbal and nonverbal communication, went on to claim that 93% of communication consists of nonverbal messages [35]. These statements had been argued against, as for example in Phil Yaffe's article where he calls the latter a result of misinterpretation of an experiment. However, we do believe that nonverbal communication plays an extremely important role in human interaction [46].

William Cruz defines nonverbal communication as “the nonlinguistic messages that are consciously or unconsciously encoded and decoded through [a number of non-verbal and paraverbal means] and the environment in which people communicate” [5]. Nonverbal means help the speaker convey an additional meaning to what is already said, elaborate or replace something that cannot be put into words. Nonverbal communication includes such areas of interest as kinesics, proxemics, haptics, chronemics (time management), prosodics, extralinguistics, and perception based on organs of senses (odorics, oculusics, etc.) [47].

In regards to our analysis of talk-shows, we are interested in particular in kinesics, oculusics, and prosodics. Proxemics, or management of space, can also help us understand how close of a relationship the host and the guest are trying to emulate for the audience [51].

Kinesics concerns body movements, gestures, postures, and facial expressions. All of these are important for full comprehension of the message that is constructed by the participants during a talk show.

Body movements can be used as a way to show the wish to open or close a conversation, change a topic, take a turn, or otherwise signal to the other person something that the speaker does not want to say aloud. Gestures are divided into three groups: adaptors, illustrators, and emblems. Illustrators are the most common types as they are used in a conversation to emphasize a point or elaborate it. They are more of a subconscious nature and usually do not have a meaning outside of context. Emblems, or quotable gestures, are gestures of which we are more conscious and which have “a specific agreed-on meaning”. They are not taught and can be culture-specific. Adaptors include touching movements directed to oneself, others, or even an

object. They can signify anxiety or arousal, for example nervous twirling of one's hair or tapping one's foot [13].

Postures show person's willingness to be involved in a conversation, domination/dependence, and confrontation/harmony. For example, leaning forward is usually seen as giving one's complete attention. The study of facial expressions includes both subconscious and intentional mimic reactions. One may hide their sadness by showing an exaggerated smile, the other may use facial expressions to complement a point, and so on [47].

Oculesics concerns eye contact, the direction of glances, and eye movements. This is an important part in our analysis. We are studying talk shows in countries of the Western culture, so the avoidance or redirection of the participant's glance may signify a break in a collaborative narration of the host and the guest [51].

Prosodics concerns the tempo, timbre, pitch, and intensity of speech. Extralinguistics concerns noises we produce with the help of our voices or lack of one: laughter, crying, pauses, coughing, etc. [51]

We are also interested in paraverbal means, which include the change of pitch, intonation, tone, stress, etc. They express the speaker's attitude towards what they are talking about. Paraverbal means can help distinguish the serious from the sarcastic. However, there are cases of the use of paraverbal means which can lead to unintentional miscommunication and distort the speaker's message. For example, dead-pan jokes can be lost on anyone, especially due to perceptual noise.

**Stereotypes.** Stereotypes can be based on gender, race, religion, age, sexual orientations, and other categories that are used to distinguish one person from another. David Schneider claimed that "stereotypes are the common colds of social interaction, irritating and hard to get rid of" [1].

Nowadays not many social psychologists would endorse stereotypes as "inaccurate generalizations, maintained through ignorance, prejudice and cultural realities," Schneider wrote. "We now recognize that stereotypes cannot be easily divorced from more 'normal' ways of thinking about people. Stereotypes are simply generalizations about groups of people, and as such they are similar to generalizations

about dogs, computers, Anne Rice novels, city buses or Beethoven piano sonatas” [1].

On the whole, stereotypes are people’s ideas and “common knowledge” about other individuals’ qualities and features as well as of events, phenomena, and things. They are holistic, evaluative, fixed, conservative, emotional, and are characterized by “in-group favouritism”. They are formed as a result of socialization, close interpersonal contacts, and mass media’s strong influence [48].

It may be argued that talk shows reenforce stereotypes and rarely have intention of combating them, with the exception of those talk shows that focus on social issues with the aim of questioning the underlying causes and the systemic problems. As we will see later on, stereotypes can be used intentionally or unintentionally to build up a joke or a story that most people can understand through the ingrained assumptions about a certain group of people.

### **1.3.2. Conversation analysis**

American sociologists Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson developed CA theory by studying data gathered from naturally occurring conversation [15].

Turns are sequentially organized and are orderly. The transition between turns may reveal two things. One, does the speaker recognize the completion of the prior turn? Two, does the speaker understand the content of the prior turn and what is expected from them? [15]

Ian Hutchby notes that participants coordinate turn-transitions in such a way as to allow minimal overlap and gap between utterances. This level of coordination is achievable through understanding the basic set of features that make up turns. The completion of a turn-transactional unit presents a transition-relevance place. It is up to participants to recognize when they can take the floor. Most instances of overlap occur in transition-relevance places [15].

Adjacency pairs are one of the central concepts in CA research. Schegloff calls them the basic unit of sequence organization. The basic form of the adjacency pair consists of minimally two turns by different speakers where one turn is recognizably a first pair part and the other recognizably a second pair part. Both of them should be drawn from the same pair type (e.g., question – answer). They are conditionally relevant. Most sequence types may have more than one type of a second pair part. Adjacency pairs may be reciprocal (offer – accept) and non-reciprocal (offer – reject). The latter reverses the directionality of the sequence [37].

The speaker's production of the first pair part creates an expectation that an allotted speaker will produce the appropriate second part. In other words, adjacency pairs let the speakers allocate and give up turns [37].

Pre-sequences display an orientation as to where the adjacency pair will develop [49]. An insertion sequence defers the production of the second pair part but does not negate its relevance. Rather, it can create a slot where more detailed information is provided [50]. Post-expansion occurs after the second pair part. By allowing the talk to lapse, the speaker get an opportunity to present a new sequence. Post-expansion can also occur as the result of other-initiated repair sequence [37].

In the case when a speech error occurs, the speaker resorts to conversation repair. Usually repair sequences begin immediately after the error and continues until miscommunication has been resolved. Repair occurs in two phases: the repair initiation (the problem is indicated) and the repair proper (the problem is being fixed). Only two parties partake in repair: the speaker (self) and another participant (other). Other-initiated repair may operate as pre-rejections or pre-disagreements, where they indicate the dispreferred second pair part [11].

Repair sequences may be divided into repair turns spoken by one participant only or by both participants. Every repair sequence has the following four elements: the trouble source, the repair initiator, the repair, and the repair confirmation [27].

One of the objectives of transcription is to adequately reflect the dynamics of turn-taking and the characteristics of speech delivery. This includes gaps, pauses, overlaps, and so on. For the transcription of the interviews, we will use Gail

Jefferson's glossary of transcript symbols. The major ones to know are: at which point does overlap begins ([) and end (]), elapsed time ((0.0)), a brief interval (.), emphasis (\_\_\_), prolongation of a sound (::), shifts of speech (↑↓), louder sounds (WORD) and quieter sounds (°word °), and so on [18].

### 1.3.3. Speech acts and politeness maxims

**Speech acts.** J. L. Austin, the “father of pragmatics”, was the one to introduce the speech act theory during his lectures and in their compilation published under the name “How to do things with Words” (1962). There he stated that every genuine act is both locutionary and illocutionary. He used the term “speech act” to refer to the total situation in which the utterance is issued. Austin's taxonomy of speech acts had five basic categories which were called verdictive, expositive, exercitive, behabitive, and commissive [39].

Later, in his paper “A classification of illocutionary acts” [38], J. Searle, who studied under Austin, criticized Austin's taxonomy of speech acts for its lack of clear criteria in distinguishing different kinds of speech acts. J. Searle considered the illocutionary act to be “the basic unit of human linguistic communication”. He proposed his own classification which consisted of five basic kinds of speech acts, namely representatives (assertives), directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. This is the classification we are going to use in our practical part of the work [39].

J. Searle lists twelve dimensions in which we can see the difference between each type of the speech act and around which he builds his taxonomy. Among them are “the illocutionary point” (the purpose of the particular type of the speech act), world-to-word/word-to-world direction of fit, the expressed psychological state (belief, intention, desire, pleasure), etc. [38]

As a result, he distinguishes the abovementioned five basic types of speech acts and defines them in the following way [38]:

- I. Representatives. They describe the existing state of affair. The speaker commits to something being the case and what is said can be judged to be true or false. Its direction of fit is words-to-world and the speaker expresses belief and commitment. For example, this class includes such verbs as conclude, deduce, boast, complain.
- II. Directives. The speaker attempts to make the listener do something. This attempt may have varying degree of force, starting from a mere suggestion and ending in fierce insistence on something. The direction of fit is world-to-words and the speaker expresses desire. This class includes such verbs as ask, command, plead, pray, invite, permit, advise, dare, and some more.
- III. Commissives. J. Searle adapted it from Austin's taxonomy. Here, the speaker commits to some future course of action. The direction of fit is world-to-words and the speaker expresses intent.
- IV. Expressives. This class is concerned with expressing the psychological state. It includes such verbs as thank, congratulate, apologize, condole, deplore, and welcome. Exceptionally, it does not have direction of fit. This is explained by the fact that the speaker is not focusing on the event that happened or could happen but instead expresses "the truth of the expressed proposition".
- V. Declarations. These are those instances where a declaration of something brings it into existence. The examples J. Searle proposed were "You're fired", "I appoint you...", and so on. Their performance leads to changes in the world as it is brought into correspondence with the words – a person is fired or a person is appointed a position effective immediately after the speaker says it. The direction of fit is both word-to-world and world-to-word.

An overlap between classes is possible.

Nowadays, the term "speech act" may be used along with such terms as illocutionary act/force and mean the same thing.

**Conversational and politeness maxims.** H. P. Grice introduced the four conversational maxims in his paper “Logic and conversation”. First, he discussed the general principle which the interlocutors are to recognize and observe in order to be able to cooperate and achieve the purpose of the conversation. He labelled it as the Cooperative Principle. After that he decided to elaborate on what can fall under it, in this case categories, or maxims. He calls them Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner. The interlocutors expect both the Cooperative Principle and the maxims to be observed [36].

The maxim of Quantity concerns the quantity of information which is transferred. According to it, the interlocutor is to make their contribution as informative as is required and make sure its amount is not more than is needed. An excessive amount of information may sideline the conversation and confuse the listener [36].

The maxim of Quality concerns the validity of the information presented. H.P. Grice states that the interlocutor has to try to make contribution by saying something that is true and avoid saying something that they believe to be false or do not have evidence to affirm [36].

The maxim of Relation has one condition. It is to “be relevant”. However, one should keep in mind that there is a number of problems which keep it from being a clear-cut category [36].

While the previous three maxims are concerned with what is said, the maxim of Manner is concerned with *the way* something is said. H.P. Grice highlights the need to “be perspicuous”, or in other words say something in a clear and plain way as to be understood. He also talks about the need to avoid obscurity of expression, ambiguity and be brief and orderly [36].

The Gricean maxims are concerned with the particular points of the conversation. H.P. Grice states that any interlocutor interested in achieving the goal of the communication will observe the Cooperative Principle and the maxims. Thus, when the failure of observing them happens, it manifests in the following cases: the speaker may violate a maxim (and intentionally mislead the listener), opt out of a

maxim (because of unwillingness to participate), experience a “clash” and be unable to fulfill one of the maxims, or flout a maxim by blatantly not observing the maxim. The latter generates a conversational implicature, and because of that, H.P. Grice calls flouting a maxim “exploiting” it [36].

Jenny A. Thomas lists and elaborates on five ways of failing to fulfill a maxim: flouting, violating, infringing, opting out, and suspending [40].

She considers the category of flouting a maxim to be the most significant. In these cases, the speaker intentionally and, to reiterate, blatantly fails to observe a maxim. The listener understands that the speaker’s aim is not to mislead them, and thus it makes them look for the additional meaning, or conversational implicature [40].

Conversational implicature is different to conventional implicature in the sense that it must be capable of being worked out. For this, the listener’s intuition is not enough, argumentation must be present, too. This can be background knowledge, the understanding of the context of what it said, the clear understanding of what is said both in general and in relation to the implied references, etc. [40]

The speaker flouts a maxim in the following cases [40]:

- There is a clash between maxims [40].

In order to observe the Cooperative Principle, the speaker is forced to sacrifice or compromise one of the maxims. Because of the assumption that the speaker is observing the Cooperative Principle, the listener is then prompted to look for the conversational implicature deliberately generated by the speaker.

- The speaker is deliberately exploiting a maxim [40].

The listener is challenged by the speaker’s blatant failure of fulfilling a maxim and is prompted to pay closer attention to what is said and what is implied.

Flouts that exploit the maxim of Quality occur in those cases where the speaker uses irony, metaphor, meiosis, and hyperbole. This kind of float can also be used to deflect a question or a topic. Flouts that exploit the maxim of Quantity occur in those cases where the speaker leaves out some information or conversely says more than is asked of them. “Overinformativeness” may signify the earnestness of the speaker to

prove some point. Flouts that exploit the maxim of Relation occur in those cases where the speaker abruptly changes the subject or ignores the topic whatsoever. This may indicate that the speaker is uncomfortable or uninterested. Flouts that exploit the maxim of Manner occur in those cases where the speaker says something that is ambiguous, obscure, or long-winded. For this to count as a flout, the speaker has to have a reason to fail to observe the maxim [40].

- The speaker non-blatantly fails to observe a maxim [40].

The violation of a maxim may be used to generate an intentionally misleading implicature. It may also be a result of an incorrect assumption which was later proven false [40].

