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Declaration of Authenticity

I confirm to have conceived and written this thesis in English all by myself. Quotations from sources are all clearly marked and acknowledged in the bibliographical references either in the footnotes or within the text. Any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors are truthfully acknowledged and identified in the footnotes.

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List of Abbreviations

TRP	transition-relevance place
FTIs	floor-taking interruptions
DIs	disagreement interruptions
SFMs	speech-focussed movements
TCIs	topic-changing interruptions

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1. Introduction

“Not more than one party should talk at a time” (Sacks 1992, 1: 640) is, without doubt, one of the most influential rules concerned with the turn-taking system in spoken interaction. However, it may be relevant to note that it has been this seemingly “normative feature in the organization of talk-in-interaction” which has led many researchers in the field of conversation analysis to the belief that interruption follows the single purpose of violating a speech participant’s speaking rights (Schegloff 2000: 3).

While many researchers (Bennett 1978; Murray 1985; Okamoto et al. 2002; Tannen 1993) have made a considerable effort to counter this negative perception of interruption, the main interpretation of interruptions as “untoward and violative” (Bilmes 1997: 507), “unsolicited, unhelpful, intrusive and obtrusive” (Cheng 2003: 33) or “breakdown in organizational turn-taking” (Bull 2003) seems to remain until today.

The theoretical part of this thesis serves as a starting point for a clear distinction between overlap, interruption and back-channels. So it does not only offer an extensive insight in the turn-taking mechanism but also provides the essential basis for the subsequent examination of interruptive speech.

Furthermore, several approaches to classifying types and roles of interruptive speech have been covered in greater detail and subject to close scrutiny in order to choose the classification method most relevant for the practical part of this thesis.

An entire chapter has been devoted to the nonverbal components of interruption in order to enable the readers to draw their own conclusions from Donald Trump’s transcribed political interviews and to follow the process of interpreting the observed nonverbal signals in association with interruptive speech.

As regards the negative perception of interruption, the purpose of the Corpus Analysis is to examine the following Research Question: *How are interruptions used by Donald Trump and the interviewers Anderson Cooper and Jake Tapper in the transcribed political interviews and what main functions do these interruptions fulfill?*

The analysis will draw on West & Zimmerman’s (1983) ‘syntactic’ approach of determining interruptions, as Murray’s (1985) ‘context-sensitive’ approach proved too difficult to operationalize due to its speculative character. At the same time the empirical part of this

thesis takes the following definition of interruptions, which has been derived from Zimmerman & West (1975: 114-15, specified in Chapter 3.2) as a basis:

Interruptions can be defined as those syntactically identifiable events in conversation in which a second speaker claims the speaking right for themselves while the first speaker is still in the midst of talking, that is, at that stage of conversation where no possible transition place was in close proximity to the interruption.

The main purpose of this thesis is not to identify interruptions by their mere occurrence at a certain place in conversation. Instead, this thesis attempts to present a manifold approach at defining interruptions in consideration of the specific role they play in interaction and how they are managed by the interrupted party, which sheds additional light on how interruptions are perceived. Finally, an additional focus has been placed on the non-verbal component of interruption, which has been subject to close scrutiny. The basic idea here is to confirm the assumption that nonverbal signals are the primary indication for interruptive speech.

2 The turn-taking mechanism in conversation

The following chapter is intended to provide an introduction to the underlying structure of conversation. In so doing, a special focus has been placed on the interchanging roles of the speech participants as speaker and auditor, the strategies of the turn-taking system, that is the taking, holding and yielding of the turn, and finally on the seemingly normative ‘one-at-a-time’ rule of turn-construction and turn-allocation.

2.1 Turn-system states

Prior to engaging in a conversation, each speech participant is expected to fulfill a certain function. Interaction requires interlocutors to alternate between two states. For one part, they have to take on the role as speaker, who is defined as “a participant who claims the speaking turn at a given moment” (Duncan & Fiske 1977: 177; Duncan 1973: 32). The second state is that of the auditor¹ who is restricted to not “claim[ing] the speaking turn at any given moment” (Duncan 1973: 32). From these two states, Duncan & Fiske (1977) derived an interaction model which allows for four possibilities of conducting a conversation, including (1) speaker-auditor², (2) auditor-speaker³, (3) speaker-speaker and (4) auditor-auditor⁴. However, in my thesis, the speaker-speaker state is of focal interest, as it provides the basis for “simultaneous turns”, a speech phenomenon which “represents a breakdown of the turn system for the duration of the state” (Duncan & Fiske 1977: 178) and has been specified in Chapter 3.1. Simultaneous turns occur as a consequence of the participant’s misinterpretation of the co-participant’s behavior, namely, in the event that the speaker makes a wrong indication in terms of the turn signal. As a consequence, the auditor may be inclined to claim the turn for themselves, resulting in an ‘interruption’⁵ (Duncan 1973: 33).

¹ Term used by Kendon (1967).

² This state indicates that there is only one participant claiming the speaking turn and continues to do so without being interrupted by the other participant (cf. Duncan & Fiske 1977: 178).

³ This state usually features a “smooth exchange” in the event that the current speaker has ceased to speak and the speaking turn is now passed on to the original auditor, who now switches to the speaker state (cf. Duncan & Fiske 1977: 178).

⁴ This state is achieved by the auditor missing out on the opportunity to claim the floor while, at the same time, the speaker ceases to speak. In that event silence ensues until one of the participants picks up the speaking turn. (cf. Duncan & Fiske 1977: 178).

⁵ Following Sacks (1992), I will use the terms ‘interruption’, ‘interrupter’ and ‘interruptee’ in single quotation marks, where it is not fully attested yet that these interruptions can be, in fact, regarded as interruptions, i.e. deliberate disruptions of the current speaker’s turn.

Duncan (1973) provides a descriptive list of “behavioral cues” which are available to the speaker in order to signal a speaking turn. Duncan’s cues should be regarded as a selected repertoire of those signals observed most in interaction, as his list is far from exhaustive (Duncan 1973: 37). Strictly speaking, these cues serve as a means to signal to the auditor that the current speaker’s turn is about to end. Duncan’s (1973: 37-38) corpus includes, among others, intonation, drawl, body motion, sociocentric sequences, pitch/loudness and syntax⁶. Depending on how these cues are performed, the auditor is provided with useful information about the development of the interaction. As body motion and paralanguage are of focal interest in this thesis and subject to close scrutiny in my Corpus Analysis I have exclusively elaborated on these nonverbal and vocal components in conversation in Chapter 3.7 and 4.3.3.

2.2. Strategies of the turn-taking system

Stenström (1994) attributes three basic strategies of the turn-taking system to the speaker, which, in theory, are supposed to contribute to a “perfectly neat and tidy system where one party speaks at a time, while the other party patiently wait for her/his turn”. These strategies include the taking, holding and yielding of the turn. Strictly speaking, conversation requires both speaker and auditor to pay attention⁷ to each other in order to ensure “smooth speaker-shifts”. However, failure to abide to the rules of turn-taking is a universally observed phenomenon in spontaneous conversation. Following Stenström (1994), this includes the auditor “butt[ing] in” while the current speaker has not finished their utterance⁸ or the auditor not providing the speaker with the required feedback. In that event the conversation might come to a halt. (Stenström 1994: 68)

As a matter of fact, speech participants who wish to take the turn have three options at their disposal. First of all, the floor can be claimed by means of ‘starting up’. In the event that the speaker refuses to yield the turn as a consequence of not being prepared to perform immediately, verbal ‘fillers’⁹ or ‘filled pauses’¹⁰ take effect. These fillers provide the speaker with enough time to contemplate on what they actually intended to say. The second tool involves ‘taking over’. The main purpose of this strategy is to give the origi-

⁶ For a detailed account, cf. Duncan’s studies *Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversation* (1972) and *Toward a grammar for dyadic conversation* (1973).

⁷ Cf. also Sacks (1992, 1: 643).

⁸ Resulting in interruptions.

⁹ E.g. *well, I mean, you know* (cf. Stenström 1994: 69).

¹⁰ I.e. *ə:m* or *əm* (cf. Stenström 1994: 69).

nal speaker feedback, to show approval or appreciation of what has been said before changing over to one's own topic. Whereas this strategy allows for a rather smooth transition in speaker-switch, the third is characterized by its competitive nature. As already mentioned, interruptions are seen as the consequence of the speaker as well as auditor's failure to fulfil their function in conversation, be it because the auditor feels that the speaker has nothing more to add or because the auditor wants to elaborate on a certain topic in conversation before the speaker proceeds to speak and the context gets lost. (Stenström 1994: 69-73)

As conversation is usually characteristic of spontaneous speech, the speaker might reach a certain point in their utterance where they feel unprepared in terms of how to continue. While the speaker is planning on what to say next, the floor may easily be contested by the auditor. In order to fend off a speaker-switch, the speaker may fall back upon various devices, which "avoid a breakdown" of their speaking turn, including verbal 'fillers' and 'filled pauses' which may also co-occur and 'bridge' or fill the pause (Stenström 1994: 76). Other devices include a well-placed silent pause (Stenström 1994: 76), indicating that the speaker wishes to hold the turn, repetitions in the form of "single words", parts of a clause or "combinations" which allow the speaker to "gain time" (Stenström 1994: 77-78) and new starts which force the speaker to "start all over again" (Stenström 1994: 78).

Finally, yielding of the speaking turn may convey three states of the speaker. In some cases, the speaker might be rather reluctant to let the auditor take over as they wish to continue their utterance. This reluctance is usually conveyed by 'filled pauses', such as *ə:m* or *əm*. Secondly, the speaker might just accept that they have nothing more to say so they 'give up' to the auditor. Lastly, the speaker might desire to receive some feedback of the auditor, In that event they yield their turn by addressing the auditor by means of 'appealers'¹¹. (Stenström 1994: 79-81)

The three strategies of taking, holding and yielding the turn are of particular importance in the analytical part of this thesis, not only because they serve as an underlying framework of the turn-taking mechanism in spoken interaction. These tools further provide essential information about the conditions under which interruptions are most likely to occur and the circumstances which determine the function of the interruption. These strategies are thus subject to careful examination with the aim to gain new insights into

¹¹ I.e. *you see, you know, OK, all right* (cf. Stenström 1994:79-80)

the management and role of interruptions, using the example of the presidential candidate Donald Trump in political interviews.

2.3 Interruption and the ‘one-at-a-time’ rule

One of the most influential rules concerned with the turn-taking mechanism in conversation is attributed to the extensive fieldwork of Harvey Sacks (1992) who postulated that “not more than one party should talk at a time” (Sacks 1992, 1: 640). However, it may be relevant to note that it is primarily the concept of rules that has led to the widely shared view of interruptions as being violative in nature (Okamoto et al. 2002: 39). In his lectures on conversation, Sacks (1992, 1: 640) himself asserts that “there are specific systematic means” or “bases for what counts as a violation to occur” and that the rule is “not a correct characterization” (Sacks 1992, 1: 643) in terms of transition and sequencing in conversation. Schegloff (2000: 2) explicitly states that these rules can be regarded as an “organizational device that would allow parties to achieve the design feature of one-party-at-a-time” but also provide the solution for “multiple speakership and lapses in the talk (i.e. silence)”. Consequently, overlapping talk and actual interruptions should be treated as temporary “departure[s] from this normative feature in the organization of talk-in-interaction”, given that one-party-at-a-time’ operates as a “design feature” which the interactants pursue to achieve (Schegloff 2000: 3).

In fact, departures from the “targeted design feature” (Schegloff 2000: 3) are the consequence of various factors. In keeping with Stenström (1994: 73), Sacks (1992, 1: 642) emphasizes the importance of timing in interaction. Waiting for the speaker to finish their turn before expressing one’s own emotional state will inevitably result in the emotion being mitigated. The speaker might not perceive the full extent of the emotional state of the ‘interrupter’ but assume that the ‘interrupter’ is, in fact, not “bothered that much” (Sacks 1992, 1: 642). This, however, is not restricted to negative emotions only. Rather, positive emotions which are expressed via ‘interrupting’ contribute to a “lively conversation” (Sacks 1992, 1: 643) as the ‘interrupters’ usually tend to keep the focus on the current speaker’s topic instead of introducing their own and seek to support the speaker¹².

Keeping the above in mind, it can be concluded that interaction is not only a matter of precise timing, but also closely linked to emotion¹³. Therefore, one of the main reasons

¹² Cf. also Yang’s (1996) study of *Interruptions and intonation*.

¹³ Cf. Yang’s (1996) study of *Interruptions and intonation*.

why people decide to interrupt is attributable to their emotional attitude to the current topic under discussion (Yang 1996). According to Yang (1996: 1875), “the interrupter encounters an initial high unsettled state of uncertainty and gradually progresses to a more settled and certain state” in the course of interrupting. Furthermore, if one assumes that a certain topic in conversation really angers or annoys somebody, it seems understandable that the ‘interrupter’ interferes in the speaker’s ongoing speech before their utterance comes to an end. Yang (1996: 1872) further suggests that interruptions are closely linked to “immediacy” and “urgency”. In the event that the ‘interrupter’ wishes to ‘butt in’ for reasons of clarification or because they wish to state their opinion, they are constrained to do so immediately while the topic under discussion is still relevant or “hot” (Yang 1996: 1872).

In this chapter I have attempted to provide an insight into the processes of turn-taking in conversation. I have further raised awareness of the fact that the seemingly normative rule of turn-construction and turn-allocation is subject to various challenges. Whereas theory suggests a smooth transfer of speakership most of the data investigating real-life confrontations between interlocutors reveal a considerable number of ‘breaks’ in the natural flow of conversation. This phenomenon has been traditionally ascribed to the auditor’s desire to dominate the current speaker and further regarded as severe violations of the speaker’s rights (Bilmes 1997; Hutchby 1992; Tannen 1993; West & Zimmerman 1977; Zimmerman & West 1975). However, overlapping speech might as well be the consequence of the auditor’s misinterpretation of speaker’s cues or, conversely, the speaker’s failure to provide the auditor with the necessary signals. In this respect, the primary effort of this thesis will be directed toward drawing up a clear distinction of simultaneous speech and examining the location and conditions under which these simultaneities occur.

3 Defining the notion of interruption

The following subchapters are concerned with the differentiation of ‘overlap’, on the one hand, and ‘interruption’, on the other hand, both of which constitute brief departures from ‘one-party-at-a-time’. This differentiation has then be taken as a basis for the subsequent Corpus Analysis of the specific roles of interruptions in the practical part of this thesis.

3.1 Overlapping talk and its organization in conversation

Sack’s et al.’s (1974) fieldwork on the organization of turn-taking is an important component with regard to understanding the dynamics of conversation. Their model of turn-taking comprises a “basic set of rules” which has been developed for the purpose of allocating speaking turns from one conversational interactant to another, limiting the occurrence of overlaps to a minimum (Sacks et al. 1974: 704). In this regard, Rule 1 is of focal interest in the light of the fact that it has the significant implications for the understanding of the overlap-interruption dyad, as specified below:

Rule 1 shall come into effect “at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-taking constructional unit”¹⁴ given that the following conditions are complied with:

- a.) The current speaker assigns their original speaking right to a new speaker, who is then obliged to complete the transfer by actually speaking next. This ‘current speaker selects next’ technique excludes any others from this right.
- b.) The current speaker does not select the next speaker. This clears the way for any other member of the conversation to self-select, thus claiming the right to speak next for themselves.
- c.) Both ‘current speaker selects next’ technique and self-selection are omitted, in which case the current speaker might feel obliged to continue their turn until a new speaker self-selects.¹⁵

According to Sacks et al. (1974), so-called ‘unit-types’ serve as indicators of a possible transition place where the transfer of the speaking turn between conversational interactants is bound to occur. These unit-types are, in fact, nothing other than “appropriate turn-taking places” (West & Zimmerman 1983: 104), comprise lexical, phrasal, clausal and sentential constructions (Sacks et al. 1974: 702) and are projective. According to Sacks et al. (1974), unit-types provide the basis for the speaker to initiate the construction of a

¹⁴ What Sacks et al. actually mean here is that Rule 1 applies at the first TRP of any turn (cf. Levinson 1983: 298).

¹⁵ Simplified, for a more detailed account cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 704.

speaking turn. In fact, to each speaker one such unit is assigned before a proper “[t]ransfer of speakership” occurs (Sacks et al. 1974: 702-3). Since Sacks et al.’s (1974) model was designed for the best possible minimization of gaps and overlaps, speakers are compelled to “operate under tight constraint” (West & Zimmerman 1983: 104) conforming to their “basic set of rules” (Sacks et al. 1974: 704-6). Sacks et al. (1974: 704-5) emphasize these constraints insofar as their rule-set requires the speakers to adhere to a strict ordering of these rules, which, in turn, warrants their compatibility with “one speaker at a time”. With a special focus on Rule 1c, the overall rule-set undergoes a ‘recycling’ process in the case that the current speaker continues if no self-selection is taking place. In this context, Sacks et al. (1974: 705-6) assert that self-selection “must be done AT the transition-relevance place” [original emphasis], which then allows for the pinpointing of gap and overlap occurrences at transition-relevance places including their environment. Consequently, the remaining speaker turn is “cleansed of systemic bases for their possibility” (Sacks et al. 1974: 705-6).

To sum up, the “delicate timing” becomes an inevitable accompanying factor as speech participants seek to adhere to the constraints of the switches in speakership (West & Zimmerman 1983: 104). The consequence are then brief instances of simultaneous speech (West & Zimmerman 1983: 104) or “simultaneities” which Sacks et al. (1974: 706-8) observe within one syllable of a possible completion point and are further defined in West & Zimmerman’s (1983) studies as overlap.

In order to better understand the circumstances under which overlaps are bound to occur, it is necessary to take a look at the several determining factors for their occurrence. First of all, Rule 1b serves as an encouragement for each speech participant to self-select. Assuming that “each projects his start to be the earliest possible start at some possible transition-relevance place”, competition over the speaking turn is bound to occur (Sacks et al. 1974: 706-7). A possible solution to the problem is presented by Schegloff (2000). He claims that:

The solution to the problem of more than one party being a potential claimant to a next turn provided a SECOND-ORDER ORDERING in the face of the possibility of multiple self-selection: THE FIRST ONE TO START gets the turn. This solution is of a type that specifies a particular CLASS of "winner": the first one to self-select. The main appearance of the operation of this practice in actual talk does not involve several speakers talking at once - for by virtue of one self-selector having already begun, other "intending" self-selectors would withhold talk because they were not the first. The first self-selector would, therefore, ordinarily be the ONLY one. (Schegloff 2000: 44) [original emphasis]

However, considering that Rule 1b entitles each speaker to claim the turn, they might decide to do so concurrently. This lays the ground for so-called 'simultaneous starts'¹⁶ (Sacks et al, 1974: 706-7) or 'simultaneous onset' (Drummond 1989: 155), as specified in Example (1):

- (1) Lil: Bertha's lost, on our scale, about fourteen pounds.
 Damora: Oh [:: no:: .
 → Jean: [Twelve pounds I think wasn't it.=
 → Daisy: = [Can you believe it?
 → Lil: = [Twelve pounds on the Weight Watcher's scale.

(Sacks et al. 1974: 707)¹⁷

To conclude, the allowed self-selection in Rule 1(b) promotes the occurrence of overlaps, which emphasizes the need for a resolution mechanism the speech participants are expected to work out together. Three main options do exist with respect to the management of overlapping talk. Sacks et al.'s (1974: 706) statement that "[o]ccurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief" suggests that, in the event of 'simultaneous starts', one of the speakers will eventually retreat, presumably at a very early stage of overlap. This 'resolution system' which is supposed to be "integrated into the main turn-taking system" (Levinson 1983: 300) has been discussed by Levinson (1983) in two respects. First of all, when simultaneous starts occur, they are usually resolved by one party immediately dropping out of the conversation¹⁸. As a consequence, the other party "recycles precisely the part of the turn obscured by the overlap" (Levinson 1983: 300), as in Example (2):

¹⁶ 'Simultaneous starts' usually take place after lapses, that is, when the current speaker stops speaking for a moment but then resumes their speech while a second speaker self-selects (cf. Sacks et al. 1974 Rule 1b).

¹⁷ Square brackets are comparable to Levinson's '//', indicating overlap of one utterance by the utterance provided below. Colons indicate lengthening of the syllable prior to the colon, i.e. the more colons the longer the pronounced syllable. Finally, equal signs stand for an immediately speaker-switch without any interval occurring between prior utterance and the start of the next. Cf. Sacks et al.'s (1974) *Conventions used in transcripts*.

¹⁸ According to Schegloff (2001: 293), most simultaneous starts are "resolved after a single beat" by means of immediate withdrawal from simultaneous talk. In the case that both parties drop out there will be an instance of silence and the turn allocation starts anew.

- (2) *Atkinson & Drew, 1979: 44 (simplified)*
 D: ... he's got to *talk* to someone (very sor) supportive way
 towards you (.)
 A: //Greg's (got wha-)*
 G: Think you sh* – think you should have *one* to: hold him

(Levinson 1983: 300)¹⁹

In the case of Example (2), speakers A and G both self-select after which either of them breaks off their utterance almost immediately. As speaker A makes no attempt at retaining the floor, G takes over by repeating those bits of speech which have been overlapped due to the simultaneous start.

Schegloff (2000: 22) refers to this quick resolution of overlapping talk as “overlaps resolved after one beat”. Example (3) is supposed to illustrate how one of the speech participants – usually the one whose utterance is overlapped – withdraws from the conversation “at the first evidence that simultaneous talk is in progress” (Schegloff 2000: 22):

- (3) 1 ((pause))
 2 B: → [Please–
 3 A: [Wha' was that again ma'am?

(Schegloff 2000:22)

However, not always do speech participants cooperate in the event of simultaneous speech. In that event the ‘resolution system’ is replaced by an ‘allocation competitive system’ (Levinson 1983: 300-1). Assuming that neither of the speech participants yields the floor, overlaps can indeed be “extended to considerable length” (Schegloff 2001: 293). As a consequence, speech participants will try to figure out a possible resolution for this overlap (Schegloff 2001: 293), often by means of “upgrades”, which include a notable increase in the speech’s volume, reduced speech rate or dragging vowels (Levinson 1983: 301) but also a rise in pitch, repetition of a prior element or cutting of the speaking process by means of an “oral stop” (Schegloff 2000:12). These ‘upgrades’ have also been of focal interest in Schegloff’s *Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation* (2000), referring to them as “hitches and perturbations in the talk” (Schegloff 2000: 11). Whereas ‘perturbations’ are the result of “marked departures from the prosodic character of the talk’s articulation”, ‘hitches’ are those instances which feature

¹⁹ In this example, ‘//’ features a ‘simultaneous start’, whereas the asterisks marks the point in conversation where overlap ceases. In general, ‘//’ refer to the overlap of the current utterance by the transcription provided below; the ‘→’ points out the location of a specific phenomenon under discussion, in this case, Levinson’s ‘violative’ interruption (cf. Levinson 1983: 299); *italics* highlight a syllable stressed either by amplitude, pitch or duration; the ‘(.)’ indicates a micropause. Cf. Levinson’s (1983: 369-70) *Transcription Conventions*.

“momentary arrests in the continuity [...] of the talk’s production” (Schegloff 2000: 11-12).²⁰

- (4) *US: 43*
J: But dis // person thet **DID IT* IS GOT TO BE::**
V: If I see the person
J: .hh taken care of (Levinson 1983: 301)²¹

Example (4) shows that, in order to successfully claim the speaking turn for oneself, it may be necessary to “shout down the other” (Meltzer et al. 1971: 393). As speaker V intrudes speaker J’s floor, J defends his speaking rights by means of a louder volume, to which V reacts with ‘submission’ as his speech remains incomplete. However, this example is already laying the ground for the examination of actual interruption, which will be in the focus later in this thesis.

The second determining factor for the occurrence of overlaps can be found in the projected endpoint of an utterance, or rather, in the deviation thereof (Sacks et al. 1974: 706-7). These deviations may take the form of optional elements being appended after a “first possible completion point” without the intention to continue (Sacks et al. 1974: 707). Such elements include “terms of address” and etiquette” (Sacks et al. 1974: 707, as stated in Example (5)), but also “tags” (Levinson 1983: 299, as stated in Example (6)), or more specifically, “question tags” (Zimmerman & West 1976: 114), all of which entail a mistiming error (Sacks et al. 1974), or, following Levinson (1983: 299), a misprojection of transition-relevance places. In the following examples, speaker B did not expect any additional unit-type and, consequently, claimed the seemingly earliest possible start for themselves, even though speaker A added a term of address in (5) as well as a tag in (6):

- (5) **A:** Uh you been down here before [havenche.
B: Yeh. (Sacks et al. 1974: 707)²²

- (6) **A:** What’s yer name again please [sir,
B: F. T. Galloway. (Sacks et al. 1974: 708)

²⁰ There have been several investigations in the vocal component of interruptive behavior which are subject to specification in Chapter 3.7.5. For a more detailed account cf. the studies of Meltzer et al. 1971; Morris 1971; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Yang 1996/1999. Meltzer et al. (1971: 393) do not only regard interruptions as a “dramatic event”, they also attach greater value to the outcome of the interruption as opposed to its occurrence.

²¹ The increased amplitude is indicated with capital letters, whereas the ‘:’ imply lengthened syllables. Cf. Levinson’s (1983: 369-70) *Transcription Conventions*.

²² The brackets are comparable to Levinson’s (1983) ‘//’.

Another basis for overlap is established in Example (7):

- (7) A: Well if you knew my argument why did you bother to
a:sk.
B: [Because I'd like to defend my argument.

(Sacks et al. 1974: 707)

In anticipation of a possible completion or transition-relevance place, the auditor is supposed to undergo a constant process of examining the speaker's speaking behavior. Observing the segment in Example (7) more closely, speaker B is encouraged to self-select and commence their turn while the speaker is still completing their utterance. The reason why B anticipated a completion point or TRP stems from speaker A's slightly varied way of finishing their utterance, that is to say, by lengthening the last syllable in 'a:sk'. This phenomenon has been described in Sacks et al.'s (1974: 707) *Systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation* as "variation in the articulation of the projected last part of a projectably last component of a turn's talk"²³.

Now that a framework has been established which makes clear under which conditions overlaps are bound to occur, it is now relevant to look at the different types of overlap in greater detail. Following Schegloff (2000: 5-6; 2001: 291), four basic types of overlap are to be distinguished: 'terminal overlap', 'continuers', "conditional access to the turn" and that kind of talk that features 'chordals' or 'chorals'. As the first two, 'terminal overlap' and 'continuers', are of particular interest in my thesis, I will exclusively focus on these types of overlap²⁴. To the first type of overlap, that is to say 'terminal overlap', Schegloff (2000: 5) ascribes a 'self-liquidating feature'. The following example, taken from one of the observed interviews of my Conversation Analysis, illustrates the process of 'self-liquidation':

²³ Sacks et al.'s (1974) definition of "variation in articulation" keeps with that of Zimmerman & West (1975), who lay an additional emphasis on "the last syllable or syllable of a unit-type", which will be productive of brief overlaps, provided that the current speaker articulates these syllables in an unusual way (Zimmerman & West 1975: 113-14).

²⁴ For a detailed account of the other two types of overlap, cf. Schegloff (2000) *Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation*.

- (8) (81) TA: What is your mess[age?
 (82) TR: [By thugs.
 (83) TA: What is your message [to th-
 (84) TR: [The people that burn our American flag they're
 thug[s.
 (85) TA: [What is your message to these people committing these acts of
 violence?
 (86) TR: Ugh (.) I would be very strong if I were the police ugh I think Sheriff Joe
 Arpaio would not have let a thing like that happen I will tell you because
 we had a potential of some violence.
 He walked in there and they just split up like you have never [seen.
 (87) TA: [So you
 think the police forces [have have have failed?]

Instances of ‘terminal overlap’ can be found in (81), (84) and (86). Observing this matter more closely, it becomes apparent that the ‘intruder’s’ overlap is not perceived as intrusive at all, provided that they start their turn while the completion of the current speaker’s utterance is already in progress. The overlap is more or less neutralized in light of the fact that the ‘intruder’ interprets the speaker’s finishing point of the utterance correctly.

The second group of overlaps comprises ‘continuers’ which can be allocated to the field of ‘back-channel behaviors’ which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.3. According to Schegloff (2000: 5), these continuers convey the auditor’s acknowledgement that the speaker’s utterance is yet not complete. The extract provided below might not be an ideal example given that the auditor uses a continuer within the speaker’s two utterances. Yet, had the auditor’s *mm-hmm* overlapped with the speaker’s utterance, it would not have altered the outcome of the conversation:

- (9) (75) TR: .hhh they never talk about the economics they never talk about the cost (.)
 big factor, big factor. They always say Donald Trump...so she says,
 Donald Trump...I could take that speech (.) and almost all of the lines but
 certainly more than half it was just written by professional (.) people and
 then she read it. I mean you tell me that's presidential OK? But she read it.
 So much falsity in there I mean so many things were wrong but I could
 take that speech and I actually will be doing it. I think I'm gonna re- I think
 I'm going to (.) uhm give a little retort to her speech. Maybe I'll
 (76) TA: Mm-hmm
 (77) TR: do it on Monday (.) before the election (.) .hhh and most of the things many
 of the things she said were absolutely wrong.

Comparing Schegloff’s approach with that of Jefferson (1973), it becomes apparent that Jefferson views overlaps as umbrella term for (1) brief interjections which are supposed to display recognition of what has been said in the course of the conversations such as ‘yeah’ or ‘right’ (Jefferson 1973: 88), (2) intrusions labeled as “saying the same thing at the same time” which provide for high involvement of the auditor as well as “active listening” (Jefferson 1973: 57-8, 85) and (3) those instances which occur in close vicinity to

possible turn-transition places (West & Zimmerman 1983: 105). On closer inspection, a parallel can be drawn between (1) and Schegloff's (2000) 'continuers' as both fulfil the same function, namely, to assure the speaker that their speaking turn is not contested²⁵. In terms of (3), it is safe to say that these instances described by Jefferson correspond to Schegloff's (2000) 'terminal overlaps'. In the case of (2), instances of "saying the same thing at the same time" have been explained in greater detail in Chapter 3.3, but are, in general, comparable to 'brief interjections'.

To sum up, three main observations can be made about overlaps. First of all, the majority of overlaps are considered to be brief meanings that a resolution system is bound to occur almost immediately by one party dropping out of the conversation. Furthermore, overlaps may achieve considerable length in the event that both parties refuse to yield the floor. Consequently, and lastly, overlaps are subject to various 'upgrades' or 'hitches' and 'perturbations' when a competition over the speaking turn takes place. These vocal components are then regarded as a set of tools employed to succeed in the contest for the floor. (Schegloff 2000: 10)

In this chapter, the conditions under which overlaps are bound to occur have been outlined and the underlying types for overlapping speech relevant to this thesis have been illustrated. The following chapter is intended to contrast these findings with the various approaches of defining an act of interruption.

²⁵ Chapter 3.3 will exclusively be concerned with investigating backchannel behaviors in greater detail, all of which convey the auditor's attentiveness to the speaker. The main characteristic of backchannel behaviors is that they do not intend to take over the floor.

3.2 A tentative approach to defining interruption

Varied views do exist about what constitutes an actual act of interruption and there is little agreement as to a clear distinction of interruption from overlap (Drummond 1989). Two major approaches in the field of Conversation Analysis have been hypothesized to contribute to the measurement of simultaneous speech in conversation: the ‘syntactic’ approach by West & Zimmerman (1983) and the ‘context-sensitive’ approach by Murray (1985) (Okamoto et al. 2002: 40-42).

The objective of this chapter is twofold. Consulting a careful selection of studies concerned with the definition of interruption, the chapter seeks to (1) present the two diverging views on the measurement of interruptions and to (2) arrive at a plausible conclusion as to which proves more fruitful in the analysis of interruption as opposed to overlap. This critical analysis establishes a basis for the subsequent Corpus Analysis in Chapter 4, not only in terms of the identification of interruptions but also as regards their role in the transcribed political interviews.

Schegloff (1973, 2000) and Zimmerman & West (1975; West 1979; West & Zimmerman 1983) have been among the main proponents of the ‘**syntactic**’ measurement of interruption. To be more precise, Zimmerman & West (1975: 114) defined overlaps as “instances of simultaneous speech where a speaker other than the current speaker begins to speak at or very close to a possible transition place in a current speaker’s utterance”, that is to say, “within the boundaries of the last word”. In contrast, interruptions²⁶ are presented as violations of the turn-taking mechanism, “penetrating the boundaries of a unit-type” at an early stage, where the last lexical component could not yet indicate a possible transition place (Zimmerman & West 1975: 114-15).

