A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF KBC TV BROADCAST DISCUSSION PROGRAMMES. 4

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIÁL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

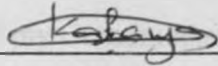DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND AFRICAN LANGUAGE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.
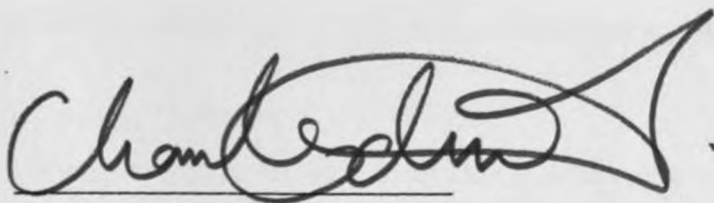
JUNE   1993

DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree examination in any University.

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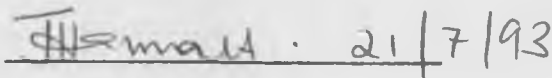
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MR. J.H HABWE

DEDICATION

To my parents Helina and Peter who have worked hard to give me today what
they could not have yesterday.

And to the memory of my Grandmothers Wangare and Wanjiru whose vision
of tomorrow will remain with me forever.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of the discourse structure and organization of Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Television discussion programmes. It examines the exchange patterns observable in these discussion programmes and also the salient patterns of language use.

Particular attention is given to local organization especially the turn taking and the adjacency pair system. The study also deals with the part played by non-verbal communication, jokes, figurative language as well as the effect of code mixing and code switching in communication. These patterns of language are seen as motivated by socio-psychological factors and as related directly to the degree of language tolerance exhibited by the viewers.

The study has revealed that the overhearing audience is a major determining factor of both the organization and the language used in these programmes.

The topic, the participant and the institutionalised context of the discussion programmes are also seen as important variables. All these factors are interrelated and overlap in their influence. The study also singles out the adjacency pair as the basic structural unit of exchange in these discussion programmes.

LIST OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATION/SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS USED IN THE STUDY

The following table has a list of abbreviations, conventions and symbols used in the study.

IR:	-	represents Interviewer
IE:	-	" Interviewee
TV:	-	" Television
KBC:	-	" Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
( ) 'brackets'	-	used to give additional information and the function of certain contributions
}	-	used to indicate overlapping speech.
__	-	used to indicate pauses and Hesitations.
......	-	Indicates that the utterance continues.

The data samples used in the data are numbered in Roman numbers for example, (ii) on a sub-section to sub-section basis.

1.0 A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF KBC TV BROADCAST DISCUSSION PROGRAMME

Television broadcast transmission is an important field in Kenya. The discussion programmes produced eg let's talk, face to face, perspective, thought-line and others have become an important source of enlightenment to the viewers.

These programmes are conducted in English, and being a second language to most of the participants, there arises the need to ensure that clarity and cohesiveness remain throughout the discussion. The producers also have to see to it that the topics they choose will target a specific audience, and that the transition from one speaker to another is smooth.

In short, if the audience is to be kept interested, the participants have to see to it that the programmes are tailored, not just for the participants, but also for the overhearing audience.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The KBC Television discussion programmes constitute a functionally specialized form of social interaction produced for an overhearing audience and restricted by institutionalized conventions. In this study, the research examines the feedback mechanism in a face to face situation in which the interractants influence each other.The study also examines how these interractants are influenced by the topic and their consciousness of an overhearing audience.

Most of the participants in these discussion programmes are trilingual and English is usually not their first language. Since the concerns of D.A is language in use in social contexts and in particular with interaction and dialogue between speakers, this study

investigates how clarity, coherence and cohesiveness are achieved in these discussions, and at the same time, attempts to identify the linguistic (and non linguistic) resources available to the second language user to maintain the interaction.

1.2   AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This study aims to discover the discourse organization of KBC discussion programmes with the following objectives:

First to establish the discourse structure by analyzing the exchange patterns for example, act sequences, turn taking patterns,or question/answer formats associated with the particular institutional arrangements.

Secondly to investigate how clarity, cohesiveness and coherence are achieved in the broadcast transmission.

Thirdly to identify the resources available to the second language user to maintain the interaction.

And finally to establish how the speakers linguistic production are influenced by a consciousness of the overhearing audience.

1.3 RATIONALE

Despite the fact that the media has become an important source of enlightenment and entertainment, and that its chief medium of communication is language, hardly any linguists have taken any scholarly interest in it. For this reason I feel that there is a gap to be filled in the study of the structure and organization of the discourse used in TV broadcast transmissions. This study seeks to fill the gap.

Similarly, there has been a tendency for scholars to be preoccupied with the analysis of sentences and words in isolation at the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax,that

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is, theoretical linguistics at the expense of studies in the fields of applied linguistics, for example, discourse analysis and pragmatics. This study is a contribution to these fields and is of importance therefore to any scholar willing to venture into these fields.

Finally, the present study of the discourse structure of TV discussion programmes, I believe, will help the producers of these programmes especially in their endeavour to improve both the organization and presentation of the programmes in order to suit the needs of the overhearing audience.

1.4   OPERATIONAL QUESTIONS

The organization of discourse is not as neat as it is in the lower levels of phonology, morphology and syntax. This neatness allows for reasonable hypothesis to be formulated. But because there are so many variables that one cannot control in D.A, I was reluctant to use the term hypothesis due to the multiplicity of factors that surround a speech event. Consequently in my attempt to discover the discourse structure and patterns discernable in T.V discussion programmes, I was guided by the following questions:-

(1)   What is the role of the interviewer/chairman and how are the beginnings and the endings of T.V discussion programmes structured?.

(2)   How does the topic, the interviewer and the interviewee influence the interaction?.

(3)   How does the social and the cultural knowledge of the viewers provide an interpretive context for the participants utterances?.

(4)   Is there any evidence of code switching or code mixing in these discussions and is it possible to account for it?.

(5)   What are the speakers strategies for taking turns?.

(6)   What are the linguistic devices for handling interruptions?.

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(7) How are the speakers influenced by their consciousness of an overhearing audience?.

1.5   SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The Kenya Broadcasting corporation produces discussion programmes under several titles.

-thought-line

-perspective

-face to face

-lets talk

-press conference

-professional view

-the law and you and others.

Ideally, the scope of a study of this nature should have been to analyze at least two of these programmes. However, since the discussion programmes are lengthy (each ranging between 30 min - 1 hr) and because of limitations of time, especially since transcription consumes a lot of time, the amount of data had to be limited to a manageable size in order to carry out a thorough analysis.

A pilot study of these discussion programmes indicated that they are of two broad types:-

1.   Those conducted in a formal manner, for example professional view.

2.   Those conducted in an informal manner for example, lets talk.

And because of the above limitations, the researcher studied five of those conducted in a formal manner.

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1.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework underlying this study is based on salient components of communication used by linguists like Hymes (1972) and Friedrich (1972) to analyze ethnographic data. This framework proposes that the analysis of any speech event depends on the interrelationship of such components as setting, participants, purpose, key, channel code, message form, message content and the act sequence as illustrated below.
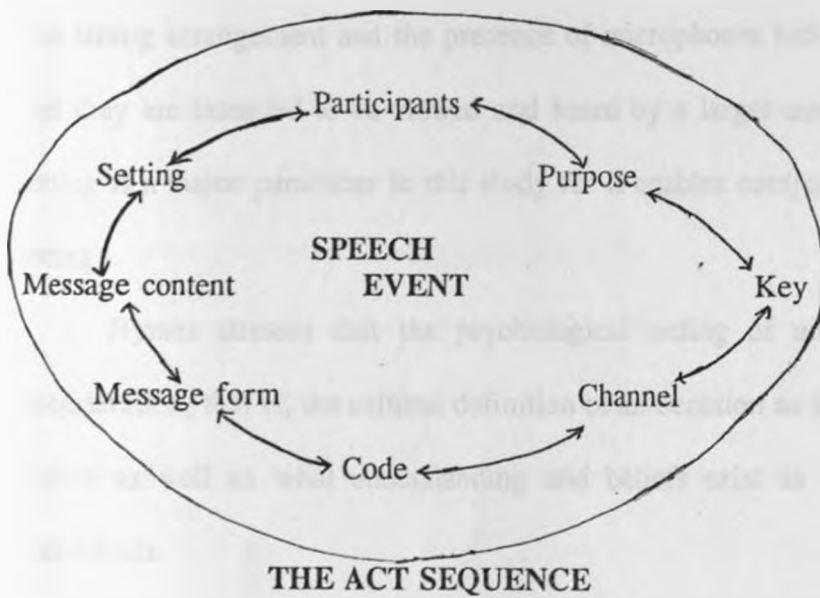
Fig 1

In this illustration the speech event is the largest unit for which one can discover linguistic structure and the act sequence is the overall organization of communicative acts within the speech event.

SETTING

The setting is important in any speech event for any such events will of necessity take place at a specific time in a specific place. In describing the setting, we are concerned with answers to questions such as :

(a) What kind of communicative event is it?

(b) What is it about?

(c) Why is it happening?

(d) Where and when does it occur?

The speech event in this study is a discussion programme taking place in a studio setting. The sitting arrangement and the presence of microphones before each participant specifies that they are intended to be viewed and heard by a larger audience than themselves. This setting is a major parameter in this study for it enables comparisons to be made with other settings.

Hymes stresses that the psychological setting of an event must be taken into consideration, that is, the cultural definition of an occasion as formal or informal, serious or festive as well as what understanding and beliefs exist in the group or are known to individuals.

PARTICIPANTS

The basic descriptive question to answer about participants is: who is taking part in these discussion programmes?. In this study, three participant roles were used;

(1) Addressor (the speaker who produces the utterance)

(2) Addressee (the hearer who is the recipient of the utterance)

(3)   The audience (the over-hearers who contribute to the specification of the discussion within and outside the studio. The knowledge of the addressor makes it possible for an analyst to imagine what a particular person is likely to say and why he says it. Knowledge of his addressee and of the audience constrains his expectations even further.

An adequate description of the participants also includes information on role relationships, social status, age, sex and other social variables, for example, occupation.

PURPOSE

All speech events have a purpose. The purpose is what the participants/producers intend should come about as a result of a speech event. Despite the intended purpose, individuals often exploit a speech event for personal and social reasons or artistic effects. Hymes observes that "the purpose of an event from a community standpoint may not be identical to the purpose of those engaged in it."

In the context of the present study, the main purpose of the T.V discussions programmes from producers point of view is to enlighten (and entertain) the overhearing audience. Nevertheless several other individual purposes are likely to surface as the analysis takes place.

KEY

Key handles the tone, the manner and spirit in which an event is performed. Key is often redundantly ascribed to genre, for example, lectures are formal, jokes are jocular. But this is not a necessary relationship. In the analysis of discussion programmes one is likely to find that the genre is the same but the levels of formality/seriousness differs as one moves

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from one discussion programme to another. Key may be signalled by choice of language or variety, by non verbal signals, by paralinguistic features or by a combination of elements.

CHANNEL AND CODE

Channel is concerned with how contact between participants in the discussion is maintained, that is, by sound waves, use of textual features and non-verbal communication.

Code on the other hand is concerned with the language or dialect or style of language used. The code (which is supposedly English) was a major concern in this analysis. Because the participants were using a second language, and because most of them spoke one or two other languages (some which could be assigned status in different age groups) the researcher was on the look out for instances of code switch, for example English - Kiswahili, English - Sheng. Such code switching it was assumed, would largely depend on other concepts especially those of participant and key.

MESSAGE CONTENT

Message content refers to what speech acts are about and to what meaning is being conveyed. Content enters analysis first of all as a question of topic and change of topic. For this study topic was fully predetermined and invariable, but instances of topic change were common and the interviewer had to constantly propose direction for the participants.

Message content in this study is analyzed in terms of functional categories such as opening, closing, eliciting, informing, directing, summarizing, agreeing, disagreeing and others. But it must be noted that in a face to face communication, meaning is derived not only from verbal and non-verbal message form and its contents, but also from extra-linguistic context and from the information and expectations which participants bring to the

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communication event. Because the various elements are processed simultaneously it is difficult in most instances to isolate any subset for analysis.

MESSAGE FORM

On message form Hymes (1972) stresses that,

" all forms of speaking involves a message form if not by affecting its shape, then by governing its interpretation". In this analysis, there is pragmatic interpretation of phenomena such as speech, silence and non-verbal signals. In considering silence a basic distinction must be made between silences which carry meaning, but not propositional content and silent communicative acts which are entirely dependent on adjacent vocalization for interpretation and which carry their own illocutionary force.

THE ACT SEQUENCE

The act sequence component includes information about the ordering of communicative acts within an event as Goffman (1971) puts it:

"We deal with the sequencing of action in which the move of   one participant is followed by that of another, the first move establishing the environment for the second and the second confirming the meaning of the first."

In this work, the analyst deals with act sequences such as opening and closing as well as turn taking and overlap phenomena.

In the analysis of T.V discussion programmes, the analyst was basically interested in how the above factors combine in interaction. The concern was thus in the reciprocal influence processes through which people influence each other as well as how they are

influenced by the setting, topic, key, the channel and their consciousness of an overhearing audience.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of studies have been done on discourse analysis. Among these, those on conversational analysis will be of importance to this study. Deborah Schiffrin's paper on conversational analysis (1988) is important because it offers opinions on context, joint meaning and situated action. She argues that our social and cultural knowledge provides an interpretive context which allows us to discover reasons for the underlying well-foundedness of conversation and that conversation is orderly, not because of order among it's sentences but because of the ways in which speakers and hearers co-ordinate their joint production of meanings and actions.

Several scholars have observed that the analysis of what a speaker says does not provide an exhaustive account of what a speaker intends to communicate. Among these are Grice (1975), Labov (1972b), Labov and Fanshel (1977) and Grumpez (1982a). Although their approaches differ in detail, each proposes a way of contextualizing what is actually said in order to arrive at a fuller interpretation of what is being communicated. They all agree that a derivation of communicative meaning must be done by supplementing semantic meaning with contextualizing factors. What differs are the contextualizing factors: for Grice, they are cooperative maxims, for Labov, it is the underlying actions and for Grumpez it is the interpretative schemata. Their works provide useful background information to this study especially on contextualizing factors of utterances.

Other studies have been carried out that provide a descriptive analysis of classroom discourse. In this category are scholars like Stubbs (1983), Coulthard (1985) and Levinson

(1983). Stubbs (1983), has an ethnographic approach to the analysis of classroom conversational data (see chapter 3). His observation especially on the meta-communicative function of language is indeed of importance to this study. Coulthard and Levinson also discuss in detail the conversational structure of classroom talk. The two agree that one of the basic factors of conversation is that speakers take turns to speak. Their data leads them to the conclusion that turn-taking in the classroom has a rigid structure of IRF, that is, Initiation, Response, Feedback, with the teacher taking the majority of turns. Although this may not be the structure in discussion programmes, their analysis especially the discussion on turn-taking and adjacency pairs is an important contribution to this study.