Infringing a maxim occurs when the speaker fails to observe a maxim and does not have neither the desire to deceive, nor to generate an implicature. This can be the result of unclear wording, strained physical or psychological state, weak command of language, etc. [40]

Opting out of a maxim is a result of the speaker's disinterest or unwillingness to participate. It may also occur because the speaker is unable to disclose information because of ethical or moral reasons [40].

Suspension of a maxim occurs when there is no need to observe the maxim because the interlocutors do not expect each other to. Thus, no implicature is generated. The suspension of the maxim may be specific to cultures or specific to particular events or professional areas [40].

In 1983, Geoffrey Leech suggested a Politeness Principle. It proposed that interlocutors generally prefer to express or imply polite beliefs rather than impolite beliefs. Conversation irony (mock politeness), sarcasm, and banter (mock impoliteness) are exceptions to and exploitations of the principle of politeness [25].

The six maxims of the principle of politeness at that time were the Maxims of Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, and Sympathy. In 2014, he reformulated them and increased their number to ten, now including the Maxims of Feeling Reticence, Opinion Reticence, Obligation of the Other to Self, and Obligation of Self to the Other [26].

These maxims are defined by the General Strategy of Politeness where the speaker implies meanings that associate a favorable value with what pertains to the hearer or an unfavorable value with what pertains to the speaker. The hearer may also be not a direct addressee but a group of people who are not a part of the conversation. Hearer-oriented maxims are usually more powerful than the speaker-oriented ones with the exception of the Tact Maxim [26].

The Generosity Maxim includes offers, invitations, promises, and positive replies to requests. Typically, these are commissives. They can be direct and imposing but, in the end, this maxim gives high value to the hearer's wants. Rejections usually have to be indirect or unspoken [26].

The Tact Maxim gives a low value to the speaker's want. We can see this in situations where the speaker's requests are indirect, mitigating, softening, or in other words, the hearer is given an open opportunity to refuse [26].

The Approbation Maxim gives a high value to the hearer's qualities. This includes compliments, including the run-of-the-mill ones or the virtually necessary ones (complimenting the host's house, etc.) Criticisms of the hearer are hedged and more likely in the situations where the requirement of politeness is lessened [26].

The Modesty Maxim gives a low value to the speaker's qualities. Self-deprecation and self-devaluation are usually used in order to be seen as polite. The speaker may not agree with compliments but instead pay a compliment in return, respond with disbelief, deflect by being evasive or deflect by downgrading the attribution of value to them [26].

The Obligation of the Self to the Other Maxim includes apologies and expressions of gratitude. It gives prominence to the speaker's fault and obligation to the hearer [26].

The Obligation of the Other to the Self Maxim gives a low value to the other's obligation to the speaker. Responses to apologies minimize the fault and responses to gratitude minimize the debt [26].

In favoring the Agreement Maxim, the response to the other's opinions and judgements should be an agreement. Disagreement is the dispreferred response.

Intensification (e.g., For sure! Absolutely!) enhances the polite effect whereas mitigated agreement (e.g., Yeah; I suppose) undermines the agreement. Disagreement is usually preceded by delay, hesitation, temporizing expressions, etc. It is usually hedged and indirect [26].

The Opinion-Reticence Maxim gives a low value to the speaker's opinions. For example, we can see it when people soften the force of their opinions with propositional hedges like *I think*, *I suppose*, etc. We can also see it in the speaker consulting the hearer's opinion while showing respect to the hearer's implied greater understanding or experience. It is impolite to behave opinionatedly and think that one's opinion matters more than that of the others [26].

The Sympathy Maxim gives a high value to the hearer's feelings. It includes courteous speech acts like congratulations, good wishes, condolences, asking after people's health, showing concern, etc. It is polite to show that you share the feelings of your interlocutor. It may be intensified by heightening the degree of gradable expressions (e.g., I am incredibly glad everything has worked out!) [26].

The Feeling-Reticence Maxim gives a low value to the speaker's feelings. It is considered impolite to show that you feel bad and thus, the speaker suppresses their feelings. In response to "How are you?" you should not disclose anything serious or bad [26].

### **Conclusions to Chapter I**

Oral narrative has been omnipresent across all types of discourses and all societies since the beginning of mankind. Narratives of personal experience and the connection of narratives with the expression of self have been the object of studies by renowned scholars, including W. Labov, J. Waletzky, M. Fludernik, E. Ochs, M. Freeman, and others.

Talk shows have a long history in the USA. Appearing in the 1950s, they inherited the practices of radio talk shows and received the benefit of being able to show the visual. Talk shows have roots in live television, and the high value of being presented as something happening simultaneously with the viewers watching has lasted until today. The features of broadcast talk and interviews with celebrities have

been researched by such scholars as L. Loeb, E. R. Martinez, A. Tolson, I. Hutchby, and others. J. Thornborrow and L. van Leeuwen also studied the question of authenticity in talk shows.

To perform our research, we explored the following methods and tools: conflict management (on the basis of Thomas-Kilmann mode instrument), non-verbal communication, stereotypes, conversational analysis (on the basis of Schegloff's and Hutchby's works, and Jefferson's glossary of transcription symbols), speech acts (J. Searle's classification), and conversational and politeness maxims (on the basis of H. P. Grice's and G. Leech's theories). Each of them can help us understand the way talk shows weave narration in order to be beneficial and non-face-threatening for every participant in the studio.

## II. COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES IN THE NARRATION OF TALK-SHOWS

### 2.1. The use of stereotypes as a means of defining self

Stereotypes help people have generalized impressions about a group of people before ever interacting with any member of that group. They are not necessarily negative and may facilitate a smoother interaction between interlocutors.

In the case of talk shows, stereotypes help the guests tell their story in an understandable way for a big number of people who do not know them personally. As entertaining is the main goal of talk shows, playing up stereotypical behaviour in an ironic way is an often-used way to make people laugh.

In the following two situations, we will look at the way interaction unfolds when the guest uses stereotypes to encourage future changes in the behaviour of the audience and when stereotypes are played up from the side of the host. These excerpts have been taken from the day-time talk show “The Ellen DeGeneres Show”.

In the first case, the guest is Hasan Minhaj, a comedian and a fellow television host [7]:

- 1 Host: It's so: nice to meet you. I'm a huge fan!:=
- 2 Guest: =Thank you. I'm a huge fan of you:.=
- 3 Host: =Thank you. [And] it's Hasan Minhaj. [Uh.]
- 4 Guest: [Yeah.] [No.]
- 5 Host: Yes=
- 6 Guest: =No.=
- 7 Host: =Really?=  
8 Guest: =Well, my name is Hasan Minhaj.=  
9 Host: =Oh.=
- 10 Guest: =I wanna do this- I actually wanna do this on national television.=
- 11 Host: =Good, [please] because everyone that says your name says Hasan Minhaj:.=
- 12 Guest: [Yeah.]
- 13 =Yeah. But the real way to pronounce it- And <it's a big deal because my

- 14 parents are here>. >It's Hasan Minhaj.< (.) A-and people always mispronounce  
it.
- 15 They're always like (.) HASEEN↑ MINAJA↓, HUSSEIN↑.
- 16 (.) <I'm so sorry I can't pronounce it>. Meet my son,  
17 Higsby Withherthrottle the Third. And I'm like- (.)  
18 How do you not pronounce Hasa-?  
19 >Try it.=
- 20 Host: =All right, Hasin Minij.=
- 21 Guest: =No, [that's not-]
- 22 Host: [No, no.]
- 23 Guest: I- Look, I appreciate trying. ↓

From the opening sequence in lines 1-4, we can see the set-up of the topic of the interview. The introduction of the guest usually happens before the greeting itself. But here, Ellen, the host, intentionally takes on the role of an average ignorant person who struggles with pronouncing ethnic names. Otherwise, she would have been made aware of the pronunciation of the guest's name before the taping starts as it is a sign of the professionalism of the long-time successful talk show host.

Line 6 is her doubling down on ignorance as one faced with the fact that they made a mistake would do. She then generalizes with the pronoun "everyone". However, "everyone" does not mean every American or every person that ever interacted with H. Minhaj or mentioned him. This is every person who did not make an effort to learn the correct pronunciation. By saying "everyone", Ellen gives a leeway to the audience who previously could have done the same and gives them comfort that they are not the bad people because "everyone" does it. This takes away the possible feelings of shame and consequently anger from coming to fruition. The conversation continues to have an easy atmosphere for all of the participants.

In line 10, H. Minhaj admits to using this interview to inform a big number of people, who make up the viewers of national television, about the importance of the correct pronunciation of ethnic names. He does this through entertaining and in a light-hearted manner. His aim is not to make people feel ashamed but to encourage

making an effort in order to be respectful as continuously and intentionally mispronouncing someone's name can be considered a microaggression.

In lines 13-14, he turns the audience's attention to the presence of his parents in the studio and how important it is to him for the parents to hear people addressing him with the correct name. This is additional pressure as respecting older people is an almost universal thing across cultures. If you do not respect the name the parents gave their children, you also show disrespect to them. As the son of immigrants, H. Minhaj feels the pressure to preserve his ethnic identity in the face of assimilation. Making people pronounce his name correctly helps him make his parents proud.

In line 15, he gives examples of how his name has been mispronounced throughout his life. He does not show hurt but instead presents it in a joking manner, highlighting that such mispronunciations are on the verge of absurd by raising his voice.

In lines 16-17, he emphasizes the hypocrisy of people who do not try to learn how to pronounce ethnic names. They can easily pronounce the complicated names of people within their group but do not try to do the same for the people outside the group. We can consider this to be an example of an "in-group favoritism" and also an illustration of the long-standing stereotype of ethnic people having names which are too hard to pronounce and which one can exchange with a similarly-sounding Americanized version or even omit altogether.

In line 18, he poses the rhetorical question which has the aim of calling for people to do better in the future. In line 19, he asks Ellen to try again. From this, we can gather that Ellen does indeed play the stereotypical role of that ignorant person and H. Minhaj gets to show on her example what happens in general with other people he meets and works with.

In line 23, he shows gratitude to Ellen even if she failed because at least this is an attempt. He shows that even an attempt to move past the preconceived notions about foreign-sounding names is already good enough. He encourages mutual respect as opposed to embarrassing people into action.

With the help of this interview, H. Minhaj introduces the issue of mispronunciation of ethnic names, including those of celebrities. By using humor and exaggeration, he facilitates a light-hearted conversation about what one can do when facing a hard-to-pronounce name. Through entertainment, he encourages the dismantlement of the ingrained stereotype of ethnic names as exotic and incomprehensible. H. Minhaj is in control of how interacts with this stereotype during the interview.

We can see a different situation in the interview of Sofia Vergara [8]:

- 1 Host: I have been trying to teach myself Spanish, so I've been doing  
 2 a Spanish word of the day.  
 3 Guest: Oh rea::lly?  
 4 Host: Yeah, so I thought I would teach you an English word. So that uh-  
 5 (1.8)  
 6 Guest: .hhh Okay, °I know English very well°.  
 7 Host: I know↑. So, your English word and you'll say the word,  
 8 and then you'll say what it means, and it's flabbergasted.=  
 9 Guest: =Flabbergasted.=  
 10 Host: =That's right.  
 11 Guest: =(shows a thumbs up to the audience)  
 12 I had- I had said that word befo::re. You see my American English?=  
 13 Host: =What about discombobulated?  
 14 (4)  
 15 Guest: .hhh  
 16 Host: Discombobulated.  
 17 (1.8)  
 18 Di::sc- Wait. Say it again

In lines 1-2, Ellen establishes herself as a beginner in Spanish who has a simple game that helps her enrich her vocabulary. In line 3, S. Vergara is genuinely pleasantly surprised as Spanish is her native language.

However, the easy atmosphere is broken in line 4 as Ellen invites S. Vergara to play the game. Her wording, the fact that she says that she will teach her English words, insinuates that she equates her level of Spanish to S. Vergara's level of

English. It may have not been what she intended to do, but S. Vergara's reaction (stiffening of posture and a pause lasting almost two seconds) shows that that is how she interpreted it. To give context, S. Vergara moved to the USA in 1998 and became a United States citizen in 2014 after receiving the perfect score on the test.

In this excerpt, we encounter three pauses, lasting 1.8, 4, and 1.8 seconds. They reflect the uncomfortableness of the guest with what the host is implying. Not reflected in the transcript is the body language. Broken eye contact, crossed legs, leaning back posture, fixing hair, deep inhaled and exhaled breaths are signs of the unwillingness and nervousness of the interlocutor. After the first pause, in line 6, after a couple of seconds of confusion and the audience's laughter, S. Vergara counters that her English is good but does not pursue the issue any further. Ellen responds with a non-committal "I know" and moves on with the game.

In lines 7-10, S. Vergara successfully plays the first round and when she repeats the word, in line 9, she pronounces it in the American English accent, showing that she can talk without an accent if she wants to. In lines 11-12, we see S. Vergara easing up the atmosphere in the studio and again interacting with the audience, making sure that they laugh with her, not at her. She also directs the question to Ellen and seeks approval of her quick and clear response but gets no answer as Ellen is already moving on to a harder word. After Ellen's line, we encounter the longest pause out of three. S. Vergara takes a pause, deeply inhales and exhales. Ellen repeats herself, and S. Vergara continues to hesitate and goes to fix her hair. Ellen is forced to repeat the word to encourage the guest to try. S. Vergara is visibly nervous.

This third pause lasts the same amount of time as the first one. Pressured by Ellen's repetition, S. Vergara tries to pronounce it, stopping herself midway. However, after line 23, in the rest of the interview, she leans into the comedy of it and intentionally fails.

Ultimately, S. Vergara turns everything into a non-offensive joke and plays along, showing embarrassment and struggling to pronounce the word until the end. It ends with her cheekily mispronouncing it, and the audience applauds. She is able to

regain control of how she is perceived by the audience and makes sure that the stereotype they and the host are defining her through does not get any negative connotation or goes too far in one direction.