In her study of *Male interruptions of females in cross-sex conversation*, West (1979: 82) shows particular interest in ‘deep interruptions’²⁷, which she defines as simultaneities causing “deep intrusions into the internal structure of speakers’ utterances”. West’s (1979) study builds exclusively on the following two criteria: first of all, deep interruptions take place “more than two syllables away from the terminal boundaries of a unit-

²⁶ I.e. ‘Deep interruptions’ as opposed to ‘shallow interruptions’ (cf. West and Zimmerman 1983).

²⁷ Their study (1983) is exclusively concerned with ‘deep’ interruptions.

type”²⁸ and secondly, only feature those instances which disrupt the turn of the current speaker (West 1979: 86, West & Zimmerman 1983: 104).

West’s findings laid the ground for her subsequent study (1983) of *Interruptions in cross-sex conversations between unacquainted persons*, which she conducted in collaboration with Zimmerman. Hereby, they classified simultaneities in speech into overlap, ‘shallow interruptions’ and ‘deep interruption’, whereas those disruptions which emerge “within the second or second-to last syllable” or “between first and second or next-to-last and last syllable of unit-types” shall be allocated to the group of ‘shallow interruptions’. (West & Zimmerman 1983: 114).

At this point it may be relevant to note that the work of West & Zimmerman (1983) and Zimmerman & West (1975) has found the approval of Kennedy & Camden (1983a), meaning that Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 48) only acknowledge those utterances as interruptions which emerge before transition-relevance places. In terms of overlap, Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 48) view overlaps as “errors in transition that occur on or about the final word of the speaker”²⁹, which is comparable to Sacks et al.’s (1974: 706) assertion of speakers being prone to anticipate the earliest possible completion point³⁰ in order to obtain the floor. Their example, provided below, makes evident a clear difference between interruption and overlap:

- (10)
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| | INTERRUPTION |
| A. How was | [your . . . |
| B. | [Did you remember the tickets?] |
| | OVERLAP |
| A. They said they would come over Tues | day. |
| B. | [Yes, but something came up.] |
- (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 49)

From Example (10) it becomes apparent that, just like West & Zimmerman’s (1983) and Zimmerman & West (1975), Kennedy & Camden (1983a) do not regard overlaps as actual interruptions of the speaker’s current turn. As can be seen in the example illustrating the characteristic feature of overlap, speaker A does not feel interrupted whatsoever, as they complete their turn, despite sharing the floor with speaker B, if only for a fraction of the time. Notwithstanding, the underlying weakness of their definition of overlap is that

²⁸ The definition is based on Sacks et al.’s (1974: 704) assertion that speaking turns comprise “the right and obligation to speak which is allocated to a current speaker”.

²⁹ Compare Zimmerman & West’s (1975: 114) and Sacks et al.’s (1974: 707) “variation in articulation” which concerns the last syllable or syllable of a unit-type (specified in Chapter 3.1).

³⁰ Used interchangeably with ‘transition-relevance place’.

the example provided above does not go beyond Schegloff's (2000) 'terminal overlaps' which have already been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.1. The question that remains unresolved is how does the work of Kennedy & Camden (1983a), West & Zimmerman (1983) and Zimmerman & West (1975) relate to longer bits of overlapping speech, that is to say, in the event, that the speech participants compete for the speaking turn.

While Zimmerman & West (1983) regarded syllables of unit-types as underlying indicators for the respective simultaneity, Schegloff (1973, quoted in Bennett 1978: 558-59) offered a definition of an act of interruption, placing a special focus on completion point, as specified below:

By overlaps we tend to mean talk by more than a speaker at a time which has involved that a second one to speak given that a first was already speaking, the second one has projected his talk to begin at a possible completion point of the prior speaker's talk. If that's apparently the case, if for example, his start is *in the environment* of what could have been a completion point of the prior speaker's turn, then we speak of it as an overlap. If it's projected to begin in the *middle of a point* that is in *no way* a possible completion point for the turn, then we speak of it as an interruption. [my emphasis]

Schegloff (2000: 294) further asserts that an act of interruption comprises those actions where the second speaker starts talking while the first speaker is still in the process of talking and the second speaker adheres to this pattern until the first speaker finally stops. At this point it should be mentioned that overlapping talk is not always followed by an interruption, whereas an interruption does not necessarily entail overlap (Schegloff 2000: 293). In contrast to that, overlaps "[...] refer to the sheer fact of more than one person talking at a time." (Schegloff 2000: 294)

Among the fiercest critics challenging Schegloff's (1973) concept of interruption and the widely acknowledged paradigm of Sacks et al.'s (1974) turn-taking system in general, has been Bennett (1978). Picking out phrases as "in the environment of" and "possible completion point", he draws attention to the vagueness of Schegloff's formulation thereof. Bennett (1978) further raises the question of how conversational interactants actually discern the correct environment for a speaker turn and suggests that the identification of whether an interruptee is confronted with an interruption or only an instance of overlap lies within the identification of a possible completion point "inside and outside the environment of that point" (Bennett: 1978: 559). Bennett (1978: 559) is critical of Sacks et al.'s (1974) "tendency to assume that the 'management' of talk and the interpretations

that arise from it are directly related to various kinds of observable constructional ‘units’” claiming that they suggest discourse entities as interruptions or transition-relevance places and the environment thereof being determined by “prosodic and syntactic structures” (Bennett 1978: 559). Putting Schegloff’s (1973) definition to the test, Bennett (1978) conducted a study underlying the subjects’ own perception of, whether or not, they felt interrupted at a certain point in conversation where Schegloff’s definition would have, in fact, predicted an instance of interruption (Bennett 1978: 560).

The extract in (11) is only one of the many examples in Bennett’s research which proved that, while Schegloff’s postulated criteria for the occurrence of interruption may be met, the subjects did not necessarily perceive the auditor’s intrusion as an actual interruption, as specified below:

- (11) B: and y'know, it's surprising to see how much
of it is more interrelated than people a-
round here are willing to admit. I mean
there's a big denial from d-... y'know
where they're separate and they do differ-
ent things, and we're doin this and
[there's a y'know we operate in a vacuum]
C: [Mhm, yeah you choose the part you want.]
B: And you choose what you want.

(Bennett 1978: 560)

It is relevant to note here that the interaction illustrated in Example (11) has been videotaped in order to additionally capture gaze and other nonverbal components during ‘interruption’³¹. The results show that, what might be perceived as interruption at the first sight, should be defined, at the best, as a “special case of overlap” considering that the ‘interruptee’, although having to share the floor with C for a short period of time, is not hindered in her speech (Bennett 1978: 560). Quite the contrary: observing the matter more closely, C takes advantage of so-called ‘back channels’ in order to initiate their turn. In fact, the back-channels *mhm* and *yeah* represent C’s approval of B’s utterance before continuing with their own utterance. B’s reaction can be regarded as ‘restatement’³² of C’s contribution, which are assumed to be highly cooperative in nature, or in Bennett’s (1978: 560) words, “a summation of her prior talk”. As back-channels are not the focal point of this chapter, I shall refer to Chapter 3.3, which is exclusively concerned with these ‘listener responses’³³.

³¹ In the course of being ‘interrupted’, B directs her gaze to C while nodding her head (cf. Bennett 1978: 560), which indicates a positive response to C’s interference.

³² Cf. Duncan’s (1972: 288; 1973: 38-9) classification system of ‘back channels’ in Chapter 3.2.

³³ The term is that of Dittmann & Llewellyn (1967), cf. Chapter 3.2.

Tannen (1993) thinks along similar lines as Schegloff (1973) stating that the positioning of simultaneous speech with respect to transition-relevance places is a good indicator of the distinction between overlap and interruption.³⁴ However, Tannen (1993: 266) keeps with Bennett (1978), taking issue with Sacks' syntactic definition of interruption. Tannen (1993) criticizes that a set of criteria is essential in order to locate a point in conversation which can be perceived as the completion of an interruptee's turn. This set of criteria includes, among the already mentioned syntactic criterion, the "[...] semantic content of the interruptee's speech, the larger communicative context, prosodic and nonverbal turn-yielding signals [...], and even knowledge of the personality of the interruptee" (Tannen 1993: 266-67). These criteria are then also crucial factors for the determination of whether simultaneous talk has been the result of a mistiming error. In this regard, Tannen (1993) questions the extent to which the prevailing use of written transcripts for that matter warrants a proper classification of simultaneous talk into interruption or overlap. Pointing at the missing data of "[...] prosodic and nonverbal turn-yielding signals [...]", Tannen (1993: 267) emphasizes the importance of videotapes in order to eliminate influencing factors including biased expectations and interpretation errors due to a misleading format of written transcripts.³⁵

In keeping with the work of Bennett (1978) and Tannen (1993), Roger (1989) conducted a study³⁶, which was, though not primarily, designed to evaluate the participants' judgements of what they themselves regarded as actual interruptions. For this purpose, the experimentees were asked to take part in debriefing sessions, which provided for the viewing of their own videotaped interactions, followed by the assignment to point at those events which, according to them, constituted an interruption. The results indicated that "current systems for classifying simultaneous speech (e.g. Ferguson, 1977; Mishler & Waxler, 1968) do not adequately encompass the richness and complexity of speaker-turn routines" (Roger 1989: 91). That is because the subjects failed to select all interruptions from simultaneous occurrences which had been previously noted by the experimenters independently of each other, yet unanimously. Interestingly, when asked to classify the 18

³⁴ Interruptions as instances occurring at or right before a TRP or possible completion point (e.g. at the end of 'unit-types'), overlaps as mistiming errors (cf. Tannen 1993: 240-241; Schegloff 1973).

³⁵ Cf. the study of Zimmerman and West (1975) on gender differences in interruptions, which has been subjected to considerable criticism due to possible bias. For a more detailed account cf. the studies of Kennedy & Camden (1981, 1983a).

³⁶ Roger's (1989) study comprises the investigation of differences in dyadic, cross-sex conversations, classification of simultaneous speech events and analysis of speech rate and amplitude during simultaneous speech.

actual instances of interruption they had missed, they agreed in only three interruptions, followed by five back-channeling cues, whereas the remaining ten actual interruptions were categorized as overlaps, which received no further consideration in Roger's analysis. (Roger 1989: 91, 93)

Roger's (1989) technique of including debriefing sessions into his study can be regarded as a reliable means to prohibit biased expectations on the part of the experimenters. He asserts that inviting the subjects to act as evaluators of their own conversations might contribute substantially to the exploration of "the precise function of simultaneous speech events occurring in conversation" (Roger 1989: 93). On a final note, the essence of the findings of his study is the realization that there is 'no such thing' as a consensus on what constitutes an interruption as opposed to an overlap.

The work of Bennett (1978), Roger (1989) and Tannen (1993) relates substantially to Murray's (1985) '**context-sensitive**' approach. To visualize this approach more clearly, Murray (1985) presents the following transcript, which involves a hostess and two couples, to five males and five females:

- (12) H: I think that
 W: Do you want some more salad?
- H: No/ I wan--(trailing off)--ted to say
 W: Where *did* you get that picture? (turning to hostess)
- (Murray 1985: 33)

When presented only with the first string of conversation in Example (12), there was no consensus on whether "Do you want some more salad?" should be interpreted as an interruption. It may be interesting to add that the majority of men labeled this example as interruption, whereas the greater part of the women considered the interjected phrase as side question and not related to the conversation at all. Murray raises an important issue here, namely that men and women do not share the same viewpoint in terms of what can be regarded as an actual interruption. (Murray 1985: 33-34)

After being presented the second bit of the conversation, all subjects agreed that an interruption had taken place on the part of W. Murray (1985: 34) concluded that in order to identify an interruption as such, the subjects needed to know whether H actually had the chance to put his thoughts into words. Contrary to Zimmerman & West (1975) and West & Zimmerman's (1983) counting of syllables, neither "the distance to H's possible com-

pletion from W's starts" nor "the duration of simultaneous speech" constituted a determining factor for interruptions (Murray 1985: 34). In other words, he asserted that "[t]here are *no absolute syntactic or acoustic criteria* available either to those involved in conversing or to those analyzing records made of them." (Murray 1985: 33 [original emphasis]) Instead, a set of contextual factors has to be taken into consideration before an interruption can be interpreted as such. These factors include, among others, the duration of the current speaker's utterance, that is, "[i]f a speaker has exceeded what other interlocutors consider an appropriate amount of speech" they might be 'interrupted' at any point in conversation regardless of a possible completion point and without the notion of actually being interrupted (Murray 1985: 33). This duration of a speaker's utterance affects so-called 'completion rights', which constitutes "the speaker's right to finish his or her thought." (Okamoto et al. 2002: 41) Depriving the current speaker of the right to make their point is regarded as "the prototypical case of interruption" (Murray 1985: 33) and varies in seriousness according to the context. On closer inspection, W's second interference in Example (12) should be considered an overlap, following Schegloff's (1973) definition mentioned above, as it occurs after a possible completion point, namely *No*. However, in keeping with Murray (1985: 34), being cut off prior to having the opportunity of making one's point should be regarded far more serious than being cut off before the current speaker has said anything there was to say. This explains why the interrogated subjects perceived W's interferences as actual interruptions given that H did not have the chance to make his point. This example illustrates the most severe violation of a speaker's 'completion right'.

In sum, four situations of severing one's 'completion rights' have been described by Murray (1985) beginning with the most serious:

- 1.) Cutting the speaker off before he or she has made his or her point of the conversation.
- 2.) Cutting the speaker off before he or she has made the first point of a turn.
- 3.) Cutting the speaker off in mid-clause after the first point of a turn.
- 4.) Beginning to speak during a pause or other turn ending signal.³⁷

Murray (1985: 35) further states that simultaneous speech is no determining factor for interruptions, nor is it "sufficient for members' recognition of interruptions and appropriate turn-taking behavior". Instead, members of a conversation should be constrained to

³⁷ Simplified, cf. Okamoto et al. (2002: 41) and Murray (1985: 35) for examples of the specific situation.

“identify what is intended and understood in order to accurately and appropriately gauge what is operating as an interruption in conversation.” (Okamoto et al. 2002: 42)

It is relevant to note that Okamoto et al.’s (2002) investigation of both the ‘syntactic’ and ‘context-sensitive’ approach did not necessarily arrive at a definite conclusion concerning the question of which measuring method of interruptions proves more reliable. One underlying assumption is that the perception of interruptions is highly subjective which lays the ground for considerable interpretation. A major limitation of Murray’s (1985) ‘context-sensitive’ approach certainly is the inability to see through the interrupter’s true intentions. This would require direct access to Donald Trump and his interviewers which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Consequently, the Corpus Analysis employed West & Zimmerman’s (1983) ‘syntactic’ approach to identify interruptions.

In this chapter I have contrasted West & Zimmerman’s (1983) ‘syntactic’ approach of identifying interruptions with Murray’s (1985) ‘context-sensitive’ approach whereas the latter has been subject to significant limitations complicating its implementation. Consequently, I have taken the ‘syntactic’ approach as a basis to provide a definition of interruption substantial for the practical part of this thesis. The speculative character of the ‘context-sensitive’ approach’ as well as the difficulty to operationalize it have been further specified Chapter 4.3.1.

3.3 Back-channels vs. interruptions

Aside from the interruption-overlap dyad, a considerable number of scholars has been concerned with back-channel behaviors³⁸ of auditors in a conversation. These utterances do not only seem to cause some disagreement on whether or not to attribute to them an interruptive nature; there also seems to be a dispute about deciding on one universal terminology.

According to various scholars, the term ‘back channel’ derives its origin from Yngve’s (1970) studies on the turn-taking mechanism with the intent to define utterances such as *mm-hmm* as well as nonverbal contributions³⁹ to the speaker including head nods (Duncan 1972: 287). The term ‘back channel’ derives its origin from the assumption that there are two channels in conversation which operate on a simultaneous level (White 1989: 59). In other words, the speaker draws on the “main channel” which serves the purpose of sending messages, whereas the auditor provides the speaker with feedback by means of “useful information”, attention and the like through the “back channel” (White 1989: 59). In this respect, White (1989) speaks of clearly defined roles, the speaker being the holder of the floor and the auditor making no attempt at claiming the floor while producing back-channels.

Duncan (1972) is in accordance with the majority of scholars stating that back-channels are a good index of the auditor avoiding a claim to the speaking turn. Consequently, simultaneous occurrences of the auditor’s back-channeling and the speaker’s speech are not regarded as “a state of simultaneous turns in the dyad”⁴⁰ (Duncan 1972: 288). Aside from the basic back-channel signals⁴¹, Duncan’s observation of speech and body motion in interviews revealed a varied repertoire of back-channels, including “sentence completions”⁴², “brief requests for clarification” and “restatements”⁴³, all of which constitute

³⁸ In my thesis, I will exclusively use the terms ‘back-channels’ or ‘back-channel behaviors’ to refer to listener responses, as stated in Yngve’s (1970) and Duncan & Fiske’s (1977) literature.

³⁹ In Duncan’s literature, also referred to as “visual back channels”. In his study, Duncan (1972, 1973) observed head nods and shakes, which he states, may occur by themselves or “in company with the verbalized back channels” (Duncan 1973: 39).

⁴⁰ See ‘simultaneous talking’ (Duncan 1973: 33).

⁴¹ Cf. Yngve’s (1970) *mm-hmm*, *yeah* and head nods.

⁴² The sentence originally initiated by the speaker is completed by the auditor (cf. Duncan 1972: 288). The speaker then continues their turn, usually without showing any indication of being interrupted (cf. Duncan 1973: 38). Observing the characteristics more closely, sentence completions bear a remarkable resemblance with Murata’s (1994: 387) ‘cooperative interruptions’ which he defines as those utterances by the ‘interrupter’ “supplying a word or a phrase for which the speaker is searching” with a tendency to “complete it for him/her”. Murata’s (1994) ‘cooperative interruptions’ are specified in Chapter 3.6.

⁴³ The auditor rephrases the speaker’s utterance in just a few words (cf. Duncan 1972: 288).

essential tools for the auditor in order to assure the speaker that their floor is not contested (Duncan 1972: 288; Duncan 1973: 38-9)⁴⁴.

Following Duncan & Niederehe (1974), back-channels serve as a means to guarantee “continuing attentiveness” of the auditor to the speaker’s verbalizations. They are further regarded as reliable tools equipping the auditor in terms of active participation. Duncan & Niederehe (1974), in fact, speak of a “mutual understanding” between the speaker and the auditor that the speaker is not challenged by the auditor for their speaking turn. As back-channels are usually brief in nature, the speaker shows a willingness to yield the turn for the duration of its completion. (Duncan & Niederehe 1974: 237; Duncan & Fiske 1977: 203)

Warren (2006) raises awareness of the challenges for distinguishing back-channel behaviors from actual speaking turns in conversation. To be more precise, he adverts to the difficulty in determining whether certain contributions in discourse propose a change in speakership. Hereby, considerable concern has been raised in terms of Duncan’s (1972, 1973) observed utterance completion as well as restatements, which fall within the scope of “longer back channels” (Duncan & Niederehe 1974: 237; Warren 2006: 117). It may be interesting to note here that Duncan (1972, 1973) particularly addresses brief restatements, which according to him, have the potential to blur the boundary between back-channels and actual speaking turns (Duncan & Niederehe 1974: 237).

In their study, Duncan & Niederehe (1974: 238-43) attempted to isolate a ‘speaker-state signal’⁴⁵ from the overall conversation in order to differentiate between those longer back-channels and an actual turn beginning. An in-depth analysis revealed that a prerequisite for such a distinction was the correct positioning of the speaker-state signal, concluding that the aforementioned signal was “displayed in the immediate vicinity of a turn beginning” as opposed to a back-channel. In the course of his study, Duncan observed four ‘behavioral cues’⁴⁶ which implied the initiation of a speaking turn, including “shift away in head direction”, “audible inhalation”, “initiation of a gesticulation” and “paralin-

⁴⁴ Cf. Duncan’s (1973: 33) distinction between ‘simultaneous turns’ and ‘simultaneous talking’. The former implies that two participants of a conversation make a concurrent claim to the speaking turn. Conversely, the latter is “permissible within the system” as they are the result of the “auditor’s back-channel response” overlapping with the speaker’s speech (Duncan 1973: 33).

⁴⁵ Meaning that the auditor is claiming the floor as they switch away from the auditor state, entering the speaker state (cf. Duncan & Fiske 1977: 218).

⁴⁶ For a detailed description of Duncan’s observed behavioral cues, consult Duncan & Niederehe’s (1974) study *On signaling that it’s your turn to speak*.

guistic overloudness” (Duncan & Niederehe 1974: 240). Nonverbal back-channels have also been investigated by White (1983) and Dittmann & Llewellyn (1968) who confirmed the association between head nods and *mmhm* and *uh-huh* and Kendon (1967), whose findings revealed a correlation between gaze direction and back-channels⁴⁷.

Duncan & Fiske’s definition (1977) of back-channel behaviors includes the classification into “short vocal back channels” and “long vocal back channels”, whereas the former comprises one-word utterances, such as *Yes* and *Mhm*. Conversely, the latter constitutes back-channels longer than one word, including contributions to the current speaker such as *I agree* and *That’s right*. Duncan & Fiske’s (1977) work builds on Duncan’s (1972) original classification into the five “alternative forms of communicating in the back channel”. The first *mhm*, comprises a set of already identified verbalizations such as *yeah*, *right*, to name but a few⁴⁸. Additionally, they include examples stated by Kendon (1967), such as *yes quite*, *that’s true*, *I see*, which, as already mentioned, would fall into the category of longer vocal back channels (Duncan & Fiske 1977: 201). An important remark to be made here is that Duncan & Fiske (1977) rate all back-channel behaviors as feedback taking place “within the first speaker’s turn”. Notwithstanding that these contributions can be expressed by means of whole sentences, Duncan & Fiske (1977) do not regard them as separate turns in conversation. (Duncan & Fiske 1977: 42-43)

Duncan & Fiske’s (1977) back-channel behaviors correspond to Ferguson’s (1977) ‘interjectory remarks’, who keeps with their definition to the effect that she does not ascribe any speaker-switch to these contributions either. In fact, Ferguson labels these ‘interjectory remarks’ or back-channels as those instances which ensure rather than threaten the speaker keeping the floor. Consequently, in the event of back-channels, no change in speakership is intended. (Ferguson 1977: 296)

However, Felleggy’s (1995) study does not put into consideration Duncan’s longer back channels, stating that there was no clear consensus on when such requests for clarification, sentence completions and brief restatements could actually be acknowledged as representatives of speaking turns. That is probably why Felleggy confines herself to the terminology ‘minimal responses’ as equivalent to back-channels and only takes into account those “one- or two-word responses” which clearly distinguish themselves from speaking

⁴⁷ These nonverbal and vocal cues are, among others, specified in Chapter 3.7 and will be subject to careful investigation in the Corpus Analysis on Donald Trump in political interviews, as they are agreed to be the principal indicators of interruptive behavior.

⁴⁸ These expressions may be used separately or in groups, e.g. *yeah, yeah* (cf. Duncan & Fiske 1977: 201).

turns, such as *mmhmm*, *right*, *uh-huh* and *yeah* (Felleggy 1995: 188). However, Felleggy's (1995: 186) view is in line with the work of Duncan (1972) insofar as she identifies 'minimal responses' as the auditor's means to "signal a certain level of engagement with the speaker". An important remark to be made here is that Felleggy (1995) additionally examines the syntactic environment of 'minimal responses', concluding that 'minimal responses' are more likely to accumulate "at phrase boundaries in predicates", where the auditors anticipate "some level of semantic completion". This originates from the fact that phrase boundaries constitute a point where various linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors⁴⁹ come together and consequently, provide an ideal environment for the larger part of 'minimal responses'⁵⁰. (Felleggy 1995: 189-91)

The examples (13) and (14) stated below make evident the occurrence of 'minimal responses' at phrase boundaries in the predicate (Felleggy 1995: 190):

- (13) s [The alleged victim may remove [_{NP}any member] [_{PP}of the committee]
mmhmm
[_{PP}for good cause]] and an alternative. . . .
mmhmm

(Felleggy 1995:190-91)

- (14) I think that s [that was [_{NP}a big revelation] [_{PP}to her]]
mm *mmhmm*

(Felleggy 1995:190-91)

According to Felleggy (1995: 190), the placement of 'minimal responses' premises the auditor's consciousness of the aforementioned phrase boundaries as well as that of semantic content. In concrete terms, the auditor anticipates a certain degree of semantic completion which then clears the way for the production of 'minimal responses' (Felleggy 1995: 191).

Dittmann & Llewellyn (1967) base their work on Fries' (1952) telephone-conversation data, speaking of back-channels as 'listener responses' which they further classify into words on the one hand and "brief vocal sounds" on the other. The latter serve the purpose of ensuring the speaker of the auditor's "continued attention" (Fries 1952: 49). Even though Fries' findings rely on data obtained through the investigation of telephone conversations, his work keeps with the majority of the scholars, stating that these "brief oral

⁴⁹ Including "falling tones, slight pauses, shifts in eye gaze and posture", to name but a few (cf. Felleggy 1995: 190).

⁵⁰ Felleggy's (1995: 191) study revealed that almost 95% of all minimal responses were present at phrase boundaries.

sounds interjected at irregular intervals” do not interrupt “the speaker’s span of talk” (Fries 1952: 49). The necessity of back-channels is particularly highlighted in telephone conversations, considering that the absence of eye contact and body language requires the speaker to rely on the auditor’s feedback in the form of such brief oral signals including *yeah, I see, good, oh*, to name but a few (Dittmann & Llewellyn 1967: 344).

Kendon’s (1967) research was designed to investigate a possible correlation between gaze and ongoing conversation between two interactants and intended to determine the extent to which gaze-direction may influence the behavior of the conversational partner. In so doing, he establishes a connection between gaze-direction and long utterances, of the one part, and gaze-direction and short utterances, of the other part. Only the latter is relevant for further consideration here as these short utterances do not indicate a claim to speaker-ship (Kendon 1967: 43), though they may well be regarded as requests or pointers to taking the floor. It may be interesting to note that Kendon classifies these short utterances into “‘accompaniment signals’, attempted interruptions, exclamations and short questions, and short answers to questions”. In this chapter, I will exclusively focus on Kendon’s ‘accompaniment signals’, which are comparable to Duncan & Fiske’s (1977) back-channel behaviors⁵¹, Dittman & Llewellyn’s (1967) ‘listener responses’ and Ferguson’s (1977) ‘interjectory remarks’.

Following Kendon (1967: 44), ‘accompaniment signals’ shall be further divided into two sub-classes, which comprise the field of that kind of signals which display the auditor’s attention to the speaker’s verbalizations⁵² as well as those, which have been defined as ‘point granting’ or ‘assenting’ signals in his work. The following examples taken from Kendon (1967) are intended to illustrate the underlying differences:

- (15) SJ: It seems a pity that say someone like that and say someone
like Morrison who is performing the same sort of function
mhm
um livening the place up a bit its a pity they’re almost lost
mhm
to um active politics you know they can air their views and
yes
that sort of thing but their power is so limited that it
seems a great pity somehow.
mhm

(Kendon 1967: 44)

⁵² In Kendon’s (1967: 44) literature, referred to as ‘attention signal proper’.

In the extract of Example (15), it becomes apparent that the auditor is merely using the accompaniment signals *mm* and *yes* in order to ensure the speaker SJ that he⁵³ is still “with” him (Kendon 1967: 44). These examples shall be allocated to the class of the ‘attention signal proper’ and strictly separated from the ‘point granting or ‘assenting’⁵⁴ signals illustrated below:

(16) JS: Well they’re put up as absolute dictators aren’t they?

mm yes

I mean in electing a Prime Minister we say: we make you
responsible for what happens to our country and
that’s true
therefore indirectly for what happens to us.

(Kendon 1967: 44)

In Example (16), JS expects the auditor to show agreement with what has been said, primarily by starting the conversation with a rhetorical question, and subsequently by rephrasing his argument. In Kendon’s words, the speaker structures the “restatement of the argument in such a way that his continuing is dependent upon his interlocutor consenting to, or specifically granting him, the points he is making”⁵⁵.

In Chapter 3.1, I have already briefly introduced Jefferson’s (1973) work in association with overlap, namely that “saying the same thing at the same time” as well as “brief interjections⁵⁶” may be regarded as components of overlapping talk, both of which convey high involvement on the part of the auditor, hence “active listening” (Jefferson 1973: 57-8, 85). West & Zimmerman’s (1983: 105) view is in line with Jefferson (1973), stating that “saying the same thing at the same time” displays “active listening or intense involvement” to the extent to which they cannot be regarded at interruptions.

By using techniques such as “saying the same thing at the same time” or even completing the speaker’s utterance, the auditor signals knowledge of what the speaker is talking about (Jefferson 1973). In other words, the auditor acknowledges the speaker’s position as informant and, consequently “bring[s] to bear upon it what I [he] know[s] independently” (Jefferson 1973: 58). However, in her later work (1984), these “precisely

⁵³ Following Kendon (1967), it is assumed that both interlocutors are male.

⁵⁴ The expression is used interchangeably with ‘agreement’ signals (cf. Kendon 1967).

⁵⁵ Kendon’s (1967: 45) findings confirm an association between gaze and ‘accompaniment signals’. Specifically, while the production of the attention signal was accompanied by the auditor maintaining eye contact with the speaker, the ‘agreement’ signal caused the auditor to avert their gaze, even if only for the duration of the utterance itself.

⁵⁶ Jefferson (1973) employs the term ‘brief interjections’ to refer to those utterances which display recognition in conversation. These ‘brief interjections’ are comparable to the auditor signals mentioned above, further including *yeah* and *right* (1973: 88).

placed generalized acknowledgers” (Jefferson 1973: 58) take the form of ‘acknowledgement tokens’, which, in fact, correspond to Yngve’s (1970) back-channels and predominantly consider *yeah* and *mm hm*. At this point it is important to mention that Jefferson (1984) does not treat all ‘acknowledgement tokens’ equally; instead she points out possible distinctions such as the tendency of *yeah* to induce a “shift from reciprocity to speaker-ship” and the passive nature⁵⁷ of *mm hm*, which motivates the speaker to continue their turn (Jefferson 1984: 199-200).

Regardless of the manifold designation of back-channels, there seems to be a relatively high consensus that these features should not be compared to interruptions, considering that back-channels are bound to occur in conjunction with overlapping talk. Instead, they display a mutual understanding between the auditor and the speaker which guarantees a smooth flow in conversation. The main characteristic of back-channel behavior seems to be that they communicate to the speaker that the incompleteness of their utterance has been acknowledged by the auditor and will not be contested until the utterance reaches its endpoint. To conclude, back-channels might as well be regarded as a subgroup of overlapping talk, provided that there is “no apparent break in continuity in the first speaker’s utterance” (Ferguson 1977: 296). Notwithstanding, in the Corpus Analysis back-channels have been treated separately from overlaps and consequently were not taken into consideration as they do not contribute essentially to the investigation of interruptive behavior.

3.4 The interruption-power correlation

A considerable number of scholars concerned with the turn-taking process in conversation persists in their viewpoint that interruptions take on a negative connotation. In his article *Being interrupted*, Bilmes (1997) points out the discrepancies in the identification of instances of interruption. He observes that there is some, yet no universal consensus on whether interruptions are comparable to an act of violation (Bilmes 1997: 507). However, Bilmes maintains that interruptions are “untoward and violative” and further defines them as “interference[s] with an interactant’s speaking rights” (Bilmes 1997: 507).

Further researchers have subscribed to the belief that an interruption is “unsolicited, unhelpful, intrusive and obtrusive” (Cheng 2003: 33), “confrontational” as well as “[...] an impolite, even hostile act” (Hutchby 1992: 344-45), “disorderly” (Speier 1972: 400) and

⁵⁷ Jefferson (1984: 200) calls this passiveness ‘passive reciprocity’.

that an interruption “both in ordinary usage and in the usage of most researchers, has negative connotations, implying violation of another’s right to speak” (James & Clarke 1993: 237).

One underlying assumption of numerous scholars has been, that the desire to dominate their conversational partner through violation of their speaking rights, can be attributed to the aspect of gender (Dindia 1987; Kennedy & Camden 1983a; Octigan & Niederman 1979; West 1979; West & Zimmerman 1983; Zimmerman & West 1975). Octigan’s (1979) studies are based on Sacks et al.’s (1974) principles of the turn-taking system, following their perception of interruption “as a violation and a sign of conversational dominance” (Octigan 1979: 52). Her detailed examination of male dominance in conversations (1979) showed that, for men, interruptions and overlaps⁵⁸ become effective tools in terms of engrossing the conversation with their female counterparts. In the light of this fact, one should add that, in the observed dialogues, sympathy was of no consideration, concluding that men’s tendency to dominate the interaction with women was not affected in any way by the rapport they had for each other (Octigan 1979: 51). Octigan’s (1979) findings further revealed striking differences between “same-sex” and “mixed-sex dyads” insofar as the very same man who had just dominated the conversation with his female counterpart, showed an entirely different behavior when facing another man.⁵⁹

Interruption has further been the subject of investigation in the field of psychology (Farina 1960; Hetherington et al. 1971; Jacob 1975; Mishler & Waxler 1968). In former times, the prevailing opinion amongst psychologists was that interruption represented “a desire to dominate” (Warren 2006: 119). Based upon a number of preliminary studies⁶⁰, Farina (1960) investigated the interaction behavior of parents of schizophrenic patients. The major purpose of this study was to exhibit a close connection between sex and dominance relationship and “the premorbid adjustment of the schizophrenic son” to the parents’ heightened dominance and conflict (Farina 1960: 31). Indices of dominance⁶¹ as well as

⁵⁸ See Chapters 3.1 and 3.2 for a distinction between interruption and overlap.