Other works have provided useful guidelines on the methodology of ethnographic research. These include Milroy (1987), Saville-Troike (1989) Del Hymes (1964). These works have discussed in detail methods of carrying out ethnographic research. Closely related to these texts is the work of Stubbs (1983) which provided the study with basic introduction on methodology in discourse analysis. Chapter two of this work on inspecting conversational data gave insight on discourse organization and the analysis of transcribed data.

The work I found very closely related to this study is John Heritage's paper in van Dijk (ed) (1985) on analyzing news interviews: He has taken an approach which looks into aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience and has given insights into the question-answer sequences of this exchange. His views on the institutionalized context of the interviews, their level of formality and the fact that they are centrally produced for over-hearers are indeed a great contribution for this study. But it must be noted that he uses as his data interviews from British Broadcasting Corporation and this puts his analysis on a different context with this study. For in this study, the interractants are second language users of English and secondly, the data used is from a corporation that is owned and largely

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controlled by the government. Because of these two reasons, the study findings were bound to differ. But his observation on the role of the interviewer's formulation as both advancing the prior reports and proposing a direction for interviewees subsequent reporting activities are of importance to this study.

Sembatya (1992) deals with code switching and code mixing in a multi - lingual setting. Though he carried out his research in service encounter settings, his work is of interest to this study because the participants of the T.V discussion programmes are from a multi-lingual setting; It is presumed therefore that the analyst was likely to find instances of code-mixing in their production. Sembatya's attempt to account for these instances of code switch provided useful information to this study.

The work of Oduol (1987), dealt with very pertinent issues pertaining to maintenance of communication in classroom with implications for teaching. He clearly reported that in classroom contexts, communication and expected response is not always attained through use of elicitation but it is at least one of the patterns of interaction we are given and pupils are nominated and prompted to give the expected response.

This work is important to the present study in that it gives insight into how the participants in the discussion comprehended one another in the process of interaction. It is also important in highlighting what mechanisms interractants use in the discussions, for example, do they use elicitation, direct questions, recycling or reformulations in order to overcome communication problems during the discussions.

Habwe (1989) in his M.A thesis analyses the pragmatic aspects of the conversational discourse of the Mvita language. In Kiswahili he discusses how a number of strategies such as mutual knowledge, cultural knowledge and rules of conversation best explainable under

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Grice's conversational principle come to play in conversation. Among the structural elements he singles out are the turn taking, topics, adjacency pairs and others.

The findings of the above work are of great importance to this study. But his analysis had a pragmatic bias and it was done in the light of formal functional approach using data based on everyday conversation. This will make the present study different from his.

1.8.0 METHODOLOGY

1.8.1 DATA COLLECTION

In this study, the researcher proposes to collect data in the form of video recordings of various discussion programmes produced by K.B.C. The material was dubbed on one three hour Goldstar video cassettes by the analyst. This material was judgement sampled to ensure that it covered a reasonable range of disciplines.

Because the process of transcribing data from video is tedious, the material on video tapes is supported by audio tape which were then used for transcription purposes.

Apart from the use of video and audio tapes, the other method of data collection in this research involved non-participants observation. During the observation sessions, the researcher wrote down field notes on observable phenomena such as any form of non-verbal communication that could be of importance in the pragmatic interpretation of the data. These notes were mainly for the purpose of maintaining consistency and clarifications in case of what certain utterances meant.

1.8.2 PROBLEMS OF TRANSCRIPTION

Although transferring the data from video tapes to audio tapes eases the transcription task, the researcher encountered the following problems in the transcription of data.

One of them is the amount of time needed for transcription. Though the study was done using high quality recordings and the video tapes were available to refer to for clarity, the researcher found that a 45 minute discussion programmes needs about 20 hours to transcribe and this takes about 30 pages of transcript. Transcription is thus a lengthy business and in itself cuts down the amount of data that can be reasonably analyzed.

The other problem involves the transcription of such frequent conversational complexities such as false starts, hesitations, self corrections, ungrammatical and unfinished sentences, laughter and overlapping utterances, which brought the researcher's attention to questions such as: How does talk which appears superficially to be casual, incomplete, incoherent or defective nevertheless produce an impression of order from its participants?. And how can we explain that conversation which is evidently full of stops, starts and stammers nevertheless sounds coherent?. The researcher attempts to address this questions in the following chapters.

1.8.3 AUDIENCE ANALYSIS.

In order to find out whether the presentation of the relevant programmes demonstrated to the viewers the participants consciousness of the overhearing audience, the researcher carried out an informal audience analysis to determine the attitudes to the programmes in terms of the style, the topics, levels of formality, their purpose as well as the period of time allocated to them.

To be able to do a thorough analysis of the audience, the researcher obtained from Kenya Broadcasting Corporation's market survey on the percentages of people who watch their discussion programmes, their age and sex. The researcher also used informal survey techniques to get her own conclusions on viewers attitudes towards these programmes.

1.8.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The analytical procedures used in this study involve showing how one utterance follows another in a rule governed manner in order to establish the overall coherence of the discourse produced.

This was done first by transcribing the recorded data in order to make the exchanges easier to read and process. Then by observing the structures of patterns of participants utterances in the discussions. Special attention was paid to local organization especially turn taking in an attempt to establish the rules that operate locally and recursively at each turn transition place in order to achieve orderly transition.

The utterances examined were be further analyzed in the light of functional categories to establish their function within discourse and also to see how they are structured in an attempt to establish the overall coherence of discourse produced.

Below is an illustration of how the transcription was done: This section from the discussion programme Perspective: Topic: Heart Attack.

Participants; medical doctors, herbalists and the interviewer.

One of the doctors has just finished an explanation of the condition of the heart and blood vessels prior to a heart attack.

IR : Now Dr Wangai Paul coming to you, once this condition happens, is there some feeling that is felt by the person that can be recognized by the majority of the people watching this programme.

[Questioning]

[Change of turns]

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IE : No Madame chair. One of the difficulties of recognizing heart attack as Dr Patel mentioned is that the majority who actually have their 1ˢᵗ heart attack will get fatal heart attacks...

[Answering]

In other words one of the manifestations of a heart attack is sudden death...

IR : Mmh   [Encourages]

IE : But then, there are definite signs that is, others who won't die will come with .....

Dr Matharo can you show the specimen of a heart.....

[Indicating change of turns]

IR : We do have a heart here viewers, I hope it is going to be visible Dr. Matharo....

[Another indication of change of turns :Reestablishing her role as chairman]

IE : It may not look much like a heart ...., but if you look closely ....., it looks like a bird (laughter).

But if you look carefully, it looks like a heart (goes about to describe the parts of the heart).   [informing],

[the discussion continues and when time is up, the last IE concludes].

IE : ..And that, plus cholesterol, plus gender issues, plus smoking all combined make up the risk factors causing a heart attack.[summarizes]

IR : And with that viewers, we'd like to thank you very much for being with us in this particular programme.

We are going to elaborate more on the heart and its related diseases in our next programme.

And with that viewers, we thank you very much for being with us.   [Closing]

NOTE: The boxed scripts indicates the functions served by those utterances.

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1.8.5 DATA PRESENTATION

The method of data presentation that will be used in this study consists of ordinary continuous prose writing. Though presentation of data in tabular form would have been preferred because of it's preciseness, the bulky nature of the data in these programmes makes it necessary to stick to continuous prose. Because of it's elaborate nature and because it allows for the use of verbatim accounts at the end of the utterances, the continuous prose writing method is in actual fact to the researchers advantage.

2.0 KEY DEFINITIONS AND TERMS RELATING TO ANALYTIC PROCEDURES.

In this chapter, I deal with definitions of key terms as they relate to the study of the structural organization of discussion programmes. I also deal with definitions of other key notions on interaction that I find crucial to the analysis and interpretation of the data. In doing this, the primary objective is to describe the observed systematic organization of the discussion programmes and to provide a basis for their interpretation and analysis using the already established notions of analyzing interaction.

I must emphasize here that I am not using these notions as the framework for the analysis and interpretation of my data ; for this would contradict the conceptual framework discussed in chapter 1. But these notions are bound to appear in any interactive speech situation and cannot be avoided in the actual analysis of the data. This is why I have found it necessary to discuss their definitions in so far as they concern the analysis of this data.

I cannot also fail to mention that linguists attempting to define some of these terms have encountered problems with their definitions. I also will not attempt to follow the arguments for or against any of the definitions but will instead use the aspects of these definitions that serve the purpose of describing the structure of the discussion programmes.

2.1 DISCOURSE.

The term **Discourse** has been given a variety of definitions by linguists. I will examine three of these definitions.

According to Riley (1985) Discourse is sometimes used as an equivalent of de Saussure's parole to refer to all the realization of underlying langue. In this sense, the object of analysis consists of all the utterance which speakers infact produce, utterance which are then considered in terms of their relationship to langue.

Discourse is also used to refer to the object of analysis of what British and American linguists call "Suprasentential linguistics" (Householder 1972). From this point of view, Discourse is any series of utterance which are not simply juxtaposed but which form part of a higher structure, being linked by semantic cohesion (whether this cohesion is realized grammatically, lexically, or non-verbally.

Discourse is also used in a wider sense by linguists who try to analyze the communicative functions of language, such as Widdowson (1977) Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and this is the approach to Discourse that I shall take in this study. Here Discourse is used to refer to the entity consisting of the text (text being used to refer to any utterance/passage, verbal or non verbal of whatever length that does form a unified whole) and of the circumstances in which the text is produced and interpreted (who is the speaker, whom is he addressing, or what is his communicative aim).

From this point of view, the object of analysis in discourse is the text-in-situation (or the message in the context and situation) and the aim of the analysis to identify and describe the relationship between a text and the circumstances in which it is produced, or to define the structures of texts containing several messages.

In this third approach, extra-textual parameters are also taken into consideration. The text is regarded as a product, realized verbally or non-verbally of the psychological and sociological constraints and conventions which enter a given situation. It is this approach to discourse that includes the idea of "interaction" describing the collaborative production of a

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text by several different speakers, the term discourse being used to designate the verbal and non-verbal text used by one person to address the other for communicative functions.

This third definition covers what is being described in the first two definitions and more. And since it covers much more appropriate what I want to describe in my analysis, I will use this approach to discourse for the analysis of the data below.

2.3   DISCUSSION PROGRAMMES.

I have used the term Discussion programmes in this study to refer to a situation where two or more people are invited to address current issues or other topical issues that could be of interest to the viewers. Most of these discussion programmes are conducted like interviews (where one person conducts the discussion, that is, the interviewer, or the chairperson and he/she has the task of distributing the turns to speak to the other participants in form of questions).

For the purposes of this study, I find it unnecessary to differentiate between the discussions and the interviews and I will use the two terms interchangeably.

These Discussion programmes are carried on in an institutionalized context where the relevant role assignments are maintained by restricting some participants to asking questions and others to answering them. The discussion programmes are produced in English and since KBC is a state owned Corporation, the topics are well chosen beforehand and the interviewer progresses the discussion through a series of questions devised to elicit information at the same time ensuring that the discussion does not flow to an unwanted direction.

The interviewees are normally given access to media time by virtue of an antecedent decision that they have some personal experience, activity or opinion that is newsworthy to the viewers. The interviewer has the task of eliciting this information but not the right to judge

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its adequacy. For this to be effectively achieved a posture of formal or official neutrality has to be maintained. This disappears in the less formal discussions, for example, lets talk and the interviewer becomes just one of the participants with a right to comment on and question the other participants

contributions.

2.4 LANGUAGE FUNCTION

The analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of langauge in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes and functions which the forms are intended to serve in an interactive situation. Thus while some works may concentrate on determining the formal properties of language, in discourse analysis we are more interested in investigating the functions which langauge is used to serve.

The formal approach has a long tradition manifested in innumerable volumes of grammar,but the functional approach is less well documented for two major reasons. First, that most linguists reacted indifferently to langauge functions until very recently. Bloomfield (1933) turned his back to the problem by observing that:

> "the statement of meanings is the weak point in language study and will remain so until human knowledge advances far beyond its present state" (page 140).

Secondly, that attempts to provide even a general set of labels for the principle function of language have resulted in vague (and often controversial terminology).

Traditionally, three major language functions have been identified. I am going to mention these three language functions that Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) identify as occurring in probably all forms of spoken discourse. These major functions are realized by three acts (acts

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are the units we find at the lowest rank of discourse, that is, those that correspond nearly to the grammatical unit clause) namely;

1. Elicitation

2. Directives

3. Informative

An elicitation is an act, the function of which is to request a linguistic response-linguistic though the response may be a non-verbal surrogate such as a nod, or a raised hand.

A directive is an act the function of which is to request a non linguistic response, for example, a directive to show a picture.

An informative is an act whose function is to pass on ideas, facts, opinions, information and to which the appropriate response is simply an acknowledgement that one is listening.

The definition of the discourse acts informative, elicitation and directives, make them sound remarkably similar to statement question and command. But there are major differences as noted by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975). While elicitation are always realized by questions, directives by commands and informative by statements, the relationship is not reciprocal. Questions can realize many other functions and the expression "rhetorical Question" is a recognition of this fact.

It is important at this point to note that a large part of the meaning of a sentence must always be determined by the context in which it is uttered, even when the most elaborate grammatical structures and the most specific lexical items are employed. Much of language in use is not designed to be verbally explicit, direct and literal, but can achieve its ends by reliance on features of context and a listener's procedures of interpretation using shared social conventions. So though I am interested in the realization of particular discourse acts and their functions, the level of language function that will interest me more in this analysis

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is how these utterances functions in a particular social situation and at a particular place in sequence as a specific contribution to a developing discourse.

2.5   TURNS

A turn refers to an uninterrupted stretch of language produced by one speaker. Sacks et al (1974) have shown that conversations are organized on the basis of the principal that speakers take turns ,and turns are located according to a rule accepted by the speakers which says that only one speaker at a time has the right to talk. The principal here is that when one speaker stops speaking , another can/must take over. This principle is easy to adhere to when there are only two speakers , for the problem of which speaker is to take over when the current speaker stops talking does not arise. But it is more complicated when more than two people are talking.

Fox (1987) says that turns can be constructed out of units. These units have been referred to as turn construction-units (TCU's) and can be single lexical items, phrases, clauses or sentences. According to the taking system, each speaker is at first allocated one of these TCU's the of such unit constitutes a place where speaker change could occur, that is, at this point , anotherperson could begin talking. The end of a TCU is thus atransition relevance place (TRP) , since it is a place at which a transition from one speaker can (but need not)

occur.

It is only possible to organize communication structurally if there is an accepted procedure for distributing turns to the speakers the following turn taking rules which are based on the above concepts are taken verbatim from Levinson (1983), which is based on sacks et al (1974)

Rule 1 - applies initially at the first TRP of any turn,

a. If the current speaker selects a next speaker in current speaker must stop talking and that next speaker must speak, transition occurring at the first TRP after next speaker selection.