A year later, S. Vergara used a stereotype to her benefit during an interview with her castmates on Ellen's show [9]:

1 Host: Ok, so we hear someone is getting killed off this season. That is correct.

2 Guest: I didn't get nervous when I heard somebody was=

3 Host: =You didn't?

4 Guest: =No. If I had heard somebody was going to get depo::rted,  
then I would have been. (.) It was either Rico or me. (.) I think Rico  
 would go first.

In this case, S. Vergara plays up this joke for the sake of making the host and the audience laugh. It is at her and her community's expense, but she is in control of the situation and was the one to initiate the joke. Out of this interview, we cannot say for sure about her attitude towards this issue, but one thing is certain – she is comfortable enough to have people outside of her community laugh at it.

S. Vergara is completely self-aware and understands that her strong accent makes people think of her as not the smartest and nevertheless endearing. She uses this stereotype to her advantage and builds her image out of it. In these interviews, we see the examples of infantilization of foreigners and of people with heavy accents as some think that one's fluency and the lack of accent indicate the level of intelligence and maturity. So, people either treat them as children or as someone slow.

When S. Vergara is put into an uncomfortable situation, she is not afraid to visibly show her emotions but also makes sure the mood stays light-hearted. During the taping of these interviews, she does employ stereotypes in narrating her self but she also has clear boundaries and limits about how far they can go and how true they can be.

Stereotypes in narration can be not only a helping tool in creating one's image but also a way to expose one's stagnated worldview with the aim of educating them through relating personal experience with stereotypes. Performing your self through the stereotype about your community may be a stepping stone in getting exposure to

the mass audience and making them relate to you on a more personal level. Later, as the audience becomes more familiar with you, you can start redefining and questioning that stereotype.

H. Minhaj uses his fame and reputation to influence change in the future behavior of the audience while S. Vergara uses stereotypes as a way to control the limited understanding of her private life and personality by the mass audience.

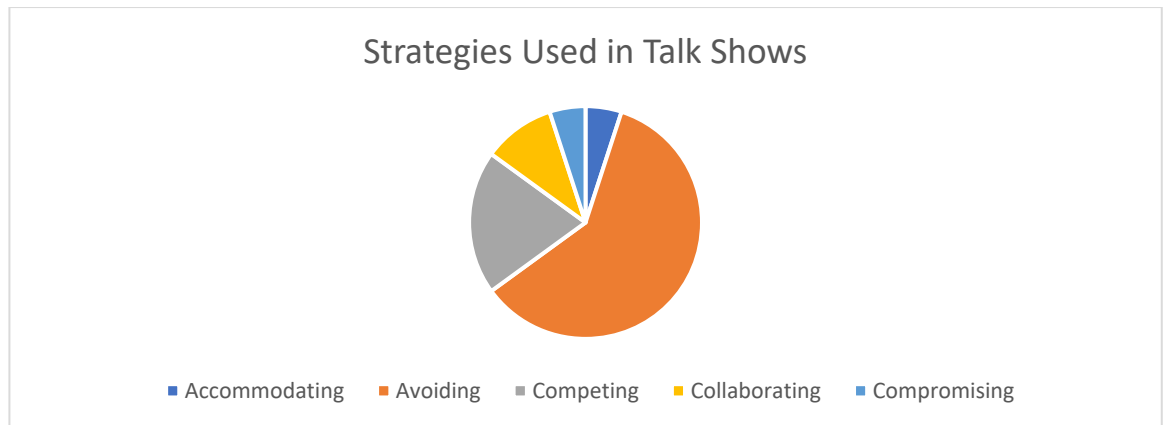
## **2.2. The use of conflict management as a means of saving face**

Even though usually all topics to be discussed during the talk show are agreed upon with the guest prior to the taping, there are situations when the host brings up some private matter unexpectedly or reacts to the story in a non-expected-by-the-guest way. Thus, the issue of possible conflict arises.

Conflict during talk show interviews is something all participants want to prevent. The goal of the celebrity is to promote their image or a product while the host's goal is to entertain the audience and gain ratings. While having conflicts may attract the attention of more people who otherwise would not watch the show, it may also have a detrimental effect on the reputation of the show and undermine the supposed professionalism of the host.

The conflict here does not mean external outbursts of anger at each other or strong conflicting personal opinions. Rather, more often we see the conflict of interests (e.g., celebrities wishing things to stay private vs. the host wanting them public in order to get ratings) and clashes of conflicting perspectives of the one and the same stories.

During our analysis of interviews, we found twenty examples of conflict management in celebrity interviews. With the help of the Thomas-Kilmann mode instrument we sorted them in the following way:



Avoiding accounts for 60% of all cases, which is to be expected. Using this strategy has some benefits for all of the participants: they can quickly move on to another topic and prevent the tempo of the talk show from suffering; their relationship does not suffer the strain of confrontation; they avoid a face-threatening situation; the audience is not put into an uncomfortable situation where they do not know what reaction they are supposed to be giving.

Some issues are deemed not worthy enough to be pursued as they can have a detrimental effect on successfully achieving the goals the participants of a talk show have. So for these purposes, the strategy of avoiding is used.

We have seen avoiding in the following interview with S. Vergara [8]:

- 1 Host: Yeah, So I thought I would teach you an English word. So that uh...
- 2 (1.8)
- 3 Guest: .hhh Okay, I know English very well.
- 4 Host: I know ↑. So...

S. Vergara does not pursue the issue even if it does pose a threat to diminish her image in the face of the audience. Ellen gives a non-committal “yeah” and quickly moves on. In the end, both of them were able to satisfy their goals as the audience approved of S. Vergara obligingly performing the role of an endearingly frank pretty woman with a strong accent and Ellen got to entertain the audience and gained views.

Another example of avoiding is the following interview between Harry Styles and Ellen. H. Styles does not disclose his personal life and is usually prone to changing the topic or giving a non-answer. In the following excerpt, we see this [10]:

- 1 Host: Now people are saying- some people are saying- word on the street

- 2 is that this album is all a breakup from someone.
- 3 Guest: .hhh Ok.
- 4 Host: .hhh So the question is, is it?
- 5 Guest: (.) Um- I mean, I think, like I definitely write from my personal experience.
- 6 I think a lot of [people] do. I think if you want your songs to kind of be honest
- 7 Host: [Uh-huh.]
- 8 Guest: and connect with people, it's usually from writing honestly. So, um.
- 9 So yeah, it's definitely about kind of, I guess, what I was going
- 10 through at the time. And that's both good and bad.

The guest's answer goes on longer than what we transcribed, too, and continues to be as vague and abstract as possible. Here we have the conflict of interests – a celebrity that does not want to share the details of their personal life and a host that knows that this question will attract and hold the attention of a bigger audience than usual. Instead of giving a definite yes-no answer or outright refusing to answer, H. Styles avoid the conflict by giving a non-answer that does not address the question at all. Ellen allows it and does not pursue it any further. They move onto questions related to his career and to charity. Neither of their goals is compromised as H. Styles has not been forced to give an answer and Ellen was satisfied with just being able to ask a question and record his reaction.

Accommodating accounts only for 5% of conflict management in interviews. It is a rare occurrence as one of the interlocutors should be ready to sacrifice their own face for the sake of the other. This means that either the host or the guest has to be ready to accept that their goals and their image have to be compromised in order to make sure that the other person gets what they want.

The interview between Stephen Colbert and Aziz Ansari is an example of accommodating. Even though the conflict is not between them personally, it does threaten S. Colbert's interests as A. Ansari openly criticizes the network S. Colbert works for [20].

- 1 Host: It's nice to meet you. You are- Nice to meet a fellow South Carolinian.=
- 2 Guest: =Yes. <Th-that's pretty cool. We're both from South Carolina.
- 3 Stephen is the first late night host from South Carolina,
- 4 and the bajillionth white guy. So::: [Very interesting measure of progress.]=

- 5 Host: [Exactly. You know, I know-]  
 6 =You've talked about- You've talked about the ah:: not enough ah::, like,  
 people  
 7 of color, minorities, represented on television. Is having you on my show,  
 8 does that count at all?  
 9 Guest: Yeah  
 10 Host: [Does that count?] Just trying to do my [part], ju:: trying to do my part.  
 11 Guest: [Yeah] [It's-]  
 12 It's really diverse right now. It's like fifty [percent diverse.]  
 13 Host: [Fifty percent of] people on TV  
 14 are not [white.]  
 15 Guest: .hhh [Yes.] It's like an all-time high for CBS.  
 16 Host: Yeah. =(looks straight into the camera).  
 17 Guest: .hhh You did that.  
 18 Host: Hey, man, I do what I can, I do my part.

Instead of arguing in favor of his employer, the host completely supports what his guest is calling out television for doing. During line 15, A. Ansari looks S. Colbert in the eyes to judge his reaction when he goes from general criticism to that aimed at one company in particular. He is satisfied with the answer, and they continue laughing together in agreement. In line 16, S. Colbert makes a conscious decision not to back down from his earlier jokes about the lack of diversity and his part in it in lines 6-8 and 13-14, even if his position will be later threatened. The guest is in no position to pressure him, so this decision is completely his responsibility.

Collaborating accounts for 10% of the cases. These conflicts arose from conflicting perspectives of one and the same event. Their resolution was conversational banter and an entertaining story with explosive reactions from the audience. For this strategy to be implemented, the host and the guest have to have known each other for some time before the taping of the talk show and to have shared some experience they can share with the audience.

One such example is the interview between Jimmy Fallon and Nicole Kidman. They have only met once before but when retelling that meeting, they discovered

they have different interpretations of that time which resulted in some light-hearted back-and-forth [29]:

- 1 Guest: So, Rick, our mutual friend, says “Oh you know, Jimmy wants to meet you,  
 2 and you can come to his apartment, and (duhruhruh)”. And I’m single  
 3 and I’m like [“Okay, cool.”]  
 4 Host: [Wait↑, what↑?]=  
 5 Guest: =Yes↑.=  
 6 Host: =WHAT are you talking about?  
 [...]
   
 7 Guest: °Shut up°. And you were there in a baseball cap, and like, nothing. Just like (.)  
 8 Host: I had Brie cheese!  
 9 Guest: You didn’t say anything. Like “Hey, mhm, mhm”. Do you- [(unintelligible)]  
 10 Host: [(unintelligible)]  
 11 I was very nervous! I didn’t say [“Mhm, mhm”.] I didn know this was a- ah::  
 ah::  
 a thing.

N. Kidman and J. Fallon discovered that they misunderstood each other many years ago. Both of them were shocked at each other’s story to the point that they talked over each other. This conversation was excessive in emotions, especially from the side of the host who started slurring words in line 11. After a couple of minutes of being frustrated and confused, they were able to connect pieces of two one-sided stories and fully understood what happened that day. Together they were able to straighten out this story and shift their understanding of each other and their history towards a clearer one.

Competing accounted for 20% of the cases, and this is an interesting point because avoiding the conflict should be a high priority for most celebrities. From what we have seen, celebrities do not try and deflect the issue only when they encounter face-threatening situations. Avoiding conflict would have potentially negative effects on the wholeness of their image or the product they promote. We should not ignore that, for there to be competing, the other party, in this case the host, should also not back down as in the examples of avoiding (e.g., quickly changing the

subject). This may signify that they feel that their integrity is put under the question and they feel they have to defend it.

Sometimes we encountered a clash of strategies of conflict managing. For example, the infamous interview of Dakota Johnson on Ellen [11].

- 1 Host: You turned thirty... And how was the party? I wa(s)n't invited=.
- 2 Guest: =Actually, that's not the truth, Ellen, you were invited.=
- 3 Host: =No.=
- 4 Guest: =[No, las-] No, last time I was on the show, last year, you gave me a bunch of  
shit
- 5 for not inviting you. But I didn't know you even wanted to be invited.
- 6 [Cause I didn't even know you-]
- 7 Host: [Well, who wouldn't] want to be invited to a party.=
- 8 Guest =Well, I didn't even know you liked me .hhh.
- 9 Host Of course I like you. You knew I liked you
- 10 (1)
- 11 You've been on the show many ti::mes. And don't I show I-like?
- 12 Yeah.
- 13 Guest: Yeah.
- 14 But this time I did invite you and you didn't come.
- 15 Host: This time you invited<sup>↑</sup> me? Are you sure<sup>↑</sup>?
- 16 Guest: Yeah.
- 17 Host: How do you know<sup>↑</sup>- I don't think so<sup>↓</sup>.
- 18 Guest: Ask everybody.< .hhh
- 19 (2.5)
- 20 Ask Jonathan, your producer.
- 21 Host: Why didn't I go?
- 22 Guest: I don't know.  
[...]
- 23 Host: I think I do remember. I was invited, <thank you<sup>↑</sup>>.

Here, D. Johnson is intent on not being misunderstood and for the story to be clear. Ellen tries to counter the guest's story and does not back down from her version of the story. Then, D. Johnson addresses outsiders, here Ellen's team, to back

her story and Ellen has to admit it, albeit in a roundabout manner, by saying she probably just does not remember.

D. Johnson chooses to defend her face and tell the truth even at the cost of the lightheartedness of the following five minutes of the interview. Ellen has not expected that her joke would turn into a budding argument. Nevertheless, she decides against quickly admitting to a lie and instead plays into a joke, even though the guest is visibly upset. They both try to be assertive and be the right ones in the end. If D. Johnson did not immediately include other people with the knowledge of what had happened, this situation would escalate with time.

Multiple pauses filled intermittently with awkward silence and the audience's laughter put pressure onto the host to resolve the issue. In the end, Ellen made up an obviously absurd excuse, changed the subject, and the interview ended on a positive note.