⁵⁹ E.g. hearing them out, listening patiently while not “stepping on his last word” (cf. Octigan & Niederman 1979: 51).

⁶⁰ According to preliminary studies, parents of schizophrenic patients showed a heightened potential of conflict and hostility towards each other when relating to each other (Farina 1960: 30-31). For a more detailed account, cf. studies of Tietze 1949, Frazee 1953 etc.

⁶¹ Including “passive acceptance of solution”, “total time spoken”, to name but a few (cf. Farina’s study of *Patterns of role dominance and conflict in parents of schizophrenic patients* 1960).

indices of conflict⁶² were taken into consideration, which included, amongst others, observed interruptions on the part of the mother as well as the father⁶³ but also instances of disagreement and aggression towards their partner. (Farina 1960: 33-34). The results of Farina's study indicate that the interaction pattern of parents of schizophrenic patients stands out due to "hostility and contentiousness" (Farina 1960: 37). This becomes particularly evident in view of constant interruptions and the unwillingness to hear each other out, which can be attributed to their "mutual lack of respect and regard" (Farina 1960: 36-37).

Under these circumstances, it is safe to say that, contrary to the findings based on interruptive behavior and gender, psychological issues, such as schizophrenia, may result in a reversal of power relations in mixed-sex dyads. In concrete terms, conflict potential and excessive dominance originated exclusively from the female, which has been acknowledged as "the modal parental pattern in families of schizophrenic patients"⁶⁴ (Farina 1960: 37).

Hutchby's (1992) study provided an important opportunity to advance the understanding of interruption "as a members' evaluative construct" in contrast to interruption as "a subclass of speech overlap" (Hutchby 1992: 343). To be more precise, Hutchby (1992) examined instances of interruptions in argumentative settings. He further predefined talk radio shows as "an institutional locus" for confrontation and conflict, concluding that the "challenges, rebuttals and ripostes" emerging from this locus indeed took the shape of interruptions (Hutchby 1992: 344). Hutchby's (1992) approach keeps with Bennett (1978) to the extent that he acknowledges interruption as "a members' evaluative construct" (Hutchby 1992: 344), thus an "interpretive category which participants can make use of to deal with currently prevailing rights and obligation in actual situations" (Bennett 1978: 562)⁶⁵. Refraining from the assumption that interruption takes the role of sub-class of speech overlap sheds light on the instances of confrontation talk in those settings, where conflict is bound to occur (Hutchby 1992: 345).

⁶² The intention was to observe cooperation and willingness to compromise among the parents, but also their mutual respect and tolerance for each other (cf. Farina 1960: 33).

⁶³ Based on the number of times the mother would interrupt the father during the interview and vice versa (cf. Farina 1960: 33).

⁶⁴ It should be mentioned here that the schizophrenic patients were exclusively male. Farina point out that a change in the sex of the schizophrenic patient will most likely alter the results (Farina 1960: 37).

⁶⁵ According to Bennett (1978), interruption and overlap are "logically different" from each other, which is the reason why Schegloff's (1973, quoted in Bennett 1978: 558-59) distinction fails (cf. Chapter 3.1 for Schegloff's definition of interruption).

Just as Bennett (1978) and various other linguists⁶⁶, Hutchby (1992: 344-45) does not only take into consideration “doing ‘interrupting’”, but also places a special focus on “doing ‘being interrupted’”. To be more precise, the way in which an ‘interrupted’ speaker responds to “a bid for turn-space”, may convert an originally unintentional disruptive act into a deliberate interruption (Hutchby 1992: 346-47). If one takes Hutchby’s (1992) argumentation for granted, it is then in conflict with West & Zimmerman’s (1977: 527) view that “the use of interruption is *in fact* a control device since the incursion [...] disorganizes the local construction of a topic⁶⁷” [original emphasis], as in Example (17):

- (17) Female: How’s your paper coming?=
 Male: Alright I guess (#) I haven’t done much in
 the past two weeks
 (1.8)
 Female: Yeah::: know how that [can]
 Male: [Hey] ya’ got an extra cigarette?
 (#)
 Female: Oh uh sure ((hands him the pack))
 like my [pa]
 Male: [How] ‘bout a match?
 (1.2)
 Female: Ere ya go uh like my [pa]
 Male: [Thanks]
 (1.8)
 Female: Sure (#) I was gonna tell you [my]
 Male: [Hey] I’d really like
 ta’ talk but I gotta run (#) see ya
 (3.2)
 Female: Yeah

(West & Zimmerman 1977: 527)⁶⁸

At a first glance, West & Zimmerman (1977) may be right in saying that interruptions function as a means to control not only the current speaker but also the current topic. Yet, the main weakness of their argumentation becomes evident when comparing their example with that of Hutchby (1992), as illustrated below:

⁶⁶ Cf. Murray (1985), Tannen (1993).

⁶⁷ West & Zimmerman’s (1977) view that interruptions threaten the current speaker’s topic keeps with Murata (1994) who regards topic change as a consequence of interruption (cf. Murata’s ‘intrusive interruptions’ specified in Chapter 3.6).

⁶⁸ The brackets around utterances are to be treated equally to ‘//’, indicating overlap. ‘=’ indicates that there is no time lapse between the speakers’ utterances. Finally, ‘(#)’ stands for “a pause of one second or less” which could not be discerned accurately. For a more detailed account cf. *Transcribing conventions* by West & Zimmerman (1977: 529); *Transcription conventions* by Levinson (1983: 369).

- (18) Host: did yih then ek- explain that yew understood. that, yihknow
do:gs have the call of nature
just as: er as people do: [: .hh] an' they =
Caller: [eYe:s,]
Host: = don't have the same kind of contro:l and
so the [refore th- s-so]
Caller: [No:: but dogs] cun be t_rai:ned,
→ Host: [m- I haven't
finished, so therefore thee owner, .hhh er whether you train
them or not is not rilly:, quite thuh point, but the owner,
being there has thuh responsibility ...

(Hutchby 1992: 361)⁶⁹

Observing Example (18) more closely, they are in clear contrast to the responses⁷⁰ of the 'interruptees' to their coparticipants' incursions. Whereas in Example (17), the 'interruptee' gives the appearance of being rather helpless⁷¹ and eventually abandons his utterance, Example (18) illustrates first signs of an argument sequence insofar as the host reclaims his turn. Following Hutchby's (1992: 361) words, the host 'parries' the interruption⁷², thus highlighting his "capacity [...] to sustain the coherence of their discursive contributions in the face of the incursion on the part of the coparticipant". In this specific context, West & Zimmerman's (1977) example has to be treated separately from that of Hutchby (1992) given that it shows no indication of contesting the incursion, hence argumentative talk. Therefore, one of the limitations with West & Zimmerman's (1977) explanation seems to be that they do not factor in 'the other side of the coin', that is to the say, the retrieving of the line after being 'interrupted'. Hutchby (1992: 362-63) might concede that topical lines can be disorganized by interruptions and that it is not always the case of 'interruptees' succeeding in the retrieval of their turn; yet he remarks that in an argument, speech participants are constantly in pursuit of defending their line.

The reason why Hutchby (1992) has chosen talk radio as cultural setting of observing interruptions is that these broadcasts distinguish themselves in following a certain script, in which the interruption-confrontation correlation grows particularly apparent. In this context, interruption will take the form of "invading each other's legitimate conversational floor-space", "being confrontational", with the aim to "close each other down" (Hutchby 1992: 350). In fact, participants of talk radio are allotted a specific role, which be-

⁶⁹ As already mentioned in Chapter 3.1, the '→' points out the location of a specific phenomenon under discussion. In this case, the intention is to highlight the 'interruptee's' negative response to being interrupted, that is to say, by sanctioning the 'interrupter' before reclaiming their turn (cf. Hutchby 1992: 361).

⁷⁰ Whereas Example (15) features non-argumentative talk, Example (16) is clearly argumentative in nature.

⁷¹ This is evident from the 'interruptee' yielding the floor to the 'interrupter' without objection (cf. Hutchby 1992: 361).

⁷² This usually takes place by means of sanctions against the 'interrupter' (cf. Example (16) 'I haven't finished').

comes apparent when observing the hosts' "frequent use of a particular interruptive strategy" (Hutchby 1992: 356). Hutchby (1992: 363) speaks of "disproportionate rights" on the part of the host, who takes the position of asking questions. This fixed position serves the purpose of restricting the caller to respond, resulting in an uneven distribution of a speaker's rights and obligations (Hutchby 1992: 363). Strictly speaking, interruptions serve as an important tool to steer the conversation into the right direction, for example, if the host is not satisfied by the caller's response or even dismisses it as "unacceptable" (Hutchby 1992: 364). This becomes the exact point at which power relations gain center stage to the extent where the host imposes restrictions in terms of the caller's "options available [...] for responding to a question" (Hutchby 1992: 364). The reason why I have allowed myself to digress this far lies within the fact that talk radio follows a quite similar script to that of political interviews, which will be subject to thorough investigation in the practical part of my thesis. Indeed, both settings resemble each other in many respects, especially as far as the host's or interviewer's desire to control the conversation is concerned. In this regard, it is not unusual that interruptions take the form of a manipulative device. This becomes apparent especially in conversations where the host or interviewer does not agree with the caller's or interviewee's opinion and thus intends to "close down the call" (Hutchby 1992: 365), as in Example (19):

- (19) Host: Why have you not complained, er when the Princess of Wales,
 .hh er living in a palace here, .mh has also gone tuh visit
 many of the charities that she does.
 Caller: .hhh Oh well I haven't complain:ed cuz 'A': I haven' got
 ti:me, it's only the second time I've
 ever rung you [I've to:ld myself I-]
 →Host: [Well you seem tuh have plenty'v]
 ti:me this morning bud I'll save you s'm mo:re by saying
 goodbye and good morning tuh ((next caller)) ...

(Hutchby 1992: 365)

The use of interruptions as a means to exert control over the caller as well as the overall conversation is well illustrated in Example (19), where the host literally hangs up on the caller, denying him any "opportunity for a comeback" (Hutchby 1992: 365).

The perception of interruptions as a "control device" (West & Zimmerman 1977: 527) is not restricted to the cultural setting of talk radio or political interviews. Interestingly, West & Zimmerman (1977) have projected power relations observed in mixed-sex⁷³ con-

⁷³ Also referred to as 'cross-sex' conversations (cf. West & Zimmerman 1977).

versations onto parent-child interactions. Similarly to the situation of callers in talk radio shows discussed by Hutchby (1992), children's speaking rights are of restricted nature. This originates from the widely shared view that children should not contribute to a conversation unless being specifically addressed (West & Zimmerman 1977: 521). West & Zimmerman (1977) go so far as to compare the interruption pattern of "adult-child transactions"⁷⁴ with that of male-female conversations, keeping with Goffman's (1979: 5) work:

It turns out, then, that in our society whenever a male has dealings with a female or a subordinate male (especially a younger one), some mitigation of potential distance, coercion, and hostility is quite likely to be induced by application of the parent-child complex. Which implies that, ritually speaking, females are equivalent to subordinate males and both are equivalent to children.

In their comparison, West & Zimmerman (1977: 521-22) proceed to refer to women and children as the "subordinate" party, given that their speaking turns are contingent upon and under constant control of the "superordinate[s]"; a party usually comprising the adult in parent-child interaction as well as the man in mixed-sex conversations. West & Zimmerman's (1977) study indicated striking similarities between mixed-sex conversations and parent-child interchanges. Their findings are primarily based on Goffman's (1979: 5) argument that children have to 'endure' "various forms of nonperson treatment"⁷⁵, placing them in a subordinate position. West & Zimmerman (1977: 524-25) conclude that the males' tendency to interrupt females is attributable to the possibility of extending this nonperson treatment⁷⁶ to women.

On a final note, West & Zimmerman (1977: 524) acknowledge that interruptions perform various "communicative acts", yet they persist in their opinion that these said interruptions predominantly function as tools to exert control and exhibit dominance. They further maintain that constant interrupters are assigned negative traits and perceived as "rude", "domineering" or even "authoritarian" (West & Zimmerman 1977: 524).

Beattie's (1982) study of *Turn-taking and interruptions in political interviews: Margaret Thatcher and Jim Callaghan compared and contrasted* is in conflict with Zimmerman & West (1975) and West & Zimmerman's (1983) assertion that interruptions are the under-

⁷⁴ Cf. their *Study of interruptions in same- sex and cross-sex conversation* (Zimmerman & West 1975).

⁷⁵ E.g. discussing or talking about the child while they are present (cf. Goffman 1979: 5-6).

⁷⁶ Note that, while the "nonperson treatment" influences the child in their everyday life, it only (according to West & Zimmerman 1977: 525) affects women in the field of conversation.

lying factor for dominance⁷⁷. First of all, his findings confirmed that overlaps obtained the highest ratio among the four different forms of interruption⁷⁸. Whereas the amount of interruptions used on the part of the politicians did not exceed the amount of interruptions observed on the part of the interviewers, Beattie (1982: 105-6) found that the politicians included almost twice as many overlaps as the interviewers and further concludes that overlap “[...] acts as a subtle reflection of dominance relationships in conversation.” (Beattie 1982: 107). Similarly, in Ferguson’s (1977) study, the correlation between interactants’ tendency to exercise control on their fellow participants and overlaps was tested using self-rating personality questionnaires each subject had to complete before the actual investigation. The results show that those subjects who had rated themselves as utterly dominant constituted the largest percentage of the overall number of overlaps, as they anticipated possible completion points. Furthermore, their desire to dominate their conversational partners exceeded their level of self-control, which was ranked particularly low in conversations (Ferguson 1977: 300-1).

To conclude, the studies of Beattie (1981/1982) and Ferguson (1977) suggest that dominance cannot be regarded as the underlying factor of interruption only. Keeping in mind that overlapping speech often provides an incentive to compete for the floor, dominance becomes an essential tool to determine who finally obtains the speaking right. Schegloff (2000: 315) even asserts that “[...] if it were just the greater status or power of one of the parties [...], then the outcome would be determined by the onset [...], meaning that simultaneous speech would not go beyond ‘simultaneous starts’ as speech participants of lower-status would immediately yield the floor. Consequently, the outcome of simultaneous speech is not exclusively determined by power or high status but requires the consideration of “something more” (Schegloff 2000: 315).

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate the multi-layered approach of various scholars to investigate interruptions as a means to exercise dominance, exert control as well as lay the ground for confrontation and conflict. For one part we have seen how hosts in institutional settings take advantage of the interruption system in order to manipulate and restrict callers in their responses to the extent where they become ‘suitable’ to them⁷⁹. It has also become apparent that interruptions have long been subject to careful examination in

⁷⁷ Mainly male dominance.

⁷⁸ Employing Ferguson’s (1977) scheme of categorizing interruption and smooth speaker switches, as specified in Chapter 3.6.1.

⁷⁹ I.e. the hosts (cf. Hutchby 1992).

the field of psychotherapy⁸⁰ as well as sociology⁸¹. However, it is important to note that the interpretation of interruption as a “sign of dominance” has become rather obsolete (Beattie 1983: 112), for the reasons discussed above. As more recent authors attributed cooperative features to occurrences of interruptions, the focus has, since then, been shifting away from viewing interruptions as exclusively intrusive and dominating. Therefore my next chapter is presented as ‘a different look at interruptions’, with the aim to ‘see the bigger picture’ of the underlying purpose of interruption.

3.5 A different look at interruptions

The increasing interest in the investigation of simultaneous speech occurrences lay the ground for the shift of the original focus of interruption “as indicative of a desire to dominate” (Warren 2006: 119) to a more multifaceted approach.

Gallois & Markel (1975: 1139), among others, maintain that interruption as “both a measure of dominance and [...] discomfort in a conversation”⁸² should be viewed with caution. According to them (1975: 1139), interruption is an essential tool to put interaction into motion, which is warranted by a swift and “considerable exchange of the floor”. In Chapter 3.3, I have presented the commonly shared view that back-channel behavior is a good index for displaying an auditor’s attentiveness and involvement. I have further stated that, to most linguists, back-channels should be treated separately from interruptions. However, various studies (Edelsky 1981; Gallois & Markel 1975: 1139; Kennedy & Camden 1983a) revealed that interruptions may be attributed to “the interruptor’s enthusiastic interest” (Goldberg 1990: 885) and considered as “a measure of heightened involvement in the conversation” (Gallois & Markel 1975:1139). In this respect, the speaker’s management of the overlapping back-channel may give some indication of whether one can speak of overlap or interruption. The main efforts of the practical part of this thesis will thus be concerned with the analysis of similarities between back-channels and, at least, certain categories of interruptions⁸³ (Gallois & Markel 1975: 1139).

⁸⁰ Including interruptions as the trigger for conflict between parents of children suffering from schizophrenia (cf. Farina 1960; Jacob 1975), interruptions as revealing interrelations between dominance and submission (Hetherington et al. 1971), interruptions as indicative of disturbed behavior (Mishler & Waxler 1968) (cf. Watts 1991: 64).

⁸¹ Cf. the studies of Zimmerman & West (1975), West & Zimmerman (1977, 1983) and West (1979) in the field of gender differences in conversation as well as power relations in adult-child interactions.

⁸² Gallois & Markel (1975) refer to Long’s work who uses the key terms of dominance and discomfort in order to define interruptions (cf. Long 1972).

⁸³ As specified in Chapter 3.6 of my thesis.

Meltzer et al. (1971: 392) follow a similar approach, claiming that there is still too little knowledge about a plausible relation between interruptions and “dominance attempts” and therefore conclude that:

It would be a mistake, however, to infer that each interruption event is a miniature battle for ascendance, but there are other precipitating conditions for an interruption. The emission of inappropriate cues could lead Person A to infer that Person B was through speaking when, in fact, he was not; A could mistakenly perceive that B had given the appropriate cues for termination when he had not; [...] or, finally, A may *decide* (impulsively or deliberately) to break in on B’s speech (Kendon 1967). Only the last instance can appropriately be called a dominance *attempt* by virtue of its occurrence alone. (Meltzer et al 1971: 392-93) [original emphasis]

Contrary to other linguists, Meltzer et al. (1971) do not necessarily attribute cooperative features to interruptions. Rather, they regard occurrences of interruptions as a result of misinterpreting and mistiming⁸⁴ the current speaker’s cues. This misinterpretation of TRPs has already been mentioned in Chapter 3.1 in association with Sacks et al.’s (1974) and Levinson’s (1983) work, who clearly labeled these misinterpretations as overlap. However, as it has been outlined in Bennett (1978) and Hutchby⁸⁵ (1992) the ‘interruptee’s’ reaction to being restricted in their speaking rights is decisive for defining such an incursion as actual interruption. Meltzer et al. (1971: 395-97) have examined this phenomenon on the basis of vocal amplitude during simultaneous speech, concluding that the interrupted person may feel the need to raise their voice in order to communicate their “desire to retain the floor”⁸⁶.

Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 55) hold the view that interruptions may take the form of “healthy functional communicative acts”. They particularly raised awareness of the fact, that though interruptions may be “dysfunctional by definition”, this is not the case in terms of their function (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 55). Murata’s (1994: 385-86) approach ties in with Kennedy & Camden (1983a), as it allocates to interruptions the functions of being both intrusive and cooperative⁸⁷, assigning attributes of “co-operation or encouragement” to the latter. What distinguishes Murata’s (1994: 385) approach from

⁸⁴ Cf. Tannen (1993: 240).

⁸⁵ Cf. his study of *Confrontation talk: aspects of ‘interruption’ in argument sequences on talk radio* (1992).

⁸⁶ As already mentioned in Chapter 3.1, Meltzer et al. (1971) place a special focus on the outcome of an interruption rather than the occurrence thereof, which speaks for the labeling of the auditor’s misinterpretation of TRPs as interruption as opposed to overlap (cf. Bennett 1978; Hutchby 1992; Levinson 1983; Sack et al. 1974).

⁸⁷ Cf. Chapter 3.6 for a more detailed account.

others is that he factors in the cultural aspect⁸⁸ and brings it into relation with the occurrences of the various types of interruptive behavior. Strictly speaking, the cultural background plays a decisive role in the determination of interruption⁸⁹. While some cultures perceive interruptions as “a willingness of the interrupter to participate in the ongoing conversation” and thus face them with a welcoming attitude, other cultures may reject interruptions as being “rude, aggressive, or disrespectful to the speaker” (Murata 1992: 386-87).

Most research on the subject has been restricted to the interpretation of interruptions, on the one hand, as indicators of “power, control or dominance” (Goldberg 1990: 883) or “violations of conversational rules” (Tannen 1993: 240), and on the other hand, as displaying confirmation, collaboration and rapport as well as solidarity (Aries 1996; Kennedy & Camden 1983a; Murata 1994; Tannen 1993, 1994). Goldberg (1990: 888-99) may have been the first to distinguish between interruptions in three respects: (1) interruptions as “power displays”⁹⁰, (2) interruptions as “rapport displays”⁹¹ and (3) interruptions with no “personal or relational displays” at all. The last category is further known under “relationally neutral” interruptions (Goldberg 1990: 240; Bull & Mayer 1988), which are specified in Tannen (1993: 240) as those instances where the auditor interrupts in order to ask for clarification because the communicative process is disturbed for any reason. Further reasons that justify the break into the conversation include a “repair, repeat [...] of the prior, interrupted utterances” (Goldberg 1990: 888). It is important to note here that the auditor cannot wait for the speaker to finish. Rather, the problem which leads to the disturbance of the interaction process requires “immediate attention” prior to the continuation of the conversation⁹² (Goldberg 1990: 888).

In Chapter 3.4 and 3.5, I have attempted to outline the manifold connotation of interruptive behavior which, on closer inspection, can be summarized into three major notions. For one part, it has become evident that interruptions may be treated as indicative of control (Mishler & Waxler 1968), dominance and conflict (Hetherington et al. 1971; Jacob

⁸⁸ For a more detailed account on interruption in cultural settings also cf. Tannen’s (1994) chapter on *Cultural Variation*.

⁸⁹ E.g. whereas Japanese culture prefers to avoid interruptions except for cooperative interruptions, English culture makes use of interruption in order to display “conversational participation and listenership” (Murata 1994: 399). It may be important to note here, however, that cooperative interruptions share almost the same characteristics with Duncan’s (1972: 288) sentence completions, which are regarded as back channels (also discussed in Watts 1991: 80). For a more detailed account, cf. Chapter 3.6.

⁹⁰ Also referred to as ‘power type interruption’ (Goldberg 1990: 891-93).

⁹¹ Also referred to as ‘rapport type interruptions’ (Goldberg 1990: 893-96).

⁹² Cf. Sacks et al.’s (1992, 1) approach in Chapter 2.3.

1974). I shall consequently refer to them as being ‘turn-competitive’ in nature. Meltzer et al. (1971) presented an approach which calls attention to the possibility of misinterpreting a speaker’s cues, which I shall call ‘misprojectional’. Finally, the third notion of interruption may be regarded as a reflection of the auditor’s heightened involvement (Gallous & Markel 1975), thus as ‘cooperative’.

3.6 Classifying interruptive speech in spoken interaction

Pinpointing the notion of interruption has only been one of the many interests in the study of interruptive behavior. In fact, considerable data has been concerned with the research of a universal classification system for simultaneous speech. The following subchapters are intended to provide an insight into the many approaches of categorizing the types and functions of ‘interruptive speech’ and lay the ground for the practical part of this thesis.

3.6.1 Types of interruptions

Mishler & Waxler’s (1968) distinction between ‘successful’ and ‘unsuccessful’ interruptions is said to be “one the earliest pieces of research on interruptions” (Roger et al. 1988: 28)⁹³. In fact, their approach has served as a model for countless studies conducted in the field of Conversational Analysis. As already mentioned in previous chapters, ‘unsuccessful’ interruptions imply a failed attempt of the second speaker to take the floor (cf. Roger & Schumacher 1983: 702). Conversely, ‘successful’ interruptions owe their naming to their purpose of “control[ling] the other person’s behaviour by stopping his speech” (Mishler & Waxler 1968: 142). In other words, a ‘successful’ interruption takes place when the second speaker takes the floor, impeding the first speaker in completing their turn (cf. Roger & Schumacher 1983: 702).

However, Mishler & Waxler’s (1968) classification suffers from serious shortcomings. According to Ferguson (1977), their approach would have been far more relevant if they had not used such broad categories, which, in fact, allow for a further discrimination of disruptive behavior (Roger & Schumacher 1983: 700). Observing Mishler & Waxler’s (1968) typescripts more closely, it becomes apparent that they categorize multiple types of speaker-switch as one. In fact, they code overlaps and ‘simultaneous interjections’⁹⁴ equally, allocating them to the category of ‘unsuccessful interruptions’ (Ferguson 1977: 296-97). Furthermore, ‘butting-in interruptions’ specified below, seem to be treated on the same level as overlaps and ‘simultaneous interjections’⁹⁵.

As briefly mentioned above as well as in the previous chapters Ferguson (1977) introduces four categories of interruptive behavior, which stand in contrast to the ‘perfect speaker-

⁹³ Whereas ‘successful interruptions’ describe those instances in which the interrupter prevents the first speaker from completing their utterance, ‘unsuccessful interruptions’ comprise a failed attempt by the interrupter to take the turn (cf. Roger & Schumacher 1983: 702).

⁹⁴ Comparable to back-channel behaviors. See Example (18).

⁹⁵ Cf. Mishler & Waxler (1968: 382 examples (f) and (g)).

switch'. The 'perfect speaker-switch' takes effect if and when the following requirements are met: (1) only one speaker talks at a time, meaning that simultaneous speech does not take place at any time and (2) the first speaker succeeds in completing their utterance "semantically, syntactically, phonologically, both segmentally and supra-segmentally" (Ferguson 1977: 296). Ferguson's model of the speaker-switch discriminates between 'simple interruptions', overlaps, 'butting-in interruptions' and 'silent interruptions'. It is important to note here that Ferguson's 'simple interruptions' correspond to Mishler & Waxler's (1968) 'successful' interruptions. That is because the original speaker's utterance suffers from "a break in continuity" (Ferguson 1977: 296) induced by the second speaker's simultaneous speech, resulting in the takeover of the floor (Roger & Schumacher 1983: 702), as illustrated below:

(20) 1. *Simple interruptions*

Example:

(A) . . .and this bit about him being bankrupt and having no money I just don't see how it's possible because –

(B) *I haven't heard that.*

(Ferguson 1977: 296)

Furthermore, Ferguson views overlaps as equivalent not only to Mishler & Waxler's (1968) 'unsuccessful' interruptions, but also to Farina's (1960) 'simultaneous speech'⁹⁶:

(21) 2. *Overlaps*

Example:

(A) . . .I expect you would like to go *with him*.

(Yes) (Yes)

(B) *Well, I'd prefer it, yeah – but then he would want me to go to a Ranger's football match. . .*

(Ferguson 1977: 296-97)

From Example (20) and (21) it becomes apparent that 'simple interruptions' and overlaps resemble each other in one aspect, namely that simultaneous speech initiates the speaker-switch. However, the difference lies within the fact that in an overlap, the speech sequence of the first speaker is not broken, resulting in the completion of the first speaker's utterance (Roger et al. 1988: 28).

The third category, 'butting-in interruptions', is a non-fluency type (the term is Ferguson's) which as well premises simultaneous speech. Notwithstanding, the second speaker

⁹⁶ Farina's investigation comprised patterns of dominance and conflict among parents of schizophrenic sons. His 'indices of conflict, as opposed to 'indices of dominance', included, among others, frequency and duration of simultaneous speech, that is to say, the frequency and duration of both parents speaking "concurrently" (cf. Farina 1960: 33).

does not complete their utterance but, instead, breaks off (Ferguson 1977: 297) resulting in the second speaker not taking the floor (Roger et al. 1988: 28), as illustrated in Example (22):

(22) 3. *Butting-in interruptions*

Example:

(I think I –)

(A) I don't know, I've got *mixed* feelings, I think it would be nice to have a baby . . .

(Ferguson 1977: 297)

Ferguson's fourth and final category, 'silent interruptions', features non-fluency without the presence of simultaneous speech, as in the following:

(23) 4. *Silent interruptions*

Example:

(Yes)

(A) It wasn't in ours actually it was a bloke, and um . . .

(B) But anybody who's a bit lazy I suppose, is it, that he used to picks on?

(Ferguson 1977: 28)

In Example (23) provided above, the first speaker does not take the opportunity to complete their turn. The ensuing pause, here introduced with *and um...*, implies that the first speaker is still finishing their utterance (Ferguson 1977: 297), which permits the second speaker to claim the floor (Roger et al. 1988: 28).

The following scheme is supposed to provide a better overview of Ferguson's 'classification of interruptions and smooth speaker-switches' (Beattie 1982: 100; 1983: 114):

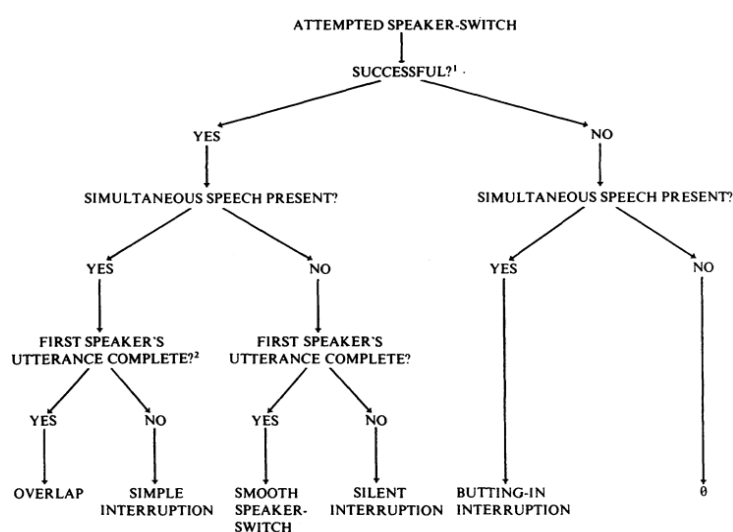


Figure 1 Ferguson's 'classification of interruptions and smooth speaker-switches'

Ferguson has found the approval of Beattie (1982, 1983) who applied her model in his study on *Turn-taking and interruptions in political interviews* (1982) in order to investigate the interruption pattern of Margaret Thatcher and Jim Callaghan. Beattie's (1981) study featured a relatively high frequency of overlaps⁹⁷ used in tutorial groups which had prior been assigned according to sex and status⁹⁸. In fact, the most interesting finding was that overlaps were the most frequent used form of interruption⁹⁹ (Beattie 1981: 24-28).

However, Ferguson's classification of the non-fluent speaker-switch has been subject to rigorous criticism particularly on the part of Roger & Schumacher (1983) and Roger et al. (1988). According to Roger et al. (1988: 28-29), "dissatisfaction with existing systems for classifying interruptions" has been the driving force behind the creation of an alternative classification system. The main weakness with Ferguson's (1977) approach is the failure to draw a clear line between the four categories of the non-fluent speaker-switch. In fact, there seems to be a number of discrepancies arising from her classification.

As mentioned above, Ferguson (1977) equates her overlaps with Mishler & Waxler's (1968) 'unsuccessful interruptions'. Taking a closer look at her illustration in Example (18) raises the question, whether the two *Yes* legitimately qualify as disrupting speech or whether they should rather not be treated as back-channel behaviors. In that event, Roger & Schumacher (1983) as well as Roger et al.'s (1988) interpretation would come into effect insofar as they regard Ferguson's 'butting-in interruptions' as comparable to Mishler & Waxler's (1968) 'unsuccessful' interruptions. This might then explain why, in the schema outlined above, 'butting-in interruptions' are represented as a subcategory of an unsuccessful attempt of the speaker-switch. Roger et al. (1988: 28) have also questioned the classification of overlaps as interruptive behavior, given that they might "simply reflect speaker enthusiasm or involvement"¹⁰⁰. Finally, Roger et al. (1988) argue that conversations are hardly ever subject to standard grammar. Contrary to Ferguson's assumption that 'silent interruptions' induces the first speaker's intention to continue, Roger et al.