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

c. If current speaker does not select next speaker and no other party self selects (under option 6) then the current speaker may (but need not) continue.

Rule 2 - Applies at all subsequent TRP's when rule 1.c has been applied by the current speaker , then at the next TRP rule 1 applies.

These rules provide a foundation for making sense out of two related phenomenon

1. Simultaneous talk (overlap)

2. Silence .

2.5.1 SIMULTANEOUS TALK

Simultaneous talk occurs when two or more speakers talk at once. But not all Simultaneous talk represents a violation turn taking rules. There are two types of overlaps.

a) non-competitive

b) competitive overlap

In non competitive overlap, the current speaker approaches the end of a TCU and as that is happening, the next speaker, having predicted the type of TCU that the current speaker is producing, starts talking thus overlapping with the very end of the TCU that the current speaker was heard to be producing.

for example

Dan : The guy who doesn't run the race doesn't

win it, but he doesn't lose it

Bob : But lose it

This kind of overlap is not heard as competitive but appreciative. Similarly laughter from

one party simultaneous with talk is also not heard as competitive. In competitive overlap the

rules of the turn taking system are violated, usually by the next speaker starting up before

the projected TRP of the current speakers TCU or if the current speaker has not selected a

next speaker, a self selecting speaker beginning at a possible completion may overlap with

a current speaker who has decided to continue, or with a second self selecting speaker. The

problem is usually remedied quickly by one of the speakers yielding the floor, when the

overlap is as a result of two self selecting speakers, there appears to be a rule that the first

starter has the right to continue. I will examine the phenomena more closely in the next

chapter.

2.5.2 SILENCE

Silence occurs when no one is talking. Not all silences are equivalent however. Silence is

considered a pause if it is attributable by the turn taking system to a given party. For

example, if a current speaker has not selected next speaker, then any silence that follows

after current speaker reaches the end of his/her TCU is a pause attributable to the selected

next speaker. The following is an example of two pauses, both attributable to B taken from

levinson (1983)

A: Is there something bothering you or not ?

A: yes or No

A: Eh ?

B: No.

Silence is considered a gap, on the other hand if it is not attributable by the turn taking system to any particular party. This situation often arises if the current speaker has not selected next speaker, and the silence therefore belongs to no one. (although the current speaker can apply rule Ic and get another turn at talk, and in certain cases, this will create the effect that the preceding silence was infact attributable to the current speaker). As we shall see in the next chapter, gaps occurs less frequently in discussion programmes than overlaps. This is because the chair has the of filling this gaps, either by taking the turn himself or assigning it to someone else.

2.6 ADJACENCY PAIRS

Sacks et al (1974) observe that some kinds of turns are more closely related than others. Among these he isolates a class of sequences of turns called Adjacency Pairs. Adjacency Pairs consist of the kind of paired utterances of which, question -answer, greeting - greeting, offer - acceptance, apology - minimization are prototypical. These pairs work together with the turn taking system as techniques for selecting a next speaker (especially where an address term is included or the content of the first utterance of the pair clearly isolates the next speaker. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) offer us a characterization along the following lines - Adjacency pairs are sequences of two utterances that are adjacent.

    i).   Adjacent

    ii). Produced by different speakers

    iii). Ordered as a first part and a second part.

    iv). Typed so that a particular first part requires a particular second part or a range of second parts. And just like there are turn taking rules, there is a rule governing the use

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of adjacency pairs namely: having produced a first part of some pair, current speaker must stop speaking and next speaker must produce at that point a second part to the same pair. There are problems with each of these conditions, for example, strict adjacency is too strong a requirement. There frequently occur insertion sequences (Schegloff 1972a) in which one question answer is embedded within another

for example   Merrit (1976) : 333

A: May I have a bottle of Mitch   Q1

B: Are you twenty one   Q2

A: No   A1

B: No   A2

The discussion programmes are also unlikely to adhere to all these conditions for example, Since greetings are addressed to an audience that is absent they are unlikely to be paired with a second part. And rhetorical questions are also likely to appear. I will discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter.

2.7   CODE SWITCHING

Code is the term used to cover language dialect, or variety of languages that may be used in an on going conversation. Code switching is used to refer to alternate use of linguistic elements from two or more district codes. Code is also used to refer to different languages, and this also includes different varieties of the same language. In this sense, a code switch occurs both from shifting from using one language to another language, and also when a shift relates to two varieties of the same languages in the same speech event, that is, moving from a formal to an informal variety or vice versa.

The level to which speakers mix or shift codes is largely dependent on the speakers, and the level to which the speakers think that there listeners can understand whatever codes they have chosen to mix.

The topic to a large extent also determines whether the speakers find it necessary to switch codes in order to exemplify a term or in an attempt to preserve the original meaning for a word or phrase. For example, in one of the discussion programmes Understanding the Law titled; Marriage Laws and Women, the interviewee is discussing Kikuyu marriage customs and cannot avoid mentioning some of the Kikuyu marriage ceremonies in the original language, for example, "Ngurario" which was a special ceremony for sealing the marriage. This word lacks an English equivalent and the most she can do is elaborate on it.

The presence of Kiswahili words in the English used in the discussion programmes sometimes exhibits a borrowing not code switching phenomena. Certain Kiswahili terms, for example, panga jua kali, have actually been borrowed into "Kenyan English" and are acceptable in the normal usage of the langauge (see Language tolerance). Code switching is a phenomena that occurs in these discussion programmes more commonly among participants who are below 25 years in programmes like Lets Talk. But it is minimized in the other more Serious Discussions mainly because the participants are more mature and more aware of the formal uses of language. I will revisit this in chapter four when I examine language use in these discussion programmes.

2.8   LANGUAGE TOLERANCE

The choice of the variety of language used in any speech situation is be determined to a large extent by the degree of language tolerance in that society. According to Fishman (1969)

" Tolerance refers not only to the permissiveness

towards the use of a particular code, be it foreign

or otherwise, but also the attitude towards the faulty

use of the code".

The Kenyan situation has demonstrated a large degree of tolerance where the use of English as a code is conceived. This arises from two main factors :-

One, that English is a foreign language and over 95% of those who speak it use it as a second (if not third) language and two, that these speakers of English come from over 30 distinct vernacular backgrounds, many of which will have an influence on their English. For example, some of them have customs that make it physiologically difficult to pronounce certain sounds in English -: the plucking out of the front teeth, a cultural practice of the Kalenjin makes it impossible to pronounce dental sounds (or labio-dental sounds) in English. Thus, with very few people being able to live up to the RP version of English, a different variety of English has emerged which we will call "Kenyan English". This variety of English seems to tolerate code mixing (English and Kiswahili and sometimes vernacular or sheng) as well as tolerating an otherwise faulty use of the language that has it's roots in first language interference, for example, Direct translation Me   I ...... or the inability to pronounce some sounds.

This situation has created an acceptance of this variety of English based on the understanding that speakers from different vernacular backgrounds are likely to make certain "mistakes" and that as long as you put their utterances in the context of their language backgrounds, the problem of communication is eliminated. It has also led to the situation where speakers mix codes in formal situations until some words have come to be accepted as part of this English, for example, Kiswahili Jua kali, Panga, Jiko, Safari. So, the situation in Kenya is such that most people are no longer concerned with speaking an Revised

Pronunciation version of English and they are least bothered whether other people speak it or not. This is shown by the fact that even when people speak "bad English" other participants do not seem to notice and no effort is made to correct the speaker. It is important to bear this in mind when the interpretation of the data is done in the next chapters; especially in language use.

2.9.0 NORMS OF INTERPRETATION

This expression refers to all the information about a speech community and its culture which is needed to understand a communicative event. This is because even the most detailed surface level description is inadequate to allow the interpretation of the meaning conveyed, in a speech context. The norms of interpretation operating in any speech situation are related directly to both language and culture. Since language is intertwined with culture, the learning of a language is necessarily the learning of the culture of the people who speak it. The participants of the discussion programmes in this study together with the targeted audience share a culture because they constitute part of the elite in the community. The culture they share is an important element in their interpretive strategy, for it serves as a model for the perception and interpretation of what has taken place in the discussions and this is what is referred to here as norms of interpretation. This can be said to be related to rules of use in the prescriptive sense underlying any speech situation, that is prescriptive   statements behaviour of how people should act or not act which are tied to the shared values of the speech community.

The above rules may be codified in the form of aphorisms, proverbs or even laws or they may be held unconsciously by the speech community. These rules are often discoverable in reactions to their violation by others and the feeling that contradictory behaviour is impolite

and odd. A good example of this is turn taking rules, that only one person speaks at a time. So that when you get a situation where two people are speaking at a time, it is immediately rectified (an indicator that speakers know that this behaviour is contrary to the norm). These are the rules and norms that operate as speakers interact in the Discussion programmes.

2.9.1 COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

The norms of interpretation and rules of interaction already discussed are encompassed in what I am calling here communicative competence. Communicative competence involves knowing not only the code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation, it deals with the cultural knowledge that the speakers are presumed to have to enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms. Communicative competence extends to both knowledge and expectations of who may or may not speak in certain situations, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may speak to persons of different status and roles. It also deals with what appropriate non verbal behaviours are in various contexts, what the routines for taking turns are, how to ask for and give information and so on, that is, everything involving the use of language and other communicative dimension in any social settings.

The acquisition of such competence is fed by social experience, needs and motives. The more exposed to the formal world, the more competence the speakers exhibit in these discussion programmes. Since the speakers are aware of the overhearing audience, they are more careful not to make the audience biased against them before they can say what they have to say. This means that they have to demonstrate a linguistic maturity best done by showing a high level of communicative competence.

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2.9 COHESION AND COHERENCE

The notion of cohesion has to do with connectivity. It refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text that define it as a text (text used to refer to any passage, spoken or written of whatever length, that does form a unified whole). Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other in the sense that it cannot be effectively interpreted except by reference to it.

Cohesion as part of the system of language lies in relationships such as presuppositions, co-reference, implicatures, ellipsis,and others. The actualization of this cohesion, however depends not merely on the selection of some option from the above, but also on the presence of some other element that resolves them. A familiar type of explicitly marked cohesive relationship in texts is indicated by formal markers which relate what is said to what has been said before - markers like and, but, so, then similarly, in addition, therefore, lastly, and others. The sentence thus, is significant unit of cohesion precisely because it is the highest unit of grammatical structure and thus tends to determine the way cohesion is expressed, for example, if the same identity is referred to twice in the same sentence, there are rules governing the form of its realization that is, rules of pronominalization. It is the sentence structure that determines within limits, whether, at a second mention, the entity will be named again, or will be referred to by a pronoun without creating ambiguity. For example, John took John's hat off and hung John's hat on a peg. John took his hat off and hung it on a peg. Cohesion according to Halliday and Hasan (1976) is not a structural relation and hence is unrestricted by sentence boundaries. In its normal form, it is simply the presupposition of something that has gone before whether in the preceding sentence or not; and the whole

discourse is connected either by formal connectors or by any of the relations mentioned above.

Coherence operate underlyingly between speech acts to give pragmatic connectivity among them. In the interpretation of any discourse, we rely on the principle that although there maybe no formal linguistic links connecting contiguous linguistic links, the fact of their contiguity leads us to interpret them as connected and we can even fill in any connections required. This underlying unity or wholesomeness in discourse is what is referred to as coherence. Though coherence is a property of discourse not single sentences, the parts of the sentence have to cohere with each other, so that they can build up to the overall coherence of the discourse. These two features, coherence and cohesion are an important part of any discourse or text that is to be found interpretable. Similarly, the utterances in the discussion programmes are characterized by coherence and cohesiveness that render them interpretable to the viewers. The coherence of the discourse produced sometimes has to do with the shared knowledge between the participants which assist in the interpretation of the discourse.

2.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, I set out with the aim of defining the operational definition or terminologies crucial in the analysis of this work, as they relate to the study of the structure and organization of the Discussion programmes. The definitions given above are important in the sense that they have given the researcher guidelines in the analysis and interpretation of the data. I intend to revisit some of them in the following chapters, this time as they appear in the actual data analyzed; that is, as they are demonstrated in the actual use of the language and in the organization of the structure of these discussion programmes.

3.0 DISCOURSE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

This chapter   deals with the exchange patterns observable in television discussion

programmes. These include such patterns as opening and closing sequences, turn

taking,adjacency pairs, question answers formats among others.

I also examine the role played by the interviewer in the

organization of this discourse. In doing this, the primary

objective is to establish the discourse structure and organization of the discussion

programmes, by analyzing the exchange patterns associated with this particular institutional

arrangement using the concepts discussed in chapter 1, and also to see how the exchange

patterns observed   reveal the participants consciousness of the over-hearing audience.

Discourse analysts have pointed out the danger of analyzing sentences in isolation outside

the contexts in which they are spoken. I must point out here that I have tried as much as

possible in the examples used, to include enough information to establish the context of any

one utterance.   But since the discussions are basically informative, the data is often too

bulky, making it sometimes impossible to quote enough to serve this purpose. In such cases

I opted to give an explanation of the context instead of quoting the whole passage.

3.1 OPENING SEQUENCE

The discussion programmes observed in this study are organised in such a way that the first

turn which often has several utterances is produced by the interviewer as the opening

sequence. By virtue of being the host or the presenter of the programme, the interviewer has

to realize several functions in this opening turn. For example, he has to introduce both the

topic and the participants, and he also has to greet and welcome the audience to the discussion. As such, it is generally observable that the organization of the opening sequence of this programme includes:

(1)   Greeting the audience

(2)   An invitation to join in the programme

(3)   An introduction of the topic

(4)   Some background information on the topic

(5)   An introduction of the topic and the positions they   hold in their respective fields.

The order of these items generally varies according to the presenters, but naturally the greetings will come first, sometimes followed by the other items in the same order as in the example below:-

(i)   *Professional view : Tourism in Kenya*

IR: Good morning ladies and gentlemen (1) Once again we are very happy to present to you yet another edition of professional view (2) In tonight's edition we would like to present to you Tourism in Kenya (3) Tourism worldwide is a major industry and it is said that is the second largest industry second to oil.....(4) We would like to discuss tourism in kenya, and to help me with the discussion, we have on my extreme right Major D, he is the chairman of K.I.T.E , I will explain this later.....(5)

In the data above the interviewer has included all the five items in the opening sequence. This does not always happen. Sometimes the interviewer finds it unnecessary to give any introductory remarks on the topic or even to introduce the topic (which is usually written on

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the screen before the programme opens) and the opening sequence simply goes on as in the example below :-

(ii)   Press Conference : Kenya International Tourist
Exhibition (K.I.T.E.)

IR: Good evening viewers (1) and welcome to this week's edition of Press Conference (2) Tonight in the studio we are privileged to have with us Major O.   He is the chairman of the organizing Committee KITE ...(5)

On very rare occasions, the greeting and the invitation to join in the programme are eliminated and the interviewer goes straight away to give the introduction and background to the topic

(iii)   Perspective: Theosophy for a better world.