The same happened with Taylor Swift on Ellen's talk show. However, it had worse consequences, as the singer was moved to tears at the end of the interview. The following excerpt is from the first minute of the interview [12]:

1 Host: You were here with your boyfriend Zac Afrom last time. How is he doing?

2 Guest: We actually never dated.

3 Host: <Yes, you did.> (.) So, when y'all were here- But, obviously, late nights

4 you were spending together, y'all wrote that song for me. And then you sang it.

This opening sets up the floor for the rest of the interview. The context for this is that the last time the singer was on the show she and Z. Afrom sang a song about Ellen, where T. Swift light-heartedly joked about how Ellen constantly asks her about her love life. Due to this, Ellen has decided to build the whole interview around the singer's personal life. Starting from line 1, we see Ellen insinuating that the singer was dating Z. Afrom and stresses that they wrote that song together during late evenings, thus implying that they have an intimate relationship. T. Swift denies it thrice during the four minutes of the interview. The denials are quite straightforward like in the following excerpt:

1 Host: You probably talked to him earlier today. How is he doing?

2 Guest: I don't know. I haven't talked to him in awhile cause we didn't date.

3 Host: Yes, you did. Why do you deny it?

4 =(tilts head and rolls eyes)

5 Guest: Cause we didn't.

6 Host: Oh:::::, okay. Alright.

Ellen shows her disbelief both verbally and non-verbally. She disregards the denials and shows that she still thinks otherwise. At this point, T. Swift is using the strategy of competing as she does not want people to think that she dated that person. She challenges Ellen in a frank manner. Ellen is using the strategy of avoiding, quickly changing the subject when she decides she has had enough of the joke.

The conflict of interests comes to a point of eruption during a game where Ellen showed the singer pictures of men she was photographed with, and the singer was supposed to ring a bell if she wrote a song about them. She was reluctant from the beginning, repeating at almost every picture "We didn't date" until it escalated in the following way:

1 Host: You're supposed to ring it.

2 Guest: But I don't want to, hhh.I don't want to. They all will send me

3 angry emails that I don't want to get.

[...]

4 Guest: Why are you doing this?

5 Host: =(continues to ring)

6 Guest: STOP IT! STOP IT! Sto:::::p.

7 =(covers face with hands)

8 This makes me feel so bad about myself. Every time I come up here

9 you put a different dude up there on the screen.

As we can see here, there has been a gradual build-up to the eruption in line 6. Ellen is intent on playing the game, despite T. Swift expressing her uncomfortableness both with her words and her body movements. The singer at first tried letting it go and playing along, leaning into the strategy of accommodating. However, she understands that the game can be harmful both to her self-esteem as she notes in lines 8-9 and to her image, and so resumes her adherence to the strategy of competing and forces Ellen to stop by raising her voice and repeating herself thrice. At that time, T. Swift was in her early twenties and was able to turn those

exclamations in line 6 from strongly emotional to endearingly relatable. In the end, Ellen comforts her and they end the interview with an easy atmosphere in the studio.

In this case, competing was beneficial for them both, as Ellen got what she planned for the interview realized and T. Swift was able to defend her image and stop the game from devolving into something with negative consequences.

Compromising accounts for 5% of the cases. The reason for its rare use is that usually neither the interests of the interviewer nor the interviewee can stand to be compromised by backing down. Both the host and the guest have their own goals and by trying to find the middle ground they both can fall short. This threatens the image and product of the guest and the success of the talk show. However, there are times when the strategy of compromising can be beneficial for each of the participants. For example, to save the situation from being harmful to the goals of both sides.

An example of the strategy of compromising is Ariana Grande's interview with Ellen. A. Grande is a naturally nervous person and is quick to get embarrassed. As we have seen in the previous example, Ellen often asks unexpected personal questions which are directly related to the love life of her guests.

That section of the interview opens with the following lines [13]:

1 Host: Let's talk about your life. Do you mind?

2 Guest: I don't know, man. This is crazy. I wouldn't compare-

A. Grande immediately starts fidgeting and is visibly unsure about proceeding with that topic. Ellen continues talking about the information she has about the current boyfriend of A. Grande and even shows pictures on the big screen for the audience. Ellen keeps asking questions but A. Grande is very distracted by the photos on the screen.

The interview wraps up in the following way:

1 Guest: I've never had the relationship talk on a show before.

2 Host: It's just me so far. (.) .hhh You [haven't joined in.]

3 Guest: [No pressure.]

4 Host: But you're with him, right, and you're happy and stuff?

5 Guest: Yeah.

6 Host: Good, okay, [that's] good.

7 Guest: [Thanks.]

8 Host: That's good. Good talk.

Seeing that A. Grande is unable to answer her questions because she is too nervous, Ellen involves her in a couple of lines of banter before quickly wrapping up. Ellen uses the strategy of compromising. Instead of pressuring the singer into giving her more details about her new relationship, she decides to be merciful and end that talk before making A. Grande any more anxious.

Even though conflict in talk shows occurs rarely, talk show hosts are able to use a variety of conflict management strategies. Avoiding has proved to be the most effective for the purposes of a talk show. However, other strategies can be used in combinations. For example, starting with competing and then moving into accommodating, and vice versa.

### **2.3. Nonverbal communication as a means of emphasis and affirmation**

The set-up of the talk show studios is dependent on the format. Late-night talk shows have preserved their signature set-up of the host sitting behind the table and the guest sitting in the armchair beside it. This set-up clearly distinguishes between the roles of the host and the guest. The host is a personality who has authority to lead the interview and ask questions. However, in action, the relationship outside of the talk show is more influential on how the participants interact.

*Picture 3.1 [30]*



Another commonly used setup is two armchairs which stand closely but are separated by a piece of furniture. This format is more common in confessional and

issue-based talk shows. It emphasizes the equality between the host and the guest and creates a more intimate atmosphere.

*Picture 3.2 [14]*



Particular attention should be paid to the role of body language in the collaborative storytelling of the host and the guest. While telling a story, the guest may lean forward when they seek a reaction from the listeners. The host matches the guest's posture and, by this, encourages the guest to continue. In this way, the participants of the talk show seek harmony and express dependence on each other. The host may also give verbal encouragement but if they show neither verbal nor non-verbal response, the storytelling may stagnate until the speaker receives the reaction they need.

While leaning towards each other shows that interlocutors are paying close attention to what is being said, leaning back on one's seat does not necessarily signify the opposite. The laid-back posture may create a picture of intimacy, where one believes that both the host and the guest are that comfortable with each other that they are treating an interview in front of cameras as though it is a casual conversation between close friends. An example may be an interview between Jimmy Fallon and his old colleagues Steve Martin and Martin Short. The guests are leaning back on their seats while keeping up friendly banter between each other [31].

The most commonly used types of gestures during storytelling in talk shows are adaptors and illustrators. Illustrators are used to accentuate a point in the story, describe the positions of the participants in the reported conversation, show directions, serve as the visualization of the object or the action described in the story,

etc. More often than not they do not carry any meaning and are used to express the excess of emotions.

*Picture 3.3 [32]*



Adaptors, or self-soothing unconscious motions, are seen less often because most celebrities are long used to cameras and uncomfortable questions. However, as the host sometimes addresses the guests with serious questions or asks them about recent tragic events, nervousness and other emotions will manifest in guests' body language without them knowing they are doing it.

In the following excerpt, Jimmy Fallon addresses a tragedy that was directly related to his guest, Ariana Grande [33]:

Host: I haven't seen you in a year, I have not seen you since the tragic events that happened in Manchester. And I know it's just tough for everybody, and tough for fans, and tough for you. And I know you haven't done any interviews, and I understand that. I just wanted to say thank you so much for coming on our show and for being strong, and for entertaining, and showing up.

Guest: Thanks. Thank you.

At the beginning of this conversation, A. Grande's body language is open, her hands resting on her knees. But during the speech and as the host finishes it, her position changes. She crosses her arms on her stomach, periodically caressing herself in a self-soothing manner. Her facial expression gets out of her control, the corners of her mouth turning down. She is unable to keep eye contact with the host, forcing herself to glance at him after the speech in order to express her gratitude. Her body language communicates her grief and how lasting of an effect the tragedy has had on

her. What she cannot bring herself to say in words, she is able to show through her face and her body.

*Picture 3.4 [33]*



Quotable gestures are used even less often than adaptors, usually as a substitute for words. For example, when Jennifer Lawrence was telling the story about mistaking someone for the then-dead celebrity, instead of describing the process of greeting someone, she just used the gesture of shaking hands [32]. Maluma used the gesture of a raised fist, which signifies “power”, when talking about his identity as a Latino [34]. Cardi B used the same gesture when talking about her achievements [35].

Eye contact is incredibly important in almost every communicative situation. In talk shows, eye contact lets the speaker monitor the reaction their story is getting out of the listeners. The speakers in talk shows have simultaneously two types of listeners to take into account – an individual one and the mass audience. A prolonged break of eye contact between the host and the guest may signify a break in communication or some kind of miscommunication. However, it may also have to do with the guest’s personality. Naturally nervous people will not be able to look someone straight in the eye for a long time even if they do genuinely like them. They can look into mid-distance to create the illusion of looking directly at people in the audience.

An example of when the interruption of eye contact signifies that there is an issue between the host and the guest is the previously mentioned interview with S.

Vergara [8]. When Ellen implies that her level of English is low, S. Vergara looks down and does not look up until Ellen calls for her response.

Another reason for the guest to break eye contact with the host is to direct their glance to the audience and communicate with them. During the storytelling, the guest intermittently switches between looking at the host and looking at the audience. In this way, they can monitor the reaction they are getting on more levels than one and adjust accordingly. During banter, the guest may tell a joke at the expense of the host and then look at the audience to seek their approval or to share the joy of getting the upper hand.

Eye movements are also a great indicator for when the interlocutor is joking and for when they are being completely serious. Rolling eyes, looking sideways, or moving their eyes straight to the audience after a dead-pan phrase all can be a helping tool in parsing what is serious from what is humorous.

Paraverbal means of communication help the speakers create a fuller and more fleshed-out narrative. Such aspects as tempo, timbre, pitch, intensity, intonation, and pacing relate the dynamics of the reported event and reflect the speaker's attitude to and understanding of other participants' actions and words. We can see it in reported speech produced by the speakers.

In an interview with Jimmy Fallon, Ariana Grande talks about her family's reception of her music and quotes her grandmother [33]:

- 1 Guest: She loves “God Is a Woman.” She loves it so much. >That’s her favourite.<
- 2 I’ll ask her, like, “Hey, Nonna, what do you think of, like, you know,
- 3 my single- Do you like “No tears left to cry”? And she’s like, <“I lo::ve it.
- 4 But you know, Aria::na. can we listen to “God Is a Woman” again?”>
- 5 And I’m like .hhh “Nonna, okay.”

A. Grande employs a different tempo and intonation when relating the conversation she has had with her grandmother. When she repeats her own words, she talks like she does during the rest of the interview – with a quick tempo and in a high pitch. However, when she retells the answer grandmother gave her, she slows down her speech, adopting the mannerisms of the person she is imitating. She also

takes on a slight Italian accent her grandmother has by rounding and elongating her vowels.

By adapting the speech mannerisms of the other people in the story, the speaker exposes their attitude to both the events and the person they are imitating. This enriches the experience of storytelling and makes the listeners entertained to a higher degree than when just relating the words verbatim without any inflection.

Extralinguistic aspects also carry a great deal of weight in constructing the storytelling. For example, laughter, coughing, and pauses. As talk shows are created for entertainment, they are supposed to be filled with laughter. However, it is not always sincere or fitting but rather a tool to control the audience's response and the atmosphere of the interview. It may be used to incite an appropriate reaction from the audience. Embarrassment may be detrimental to the possibility of people re-watching the program, so in order to avoid this, even unfunny jokes or boring stories will get a positive reaction from the host and consequently from the audience.

Laughter can also be a positive affirmation or encouragement from one interlocutor to another. Instead of passive reacting such as continuously nodding or repeating "Yeah", one of the participants can actively interact with the story by laughing at just the right moment. However, excessive use of laughter may lead to its devaluation in the eyes of the audience. Jimmy Fallon, who is infamous for laughing at almost every sentence of his guests, was called out during one interview by a fellow comedian Martin Short, who said: "But this is the greatest show on television because there is no host in late-night that pretends to care the way you do [31]."

*Picture 3.5 [36]*



Coughing is usually used for the comedic effect or to indicate a hidden double meaning, usually vulgar, in what has been said by the speaker. They can be used as a substitute for what cannot be said on national television.

Pauses are important for such dynamic types of interviews as those in talk shows. Pauses that are too long or that happen too often may be detrimental to the atmosphere of the show.

In cases where pauses are created intentionally by one of the participants, they may signify the following:

- the pause was used to elicit an adequate reaction from the audience or give time for them to react;
- the pause was created by one of the participants as they are unwilling to continue the conversation;
- the old topic has already been discussed but a new one has not yet been introduced.

The third situation also happens when the host is at a loss with how to proceed with the guest. For example, a line that would usually work to change topics is not fitting in the situation the conversation ended up in.

In an interview with Cardi B [35], Jimmy Fallon made four pauses with the first pause lasting 7 seconds, the second – 5.5 seconds, the third – 8.2 seconds, and the fourth – 3 seconds. He was met with extreme sincerity and frankness, and was unsure how to go from one topic to another. He chose to fill the pauses with laughter, accentuating just how bizarre his guest is. However, it is important to note that he

was laughing with his guest, not at his guest's expense. The guest treated those pauses as a compliment to their personality.

*Picture 3.6 [35]*



In all, nonverbal communication, paraverbal communication, and extralinguistic aspect of speech are all an integral part of narration in talk shows. They are responsible for conveying meanings which are not to be expressed straightforwardly or in words. They give form to the narrative created between the host, the guest, and the audience.