⁹⁷ Beattie (1983: 112) regards overlaps as those kinds of simultaneous speech in conversation where "[...] the original speaker's utterance appears complete." This definition conforms to that of Ferguson (1977: 296) who asserts that overlap features "no apparent break in continuity in the first speaker's utterance".

⁹⁸ For a more detailed account cf. Beattie's (1983) study of *Interruption in conversational interaction and its relation to the sex and status of the interactants*. His study featured no striking asymmetry between men and women in terms of interruptive behavior whatsoever, which contrasts with the findings of West (1979), West & Zimmerman (1975) and Zimmerman & West (1975).

⁹⁹ Following Ferguson's model (1977) of the four different types of interruptions.

¹⁰⁰ This is line with my suggestion to treat the two instances of *Yes* in Example (18) as back-channel behaviors, as they indicate that the auditor is making no attempt at claiming the floor while producing back channels which provides for the first speaker to complete their turn (cf. White 1989 in Chapter 3.3).

(1988: 28) conclude that the first speaker might have simply been finished with their utterance and consequently breaking off. For a better illustration of this problem, I shall refer back to Roger's (1989) study, introduced in Chapter 3.1, which revealed that the subjects did not regard such 'interruptions' as disruptive but rather related them to the second speaker's cooperation (Roger et al. 1988: 28).

Roger et al.'s (1988) *Simultaneous speech coding system*, which can be looked up in Appendix A of my thesis, builds upon the fundamental question whether or not "a first and a second speaker can be identified" (Roger et al. 1988: 30). In the event that the determination of a first speaker is unsuccessful, the authors speak of a 'false start' or 'unintended simultaneous speech', which is comparable to 'simultaneous onset'¹⁰¹ discussed in Chapter 3.1. If it is successful, the next question arises whether the second speaker's interference lead to the first speaker's utterance to be disrupted. If not, then the branch of the chart leads into the category 'non-interruptive simultaneous speech', which is further divided into 'overlap' and 'listener response', depending on whether the first speaker resumes their utterance or not¹⁰². If the first speaker's utterance was indeed interrupted, then this is a classic case of interruption. Depending on the frequency of interruptions attempted by the second speaker, Roger et al. (1988) consider 'single'¹⁰³ or 'complex'¹⁰⁴ interruptions. Single interruptions are further subdivided into successful¹⁰⁵ and unsuccessful interruptions¹⁰⁶. Was the interruption successful, it has then to be confirmed whether "the interruption followed a clear offer of a turn by the 'interruptor' (Roger et al. 1988: 31). If it did, a 'snatch-back'¹⁰⁷ takes place, if it did not, then the interruption is categorized either as 'interjection'¹⁰⁸ or as a 'straightforward successful single interruption'. Unsuccessful interruptions are further divided into 'unsuccessful single interrupted inter-

¹⁰¹ Cf. Drummond 1989; Sacks et al. 1974.

¹⁰² In case they do not, the event qualifies as 'overlap'; in case they do, then the event is regarded as 'listener response' (further divided into 'brief' or 'extended') or an 'afterthought'. For a detailed account and full explanation of Roger et al.'s (1988) coding system, cf. their chart in Appendix A and/or their study of *The development of a comprehensive system for classifying interruptions* (1988).

¹⁰³ I. e. one attempt.

¹⁰⁴ I.e. two or more attempts (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 30).

¹⁰⁵ In the case of the second speaker depriving the first speaker of their right to complete their utterance and, consequently, finishing their own turn (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 30-31).

¹⁰⁶ To be more precise, into 'successful single interruptions' and 'unsuccessful single interruptions'. The same holds true for 'complex' interruptions, cf. 'successful complex interruptions' and 'unsuccessful complex interruptions'.

¹⁰⁷ A snatch-back is defined by the 'interruptor' (the term is Roger et al.'s) offering the first speaker a speaking turn, but then snatching it back (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 31).

¹⁰⁸ Given that only a brief interruption takes place, which is then followed by "a clear return of the floor" (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 31).

ruption'¹⁰⁹ and 'unsuccessful single overlapping interruption'¹¹⁰ or 'unsuccessful single interruption with completion'¹¹¹. If the 'interruptor' is unsuccessful both in disrupting the first speaker's utterance and finishing their own utterance, the authors speak of an 'unsuccessful single interruption', "unless it followed a clear offer of the turn by the interruptor", resulting in an 'unsuccessful snatch-back'.¹¹²

Roger et al.'s (1988) approach contrasts significantly with that of Murata (1994) who proposes a classification system based on the dominance-co-operation-dyad. Observing Murata's classification more closely, 'co-operative interruptions' share the same properties as back-channel behaviors¹¹³. Concretely, both phenomena intend to provide the current speaker with a word or a phrase they are momentarily struggling with, right up to finishing their utterance. However, neither of the two constitutes "trespass[ing] on the speaker's territoriality" but rather encourages them to resume their speech (Murata 1994: 387). Two important remarks to be made here are that (1) even though the second speaker might 'interfere' at some point, the intention of a 'co-operative interruption' is never to change the topic, but rather to sustain that of the original speaker, and (2) interruptions, in general, may but do not necessarily have to take place in overlapping settings¹¹⁴, as in the following (Murata 1994: 388):

(24) *Example 1*

28 A: Um well I'm not- I'm not [fro- London I've come down from H.
→ 29 U: [London

(Extract from Conversation 8)

(Murata 1994:387)

(25) *Example 2*

86 U: But um I- I stopped- stopped going because-
→ 87 A: [it's time

consuming =

88 U: = Yeah and er the need for it disappeared

(Extract from Conversation 8)

(Murata 1994: 387)

¹⁰⁹ In the case of the second speaker depriving the first speaker of their right to complete their utterance and failing to complete their utterance themselves (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 31).

¹¹⁰ Despite the second speaker's attempt to disrupt the first speaker's utterance, the first speaker succeeds in completing their utterance. However, the second speaker manages to finish their utterance as well, provided that the second speaker "completes after the other speaker" (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 31).

¹¹¹ Cf. 'unsuccessful single overlapping interruption', with the difference that the speaker "completes before the other speaker" (cf. Roger et al. 1988: 31).

¹¹² Complex interruptions follow the same pattern and subcategorization system as single interruptions. The terminology simply requires to be adjusted accordingly, that is to say, from 'single' to 'complex'.

¹¹³ Compare Duncan's (1972) 'sentence completions' as well as Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou's (2013: 21) 'collaborative completions'.

¹¹⁴ Cf. also Tannen (1991: 192).

Whereas Example (24) illustrates the occurrence of ‘co-operative interruption’ in combination with overlap, Example (25) shows the same type of interruption without an overlapping setting. In both examples, the ‘interrupter’s’ purpose is not to violate the current speaker’s speaking rights. Rather, their ‘interference’ serves as a means to display “listenership and participation” (Murata 1994: 387). Example (25) illustrates how ‘co-operative interruptions’ contribute to the maintenance of the conversation, namely, by the ‘interrupter’ offering strings of words. Furthermore, A’s interjection is not perceived by U as an actual incursion of their speaking rights. In fact, U shows their approval of A’s assistance by uttering a brief *Yeah* before picking up their speech again.

Conversely, Murata’s (1994: 388) ‘intrusive interruptions’ serve the purpose of “threatening the ‘territory’ of the speaker” in three respects, that is to say, (1) by changing the topic¹¹⁵, (2) by taking the floor¹¹⁶ or (3) by disagreeing¹¹⁷ with the current speaker. Whereas, in TCIs, the ‘interrupter’ mainly focuses on enhancing their own interests by means of introducing a totally different topic, FTIs seek to elaborate on the topic under discussion (Murata 1994: 389-90).

The following extracts are intended to demonstrate the difference between TCIs, illustrated in Example (26), and FTIs, as provided in Example (27):

(26) *Example 3*

88 U: and I found another =
89 A: Uhm—
90 U: = way of doing what I wanted— by using another type— of =
91 A: —Oh —Oh
92 U: = language which basically er is very simple— no need to =
93 A: —Yes
94 U: = know how to programme at all to use it— and er —and er—
→ 95 A: —Yes —not too bad
(then---) oh gosh(0.9) I don’t know (I haven’t- I haven’t)
being in London is-is quite strange

(Extract from Conversation 8)

(Murata 1994: 388-89)

¹¹⁵ Classified by Murata (1994: 388-89) as ‘topic-changing interruption’, abbreviated as TCI.

¹¹⁶ Classified by Murata (1994: 389-390) as ‘floor-taking interruption’, abbreviated as FTI.

¹¹⁷ Classified by Murata (1994: 390) as ‘disagreement interruption’, abbreviated as DI.

(27) *Example 4*

247 U: and it was very interesting because it =
 248 A: Uhm
 249 U: = was a place which um wasn't really meant for tourists any =
 250 A: Uhm
 251 U: = other--there weren't any other Western Europeans apart from =
 252 A: (laughs)
 253 U: = students and um it was
 → 254 A: Uhm were people friendly- did they shy
 away from you or did they come up to you?
 255 U: They- they

(Extract from Conversation 8)

(Murata 1994: 389)

In Example (26), the 'interrupter' shifts the topic away from the original speaker sharing their experience with the computer to introducing their own topic of living in London. In contrast, the disruption of the original speaker's utterance in Example (27) results in a "development of the ongoing conversational topic", as the focus only changes slightly from U's experience with Russian people to the Russian people in detail. (Murata 1994: 388-90)

Finally, as the name implies, 'disagreement interruptions' take place whenever the 'interrupter' objects to or does not share the current speaker's opinion or statement (Murata 1994: 390), as can be seen in Example (28):

(28) 119 A: and that's where you are now Ah
 → 120 M: but I'm not there I'm near Euston
 (Extract from Conversation 9)

Murata 1994: 390)

3.6.2 Role of interruptions

Having discussed various approaches on how to classify types of interruptive behavior, it is now necessary to subject the role of interruptions to thorough scrutiny. The previous chapters have already demonstrated that interruptions operate both on a functional as well as dysfunctional level, the former referring to the cooperative role, the latter being concerned with the desire to dominate (Kennedy & Camden 1983a). However, such a broad classification requires further examination in order to make a more accurate discrimination of interruptive functions possible.

In so doing, Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 48) take Watzlawick et al.'s (1967) "confirmation-rejection-disconfirmation paradigm" as a basis for determining additional roles of interruptions in spoken interaction. According to Watzlawick et al. (1967: 83-84), "[...] people do not communicate about facts outside their relationship, but offer each other definitions of that relationship [...]". If one assumes that speaker A offers speaker B "a definition of self", B has then three possibilities of responding to A's self-definition at their disposal, which can all be allocated to the field of functional and dysfunctional roles of interruptions in interaction (Watzlawick et al. 1967: 84; Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 48). These three possibilities of response comprise 'confirmations', 'rejections' and 'disconfirmations'¹¹⁸. Whereas 'confirmations' convey positive messages including "approval, understanding or acceptance of A's position" (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 48), 'rejections' serve as a means to disagree with or even disapprove of A, though they do not intend to "negate the reality" of A's definition of themselves (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 48; Watzlawick et al. 1967: 85). Conversely, 'disconfirmations'¹¹⁹ are regarded as the greatest violation as they literally tell A that they do not exist, hence not acknowledging their "reality" (Watzlawick et al. 1967: 86).

Based on Watzlawick et al.'s (1967) threefold paradigm, Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 51-52) derive a variety of functional and dysfunctional roles of interruptions, taking into consideration 'pre-interruption speech', actual interruption and 'post-interruption speech'¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Watzlawick et al.'s (1967) Chapter 3.3 on *The level structure of communication (content and relationship)*.

¹¹⁹ According to Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 48, 51), Watzlawick et al.'s (1967) 'disconfirmation' can take the form of subject change or 'tangential reply', also referred to as 'tangentialization'.

¹²⁰ I.e. the reaction of the interrupted speaker to being interrupted, whether the interrupted speaker yields to the interrupter or contests for the floor (cf. Dindia 1987; Kennedy & Camden 1983a).

According to them (1983: 51-52), interruption can take the form of ‘clarification’¹²¹, ‘agreement’, disagreement¹²², ‘tangentialization’¹²³, ‘subject change’ and other phenomena which cannot be assigned to any of the categories mentioned above¹²⁴.

Post-interruption speeches¹²⁵ have been in the focus of Kennedy & Camden’s (1983a) study, primarily, to examine the subjects’ reactions to being interrupted. Responses to being interrupted range from attempts to contest or resist the interrupter’s incursions, including ‘continues’, ‘reintroduces’ and ‘re-interrupts’, to the interruptee’s acceptance, hence yielding thereof, which takes the form of ‘co-operates’ (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 52). However, the fifth category ‘loses turn’ may, on the one hand, imply acceptance of losing their turn and, on the other hand, “passive resistance” as a consequence of being “too intimidated, embarrassed or unorganized by the interruption to respond” but also display agreement with the interrupter as everything there had to be said was, in fact, said (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 52-53)¹²⁶. Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 53) assume that negative responses to being interrupted can be attributed to the interruptee’s degree of dominance, meaning that resistance to the interrupter might fend off further interruptions. Conversely, yielding to interruptions reflects the interruptee’s submissiveness to the situation, which might lead to the interrupter’s encouragement to disrupt.

Finally, Kennedy & Camden (1983a) coded functions of pre-interruption speech both for structure and content. The purpose of including pre-interruption speech into their study was to investigate which of these utterances by the person to be interrupted induced interruption behavior by their speech participants. While content-based categories comprise ‘information’, ‘support’, ‘nonsupport’ as well as ‘hesitancy or self-doubt’, structure-based categories include ‘assertion’, ‘question’ and ‘lengthy speech’ (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 50-51). Interestingly, Kennedy & Camden (1983a: 51) regard speech phenomena such as ‘support’, ‘question’ as well as ‘hesitancy and self-doubt’ as characteristic of females, that is to say, submissive behavior which stimulated further interruptions. ‘Asser-

¹²¹ ‘Clarification’ as well as ‘agreement’ were identified by Kennedy & Camden (1983a) to refer to Watzlawick et al.’s (1967) ‘confirmations’.

¹²² This category is supposed to represent Watzlawick et al.’s (1967) ‘rejections’.

¹²³ ‘Tangentialization’ and ‘subject change’ equally represent Watzlawick et al.’s (1967) ‘disconfirmations’.

¹²⁴ For a detailed description of the functions of interruption speech, cf. the practical part of my thesis.

¹²⁵ A detailed account of post-interruption speeches has been provided in Chapter 4.5.2 on Trump’s reaction to being interrupted.

¹²⁶ Dindia (1987) introduced an additional category, that is to say ‘topic change’ as response to being interrupted. In so doing, the interruptee both drops their original topic (in their pre-interruption speech) and ignores the interrupter’s interruption speech topic and introduces a complete new topic (cf. Dindia 1987: 356). One could allocate this category to resistance to the interruption.

tion', 'lengthy speech', 'information' and 'nonsupport' are consequently assigned to the typical male behavior (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 51). Dindia's (1987: 353-54) approach is similar to that of Kennedy & Camden, though she adds 'tag question', 'non-lengthy speech' and 'non-hesitancy' as categories of pre-interruption speech.

On further reflection, adopting Kennedy & Camden's (1983a) approach of investigating the functional as well as dysfunctional roles of interruption in conversation appears to be most relevant for the Corpus Analysis on Donald Trump in televised interviews. The additional consideration of post-interruptive behavior allows for a more thorough investigation of the roles of interruptions in spoken interaction. For one part, because the way in which the speaker behaves towards the end of their utterance is decisive for the interruption, and furthermore, because the reaction of the interruptee to being 'interrupted' gives a first indication of the specific type of 'simultaneous speech'. Determining whether such an incursion should be regarded as actual interruption or speech overlap provides the basis for the further classification of the observed types of interruptive behavior. Chapter 3.6 has, for one part, reviewed various approaches of classifying interruption, some of which have been subject to criticism due to 'fuzzy boundaries' emerging between the presented types of interruptive behavior. Comparing these approaches, Roger et al.'s (1988) *Simultaneous speech coding system* proves most useful and reliable to the Corpus Analysis of this thesis, though, for reasons of simplicity, their classification system will be adapted according to the analysis.

However, as interruptive behavior is not restricted to verbal communication, the following chapter concentrates on the vocal as well as nonverbal components, which are agreed to be among the principal determining factors for initiating interrupted speech.

3.7 The nonverbal aspects in interruptions

Careful investigation in the field of nonverbal communication suggests that nonverbal signals are a constant accompaniment whenever people engage in conversation. In fact, many researchers share the view that paralinguistic behavior "can regulate the flow of social interaction" (Meltzer et al. 1971: 392). According to Argyle (1969b), the link between verbal communication and its nonverbal component performs a number of functions. It has already been pointed out in the chapter on backchannel behaviors that the auditor is expected to perform in such a way which signals to the speaker that they are

actively following the conversation. This continuous demonstration of the auditor's attentiveness and responsiveness is principally accompanied by gestures which serve the purpose of emphasizing the auditor's vocal listener cues (Argyle 1969b: 119). The correlation between nonverbal and verbal expressions in conversation is thus crucial for both speaker and auditor as the speaker would feel insecure in the event of the auditor turning away from the speaker during conversation or giving vocal cues but at the same time, avoiding eye contact. Consequently, nonverbal behavior should be "supportive" of the verbal equivalent, reflecting the auditor's "attitudes and intentions towards the others" (Argyle 1969b: 119). In fact, Argyle et al. (1970) ascribed a greater function to nonverbal elements, claiming that the verbal component would lose its value in the event of the nonverbal behavior conflicting with what was being said.

A special focus on the co-occurrence of nonverbal elements with interruptive behavior has revealed that interruption is usually initiated by nonverbal behavior. At the same time, the interruptee will react in a nonverbal manner prior to actually employing verbal strategies which signal to the interrupter that the 'interruptee' is either contesting or yielding to the intrusion (Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2013: 22). An important remark to be made here is that interruption attempts are not restricted to co-occur with only one modality in terms of nonverbal cues (Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2013: 22). Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou (2013: 23) investigated interruptive behavior in three respects: in combination with (1) facial expressions, (2) gestures and (3) body posture movements. Whereas facial expressions comprise "smiles, laughter, scowls, [...] gaze labels, movements of the head, mouth, eyebrows, eyes and lips", gestures are exclusively concerned with use and movement of hands, and body posture movement refer to leaning, turning and bending of the torso in all possible directions (Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2013: 23). Their study (2013: 23) revealed the subjects' preference to combine more than one nonverbal expression, the most salient being the co-occurrence of gestures and facial expressions¹²⁷ and facial expressions along with body posture movements¹²⁸.

In keeping with Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou (2013), Argyle (1972: 263) suggested that combinations of certain nonverbal signals are predetermined to occur in conversation depending on the person's attitude. Consequently, increased eye-contact along with smiling, whereas the person concerned leans toward the speaker in order to build up proximity

¹²⁷ I.e. lifting one hand showing the palm and raising eyebrows in order to signal *stop*, or lifting the hand in the same manner and nodding or tilting the head.

¹²⁸ I.e. moving the head forwards or backwards along with the torso.

to the interlocutor is generally observed in people which display “affiliative behavior” (Argyle 1972: 263).

Nonverbal behaviors as characteristic of gender have been of focal interest to Kennedy & Camden (1983b). However, as gender differences in nonverbal signals are not a focal point of discussion in this thesis, I shall exclusively refer to those five distinct types of nonverbal behaviors comprising their analysis (1983b): self-related activity, gestures, body lean, facial expression and eye gaze, all of which are subject to further specification in the subchapters.

3.7.1 Facial expressions and gaze

Most studies concerning nonverbal behavior have been devoted to the area of facial expressions and gaze. Evidence suggests that certain patterns of looking the other person in the eye are strongly linked to intimacy and that the degree of physical closeness induces people to try to maintain an equilibrium between approach and avoidance (Argyle & Dean 1965: 289). Argyle & Dean (1965: 296) conducted a study to “determine the effects of distance on eye-contact”. Their findings revealed that the subjects tended to make considerably less eye-contact when the observer was placed at a very short distance from them. In fact, the subjects attempted to restore the balance between approach and avoidance by increased backward body lean and distraction techniques such as “narrowing the eyes”, “blowing the nose” and “looking down”, to name but a few¹²⁹ (Argyle & Dean 1965: 301-2).

In several investigations it has been found that gaze is most prominent in the event of listening to another person rather than speaking and that shorter but more instances of gaze could be observed on the part of the current speaker (Argyle & Dean 1965: 290; Duncan & Fiske 1977: 87; Kendon 1967: 26-27; Nielsen 1964). Conversely, auditors keep fairly long eye-contact which are interrupted by very brief glances away from the speaker¹³⁰ (Kendon 1967: 27). From Kendon’s (1967) study it becomes evident that both auditor and speaker undergo a specific change in behavior before speaking turns are allocated anew. This may include “assuming a characteristic head posture” which differs depending on the individual (Kendon 1967: 33). However, it has been observed that the speaker tends to make steady eye-contact with the auditor when approaching the end of

¹²⁹ For a more detailed account cf. Argyle & Dean’s (1965) study on *Eye-contact, distance and affiliation*.

¹³⁰ Kendon (1967: 26) refers to instances of not looking at the speaker as ‘a-gaze’.

their utterance (Kendon 1967: 33). Conversely, Weinrich (1992: 84) suggests the avoidance of eye-contact as a measure to retain the floor.

It has become apparent that speakers employ a rather consistent pattern, including averting of gaze prior to or while starting a long utterance¹³¹ as well as looking up at the auditor in the course of the last phrase of the long utterance and keeping eye-contact “thereafter” (Kendon 1967: 33). Similarly, Weinrich (1992: 85) interpreted the speaker’s gaze direction away from the auditor as indicative that the speaker was about to complete their utterance, whereas Kendon (1967: 36) concluded that by making eye-contact after the utterance, the speaker expected feedback from the auditor. Furthermore, speakers are less likely to make eye-contact while organizing their speech, that is to say, during “unfluent” or “hesitant” speech rather than during “fluent speech” (Beattie 1983: 59-61; Kendon 1967: 37-38). This is attributable to the interference of the “monitoring function” with the “planning of spontaneous speech”, which results in the averting of gaze before long utterances¹³² (Beattie 1983: 58).

Argyle & Dean (1965: 290-91) included the relational aspect into the study of gaze direction. They hypothesized that interactants tended to make more eye-contact with each other if they shared a good relationship, whereas less eye-contact was observed between competing interlocutors. Their assertion is consistent with Mehrabian & Friar (1969: 336) who attribute greater eye-contact with a “more positive attitude toward an addressee”.

In terms of facial expressions, Kennedy & Camden (1983b: 97-98) distinguished between ‘positive expression’ such as smiling or laughing, and ‘nonpositive expression’, whereas lips could either be in a neutral position or used to produce grimaces or frowns. Their findings revealed that the tendency to smile increased the chances of being interrupted. However, this was found to be particularly characteristic of women as smiling portrayed “submissiveness or appeasement” (Kennedy & Camden 1983b: 101).

In keeping with Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou (2013: 23), facial expressions are not restricted to gaze and smiling or laughter, but also include movements of the head. In fact, Argyle (1972: 248) found that nodding plays a central role in conversation as it usually reinforces the speaker’s behavior. Evidence further suggests that head-nods play a deci-

¹³¹ Those utterances lasting “for at least five seconds (Kendon 1967: 43).

¹³² Kendon (1967: 34) regards the planning of one’s utterance and paying attention to one’s speech participant as “incompatible activities”. Beattie (1983: 67) speaks of a dramatic increase in the “frequency of various types of error in speech” as the consequence of focusing on both activities.

sive role in turn-allocation as nodding at the speaker indicates that the speaker may continue their contribution (Argyle 1972: 249). In contrast to that, those who engaged in rapid head-nodding conveyed the desire to take the floor (Argyle 1972: 249).

3.7.2 Gestures

Forbes & Jackson (1980) employed Argyle's (1969b) definition of gestures, namely that they comprised movement of hand, feet as well as other body parts. They further included nonverbal behaviors into the subgroup of gestures, which are, among other researchers, classified as self-related activities. These are, "face touching", "scratching" and "forehead wiping" (Forbes & Jackson 1980: 66). Similarly, Beattie (1983: 67) took the view that "two fundamentally different kinds of speaker hand activity" existed. Whereas the first is comparable to Kennedy & Camden's (1983b) 'self-related activity', thus comprising "self-stimulation" (Beattie 1983: 68) and "body-focused movements" (Freedman & Hoffman 1967), the second refers to actual movements of the hands which act in accordance with speech¹³³. However, this thesis keeps with the work of those scholars (Duncan & Fiske 1977; Kennedy & Camden 1983; Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2013) narrowing gestures down to hand and arm movements only, strictly excluding any self-touching activities or manipulation of foreign objects. To put it in Duncan's (1972: 287) words, gestures are defined "as those hand movements generally away from the body, which commonly accompany, and which appear to bear a direct relationship to, speech". Kennedy & Camden (1983b: 97) observed various positions of gestures, such as pointing, 'palms up', 'palms down' and 'illustrating'.

Weinrich (1992) observed the use of gestural signals in German television interviews in great detail. In so doing, she developed a 'gesture vocabulary' which embraces 27 different gestures of the arms, hands and fingers, whereas both single- and two-handed execution of gestures are considered. Among this extensive repertoire of gestures, some have been identified as particularly representative of the management of turn-taking processes in conversation, including 'Halthand' [stopping hand] and 'Wandhände' [wall hands] (Weinrich 1992: 127-28)¹³⁴. Weinrich (1992: 127) observed that, in the event of an interruption attempt, the person who was being interrupted held out one hand¹³⁵ with the palm facing the intruder, to signal that a change of the floor was neither tolerated nor al-

¹³³ In Beattie's (1983) literature termed as 'speech-focussed movements' or SFMs.

¹³⁴ However, due to the lack of an adequate English translation, I will exclusively use the German terms throughout this thesis.

¹³⁵ 'Halthand' (cf. Weinrich 1992: 127).

lowed¹³⁶. In the course of the interview, the current speaker was again in need of defending their floor against a ‘desired conquest of speech’¹³⁷. This time, the interruptee put a stop to the intruder by holding both hands in a position which resembled a barrier or “corridor”¹³⁸ (Weinrich 1992: 128; Müller 2014: 1364). In keeping with Weinrich’s (1992) observations, Schwitalla (1979: 83-84) observed stretching out one’s hands in order to fend off interruption attempts and guarantee a retention of the floor. Conversely, the end of a verbal contribution is initiated by terminating gestures (Schwitalla 1979: 84-85) and “relaxation of a tensed hand position” (Duncan 1973: 37, Schwitalla 1979: 85).

3.7.3 Body posture movement or body lean

The study of Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou (2013) revealed that only a small percentage of the overall investigated nonverbal behaviors is attributed to body posture movements, that is to say, 13.3%. Mehrabian & Friar (1969) have been particularly concerned with body posture and body lean in seated position. In keeping with Argyle & Dean (1965), Mehrabian & Friar’s (1969) findings revealed a connection between nonverbal behavior and the attitude of the auditor towards the speaker. While disliking of the conversation partner was characterized by an increased backward lean, this nonverbal behavior was reversed during conversations with “liked addressees”, leading to an inclination of the torso towards the addressee (Mehrabian & Friar 1969: 335, Mehrabian 1970: 249). Kennedy & Camden (1983b) observed that, in the event of the speaker leaning back or away from the conversation, the chance of being interrupted increased significantly. Conversely, those speakers who were well integrated into the conversation in terms of body lean, showed less likelihood of being interrupted (Kennedy & Camden 1983b: 100).

3.7.4 Self-related activity

Self-related activities refer to those actions which are concerned with hand movements, aiming at touching or manipulating either foreign objects or parts of the body (Kennedy & Camden 1983b: 96-97). The former is classified as ‘object-touching’ and comprises the handling of “inanimate objects”, which is realized in the form of “twisting a pen, picking up paper; twisting one’s rings; playing with one’s glasses [...]”, but also “resting hands on table”, provided that there is some movement involved (Kennedy & Camden 1983b:

¹³⁶ Stopping the interrupter from taking over the floor is also known as “suppression of speaking-turn claims” (Duncan 1973: 36, 38).

¹³⁷ Cf. Weinrich’s ‘Redeeroberungswunsch’ (1992: 128).

¹³⁸ ‘Wandhände’ (cf. Weinrich 1992: 128).

96-97). In the event of hands or arms being placed on the table without featuring any motion, the self-related activity qualifies as “none present” (Kennedy & Camden 1983b: 97). This may also include the mere holding of objects with no indication of movement. The latter has been coded in Kennedy & Camden’s (1983b: 97) study as ‘body-touching’. This involves any activity that is directed at oneself, that is, “stroking, touching or twisting hair”, “stroking or touching the face”, “crossing arms”, “leaning the head on one’s hand” (Kennedy & Camden 1983b: 97), but also “forehead wiping” and “scratching” (Forbes & Jackson 1980: 66) and “fix hair” (Peterson 1975: 10, 14), whereas fixing one’s hair is a nonverbal behavior predominantly observed in women (Peterson 1975). Other literature suggested the fixing of ornamentation¹³⁹ (Peterson 1975: 10, 14) and “brushing off the pants leg” (Duncan & Fiske 1977: 173) as additional self-related activity, allocated in the field of ‘body-touching’.

The same nonverbal phenomenon has been given the term ‘adaptors’ in Ekman & Friesen’s (1969) literature, who further distinguished between ‘self-adaptors’¹⁴⁰, ‘alter-adaptors’¹⁴¹ and ‘object-adaptors’¹⁴². ‘Self-adaptors’ are comparable to Kennedy & Camden’s (1983b) act of ‘body-touching’ among which ‘hand-to-face adaptors’ are “a particularly rich source of information” (Ekman & Friesen 1969: 87). These adaptors function as transmitters of meta-messages, including the scratching of the head to illustrate wondering or thinking or wiping one’s forehead to represent a tiring cognitive process (Ekman & Friesen 1969: 87). On a final note, Kennedy & Camden’s (1983b) findings revealed a significant decline in self-related activity of those subjects who were about to finish their speaking turn. Also, there was a tendency to cease all movements which signaled to the speech participants that a turn transition was now desired (Kennedy & Camden 1983b: 99).

Since most of the existing data investigating nonverbal behavior in interruptive speech is concerned with the subtypes that have been presented above, the practical part of my thesis will equally focus on these parameters in order to investigate the co-occurrence of nonverbal elements with their verbal counterpart in interruptive speech.

¹³⁹ A nonverbal behavior that is particularly characteristic of females (cf. Peterson 1975).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. also Duncan & Fiske (1977: 44).

¹⁴¹ For a detailed account cf. Ekman & Friesen (1969).

¹⁴² ‘Object-adaptors’ perform the same specific function as Kennedy & Camden’s (1983b) ‘object-touching’, that is to say, handling an object with one’s hand(s).

3.7.5 Vocal amplitude, pitch and speech rate

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3.1, the vocal component of interruption has been subject to careful examination among numerous scholars (Meltzer et al. 1971; Morris 1971; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Yang 1996, 1999).

Meltzer et al.'s (1971) study revealed a significant correlation between the percentage of successful interruptions and the current speaker's variation in amplitude within the time frame of before and during the interruption as well as the amplitude differentials of interruptee and interrupter in the course of simultaneous speech. Their study was motivated by the desire to determine those nonverbal cues which indicated the holder of the floor after the event of interruption. Generally, speech participants pursue the strategy of raising their voice in order to “‘win’ an interruption” (Meltzer et al. 1971: 393). This strategy is said to work particularly well with people who usually display a “quiet demeanor” in conversation, as they have a surprise effect on their side (Meltzer et al. 1971: 393). Meltzer et al.'s (1971) findings reveal that, in the event of being interrupted, raising one's voice or at least placing it on a higher sound level¹⁴³ than that of the interrupter, becomes a determining factor of whether the interrupted person manages to retain the floor. In other words, the focus is on the reaction of the interrupted person as their increase in vocal amplitude is a necessary means to signal to the interrupter that they wish to maintain the floor (Meltzer et al. 1971: 396, 399). These findings then disprove the hypothesis that those speakers who generally use a greater voice throughout a conversation are more successful in retaining the floor in the event of an interruption than their “soft-spoken” counterparts (Meltzer et al. 1971: 396). On a final note, ‘attention signals’¹⁴⁴ were not regarded as attempts to win the floor and thus were excluded from the study, more so because ‘attention signals’ are usually uttered at a low amplitude which do not ‘pose a threat’ to the current speaker.