Nairobi has just played host to the 37th Conference of the theosophical society in East and Central Africa, whose theme was ethics and morals for a nobler society. That is what is going to be our topic for today in Perspective (3&4) and to help us explore this field of Theosophy we have with us Mrs K. who is the International president of the theosophical Society (5)

In the example above, the interviewer has ignored the audience (though his gaze is directed to them) by ignoring item one and two. This is not a frequent occurrence in the discussion programmes for as we shall see later, one of the major roles the interviewer has to play is that of making the audience feel included in the discussion.

On the occasions when the programme is a continuation of a topic discussed in a previous edition, the interviewer does not hesitate to remind the audience of this fact right from the beginning.

(iv)   Face to face : Occupational Health Nursing

> Hallo and welcome to face to face (1 & 2) Last week, i did hint that if members of the public reacted to what we had been talking earlier, we could be in a position to invite Mrs G, senior occupational health nursing officer...(4 & 5)

The major aim for doing this is to ensure that anybody who had listened to the discussion previously does not fail to join in the continuation.

The greetings and the invitation to the audience to join in the discussion (though sounding routine) has a major function to play in this context. This is because the discussion is carried out by a group of participants who are (wrongly) identified as the primary addressees of the talk they elicit rather than the audience. The audience under such circumstances is in danger of coming to view themselves as literally the overhears of information that, rather than being produced for them, was being produced and treated as private. The interviewer then has the role of including the audience who, though passive, are the sole purpose for the production of the programme.

The introductions are also important, not because of the participants themselves (who we would generally assume have already been introduced) but for the purpose of the audience whom they are intended to inform. Most of the topics discussed need experts in their fields,for example, theosophy, Heart attack and the presenters have to show the audience

right from the onset that the participants are authorities in their own right therefore deserving to be listened to.

The opening sequence is crucial in the data handled in this study for the way it is presented determines whether participants impress the audience enough to stay with them or not. Since different topics target a different audience, it is important that the topics are repeated both on the screen and by the presenter himself coupled with a brief introduction so that the attention of the targeted audience is held for the moment. Generally, the whole of the opening sequence is directed to the audience. But the last part of the first turn is reverted to the participants creating a response from one of the participants which is referred below as the post opening sequence.

3.11 POST OPENING SEQUENCE

The brief introduction given by the interviewer is inadequate because he is not exactly an authority in the various fields. The interviewers realize this and they always give the second turn to one of the participants to give a proper definition of the terms in the topic or to elaborate on the topic itself.

(i) *Perspective : Theosophy for a Better World.*

IE: Maybe we could start with you Mrs K. What is theosophy?

Theosophy is a Greek which was used by the ancient Greeks to denote divine wisdom. Knowledge is different from wisdom. In the present world we have a tremendous amount of knowledge and infact knowledge increases all the time. A person can have knowledge without having wisdom because wisdom means knowing how to behave, how to be related to others and about

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happiness fulfilment, wellbeing ..... Therefore theosophy is the study of all

the different aspects of life the meaning of life and the attempts to find the

answer.

As illustrated above, the definitions are often elaborate. The interviewer taking the chance

to inform an audience that was previously uninformed (this is the assumption made). As in

the above case, the definitions arise out of an actual need to understand a complex term.

Theosophy is not a term that people come across everyday and if the discussion moves on

without the definition of this term, then a large part of the audience will not participate. The

person given this post opening turn has an equally important role to play as the one with the

opening turn. He has to put the topic to the audience in such a way that they see its relevance

either in their work or in their personal lives. Otherwise it would not be worth watching.

That is why he has to do a little more than just defining. Sometimes the terms are not hard

to understand or deserving elaboration, but all the same the participant given this turn often

goes ahead to elaborate. We can thus assume that it is a trend in the organization of these

discussion programmes to assign the second turn to defining topics whether this is necessary

or not in order to give them a technical touch.

(ii)   *Professional View : Private Universities.*

IR :   To start us in this discussion, I would like to ask Prof B to give us a contextual

definition of private universities as we understand them.

IE :   A private university is one that is funded by private funds; not public funds; and the

government does not finance them. They go to donors, they go to the public to raise

money and that way they are able to run their affairs without getting money from the

government. Now they also charge fees which do have to meet their expenditure and thus they tend to be high cost in one way of the other...

In this example the targeted audience is probably familiar with the term 'private Universities', but the organization of the data demands that the topics however simple are introduced so as to cater for the percentage of viewers to whom the term is not familiar. Sometimes the interviewer acknowledges that a term is simple but all the same goes ahead to ask for an elaboration,

(iii) Professional View : The Weather

IR : Now perhaps just to introduce the subject although it may sound simple; perhaps I would ask Dr. M. why do we need to discuss the weather?

IE : Well, simply defined the weather is the state of the atmosphere at a local place. When you take a long term state of the atmosphere, you call that the climate at a particular area. * It is needless to say that the weather affects not only our lives on earth but plant life as well. And as such, there is need to study the behaviour of the atmosphere that contributes to the weather....

The above exchange reconfirms my statement that the definition of terms in the post opening sequence is a trend that is known and accepted by the participants. The interviewer above asks a 'why' question whose ideal answer should have began at the star.

But since the interviewer is used to this turn being used for definitions, he begins by defining the weather, then moves to the reason why there is need to discuss the weather.

In the programme Face to Face, which is continuation of a previous discussion, this post opening turn is missing for the interviewer begins where he broke off in the previous discussion.

(iv)   *Face to Face: Occupational Health Nursing*

IR : Now Mrs. G. you remember last week I had just asked you a question concerning sugar-daddism and sugar-mummism. I did indicate that some of us, those people, anybody who is a sugar-daddy or a sugar-mummy and you were reacting. Do you remember what you told me last week?

IE : Well I think I remember ....

So since occupational health nursing is not defined, we can only assume that it was defined in the previous programme. But even then, as the discussion progresses, the participants have to say what actually happens in this field for the benefit of anyone who was not viewing the previous programme.

3.2   CLOSING SEQUENCE

In the closing sequence, the interviewer shifts gaze so that just like in the opening sequence, he is now addressing the overhearing audience directly. The order of the items in the closing sequence is not rigid and we have quite a variety of sequences.

(1)   Vote of thanks to the participants

(2)   "   "   "   "   " audience

(3)   Re-introduction of the participants

(4)   Invitation to another edition of the programme

(5)   Another mention of the topic.

By the time the closing sequence is produced, the presenter is usually pressurized by time

to finish.   So often they just pick on a few of the items above in their hurry to finish off

depending on what they consider to be the priorities.   Sometimes the interviewer will just

finish off with a re-introduction of the participants followed by an invitation to another

edition of the programme as in the example below:

(i)   Face to Face : Occupational Health Nursing

IR: Well that was Mrs G. a senior occupational health nursing officer. (3)

           Now until we meet again in another edition of Face to Face on a different

           subject (4) Goodbye.

When the programme is going to be continued in the next edition, the interviewer has to

include this information in the closing sequence.

(ii)   Perspective: Heart Attack

IR :   And with that viewers we would like to thank you very much for being very attentive

           with us in this particular programme. (2) We are going to elaborate a lot more on this

           particular area of the heart and its related diseases and especially heart attack in the

           next programme (4)

           And with that viewers we would like to thank you very much for being with

           us in the studio. Good evening (2).

In the above closing sequence, the interviewer instead of thanking both the participants and the audience repeats his vote of thanks to the audience. It is hard to tell whether that is a mistake or it is intentional. Sometimes the opposite happens and the interviewer just remembers to thank only the participants and not the audience.

(iii) *Prof. View : Private Universities*

IR : Well, Prof. A, Prof B , Dr. D and Dr. C, thank you very much for having found time to talk to us on the important topic 'the role of public universities' (2&3). So on behalf of the sponsors, of the programme Kenya Finance Corporation, the producer, the floor manager and the cameraman, it is good night from all of us.

But the usual trend in the organization of this data is to thank everybody (audience & participants) simultaneously with a simple: 'thank you for being with us.'

The example quoted above is an exception because the interviewer finds time to mention all the people on whose behalf he speaks, that is, the producer, the sponsor, the cameraman, and the floor manager. This maybe part of the preferred closing sequence but probably due to the pressure of time, all the other programmes I examined chose to ignore it.

3.2.1 PRE-CLOSING SEQUENCE

Just like there is a post opening sequence following the opening sequence, there is also a brief pre-closing sequence preceding the closing sequence. This sequence usually consists of an indication by the interviewer that the participants are running out of time (a statement

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intended for both the participants and the overhearing audience) This could be followed by request for a summary of the discussion ended.

(i)   *Prof. View: Tourism in Kenya*

IR :   Okay (endorsement of previous turn) and eh, I think we are running short of time and what I think I will try and do is maybe give a minute to each one of you (gazes at IE) what does the future hold for us?

Though the interviewer probably intended to give each of the participants a minute, to summarize the discussion, time does not allow this and only two out of three participants get the chance to give a summary. Sometimes in the data, the summary is given by one of the participants even before an indication of the time factor by the IR. The assumption that can be made is that the participants having been previously alerted on the length of the programme know when their material is exhausted and when the summary is due.

(ii)   *Perspective: Heart Attack*

IE :   .... and that plus cholesterol, plus smoking plus gender issues, all combined are the risk factor as far as heart attack is concerned.

Other pre-closing sequences do not have any summaries. The interviewer moves on to the closing sequence immediately after indicating that they have run out of time.

(iii)   *Face to Face: Occupational Health Nursing*

IR   :   Right Mrs. G. again time has caught up with us,but   I will say that

I wish to take this opportunity to   thank you...... (Continues with the

closing turn)

And often the interviewer has to cut short a turn because the time factor is rigid in this data,

before briefly completing the discussion with the closing sequence.

(iv)   *Perspective: Theosophy for a Better world*

IR   :   Thank you. I think I will have to cut you there. Today we have been talking

on the topic of theosophy for a better world....(closing sequence continues)

The pre-closing then can be observed as consisting of the two utterance sequence, that is, the

statement by the interviewer about the time and request for a summary when time does not

allow.

The pre-closing and closing sequences are very important in the organization of this data.

This is because the items sequenced, that is, summary, re-introduction of the topic and

participants is the presenter's way of ensuring that people who missed the opening sequence

or part of the programme get the whole picture of the discussion (even if very briefly). This

element thus encourages the overhearing audience to join in at any time in the discussion

because these is an assurance that they will later get briefed on what transpired before they

joined the participants.

3.3 TURN TAKING

Turn taking and adjacency pair organization are the two kinds of local organization operating

in any form of exchange. Local in the sense that the two operate in the first instance across

two turns namely: Current and next. A turn as I mentioned in the previous chapter refers

to an uninterrupted stretch of language produced by one speaker. Turn taking in this data

has been achieved with remarkably few occurrences of either overlaps or silence (even when

the discussion has as many participants as five). This is probably because the interviewer

has a lot of control over turn taking. He/She does this in most instances by applying rule 1(a)

discussed in Chapter 1 that is :

Rule 1(a)

> If the current speaker selects a next speaker, in current turn, then current speaker
>
> must stop talking and that next speaker must speak transition occurring at the next
>
> TRP after next speaker selection.

The interviewer's role is to elicit information from the participants who come to the

discussion already prepared to give information. The interviewer does this by directing

questions to the different participants thus assigning them turns to speak. This he does either

by addressing the interviewees by name.

For example :

(1)

IR: Dr. K is the assumption that private universities are the same correct?

(ii)

IR: Now Prof. N, many Kenyans I think would be interested in

knowing......?

(iii)

IR: Okay, Prof. T. in relation to looking at the justification for private

        universities.....?

or by simply shifting gaze to rest on the participant he wishes to assign the turn. For example

:

(iv)   *Prof. View: Tourism in Kenya*

IR: I think we are running short of time and what I will try   and do is maybe

give about a minute to each one of you   (gazes at IE), what does the future hold

for us?

IE: I think in particular emphasis....(goes on to complete   his answer).

The use of gaze as in the example above is a totally accepted way of assigning turns in this

data and just as effective as addressing the participants by name (though the latter is the more

widely used method in this data). It is also important to mention at his point that the method

of assigning turns does not appear rigid in any of these programmes and the sole determiner

of the choice is the interviewer. For though certain interviewers seem to prefer one method

to the other, sometimes they mix the two. For example, though the interviewer assigns most

of the turns by gaze, once in a while he addresses a participant by name, a method obviously

preferred by the interviewer in Perspective : Heart attack who does not use gaze at all in

isolation unless accompanied by the name of the participant.

On rare occasions in this data, it is observable that the interviewer uses rule 1 (b), where he

does not select a next speaker and the speakers have to self select. This particularly happens

in the programme Prof. View: Tourism in Kenya. The interviewer in this programme mainly assigns the turns by gaze. Sometimes he makes statements intended to provoke a response (instead of a direct question) and instead of gazing at any one of the participants, his gaze sweeps across all of them indicating that the statement was not intended for anyone in particular.

(v) Prof. View: Tourism in Kenya

IR: Well, 1 think we are lucky in this country in that our weather, our diverse climatic conditions offer some really beautiful scenic features. I recall once going to the Mt. Kenya Safari Club and it is inquisitive! the birds, the flowers, everything else, yet we don't get to hear this much (looks around) its only the game-parks that seem to be featuring.

IE1: Yeah ......}

    }

IE2: that is   }the problem you see, and that is why we are trying.....

The situation seems to create only a slight overlap because the interviewee 1 and 2 resolve it quickly; interviewee 1 easily giving way to IE 2 who had just completed the turn before the statement. Generally, this kind of situation can create a lot of overlap especially with a heated discussion where all the participants are eager to contribute. So most of the presenters seem to prefer to use any of the other two methods of assigning turns.

In programmes like Press Conference where we have a panel of interviewers from the local dailies ie Nation and Kenya Times as well as KBC, the turns to ask questions seem to follow

an agreed schedule where the KBC presenter asks the first question while the other two ask their questions in turns after him (as soon as the answer is given) with three people asking questions, a lot of overlap would be expected to appear. The absence of this overlap is an indication that the turns to question were agreed on before-hand. I will now examine overlap phenomena which is usually a result of improper turn assignment or a refusal by the participants to follow the turns assigned them or to wait until they are assigned turns.

3.3.1 OVERLAP

In the section above,l have observed how the turns are allocated in the transition between a current speaker and a next speaker. While the speaker options may explain how the next speaker comes to take over the turn and consequently the floor, they do not usually explain how the next speaker knows that the current speaker has finished and thus when he can begin speaking which is often the situation that creates overlaps. In this data, the speaker (probably because of their consciousness of the overhearing audience) often do their best to wait until other speakers have completed speaking before taking turns to speak. This minimizes the occurrence of overlaps. But it is very difficult to tell when a speaker has completed and utterance for though the completion of turns is marked by falling tones, or eye level, or change in gaze, this is often contradicted by the fact that speakers often add to supposedly complete utterances by using connectors such as; and ' therefore as such, and many others. thus , next speakers appear more concerned with points of possible completion. Sometimes they get them right but other times there are occasional overlaps.