### **Conclusions to Chapter 2**

Stereotypes have long been redefined from something that holds negative impact on interaction between groups and creates a distorted image of the outsiders of the group. Now, it is a tool that can facilitate a successful interaction between members of different groups as they have at least some understanding of each other's systems of belief and practices.

On talk shows, stereotypes may be used in a variety of ways, including with a malicious intention. However, as the speaker is in control of the unfolding of the story they tell, they can use stereotypes as tools to make the story understandable and relatable to a bigger number of people, in this case to the mass audience.

The speakers may use stereotypes to acquaint the audience with a generalized image of their community so that later, they, as a member of that group, could redefine and question those beliefs about them while interacting with the audience. Another way to interact with stereotypes during storytelling is to define yourself

through that stereotype about people like you. In this way, celebrities are granted more privacy and secrecy as the audience's understanding of them will be limited to general ideas about the group they belong to.

Conflicts in talk shows where celebrities are guests are rare to come by as they go against the goals of every participant in the studio. The guest needs to protect their image and the product they promote, the host needs to keep gaining ratings and to keep the audience entertained and coming back. However, they do happen due to a human factor. The conflicts in this type of talk shows are more about the conflict of interests. When goals of one participant threaten the goals of another participant, we may see the use of the following strategies:

- Avoiding is used in 60% of all cases of conflict management in talk shows. This strategy prevents from either of the participants' faces to be threatened and allows the tempo of the talk show to stay stable.
- Accommodating is used in 5% of all cases. This strategy demands one of the participants' goals to be compromised and so it is rarely used. For this strategy to be used, the host and the guest either have to have a personal relationship off-cameras or one of them has to value the importance of the other's goals more than their own.
- Collaborating is used in 10% of all cases. This strategy is usually used to piece together two conflicting stories about one and the same event.
- Competing is used in 20% of all cases. Even though this strategy is the most harmful to the image and reputation of the participants, it is the second most used one. It happens in situations where neither of the parties is ready to back down as losing can lead to a face-threatening situation.
- Compromising is used in 5% of all cases. Just like in the case of the strategy of accommodating, it is rarely used as it entails sacrificing one's goals for the sake of achieving middle ground. It can only happen if the host and the guest hold mutual respect for each other.

Nonverbal communication plays an important part in structuring and giving shape to the narration. It can convey additional meanings or meanings which are best

left unsaid. Through nonverbal communication, and in particular body movements, posture, and eye contact, the host and the guest are able to give each other positive affirmation and reassurance. Matching each other's posture helps to keep up the harmony which is encouraging for the storyteller.

Gestures and eye movements can highlight the more intense points of the story or transfer or substitute the double meaning hidden behind the words. Paraverbal means are an integral part of relating another person's speech mannerisms. They not only show the attitude of the speaker towards the reported event and the people who participated in it, but also give it a higher entertaining quality. Extralinguistic features can constitute a study in subtlety as each of them can have a variety of different purposes. For example, keeping up an easy atmosphere by intermittent laughter, emphasizing a point by not taking the turn, hinting at a hidden meaning by coughing, etc.

### III. PRAGMATICAL ASPECTS IN THE NARRATION OF TALK-SHOWS

#### 3.1. Sequences as a means of structuring narration

Story-telling may have a pre-telling sequence, or a “story preface”, as E. Schegloff calls it. In it, the speaker usually sets up the hearer’s expectations or provides the context for what is to come in the story. However, more often than not the storytelling is performed as a reaction to someone else’s words and because of this, the context is provided not by the narrator but by the hearer. For example, when the host says something along the lines of “I’ve heard you did this at this time at that place. Is this true?” or “Can you tell me about this crazy event you have experienced?” By asking these types of questions, the host becomes the one to introduce the topic and produce a pre-telling sequence.

The speaker also may start telling a story because something that has just been said triggered their memory and now, they want to recount it because it is entertaining or informative for the topic they have touched on. In this case, the pre-telling sequence is produced by the speaker.

Nevertheless, the pre-telling sequences could be omitted entirely and their omission would not have a harmful effect on the audience’s understanding of the story as the narrator would provide all the necessary information as a part of a main story instead.

Regarding the structure, the most commonly employed adjacency pairs in storytelling are question-answer ones and assertion-assent ones. The first pair is used when the hearer wants the speaker to expand on something they have skimmed over or when the hearer feels that their questions will help the speaker to be able to give a fuller or more engaging story without leaving out important bits. However, it also can depend on the communication style of the interlocutors. By asking questions, the hearer plays a more active role in story-telling than the one they play in the second type of adjacency pairs. The story is more dynamic and attention-grabbing in this way.

An example of this is Keanu Reeves' interview with Stephen Colbert [21]:

- 1 Host: You- you- you (d) say you don't do your own stunts, [but you do] your action.  
 2 Guest: [I don't do st-] I do action,  
 yeah.  
 3 [(unintelligible)]  
 4 Host: [What does that] mean "do your action" as opposed to your stunt?=  
 5 Guest: =U:::hm, okay. So, I'll do some fight scenes, and then John Wick will get hit  
 6 by a ca::r, (.) and that's Jackson Spidel, (.) [who is an amazing-]  
 7 Host: [That's your stuntman.]  
 8 [...]  
 9 A single fight, let's say like a one five-minute fight you might do, how long are  
 10 you training for that fight?

In this interview, K. Reeves shares his experience working on his movie. We can consider lines 1-2 to be a pre-telling sequence as the host gives the audience the necessary information they have to be aware of to understand the following story about K. Reeves' work. S. Colbert also simultaneously verifies with the guest the truthfulness of the information he is providing. In line 4, with the help of the question, the host directs the guest to first clarify his words before moving on to talking about more concrete topics. In line 7, he provides additional information for the sake of the audience's understanding of the situation. Line 8 shows the gap during which K. Reeves talks about what action means in relation to what is shown onscreen in films. During this time, they change from producing question-answer adjacency pairs to producing assertion-assent adjacency pairs. That is until lines 9-10 where the host encourages a change of topic and they move on to talking about training in detail.

As we can see from this excerpt, the host uses questions to be in control of what points the guest's story covers and how much time is dedicated to each of the points. The host is also paying attention to what can be confusing for the audience and asks the guest for a clarification. In this way, the story is not confusing and does not get stuck on one thing longer than necessary. The audience continues to be engaged.

The assertion-assent adjacency pair is used when the narrator does not need the help of the other person to structure or organize the story. They are capable of giving just enough information to be entertaining or informative. The only thing they need from the hearer is to show their reaction to some points of the story through nonverbal or verbal means. Using verbal means to show assent usually means that the hearer will say “Yeah”, “Wow”, “For sure”, or “Oh really?” when there is a break in the storytelling. The hearer gives the floor to the speaker and plays a more passive role. This can often be seen in interviews where the guest tells an emotional or a deeply personal story. Sometimes, like for example in Joe Biden’s interview with Stephen Colbert, the latter stays silent until the former finishes the story about the promise he had given to his son, who later died. In this way, the host shows respect for the other’s grief [22].

An example of an assertion-assent adjacency pair in storytelling is the following excerpt from Billie Eilish’s interview with Ellen [15]:

- 1 Guest: I didn’t want that to define who I was. I [don’t] want it to be like,=  
 2 Host: [Right.]  
 3 Guest: =Billie Eilish ↑- the artist with Tourette’s, Billie Eilish ↑ is on Ellen.=  
 4 Host: =Yeah.=  
 5 Guest: =I have ways of um kind of making them go away ↑.  
 6 Host: =Uh-huh.

Even though Ellen is the one who has brought up the topic of her guest’s illness, after expressing her sympathy and admiration in the introduction, she only responds with short, non-committal words (lines 2, 4, and 6). The host does not try to bring attention to her own reaction and feelings about the guest’s story and instead, she shows that she is listening. In fact, Ellen gives affirmation to B. Eilish, who is afraid of others thinking of her as someone with an illness rather than someone with a musical talent. The guest is content to be the one in control of unfolding the story about herself and additionally receives validation of her experience from the host. In this case, the host’s decision to sit back led to the smooth and pleasant flow of conversation.

In all, even though the assertion-assent adjacency pairs are more frequently used in building storytelling than the question-answer ones, the latter produce a clearer and more organized story. The host is able to direct the guest to elaborate on those points of a story that are entertaining to the audience. The assertion-assent adjacency pairs produce a story, the pacing and structure of which are completely dependent on the speaker's style. They are often used when the host is unfamiliar with the guest or the story, or when anything more than a "Yeah" will lead to the disruption of the flow of the story due to the speaker's getting distracted by a question.

The opening sequences of any talk show interview follow a similar pattern. They usually consist of an identification of the guest, a greeting adjacency pair, a question-answer adjacency pair, or a sequence in which the host and the guest exchange pleasantries.

We can see some of it in the following excerpt of Priyanka Chopra-Jonas' interview with Ellen [16]:

- 1 Host: Our first guest shattered the hearts of millions last month when she married  
 2 one Jonas brother that I used to let sleep in my house. Please welcome,  
 3 newly-wed Priyanka Chopra-Jonas.  
 4 Hi.  
 5 Guest: Happy bi::rthday!  
 6 Host: Thank you for coming.  
 7 Guest: Of course.

In lines 1-3, Ellen identifies the guest and introduces the topics to be discussed during the interview, meaning the guest's recent wedding and the host's personal relationship with the couple. Lines 4-5 are a greeting adjacency pair, where the second pair part deviates from a general greeting and is a more specific one. Lines 6-7 constitute a thanks-acknowledgment adjacency pair that is a staple of the opening and closing sequences in talk shows.

This is an example of what is common in the opening sequences of talk shows. However, as we have seen during our analysis, the pattern is prone to change from time to time as the host appropriately adapts its content depending on the guest and

the setting. Often the host gets up to meet the guest and during the time they shake hands or hug, the greeting adjacency pair is produced. Yet, because of them being out of the range of what the mics can pick up, their exchange is muted and we can only see it happening by looking at their mouths. Thus, even though it does occur, it is not something that can be included in transcriptions without disclaimers.

The identification of the guest is the only part that is never omitted. It plays an important role in acquainting the audience with the guest and setting up their expectations for the conversation that is to happen in front of them.

The closing sequences can contain an adjacency pair where the interlocutors express gratitude to each other in the place of saying goodbye or they can contain a single line in which the host exclaims “(Name of the guest), everybody!” to have the applause for the guest be the end of the interview. In comparison to the news programs’ closing sequences, the talk show ones are shorter and are preceded by a different pattern of a pre-closing sequence. Nevertheless, just like in the other format, the host has the authority to decide when the interview is to be over. The guest gets the signal that the interview is about to end when the host asks the guest what their future holds for them or what projects they have planned. The host either gives the guest an opportunity to talk about the product they have come to promote or does the promotion by themselves. The guests are warned about the ending of the interview so that they can make sure that they have said everything they intended to during that program.

An example of this is the ending of Cardi B’s interview with Jimmy Fallon [35]:

- 1 Host: I totally was. I totally was. I didn’t think I was going to be, but I was like
- 2 (=trills tongue) You know? I jus’ di(d) that- Yeah.
- 3 Ah. You have a new track coming out Friday.=
- 4 =Yes.
- 5 =Alright. And this is- This is “Bartier Cardi”. “Bartier Cardi”.
- 6 [...]
- 7 Guest: Y’all go get that.=
- 8 Host: =No, we’re gonna get it. “Bartier Cardi”.

9 I can't tell you how much we love you and they love you. I mean, come on.

10 Guest: (=smiles at the audience)

11 Host: Yo, Cardi B! I love you, man.

In lines 1-2, J. Kimmel is finishing the previous topic with a joke at his own expense. The end is abrupt, and in order to switch from one topic to another, the host employs an interjection "ah" to make a distinction between the previous and the following lines. He presents the work the guest has come to promote and invites the guest to say a couple of words about it. This is the pre-closing sequence.

Lines 9-11 are the closing sequence. The host initiates the compliment-acceptance adjacency pair and the guest gives a preferred response through nonverbal means, in this case through a smile directed to the audience. In line 11, J. Kimmel opts for directing the exclamation "Yo, Cardi B!" to the audience in order to have them give an applause to the guest and then directs the last line to the guest where he expresses his appreciation of her. The host does not expect a response from the guest as this is to be the final utterance said in the interview.

Sometimes, the usual content of the closing sequence appears in the opening sequence instead. An example of this is an interview between Stephen Colbert and Jimmy Kimmel, in which the former is the guest and the latter is the host [1]:

1 Host: Thank you for being here.

2 Guest: Thank you for having me.

3 Host: =How exciting for America to see two talk show titans side by side.

4 Guest: (.) You rarely see two middle-aged white men talking on television anymore.

5 It's lovely to be here. Thank you for having me.

6 Host: Thank you for coming.

In lines 1-2, we can see the greeting sequence expressed in lieu of reciprocating thankfulness to each other. The host is usually the first to start the conversation as is the case here. The guest gives the preferred response, accepts the gratitude, and returns it back. In this way, the interlocutors show themselves together as a pair who will benefit from the exchange in a similar way.

In lines 3-4, we can see the compliment-rejection adjacency pair. J. Kimmel extends praise to both himself and to the guest by naming their duo the "talk show

titans”. S. Colbert undermines the compliment by highlighting that both of them are average and ordinary people, whose presence on talk shows is not surprising to anyone. However, he softens the impact of the joke by reiterating in line 5 that he appreciates being invited to J. Kimmel’ talk show, thus preventing from what he has said in line 4 to be taken too seriously.

Lines 5-6 are a repetition of lines 1-2 and are used to restart the conversation from the beginning and move on to a fresh topic.