Similarly, the aim of Yang's study on *Interruptions and intonation* (1996) was to shed light on the intonational patterns of interruptions in spoken interaction, though she drew up a twofold classification between ‘competitive’ and ‘cooperative’ interruptions, the former corresponding to dominance-motivated interruptions, the latter being the equivalent of back-channel behaviors¹⁴⁵. In fact, Yang reported significant differences in pitch

¹⁴³ The authors speak of the “‘differential’ of one's voice and that of the other during the interruption” (cf. Meltzer et al. 1971: 396).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Kendon (1967).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Duncan's (1972) ‘brief requests for clarification’ and Murata's (1994) ‘cooperative interruptions’.

and amplitude depending on the type of interruption (Yang 1996: 1872-73). Consequently, in competitive interruptions, a significant rise in pitch and amplitude on the part of the interrupter could be observed. As competitive interruptions are usually power-related and motivated by the desire to dominate, interrupters are in need of a “strong immediate signal”, which “attract[s] the attention away from the ongoing speech” (Yang 1996: 1872). It may be relevant to note here that the vocal components in interaction are attributable to the emotional attitude of the interrupter to the current topic under discussion. That is because the “urgency” and “immediacy” of interruptions require the interrupter to interfere with the current speaker’s speech at a certain point which is emotionally significant to them. Waiting out the current speaker’s speech would result in the interrupter’s loss of opportunity to express their emotions “while the current topic is [still] hot”. (Yang 1996: 1872).

Conversely, Yang’s (1996) ‘cooperative’ interruptions are comparable to back-channel behaviors. As already mentioned, both reflect the interrupter’s support and attention contrary to the desire to shift the focus away from the speaker’s subject to their own. It would thus seem plausible that ‘cooperative’ interruptions are usually uttered at “low or medium pitch levels”, though the amplitude may vary depending on the ‘interrupter’s’ emotionality and level of involvement¹⁴⁶ (Yang 1996: 1873).

On a final note, Yang did not make mention of the interrupted person in conversation, neither did she investigate their response to being interrupted in terms of amplitude and pitch. It is then her one-sided focus on the vocal cues of interrupters which makes a comparison to Meltzer et al.’s (1971) study difficult, if not impossible. The additional consultation of Morris’ (1971¹⁴⁷) as well as Roger & Nesshoever’s (1987¹⁴⁸) study confirmed Meltzer et al.’s (1971) findings. Roger & Nesshoever (1987) extended Meltzer et al.’s study by contrasting the vocal speech patterns¹⁴⁹ according to whether they occurred prior to and during successful or unsuccessful interruptions. Prior to their study, Roger & Nesshoever (1987: 248-49) suggested that the difference in speech rate and amplitude between interrupter and interruptee may decide over a successful interruption attempt. They indeed concluded that, for successful interruptions, “vocal amplitude was signifi-

¹⁴⁶ I.e. “acknowledging and prompting” are cases in which the amplitude is generally low, whereas expressions of “strong opinion or emphasis” are associated with higher amplitude, though they still occur at a lower level than ‘competitive interruptions (cf. Yang 1996: 1873).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. his study on *Manipulated amplitude and interruption outcomes* (1971).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. their study on *Individual differences in dyadic conversational strategies* (1987).

¹⁴⁹ I.e. speech rate and amplitude.

cantly greater for interrupters than it was for interruptees during the interruption”. Conversely, for unsuccessful interruptions, ‘interruptees’ raised their voice well above that of the interrupter, resulting in greater amplitude as well as increased speech rate (Roger & Nesshoever 1987: 252-54). Finally, Morris’ (1971: 327) claim that “increments in amplitude coming from the defender are efficacious, whereas similar increments whose source is the interrupter are not” is in line with Meltzer et al.’s (1971) view that the focus in interruption outcomes is on the interrupted person rather than on the interrupter.

Notwithstanding that there seems to be a consensus on the interrupted person being in the center of attention in terms of floor retention and raise in vocal amplitude and speech rate, the practical part of my thesis will, among others, be concerned with the vocal component in interruptive speech with the aim to gain new insights or, at least, contribute to a further confirmation thereof.

4 Corpus Analysis on Donald Trump in televised interviews

The purpose of this Corpus Analysis is to examine the following Research Question: *How are interruptions used by Donald Trump and the interviewers Anderson Cooper and Jake Tapper in the transcribed political interviews and what main functions do these interruptions fulfill?*

In so doing, the analysis will draw on West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic' approach for determining interruptions. At the same time the empirical part of this thesis takes the following definition of interruptions, which has been derived from Zimmerman & West (1975: 114-15, see Chapter 3.2), as a basis:

Interruptions can be defined as those syntactically identifiable events in conversation in which a second speaker claims the speaking right for themselves while the first speaker is still in the midst of talking, that is, at that stage of conversation where no possible transition place was in close proximity to the interruption.

4.1 Aims of the analysis

Taking into account the nonverbal aspects which are assumed to be the primary indication of interruptions, the principal aim that underlies the analysis of the politician Donald Trump's political interviews is to examine the following hypotheses, all of which are based on the Research Question mentioned above:

- (1) The politician Donald Trump features a high ratio of turn-competitive interruptions as opposed to the interviewers whereas the underlying role of interruptions is to display control over the conversation.
- (2) Interruption attempts by the interviewers are usually met with resistance by the politician Donald Trump who is in constant pursuit of maintaining his ground in order to make a point.
- (3) Interrupted speech is predominantly initiated by the single or conjoint display of nonverbal behaviors. Interruptions made in combination with nonverbal signals achieve a higher success rate in contrast to the mere occurrence of interruptions.

4.2 Corpus and methodology

The material used for the Corpus Analysis encompasses two televised interviews in American English, totaling 34 minutes and 14 seconds in length. The transcribed interviews are political in nature and cover the time frame of Trump's electoral campaign between June and August 2016. Interviews were chosen from the CNN network, including the television show *State of the Union* hosted by Jake Tapper and *Anderson Cooper 30 degrees* hosted by Anderson Cooper, both of which constitute the interviewers of Donald Trump. A special focus was placed on face-to-face interviews as opposed to interviews held through screens which might distort the evaluation of the nonverbal components in turn-taking. Furthermore, the interviews were selected based on the participants' position, that is to say, seated or standing position while conducting the interview. The basic idea was to obtain a greater diversity in nonverbal behaviors in combination with interruption patterns, as certain nonverbal signals might be more prominent in a seated position as opposed to a standing position and vice versa.

A specific index for observed nonverbal behaviors, which can be found in Appendix A, was designed for reasons of better illustration and in order to guarantee an easier analysis of the findings. The findings are based on the careful analysis of the following nonverbal as well as prosodic components in interruptive speech, keeping with Weinrich's (1992) 'gesture vocabulary' and the work of Kennedy & Camden (1983b) and Meltzer et al. (1971): (1) facial expression and gaze, (2) gestures, (3) body posture movement and body lean, (4) self-related activity and (5) vocal amplitude, pitch and speech rate. From a methodological point of view, data will be analyzed applying the qualitative approach in order to reveal the diversity of nonverbal signals used in conjunction with interruptive speech. In addition to that, a repertoire of the observed hand gestures will be provided in Appendix A for a better illustration.

Data concerning the role of interruptions in spoken interaction will be obtained using both the qualitative and quantitative method. The idea here is to shed light on the prevailing functions of interruptive speech with a special focus on Trump's political interviews. A selected set of transcript symbols was derived from the transcription conventions by Jefferson's (2004b) *Glossary of Transcript Symbols* and simplified for its specific purpose. In so doing, the analysis will be conducted in a three-stage process. In the first stage, a preliminary distinction of simultaneous speech will be drawn in terms of successful inter-

ruptions, unsuccessful interruptions and overlap, following, to a certain extent, Roger et al.'s (1988) *Interruption coding system* which can be consulted in Appendix A. The basic idea here is to examine the validity of West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic' approach to the measurement of interruption as opposed to Murray's (1985) 'context-sensitive' approach. Considerable consideration will be attributed to the examination of the roles of the observed interruptions, which constitute the focal point of this thesis. Finally, the analysis of 'post-interruption speech' seeks to investigate Hypothesis (1), that is to say, Donald Trump's management of the interviewers' interruption attempts, shedding light on how his reactions contribute to the determination of the interruption.

4.3 Results

The following chapter is concerned with the close investigation of the various functions of interruptive speech and its management as observed in Donald Trump's as well as in that of his interviewers' speech in the transcribed political interviews.

The basic objective that underlies the Corpus Analysis was to answer the following Research Question: *How are interruptions used by Donald Trump and the interviewers Anderson Cooper and Jake Tapper in the transcribed political interviews and what main functions do these interruptions fulfill?*

The implementation of West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic' measurement of interruptions provided a basis for the actual analysis of (1) the roles of interruptions in the context of Donald Trump in political interviews, (2) post-interruptive speech which shed light on Donald Trump's tendency to compete the speaking turn and (3) the contribution of nonverbal behavior in interruptive speech.

4.3.1 'Syntactic' approach vs. 'context-sensitive' approach

Despite being the subject of fierce criticism, West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic' approach was applied as the underlying instrument for the measurement of interruptions observed in Donald Trump's political interviews. The main reason for this lies in one major limitation that comes with Murray's (1985) 'context-sensitive' approach, that is to say, the inability to see through the interrupter's true intentions. This, in fact, would require direct access to both Donald Trump and his interviewers in the sense of debriefing them after each 'interruption' with the aim to code the observed interruption as actual violation or cooperative contribution. This, however, would be sheerly impossible.

While Murray's approach left considerable room for interpretation, the counting of syllables employed by West & Zimmerman allowed for a more accurate identification of interruptions which, as already discussed, are associated with the penetration of a unit-type's boundaries occurring nowhere close to a possible transition place (Zimmerman & West 1975: 114-15). Notwithstanding, it should be noted that no definite approach to the identification of interruptions has yet been elaborated. That is why West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic' measurement should be regarded as approximation to accomplish the respected purpose.

4.3.2 Types of interruptions observed and their roles in Trump's political interviews

The investigation of the role of interruptions in spoken interaction requires an initial separation between actual interruptions and overlaps.

In so doing, Roger et al.'s (1988) *Interruption coding system* will be taken as a basis for coding **interruptions** in terms of successful and unsuccessful interruptions. The focal interest of this thesis, however, is the investigation of the roles of interruptions.

For reasons of expediency, the analysis will employ the overall viewpoint of **overlaps** being characteristic of the first speaker's utterance completion whereas the second speaker takes over while the first speaker is still finishing, resulting in a brief instance of simultaneous speech (Roger et al. 1988: 28). In other words, 'terminal overlaps' will be regarded as the main exponent of non-interruptive overlapping talk, as already discussed in Chapter 3.1.

The following extracts taken from Interview 2 serve as ideal examples to illustrate the difference between interruption (Extract (1)) and overlap (Extract (2)):

- (1) (151) TR: I SHOULD HAVE won this case on summary judgement (.) this is not a case this is a case I should've won on summary judgement do you know the law firm paid Hillary Clinton hundreds of thousands of dollars to make speeches? Do you know the law firm has-
- (152) TA: I do and [we've reported it]. We've [ugh we've] reported it on my show
- (153) TR: [Oh you do?] [↑OK ↑good]
-
- (2) (55) TR: =We:ll it's actually less than 50 percent but a general once said 50 percent recently (.) but even if it was 50 percent why aren't they paying us a hundred [percent?
- (56) TA: [You want it to be a hundred percent?

Taking into account both West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic' approach and Roger et al.'s (1988) *Interruption coding system*, Table I (adapted from Bull 2003: 91, Table 6.1 *Interruption rates with Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock*) reveals a higher turn-competitiveness on the part of the politician as opposed to the interviewers. This becomes particularly apparent in the considerable amount of interruption attempts by TR while the interviewers were still amidst making their point:

Table I Interruptions/Overlaps with Donald Trump

	<i>Interview 1</i>	<i>Interview 2</i>
<i>Interruptions received by TR</i>		
Total interruptions	28	21
Successful interruptions	14	14
Unsuccessful interruptions	14	7
Overlaps	8	31
<i>Interruptions made by TR</i>		
Total interruptions	41	45
Successful interruptions	16	25
Unsuccessful interruptions	25	20
Overlaps	8	11

This initial syntactic identification of interruptions provides a basis for further investigation of interruptive behavior employing the 'context-sensitive' approach. The basic idea here is to demonstrate the discrepancy between both approaches as the 'context-sensitive' approach allows for substantial variations in interpretation.

Coding interruptions in consideration of Murray's (1985) approach makes clear a considerable number of simultaneous talk, as Donald Trump (henceforth TR) claims the floor while his interviewer, Anderson Cooper (henceforth C), is still in the process of finishing his utterance.

Following West & Zimmerman's (1983) 'syntactic approach', intrusions such as in Turn (80) of Extract (3) would definitely qualify as actual, although unsuccessful, interruption:

- (3) (78) T: LOOK at the ri:se in violence .hhh
 (79) C: But hatred is at the core of that [or dislike of African- Americans?]
 → (80) T: AG[Al↑right well ugh (.) I I- well or] maybe
 she's lazy. I don't know what it is. All I can tell you is I've been hearing
 the same stuff from her and others for years (.) and the inner cities today
 are worse than they ever have been.

In contrast, employing Murray's approach in Extract (3) would leave too much room for speculation. One of the primary reasons why TR chooses to intrude C's speaking rights in Turn (80) could be the premature response to C's utterances. This might also explain why C did not feel constrained to break off but finished his utterance instead.

In Extract (3), C probes TR with the question why he thinks that Hillary Clinton is a bigot. TR is well aware of C's intentions, as this question has already been asked in (71). This might explain TR's premature response before C has had the chance to fully express his utterance. If one considers both intention of the intruder and the content of the apparent interruption, one may speculate that (1) the intention of TR was to respond to C rather than willingly disrupt C's utterance and (2) the content of TR's utterance relates, without doubt, to C's initial theme.

This brief digression was intended to point out the main reason why the 'context-sensitive' approach did not qualify as a reliable means to identify the interruptions observed in this thesis. This includes the inability to determine the 'interrupter's' true intentions behind interrupting and its considerable speculative and unreliable character.

Looking back on the interruptions observed with Donald Trump, Table I has revealed a significantly higher turn-competitiveness on the part of the politician as opposed to the interviewers, though this does not imply that the politician is, in general, more successful in his turn-taking attempts than the interviewers. It is thus essential to provide an account of the most common functions of interruptions in the two transcribed political interviews, with a special focus on Trump's political interviews, in order to put the second part of Hypothesis (2) to the test:

The underlying role of interruptions is to display control over the conversation.

Table II (adapted from Bull 2003: 92, Table 6.3 *Reasons for interruptions in political interviews*) provides a list of the observed functions of interruptions in Donald Trump's political interviews:

Table II Roles of interruptions in Trump's political interviews

	<i>Interview 1</i>		<i>Interview 2</i>	
	Interviewer	Politician	Interviewer	Politician
Subject change	2	1	-	3
New question	6	-	3	-
Reformulation of question	3	-	-	-
Offer of information	-	2	-	3
Self-justification	-	4	1	-
Continuation of theme	-	14	1	12
Correction	1	1	2	-
Consent	-	-	2	2
Dissent	1	5	5	3
Clarification	4	4	1	5
Request for clarification	3	-	2	-
Reply	-	7	1	7
Accusation	2	-	1	-
Inference	3	-	3	-
Emphasis	-	-	-	1
Attention	-	4	-	5
Fillers	2	-	-	1
Unscorable	1	1	-	3

Note

‘Emphasis’ was coded in terms of repetition of the utterance after being interrupted. ‘Attention’ includes addressing the first speaker by their name and instances of *excuse me*. ‘Fillers’ involve utterances such as *well, yeah, look* which come into effect while the interrupter is still preparing for their actual utterance or interruption

In the following paragraphs I will discuss the roles of interruptions in Donald Trump's political interviews in turn, disregarding those featuring a low number in observation as they did not contribute substantially to the examination of Hypothesis (2).

As for the observed interruptions on the part of the politician Donald Trump, the primary function was to **continue his initial theme** on the one hand, and to reply to the interviewers on the other hand.

To be more precise, TR's contributions were rather lengthy so that the interviewers felt that it was about time to claim the speaking right for themselves. These attempts were

prohibited by TR, who hardly ever showed regard for the content of the interviewers' utterances even though they had passed through a perfectly neat change in speakership. This conforms to TR's management of being interrupted, discussed in Chapter 4.3.2, namely that he continued talking about his initial theme, while not letting the interviewer make their first point of the conversation, which constitutes a major violation of the speaker's completion right as discussed by Murray (1985).

Extract (4) is intended to illustrate such a continuation of the initial theme:

- (4) (88) T: **AG** [Oh I think we're going to do ↑well with the African-Americans because they're gonna give me a chance because frankly look what she's done ↑what's to give a chance I mean she's been a ↑disaster. The inner cities are worse than they've ever been. You have 40 percent rates of poverty. You have black youth that can't get jobs 58 percent can't get jobs education is a disaster. They've been talking about this since I was (.) 5 years old and understood what was going on. They have been talking about this for years. Hillary Clinton talks about it all of the time. She has done a horrible job and then you add all of the scandal and the lies and the deception to the e-mails she should be in jail .hhh
- (89) C: Well-
- (90) T: **WH** ((*preventing C from invading his speech, successful*))
→ ↑HILLary Clin|ton should be in jail. You know it. The FBI director knows it everybody else knows it she should be in jail. What she did with erasing 33,000 e-mails she shouldn't be out even talking about inner cities or running for president.

Another primary function of interruption were **replies**. That is because TR would sometimes display a striking willingness to drop his initial topic mid-sentence in order to address the interviewers' questions instead, as illustrated in Extract (5):

- (5) (62) T: **AG** [Well she is a bigot because when you look at what's happening to the inner cities and you look at what's happening to African-Americans and Hispanics in this country where she talks a:ll of the time she's talking- look at the vets where she said the vets are being treated essentially just fine and that it's over exaggerated what's happening to the vets not so long ago [But-]
- (63) C: [How] is she bigoted bigoted
[is-is having hatred for ()]
- (64) T: **AG *HH*** ((*lowers hands as C trails off*))
→ [↑Well, because she's selling them] down the tubes. Because she's not doing anything for those communities.

From these results it becomes evident that TR is in a constant conflict with the desire to control the interviewers in their actions on the one hand, and with the necessity to maintain or reestablish a good image which is subject to constant criticism from the interviewers on the other hand (Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2013: 16-17).

Observing the primary reasons for the interviewers' interruptions of TR more closely, it becomes evident that the interviewers are in constant pursuit of manipulating the politician's statements. This is principally characterized by often provocative **inferences**, as in Extract (6) of Interview 2:

- 6) (116) TA: [So no Mexican judge could ever (.) be involved in a case [that] involves you?
 (117) TR: [↑Well]
 no he is a member of a society where you know very pro-Mexico and that's fine it's all fine (.) [but I think- *HH* (*tries to retain the floor, which is ignored by TA*)]
 (118) TA: [Except that you're [calling into question his heritage.]
 (119) TR: [I THINK he should recuse] himself .hhh [and then you] ALSO SAY (.) does he
 → (120) TA: [Because he's Latino.]
 (121) TR: know the lawyer on the other ↑side I mean does he know the ↑lawyer and you know a lot of people [say yes I know-

In Turn (120), TA interjects "Because he is Latino" as a response to TR's statement that the judge should recuse himself, because he is giving him unfair rulings (according to TR).

Extract (7) qualifies as another good example, since TA talks about Paul Ryan's concerns about endorsing TR. TR responds with talking about the millions of votes he has received whereas TA, in return, counters with the provocative statement that the winning was seemingly more important than whatever concerns have been raised about TR's endorsement:

- (7) (5) TA: L You did you did. Ugh I wanna get your reaction to ugh Speaker Paul Ryan ugh endorsing you it took him a few weeks .hhh (.) it's interesting when he told me ugh in early May (.) that he was not ready to endorse you yet it seemed like he was suggesting he wanted you to change your behavior in some way before he would endorse you but I can't see any evidence that you've changed in any way, so ultimately (.) did he blink? [Why, why did he:-
 (6) TR: [(*opens his mouth to say something but pauses*)]
 No he didn't blink. He- look he's a good man. He wants what's best for the party and you know when you get right down to it no matter how you cut it it's very easy to figure. In the history of ugh the primaries the Republican primaries I got more votes by millions you know we have still (.) five states to go. We have California we have New Jersey we have Montana we have ugh New Mexico we have some big states and (.) I'm gonna win all those states by a lot and I'll tell you what. In the history of the Republican primaries I have gotten millions of votes more than .hhh Ronald Reagan who we all loved and and Dwight D. Eisenhower you know you go back (.) and I think he sees that and I think a lot of other people ↑you know- AG ((*AG encourages TA to take over*))
 ((*raised pitch suggests that TR intended to continue*))
 → (7) TA: So: the winning is more important than whatever (.) concerns he might have about you as a candidate?=-

According to Schwitalla (1979: 148) these inferences are typical strategies employed by interviewers in order to constrain the politician to giving clearer answers or, in TR's case, to elaborate on the topic under discussion. From the presented extracts it becomes apparent that TA's provocative statements present a certain predicament to TR for the two reasons mentioned above. To be more precise, while in the second example when TR does not drop his theme but continues to talk about how many votes he has received, TA's statement "Because he is Latino" urges TR to explain himself in order to avoid being cast in a negative light. Extract (8) makes clear TR's efforts to 'wriggle out' of a delicate situation, as soon as TA mentions race:

- (8)
- (122) TA: [But I am not talking about that
[I'm talking about-]
- (123) TR: [Well, ↑no that's another-] that's another proble[m.
- (124) TA: [But you're invoking his
race when talking [about whether or not] he can do his job.
- (125) TR: [Here's what-]
- Jake (..) I'm building a wa::ll OK? I'm building a wa::ll. I am trying to keep business out of Mexico. Mexico's fine. There's nothing- *BL
- (126) TA: But he's Ameri[can. He's an American.]
- (127) TR: [() Mexican] He's of Mexican heritage and he's ↑very ↑proud ↑of it, as I am of where I come [from my parents.
- (128) TA: [But he's an American.
You keep talking about (..) it's a con[flict of] interests] because [of] Mexico.=
- (129) TR: Jake [Jake] [Jake]
=Are you ready? (..) I have a case that should have been dismissed already (..) I have thousands of people saying Trump University's fantastic OK? I have a case that should have been dismissed I have a judge that never ever give a () now we lo::se the ↑plaintiff. He lets the plaintiff of the case ↑out so why isn't he canceling the case so we thought we won the ca[se.

Other main reasons for interruptions were **clarifications** made by the interviewers with the aim to direct the politician into the desired direction of the interaction. To conclude, the tendency to control is a phenomenon observed in both interviewer and politician, as exemplified in Extract (9):

- (9)
- (37) C: But...but he was mocked for saying that look you can't deport 11 million people... () it now seems like I know you're not really fo [cusing-]
- (38) T: WH [FIRST] I
wanna see: what's going to happen. We are going to deport MANY people, ↑many, ↑many people, () [the bad ones-
- (39) C: [The vast majority of those 11 million
are not [criminals. They are not ()]
- (40) T: [Well, we don't know. We're going to find] out ↓who they are. We have crime all over the [country.

Furthermore, it can be seen from Table II that both interviewers employ interruptions as a means to **pose new questions** to TR or to **reformulate the question**. Following Bull

(2003: 93), politicians are characteristic of “evasiveness” which the politicians attempt to disguise by giving lengthy speeches that do not necessarily cover the interviewers’ questions. Therefore, an additional underlying assumption for TR’s tendency to hold on to his initial theme might be that he is simply trying to avoid the interviewers’ question. However, returning to the role of the interviewers’ interruptions, the posing of new questions or the reformulation thereof requires politicians to eventually respond if they wish to “position themselves as trustworthy, powerful and persuasive persons”. (Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2013: 16-17)

Extract (10) makes clear TR’s evasive behavior (as he pursues his strategy of giving rather lengthy speeches instead of providing one direct answer to his interviewer C. TR’s avoidance of the initial question “But 11 million who have not committed a crime”) requires C to reformulate the question two times, as can be seen in Turn (23) and (27/29):

- (10)
- | | | |
|--------|----|---|
| (19) | C: | *HH [But 11 million people] are [no longer being deported] |
| (20) | T: | [I’ve, I’VE HAD PEO] ple say
it’s a hardening ac [tually. |
| (21) | C: | *HH [But 11 million who have not co[mmitted a crime |
| (22) | T: | AG IF* [No, no...we’re then
going to see AG (...)] |
| → (23) | C: | There’s going to be a] path of legalization is that right? |
| (24) | T: | (...) AG WH ((C’s intrusion has thrown TR off track; TR uses WH to maintain the turn while searching for a way to continue))
You know it’s a process. You can’t take 11 million at one <u>time</u> and just say boom you’re gone. We have to find where these people are. Most people don’t even know- nobody even knows if it’s ↑11=
(25) C: = So it’s still poss-
(26) T: AG IT COULD BE 30 and it could be FIVE. Nobody knows what the number [is. *HH I’LL TELL YOU what we know...L-1-] ((drops hands))
→ (27) C: [But if somebody hasn’t committed a crime]
(28) T: ↑let me explain=
→ (29) C: =will they be deported? =
(30) T: *HH* =Let me tell you what, we know the bad ones. We know where they are who they are we know the cru- the drug cartel people. We know the ga:ngs and the <u>heads</u> of the ga:ngs and the gang members. Those people are gone. [But that’s a HUGE] number (.) |

Notwithstanding, the association of interruptions with clarifications is also prominent in TR’s utterances, as in Extract (11):

- (11)
- | | | |
|--------|----|---|
| (47) | C: | So that means (.) of the 11 million who are here even if they haven’t committed a cri:[m- |
| → (48) | T: | [But <u>you</u> don’t know- again you keep saying 11 million.
↑You ↑don’t ↑know what the number is. You know
<u>milli</u> [ons of people -]
(49) C: [However many] that’s the [estimate. |

In the event that the interviewers make a statement with which TR strongly disagrees or which, in TR’s opinion, requires further elaboration, TR would immediately interrupt to

clarify his position. Consequently, clarifications can also be allocated to power-oriented interruptions as they position the person who has received the clarification at as slightly lower level in terms of expertise or knowledge of the current topic.

Finally, one underlying role of interruptions in TR's speech is to gain the interviewers' **attention** and ideally to succeed in having the interviewers break off their utterance. Consequently, attention signals such as "excuse me" or addressing the interviewers by their names are a common strategy employed by TR to take over the speaking turn. On a final note, however, these polite acts of interrupting the interviewers never prove to be successful so that one can conclude that the use of dominant interruption techniques is inevitable in order to be successful in claiming the turn.

Summarizing the main points, interruptions observed in the transcribed political interviews had the primary function of controlling not only the course of the conversation but also the conversational partner. On the part of the politician Donald Trump, control was exercised mainly through continuation of the initial theme as well as clarifications. In contrast, his interviewers were in constant pursuit of directing the politician into the desired direction of the conversation by means of clarifications, and constraining the politician to giving clearer answers in the sense of inferences, posing of new questions or reformulation of questions.

4.3.3 Donald Trump's post-interruption speech and comments on interruptions

The management of being interrupted has been among the primary topics of interest in this thesis. As previously mentioned in Chapter 3.4, the way in which an 'interrupted' speaker responds to "a bid for turn-space", may convert an originally unintentional disruptive act into a deliberate interruption (Hutchby 1992: 346-47). In fact, reactions to interruptions have been in the focus of several scholars, including Kennedy & Camden (1983a) who use the terminology 'post-interruption speech' as well as Bilmes (1997) and Hutchby (1992), who both refer to the same phenomenon as "doing 'being interrupted'", to name but a few.

The following analysis of Donald Trump's reactions to interruptive speech takes Kennedy & Camden's (1983a) classification of 'post-interruption speech' as a basis. According to them, responses to being interrupted range from 'continues', 'reintroduces' and 're-interrupts' all of which convey the interruptee's resistance, to 'cooperates' and 'loses turn', the former being associated with acceptance, whereas the latter may stand either for passive resistance, agreement or acceptance as well. However, as 'loses turn' requires the presence of more than two speech participants it will not be taken into consideration in this analysis.

The main purpose of this analysis is to examine Hypothesis (2) of my thesis:

Interruption attempts by the interviewers are usually met with resistance by the politician Donald Trump who is in constant pursuit of maintaining his ground in order to make their point.

In consideration of the four groups of 'post-interruption speech', Table III reveals the following results:

Table III Donald Trump's post-interruption speech in political interviews

	<i>Interview 1</i> ¹⁵⁰	<i>Interview 2</i>
Continues	15	7
Reintroduces	6	6
Cooperates	6	5
Re-interrupts	3	3

¹⁵⁰ Even though Donald Trump features 49 received interruptions, he reacted to one interruption with three attempts to 're-introduce' his theme, all of which were coded separately and add up to the overall 51 reactions to being interrupted.

- (13)
- (67) C: =But you're saying she is personally bigoted?=
 (68) T: =AG ↑Oh she is of course she is. They're [her ↑poli]cies they're her
((raised pitch and repetition with the aim to hold the floor; successful))
 (69) C: [She (-)]
 (70) T: policies- she's comes up with the policies and others that believe like she
 does also but she came out with policies (.) over the ↑years. This is over the
 years a ↑long time.
 She's totally bigoted there's no question about [it.
 (71) C: [It does [imply that she-]
 (72) T: *HH [↑Look at what's-]
((as both break off, T pauses and nods to C to encourage him to continue))
 (73) C: she has antipathy, she has hatred toward or (.) in this case-
 (74) T: N
 → AG [I I I think she I think she has been] extremely extremely
 (75) C: [toward African-Americans but I don't know ()]
 → (76) T: bad for or African-Americans. I think she's been extremely bad for
 Hispanics. You look at what's happened with her policies and the policies
 of President Obama and others. Look at the poverty. Look at the rise in
 poverty

While the topic is about Clinton's policies and her assumed bigotry, C tries to direct the conversation towards Clinton's attitude towards African-Americans. In so doing, he makes a provocative statement, namely that Clinton has hatred towards African-Americans, which he bases on TR's previous comments concerning Clinton's treatment of the ethnic group. Even though both interactants break off from their utterance in turn (71) and (72), TR allows C to pick up his speech again by giving him a nod in turn (74). He then proceeds to talk about how bad Clinton's policies are for the African-American and Hispanic people, paying no attention either to C's interference or to its content, whereas TR even ignores C's utterance a second time, namely in turn (75). The act of pausing and letting the interrupter continue before taking over can be regarded as reinforcement of the interruptee's ignorance towards the interruption (Bilmes 1997: 521).

'Reintroduces' were the second type of response which was observed fairly often in contrast to the remaining ones, as illustrated below in Extract (14) of Interview 1:

- (14)
- (45) C: So they still ha [ve to leave the country?]
 (46) T: [But there is] no path to legalization unless
 they LEAVE the country and come back.
 (47) C: So that means (.) of the 11 million who are here even if they haven't
 committed a cri:[m-
 (48) T: [But you don't know- again you keep saying 11 million.
 ↑You ↑don't ↑know what the number is. You know
milli[ons of people -]
 (49) C: [However many] that's the [estimate.
 → (50) T: *HH* [and using the existing laws of our country
 and using the existing laws millions of people are (.) deported every year.

After a brief dispute over the estimated number of immigrants, TR proceeds to talk about "millions of people". Due to C's interruption, at first, it is not easy to determine the out-

come of TR's utterance. Only when TR reintroduces his initial idea and actually succeeds in communicating it, the audience is presented with TR's complete utterance. From the example, it can thus be concluded that 'reintroduces' are characteristic of the interruptee's acceptance of the interruption before continuing with their original theme (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 52). It may be relevant to note that the largest part of reintroduces were made up of polite remarks on the part of TR to signal that he would like to pick up his original theme again, including instances of "excuse me". However, reintroduces as shown in the example above are far more effective than those brief remarks.

A fair amount of 'post-interruption speech' could be attributed to '**cooperates**'. As the name implies, the interrupted person cooperates with the interrupter by means of showing acknowledgement, agreement to the interrupter's idea or even responding to it. There may be either an instance of pausing in order to hear the interrupter out or simultaneous speech given that the interruptee changes the topic after the interruption. (Kennedy & Camden 1983a: 52)

- (15) (38) T: **WH** [FIRST] I
 wanna see: what's going to happen. We are going to deport MANY
 people, ↑many, ↑many people, (.) [the bad ones-
 (39) C: [The vast majority of those 11 million
 are not [criminals. They are not ()]
 → (40) T: [Well, we don't know. We're going to find] out ↓who they are. We
 have crime all over the [country.

Extract (15) of Interview 1 make clear TR's elaboration on C's interruption which is induced by "Well". To be more precise, TR breaks off after being interrupted, allowing for C to continue the interruption. He then drops his theme for the duration of responding to C's idea only to directly change over to his original topic.