Overlaps seem to take place more often between the interviewer and the interviewee towards the end of the programme. The interviewer is being driven by the pressure of time to end the programme and since he is anxious to elicit a little more information, he ends up

interviewer in the same programme above is trying to get the interviewee to clarify the principles on which theosophy operates.

(ii)

IE: It does not even say take this road

IR: It is suggesting }

It simply says   } this road seems to be wiser, let us look at it from every direction and if you find that it is wiser, then the best cause would be to follow it ....

Overlaps also occur when the participants totally disagree on an issue creating an urgency in one to question the credibility of the statement and in the other to defend his or her stand. For example

In face to face, the interviewee has been saying that the people she has counselled often blame dreams for causing accidents. The interviewer apparently does not agree; and the exchange is characterized by several overlaps.

(iv) *Face to Face: Occupational Health Nursing*

IE: .....then they start controlling the vehicle   }

IR: dreams?   }

IR: Dreams   }

IE: Dreaming at night }

IR: Mrs. G. are you trying to tell me, us that we should believe in dreams? Do

        you believe in dreams yourself ? }

IE: not that   } you

        don't have to believe in dreams

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interrupting unfinished turns creating overlaps between his next questions and the last contributions of the former speakers.

(i)   *Press Conference : K.I.T.E.*

IE: .....that is basically the programme without going into too much detail; but

IR: okay } thank you very much, we have come to the end of our programme.

In the example above, the interviewer in his hurry to end the programme sees the lowered tone on 'detail' as a possible point of completion but apparently the participant intended to go.

Some of the overlaps in this data can be heard as competitive (as in the example above). This occurs often when the interviewer interrupts the speaker in order to elicit information he feels is important for the audience and is in danger of being left out.

(ii)   *Perspective: Theosophy for a Better World*

IE: Anybody who is interested in the subject of theosophy is most welcome to come to our lodges meeting at 3rd Parklands Avenue where we hold our meetings every Wednesday   }

IR: Parklands which place}

IE: 55 8th Parklands which is just off........

Or when the interviewer attempts to argue with the speaker on a point that he feels he has understood and the interviewer feels that he has not grasped. In the example below, the

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But generally most other overlaps are non competitive especially those that overlap with laughter or items of acknowledgment and acceptance such as mmmmh, yeah, okay and others. Sometimes non- competitive overlap occurs when the interviewee already guesses what the interviewer was about to say and therefore overlaps the ending.

(v) *Professional View. Tourism in Kenya*

    IR :   Jane (not real name) ...... what are the hotels   doing to promote

    environmentally friendly } hotels

    IE :   environmentally friendly   }

This example is accompanied by a lot of laughter. The interviewee already guesses what the question is all about and the ending overlaps. The mood in this programme is light (the interviewer even address her informally) and the programme is thus characterized by many non-competitive overlaps.

Other instances of overlap are created by the interviewer failing to assign a particular turn to one person as in the example discussed in the previous section. This results in two or more persons beginning to talk at the same time. The speakers themselves have to resolve this kind of overlap and thus is often done by one speaker yielding the floor to the other speaker who he feels is a better authority to address the issue in question. The cases of overlap in this data are minimal compared to many other speech situations because of the formal nature of programmes; and probably because of the participants consciousness of the overhearing audience. Even when the overlaps occurs they don't usually go over two to three words before one speaker yields the floor; and only on very rare occasions do they get so

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serious that nothing can be heard by the audience. When this happens, everybody stops speaking at the same time creating the phenomena I am about to discuss next : Silence

3.3.2 SILENCE

Silence occurs less frequently in the data observed in this study than overlaps and even when it occurs it does so in form of pauses and hesitations rather than gaps. These gaps are minimized by the fact that the turns are well organized by the interviewer and when the pauses or gaps occur, the interviewer often covers up for the silence by continuing his own turn at talk in order to give the interviewer time to respond.

(i) *Face to Face : Occupational Health Nursing.*

    IR: Another problem in society Mrs G. is drivers. Perhaps   you are a driver, perhaps lam one ....Have you ever dealt with drivers in your field of occupational nursing?

    _____

    IR: Coz you are interested in professions, you are interested   in workers

    _____

    IR: Have you ever counselled drivers?

    IE: Yes, l have come across such cases ....

The two pauses are attributable to the interviewee for the pause at the first point of possible completion is where her answer should have come in. But she doesn't seem to have thought of an answer and the interviewer covers up for her by quickly continuing his turn and reformulating the question to make it easier to answer. He does this very fast and the

audience rarely notice the pause. Sometimes the pause is created by the interviewee himself while thinking out an answer.   Such instances of silence are more noticeable than the first.

(ii)   *In the same programme*

IR: How would somebody's body language, how would somebody behave for you to realize that they are hiding something?

IE: Sometimes you have also _____

Body language has got many ways, like gestures ....

Such pauses are created by the interviewee not being able to select the best way of putting an answer; which has to then be reformulated and in the process, the silence is noticed. Rhetoric questions create silence that is not attributable to any one; since naturally such questions are not intended to be answered.

(iii) *Same programme*

IR: the biting of nails and what have you could just indicate that someone is nervous; or shy. Is that a problem with the person? Shyness? Isn't it normal for someone to be shy?

IR: It depends , why are they shy?

_____

Because in a normal way unless there is something ....

Often such rhetoric questions pass unnoticed because the speaker continues rapidly without hesitating after the questions.   But in the above case, the silence is lengthened and thus

noticeable. Some instances of silence are, in this data, often filled with items such as uuumh, eeeh, mmh and others which serve to partially cover a hesitation that would otherwise have created a longer gap or pause. When they occur, they seem to indicate that the person is looking for something to say.

(iv) *Press Conference : KITE*

IR: How many people do you think will have attended this exhibition by the first of May when it is ending?

IE: This is our first attempt and if we try to be ..mmh...to be too optimistic ...eh...we might drown ourselves with figures. Eeeh...it is dangerous to go out trying to give oneself a very high target ......

or (v)

IE: .....then escalation of fuel prices ......so we are affected by those aspects, as well as these are misconceptions, they hear of riots in South Africa and they think that Kenya is a suburb of South Africa or Johannesburg and you find that they don't come to Kenya because they associate us with being next door to South Africa. Another is the .....uuumum...,mm, the mm, 1 am trying to think of another...

IE: Well }

IR: Just } feel free to go on if you like

IE2: Well natural diseases like Aids, Malaria, Cholera .....

Sometimes as in the second example someone also has to come to the speaker's rescue because he has actually run out of something to say.

Generally in this data, there appear to be more instances of gaps or pauses where the programme has only two participants. Eg. Face to Face. This is probably because the change from one speaker to another is so rapid revolving around the same two speakers that the interviewer does not have as must time to think as in cases where one or two people are silent while one of their colleagues takes a turn. But as I stated at the beginning, instances of silence are so minimal in this data, that often they just come through as mere hesitations not gaps or pauses. I could also point out here that the very nature of these programmes is such that since people are invited and given air time to speak, ie to give verbal information, silence has thus no role to play in the data compared to the major role it plays in natural conversations.

3.4 ADJACENCY PAIRS

The notion of adjacency pairs just like turn taking is another fundamental unit of local management system of organisation; in conversational exchanges. The main type of adjacency pairs occurring in the data examined are question answer sequences. The interviewer's question making up the first part of the pair and the answer making the second pair.

(i) *Perspective: Heart Attack*

> IR: Now Dr T. coming to you when this condition happens, is there some feeling that is felt by the person that can be recognised by the majority of our viewers watching this programme? (1st part)

> IE: No Madame-chair , one of the difficulties of recognising heart attack ......(2nd Part)

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Though this is the more frequent kind of adjacency pair, sometimes the interviewer chooses to use first parts that are just statements not questions. The second parts then become items of acceptance coupled more often with more information.

(ii) *Prof. view :Tourism in Kenya*

    IR: ....I remember once going to Mt. Kenya Safari Club, its inquisitive, the birds, the flowers, everything, yet we don't get to hear of this much, its mainly the game parks that seem to be featuring (statement)

    IE: That's the problem you see (acceptance) and that is why we are trying to say that tourism is not just game-parks......

In the example above, the first part of the pair is the statement followed rightly by a second part, acceptance. But since the interviewee is the informant, he knows that the statement is supposed to provoke not just an acceptance but some new information form him and he proceeds to add this to the adjacency pair.

The adjacency pairs do not always conform to the characterization given by Schegloff & Sacks (1973) for example, they are not always adjacent. In the example discussed in section 3.2 from Professional View : The weather, the answer to the question "why do we need to study the weather?" is given after the interviewee gives a definition of the weather. A part that was not included in the first pair.

Often in this data because of the overhearing audience that is missing but often addressed, second pairs are often missing. An example of this can be seen in the opening sequence.

(iii)

    IR: Good evening and welcome to this programme

    IR: Hallo and welcome to Face to Face

    IR: Good evening Ladies and Gentlemen

The two parts produced in these examples, that is, greetings and invitation naturally occur

in pairs in normal exchanges. For example :

    Good evening

    Good evening (to you)

or   Welcome to this programme

    Thank you

But because the two first parts are intended for an overhearing

audience, the producer of the first part does not follow the rule that says that having

produced a first part, the speaker must stop speaking and wait for the second part to be

produced. The same thing also happens with closing sequences, for example, "Thank you

for being with us" which would naturally have a second part, "you are welcome".

Or the farewell that closes the discussion, that is, good night or Good bye.

Naturally when these first parts are not addressed to the overhearing audience, the second

parts appear as below.

(iv) *Face to Face: Occupational H. Nursing.*

    IR: .....welcome to Face to Face a second time Mrs. G.

    IE: Thank you.

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developing world economy without cigarettes? I leave you to choose. Its either tobacco or your health……

The above is a typical rhetoric question where the audience is left to choose its own answers after weighing the information already given in the discussion.

Double barrelled question sometimes used by the interviewers often loose their proper second parts. Since they are two questions in one, the tendency is for the interviewee to answer one and leave the other and the interviewer has to reformulate a second question so as to get all the information he requires:

(vii) *Professional view: Private Universities.*

      IR: Dr B. your fees structure and entry points?

      IE: Well Mr. Chairman, we equate our criteria on a B- average   and because we have so many students, we use the US state department equivalent which equates to a B- so sometimes we maybe above the government Universities.

      IR: Dr. B any additional points that relate to your fees requirement or admission criteria that you would like to add?

As illustrated in the examples above applying, the criteria
of strict adjacency is not always possible in this data. This is especially so in the anticipation that a first part is given a second part which is immediately relevant and expectable. These last two words create a lot of problems especially in the context in which these programmes are produced: That is, the audience is varied and peoples expectations differ especially when the information has to do with opinions rather than facts.

Schegloff (1972) also mentioned that if a second part failed to occur, it is necessary to replace the criteria of strict adjacency with the notion of "conditional relevance" This notion makes it clear that what binds the parts of adjacency pairs together is not a formulation of rules that would specify that question must receive an answer (although this may be the case). This notion appears to explain some or the observations above better than the notion of strict adjacency.

3.4.1 QUESTION ANSWER SEQUENCE

The Question/Answer adjacency pair is the basic pattern of organization in the data used in this study. As such I have found it necessary to treat them separately in order to give them a more detailed treatment. Questions are the most widely used device for elicitation in this discussion programmes. Such questions nominate a newsworthy topic and frequently get responses which develop the topic to a greater extent. The questioners role is restricted to the interviewer while the answering role is for the other participants; the questioner having indicated in his turn whom the question was intended for either by addressing the participant by name or by shifting gaze to rest on one participant as I illustrated in section 3.5.

When such questions are asked and answered, the questioners usually engage in a variety of third turn responsive actions. These often include items that serve to acknowledge, accept or endorse the previous turn.

Acknowledge, accept and endorse are all meta-interactional moves which accept a proceeding utterance into the discourse by minimally confirming that it has been heard, by more explicitly accepting it as relevant or by more enthusiastically endorsing it. These moves form a cline but can be distinguished as follows both in terms of their function or semantic content and also in terms of their formal exponents.

Acknowledge is the minimal category of a move which does no more than indicate that on utterance has been heard and accepted into the stream of talk; thus indicates continued auditory presence. This move manifests itself in the data in a class of items including yeah, mmh, uhuh and its functional gloss might be " I am still listening" as in the example below:

(i) *Face to Face:*

IE: .....Because in a normal way, unless, there is something you feel is wrong, then you don't have to be shy

IR: mmh

IE: So there might.......

Accept in a slightly more committed category which claims understanding of the propositional content of the preceding utterance. This move appears in the data in items like oh, see, yes, okay, yeah and others. While the functional gloss might be "I understand but this is no news" (However the issue of whether one understands or not when they say "oh I see " is more complicated than this because people say 'I see' even when they have not understood anything (Sacks 1967). For example :

(ii) *Prof view: Tourism in Kenya.*

IE: .....the fare will probably be 60% differential and that comes back to volume, and I think that is the governing factor.

IR: .....okay

Endorse is a category that explicitly supports proceeding utterances. It is a move which backs up, adds weight to, approves and recognizes as relevant previous talk. The formal exponent of this move in this data includes such items as yeah, thats a good point, you are quite right with a possible functional gloss being " I wish to be associated with the utterance " or " I would have said that if I had thought of it". For example :

(iii) *Face to Face: Occupational Health Nursing*

> IE: ....coz you don't expect someone like you now to be   talking to me and
>
> your fingers are in your mouth
>
> IR: You are quite right.....

Goffman has argued that the ways in which speakers support and endorse each others talk is a general organisational feature of any conversation. Endorsements then function, not merely to convey propositional content, but to take up an alignment, to make a commitment to a position, to claim fellowship or to form alliance.

Apart from these three moves, the questioners sometimes receipt the news with a third turn which is a newsmark. This usually is an indication that they are not satisfied with the answers and could have a possible functional gloss of " I do not believe you" or "do you seriously believe what you are saying?" for example

(iv) *Face to Face: Occupational H. Nursing*

> IR: ......?
>
> IE: You can get it from the lips the way they are twisting
>
> IR: Really?

or In the same programme the example on dreams discussed in section 3.5.1

In the above examples, the questioner/interviewer by the production of a question shows an initial interest on behalf of the viewers in the to-be-reported information, the questioners have to cast themselves in the role of uninformed audience (together with the audience) in order to give the answerer the motivation he needs to give the information he has. Questioners subsequently reconfirm their occupation by means of the third turn receipt objects (discussed above) that are produced after significant chunks of information, that is, ohs, mmhs, really?, okay, thats quite right, thats beautiful and others. These third turn receipts objects serve whether singly or in combination with one another to align the questioner to the answerer as a recipient of reported information on behalf of the overhearing audience which the answerer rarely addresses directly.