Just like in the case of the opening sequences, the pattern of the closing sequences and the presence of a pre-closing sequence varies from one host to another and from one guest to another. Still, the line “(Name of the guest), everybody!” is usually a part of every closing sequence we have seen during studying talk show interviews. It plays an important functional role of inciting the final and extended applause from the audience which is the sign that the interview is over.

### **3.2. Speech acts as a means of overt expression and subtlety**

Talk shows feature many utterances said by the participants which carry in themselves an implied meaning or an implied direction. The rules of conversation between the host and the guest during a celebrity interview may prohibit them from being straightforward in their intentions and feelings.

The most often used speech acts are expressives. They are present in every interview. They help communicate the psychological state of the participants and their attitude to each other or the event they are relating. The reason for their frequent appearance being that they are integral for the opening and closing sequences of talk shows interviews.

At the beginning of the conversation, the host welcomes the guest, thanks them for coming, and congratulates them on the recent project or achievement. The guest greets the audience and expresses their respect or admiration for the host, meaning they help the audience understand what the relationship is like between them. For

example, we can see this in the following excerpt of Nicki Minaj being interviewed by Stephen Colbert [23]:

- 1 Host: My first guest tonight is one of the best-selling musical artists in the world.  
 2 [...] Please welcome, NICKI MINAJ.  
 3 Guest: Oh my God!  
 4 Host: Oh my Gosh. So nice to have you on.  
 5 Guest: It's so exciting to be here. I watch you all the time. I'm obsessed with you.  
 6 Host: Wow!  
 7 Guest: I love you so:: much.

S. Colbert welcomes N. Minaj, listing her achievements. Then both of them produce an exclamation to express their disbelief and excitement to do an interview together. N. Minaj expresses her attitude to the host and to the setting she is in by stressing that she is a fan and using such a loaded word as “obsessed”. Through expressives, the host and the guest make sure that the other person is aware of their feelings and opinions on each other. S. Colbert is at first shocked at her admission but then quickly pays her a compliment and moves on to talking about her album. Throughout this interview, they position themselves as admirers of each other's work and personality.

We see a slightly different sequence when the host and the guest have got to meet and develop a relationship with each other long before the interview. They may be friends, acquaintances, or colleagues working in the same field. During our analysis, we have noticed that the background of the host plays an important role in how their interactions unfold. For example. Jimmy Fallon is friends or at least acquaintances with most of the comedians he has had on his show because of his two years' gig on SNL. This fact positively influences the believability of an intimate relationship between the host and the guest during the interviews.

In the following excerpt of the interview, we see the interaction between Stephen Colbert and John Mulaney, his friend and a person who has been a guest on this talk show multiple times [24]:

- 1 Host: My first guest tonight is a very funny comedian [...] Please welcome  
 2 back to “The Late Show”, JOHN MULANEY!



In that case, we are met with a directive. This phrase said by the host implies that the following action to be performed is the applause by the audience. This along with the phrase “Please welcome, (the guest’s name)!” have become staples of talk shows. They are easily recognizable and their purpose is clear to every participant present in the studio. An absence of reaction from the audience or weak applause may force the host to repeat the phrase once more, this time enforcing with nonverbal signals (e.g., making up-and-down motions with palms of their hands).

Directives can also be used to smoothly introduce or change the topic at hand, or request that the other person moves on from it without being forced to communicate their feeling of uncomfortableness towards it. The hosts can use a timely question to go from the drained topic and towards a new one or just use the phrase “tell me/let’s talk about...”

Commissives are seen less often than assertives and expressives. This may be related to the nature of the talk shows and of the relationship between the host and the guest. There is a need for an appropriate topic that would be comfortable and clear for all of the participants, including the audience. The guest may direct that speech act to the audience or the host, depending on what kind of actions they are committing to. That range is quite wide, as it includes the possibility that they may promise to release a song and it also includes the possibility that they may swear to do better in the future after they apologize for their hurtful actions.

An example of the latter could be Jonah Hill’s interview with Jimmy Fallon [37]. The guest initiates the topic himself and spends three minutes explaining the situation and apologizing without being interrupted. However, this type of commissives usually appears outside of the segment of a talk show celebrity interview and inside a separate additional part of the talk show structure, which is created specifically for its realization.

Commissives usually have designated places in which they occur. Just like expressives, they appear in the closing sequences, where the host asks the guest to visit the program again soon or where the guest makes some kind of a personal promise to the host.

For example, in Dakota Johnson's interview with Stephen Colbert [26]:

Host: Well, you're welcome back anytime!

Guest: Thanks.

More often than not the closing sequence includes the hosts inviting their guests back to their talk show in the future. The hosts can also allude to future projects, the promotion of which would entice the guests to come back. So, commissives can be seen quite often.

Another example of commissives occurring in the closing sequences is an interview between two hosts, Conan O'Brien and Stephen Colbert, where the former played the role of the interviewer [27]:

1 Host: This really did not go anywhere. Hey, [good] luck.

2 Guest: [Hey.]

3 Host: You'll get a gig. Network's easy. Stephen Colbert, everybody!

Here, C. O'Brien plays into his role of a good interviewer with a terrible guest, and concludes the interview with a joke promise which he distinguishes not only with verbal means but also nonverbal means (facial expression and hand movements) and extralinguistic aspects of speech (fake laughter).

Assertives are even more common than expressives. This is a natural occurrence as the interview usually opens with it when the host announces the guest and identifies them along some lines, whether in general terms (e.g., a best-selling artist) or referring to a recent achievement (e.g., recently released a record-breaking album). This statement shows the lens through which the audience is to look at the guest. It also indicates around which points of the guest's career or personal life the interview is going to be structured.

In the following excerpt, Jennifer Lawrence, a guest host on "Jimmy Kimmel Live", uses expressive and assertive to show her own personal opinion and also what she believes to be true about her guest, Kim Kardashian [3]:

1 Host: O::kay, let's do this. I have been obsessed with our first guest

2 and her family for over a decade in a very, very healthy way.

3 She is the queen of reality TV, social media, and now cosmetics too,

4 with her beauty company [...] Please welcome, Kim Kardashian-West!

This opening sequence does not only serve as an introduction of the guest but also as an introduction of topics to be discussed in that interview. They discuss the relationship J. Lawrence has with her guest, matters relating to K. Kardashian's family, her personal life, and her activity on social media. The main overarching theme of this interview of the reality TV celebrity centers around her personal life, as to be expected. The guest's personal life is tightly intertwined with her career path, so her image is what she is promoting to the viewers.

The way the guest is introduced influences what the audience expects from the conversation in front of them. The interview serves as proof to the statement made by the guest host at the beginning.

Assertives also occur in cases where a statement and a follow-up question are used to introduce a topic. For example, we can see this in the following excerpt of the Avengers' cast interview with Jimmy Kimmel [4]:

- 1 Host: On Friday you guys were all at Disneyland. Avengers made  
 2 a huge donation to children's [hospital.]  
 3 Guest 1: [Yeah.]  
 4 5 million dollars, I believe. And did you go on any rides  
 5 while you were there? Did you-  
 6 Guest 2: Ya. We [...]

During this interview, J. Kimmel uses assertives to introduce a new topic multiple times. All of the statements are independent of the previous topic but are connected to the guests on a personal or a professional level. This technique of introducing a new topic is used by every host we have analysed an interview of and is used very often. However, at times it can be too abrupt and not correspond to the feelings of the guests, who are not ready to move on from that topic or to move on to a topic that is completely different in tone or mood.

Assertives are also used during storytelling to describe the setting or the participants of the reported event. The narrator relates their own point of view and asserts their own beliefs about what has happened. They present their own perspective of the story to the hearer as the truth.

In the following excerpt we can see Jennifer Lawrence and Jimmy Fallon talking about the same event from different viewpoints, with each one believing their own story to be true [38]:

- 1 Guest: 'Cuz we have different versions of the story.  
 2 Host: I think I'm totally right of what happened.=  
 3 Guest: =Oh really?=  
 4 Host: =That's correct.=  
 5 Guest: =I look forward to changing that.  
 6 Host: We were at an event, and you- you had some scheme,  
 7 you were being crazy. And you wanted to dance with Jennifer [Lopez.]  
 8 Guest: [Yeah.]  
 9 Host: And you wanted me to come dance too.=  
 8 Guest: =Okay, we came up with this idea together first of all.=  
 9 =We both saw J-Lo. (to the audience) That's like ten Jell-O shots in.

In this case, both of them state what they think has happened and try to correct each other's story. As a result, we get the collaborative storytelling of the host and the narrator. They interrupt each other intermittently to protest what they think is a false memory or a false representation of what has occurred. Descriptions and statements intermingle with expressives. In the end, we have a humorous verbal and nonverbal rendition of events which entertains the audience.

Other uses of assertives include:

1) boasting about doing something or being something, usually in a joking and light-hearted manner in order to not appear arrogant. For example, in this interview between two hosts, Jimmy Kimmel and Stephen Colbert, where the latter is the guest on the former's talk show [1]:

- 1 Guest: Thank you for having me.=  
 2 Host: =How exciting for America to see two talk show titans side by side.  
 3 Guest: (.) You rarely see two middle-aged white men talking on television anymore.

2) concluding the interview, as in the following excerpt of the previously mentioned interview between S. Colbert and J. Mulaney, as the host sums up the lesson of the story [24]:

- 1 Guest: [...] That would be my whole speech to graduates, if I gave one.

2 Host: The worst dancer is the one who's not dancing.=

3 Guest: =Yeah.=

4 Host: =You miss 100% of the shots you don't take.=

5 Guest: =Exactly.

During our analysis, we have not seen declarations occur during interviews as talk shows are not the appropriate setting for them to be contextually valid. The host does not have the authority to impose a change on the guest, and vice versa. The most we do see of them is the discussion or announcement of the consequences they have had. Moreover, all of them occur outside of the segment of the celebrity interview.

For example, Ellen's announcement of the exit of some of her staff and Conan O'Brien's monologue about quitting "The Tonight Show" are examples of relating what has already been decided and realized beforehand to a wider audience [17]. Ellen's speech was full of expressives as she kept apologizing for what has happened previously while Conan O'Brien's speech featured commissives as he made promises about his future [39].

### **3.3. Conversational and politeness maxims as tools of facilitating the host-guest relationship**

The nature of talk shows and interviews that occur during them dictates whether the violation or exploitation of a maxim is warranted. If it is, then what we see is the suspension of a maxim. The maxims of Quantity and Manner usually are not as strictly adhered to as they can be harmful to the dynamic of the conversation which either dwells on one topic for some time or frequently switches topics. None of the participants expect each other to observe them and do not think that the other person would violate them for the sake of deceiving them or being impolite.

The suspension of the maxim of Quantity gives the participants an opportunity to provide more information than needed which can then lead to the other person asking to expand about some detail, thus making the interview seem livelier and more natural. This creates a dialogue that seems smooth and unscripted to the audience.

The guest is encouraged to include their personal feelings and detailed descriptions in their response. If the answer is too short, even if it answered the question the host had asked, the host will ask a follow-up question or stay silent until the guest will go on explaining.

In the following excerpt, we see an example of this in John Mulaney's interview with Stephen Colbert [24]:

- 1 Guest: I wanted water, is this yours?
- 2 Host: That is- No, that is absolutely yours. I have a coffee over here.
- 3 [...]
- 4 Guest: Wow! (.) A whole cup of coffee every act?
- 5 Host: No, just (a) couple sips. [...] Just- just water for you?
- 6 Guest: A::h just water for me yeah, and ah tremendous anxiety.
- 7 Host: Do you- do you have a lot of anxiety?

This bit happens during the lull of ending the previous topic and not yet beginning a new one. It starts with J. Mulaney asking for a drink, a cup of water, and delves into a discussion of what the S. Colbert drinks during hosting the talk show. In line 6, the guest directly answers the question while also employing a zeugma by combing the concrete and the abstract together. J. Mulaney is being serious while also making sure that the tone of the show stays light. The host uses this as a hook for introducing a new topic and they go on discussing it until the end of the interview.

The exploitation of the maxim of Quantity occurs when the guest intentionally avoids responding to the question by giving either too little information or too much. It is up to the host to either repeat the question or to move on. In order to observe the maxim of Tact, where the speaker does not want the hearer to be inconvenienced, the host usually moves on.

The suspension of the maxim of Manner also aids in getting rid of the need to be brief and overthink the linear structure of one's responses and instead enables the participants to talk like they would in a casual conversation, meaning rambling on and on or allowing ambiguity in their words. It also helps in filling the interview with double entendre and conversational banter.

However, the maxims of Relation and Quality are usually observed so that the participants could facilitate a conversation that is beneficial for both the host and the guest. The failure to answer the question in a straightforward way or even abruptly changing the topic may lead to the deterioration of the atmosphere of intimacy in the studio and of the quality of the interview. Still, there are situations in which they are exploited or violated, and they are dealt with by the participants with the help of observing other maxims.

An example of this can be seen in a previously mentioned interview with Harry Styles and Ellen, where the host asks him whether his album is about a breakup [10]:

- 1 Guest: (.) Um- I mean, I think, like I definitely write from my personal experience.  
 2 I think a lot of [people] do. I think if you want your songs to kind of be honest  
 3 Host: [Uh-huh.]  
 4 Guest: and connect with people, it's usually from writing honestly. So, um.  
 5 So yeah, it's definitely about kind of, I guess, what I was going  
 6 through at the time. And that's both good and bad. I think the thing  
 7 with this album for me was (.) while I was making it  
 8 the times when I was a:h kind of sad probably were the saddest  
 9 times in my life. >But then at the same time, the times when  
 10 I was happy were some of the best times I've ever had in my life.  
 11 So, it's both. It's a fi::ne li::ne.=  
 12 Host: =That's the name of the album, "Fi::ne Li::ne".