Finally, '**re-interrupts**' are the least common reactions to being interrupted in both interviews, as can be seen in Extract (16) of Interview 2:

- (16) (149) TR: **IH G HS** ((TA opens mouth and raises hand))
 Look I'm just telling you Paul Ryan doesn't know the case. ***HH*** Here's
 the sto:ry-
 (150) TA: Isn't it th-
 → (151) TR: I SHOULD HAVE won this case on summary judgement (.) this is not a
 case this is a case I should've won on summary judgement do you know
 the law firm paid Hillary Clinton hundreds of thousands of dollars to make
 speeches? Do you know the law firm has-

This example emphasizes TR's emotional involvement in the current topic of conversation insofar as he does not allow for any interruption on the part of TA. In fact, TR's ut-

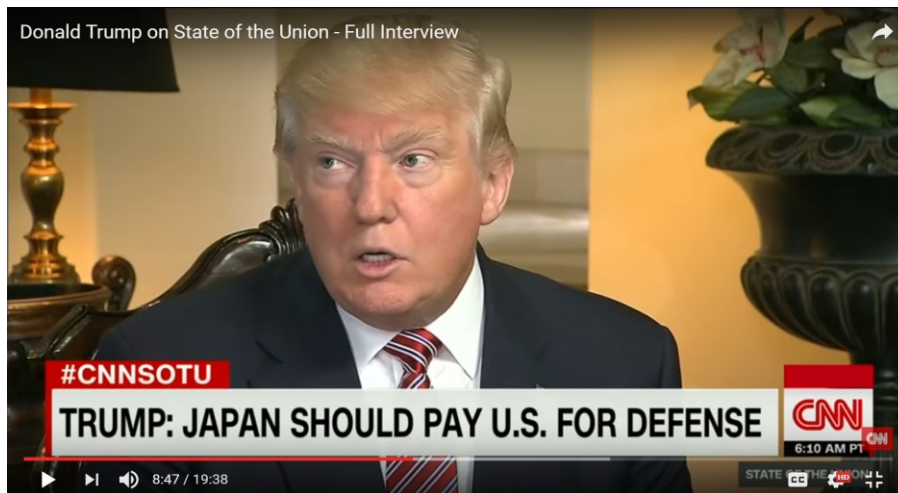
terance is cut off only for a fraction of a second until he picks up his speech again and continues to present his case.

In addition to the examination of TR's 'post-interruption speech' in greater detail, the Corpus Analysis looked at TR's set of **verbal and nonverbal signals** (see Chapter 3.7) which indicate the interrupter's violation on their speaking rights. These signals have been discussed by Bilmes (1997) under the term "interruption displays" and comprise those acts which convey "annoyance, [...] determination to hold the floor" and that the interruptee has been "obstructed". (Bilmes 1997: 519).

Following Bilmes (1997: 520), the display of insistence as well as annoyance can take the form of various elements, involving "[...] facial expressions, gestures, grammatical devices, repetition and raised voice [...]", whereas the nonverbal and vocal displays are discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Extract (17) and Picture (1) taken from Interview 2 intend to illustrate TR's annoyance over being interrupted, indicated by a significant rise in pitch and a fairly long sideways glance:

- (17) (69) TR: But you know what I think is gonna happen? You have to be prepared to walk from a deal you can't go in there saying Japa-...like Hillary said we will never let our partners down we will never never never OK that's wonderful (.) except you know ↑what? If I'm Japan I say good we might as well keep paying the 50 percent it's actually less than that. We might even keep...you know just keep paying what we're paying which is a fraction of the cost. You have to be prepared to walk. If you aren't prepared to walk you're never gonna be able to- these are very smart people we're dealing with OK? They've been ripping us off for a long time and I love Japan I have many friends in [Japan.
- (70) TA: [These are U.S. allies I mean major U.S. allies.
- (71) TR: AG Excuse ↑me. ((*annoyed*))
- (72) TA: ↓Yeah
- (73) TR: It's ↑got to ↑work two ↑ways.



Picture 1 Donald Trump showing annoyance over being interrupted

In Extract (18), C persists in getting TR's response to his question whether there will be a path of legalization for the 11 million people who have not committed a crime. In so doing, C's constant reformulation of the specific question leads to a considerable number of interruptions in TR's speech. TR's annoyance manifests itself in a significant increase in amplitude, as shown in turns (20) and (26), and make TR's preference to continue his theme clear rather than actually reply to C's precise question:

- (18) (17) C: = **AG** But you know I've got to follow up. You asked on- you said- on Hannity you used the word softening and even last night on Hannity you talked about [(...)]
- (18) T: [Well, ↑I don't think it's a softening. I think it's- **AG** [(it's ...)]
- (19) C: ***HH** [But 11 million people] are [no longer being deported]
- (20) T: [I've, I'VE HAD PEO] ple say it's a hardening ac [tually.
- (21) C: ***HH** [But 11 million who have not co[m]mitted a crime
- (22) T: **AG IF*** [No, no...we're then going to see **AG** (...)]
- (23) C: There's going to be a] path of legalization is that right?
- (24) T: (...) **AG WH** ((C's intrusion has thrown TR off track; TR uses WH to maintain the turn while searching for a way to continue))
You know it's a process. You can't take 11 million at one ti:me and just say boom you're gone. We have to find where these people are. Most people don't even know- nobody even knows if it's ↑11=
- (25) C: = So it's still poss-
- (26) T: **AG IT COULD BE 30** and it could be FIVE. Nobody knows what the number [is. ***HH** I'LL TELL YOU what we know...L-l-] ((drops hands))
- (27) C: [But if somebody hasn't committed a crime]
- (28) T: ↑let me explain=

From Interview 1 it becomes evident that TR employs a number of **repetitions** particularly in response to C's unsuccessful interruption attempts, as follows:

Table IV Donald Trumps' repetitions in the event of unsuccessful interruptions by C

<i>Interview 1</i>	<i>Interview 2</i>
She is...she is somebody that's	Well well they got
I I I think she I think she	
They're her policies they're her policies	
I've I've had people say	
Excuse me excuse me excuse-	

Table V (derived from Bull 2003: 94, Table 6.4 *Margaret Thatcher's comments on interruptions*) illustrates the **grammatical devices** TR uses in the event of both successful and unsuccessful interruptions by the interviewers:

Table V Donald Trump's comments on interruptions

<i>Interview 1</i>	<i>Interview 2</i>
Let me just tell you	Let me just tell you
Let me explain	Look I'm just telling you
Anderson	I'll tell you
Excuse me excuse me excuse-	Right but
Let me tell you want	

From Table V it becomes apparent that TR never uses direct claims that he has been interrupted, which would be "[t]he most obvious and straightforward way to do being interrupted" (Bilmes 1997: 516). Instead, he uses constructions such as "Let me" and "Look" that ask for the interrupter's cooperation or compromise, rather than accuse the interviewer of having interrupted his speech. Furthermore these constructions convey TR's acknowledgement of the interviewers' interruption and that he is willing to address the content of their interruption.

4.3.4 Nonverbal expressions and interruptive speech

The main objective of this chapter is to closely examine Donald Trump's nonverbal behavior in the transcribed political interviews not only as an indicator but also as constant accompaniment of interruptive speech. Consequently, the following analysis seeks to put Hypothesis (3) to the test, suggesting that

Interrupted speech is predominantly initiated by the single or conjoint display of nonverbal behaviors. Interruptions made in combination with nonverbal signals achieve a higher success rate in contrast to the mere occurrence of interruptions.

Whereas in Interview 1, the speech participants are standing in rather close vicinity to each other, Interview 2 is characteristic of the speech participants being seated and positioned in such a way that they are directly facing each other. As the positioning of Donald Trump to his interviewers leads to a significant variation in the observed nonverbal behavior prior to and during interruptions, Interview 1 and Interview 2 are treated separately from each other.

Interview 1

The conversation held in Interview 1 features a prominent use of hand gestures on the part of TR. Among these hand gestures, the highest ratio is attributable to Weinrich's (1992) 'Halthand' [stopping hand] and 'Wandhände' [wall hands], which are particularly representative of the management of turn-taking processes and regarded as the typical hand gestures for fending off an interruption attempt by the auditor, as already discussed in Chapter 3.6.2. Of all the hand gestures observed, the former is subject to striking variation with respect to its execution, as illustrated below:



Picture 2 Donald Trump performing 'Halthände' [stopping hands]

First of all, TR's '**Halthand**' is characteristic of significant alternation between the left and right hand. Contrary to Weinrich's (1992) assertion that the 'Halthand' is usually performed single-handed, TR shows a prominent use of holding both hands out to C. While the palms are usually directed at C, the spreading of the fingers is a common sight. This, as well, is in conflict with Weinrich's (1992: 117) 'gesture vocabulary', since the fingers of the 'Halthand' are usually kept together as if to reinforce the impact of the gesture. However, as the interview shows, it is not decisive for the outcome of the conversation whether the 'Halthand' is performed with fingers spread apart or kept together.

Further analysis shows that TR's 'Halthände' towards C would, at some point in conversation, undergo a transition into 'Wandhände'. Observing this matter more closely, this behavior is particularly apparent in the event of simultaneous speech. One could thus conclude that, as C ignores TR's hand gesture by proceeding to complete his utterance, TR makes another attempt at regaining the floor. The very moment TR realizes that his 'Halthand' or even 'Halthände' would not succeed in intruding C's speech, he intensifies the nonverbal signal by means of a transition from the 'Halthand'/'Halthände' to the '**Wandhände**':



Picture 3 Donald Trump performing 'Wandhände' [wall hands]

From the interview it becomes evident that, in the event of an interruption attempt on the part of the auditor, hand gestures are mainly maintained for the duration of the counterpart refusing to yield the interruption, that is to say, during simultaneous speech. TR's strategy involves directing his hand gestures at C, and maintaining this position until C would either drop out of the conversation, as in Extract (19), or complete his utterance regardless.

- (19) (7) C: **AG HH*** So you- **HH*** ((*lowers hand to give up*))
 → (8) T: ***HH**
 ((*moving towards C, preventing C from taking the floor*)) THEY don't want to stand there and watch people **HH*** pour through our borders.
 (9) C: The eleven million [who are here?

Conversely, raising one's hands immediately at the point of an interruption attempt and freezing it "in mid-air" conveys the 'interruptee's' wish to either maintain the floor¹⁵¹ or regain it¹⁵² (Lewis 2012 [1945]: 203).

The stable holding of the hand position acts as a tool to communicate to the 'interrupter' that the 'interruptee's' speech is still incomplete, as specified in Extracts (20), whereas C, after a longer utterance of TR, interrupts. In keeping his 'Wandhände' in a fixed position while continuing his speech, TR pursues to regain the floor, which proves successful (Lewis 2012 [1945]: 203):

- (20) (10) T: [Let me explain (...) ***HH*** ((*hesitant speech, uses *HH* to avoid speaker-switch*)) we're going to build a wall. We're going to build a real wall a wall that absolutely works and they do absolutely work if it's done properly right now it's a joke. You have walls that are this high. That's number one. We are going stop illegal immigration pouring into our country. My first day in office I am going to notify law enforcement authorities that a:ll of the bad dudes, and we have a lot of them that are here illegally that are the heads of gangs and drug cartels and all sorts of people-
 (11) C: [but people can cross-]
 → (12) T: **AG WH** [and there are (.)] probably millions of them but certainly ((*maintains WH for the duration of simultaneous speech*)) hundreds of thousands. Big numbers. They're out they're out.

Another example of a successful retrieval of the speaking turn would be Extract (21), from which it becomes apparent that TR's index fingers make C yield the floor directly after competing it. The successful retrieval of the floor is then indicated by TR lowering his index fingers:

- (21) (104) T: ***HH*** But let me just tell you Anderson. She has done a horrible job her policies don't work it's a disaster for African-Americans and you see what's happening because many of them who ↑watch my speeches are saying you know he's ↑right. ↑They've been doing this for ↑50 60 70 ↑years and I say ↑what do you have to lose .hhh
 (105) C: Some of you-
 → (106) T: ***IF*** ((*drops hands immediately after successfully interrupting*)) And I'll tell you something not only what do you have to lose I will fix it.

However, the lowering of hand gestures fulfills an additional function in terms of turn allocation. Observing Extract (22) more closely, TR does not always persist in gaining the

¹⁵¹ In the event that the actual interruption is unsuccessful, thus resulting in simultaneous speech.

¹⁵² In the event that the interruptee breaks off due to successful interruption.

upper hand in the event of his turn being contested by C. In this specific case, he makes a primary move to maintain his speaking rights using ‘Halthände’, only to cease all turn-claiming attempts, signaling to C that he is willing to listen. This behavior is explained in Lewis (2012 [1945]: 203) as that kind of signal which indicates that TR “is abandoning his claim to the speaker role”, be it, because he realizes that the regaining of the floor will not be successful at this very moment (Lewis 2012 [1945]: 203) or because he is actually interested in what C has to say:

- (22) (120) T: [I don't ()] Nobody even knows what it is. And she didn't know what it was. This is a term that was just given (.) that frankly there's no Alt- Right or Alt-Left. All I'm embracing is common sense .hhh-
→ *HH* ((drops hands to let C take the floor))
(121) C: But Steve Bannon said (.) Breitbart is sort of the voice of the Alt-Right [Movement].

Another behavior that grows apparent in TR's set of nonverbal signals is the movement of the specific hand gesture towards C as if he contemplates touching him, before retreating it again almost immediately after its execution, as illustrated below:



Picture 4 Donald Trump moving his 'Halthand' towards Anderson Cooper

This seems to be in line with Schwitalla (1979: 83-84) who observed the stretching out of one's hands as a means to fend off an interruption attempt.

Besides the ‘Halthand’ and ‘Wandhände’, the **index finger** constitutes another hand gesture that is made exclusively on the part of TR. The performance of this hand gesture ranges from pointing both index fingers towards C to combining it with the ‘Halt-hand’, whereas the right hand is the prominent one in using the index finger. However, in all events observed, this gesture is performed from a rather low hand position, usually at the

height of TR's waist. In this case the index finger would point diagonally upwards to C, as in the following:



Picture 5 Donald Trump performing 'index finger' towards Anderson Cooper

Following Lewis (2012 [1945]: 130), pointing fingers is a characteristic particularly observed in “authority figures” including politicians whose aim it is to demand discipline or to clarify their position. As for TR, the index finger is mainly used to communicate the wish to get something he is saying straight. A different approach is presented by Weinrich, (1992: 124) who attributes the use of the index finger to that situation in school where this hand gesture conveys the pupil’s wish to be picked by the teacher.

Following Weinrich (1992: 125), the index finger in conversation fulfills various functions. For one part, the index finger is characterized as the main signal when it comes to a dispute about who obtains the right to speak. Furthermore, the use of the index finger can be regarded not only as indicative of an interruption attempt. Rather, it is an inevitable hand gesture to convey to the auditor one's wish to maintain the floor (Weinrich 1992: 126). All three functions were recorded in Interview 1. In two of the overall five recorded cases, TR using the index finger proclaims his intention to retain his speaking rights and continue his speech, as in Extract (23):

- (23) (12) T: **AG WH** [and there are (.)] probably millions of them but certainly
 ((maintains WH for the duration of simultaneous speech))
 hundreds of thousands. Big numbers. They're out they're out.
 (13) C: ((opens mouth to say something))
 → (14) T: ***HH IF* AG** ((ceases gesture after successfully fending off C))
 Excuse me the police know who they are. I've spoken to many police. The
 police ↑know who they are. They deal with them all of the ↑time. They're
 nothing but problems

In Turn (14), TR shows a successful retention of the floor. C might have perceived TR's utterance in (12) as already completed. So he makes a legitimate attempt at taking the floor. TR interprets C's opening of the mouth correctly by an immediate use of hand gestures, whereas the "excuse me" reinforces TR's intention to continue.

Extract (24) illustrates that the mere use of the index finger is enough to make C break off:

- (24) → (105) C: Some of you-
 → (106) T: ***IF*** *((drops hands immediately after successfully interrupting))*
 And I'll tell you something not only what do you have to lose I will fix it.

The remaining two cases featured an unsuccessful attempt at retaining the floor as soon as C contests TR's speaking rights, as in Extract (25), resulting in a brief dispute:

- (25) → (42) T: **HH*** [the first thing we're going to do (.) No there's not a] pass
 (.) there is no path to lega[lization ***IF** UNLESS people] LEAVE
 (43) C: [You talked about paying back taxes()]
 (44) T: the country (.) and let- well when they come back in if they come back in
 then they can start paying taxes .hhh-

On closer inspection, TR's floor is contested by C, resulting in simultaneous speech. As TR is trying to gain the upper hand, he uses the index finger, which turns out to be unsuccessful. As TR realizes that he is not going to gain the floor for himself, he drops the gesture. Not until he significantly increases his amplitude does he finally succeed in claiming the turn for himself.

It can be concluded that all of the afore-mentioned hand gestures fulfill the function of maintaining one's floor. In (10), TR breaks in on C's utterance though he then finds himself unprepared to continue. This becomes evident by TR pausing while he undergoes a thinking process on how to proceed. Instead of making his pause a 'filled pause' or using a repertoire of verbal 'fillers' (Stenström 1994: 76), TR performs 'Halzhände', keeping the position until he overcomes his 'hesitant start' (Stenström 1994: 69).

Extract (26) provides a similar example, though it varies in terms of the hand gesture. Furthermore, it seems as if C's sudden question has thrown TR off track. While TR undergoes a thinking process on how to proceed, his 'Wandhände' remain in a fixed position in order to bridge the gap which occurs due to Trump pausing while planning his spontaneous speech. At the same time, his gaze is averted (Beattie 1983: 59-61; Kendon 1967: 37-38):

- (26) (21) C: *HH [But 11 million who have not co[m]mitted a crime
 (22) T: AG IF* [No, no...we're then
 going to see AG (....)]
 (23) C: There's going to be a] path of legalization is that right?
 → (24) T: (...) AG WH ((C's intrusion has thrown TR off track; TR uses WH to
 maintain the turn while searching for a way to continue))
 You know it's a process. You can't take 11 million at one ti:me and just say
 boom you're gone. We have to find where these people are. Most people
 don't even know- nobody even knows if it's ↑11=

On one occasion, more specifically in Extract (27), TR uses a hand gesture which could be allocated to Lewis' (2012 [1945]: 148-149) position of 'open palms' or 'uplifted palms'. According to her, this position of the hands usually conveys "truth", "honesty" or "submission" (Lewis 2012 [1945]: 148). Observing the matter more closely, TR attempts to gain the floor by 'butting in' on C' utterance, which remains unsuccessful. As a consequence, TR decides to give up on the competition over the floor – if only for a short moment – taking the 'open palms' position, as in the following:

- (27) (126) T: [↑Well, it's an in] correct statement. First of all we were sued many many
 years ago when I was very you:ng (.) by the government sued many many
 companies. You know that. It wasn't me. It was- they sued many
 co[m]panies].
 (127) C: [But you-] th- the [company] was sued [for not allow]ing black
 → (128) T: [We::: -] AG[excuse me] OP
 (129) C: [people to-



Picture 6 Donald Trump performing 'open palms'

With a special focus on **eye gaze**, the averting thereof constitutes another main feature in terms of nonverbal signaling that an interruption is about to ensue. At this point it is relevant to note that the single occurrence of averted gaze before 'interrupting' is observable

(28) (25) C: = So it's still poss-
 → (26) T: **AG** IT COULD BE 30 and it could be FIVE. Nobody knows what the
 number [is. ***HH** I'LL TELL YOU what we know...L-l] ((*drops hands*))
 (27) C: [But if somebody hasn't committed a crime]

Observing the **paralinguistic components** more closely, higher vocal amplitude and a significant rise in pitch are used as tools to interrupt the interviewer and, consequently, make him break off his utterance. However, it is important to note here that the use of nonverbal signals does not contribute essentially to a successful outcome of the interruption attempt. To be more precise, of those interruptions coming along with a significant change in pitch or amplitude, 8 proved to be successful. This contrasts with the 7 occasions of unsuccessful interruptions which were observed, while showing the same paralinguistic components.

(29) (41) C: [So if- if they haven't committed a crime is there gonna be a [path of legalization? I am talking about citizenship ()]
 (42) T: **HH*** [the first thing we're going to do (.) No there's not a] pass
 → () there is no path to lega[lization ***IF UNLESS** people] LEAVE
 (43) C: [You talked about paying back taxes()]
 (44) T: the country (.) and let- well when they come back in if they come back in

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- (30) (24) T: (...) **AG WH** ((C's intrusion has thrown TR off track; TR uses WH to maintain the turn while searching for a way to continue))
 You know it's a process. You can't take 11 million at one ti.me and just say boom you're gone. We have to find where these people are. Most people don't even know- nobody even knows if it's ↑11=
 (25) C: = So it's still poss-
 → (26) T: **AG IT COULD BE 30** and it could be FIVE. Nobody knows what the number [is. ***HH** I'LL TELL YOU what we know...L-l-] ((drops hands))
 (27) C: [But if somebody hasn't committed a crime]

However, the **content** of the conversation is an additional determining factor for the outcome of the 'interruption', based on how much urgency the speaker attaches to his utterance¹⁵³. In passages where the speaker is particularly keen on getting his message across, no combination of nonverbal signals is effective enough to make the speaker surrender his floor to the intruder. These instances can be observed, for example, in Extract (31), whereas TR creates a whole set of turn-taking cues, including averted gaze, holding out hands and raised pitch, which is met with resistance by C who strongly disagrees with TR and thus persists in educating TR that the majority of Afro-Americans are not poverty stricken:

- (31) (96) T: [Excuse me excuse me excuse- ((refuses to yield))] [Well that's the fact. They're [shot] on their streets. [Look] at Chicago .hhh-
 (97) C: [well-] [But-]
 But for the vast majority of African-Americans that's not...
 I mean (.) vast majo [rity do not live in poverty]
 → (98) T: **AG *HH*** [↑No:: (.) 40 percent] are living in poverty, we j [ust say (.) that's pretty big]
 (99) C: [26 percent]

The **emotional attitude** of both the interviewee and interviewer towards a certain topic consequently plays a decisive role as to whether an interruption attempt is successful or not. On the part of the speaker, the degree of emotionality determines his further behavior to being interrupted, whereas the 'interrupter' would use a greater set of nonverbal and vocal signals in order to address the topic which is 'stirring him up'. This is attributable to the 'urgency' and 'immediacy' of 'interruption' which require the 'interrupter' to instantly direct his attention to the current topic of conversation, as discussed in Yang (1996: 1872).

¹⁵³ Cf. The study of Duncan (1972) who took into consideration the content, syntax, intonation, paralinguistic language as well as body motion as active elements in terms of turn allocation and turn-taking in general.

Interview 2

First of all, the occurrence of **body posture** and **body lean** in spoken interaction is in the main focus of the analysis of Interview 2. Various studies suggest that body orientation is indicative of the attitude one has towards the other (Mehrabian & Friar 1969). To be more precise, Mehrabian (1970) attributed features such as “[the] physical proximity to an addressee, more eye contact [...], a forward lean [...] and an orientation of the torso toward [...] the addressee [...]” to a positive attitude toward one’s conversational partner. The examination of TR’s sitting position reveals that, throughout the interview, all of the elements mentioned above are present. At this point it may also be relevant to note that hunched shoulders and slouching were constant accompaniments, which, following Lewis (2012 [1945]:180), are regarded as markers of confidence. In contrast to that, TA’s sitting manner is characteristic of a constant backward body lean into the chair. Furthermore, his posture is remarkably upright, making the impression of being under tension. Though these observations might seem irrelevant in terms of interruptive behavior, they do convey valuable information about the turn-taking dynamics between the speech participants.

It can be assumed that the outcome of ‘interruptive’ speech is determined by the nonverbal component of positioning one’s body throughout conversation. Following Schefflen (1964), alternations of body position and posture may convey certain intentions by the person performing them. On the one hand, they might prepare themselves to making a new point; on the other hand, they might feel constrained to withdraw from the current topic of conversation for the time being, or rather, to distance themselves from the current speaker. The ideal way of creating distance to someone usually lies within turning one’s back to that person. However, as this is not an option for a seated person, body lean becomes the decisive measure in ‘backing out’ of a conversation. (Schefflen 1964, quoted in Mehrabian 1969: 361)

The questions that arises then is: how are orientation and posture of the body associated with interruptive behavior? Observing the interruption pattern in Interview 2 more closely, TR scores 25 successful interruptions against TA, while TA’s interruptions attempts are successful on 14 occasions in the conversation. TR’s success rate may thus be attributable to his body posture which, as already mentioned above, features forward body lean and a rather relaxed sitting position in general. At this point it should be mentioned that the degree of relaxation has been assumed to be a determining factor of status (Mehrabian & Friar 1969: 335). One may thus assign TR the role of the high-status per-

son, as opposed to TA whose upright and more formal posture that is oriented backwards comprise the main characteristics of lower status (Goffman 1961; Mehrabian & Friar 1969). This may also explain why TA is interrupted more often.

However, instances in which TA would drop out of the conversation and yield the floor to TR are significantly rare, as opposed to TR, who shows a greater likelihood of breaking off in the event of overlapping speech. On closer inspection, it becomes apparent that, in the event of speech overlaps, TA would usually undergo a forward body lean, which may be interpreted as an attempt to contest the floor. Conversely, TR would perform a backward body lean under the following conditions: (1) TA initiates the change in speakership performing a hand gesture, as in Extract (32):

- (32) (21) TR: a lot to do...you can't no-]
 (.) you can't have that success without good temperament. And I will say this I was thinking about the word temperament and we need a strong temperament in this country. We have been led by weak people weak ineffective people (.) countries have taken advantage of us ugh whether it's militarily or otherwise. We have been taken advantage of by everybody. We have people with weak temperaments. I have a very strong temperament but I have a temperament that's totally under control. A::nd you know...she she mentions that I will bring us into war. ↑She's the one that wanted to go into Iraq I mean she raised her ha:nd. She didn't know what the hell she was doing she raised her ha:nd. I said I don't wanna go into Iraq. Iraq is gonna destabilize the Middle East and I was 100 percent right= *BL
 → (22) TA: IF*
 =Can I just say one point on that? I have looked so (.) long and hard for any evide[nce (.) of you-]

(2) TA uses 'terminal overlaps' when TR's backward body lean indicates the end of his turn, as in Extract (33):

- (33) (8) TR: =It's a party ugh the people voted a:nd (.) that's millions of votes when we had 17 people don't forget. So this isn't like you know we had two people .hhh like Hillary Clinton, sometimes says well I got a little more votes than Donald Trump. She had one person. I had 17 people. So: (.) you know I mean I blew out everybody. And I think they see that and I think that's (.) very important, Ja[ke. *BL
 → (9) TA: [Ultimately, that's the most important thing-

(3) TA successfully interrupts TR, as in Extract (34):

- (34) (125) TR: [Here's what-]
 Jake (..) I'm building a wa::ll OK? I'm building a wa::ll. I am trying to keep business out of Mexico. Mexico's fine. There's nothing- *BL
 → (126) TA: But he's Ameri[can. He's an American.]

(4) TA takes over at a legitimate completion point whereas TR, who makes clear indications that his speaking turn is still incomplete, yields to TA by means of withdrawal from the conversation, as in Extract (35):

- (35) (37) TR: [And if you go back and look at that interview (.) and I'll get it for you if you want but that interview was substantially before the wall- war started. It was the first time I was ever asked the question. And even that it wasn't like oh yes we should go in it was a ve:ry like yeah maybe you know. *BL ((as TA starts his turn))
- (38) TA: The only thing I would say and then we don't have to belabor this point is if there is evidence of you being against the war strongly before the war actually started I would love to [see that.

Finally, the video material of the observed interview makes clear that forward body lean is usually an accompaniment of hand gestures which intend to either fend off an interruption attempt, as in the illustration provided below, or win the floor in the event of overlapping speech as it can predominantly be observed in TA throughout the interview:



Picture 7 Donald Trump performing a forward body lean in combination with the index finger

After observing body posture and body lean more closely, the focus shifted to the investigation of a clear pattern of the performed **hand gestures**. The results show a significant reduction of hand gestures in Interview 2 as opposed to Interview 1. This may as well be attributable to the seated position of the speech participants, though this assertion would require further investigation.

Both speech participants feature a prominent use of the **index finger**, as already illustrated above in Picture (7), for the same reasons already reviewed in Interview 1, namely, to retain, contest or claim the floor. The same holds true for the 'Halthand' which shows significant variation such as holding out both hands to the conversational partner instead of one. In some cases, one speech participant would indicate their intention to take over the floor by performing a certain hand gesture, to which the current speaker would respond using a similar hand gesture, aiming to retain the one's speaking rights. The following illustration captures the moment when TA initiates his turn-taking attempt per-

forming a certain hand gesture which is then fended off by TR using the index finger, holding it in a fixed position until TA gives up:



Picture 8 Donald Trump performing the index finger in order to fend off Jake Tapper's turn-taking attempt

Two instances of ‘**downward palms**’ can be observed, a hand gesture that has been described by Lewis (2012: 149) as conveying dominance, but also authority and confidence. From the transcript it becomes apparent that ‘downward palms’ fulfill the same function as the other featured hand gestures, as specified below:

- (36) (111) TR: .hhh I have a situation where the woman that brought the case (.) brought the case she's the plaintiff (.) she was deposed she was found to be a disaster for them as a witness, because she gave an evaluation that was like the best evaluation you've ever [heard wait just one secon[d].
- DP
- (112) TA: [((opens mouth to say something))
- [OK
- (113) TR: And she did a tape like from your camera saying that this school was fantastic, it was fantastic .hhh they went to the judge and they said: Your Honor ugh we don't want her anymore to be our plaintiff. So ↑we ↑said let's dismiss the CASE that's OK let's dismiss the case (.) and he said: No I won't dismiss the case and she doesn't have to be [the plaintiff. Let me tell you-]

Turn (111) makes clear how ‘downward palms’ performed by TR fend off TA’s attempt to interrupt TR’s speech. However, it should also be mentioned that ‘wait just a second’ reinforces the hand gesture, which further contributes to keeping TA from taking over. This phenomenon is further depicted in the following illustration:



Picture 9 Donald Trump performing 'downward palms'

The assumption made in Interview 1 that '**open palms**' or '**uplifted palms**' are indicative of submission is confirmed in Interview 2. Extract (37) serves as good example to illustrate this phenomenon:

- (37) (181) TR: He is- he is Mexican...Mexican heritage and he's ↑very proud o[f ↑it.
 (182) TA: [But
 you're ↑not from Scotland [because you have Scottish heritage=
 → (183) TR: [Excuse me **OP** ((gives up))
 =Hey, you know what? I'm not building a wall between Scotland and the
 Unit[ed States.

As the dispute over the judge's heritage continues, TA obtains the speaking rights by means of a 'terminal overlap'. The emotional component induces TR to attempt an act of interruption of TA's utterance which is ignored. When TR realizes that he will not be able to take over the floor just yet, he expresses his 'submission' by showing the 'open palms' gesture. He then awaits the earliest possible completion point to allocate the speaking rights anew:



Picture 10 'Donald Trump performing 'open palms' or 'uplifted palms'

In terms of **vocal signals**, Interview 2 did not differ significantly from Interview 1. To be more precise, the number of successful interruptions equaled the number of unsuccessful interruptions, that is to say, 4 interruptions each.

Extract (38) serves as a good example of two successful interruptions by TR using an increased amplitude:

- (38) (149) TR: **IH G HS** ((TA opens mouth and raises hand))
 Look I'm just telling you Paul Ryan doesn't know the case. *HH* Here's the sto:ry-
 (150) TA: Isn't it th-
 → (151) TR: I SHOULD HAVE won this case on summary judgement (.) this is not a case this is a case I should've won on summary judgement do you know the law firm paid Hillary Clinton hundreds of thousands of dollars to make speeches? Do you know the law firm has-
 (152) TA: I do and [we've reported it]. We've [ugh we've] reported it on my show
 (153) TR: [Oh you do?] [↑OK ↑good]
 (154) TA: In fact-
 (155) TR: Well I'm glad...you're the only one
 (156) TA: [The only ones-
 → (157) TR: [The LAW FIRM...wait a minute. The law firm paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to Hillary Clinton (.) for spee[ches.

As can be seen in turn (150) and (156), TA's speech is interrupted before he has had a chance to make his point.

Finally, Extract (39) proves that TR makes unsuccessful attempts at claiming the floor using vocal signals:

- (39) (118) TA: [Except that you're [calling into question his heritage.]
 → (119) TR: [I THINK he should recuse] himself .hhh [and then you] ALSO SAY (.) does he
 (120) TA: [Because he's Latino.]
 (121) TR: know the lawyer on the other ↑side I mean does he know the ↑lawyer
 → and you know a lot of people [say yes I know-

4.4 Discussion

Table I features a high ratio of turn-competitiveness on the part of the politician Donald Trump. This becomes particularly evident in Donald Trump's constant attempts to interrupt the interviewers while they are still amidst making their point. Hypothesis (1) suggests: *The politician Donald Trump features a high ratio of turn-competitive interruptions as opposed to the interviewers whereas the underlying role of interruptions is to display control over the conversation.* In the light of the facts mentioned above, the first part of Hypothesis (1) is accepted, namely that the TR's interruptions are characteristic of being turn-competitive.