It is important to note at this point that it is possible to search through an entire discussion programme without encountering a single third turn receipt object. For example :

Perspective: Heart Attack. Instead the interaction is conducted through chains of questions and answers. By this means, the information is elicited step by step or opinions are developed component by component. In this kind of programmes, the questioner probably feels that her role is strictly to elicit information and not to judge its adequacy. As such, the assessment of prior information is subsequently avoided and instead questioners display their alignment of prior talk largely by designing next questions so as to tacitly presuppose the truth and adequacy of prior reports.

3.5   REFORMULATIONS

Reformulations involve making the same point again in different words for the purpose of Ironing out misunderstanding or correction, or clarification of a point made at an earlier

stage during the exchange. Reformulations thus involve repetition. Repetition has anaphoric bearing on the cohesion of the on-going conversation. It attempts to create interest and emphasis over the matters under discussion and in so doing it captures the attention of the overhearing audience. In the example below, the interviewer reformulates what he has understood as the principles of theosophy. In so doing he is seeking a clarification on behalf of the audience at the same time articulating the impression the overhearing audience might have formed about the interviewer's position.

(i) *Perspective: Theosophy for a Better World.*

IR: So theosophy is showing us "take this road"

But they are not telling you that you if do not take this   route,   this   will

happen to you ? (reformulation).

IE: It does not even say take this road

IR: It is suggesting }

IE: It simply says   } this road seems the wise, let us look   at it from every

direction and if you find that it is wise, then the best course would be to

follow it.

As illustrated in the example above, the reformulations restate the interviewers position by making overt reference on what might be treated as implicated or pre-supposed by that position. They are also designed to commit the interviewer to a stronger (and more informative) version of her position "it simply says......" than she was initially prepared to adopt.

Sometimes the interviewer reformulations appear uncooperative, in the sense that, he does not just want to commit the interviewer to a stronger version but the his tone of voice seems to suggest that he does not agree with her stand. For example :

(ii) *Face to Face: Occupational Health Nursing.*

IR: Dreams? Dreams? }

IE: Dreaming at night}

IR: Mrs. G. are you telling me, us that we should believe in dreams? Do you

         believe in dreams yourself } not that } we don't have to believe in dreams...

From the way the question is reformulated above, the audience can tell that the opinions of the two participants differ. But in such cases the interviewer benefits from the opportunity to reject a particular version of her position (not that...") as it is reformulated by the interviewer or to agree with him if he/she feels that it has been put in the right way. For example

(iii) *Perspective: Heart Attack.*

IR: Are you also trying to say that we should eat indigenous foods which are less

         stressful?

IE: I wouldn't agree with you more. That is the whole idea, that once you begin

         eating.......

Sometimes interviewers reformulate their own questions even before the answers to the initial formulation has been given. As illustrated in the example below, this usually happens when

the interviewer feels that an initial formulation desires a further elaboration if he is going to receive the kind of information he intends to elicit, for example :

(iv) *Press Conference: K.I.T.E*

IR: Marketing a service is a little tricky compared to marketing a good, that is, a tangible good coz a service is intangible. What is your strategy or what strategies do you usually have? (Initial formulation). Because you have mentioned various activities, that you intend to sell things like mountaineering, hiking in order to move away from the traditional products. How actually do you intend to go about this so that you can penetrate your target market? (Reformulation).

In this example, the interviewer feels that the initial formulation needs a further elaboration before he can give the interviewer the opportunity to answer. Which he gives before asking the question a second time. Interviewers also reformulate their answers in order to elaborate or illustrate certain information that they feel the audience is having a problem grasping. In the example below, the IE feels that his colleague is having a problem putting the message through to the audience and he therefore assigns himself a turn to reformulate the explanation in a more understandable way.

(v) *Perspective: Heart Attack*

IE: In other words madame chair, what most people at least young people in this country when they say " I love you with all my heart (laughter) they are really not talking the truth. The heart is not really a seat of emotions, it is a simple pump of blood....

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Though the reformulation is treated in a jocular manner, the interviewer probably drives home more effectively the point his colleague was having a problem explaining. Generally these interviewee reformulations are given a more serious treatment than above in line with the seriousness of the topic in discussion.

The same interviewee above gives below a more serous reformulation of his own explanation on another issue.

(vi)

IE: .....One of the difficulties of recognizing heart attack as Dr. M. Mentioned is the fact that the majority of people who actually get a first attack get fatal heart attacks. In other words, one of the manifestation of a heart attack is sudden death (reformulation) .....

The interviewee's reference to what someone had said is a device used widely in these discussion programmes to achieve the overall coherence of the discourse.

Most interviewee reformulation in this data begin with such phrases as, in other words, so we are saying, what I am trying to say and so on. But sometimes they come in form of metaphoric illustration which compares what was initially formulated to another activity which is easier to capture mentally.

(vii) *The same programme*

IE: .... And although it is pumping blood, for our discussion then evening, we are saying that it is fed by other vessel itself. In other words, although it is distributing blood, it is like a tanker which although it is carrying petrol, in its own will not use the petrol in its tank, requires to be filled in, and......

These metaphoric illustration serve to illustrate difficult concepts with everyday experiences and this way enables the audience to capture and understand the concept. I intend to dwell more on these metaphoric illustrations when I deal with language use in the next chapter. Reformulations in this data thus serve the important organizational task of ensuring that the programme does not proceed while some concepts are still unclear or some issues have not been clarified. They also go along way in ensuring that the audience is not overwhelmed with concepts that they do not understand and that the interviewees do not get away with half-baked ideas and explanations. And since the audience in this data is absent, the responsibility of ensuring the above rests on the interviewer. Below, I will discuss the interviewer role in the structure and organization of these programmes.

3.8   INTERVIEWER ROLE

The interviewer has a major role to play in the structure and organization of these programmes.. Since he is the presenter (host) of the programme, he has to make sure that all his guests are comfortable, that is, the interviewees and the overhearing audience. The major role he has to play, thus, is to organize the discussion in such a way that all the interviewees get an equal (or almost) chance to participate and also to elicit as much information as possible from them on behalf of the overhearing audience.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the interviewees are given access to media time by virtue of an antecedent decision that they have some personal experience or activity, for example, Occupational Health Nursing or Kenya International Tourist Exhibition or opinions on various subjects, for example, heart attack or marketing tourism that is newsworthy to the viewers. The interviewer then has the tasks of eliciting this information (at least as much of it as is possible within the given air time), ensuring that the participants have equal

chances of participating, and he also has the task of handling the information elicited in such a way that it gets to the audience in the simplest and clearest way possible.

The three roles above are most often carried out simultaneously; by formulating and reformulating questions. The formulations intended both to elicit information and to assign turns and the reformulations serving the purpose of clarifying and simplifying the information for the audience (as discussed in the previous section). Such questions as mentioned in section - 3.6.1 above assigning turns together with the interviewers gaze. The interviewer uses turn taking assignment to control the amount of speech produced by one speaker thus ensuring that one speaker does not monopolize the discussion at the expense of the others. He also has to keep formulating questions (leading questions) often intended to get specific information for the interest of the overhearing audience.

(i) *Perspective: Theosophy for a better world*

    IE: ...it brought to the western world for the first time knowledge about the spiritual tradition of other parts of the world. The people did not know that such a thing existed.

    IR: This was now in New York?

    IE: Yes this was in New York.

    IR: And when did it then move its headquarters to India

    IE: In 1879 they came to India............

The use of such questions as the above is to bring to focus certain information the interviewee finds is important to the viewers and which he feels is in danger of being left

out. Since he is the primary addressee of the talk he elicits, he is the one who can make sure that it is as explicit and as comprehensive as possible.

The interviewer plays host not just to the guests in the studio but to the overhearing audience as well. And though he is the primary addressee on behalf of the audience, he has to see that they do not feel left out in the discussion. Thus as observed in the opening sequence, he has the task of inviting them to the discussion as well as introducing the topic and the participants to them. Generally throughout the discussion, the interviewee makes a constant effort to include the overhearing audience mainly by addressing them directly thus reverting attention to them as in the examples below:

(ii) *Perspective: Heart Attack*

  IR: we do have a heart here viewers, I hope it is going to be   visible

or (iii) *Prof. view: Tourism in Kenya*

  IR: Viewers you have heard of K.I.T.E. that is likely to be   held here in Kenya to promote tourism.........

or (iv)

  IR: Perhaps you can give viewers a brief glimpse of the   magnitude of money earnings in tourism.

The interviewer also determines the mood the discussion is going to take. Basically, these programmes are formal discussions of serious topics but the interviewer can either maintain the formal mood by the avoidance of third turn receipt objects discussed in section 3.6.1 which are often seen as characteristic of natural conversation or conduct the discussion in a lighter mood; by making use of these third turn receipt object (the programmes like Prof.

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View. Tourism in Kenya where the interviewer uses such objects in accompanied by lots of laughter and proceeds in a lighter mode).

Generally then I can conclude this section by outlining the roles of the interviewer in the programmes which include welcoming both the interviewers and the interviewees, assigning turns, controlling the amount of speech produced by any one participant, summarizing the situation reached in the discussion (as discussed in section 3.2) as well as closing and opening the discussion . Some of these roles have been discussed above while others have been mentioned in the other sections of their chapter.

3.7   MODE OF ADDRESS

By mode of address, I am referring to how the different participants address each other in the course of the discussion Naturally since the discussions themselves are formal with topics that target a serous audience, most of the participants use a formal mode of address when addressing each other. The interviewers are careful to address the interviewees with their titles if they have any for example, Professor, Doctor, Major and others as in the data below

(i)

IR: Well, Prof A, Prof B, Dr. D. and Dr. C. thank you very much for having found

time to talk to us on the important topic of Theosophy for a Better World

or (ii)

IR: Major O.W, may I ask you the reason why you came up with KITE

or when they have none, they just refer to them as Mr. or Mrs.

(iii)

    IR: Right Mrs. G. again time has caught up with us.....

or (iv)

    IR: Maybe we could start with you Mrs. K. what is theosophy?

This mode of formal address is very consistent throughout the programmes. With only one deviation in the programme professional

View: Tourism in Kenya where the interviewer chose to address one of the participants by her first name though addressing the other participants by their tittles as in the other programmes.

The interviewees are also careful to address each other by their titles (probably for the benefit of the audience) irrespective of the fact that most of the participants in any one programme come from a similar field and are probably colleagues.

(v) *Perspective: Heart Attack.*

    IE: ....There is one more and I think Prof. O can tell you in a little while ....

or (vi) *Press conference K.I.T.E.*

    IE: This is a plan, an idea, a concept which the travel industry had in mind for

            several years. Director here conceived the original concept......

with the exception of the same participant above who they addressed by her first name. They also address the interviewer by the title of chairman or madame chairlady

(vii) *Perspective: Heart Attack*

    IE: In other words madame chair, what ....

(viii)

    IE: Madame chairlady, it is a very difficult concept. It is   m a d e   e v e n

more.......

or (vix) *Professional View: Private Universities*

    IE: Well Mr. Chairman, we equate ourselves on a ....

A point worth noting here is that most of the interviewees prefer not to address their answers to Mr. Chairman or Madame chair probably as a way of showing that the answers are not specifically for the interviewer but for the broader audience. The mode of address is therefore consistent with the formal nature of the programmer and a constant reminder to the audience that the speakers are authorities in their own fields and that the information they give should be treated with seriousness.

3.8   CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In this data, I have attempted to discuss the exchange patterns in the data. I deal with the opening and closing sequences which are mainly used to include the overhearing audience in the discussion as well as to elaborate on the topic for the benefit of the audience.

Turn taking is basically seen as controlled by the interviewer either by addressing the participants by name or by using gaze to pick on the next speaker. This way the interviewer manages to minimize the occurrence of both overlaps and silence.

The basic exchange pattern in this data is the adjacency pair particularly the Question answer sequence by which the whole discussion is achieved. Deformulation are frequently used to clarify information as well as to elaborate unclear points.

The interviewer is seen as playing the most important role in the organization of these programmes. He has a dual role to play:

that of distributing turns as well as eliciting information for the audience. To do this he often produces the first part of the adjacency pair and thus plays a very important role in organization.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 SALIENT FEATURES OF LANGUAGE USE

A thorough analysis of all the various aspects of the language used in these discussion programmes cannot be achieved within the scope of this study. As such I analyse a few of the salient features of language identified in the data and the role they play within the institutionalized context of these programmes. In this chapter I examine the part played by non-verbal communication, code switching and code mixing the use of jokes, technical jargon and figurative language. I also examine the role played by the topic the audience and the participants in determining the language used in these discussion programmes.

By doing this, I hope to demonstrate some of the linguistic and non-linguistic resources available to the second language use of English to maintain interaction and I also hope to illustrate how these various aspects of language function together to create the overall cohesion and coherence of discourse in this data.

4.1 NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

On non-verbal communication, Gobbman (1981) observes that:

" ... words are the great device for fetching the speaker and the hearer into the same focus of attention and into the same schema that applies to what is thus attended. But that words are the best means to this end does not mean that words are the only ones or that the resulting social organization is intrinsically verbal in character. Indeed it is when a set of individuals have

joined together to maintain a state of talk that no-linguistic events can most easily function as moves in a conversation."

As observed above, the schemata in which communicative meaning is interpretable is created by both verbal and non-verbal modalities. As such it is important to mention the role played by non-verbal communication in this data. There are many non-verbal devices which are instrumental in creating a sense of overall interactional coherence. Such moves include gaze, use of gestures, nodding of the head and demonstrations. There are other less noticeable ones such as body posture, facial movements, tone, manner of dressing or sitting arrangements and many others which have their own communicative value but which I do not analyse in their section. Sometimes, the non-verbal moves occur in isolation but other times they are accompanied by talk.

Gaze is perhaps the most widely used mode of non-verbal communication in the data examined. It can be seen to be used for three purposes. First by interviewers as a way of assigning turns, in this case the interviewer asks a question and at the same time directs his/her gaze to one interviewee for whom the next turn is intended. If the next question or turn is intended for the same speaker, the interviewer keeps gaze on the same person or shifts it to another participant to indicate change of speaker. As I observed in chapter three gaze is a totally accepted way of assigning turns in this data and all the participants are aware of it.

Gaze is secondly used by interviewers to indicate that they have completed their turns. The ends of Turn construction units are tricky and the interviewees use gaze to indicate that they have finished speaking in order to avoid overlaps and interruptions. Generally the gaze of a speaker will be directed to the audience or the other participants while he speaks. But

when his TCU comes to an end, he lowers his tone and his gaze settles on the interviewer as a way of indicating to the interviewer that he can ask the next question. Of course, this is not rigid and there are those who will finally rest their gaze on the audience and remain silent. But the use of gaze this way is a general observation in this data. The rest of the participants will have their gaze on the speaker while he speaks as a way of indicating that they are paying attention to what he is saying.