In this case, H. Styles exploits the maxims of Quantity and Relation and leans into the suspension of the maxim of Manner. The question the host asks only demands a yes-no answer, but his answer is verbose and only superficially related to the topic at hand as he generalizes the notion of a breakup to a notion of being sad and goes from that point. The singer talks about abstract things imbued with ambiguity and without delving into specifics which is allowed by the suspension of the maxim of Manner. Despite all of this, he does observe the maxim of Quality and is saying what he believes to be true.

H. Styles' long answer is filled with too much information which does not really reveal anything and it ends with a pun about the name of the work he has come

to promote. In this way, he elevates the atmosphere and pushes past discussing the topic any further. Ellen has to face the amount of information he has given and decide whether she wants to try repeating the question. In the end, she supports his wish, shows appreciation to his joke, and moves on to talk about his album in a more serious way. Here, we see her observing the Tact Maxim.

That entails both the guest and the host understanding each other's limits. Neither of them wants to make the other uncomfortable or upset, even if it hinders their goals for that interview. This means that the host will stop discussing the topic if the guest starts showing any distress either verbally or nonverbally and the guest will still try and answer the question to the best of their ability even if it does make them inconvenienced.

The observance of the maxim of Generosity in talk shows usually manifests in the way that questions like "Can you tell me...?" or "Can I say this?" almost never get a refusal from either of the parties. This also includes invitations, for example when the host asks the guest to come back to the show soon or when the guest invites the host to attend some kind of activity for their sake in the future. If they are rejected, that is considered a deviance from the normal and even a violation of the maxim.

In talk shows, the maxims of Approbation and Modesty are interconnected and they are always observed in the opening and the closing sequences of the interview as the participants express praises to each other and humbly receive them back. We can see them in action in the middle of the interview in the following excerpt of Billie Eilish's interview with Jimmy Kimmel [5]:

- 1 Host: You are seventeen years old (.) which is ah:: crazy that you're
- 2 this successful at seventeen years old. And of course I think to-
- 3 back to myself at seventeen, not as successful at that age.
- 4 Guest: .hhh

In this case, J. Kimmel compliments what B. Eilish has achieved as compared to him at her age. He resorts to light self-devaluation for the sake of evaluating his guest's success. The guest responds with a bashful or rather just enlightened laugh.

The observance of the maxim of Agreement is seen in the way the host and the guest almost never question each other's attitude to reported events and to the people they talk about. They respond with neutral "Yeah" and "Sure" to make sure the other knows they are heard while they themselves do not explicitly agree or disagree. In this way, the story moves forward smoothly without being interrupted by disagreements. There are also times when one of the parties may respond with "Absolutely" or "I agree" and then they do in fact show their position as similar to the other party's.

An example of this is Kobe Bryant's interview with Jimmy Kimmel, in which he presents his side of the story while discussing the comments he has made about his colleague [6]:

- 1 Guest: But here's the thing, you know, (r)ight ↑. It was really a compliment.  
 2 People missed a whole first half of that, in which I said he was the most  
 3 dominant player I've ever seen and I felt like he could be the greatest of all time.=  
 4 Host: =Uhum.  
 5 Guest: So, people kind of missed that part [of it] and caught on to the lazy [part.]  
 6 Host: [Yeah.] [Yeah,  
 right.]  
 7 Guest: That was like- Nah, I kind of that said tongue in cheek. We weren't going  
 8 to win 12 rings. [...]=  
 9 Host: =Well, yeah, I guess you wouldn't (unintelligible).

In this case, the host listens to the guest's perspective and gives affirmation that he believes him. Even though he does not say anything that is more loaded than "Yeah", it is appropriate for the situation. The guest tints the conversation with playfulness as he tries to explain that his comments should be understood in full rather than in parts with a big smile on his face. J. Kimmel shows that he is on K. Bryant's side as they move on to discussing how the guest has dealt with solving the issue with his colleague. With the help of this complete agreement, the interview seems smooth and agreeable from both parties' sides.

The maxim of Obligation is seen throughout the whole interview but particularly in the closing sequences. Usually, it is the host who first says thanks to the guest for the interview well done as it is the signal for the other that the interview

is almost over or already over. They express gratitude for them coming over to the show and for what they provided during it. This is seen as their obligation and it usually is the last line of the interview. The guest may reciprocate in equal measure if they do not want for it to seem like their relationship is not mutually beneficial. They instead turn this interaction into one where it is understood that both parties have made an effort and received the same positive results.

To show this “equal measure”, the guest may stress the pronoun “you” while addressing the host, add the adverb “so” to express the high degree of gratitude, or use any paralinguistic means they want to as is the case in the following two interviews with Michelle Obama and Lady Gaga as guests and Stephen Colbert as the host [25, 28]:

- 1) 1 Host: Thank you so much for being here.
- 2 Guest: Thank you so much.
- 2) 1 Host: Thank you for being here. It’s so nice to meet you. I’ve admired
- 2 your talent for so many years. But-=
- 3 Guest =Thank you for having me.
- 4 [...]
- 5 Host: Truly, a star is born. Thank you so much for being here.=
- 6 Guest: =Thank you.

The maxim of Opinion-Reticence is seen in the way the participants end their statements with a questioning “you know” or “right”. They want to make sure that their opinion does not go against or upset the other person. Repeating “I think” or “In my opinion” also helps alleviate any pressure on the other party. In this way, while they do express their own opinion, they make sure that the other person will not feel that they have to agree or that no immediate disagreement means that they support the other’s judgements. They have an opening to express their distress, state what they think is true, or let the other person continue talking.

Nevertheless, there are situations where one of the participants is opinionated, which is considered a violation of the Opinion-Reticence Maxim. E. Schegloff explains that this violation means that the person is giving their own opinion too high of a value. However, from what we have seen, the violation of the Opinion-Reticence

Maxim often stems from personal feelings where the individual is just strong in keeping to their beliefs but does not try to impose them on someone else. In the following excerpt of Lady Gaga's interview with Stephen Colbert, the guest shows passion and complete dedication to what she is talking about as she meets the host's question head-on [28]:

1 Host: Uhm, you've been an outspoken activist for women and for the LGBTQ community.

2 (=interrupted by applause) Are you okay about talking about politics at all? You  
3 okay, because some guys don't wanna [talk about that. What] do you- How do  
you=

4 Guest: [Yeah, sure, why not?]

5 Host: =deal- Other than the wine. How do you deal with the current political environment?

6 =(unintelligible) 'Cuz a lot of people are upset on both sides, very angry.

7 Guest: You know, when it comes to the political stuff (unintelligible), I'm gonna say  
bring

8 it on. Because what I have seen, on the news, with this debate of Kavanaugh  
versus

9 Dr. Ford. It's one of the most upsetting things I've ever witnessed.

Not once during her speech does she use any propositional hedge or tries to soften the impact of her words. Lady Gaga goes on to defend the victim from the point of view of someone who has survived a similar thing and also from the point of view of science. This is something that is naturally important to her so she is opinionated. However, she just discloses her personal strong beliefs without arrogance and without trying to forcefully change anyone else's opinion. In the end, the host shows appreciation for her honesty and bravery.

The maxim of Feeling-Reticence is usually suspended in talk shows as the showing of one's emotion is part of what entertainment for others is about. The stories are structured based on the person's subjective opinion on what matters and what does not. What they do include is in some way important to them and as a consequence, they will express their attitude towards it or what emotional impact that element had on them while retelling it, be it in the tone of the voice or in body

language. The stories that are told are personal and expose the person's viewpoint so the choice to be more vulnerable with showing more emotion or to be more restrained is up to the storyteller. Sharing one's emotional state completely or limiting the exposure to a phrase or a gesture is up to the person and the participants do not hold each other to it.

Nevertheless, the host may be the one to initiate the discussion of the touchy topic and from the start inquire about the psychological state of the person during that event. In this way, they encourage the guest to be frank about their feelings, present or past.

An example of this is seen in Ronda Rousey's interview with Ellen where they discuss what series of events led up to the former's loss of a championship title [18]:

- 1 Host: Let's talk about the loss of this. I mean everybody expected you to win.  
 2 I expected you. I mean, the world expected, you expected to win. So, going  
 3 into it, what was different? Like, were you- did you feel good going in, or was  
 4 there something different this time?  
 5 [...]  
 6 Wow, I mean did you worry for a minute, could this be permanent? Did I  
 7 really hurt myself? And maybe I won't do this again.

As we can see here, in lines 1-2 Ellen reminds her guest just how hurtful her loss was, and not only for her but also for all the people who were expecting more from her. In this way, the host wants to provoke a more emotional recount of events which would include her innermost thoughts. Again, in lines 6-7 Ellen seeks to make the guest talk about how anxious or scared she was because of the injury she had suffered during the match. In the end, R. Rousey does start to cry as she recounts the traumatic experience. Ellen offers her a tissue and some sympathy.

The maxim of Sympathy is always observed as any kind of violation of it brings not only negative repercussions for personal relationships but also detrimental effects to the professional reputation of the participants. To express condolences for recent losses or any type of traumatic experience is considered to be basic decency. The host is supposed to be happy for the guest's achievements and sympathetic for their losses or pain. As mentioned in the first chapter, the talk show host's job is to

elevate the guest in the eyes of the audience and create a picture of an intimate and respectful relationship for the duration of the interview. Not sharing or respecting the guest's feelings is a sign that the host is not willing to perform their role.

An example of the observance of the maxim of Sympathy is seen in the following excerpt of Billie Eilish's interview with Ellen [15]:

- 1 Host: You spoke about something I think is really important a- and brave,
- 2       that you didn't intend to speak about, but that you have Tourette's
- 3       syndrome and that it comes out at certain times. But I think tha- that's
- 4       amazing that you spoke about it 'cuz you kind of take away the, you know,
- 5       kind of scariness of it.

Ellen expresses sympathy and pays a compliment to her guest as she introduces this kind of touchy topic. From B. Eilish's response after this introduction, we can deduce that this topic has been agreed upon beforehand and the guest was not surprised that they would be discussing her illness. Ellen creates a comfortable space for the guest to be vulnerable in and makes sure that the other knows that talking about this topic will do good in bringing awareness. We can also see that Ellen observes the Opinion-reticence Maxim with a propositional hedge "I think" and an interjection "you know" which indicate that the host is highlighting that that is their personal opinion while also making sure that it does not go against what the guest's beliefs.

In contrast, the same host, Ellen, does not match the guest's feelings and mood in the interview with Nikkie de Jager as the latter relates the story about transitioning as a kid and then later being under the threat to be outed [19]:

- 1 Host:    So, the response has been fantastic, I know.
- 2 Guest:   It's been unreal.
- 3 Host:    Good for you.
- 4        [...]
- 5 Guest:   And I was so happy that it's 2020, and the acceptance is real.
- 6 Host:    Yeah. Well- (=the audience applauds)

To be completely fair, in the closing sequence Ellen praises N. de Jager as a potential role model for kids who are living through similar experiences. However,

even though she does express sympathy in her own way, her responses to a highly emotional story seem perfunctory and disinterested as she does not expand beyond a couple of words of affirmation or agreement.

### **Conclusions to Chapter III**

Pre-telling sequences, opening sequences, and closing sequences play a major role in the organization of the story and the introduction of its narrator and context around it.

Pre-telling sequences may be initiated both by the host and the guest, no matter who of them is the narrator. Storytelling may be initiated by the speaker themselves, but more often than not storytelling is triggered by a question from the other person or from a related to the topic at hand memory.

Opening and closing sequences follow a more or less common pattern. Opening sequences include the identification of the guest, a greeting adjacency pair, and a sequence where the participants exchange some nice words. Closing sequences include sequences of expressing gratitude instead of a goodbye-goodbye adjacency pair. They also almost always include a line from the host where they repeat the name of the guest so that the audience gives applause which marks the end of the interview.

The basis for the structuring of the storytelling is built on either question-answer adjacency pairs, or assertion-assent adjacency pairs, or a mixture of them. Question-answer adjacency pairs enable the hearer to be a collaborator in telling the story. The story built on this type of adjacency is clearer, more dynamic and organized. Assertion-answer adjacency pair leaves the hearer in a more passive role. The storytelling is completely dependent on the narrator's style. They have their benefits as they are more appropriate for telling vulnerable stories and do not get the speaker distracted.

How frequently different types of speech acts occur in talk show interviews depends on their functionality and their role in organizing the story and the host-guest relationship.

Assertives play an integral part in producing stories as the narrators relay the events from their own perspectives which they believe to be the only right ones. They are also used to express attitudes and beliefs about the other's position in the world.

Expressives occur in the opening sequences and the closing sequences. They allow the participants to express the magnitude of their feelings and are used to state and highlight the psychological state of the interlocutors.

Commissives occur in the closing sequences as the interlocutors pass around invitations and promises to meet each other soon.

Directives occur in the main body of the interview and in the closing sequences. They help initiate storytelling, switch topics, and direct to action the third participant – the audience.

Declarations have not occurred in any of the talk show interviews we have analysed. This is explained by the fact that a talk show is not the appropriate place and the host is not the appropriate person for them to happen.

Conversational and politeness maxims are extremely important for the regulation of the host-guest relationship and for the creation of an illusion of an intimate relationship between the interlocutors.

The maxims of Quantity and Manner are suspended as they facilitate a more natural conversation and also allows the participants to avoid uncomfortable topics. The maxim of Tact prevents the other person from pressuring their interlocutor into responding.

The maxims of Approbation and Modesty are closely connected and often occur in the opening sequences and the closing sequences. Their exploitation leads to producing conversational banter. The maxims of Generosity and Agreement help the conversation to flow smoothly and without any conflicts. Both the host and the guest express goodwill and indulgence to each other.