In consideration of the reasons why both interviewers and politician choose to interrupt it can be concluded that Hypothesis (1) is true in all respects. The underlying role of interruptions is (1) the continuation of the initial theme as a means to display control over the conversation, (2) the clarifications which are used as control device by the interviewer to steer the conversation into the desired direction, as well as measures by the politician to position the interviewer at a slightly lower level in terms of knowledge about the current topic, while allocating to himself the dominant position of the conversation as well as (3) inferences and (4) questions and the reformulation thereof in order to constrain the politician to giving a definite response to the interviewers' question.

Hypothesis (2) predicted that politicians would usually show resistance to the interviewers' interruption attempts. The predominant response to being interrupted are the 'continues' with 22 occurrences for both interviews. 'Continues' convey that the interviewers' interruption attempt has been unsuccessful and that the interruption as such has not been acknowledged by the politician. As 'continues' can be regarded as "the sincerest form of insult" (Bilmes 1997: 520), they do qualify as actual displays of resistance. In contrast to that, of the 49 relevant interruptions, 'cooperates' are among the least common strategies of managing interruptions with only 11 occurrences. Consequently, Hypothesis (2) is confirmed; in the event of interruptions, resistance is the prevailing form of 'post-interruption speech'.

As regards TR's nonverbal behavior in the transcribed political interviews, averted gaze is a reliable indicator that an act of interruption is about to ensue. However, instances of averted gaze in Interview 2 are so rare that they are not worth mentioning. The significantly greater occurrence of averted gaze in Interview 1 may be attributable to the speech

participants' standing position which was relatively close to each other. This conforms with Argyle & Dean's (1965) findings that subjects were less likely to make eye-contact when placed at a rather close distance to each other. On various occasions, TR would gaze into the camera, which could be a typical distraction technique to restore the balance between approach and avoidance (Argyle & Dean 1965: 301-2).

Furthermore, all observed hand gestures fulfill three main functions: (1) to fend off an interruption attempt and thus to retain the floor, (2) to indicate that the person performing the hand gesture is about to interrupt and (3) to hold the turn while the person performing the hand gesture is preparing his speech. Solely the 'open palms' gesture indicates submission to the interlocutor's interruption. Furthermore, hand gestures are held in a fixed position until either the current speaker would break off resulting in a successful interruption, or the person performing the hand gesture realizes he will not gain the floor at the given moment.

In terms of body lean, which is most prominent in a seated position, the way of positioning contributes significantly to the outcome of the act of interruption, though a sudden forward lean proves to be more successful in interrupting the current speaker than a constant forward lean.

Higher vocal amplitude and rise in pitch is an occasionally observed accompaniment of interruptive behavior though its success rate is dependent on whether the 'interrupted person' has already made their point in conversation or not. In that event this nonverbal behavior did not prove essentially useful.

Not a single self-related activity can be observed in either of the interviews, mostly because in Interview 2 TR's forward lean requires his hands to rest on his knees, whereas in Interview 1, the use of hand gestures is so prominent that any self-related activity is unlikely to occur.

In the light of these facts, Hypothesis (3) is confirmed only in part, as interrupted speech is mainly preceded by nonverbal signals being performed either separately or conjointly. However, the inclusion of nonverbal behavior does not contribute significantly to the successful outcome of an act of interruption, considering that in Interview 1 the amount of unsuccessful interruptions exceeds that of successful interruptions, whereas in Interview 2, the difference between unsuccessful and successful interruptions is not remarkable.

5 Conclusion

The underlying objective of this thesis has been to examine the following Research Question: *How are interruptions used by Donald Trump and the interviewers Anderson Cooper and Jake Tapper in the transcribed political interviews and what main functions do these interruptions fulfill?*

The main effort of Chapter 2 has been to closely examine the interchanging roles of the speech participants as speaker and auditor as well as their access to a set of tools which the Corpus Analysis proved to be essential in terms of turn-construction and turn-allocation. These strategies involve the taking, holding and yielding of the turn all of which require the occurrence of overlaps and interruptions in order to manage possible deviations from the ‘one-party-at-a-time’ rule such as multiple speakership or silence within the conversation (Schegloff 2000: 2).

The critical evaluation of the two major approaches to identifying interruptions both in the theoretical as well as the practical part of this thesis has revealed considerable limitations with Murray’s (1985) ‘context-sensitive’ approach. Its speculative character as well as the general inability to see through the ‘interrupter’s’ true intentions excluded the ‘context-sensitive’ approach from the Corpus Analysis. Nevertheless, it should be noted once again that no definite approach to the identification of interruptions has been elaborated yet so that West & Zimmerman’s (1983) ‘syntactic’ measurement of interruptions should be regarded as approximation to accomplish the intended purpose.

Using the underlying definition of interruptions, the analysis of the transcribed political interviews has confirmed interruptions as violative acts. That is because the observed interruptions usually took place in the middle of the current speaker’s utterance before the speaker has had a chance to communicate his point and. This conforms to the predominant perception of interruption (as discussed in Chapter 3.2) as those intrusions of the current speaker’s utterance with no indication of a possible transition place and where the current speaker is still amidst talking (Schegloff 2000: 294; Zimmerman & West 1975: 114-15).

Overlaps have been regarded as the result of (1) mistiming errors where the second speaker did not expect the current speaker to continue or (2) where the second speaker correctly anticipated a completion point, though the overlap is neutralized in the process,

providing for a smooth transition. The transcribed political interviews are characteristic of ‘terminal’ overlaps, which were at no time perceived by the current speaker as intrusions. Instead, my observation of these overlaps ties in with Schegloff’s (2000: 5) claim that while the second speaker is taking over the floor, the completion of the current speaker’s utterance is already in process, therefore ascribing ‘terminal’ overlaps a ‘self-liquidating feature’.

Following the ‘syntactic’ approach as well as Zimmerman & West’s (1975: 114-15) definition of interruptions, the empirical part of this thesis has taken the following definition of interruptions as a basis:

Interruptions can be defined as those syntactically identifiable events in conversation in which a second speaker claims the speaking right for themselves while the first speaker is still in the midst of talking, that is, at that stage of conversation where no possible transition place was in close proximity to the interruption.

In the light of these facts, the Corpus Analysis has confirmed the underlying role of interruptions as control-device. This applies to both the politician Donald Trump and his interviewers. To be more precise, Donald Trump’s interruptions had the functions of continuing the initial theme and making clarifications. These observed roles did not only position the interviewers at a slightly lower level in terms of knowledge about the current topic, they also served as a means to control both the course of the conversation and his interviewers. In contrast to that, the main functions of the interviewers’ interruptions were inferences as well as the posing and reformulation of questions with the aim to constrain Donald Trump to giving definite responses to the interviewers’ questions and to direct him into the interviewers’ desired direction of the conversation.

The practical part of this thesis has shed additional light on the fundamental challenge which Donald Trump had to face in the interviews. Apart from Donald Trump’s motivation to control the conversation, he was confronted with the interviewers’ constant attempts at minimizing his trustworthiness by means of inferences, clarifications and the posing or reformulation of questions. That is why, from time to time, Donald Trump felt constrained to reply to the interviewers’ question in order to get his point across.

When it comes to being interrupted, Donald Trump confirmed the hypothesis that interruption attempts by the interviewers would usually be met by the politician with resistance. To be more precise, ‘continues’ were the clearest demonstration of resistance, as

they have been classified as regarding interruptive utterances as void and illegitimate, followed by 'reintroduces' whereas Donald Trump continued with his initial theme after accepting the interruption. Interestingly, the most obvious resistance to being interrupted, that is, 're-interrupts' were the least common form of 'post-interruption' speech observed in the political interviews.

Finally, thorough analysis in the field of nonverbal behavior in talk-in-interaction has revealed that nonverbal signals do serve as reliable indicators of interruptive speech, though they do not always contribute to the successful outcome of interruption. That is mostly because, in the event of disputes, greater importance is attached to the emotional attitude towards a certain topic in conversation. Consequently, the usual effectiveness of nonverbal displays may be significantly reduced to an extent where they are ignored by the conversational partner. However, it can be said that the findings on hand gestures, gaze and body lean are consistent with the findings of previous research, whereas the results of vocal amplitude and raised pitch did not confirm the studies of Meltzer et al. (1971). Consequently, interruptions are usually initiated by the averting of gaze, though this may be additionally influenced if the speech participants are placed at a rather close distance to each other, as is the case in Interview 1. The observation of hand gestures has revealed a clear pattern in terms of retaining, contesting and claiming the floor and are mostly consistent with Weinrich's '(1992) 'gesture vocabulary'. Finally, the orientation of the torso contributes significantly to the outcome of the interruption, though TA's sudden forward lean proves to be more successful in interrupting the current speaker than TR's constant forward lean.

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7 Appendix A

Transcribing Conventions¹⁵⁴

[...]	Brackets around strings of utterances indicate overlap of the bracketed utterance by the transcribed utterance provided below. The right bracket indicates the end of two overlapping utterances (either simultaneously, or in the course of the other).
= =	Equal signs (one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of the second line) indicate that there is no break or gap between the two lines.
→	The arrow points out the location of a specific phenomenon under discussion.
↑↓	Shift into especially high or low pitch.
-	A hyphen at the end of a word is a sign for the utterance being cut off.
_____	Underscore represents emphasis (i.e. stress, pitch, amplitude) on the marked word or utterance.
:	Colons imply lengthened syllables (i.e. the syllable prior to the colon). The more colons the longer the prolongation.
((...))	Double parenthesis are used to include a description of the utterance by the transcriber (e.g. to indicate nonverbal signals that co-occur with interruptive behavior), they do not enclose transcribed utterances.
()	Empty parenthesis indicate the impossibility to get what was said. The space between the parentheses indicates the length of the “ungotten” talk (Jefferson 2004b: 31).
(.)	Micropause, somewhere below 0.2 seconds.
CAPS	Words or utterances in caps indicated increased amplitude.
.hhh	A row of ‘h’s being prefixed by a dot indicates breathing in.

¹⁵⁴ Conventions and descriptions taken from Jefferson’s (2004b) *Glossary of transcript symbols*; simplified for personal use.

Conventions for nonverbal behavior

HH ¹⁵⁵	‘Halthand’ – holding out one hand with the palm facing the ‘interrupter’
HH HH	Prefixed asterisks (in combination with hand gestures) indicate left-handed action, suffixed asterisks indicate right-handed action.
HH	‘Halthände’ – holding out both hands with the palm facing the interrupter
WH ¹⁵⁶	‘Wandhände’ – hands forming a barrier
IF ¹⁵⁷	Index finger being pointed toward the ‘interrupter’
OP ¹⁵⁸	Open palms with the hands to the sides of the body
DP ¹⁵⁹	Downward palms
AG	Taking the floor is induced by a quick averting of the gaze before making eye-contact again
HM	Head movement, usually in combination with averted gaze
S	Smile
L	Laughter
N	Nod, the number of N indicates the number of nods
IH	Inclines head
HS	Head shaking
G	Facial expression in the sense of grimacing
SRA(())	Self-related activity with a description in double parenthesis
BL	Body lean, backward lean is indicated by a prefixed asterisk (*BL), whereas forward lean is indicated by a suffixed asterisk (BL*)

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Weinrich (1992: 117, 127-28).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Weinrich (1992: 108, 128)

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Weinrich (1992: 118, 124-25).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Lewis (2012: 148).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Lewis (2012: 149).

‘Gesture vocabulary’ of the observed hand gestures

‘Open palms-uplifted palms’ (Lewis 2012: 148)



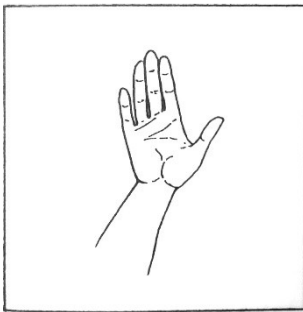
The palms are clearly visible and facing upwards. This gesture usually conveys “truth, honesty, allegiance, and submission”.

‘Downward palms’ (Lewis 2012: 149)



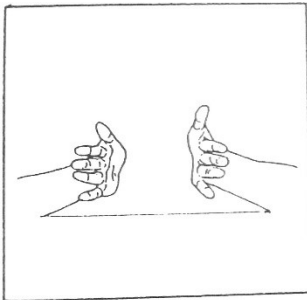
Palms facing down indicate “authority”, “confidence” but also “dominance”. In the case of Donald Trump, the hand gesture is performed under tension with the fingers pointing upward as opposed to the illustration.

Halthand [stopping hand] (Weinrich 1992: 117)



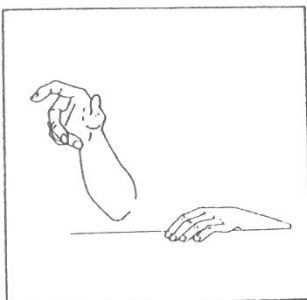
Holding out one’s hands with the palms facing the conversational partner. The fingers are usually kept together while the thumb may be splayed out.

Wandhände [wall hands] (Weinrich 1992: 108)



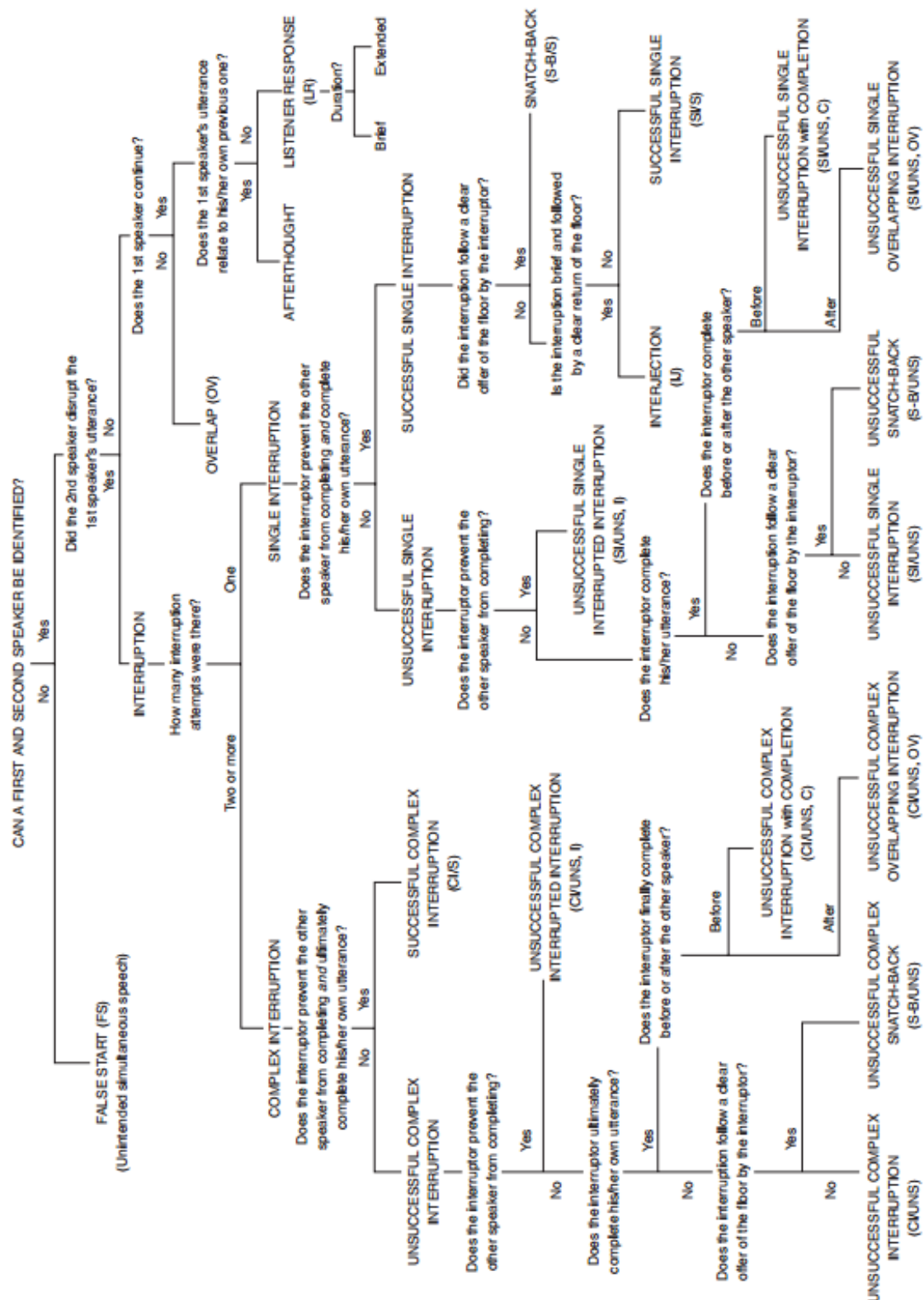
Holding both hands in a position which resembles a barrier or “corridor” (Müller 2014: 1364)

Index finger (Weinrich 1992: 118)



Following Weinrich (1992: 118), the index finger is usually slightly curved. In the case of Donald Trump, however, the index finger is mainly extended and under tension.

Simultaneous speech coding system (Roger et al. 1988)



Transcripts of the interviews

Interview 1 Donald Trump & Anderson Cooper (CNN – *Anderson Cooper 30 degrees* (08/25/16))

- (1) C: One of the big things you talked about during the primaries and you- we had interviews about this and you talked () about the debates 11 million undocumented immigrants in this country. They've gotta go. The good ones can come back in you said they'd put a door in the wall the good ones can come back in. It's going to be done humanely you said. There will be a deportation force.
That's no longer- it seems you- there's been some contradictory statements lately but that se [eemed like they're no longer your policy]
- (2) T: **AG** [Well, I don't even know who told you that]
→ I don't ev [en know-
→ (3) C: **HH*** [Is that your policy? =
(4) T: = Let me just tell you what my policy is and I'm not going to go
(5) C: ↓ok
(6) T: into all of it because we're doing a speech in a week on immigration which I think will explain it in even greater detail but (.) we're gonna build a great wall (.) the wall is gonna be paid for by Mexico. People are not gonna be able to tunnel because we're going to have tunnel technology we're gonna have all sorts of things there's gonna be a real wall. Drugs will stop flowing into our nation and poisoning our youth and everybody else. We're gonna have all sorts of E-verify: and everything you can think of in terms of immigration. People will not come into our country illegally. We're gonna fix that. We are going to make it so that (.) like it's never been before. I don't know if you know but the border patrol agent 16,500 border patrol agents endorsed Donald Trump. They've never done that for a presidential candidate before .hhh because they're great people that wanna to do their job.
- (7) C: **AG HH*** So you- **HH*** ((lowers hand to give up))
→ (8) T: ***HH**
((moving towards C, preventing C from taking the floor)) THEY don't want to stand there and watch people **HH*** pour through our borders.
- (9) C: The eleven million [who are here?
→ (10) T: [Let me explain (.) ***HH*** ((hesitant speech, uses ***HH*** to avoid speaker-switch)) we're going to build a wall. We're going to build a real wall a wall that absolutely works and they do absolutely work if it's done properly right now it's a joke. You have walls that are this high. That's number one. We are going stop illegal immigration pouring into our country. My first day in office I am going to notify law enforcement authorities that a:ll of the bad dudes, and we have a lot of them that are here illegally that are the heads of gangs and drug cartels and all sorts of people-
→ [but people can cross-]
→ (11) C: [but people can cross-]
→ (12) T: **AG WH** [and there are (.)] probably millions of them but certainly ((maintains WH for the duration of simultaneous speech)) hundreds of thousands. Big numbers. They're out they're out.
- (13) C: ((opens mouth to say something))
→ (14) T: ***HH IF* AG** ((ceases gesture after successfully fending off C))
Excuse me the police know who they are. I've spoken to many police. The police ↑know who they are. They deal with them all of the ↑time. They're nothing but problems
→ (15) C: You talked about-

- (16) T: *HH* We are going to end sanctuary cities (.) we are going to run a country like it's supposed to be run. We're going to have borders very strong borders and after that we're going to see what happens but we are going to find people and we're getting immediately and I mean first hour of my- the first document I will sign will say get the bad ones out of this country bring them back where they came from=
- (17) C: = AG But you know I've got to follow up. You asked on- you said- on Hannity you used the word softening and even last night on Hannity you talked about [()]
- (18) T: [Well, ↑I don't think it's a softening. I think it's- AG [(it's)]
- (19) C: *HH [But 11 million people] are [no longer being deported]
- (20) T: [I've, I'VE HAD PEO] ple say it's a hardening ac [tually.
- (21) C: *HH [But 11 million who have not co[mmitted a crime
- (22) T: AG IF* [No, no...we're then going to see AG (....)]
- (23) C: There's going to be a] path of legalization is that right?
- (24) T: (...) AG WH ((C's intrusion has thrown TR off track; TR uses WH to maintain the turn while searching for a way to continue)) You know it's a process. You can't take 11 million at one time and just say boom you're gone. We have to find where these people are. Most people don't even know- nobody even knows if it's ↑11=
- (25) C: = So it's still poss-
- (26) T: AG IT COULD BE 30 and it could be FIVE. Nobody knows what the number [is. *HH I'LL TELL YOU what we know...L-l-] ((drops hands))
- (27) C: [But if somebody hasn't committed a crime]
- (28) T: ↑let me explain=
- (29) C: =will they be deported? =
- (30) T: *HH* =Let me tell you what, we know the bad ones. We know where they are who they are we know the cru- the drug cartel people. We know the gangs and the heads of the gangs and the gang members. Those people are gone. [But that's a HUGE] number (.)
- *HH ((moving towards C to fend him off)) *HH* ((successful, C breaks off in the next line))
- (31) C: [but isn't that-]
- (32) T: ↑no it's ↑no [t
- (33) C: *HH [But that's Jeb Bush's policy. I mean the sa [()]
- (34) T: WH [I] don't know anything about Jeb Bush. He wasn't ((C ignores WH, TR maintains gesture, waiting for C to end, then drops hands)) building a wall Jeb Bush wasn't building a wall. Jeb Bush wasn't
- (35) C: ↑well-
- (36) T: making strong borders, and I'm not mocking Jeb Bush but I was with him for a long time .hhh-
- (37) C: But...but he was mocked for saying that look you can't deport 11 million people... () it now seems like I know you're not really fo [cusing-]
- (38) T: WH [FIRST] I wanna see: what's going to happen. We are going to deport MANY people, ↑many, ↑many people, (.) [the bad ones-

- (39) C: [The vast majority of those 11 million are not [criminals. They are not ()]]
- (40) T: [Well, we don't know. We're going to find] out ↓who they are. We have crime all over the [country.
- (41) C: [So if- if they haven't committed a crime is there gonna be a [path of legalization? I am talking about citizenship ()]
- (42) T: **HH*** [the first thing we're going to do (.) No there's not a] pass
- (.) there is no path to lega[lization ***IF UNLESS** people] LEAVE
- (43) C: [You talked about paying back taxes()]
- (44) T: the country (.) and let- well when they come back in if they come back in then they can start paying taxes .hhh-
- (45) C: So they still ha [ve to leave the country?]
- (46) T: [But there is] no path to legalization unless they LEAVE the country and come back.
- (47) C: So that means (.) of the 11 million who are here even if they haven't committed a cri:[m-
- (48) T: [But you don't know- again you keep saying 11 million. ↑You ↑don't ↑know what the number is. You know milli[ons of people -]
- (49) C: [However many] that's the [estimate.
- (50) T: ***HH*** [and using the existing laws of our country and using the existing laws millions of people are (.) deported every year.
- (51) C: ↓Right=
- (52) T: =You know that [right?] you know people don't talk about that.
- (53) C: [↓Yeah]
- (54) T: It's Obama. They don't talk about that=
- (55) C: =↓Right, [()]
- (56) T: **AG** [But you have] a lot of people being deported. We're going to do that vigorously we're gonna go with the laws that are existing (.) but we're gonna have a very strong border and we're not gonna have people pouring back in and when these PEOple the drug lords and all of these guys that are thrown out they're not coming back into the country.
- (57) C: So if you haven't committed a crime and you've been here for 15 years and you have a family here and you have a job here will you be deported?
- (58) T: **AG** We're going to see what happens once we strengthen up our border. We're going to have a strong border as strong as any border there is anywhere in the world. We're gonna have a real wall...we're gonna have tremendous protection both technolo[gical protection and everything else and then we're gonna see what happens. But there is a very good chance the answer could be yes, we're gonna see what happens and before I do anything, I wanna get rid of the bad ones and there are a lot of them I wanna get rid of all of the bad ones and we're gonna do that that will be the single first order I sign. We're gonna stop- right now I'm in New Hampshire you saw the crowd you saw the enthusiasm (.) I won the primary in New Hampshire. The people of New Hampshire asked me one favor "Please, Mr. Trump stop the drugs from coming across the southern border." You have heroin that's pouring across the southern border and destroying the youth and other people in New Hampshire and every every other state. We're gonna stop all drug traffick. It's not gonna happen anymore. We're gonna stop it. We're gonna have a strong border we're gonna have a tremendous ↑wall we're gonna have a ↑wall that Mexico ↑pays for which

- will be ↑very easy because they are making a fortune with us the wall is peanuts compared to th. the money that they make.
 We are going to have a border again. We are not going to allow drugs to come into this country and poison our youth and then we're going to see what happens. But there's no legalization. There's no ↑amnesty and if somebody wants to go the legalization route what they'll do is they'll go ↑leave the country hopefully ↑come ↑back ↑in, and then we can talk.
- *HH ((to prevent turn and signal C that more is to follow, C keeps eye-contact))
- And one other thing there are millions of people right now online trying to come into our country. It's very unfair to them (.) some of the rules regulations and policies that I've seen. These are millions of people that wanna come into our country legally and it would be very unfair to them.
- (59) C: You called last night Hillary Clinton a bigot. P-[Previously you called
- (60) T: [↓ Yeah
- (61) C: her policies bigoted
 you directly called her a bigoted [()]]
- (62) T: AG [Well she is a bigot because when you
 look at what's happening to the inner cities and you look at what's happening to African-Americans and Hispanics in this country where she talks a ll of the time she's talking- look at the vets where she said the vets are being treated essentially just fine and that it's over exaggerated what's happening to the vets not so long ago [But-]
- (63) C: [How] is she bigoted bigoted
 [is-is having hatred for ()]
- (64) T: AG *HH* ((lowers hands as C trails off))
 [↑Well, because she's selling them] down the tubes. Because
 → she's not doing anything for those communities.
 She talks a good game. [(-)]
- (65) C: [So you think] she has hatred [or dislike of black people?]
- (66) T: [Her POLicies are
 → bigoted.] IF* ((as a measure to avoid C claiming the turn after both finish simultaneously))
 Her policies are bigoted because she knows they're not going to work=
- (67) C: =But you're saying she is personally bigoted?=
 → (68) T: =AG ↑Oh she is of course she is. They're [her ↑poli]cies they're her
 ((raised pitch and repetition with the aim to hold the floor; successful))
- (69) C: [She (-)]
- (70) T: policies- she's comes up with the policies and others that believe like she does also but she came out with policies (.) over the ↑years. This is over the years a ↑long time.
 She's totally bigoted there's no question about [it.
- (71) C: [It does [imply that she-]
- (72) T: *HH [↑Look at what's-]
 ((as both break off, T pauses and nods to C to encourage him to continue))
- (73) C: she has antipathy, she has hatred toward or (.) in this case-
- (74) T: N
- AG [I I I think she I think she has been] extremely extremely
- (75) C: [toward African-Americans but I don't know ()]

- (76) T: bad for or African-Americans. I think she's been extremely bad for Hispanics. You look at what's happened with her policies and the policies of President Obama and others. Look at the poverty. Look at the rise in poverty
- (77) C: So-
- (78) T: LOOK at the rise in violence .hhh
- (79) C: But hatred is at the core of that [or dislike of African- Americans?]
- (80) T: AG[Al↑right well ugh (.) I I- well or] maybe she's lazy. I don't know what it is. All I can tell you is I've been hearing the same stuff from her and others for years (.) and the inner cities today are worse than they ever have been.
- She's def-
- (81) C: Have you always thought she was bigoted though I mean you were sup [porting her in that.]
- (82) T: AG[Well, HONestly I never thought of it]. I never thought- as a business person I never thought of it. I got along with all politicians. [But she got a long-]
- (83) C: [She has a hist ory of working [and (-)]
- (84) T: AG HM [Anderson as you know I got a lot-] working but not doing the job (.) and I'm now bringing it out for the first time. ↑She has [n't done the job].
- (85) C: [So the-] the overwhelming number of African-Americans who support her what did they:: (.) [what did they see that you don't see?]
- (86) T: AG [Well take a look at what's happened] over the last two weeks since I've been talking about the subject. ↑Take a look at what's happened ↑take a look at your most recent polls. I mean the ones over the last 3 or 4 [days since they've been-]
- (87) C: [You you think it would make] a difference you can get a higher number among Af [rican-Americans?]
- (88) T: AG [Oh I think we're going to do ↑well with the African-Americans because they're gonna give me a chance because frankly look what she's done ↑what's to give a chance I mean she's been a ↑disaster. The inner cities are worse than they've ever been. You have 40 percent rates of poverty. You have black youth that can't get jobs 58 percent can't get jobs education is a disaster. They've been talking about this since I was (.) 5 years old and understood what was going on. They have been talking about this for years. Hillary Clinton talks about it all of the time. She has done a horrible job and then you add all of the scandal and the lie::s and the deception to the e-mails she should be in jail .hhh
- (89) C: Well-
- (90) T: WH ((preventing C from invading his speech, successful)) ↑HILLary Clin↓ton should be in jail. You know it. The FBI director knows it everybody else knows it she should be in jail. What she did with erasing 33,000 e-mails she shouldn't be out even talking about inner cities or running for president.
- (91) C: One of the: (.) things you've been saying recently in talking to African-Americans addressing them in- in large rallies is saying (.) what have you got to lose? What the hell have you [got to lose?]
- (92) T: AG [Absolutely].

- That's the way I look [at it.
- (93) C: [The way you've been categorizing though we've been you know interviewing a lot of African-American voters some of them are insulted by some of the language you- you've be[en using.]
- (94) T: **AG** [I DON'T think they are.] I think if they actually heard me they wouldn't be insulted at all. [I ACTually said to them-
- (95) C: [What you were saying (.) you get sho [t in your street, you don't have jobs, you don't have school] [Is.
- (96) T: [Excuse me excuse me excuse- ((refuses to yield))] [Well that's the fact. They're [shot] on their streets. [Look] at Chicago .hhh-
- (97) C: [well-] [But-] But for the vast majority of African-Americans that's not... I mean (.) vast majo [rity do not live in poverty]
- (98) T: **AG *HH*** [↑No:: (.) 40 percent] are living in poverty, we j [ust say (.) that's pretty big]
- (99) C: [26 percent]
- (100) T: Ah well I have 40. I have a different stat [than you do.
- (101) C: [The Conservative Foundation has 26 percent.=
- (102) T: =I have 40 percent, whether it's 26 or 40. ↑Look you can look at it any way and I know you want to protect her as much as you possibly [can.
- (103) C: [No, I...I'm not but I- **L**
- (104) T: ***HH*** But let me just tell you Anderson. She has done a horrible job her policies don't work it's a disaster for African-Americans and you see what's happening because many of them who ↑watch my speeches are saying you know he's ↑right. ↑They've been doing this for ↑50 60 70 ↑years and I say ↑what do you have to lose .hhh
- (105) C: Some of you-
- (106) T: ***IF*** ((drops hands immediately after successfully interrupting)) And I'll tell you something not only what do you have to lose I will fix it.
- (107) C: Some of your African-American supporters that we talked with said they would like to see you (.) go into an African-American church or... or [() talking to (.) ()]
- (108) T: **AG** [I'm going to do that very soon]. In fact, I'm going to Detroit and I'll be going to some other places. I've been invited to many. I'll be doing that very soon=
- (109) C: = So you- that's definitely something you are going to do?
- (110) T: Oh I'm going to do it yeah sure I look forward to it. [In fact]
- (111) C: [So-]
- (112) T: I think I'm doing it over the next two weeks I'm a doing a couple of visits.
- (113) C: How- how (.) much improvement do you think you can make with the African-American vote?
- (114) T: I can't tell you I can only tell you I can fix the inner cities (.)
- (115) C: Let me talk-
- (116) T: She can't- she isn't- not ↑only can't she (.) she doesn't have a chance.
- (117) C: I want to start by what Hillary Clinton is now (.) coming at you with. I talked to her last night. She called into my sho:w. She said that you are bringing hate mainstream ugh by embracing the so-called Alt-Right Movement that you're peddling bigotry ugh prejudice and paranoia.