Gaze is also used as a means of including the audience into the discussion. As I pointed out in chapter three, there is a danger of the audience viewing the discussion as a private exchange among the participants. So gaze is used by the participants to speak directly to the audience and thus include them in the discussion.

Demonstrations of pictures or specimen are also widely used in some programmes. They can be seen as used by the interviewers to simplify or demonstrate abstract or difficult concepts in the course of the discussion. As such, they are often accompanied by talk and their use is largely dependent on the topics. Some topics involve a wider use of these demonstrations e.g. heart attack, the participants in this case are also used to the use of these specimens in their fields of work i.e. doctors, as they try to demonstrate the condition or nature of certain illnesses to their patients. Thus the programme perspective: Heart attack is characterized by several of these demonstrations:

(i)

IR: We do have a heart here viewers. I hope it is going to be visible.

IE: We do have a very small specimen of a heart. I'll briefly mention some of the things we see on the heart. This is a heart cut open in its longitudinal section and what you see here is the left side of the heart ... .

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IE: ... if for instance I show this particular specimen really belongs to somebody, this is the main blood vessel that leaves the heart and supplies the extremities ... But if you look at the very bottom here which is really what killed the person, at the very end here you ended up having such a sluggish blood supply that blood couldn't really pass through ...

As seen above, explanations relating to the structure of the heart and how the parts are affected by the risk factors that cause a heart attack are largely achieved through the use of these demonstrations. Since the heart is not something that people see everyday, and the visual element was certainly important to affect the explanation.

Nodding of the head is another non-verbal mode of communication that is observable in the data. The nods are often seen in the opening sequence accompanying the introduction of the participants as they acknowledge the introduction to the audience. The nodding of the head is also used by participants as a way of aligning themselves to the contribution of a current speaker in which case they are often accompanied by murmurs of agreement. Gestures are also quite commonly used. These are simple movements of the hands that are often used by speakers to put emphasis on the talk they accompany. Though gestures often appear in this data serving the above function, they at other times seem to be arising out of a habit by some speakers to use their hands, as they speak rather than for any other function.

I have just mentioned a few of the non-verbal modalities observable in this data, and their communicative value. It is not possible to do a thorough analysis of all the others I have mentioned for some of them require special equipment to measure (e.g facial

movements, sweating, etc) and the understanding of a detailed discussion of these non-verbal modalities would require that the reader have access to the video tapes. Since my aim was to analyse the interactional role played by non-verbal communication in the data, the devices analysed in this section are sufficient for this purpose.

4.2 CODE ALTERNATION

4.2.1 CODE SWITCHING

Code switching as discussed in section 2.6 is the alternate use of linguistic elements from one or more distinct codes. The discussion programmes examined in this data are supposed to be conducted in English as there are others that are discussed in Kiswahili like Mambo Leo. Naturally then, the participants invited to speak in this discussions often stick to this code. The kind of code switch evident in this data is not the shift from one language to another but a shift from one variety of language, in this case formal, to another which is informal. This is because unlike the first type of code switch which can (to a certain extent) be controlled, it is almost impossible to restrict speakers to the use of just one variety of language in a speech situation. So though these discussions are basically formal, speakers often switch to an informal variety of English which is more evident in natural conversations

(i) *Perspective : Heart Attack.*

> IE : But actually what has happened as Dr B can show you a specimen of one of a person's heart.
>
> IR : (Interrupts) We do have a heart here viewers I hope it is going to be visible.

IE :   Yap

We do have a very small specimen of a heart here.

The case above is an example of a situation, where a speaker reacts to an interruption using a very informal rejoinder 'Yap' and then continues the discussion in a formal variety. Sometimes a speaker will incorporate direct speech in his contribution and this comes through to the audience as informal.

(ii) *Professional View : Tourism in Kenya.*

IE :   Well one, first of all, we will create a good image which we want to have, an image which people have always thought Kenya as something else; they will see for themselves when they come to Mombasa they will think, 'Oh is this the place, I never knew it was like this' coz we go with the slides but these do not portray the true meaning of the country.

The use of direct speech in this example as well as the use of short forms for example, 'coz' can be seen as code switching from one variety to the other. The same can be observed in the mode of address. As discussed in section 3.9 the participants generally use a formal mode of address but may occasionally switch to an informal mode as in the examples below.

(iii) *Prof. View : Tourism in Kenya*

IR :   What I will try and do is maybe give about a minute to each one of you (gazes at IE.) what does the future hold for us?

IE : I think in particular emphasis will be laid on domestic tourism ......

IR : Jane (gazes at IE2)?

IE2: ...... I think Kenya as a country ....

or (iv)

IR : ....On my left we have Bwana Macharia he is the Director of tourism in the

Ministry of Tourism & Wildlife .... perhaps we can ask Bwana Macharia here

....

The use of gaze as well as addressing people by their titles or surnames are accepted formal ways of addressing participants. But addressing participants by their first name is seen as an informal mode of address. The second example above illustrates an element of code mixing in the mode of address. The use of jokes in this data can also be seen as an example of code switch. This is when a speaker says something intended to make people laugh in the middle of a serious contribution.

(v) *Perspective : Heart Attack*

IE : This a heart cut open in its longitudinal section and what you see here is the

left side of the heart and this is the right side of the heart cut open. It may

not look like a heart, it may look more like a bird (overlapping laughter) But

if you look carefully .....

These kinds of jokes are meant to relieve tension. I intend to explore their role in language use in the data in a separate section. But they are informal and once they achieve the pur-

pose of making people laugh, the speaker continues his contribution in the same formal key as before.

4.2.2 CODE MIXING

Apart from code switching of the above nature, instances of code mixing are also evident though rare in this data. This is seen on occasions when a speaker integrates one or two words of another language in one syntactic construction.

(i) *Perspective Heart Attack*

IE :   That is the whole idea, that once you begin eating Sukuma   Wiki and Ugali

         and avoid all the goodies in life such as   meat hard margarine and all the

         rest, you are less likely to be a victim of heart attack.

or (ii)

IE :   (using a specimen) But if you see the hills and valleys,   the lumps, they

         look like Ugali. It is like putting ugali in your water pipe and still trying to

         get water coming out, kind of difficult......

In the two example above, two codes have been mixed in the same construction, that is English and Kiswahili, the compound word Sukuma Wiki refers to Green vegetables in English. But the speaker chooses not to use the English term because it is not a complete equivalent of what he wants to say that is, green vegetables entails many other vegetables apart from Sukuma Wiki, like lettuce, spinach and others. Ugali on the other hand can be said to be a borrowed word into Kenyan English form Kiswahili (see section 2.7) since its

use is accepted and integrated in the standard Kenyan English. The example below can also be seen as a case of borrowing rather than actual code mixing.

(iii) *Prof View : Tourism in Kenya*

IR : As a lay person and I am saying this from my own personal experience, I know for example that they have these long Range Jumbos 747. I have flown one myself form Tokyo to London, takes four hours but you get there ......

Jumbo is another Kiswahili word meaning elephant borrowed into English and used to name an aircraft, the name appearing suitable because of the size of the aircraft. Both the words used above (Ugali & Jumbo) can be seen as loan words. Whiteley (1967) makes a distinction between established loan words and probational loan words. According to him established loan words are those that have been in the repertoire of the speakers for a long time while probational loan words are recent creations. Words like Jumbo can thus qualify as established borrowings while Ugali is a probationally borrowed word.

There are instances in the data when it is difficult to establish whether the word used is in a different language or it is an abbreviation of something not very clear from the contribution of the speaker.

(iv) *Professional View : Private universities*

IE : ......then we have what we call a harambee day or Kuea day; which is observed in all these seven East African countries whereby the public is conscientized about kuea and then funds are raised.

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The word kuea above can either be classified as coming from a different language or what we might call a Catholic jargon. But the term does not really hinder the coherence of the discourse produced by the speaker, since he has already called it a harambee day.

Code switching, code mixing and borrowings are the three ways in which code alternation manifests itself in the language used in this data. And since they do not occur very frequently, the general coherence of the discourse produced is not interfered with

4.4 THE USE OF JOKES

Jokes in this data can be seen to be of two types: when a speaker says something intended to cause amusement and also when a speaker talks in a light-hearted frivolous way. The first kind of joke is a little more tricky than the second because people are different and what causes amusement to different people differs. So whether a joke actually causes amusement to the audience or not is hard to tell. But more often than not, jokes cause laughter among the participants and are thus seen as funny.

(i) *Perspective: Heart Attack*

IE : This is the heart cut open in its longitudinal section what you see is the left side of the heart and this is cut open. It may not look very much like a heart, it may look like a bird (laughter from participants) but if you look very carefully, it is a heart....

(ii)

IE : In other words madame chair what most people at least most young people in this country when they say I love you with all of my heart (laughter from

participants) they are not really talking the truth. The heart is not really a seat

of emotions it is a simple pump of blood

Example (i) is a kind of joke that is intended to cause amusement using a simile and it can

be seen as achieving its objective because it causes laughter among the participants and this

relieves tension created by the seriousness of the issues under discussion. The second joke

is merely talk in a light hearted manner, for issues to do with love between young people are

treated lightly and this lightens the mood of the discussion (at least for a while) Some jokes

appear like they are intended to be shared only between the participants.

(iii) *Face to Face : Occupational Health Nursing*

IE :   .... so that situation again may create stress in such individuals at their work

place.

IR :   .... I hope you and I do not get stressed as a result of sitting under this strong

lights here at KBC (they both laugh)

Now your work seems to be very important......

or (iv) *Same Programme*

IE :   .....You think there is some mental problem or so coz you do not expect

somebody like you now to be talking to me and your fingers are in your

mouth (laughter)

Since the two jokes above are centred around the two participants 'You and I', they appear

to exclude the audience unlike examples (i) and (ii) above which are intended for everybody.

There are instances when jokes do not appear pre-meditated. That is the speaker does not appear to have planned to produce something intended to cause laughter and only appears to see the joke when the other participants laugh.

(v) *Professional View : Tourism in Kenya*

> IE :   ...so we are affected by these aspects as well, then   t h e r e   a r e
>
> misconceptions, people, they hear of riots in South Africa and they think that
>
> Kenya is a suburb of South Africa or Johannesburg (laughter from other
>
> participants) so they do not come to Kenya, because they associate us with
>
> being next door to South Africa. Another is the .... mmh, uumm, the mm
>
> (laughter) I am trying to think of another.....

It is important to note form example (v) that laughter in this data is not necessarily caused by jokes but can also be used to cover up embarrassment. The interviewee is trying to think of something to say and this can cause embarrassment especially when an entire audience is waiting. So he covers this embarrassment with laughter and the other participants join in to cover up for the situation. Unlike example five where the laughter can be seen as covering up for embarrassment sometimes the audience is unaware of what is causing laughter among the participants.

(vi) *Professional View : Tourism in Kenya.*

> IR :   Yes perhaps when you say mountaineering and rafting and so on, would you
>
> like to elaborate a bit so that viewers can understand what it is all about?
>
> (Overlapping laughter from other participants)

Since there is no joke of either kind in the above question, the audience together with the speaker do not seem to understand the cause of the laughter. One explanation here is that the participants are so familiar with the terms in question that it appears quite funny to them that anybody would require an explanation.

Jokes in this data can thus be seen as serving a dual role: of relieving tension by causing laughter and also enriching the language used in the data. They do this by eliminating the boredom created by the monotony of a long serious informative discussion. As observed at the beginning, different people find humour in different jokes and the participants here provide the cue (by laughing) as to whether there is a joke or not and the audience can choose whether to join in the laughter or dismiss the joke as stale.

4.5   FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

Figurative language in the use of language or words in an imaginative or metaphorical way rather than literally. In this section I discuss two kinds of figurative language in the use of imagery and the use of idioms.

4.5.1 IMAGERY

The term imagery covers all kinds of images, but here it is used to refer to metaphors and similes as they appear in the language used in this data. A simile is basically the comparison of one thing with another. A metaphor is the use of a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea used in place of another by suggesting likeness or analogy between them. The metaphor along with the simile are forms of comparison and are important modes of achieving concreteness and vividness. Each has at least two fixed or assignable meanings; the meaning it literally conveys and the other meaning it stands for or

suggests. A vivid image can impress its meaning more memorably and more indelibly than almost any passage of abstract discourse however well spoken. As such metaphors and similes are extensively used in this data to illustrate abstract concepts. In the example below, the discussion is centred around divine wisdom and the reasons why every human being needs to have this kind of wisdom for example:

(i)   *Perspective: "Theosophy for a better world"*

IE: If you purify yourself inwardly, it helps you to understand better because strong passions are like veils which prevent perception. Take for example an angry individual, his anger makes him incapable of seeing things in the correct perspective. Shakespeare in his famous play Othello pointed this out. The jealousy from which Othello suffered made him see guilt where guilt did not exist. So it was a misconception.

The speaker above attempts to make an abstract concept vivid by the use of a simile "strong passions are simile veils which prevent perception". Sometimes similes are difficult to understand and they can have the opposite effect of making language more complex rather than simplifying it. Since the participants are aware of the diversity in the or audience, they often follow metaphors with an example to illustrate what is meant by the metaphor as illustrated in example (i).

The rampant use of this imagery in dependent both on the topic and the speaker. Naturally some speakers have a greater tendency of enriching this language with jokes, stories, examples and comparisons than others. This was especially observed in the programme Heart Attack where though the topic is difficult therefore needing constant

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illustration only one speaker keeps coming up with all sorts of imagery to illustrate the complex discussion.

(ii)   *Perspective: Heart Attack.*

IE: when we are talking about the risk factors, we are saying for instance, if you want to shoot someone and you have a gun with one bullet and you have another with five bullets it is more likely that the one with the gun with five bullets is more likely to kill you than the one with one bullet because if it misses, you still have four others and we are saying that the more the risk factors you have, the more the chances of getting the condition.

(iii)

IE: it is like putting air from a car tube to a bicycle tube, of course it will blow up and if this happens to a smaller blood vessels, you are in bigger trouble.

(iv)   IE: it is like a tanker which although it is carrying petrol in its own will not use the petrol in its tank and required to be filled in.

This method of comparing almost anything he says with some form of imagery drawn from the everyday world of the audience is a very effective way of making a difficult discussion very simple and understandable. An image could be formed in a word (for example the speaker above calls one lighted cigarette a loaded pistol which only requires time to pull the trigger), or in a phrase or even in a description as in examples cited above and it is adequate in so far as it is effective enough to form mental and concrete images. Imagery in this data

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is not just used to illustrate complex ideas. In the example below, the interviewee is using an extended metaphor to give a simple illustration of why he thinks Kenya is getting bad publicity.

(4)   *Professional View: Tourism in Kenya.*

IE: One of the things I want to say is that Kenya has been a good boy.... and where you have a good child and a naughty one, the latter does something you don.t mind, you are used to it. You see Kenya being a good boy, for over the years, any little thing that happens, it is picked because for the first time, we have something to talk about.............