The maxim of Feeling-Reticence is also suspended as the interlocutors are free to express their feelings. More often than not they are encouraged to do so or provoked into doing so with the help of tough questions. The observance of the

maxim of Sympathy ensures that they feel heard and validated if they do expose their vulnerable side.

## CONCLUSIONS

Talk shows have long attracted the attention of scholars and politicians. The impact they have on their viewers and how they can be utilized have been an area of study since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, scholars also started looking into the authenticity of the narrators and their stories. Since then, oral narratives produced during talk shows have been looked at as a performance rather than an accurate representation of the events that have occurred.

In our analysis, we looked at the tools the participants of talk shows use to define and organize their stories and the way the host-guest relationship influences their unfolding. As talk shows with ordinary people as guests are considerably more researched than those with celebrities as guests, we decided to pay our attention to the latter. In this type of talk shows, the limitations are different. The celebrity comes to the talk show to promote a product and cultivate a good reputation. The host wants to keep gaining ratings with the help of the guest. Thus, they have a mutually dependent relationship, which cannot be threatened by deviation from a civil conversation.

Talk shows are aimed at a mass audience and their goal is to steadily grow the number of viewers. The celebrity may be unfamiliar to most of the audience but the guest is able to appeal to it through the use of stereotypes and generalizations. In cases where the narrator is the one to introduce stereotypes as part of their story, that person maintains control over the situation and decides which traits from that stereotype are used to define them. Later in the story, they can question just how close the stereotype is to reality and then educate the viewers by using the talk show as a platform. In other cases, stereotypes may be imposed on the person by someone else's story. Then, the person either contradicts the generalization or plays along, depending on how they want to be perceived. Defining oneself along the lines of a stereotype may be a way to disinterest people from prying into one's private life.

While we only explored the explicit stereotypes, the use of implicit stereotypes in narration presents an interesting topic for future research in the area of talk shows in general. The understanding of differences in how the interlocutors deal with

implicit stereotypes as compared to explicit stereotypes may help explore the peculiarities of narration in a public setting.

Conflicts in this type of talk shows rarely get to escalate as both the host and the guest are usually willing to move past the problem quickly as dwelling on it may have a detrimental effect on the achievement of their goals. The ratio of the use of conflict management strategies goes along the following way: avoiding accounts for 60% of budding conflicts, competing for 20%, compromising for 10%, and collaboration and accommodating both for 5%. The strategy of avoiding is the most beneficial one as it does not let the flow from a story to another story be disrupted. The faces of the participants also avoid a threatening situation. The strategy of competing is used when one of the participants is not willing to sacrifice their image for the other. This may occur when the story that is being told by the host shows the guest in an unflattering light. Then, the guest will start to contradict the host's story. The strategies of compromising, collaboration, and accommodating are used less often as they entail either the host or the guest sacrificing some part of their goals.

This data may be used in analysing the way interlocutors arrive at using the same strategy or how they deal when their conflict management strategies differ while they have to keep up the act of a close relationship in front of the audience.

Nonverbal communication, paraverbal communication, and extralinguistic aspects of speech give shape to the narration. They can convey additional meanings, emphasize the speaker's attitude to the reported event, or relay the visual aspect of the reported event. While listening to the story, the hearer may use nonverbal means to show their complete attention or sympathy to the speaker. Thus, the speaker may receive reassurance about the clarity and the degree of entertainment their narration has.

Kinesics is an important part of understanding the narrator's attitudes and subtle meanings in talk shows. Thus, any future study which will focus on this part will be able to examine how narrators decide which gestures, body movements, and facial expressions to use while "performing" a story or conveying a particular mood to the audience.

Sequences play an important role in the organization of the storytelling. The opening sequences and the closing sequences provide a template and a limit, with which the host can experiment depending on the situation and the guest. These sequences help to define the host-guest relationship in the eyes of the audience. The pre-telling sequences help to prepare the audience for the story by providing them the context of what is about to be recounted or the hint about what kind of the story they should expect (e.g., crazy, funny, sad, etc.). Question-answer adjacency pairs and assertion-assent adjacency pairs are the most commonly used building blocks for storytelling. The former entails that the hearer takes on a more active role in organizing and clarifying the story. The latter entails that the hearer takes on a more passive role where they give the speaker complete control of the story they are telling and only provide reassurance that they are listening attentively.

Future studies may use the quantitative method to have a more deep understanding about the trends and correlations in the narrator's use of adjacency pairs with the hearer's role.

The most frequently occurring speech acts are assertives and expressives. Assertives are the building blocks of stories as they tell the subjective perception the narrator has of the events that have unfolded. Through them, we become aware of the beliefs and attitudes of the interlocutors. Expressives are used to disclose the psychological state of the participants and the feelings they hold for each other. They are often found in the opening sequences and the closing sequences. Commissives occur in the closing sequences as the host and the guest exchange invitations and promises to see each other again. Directives initiate storytelling and help communicate with the audience by giving them cues. Declarations are never seen in talk shows as the latter are not the appropriate place for the former.

Directives may present an interesting topic for research as they can help determine how the host uses their authority both on the guest and the audience by directing them to move on from something or to perform an action.

The observance of maxims is significant for making the host-guest relationship be seen as a relationship between good friends, However, the nature of talk shows

allows for suspension and exploitation of a number of maxims. The maxims of Quantity and Manner are suspended as the host and the guest expect each other to relay more information than the question they have asked entails and allow each other ambiguity. This helps the conversation to seem more casual and unscripted. The maxim of Tact helps to avoid the uncomfortable situation where one of the interlocutors tries to force out the answer out of the other person. The exploitation of the maxims of Approbation and Modesty produces conversational banter. The maxims of Generosity and Agreement ensure the avoidance of any conflict and the production of a smooth interview. The maxim of Feeling-Reticence is also suspended as it is encouraged that the participants show their emotions frankly. The observance of the maxim of Sympathy guarantees that the ones who let their emotions run free will get reassurance and understanding from the other person. If they experience joy, the other person will express happiness for them. If they experience sadness, the other person will give them a tissue and a couple of comforting words.

A study of the violations of maxims in talk shows may explore the ways in which one interlocutor deals with the other one deliberately neglecting to observe the maxim that is expected to be observed by both parties. Moreover, the reasons why one would do that in front of a third participant, the audience, presents another aspect to be researched.

All in all, we hope that this research will provide the necessary data that could be used in future works in this area of study.

## SUMMARY

Починаючи з кінця 20-го століття, ток-шоу ставали об'єктами дослідження низки вчених, що мали на меті дослідити, як організовується мовлення у ситуаціях, де присутній третій пасивний учасник, тобто глядачі. Також на ток-шоу звертали увагу, коли досліджувався усний наратив на радіо та телебаченні. Цією темою займалися такі вчені, як Я. Хатчбі, Л. Льоб, А. Дан та Е. Толсон. Але водночас, деякі підтипи ток-шоу залишалися поза увагою через ті або інші причини.

Актуальність нашого дослідження полягає в тому, що ми обрали досить невивчену тему нарації у зіркових ток-шоу. Використовуючи бази знань з робіт інших вчених та лінгвістів, ми хотіли додати дані про особливості організування історій у такому виді програм, де гість і ведучий є рівними одне одному та обидва мають власні попередньо визначені цілі, з якими вони прийшли на шоу.

Об'єктом нашого дослідження стали усні наративи та нарація на радіо й телебаченні. Предметом нашого дослідження є нарація у зіркових ток-шоу. Під час аналізу ми враховуємо, як пов'язані організація історій та комунікативні цілі наратора.

Метою нашого дослідження є визначення домінантних стратегій, інструментів та принципів, що використовуються учасниками ток-шоу у структуруванні нарації. Для виконання мети ми повинні виконати наступні завдання: обрати відповідні методи, що ми будемо використовувати під час дослідження; обрати матеріал для аналізу; звіритися з роботами вчених, що працювали з цією темою або суміжною з нею; використовуючи обрані методи, проаналізувати зібрані дані та віднайти повторювані формули; окреслити найбільш уживані стратегії та інструменти, що використовуються наратором; і нарешті, зробити висновки та запропонувати подальше використання цих даних у майбутніх дослідженнях.

Серед методів дослідження ми вибрали якісні та дескриптивні методи, адже саме вони відповідають меті дослідження.

Під час дослідження, ми проаналізували 94 зіркових інтерв'ю з таких найвідоміших ток-шоу, як “Jimmy Kimmel Live!”, “The Ellen DeGeneres Show”, “The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon” та “The Late Show with Stephen Colbert”.

Новизна нашого дослідження полягає у тому, що ми визначили сучасні тенденції нарації в зіркових ток-шоу. Як наприклад, ми звернули увагу до яких стратегій звертаються наратори, коли намагаються створити ілюзію близьких стосунків в очах глядачів або коли мають запобігти конфлікту, який може загрожувати і їх обличчю, і цілісності їх історій.

Впродовж дослідження ми аналізували прагматичні аспекти нарації та комунікативні стратегії, що задіяні не тільки в процесі структурування історій, а також у регулюванні відносин між гостем та ведучим. На кожен метод відводився один підрозділ, тому майбутні конкретизовані дослідження зможуть розширити наявні дані або навіть переосмислити їх з допомогою вже власних ідей.

Серед комунікативних стратегій ми виділили використання стереотипів, стратегії вирішення конфліктів та невербальну комунікацію.

Стереотипи можуть використовуватися наратором як по відношенню до себе, так і по відношенню до інших. Коли наратор використовує стереотипи для охарактеризування власної особистості, то скоріш за все він так встановлює зв'язок з глядачами, кількість яких вимірюється у тисячах. Завдяки стереотипам, глядачі можуть утворити загальне уявлення про людину, яку вони бачать перед собою. Якщо наратор використовує стереотипи по відношенню до інших і загрожує їх обличчю, то це може призвести до конфліктів. Це залежить від того, чи згодна та людина підіграти заради підтримання динаміки ток-шоу або вона готова пожертвувати цим заради захисту цілісності власного обличчя. Через те, що ми аналізували лише експліцитні стереотипи, існує потенціал для дослідження імпліцитних стереотипів в ток-шоу.

У ток-шоу конфлікти зустрічаються рідко, адже вони запобігають досягненню цілей усіх учасників. Якщо існує загроза, що конфлікт таки розпочнеться, учасники звертаються до стратегій вирішення конфліктів Томаса-Кільмана. Стратегія ухилення відповідала за 60% проаналізованих нами конфліктів, стратегія конкурування – за 20%, стратегія співпраці – за 10% та стратегії компромісу та пристосування – за 5% кожна. Стратегія ухилення є найбільш вигідною, адже від неї немає шкоди ні для динаміки ток-шоу, ні для відносин між учасниками. Можливі майбутні дослідження того, якими засобами досягається сумісне реалізування цих стратегій співрозмовниками в ток-шоу.

Невербальні засоби використовуються для вираження додаткових смислів, для вираження почуттів наратора до події, що він описує, а також для транслявання подій у візуальний аспект заради більш ясного уявлення глядачів про ту подію. Використання знань з кінесики в подальших дослідженнях може надати краще уявлення про те, як наратор обирає елементи історії, які потребують застосування невербальних та паравербальних засобів для драматизування подій, що він описує.

У третьому розділі ми звернули увагу на ролі секвенцій, мовленнєвих актів та максимів спілкування і ввічливості у зіркових ток-шоу.

Секвенції використовуються у ток-шоу для організування нарації. Невід'ємними є вступні та завершальні секвенції, що дають зрозуміти глядачам наскільки близькі відносини у гостя та ведучого. Суміжні пари питання-відповідь та твердження-згода є звичними частинами побудови нарації в ток-шоу. Перша суміжна пара надає слухачу більш активну роль в організації історії та проясненні незрозумілих елементів історії, в той час як друга суміжна пара надає наратору повний контроль над тим, як усе розгортається. Майбутні дослідження можуть зосередитися на кількісному аналізі використання суміжних пар наратором, щоб потім зробити висновки про побачені закономірності.

Щодо мовленнєвих актів, то з них найчастіше зустрічаються асертиви та експресиви. Асертиви грають важливу роль в організації нарації, в той час як експресиви прояснюють відносини між гостем та ведучим в очах глядачів. Комісиви зустрічаються у завершальних секвенціях, де озвучуються обіцянки зустрінутись знову. Директиви ініціюють початок історії або заохочують глядачів до якоїсь дії. Декларативи не зустрічаються, адже ток-шоу не є відповідним для них місцем. Більш ретельне дослідження ролі директивів в ток-шоу може надати більш повне уявлення про те, як ведучий керує реакцією глядачів та переходами від однієї історії до іншої.

Щодо максимів ввічливості та спілкування, то учасники не мають дотримуватися їх усіх. Максими повноти інформації та способу висловлення не відповідають цілям ток-шоу, тому співрозмовники не очікують їх дотримання. Але додержання максимів такту, добродушності та згоди запобігають будь-якій загрозі конфліктів, адже співрозмовники поважають особисті кордони одне одного і не будуть вимагати відповіді на некомфортні для іншої людини питання. Використання у власних цілях максимів схвалення та скромності може спонукати початок жартівливої бесіди між учасниками. Максима стримування емоцій йде всупереч мети ток-шоу, тому її дотримання зовсім необов'язкове. Максима співчуття забезпечує те, що людина, яка виразила свої емоції, буде зустрінута розумінням. Великий потенціал мають майбутні дослідження щодо порушень максимів тоді, коли очікується їх дотримання. Що саме має на меті такий співрозмовник і як з цим впорається інший учасник, можуть бути темами для вивчення.

Ми сподіваємося, що це дослідження слугуватиме як додаткове джерело для майбутніх робіт, що будуть пов'язані з цією темою або з нарацією на радіо та телебаченні загалом.

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