- (118) T: Well first of all we are bringing love. You see these rooms. They are packed with people that have been just left behind. I call it the Forgotten Men and Women ugh they have been left behind Anderson by people like her who are third rate politicians who talk and they don't produce. You look at our inner cities our inner cities are a disaster and the African-American people are realizing (.) that the Democrats who have run these inner cities for (.) 75 years and a 100 years they just left them.
- They've forgotten, they [()]
- (119) C: [Are you embracing] the Alt-Right movement?
- [I mean ()]
- (120) T: [I don't ()] Nobody even knows what it is. And she didn't know what it was. This is a term that was just given (.) that frankly there's no Alt- Right or Alt-Left. All I'm embracing is common sense .hhh-
- *HH* ((drops hands to let C take the floor))
- (121) C: But Steve Bannon said (.) Breitbart is sort of the voice of the Alt-Right [Movement].
- (122) T: [I don't know] what Steve said. All I can tell you, I can only speak for myself. (.) You see the crowds we have you see the enthusiasm I know these are great people. These are people that have not been heard for many years and now they have been heard. First time in many many decades. In fact some people say the first time period. And I think we are going to do very well. You see what's going on with the polls over the last three or four days. I think we are going to do very well. But [()]
- (123) C: [I want to read-]
- (124) T: AG
- ↑ She is...↓ she is somebody that's all talk no action. Look at the lie:s look at the deception look at what's happened with her e-mails look at the erasing of 33,000 e-mails. She should be ashamed of herself. She should get back to work for the people. She doesn't do that=
- (125) C: =I want to read you one more thing that she just said today in her speech ugh she said (.) this is what I wanna make clear today, a man with a long history of racial discrimination who traffics in dark conspire-acy theories drawn from the pages of supermarket tabloids (.) and the far reaches of the internet should never run our government or command [our military]
- (126) T: [↑Well, it's an in] correct statement. First of all we were sued many many years ago when I was very young (.) by the government sued many many companies. You know that. It wasn't me. It was- they sued many co[mpanies].
- (127) C: [But you-] th- the [company] was sued [for not allow]ing black
- (128) T: [We::: -] AG[excuse me] OP
- (129) C: [people to-
- (130) T: [And you know what they found nothing. They found absolutely nothing.
- (131) C: You [settled
- (132) T: [They bring up the case- yes I settled with no- no awards no nothing.
- So:-
- (133) C: But didn't the people in your company use th- the words [()]
- (134) T: AG [I don't even know- I- I- honestly what] a super-intendent does in a building that I can't tell you. Ugh (.) but I can just tell you that they settled the case and that was the end of it. It was many years ago. And

- I guess they found we did nothing wrong because we didn't have to do anything. We didn't have any payments to make we didn't have to pay \$20 million in fines. We didn't have any- *((ceases gesturing))*
- (135) C: You didn't pay any money in order to settle?
- (136) T: [We didn't- nah this is a long time ago but I don't believe so no.

Interview 2 Donald Trum & Jake Tapper (CNN – *State of the Union* (06/05/16))

- (1) TA: This is the first time I have seen you in- in person since the Miami debate ugh congratulation[s].
- (2) TR: [Thank you.
- (3) TA: You're the nominee.
- (4) TR: I told you. L
- (5) TA: L You did you did. Ugh I wanna get your reaction to ugh Speaker Paul Ryan ugh endorsing you it took him a few weeks .hhh (.) it's interesting when he told me ugh in early Ma:y (.) that he was not ready to endorse you yet it seemed like he was suggesting he wanted you to change your behavior in some way before he would endorse you but I can't see any evidence that you've changed in any way, so ultimately (.) did he blink?
- (6) TR: [Why, why did he:-
 ((opens his mouth to say something but pauses))
 No he didn't blink. He- look he's a good man. He wants what's best for the party and you know when you get right down to it no matter how you cut it it's very easy to figure. In the history of ugh the primaries the Republican primaries I got more votes by millions you know we have still (.) five states to go. We have California we have New Jersey we have Montana we have ugh New Mexico we have some big states and (.) I'm gonna win all those states by a lot and I'll tell you what. In the history of the Republican primaries I have gotten millions of votes more than .hhh Ronald Reagan who we all loved and and Dwight D. Eisenhower you know you go back (.) and I think he sees that and I think a lot of other people ↑you know- **AG** ((AG encourages TA to take over))
 ((raised pitch suggests that TR intended to continue))
- (7) TA: So: the winning is more important than whatever (.) concerns he might have about you as a candidate?=
 (8) TR: =It's a party ugh the people voted and (.) that's millions of votes when we had 17 people don't forget. So this isn't like you know we had two people .hhh like Hillary Clinton, sometimes says well I got a little more votes than Donald Trump. She had one person. I had 17 people. So: (.) you know I mean I blew out everybody. And I think they see that and I think that's (.) very important, Ja[ke. *BL
- (9) TA: [Ultimately, that's the most important thing-
- (10) TR: *IF You know the other thing that's really nice about that story? The Republican Party has millions of more people like millions of more ↑people that voted in the ↑primaries. I ↑think it was because of ↑me I hope it was because of me but (.) millions of people voted in the primaries some of whom never voted before.
- (11) TA: So Hillary Clinton (.) around the same time that Paul Ryan was making his announcement Hillary Clinton (.) was giving a speech she had some very tough things to say about you. One of the things she sai::d-
 → ((variation in articulation of "said" induced TR to take over))
- (12) TR: She wasn't giving. She was reading a speech that was written by other people OK but go ahead.
- TA: .hhh (.) ok .hhh-
- (13) TR: Sound bites. [()].
- (14) TA: [One of the things-
 one of the things she said was "That's not someone (.) ugh who should have the nuclear codes it's not hard to imagine Donald Trump leading us

- into war because someone got under his very thin skin." What's your response to that?
- (15) TR: Well (.) first of all I don't have thin skin. I have very strong very thick skin.
And when somebody's right about me I always you know...if you do a report and it's not necessarily positive but you're right I never complain. I do complain when it's a lie:: or when it's wrong (.) but I have a strong temperament and it's a very good temperament and it's a very in-control temperament or I wouldn't have built this unbelievable company I wouldn't have built all of the things that I have been able to do in life I mean number one bestsellers (.) one of the bestselling books of all time tremendous television s[uccess
- (16) TA: [Well I don't think anyone-
(17) TR: I have been successful well wait a minute Jake. I have been successful in every business I have ↑been ↑in if you think real estate one of the most successful ugh television "The Apprentice," which is- forget it. I mean NBC came to me they wanted to renew so badly you have no idea=
(18) TA: =But what does that have to [do with] temperament? You're [very
→ (19) TR: [(-)] [oh, it has a
(20) TA: successful, there's no ques]tion
→ (21) TR: a lot to do...you can't no-]
(.) you can't have that success without good temperament. And I will say this I was thinking about the word temperament and we need a strong temperament in this country. We have been led by weak people weak ineffective people (.) countries have taken advantage of us ugh whether it's militarily or otherwise. We have been taken advantage of by everybody. We have people with weak temperaments. I have a very strong temperament but I have a temperament that's totally under control. And you know...she she mentions that I will bring us into war. ↑She's the one that wanted to go into Iraq I mean she raised her ha:nd. She didn't know what the hell she was doing she raised her ha:nd. I said I don't wanna go into Iraq. Iraq is gonna destabilize the Middle East and I was 100 percent right= *BL
→ (22) TA: IF*
=Can I just say one point on that? I have looked so (.) long and hard for any evide[nce (.) of you-]
(23) TR: [I'll give it to you.] 2004.
They h[ad they had newspaper ar[ticles
→ (24) TA: [yeah but- but- [RIGHT but the war started in 2003=
(25) TR: =It did and- but you know what? .hhh (.) You look at- I did an interview with Howard. And that interview was the first time I was ever asked the question. Don't forget I was an entrepreneur.
I'm a real estate [person].
→ (26) TA: [Well but] didn't he-
(27) TR: They [asked me the question.]
(28) TA: [Didn't you say] to Howard that you that you thought it was [a good idea?]
→ (29) TR: [No I-] This was before the war started lo::ng before the war st[arted.
(30) TA: [Right.

- (31) TR: And it was a very like well I don't know. First nobody ever asked me the question you know when you're doing what I did nobody was talking about a lot of the questions that you ask me today.hhh and I was (.) I sort of said like we:ll I don't know maybe I don't know. By the time that started I was totally against it a:nd f-from 2004 (.) on there's a lot of proof of that because as you know there was articles in maga[zines].
- (32) TA: [Yeah
((keeps mouth open as he listens to T))
- (33) TR: There was a lot of ar[ticles].
- (34) TA: [Yeah a year after the war started=
- (35) TR: =No no but I was against it started (.)
- (36) TA: Alright [but ugh-
- (37) TR: [And if you go back and look at that interview (.) and I'll get it for you if you want but that interview was substantially before the wall- war started. It was the first time I was ever asked the question. And even that it wasn't like oh yes we should go in it was a ve:ry like yeah maybe you know. *BL *((as TA starts his turn))*
- (38) TA: The only thing I would say and then we don't have to belabor this point is if there is evidence of you being against the war strongly before the war actually started I would love to [see that.
- (39) TR: *((opens mouth and raises eyebrows while gazing into the camera))* [Ok but I think there is evidence.
- (40) TA: [I just haven't seen that
- (41) TR: [I think there is evidence=
- (42) TA: =[OK
- (43) TR: [OK I hadn't been asked that question before. Nobody said that to me before (.) I think there is evidence I will see if I can get it.
- (44) TA: OK=
- (45) TR: =But I will say (.) from the beginning of 2004 I mean I've had articles and...I mean there are magazin[es. ()OK?]
- (46) TA: [2004 no question] No question=
- (47) TR: = So I was against the war a lo:ng time ago and it destabilized the Middle East and that's exactly what I said was going to happen. *IF *((successful floor retention using *IF as TA raises hand to indicate that he has something to say))*
- And I also said (..) Iran will take over Iraq because we ruined the balance of those two militarily. We destroyed- we knocked out one of the two .hhh balancing prongs .ihhh and Iran is taking- as sure as you're sitting there Iran is taking over Iraq. They're taking over the oil they're taking over everything *((due to the camera angle it is not clear when TR started *HH*; TR drops *HH* in order to indicate the end of his turn))*
- (48) TA: There's no question about a lot of Shia influence in Iraq.
((as TA speaks, TR slowly and slightly rocks back and forth))
 But let's move on to something ugh a criticism you made of Secretary Clinton (.) ugh about her speech. At a rally in Sacramento you accused her of lying about your foreign policy as it relates to (.) expressing support for Japan being able to get nuclear weapon[s.
- (49) TR: [A hundred percent.
- (50) TA: Well let me just read from you [and you explain to me
- (51) TR: [Yeah sure.

- (52) TA: This is from an April 3 interview with Chris Wallace of Fox News (.) you said (.) "North Korea has nukes, Japan has a problem with that. I mean they have a big problem with that. Maybe they would in fact be better off if they defend themselves from North Korea." and Chris Wallace says "With nukes?" and you say "Including with nukes yes including with nukes." So-
- (53) TR: Yeah but what I:: (.) here's what you don't have (.) .hhh every ↑time I have ever said anything about Japan (.) defending themselves...and again they're gonna have to defend themselves with whatever they are gonna have (.) we right now defend Japan. Japan pays us a small fraction of the cost a very small fraction .hhh I want them to pay us at least the cost, be[cause we don't have]-
- (54) TA: [but they ()] it's about 50 percent.=
- (55) TR: =We:ll it's actually less than 50 percent but a general once said 50 percent recently (.) but even if it was 50 percent why aren't they paying us a hundred [percent?
- (56) TA: [You want it to be a hundred percent?
- (57) TR: ↑Of ↑course they should pay a hundred percent. ↑You're talking about...you're talking about billions and billions of dollars and you're talking about worse than that (.) you're talking about World War III. Somebody attacks Japan and we end up in World War III? **IF* BL*** ((TA raises hand to say something, which TR tries to fend off; unsuccessful))
- (58) TA: It's a con[()].
- (59) TR: [And by the way by the way] no...listen to this. If we get attacked Japan doesn't have to defend us OK? That's pretty bad (.) whenever I talk about Japan and defense and NATO and defense and Saudi Arabia:: and (.) by the way: Germany a lot of people don't even...you know until I got involved in this most people didn't even know we were defending Japan and Germany. They knew about Saudi Arabia I mean Saudi Arabia's got more money than anybody. Why aren't they paying us, OK?=-
- (60) TA: =We have (.) bases we have military [bases. (
- (61) TR: [Yeah and you know we pay rent on those] bases (.) we pay rent **IF*** ((to retain floor)) and do you know we
- (62) TA:)] ((ceased gestures **IH**, no attempt at claiming the floor))
- (63) TR: pay rent in Arabia? We're defending them we're paying rent. [Ok?
- (64) TA: [But
- anyway my only point is-
- (65) TR: No no what I am saying is though (.) Jake is (.) how...how can this be possible? Why aren't they paying at least the cost? And don't ↑forget that cost then we have tremendous backup and other things I mean (.) we're ↑providing a tremendous service. Our country is stone-cold broke. We owe \$19 trillion. It's gonna be \$21 trillion very soon we have Obamacare which is a total disaster you saw yesterday in Texas 60 percent increase with Blue Cross/Blue (.) Shield through Obamacare 60 percent increase. It was (.) I mean it should be a scandal, but nobody's even reporting it. It's hardly being reported. So (.) whenever I talk about Japan or Germany or Saudi Arabia I always say no no (.) if they don't make us whole they may have to defend themselves.
- [And so- ((TA takes over at a legitimate completion point, but TR wants to continue; finally TR yields, whereas TA maintains the floor))

- (66) TA: [And that's- that's where the nukes would come in (.) if they don't make-
if they don't pay for the o[ne hundred percent.]
- (67) TR: [That's up to them] It's not up to me. It's up
→ to them .hhh-
- (68) TA: OK
- (69) TR: But you know what I think is gonna happen? You have to be prepared to
walk from a deal you can't go in there saying Japa-...like Hillary said we
will never let our partners down we will never never never OK that's
wonderful (.) except you know ↑what? If I'm Japan I say good we might
as well keep paying the 50 percent it's actually less than that. We might
even keep...you know just keep paying what we're paying which is a
fraction of the cost. You have to be prepared to walk. If you aren't prepared
to walk you're never gonna be able to- these are very smart people we're
dealing with OK? They've been ripping us off for a long time and I love
Japan I have many friends in [Japan.
- (70) TA: [These are U.S. allies I mean major U.S.
allies.
- (71) TR: **AG** Excuse ↑me. ((*annoyed*))
- (72) TA: ↓Yeah
- (73) TR: It's ↑got to ↑work two ↑ways.
- (74) TA: OK
- (75) TR: .hhh they never talk about the economics they never talk about the cost (.)
big factor big factor. They always say Donald Trump...so she says,
Donald Trump- I could take that speech (.) and almost all of the lines but
certainly more than half it was just written by professional (.) people and
then she read it. I mean you tell me that's presidential OK? But she read it.
So much falsity in there I mean so many things were wrong but I could
take that speech and I actually will be doing it I think I'm gonna re- I think
I'm going to (.) uhm give a little retort to her speech. Maybe I'll
- (76) TA: Mm-hmm
- (77) TR: do it on Monday (.) before the election (.) .hhh and most of the things many
of the things she said were absolutely wrong.
- (78) TA: I wanna get your response to uhm some violence we've seen ugh outside
events of you[rs ugh violence committed by people opposed to you.=
- (79) TR: [Yeah
- (80) = By thugs
- (81) TA: What is your mess[age?
- (82) TR: [By thugs.
- (83) TA: What is your message [to th-
- (84) TR: [The people that burn our American flag they're
thug[s.
- (85) TA: [What is your message to these people committing these acts of
violence?
- (86) TR: Ugh (.) I would be very strong if I were the police ugh I think Sheriff Joe
Arpaio would not have let a thing like that happen I will tell you because
we had a potential of some violence.
He walked in there and they just split up like you have never [seen.
- (87) TA: [So you
think the police forces [have have have failed?]
- (88) TR: [↑No no I think...well] they they didn't have to
many but I will say this...no no I'm (.) the biggest fan=

- (89) TA: = No no [but you don't think they were aggressive enough?]
 (90) TR: [they have to be able to do their job] no I think they have to be able to do their job.
 I think the police forces are (.) being treated very unfairly in this country they're afraid to do anything because they don't wanna lose their jobs (.) they don't wanna lose their pensions. They don't wanna be criticized and (.) people ugh things are happening let me give you an example .hhh we had a tremendous crowd as you know last night it was a lovefest inside no problem whatsoever. It was a lovefest it went on for an hour I spoke for an hour. The people (.) were cheering and standing ovations I mean it was an amazing th[ing].
- (91) TA: [Right.
 (92) TR: OUTSIDE there were probably 150 people some of those people are- they go to every rally OK they're (.) in my opinion they're paid agitators but you can figure that out better than anybody .hhh (.) when my people walked out...they're peaceful people.
 Eggs were thrown into a woman's [face.
 → (93) TA: [It's not acceptable I I I underst-
 (94) TR: My people didn't start it eggs were thrown in somebody's face you know it was very interesting ugh last week I was in San Diego I had a massive crowd and many of them were Marines and they were ugh Navy SEALs. They were tough 'cause San Diego is very much of a military area .hhh and these people walked out and they saw what was happening and ma:n was that problem over with pretty fast.=
- (95) TA: =Let me ask you about comments you made re[cently]
 (96) TR: [By the way it's] very important though that I say (.) the people that are causing the problem they're not my people. They're people that are outside they're thugs and they're agitators they're bad people .hhh I think they're sent (.) by:: the ↑Democrats that's-
 → (97) TA: Do you have evidence for that?
 (98) TR: ↑Well well the've got the Bernie signs they got a lot of Bernie [↑si:gnz.
 (99) TA: [So they're Bernie supporters?=
 (100) TR: =Well they got the Bernie signs and they're the Bernie signs the same people...the same signs that they use at their rallie[s].
 (101) TA: [I wanna ask you about comments you made about the judge in the Tr[ump] University [case.]
 (102) TR: [Sure]
 [sure]
 (103) TA: You said that you thought it was a conflict of interest that he was the judge because he's of Mexican heritage even though he's fr[om] Indiana.
 (104) TR: [OK fine yeah.
 (104) TA: Hillary Clinton ugh said that that is a racist attack on a federal judge.
 (105) TR: Oh she's so wonderful you know I mean here's a woman that should be put in jail for what she did with her e-mails and she's commenting ***HH*** [on this. ((tries to prevent TA from taking over using ***HH***, unsuccessful))
 → (106) TA: **HH*** [But what's [about the substance of the-]
 → (107) TR: [Let me just tell you let me ju]st tell you it's very simple .hhh

- (108) TA: N
- (109) TR: I have a case where I have thousands of people (.) have taken this course and thousands and thousands of people have said great review great reviews. Fortunately (.) just about everybody that took the courses have signed a review (.) an evaluation they call it and it's gotten tremendous marks ↑thousands I don't mean like two people.
I mean thousands [of people.
- (110) TA: [Right.
- (111) TR: .hhh I have a situation where the woman that brought the case (.) brought the case she's the plaintiff (.) she was deposed she was found to be a disaster for them as a witness, because she gave an evaluation that was like the best evaluation you've ever [heard wait just one second.
- (112) TA: DP
[*((opens mouth to say something))*
[OK
- (113) TR: And she did a tape like from your camera saying that this school was fantastic, it was fantastic .hhh they went to the judge and they said: Your Honor ugh we don't want her anymore to be our plaintiff. So ↑we ↑said let's dismiss the CASE that's OK let's dismiss the case (.) and he said: No I won't dismiss the case and she doesn't have to be [the plaintiff. Let me tell you-]
- (114) TA: [But what does that
have to do] with his [heritage?
- (115) TR: [I'll tell you. I have had ruling after ruling after ruling that's been bad rulings OK? I have been treated very unfairly. Beforehand we had another judge. If that judge was still there this case would have been over two years ago. DP (*fending off TA who raises hand to contest the floor*)) Let me just tell you, I have had horrible rulings. I have been treated very unfairly by this judge. Now this judge is of Mexican heritage. I'm building a ↑wall OK? I'm building a ↑wall I'm going to do very well with the Hispanics the Mexican [civilians.
- (116) TA: [So no Mexican judge could ever (.) be
involved in a case [that] involves you?
- (117) TR: [↑Well]
no he is a member of a society where you know very pro-Mexico and that's fine it's all fine (.) [but I think- *HH* (*tries to retain the floor, which is ignored by TA*))
- (118) TA: [Except that you're [calling into question his
heritage.]
- (119) TR: [I THINK he should
recuse] himself .hhh [and then you] ALSO SAY (.) does he
- (120) TA: [Because he's Latino.]
- (121) TR: know the lawyer on the other ↑side I mean does he know the ↑lawyer
and you know a lot of people [say yes I know-
- (122) TA: [But I am not talking about that
[I'm talking about-]
- (123) TR: [Well, ↑no that's another-] that's another problem.
- (124) TA: [But you're invoking his
race when talking [about whether or not] he can do his job.
- (125) TR: [Here's what-]

- Jake (..) I'm building a wa::ll OK? I'm building a wa::ll. I am trying to keep business out of Mexico. Mexico's fine. There's nothing- *BL
- (126) TA: But he's Ameri[can. He's an American.]
- (127) TR: [() Mexican] He's of Mexican heritage and he's ↑very ↑proud ↑of it, as I am of where I come [from my parents.
- (128) TA: [But he's an American. You keep talking about (.) it's a con[flict of] interests] because [of] Mexico.=
- (129) TR: Jake [Jake] [Jake]
=Are you ready? (..) I have a case that should have been dismissed already (..) I have thousands of people saying Trump University's fantastic OK? I have a case that should have been dismissed I have a judge that never ever give a () now we lo::se the ↑plaintiff. He lets the plaintiff of the case ↑out so why isn't he canceling the case so we thought we won the ca[se.
- (130) TA: [So you disagree with his rulings [I totally] understand [that but you-
- (131) TR: [no no no] [not me. I have had lawyers come up to me saying you are being treated so unfairly (.) it's unbelievab[le.
- (132) TA: [↑Isn't-
- (133) TR: YOU KNOW that plaintiffs in the case have all said wonderful things about the school and they're suing? ↑You ↑know ↑why they're suing? Because they want to get their ↑money back.
- (134) TA: I don't really (.) want to litigate the c[ase (..) of] Trump
- (135) TR: [Yeah but you have to.]
- (136) TA: University. What I- *((raises hand, keeping it in fixed position, then dropping it as he realizes he will not retain the floor))*
- (137) TR: IF* Because because if he was giving me fair rulings I wouldn't say that. IF* *(second IF* unsuccessful)*
- (138) TA: *((raises hand at legitimate completion point))* My question is-
- (139) TR: Jake
- (140) TA: (..) *((after hesitating, gives up turn))* Yeah
- (141) TR: If he were giving me fair rulings (.) I wouldn't be talking to you this way. He's given me ho:rrible [rulings.
- (142) TA: [But I don't care if you criticize him (.) that's fine. You can criticize every decision. What I'm saying is if you invoke his race as a reason why he c[an't do his job-]
- (143) TR: [I think that's ↑why] he's ↑doing it.
- (144) TA: But (..) [Is he-
- (145) TR: [I think that's ↑why ↑he's doing it.
- (146) TA: When Hillary Clinton says i[t's a racist attack-]
- (147) TR: [Hillary Hillary Clin]ton is a stiff if Hillary Clin[ton becomes president I mean-
- (148) TA: [But Paul RYAN today Paul Ryan today said he didn't care for the way that you were attacking this judge.
- (149) TR: **IH G HS** *((TA opens mouth and raises hand))*
Look I'm just telling you Paul Ryan doesn't know the case. *HH* Here's the sto:ry-
- (150) TA: Isn't it th-
- (151) TR: I SHOULD HAVE won this case on summary judgement (.) this is not a case this is a case I should've won on summary judgement do you know

- the law firm paid Hillary Clinton hundreds of thousands of dollars to make speeches? Do you know the law firm has-
- (152) TA: I do and [we've reported it]. We've [ugh we've] reported it on my show
 (153) TR: [Oh you do?] [↑OK ↑good]
- (154) TA: In fact-
 (155) TR: Well I'm glad...you're the only one
- (156) TA: [The only ones-
 → (157) TR: [The LAW FIRM...wait a minute. The law firm paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to Hillary Clinton (.) for spee[ches.
- (158) TA: [Before either of you
 [were president...were running for president]
 (159) TR: [She wasn't worth it. Everybody fell a]sleep during her speech [OK?
 (160) TA: [Before either of you were running for president they did. But here's th- the just the fundamental [question. ((raises hand))
 (161) TR: [Do you know that they have contributed tremendous amounts of money to her campaign?
 → (162) TA: (.) Yes ((hand is still raised))
 (163) TR: Do you know that they contributed a lot of money to Eric Schneiderman [the] New York attorney g[eneral?
 → (164) TA: [Here's-] [Here's my question.
 (165) No no do you know that?
 (166) TA: I did not know [that. ((hand is still raised))
 (167) TR: [Do you know that these people went to every ↑attorney general practically in the country that they could and do you know this case was turned down by almost every attorney general from Texas to (.) Florida to many of these states?
 (168) TA: Is it no:t (.) when Hillary Clinton says this is a racist attack and you reject that (.) if you are saying he can't do his job because of his race (.) ↑is that ↑not the definition of racis[m? ((slowly ceases hand gesture from (160)))
 (169) TR: [No I don't think so at all [no.
 (170) TA: [↑No?
 (171) TR: No he's ↑proud ↑of ↑his ↑heritage I I respect him for [that.
 (172) TA: [But you're saying he can't do his job because of that.
 (173) TR: Look he's proud of his heritage OK? I'm building a wall. Now I think I'm going to do very w[ell with Hispanics] ↑YOU ↑KNOW ↑WHY ↑I'm
 → (174) TA: [He's a legal citizen]
 → (175) TR: ↑gonna ↑do ↑well ↑with ↑Hispanics? Because I'm going to bring back jobs and they're gonna get jobs (.) right now. They're gonna get jobs I think I'm gonna do very well with Hispanics but (.) we're building a wall (.) he's a Mexican. We're ↑building a ↑wall between ↑here and Mexico (.) The answer is (.) he is giving us very unfair rulings .hhh rulings that people can't even believe. This case should have ended YEARS ago on summary judgment. The best lawyers- I have spoken to so many lawyers they said ↑this is ↑not a case this is a case that should have ended.
 → (176) TA: **IF*** I have-
 (177) TR: This judge is giving us unfair rulings (.) now I say why ↑well I wanna- I'm building a ↑wall OK (.) and it's a wall between Mexico, not another country [and I-
 (178) TA: [But he's not- he's not from M[exico.

- (179) TR: [IN MY OPINION-
 (180) TA: He's from Indiana.
 (181) TR: He is- he is Mexican...Mexican heritage and he's ↑very proud of it.
 (182) TA: [But
 you're ↑not from Scotland [because you have Scottish heritage=
 → (183) TR: [Excuse me **OP** ((gives up))
 =Hey, you know what? I'm not building a wall between Scotland and the
 Unit[ed States.
 (184) TA: [I have two more questions. I'm being told we're running out of time.
 I interviewed Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell who has
 endorsed you and I- he just wrote a book and in the book he talks about
 how he did not vote for Barry Goldwater in 1964 because Barry Goldwater
 voted against the Civil Rights Act .hhh and he thought that that destroyed
 years and years of great work the Republican Party had done for civil
 rights and it alienated blacks from the Republican Party (.) for generations
 (.) he is worried that you might do the same thing for Latinos=
 (185) TR: =I don't think so (..) I don't think so look he's worried about a lot of things
 I guess .hhh but I don't think so I think I'm gonna do very well with Latinos
 or Hispanics .hhh ugh you know I employ thousands of Latinos. I employ
 over the years (.) thousands of Mexicans. They're great. They're great. I
 deal with them I sell them apartments I deal you know I deal with them
 and by the way I deal with China. I have tremendous relations business
 relationships with China including having the largest bank in the world of
 a tenant in one of my buildings in Manhattan and selling
 (186) TA: Right
 (187) TR: lots of condos. ↑I ↑get ↑along with all these countries by the way and I
don't blame Mexico and I don't blame the leadership of Mexico I don't
 blame the leadership of China I blame the leadership of the United States
 (.) because they're doing stupid things. They're doing- they're- I don't know
 are they stupid people? I guess the answer is yes or they have bad
 intentions one or the other but you look at what's happening to our country
 and you know you congratulated me before on winning .hhh
 (188) TA: Yeah
 (189) TR: And I told you I was going to win and one of the primary reasons I felt so
 confident was that the people of this country are smart and when they see
 the stupidity going on with the Iran deal and these trade deals- trade deals
 that are just sucking the blood out of our country...they're sucking the jobs
 and the money out of our country .hhh I felt I would win and I turned out
 to be right.
 (190) TA: Last question... a- a fun one for you (.) if you win, or in your construct
when you win (.) you're gonna move into the White House, yes?
 (191) TR: Yes (.) yes
 (192) TA: Will you redecorate it (.) Trump-style?
 (193) TR: **L** No I wouldn't I would- I just want a place...honestly look it's a very
 special place it's a very special building. A lot of people say I will move
 into the hotel that I'm building two blocks away .hhh ugh no. The White
 House represents something so important.
 (194) TA: So no big Trump [(.) sign on top of the White House?
 → (195) TR: [***HH*** It's gonna be clean it's gonna be beautiful it's
 gonna be well-maintained. It's going to be just like it is (..) I'm gonna be
 working I'm not gonna be decorating I'm gonna be working. We're gonna

make new deals with China new deals with Japan new deals with Mexico.
We're gonna make great deals for the country. We're gonna make the
country rich again and we're gonna make our country great again.

(196) TA: Mr. Trump, thanks so much for your [time] I always [appreciate you
taking ques]tions

(197) TR: much] [Thank you Jake. [Yeah] [thank you very

(198) TA: [Thank you so much.

8 Appendix B

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Folgt man Sacks' Regelwerk zur Gesprächsführung, welche das Rederecht jeweils einem Sprecher zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt im Dialog zuweist, so erwecken Unterbrechungen durchaus den Eindruck eines negativ konnotierten Konstrukts. Die weitverbreitete Auffassung von Unterbrechungen als Instrument zur Kontrolle des Gesprächspartners sowie des Verlaufes eines Dialoges erfuhr in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine Wende, die die Inklusion weiterer Faktoren zur Bestimmung der jeweiligen Unterbrechungen vorsah. Murray zählte zu diesen Faktoren, unter anderem, etwa die Intentionen sowohl des Zuhörers als auch des Sprechers, sowie den Kontext in welchem Unterbrechungen stattfinden.

Die detaillierte Auseinandersetzung mit Murray's Ansatz zur Messung von Unterbrechungen verdeutlicht jedoch dessen Einschränkungen, welche letztendlich den Ausschluss dieses Ansatzes von der Korpusanalyse zur Folge hatte. Dazu zählt primär der große Interpretationsspielraum, nachdem man nicht in die Köpfe der Konversationspartner sehen kann. Dies würde einen direkten Zugang zu Donald Trump und seinen Interviewern erfordern, was im Rahmen dieser Diplomarbeit nicht möglich war.

Zudem zeigt die vielschichtige Analyse von Donald Trump's Unterbrechungsverhalten in politischen Interviews deutlich den Einsatz von Unterbrechungen als Mittel der Machtdemonstration und Kontrolle. Augenscheinlich wird dies vor allem bei Donald Trump's Handhabung des ‚Unterbrochen-werdens‘, welche einen klaren Widerstand gegenüber dem Interviewer verzeichnet. Zusätzlich sieht die Diplomarbeit die Untersuchung der zugrundeliegenden Funktionen von Unterbrechungen vor, welche die Rolle von Unterbrechungen als Kontrollinstrument bestätigen.

Abschließend war aus der Untersuchung nonverbaler Signale unter Verwendung des Videomaterials, ersichtlich, dass die nonverbale Komponente zwar als Vorboten von Unterbrechungen gilt sowie die Funktionen des Anfechtens, Behaltens und der Beanspruchung des Rederechts erfüllt. Diese tragen jedoch nicht wesentlich zu einem erfolgreichen Ausgang bei. Wie die Analyse zeigt, liegt dies vor allem dem emotionalen Bezug welche die Gesprächspartner zum jeweiligen Thema haben, zu Grunde.