Images play a role of instructing the audience through the creation of mental and concrete images and at the same time enriching the language used. The speakers imagination enables him to use language in such a way that he states something in terms of other things and thereby creates a striking and vivid representation of the ideas he is describing. Such representation arouses the audience interest and is aesthetically appealing, at the same time demonstrating that a speakers idiosyncratic mode of vision can be communicated to the audience through imagery in the most direct and memorable form.

4.5.2 IDIOMS

An idiom is a fixed phrase that has its own special meaning it is after impossible to guess the meaning of the whole phrase from the meaning of the separate words from which the idiom is formed. Since the use of idioms demonstrates the use of language imaginatively, they are seen as figurative language. Idioms like imagery are used rather extensively by

some participants and less by others and since each idiom normally has its meaning in the context in which it in spoken. In this section I examines a few of them separately in their context. Eg.

(i) *Press Conference: K.I.T.E*

IE: Unfortunately for Kenya in the last few years, we have been exposed to a spout of negative publicity and we have now decided within the industry and also together with the government that we have to be positive now in our approach and we have to do something positive in order to set the ball rolling instead of being on the defensive.

'Set the ball rolling' is an idiom used to mean begin a planned course of action or set things in motion. In the above context the speaker is using it to explain how K.I.T.E. in a means of 'setting things in motion' in the industry as an attempt to show the world that the media has been wrong about Kenya in its negative publicity

(ii) *Press Conference: K.I.T.E.*

IE: we have given this to our African neighbour we have countries like Seychelles, Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and we hope that Burkina Faso will be presenting their case as they see it and people will be able to meet them in an eyeball to eyeball confrontation.

(iii) *Professional View: Tourism in Kenya.*

> IE: ... a workshop is basically an eyeball to eyeball confrontation where you sit
>
> down like we are doing here for example and you talk and discuss various
>
> aspects, ask questions, get answers.

The idiom used twice in the examples above literally means face to face. Sometimes as in examples (iii) is aware that not everybody in the audience will understand the idiom used and that there might be the danger of obscuring information rather than making it cleaner. Thus he goes ahead to elaborate on what he means by this kind of confrontation. The speaker in example (ii) seems unaware of the need to explain the idiom and this happens rather frequently in this data. Some idioms are commonly used in everyday language and thus do not require an explanation at other times, the meaning of an idiom can be guessed from the meaning of the separate words for example, kill two birds with one stone. But more after than not, the meaning of an idiom is different from the meaning created by the separate words.

(4) *Perspective: Tourism in Kenya.*

> IE: And that is why our two products, that is the coast and wildlife, we are trying
>
> not to play them down, of course they are our bread and butter but at least
>
> make awareness of other factors that are playing the tourism.

The meaning of the idiom above cannot be guessed from the meaning of the separate words bread and butter for literally tourism has almost nothing to do with each of them separately

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or even the literal construction. But used figuratively, the idiom means that the coast and wildlife are the two things essential for the survival of tourism.

Sometimes an expression can have both a literal and an idiomatic meaning and one has to tell from the context whether the expression is being used idiomatically or literally. This happens most often when the expression is based on a physical image for example "drown oneself in"

(v) *Perspective: Tourism in Kenya.*

    IE: This is our first attempt and if we try to be mmh - to be too optimistic eeh, we might drown ourselves with figures eeh, it is dangerous to go out trying to give oneself a very high target......

The expression 'drown oneself in' literally means die by being underwater. Since the issue under discussion is figures not water, then the expression above can be seen as having an idiomatic rather than a literal meaning.

An idiom as discussed above is a fixed group of words and although certain small changes can be made in idiomatic expressions one cannot usually change the word order, or the words, or the grammatical forms in the same way as you can change a non-idiomatic expression. So when an idiom appears in this data in any other form rather than the fixed word order, it is analysed as a slip of the tongue rather than a deliberate attempt by the speaker to change the idiomatic expression.

(vi) *Press Conference: K.I.T.E.*

    IE: So what we are doing now is to bring them here, those international buyers to come and buy the products, because we kill one bird with two stones. First

of all because of the adverse publicity that we got, they will be able to be in the country and see what is written is not what is, that is number one, so they will also meet more people than they have had before.

The idiomatic expression 'kill two birds with one stone' basically means to get two good results from one action. So when the speaker uses the expression 'kill one bird with two stones', and then expresses two ideals that the organizers of K.I.T.E. hope to achieve by organizing the exhibition, then the audience naturally assumes that he meant the idiomatic expression but the words got mixed up, nevertheless, this could cause a breakdown in the coherence of the discourse produced.

4.6   AUDIENCE ROLE IN LANGAUGE

In chapter one I mentioned three participant role that are important in this study that is:

(i)   The addressor

(ii)   The addressee

(iii)   The audience

The first two are the interractants in these programmes and are thus responsible for the production of language in any form. But the language they produce is highly influenced by their consciousness of the overhearing audience for whom the discussion is intended. In this section I deal with the role played by the overhearing audience in determining the language used by the interviewee and the interviewer in the data.

The main purpose of the discussion programme is to enlighten the audience. To do this, naturally the language used has to be brought to the level of the audience. The audience generally varies from experts in the field being discussed to others who know nothing about the topic. The language used in these programmes thus demonstrates a conscious effort by the participants to reach both kinds of audience. Since the participants themselves are experts and thus speak from the level of authorities, the language they use is characterized by technical jargon in various areas and has to be simplified in order to be understood by the audience. In the various programmes, the interviewees often attempt to elaborate on the terms they know might not be understood by the layman.

(i)   *Perspective: Heart Attack*

IE: ... it might extend to the shoulder (the pain) or actually to the stranum, the very back of the breast-bone.

(ii)   *Perspective: The Weather*

IE: .. we have metrology which is the study of the atmospheric characteristics and any processes which affect the atmosphere.

(iii)   *Professional View: Tourism in Kenya*

IE: ... then we have anthologists, people who like birds and are specialized in watching birds ...

Where the elaboration of the terms does not suffice as in the topic Heart Attack, the explanation is achieved using a specimen.

(iv)   *Perspective: Heart Attack*

IE: ... and these little areas you see here are called the papillary muscles and they
are very many. ... these are the coronary arteries which you see here which
take blood to the heart itself.

These demonstrations are very widely used in this programme.
The interviewees are very familiar with the terms they are using, as such, they often forget
to elaborate and assume that they are equally understandable to the audience. In such cases,
the interviewer has to revert their attention back to the terms immediately or sometime before
the programme comes to an end.

(v)   *Professional View: Tourism in Kenya*

IR: You mentioned something, two words infact. You mentioned workshops and
you mentioned roadshows. Perhaps you want to differentiate what is a
roadshow? (laughter).

(vi)

IR: At one stage at the beginning of the discussion somebody mentioned about
echo tourism. Would you like to say something on this echo tourism?

The laughter from the interviewees in example (v) is probably an indication that they
had not thought it necessary to define such 'simple' terms. So the interviewee in this data has
the major role of regulating the language used so that it can be brought to the level of the

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audience. He does this best by asking for clarifications, definitions or elaborations. But sometimes some technical words pass unnoticed by either the interviewer or the interviewee.

vii)   *Professional View: Private Universities.*

    IE: … there are leading development programmes without entrepreneur skills, so this diploma is to equip these leaders with entrepreneurial skills which will help them help people from the grassroots.

Such words as entrepreneur above, cholesterol and lipids (Perspective: Heart Attack), Stratosphere (Professional view: The Weather) and many others are left unexplained and the audience has to derive their meaning from the context which is not always possible. Such words often cause a break in the general coherence of a speaker's contribution.

Technical jargon involving lexical items can get the meaning derived from the context, but technical jargon involving a whole utterance or description often creates worse problems.

(viii)   *Press Conference: K.I.T.E.*

    IE: … we realize in the world that it is better to sell Africa, and then after we have sold Africa, then you share the cake and each person takes the best share possible.

(ix)   *Professional View: Tourism in Kenya*

    IE: … so we are inviting Africa as showpiece so that people who are buying Africa can buy more than one destination.

Technical jargon such as above unless explained can only be understood by people in a similar field. The extensive use of such jargon can create disinterest in the audience, for they might end up viewing the programme as intended for those in the field of tourism. The elaboration of technical jargon thus serves two roles, that of ensuring the continued interest of the audience as well as maintaining coherence in the discourse. If the discourse does not cohere, the programmes would not serve the purpose of enlightening the audience for which they are produced.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Generally speaking, the language used in this data, whether it is in the form of figures, jokes, imagery, idioms, several codes together or elaboration of technical jargon, is in one way or the other intended to have a certain impact on the audience. This could be by creating vividness, by relieving tension, by providing clarification, by providing credibility in statements, or by ensuring their continued attention. The topics of course play the important role of creating the content or the subject matter to be discussed. The participants too affect the language by bringing in their idiosyncratic styles of speaking. But since the major purpose of the discussions is to reach the overhearing audience they too are seen as major determinants of the language produced in this data.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0   SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study set out to discover structure and organization of KBC discussion programmes with a scope that limited the researcher to only those programmes that ate basically formal. The objectives of this study were to establish the discourse structure of such programmes by analyzing the exchange patterns, to investigate how clarity, coherence and cohesiveness are achieved, to identify the resources available to the second language user to maintain the interaction and to establish how the speakers linguistic and non-linguistic productions are influenced by a consciousness of the overhearing audience. In addition the study also attempted to establish the function of the salient features of language observable in the data, at the same time indicating the role played by the participants the topic and the audience in determining the nature of participants production.

The study indicated that the organization and the language used in these discussion programmes depends largely on the variables of participants topic and the audience.

The participants are significant because they are the prime interractants, the topic by providing the content or the subject matter and the audience as they constitute the purpose for the production of the programme.

But since it is very difficult to demarcate the boundary of where the infit of one variable stops and where the influence of another starts, this study sees these variables as interacting rather than working independently. In addition, the setting and the key also play an important role both in the organization and the language used. As such the institutionalized context of the programmes is a major determining factor.

The study has also revealed that the second language user of English has several linguistic and non-linguistic resources available to maintain the interaction. The former

includes jokes, idioms, imagery as well as several codes to choose from, while the latter includes various modes of non-verbal behaviour such as gaze, gestures nodes of the head as well as visual aids. Social-psychological factors also have their influence on the language used which may account for the use of code switches, code mixes, borrowing and ungrammatical sentences; as well as the use of certain modes of non-verbal communication. These socio-psychological factors relate pertinently to language tolerance (see 2.7) and ultimately to the idiosyncratic behaviour of the interractants.

The study also arrived at the conclusion that the adjacency pairs are the basic structural units of the discussion programmes. In the opening and closing sequences which are addressed to the overhearing audience, the first parts occur without their usual second parts. Since in adjacency pairs the first parts provides specifically for the second parts, the absence of the second part in the data is noticable and attributable to the presence of the overhearing audience. The basic style of eliciting information is the question-answer adjacency pair sequence with the role of questioning restricted to the interviewer and that of answering restricted to the interviewer. These adjacency pairs are important both for operating the turn taking system by enabling the interviewer to select the next speaker and also enabling the next speaker to minimize the occurrence of both gaps and overlaps. Apart from assigning speakers turns to speak, the interviewer also has the important task of ensuring the continued clarity and cohesiveness of the discourse produced. This he does by reformulating speakers utterances and by asking for definitions, clarifications and elaborations of speakers' contributions.

This study has also revealed that the discussion programmes are too rigid. As indicated in chapter 1, KBC is a state owned corporation and everything produced is highly censored. Both the turn taking system and the language appears too rigid such that what gets

to the audience is not a natural open discussion as they see on the Kenya Television Network (KTN) programme Crossfire, but a series of pre-arranged questions probably given to the interviewees before they appear on the programme. The result is that their answers are long, very informative but also very boring. Consequently, an informal audience survey indicated that the discussion programmes are not among the very popular programmes for most of the viewers. This is further supported by the 1992/93 KBC media survey which shows that the percentage of viewers watching these discussion programmes is not very high. Below is a table showing some of the discussion programmes and the percentage viewers from a population of 1.1 million urban viewers.

Note: Other programmes produced on the same days have been included for comparison purposes.

Monday: Table 1

Time	Programmes	%
4.30	Golden moments	10
5.00	Super look	13
6.00	Headlines	10
6.05	Animal kingdom	12
6.30	Chagua mshindi	10
7.00	Kind of magic	12
7.30	Witness to survival	10
8.00	Habari	21
8.30	Yaliyotokea	21
9.30	*Perspective*	11
10.00	News	16
10.33	Mission impossible	10

Wednesday: Table 2

Time	Programme	%
4.05	Arabsat	11
4.10	Archie & Subrina	14
5.00	Science world	23
6.00	Headlines	12
6.05	World echo	11
7.00	Vituko	15
7.30	Home and away	34
8.00	Habari	24
8.30	*Professional view*	15
10.00	News	13
10.30	Midweek movie	21

Friday: Table 3

Time	Programme	%
4.05	Headlines	11
4.10	Home and away	13
5.00	Vitimbi	33
5.30	*Lets talk*	12
6.00	Headlines	12
6.30	Nature walk	10
7.00	Headlines	13
7.05	Pacific sports	11
7.30	URTNA	24
8.00	Habari	22
8.30	*Press conference*	11
10.00	News	12
10.35	Old fox	17

The percentages in italics above indicate that the viewership is low compared to other programmes like Science World 23%, Vitimbi 33%, Home & Away 34%, etc., which have a much higher percentage of viewers.

Note: The viewership in the urban areas is also affected by other factors such as the presence of a second channel KTN, what programme comes after or before the discussion programme and others.

5.1   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

For the purpose of further research in the field of discourse analysis and especially broadcast media, a future study could carry out a detailed investigation of these discussion programmes and their systematic comparison with natural conversation and other forms of institutional interaction for example courtrooms, classrooms or medical consultations. These difference can be exemplified by contrasting question-answer sequences in conversation with their counterparts in courtrooms, discussion or news interview interactions.

The other important area that this study has not examined in detail is the role played by non-verbal communication in TV broadcast media. This certainly is a significant area for future research. Clearly, most non-verbal behaviours are multi-functional, that.is, they serve not just one function but many at the same time. Thus a change in body posture for example can serve both to re-emphasize the status differential among the participants and to indicate a topic change intended by the speaker, while at the same time expressing an underlying personality trait or emotional state. A future study could therefore examine the different functions served by the different aspects of non-verbal behaviour such as facial movement, eye contact, gestures, sitting patterns, body posture, voice quality and many others.

It is important at this point for anyone interested in this kind of research to note that obtaining data especially from KBC is not an easy task. Like other state owned corporations, this one is characterized by a lot of read tape bureaucracy which makes it unnecessarily difficult and expensive for the researcher to obtain data or any kind of information relevant

to this kind of research. Data transcription is also very difficult (see 1.53) and one has to be prepared to spend long hours transcribing the data before it can be useful for analytic purposes.

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