



INTERACTION IN OPRAH SHOW: A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC STUDY

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Abstract:

The aim of this study is to examine the management of interaction in The Oprah Winfrey Show by exploring the turn taking techniques and mechanisms used by the participants in this show. It is an international American talk show, which provides some sort of naturally occurring conversation. As such, the researchers intend to analyze the turn taking system used from a socio-pragmatic perspective. The Sequential Production Model by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) in combination with a work done by Duncan (1972) concerning turn taking mechanisms will be used as the theoretical framework in the present study. Moreover, the study takes into account the effect of the socio-pragmatic variables, namely, age and gender on the use of turn taking. The study concludes that gazing plays a crucial role in selecting the next speaker and there are gender and age differences concerning the frequency and type of violations that occur while taking turns at talk. The study can be of value to those interested in studying the organization of talk in interaction. Moreover, it is of help to TV talk show hosts who want to develop their interactional competence by making use of the way Oprah anchors her show.

Keywords: interaction management, turn taking, talk shows, gender, age

1. Introduction

Many studies in different fields such as sociology and anthropology have been dedicated to the analysis of the way talk is organized and structured in different settings. Some of these studies have focused on the organization and structure of talk in ordinary, everyday conversation while others have focused on the organization of talk in institutional settings such as news interviews, courtrooms, classrooms,... etc. Another type of talk has emerged in recent years, which is the "semi-institutional talk". Cornelia Ilie (2001, p. 216) states that this type of talk "*does not represent a homogeneous discourse type*". It is considered as a subtype of institutional discourse because it combines aspects of casual conversation, i.e., spontaneous talk as well as aspects of institutional talk for being "*rule-governed*". Moreover, Ilie (2001, p. 218) states that "*Like in casual conversation,*

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the communicative interaction in a talk show can sometimes exhibit unpredictability in terms of turn-taking" though it is rule governed.

Turn taking is considered as one of the basic patterns of conversation where speaker-listeners' roles change constantly in order to take turns at talk (Coulthard, 1985, p. 59). Jakob Steensig (2011, p. 501) states that turn taking "*refers to how people decide who is to speak, when in spoken interaction*". He defines the turn as "*an utterance*" that is produced by the participant "*who has the right to speak*". For Steensig, examining the ways people take turns at speech involves investigating the "*linguistic and other communicative resources used to construct turns-at-talk*". Moreover, he believes that it is important to study the social factors that are responsible for the distribution of turns since there is an important relationship between "*the turn taking pattern and roles, relationships, identities*" as well as the institutional setting. Therefore, Steensig believes that turn taking is "*a truly socio-pragmatic field*" (Steensig, 2011, p. 501). This study focuses on the turn taking techniques and mechanisms which contribute to the management of interaction in the Oprah Winfrey Show. In addition, it examines the effect of gender and age on the use of turn taking. Moreover, it takes into account the presence of an audience and the influence their participation has on the organization of interaction.

2. Turn Taking: An overview

Social interaction is considered as an organized activity that follows an ordered pattern. This order is very important and contributes to the understanding of interaction. The system which accounts for the organization of talk in interaction is called the "*turn taking system*". Wilson, Wiemann, and Zimmerman (1984, p. 160) have defined turn taking as "*the allocation of turns in conversational interaction*".

Many studies have been dedicated to the study of the allocation of turns. Scholars have given much attention to the study of turn taking system and many different approaches to turn allocation have been proposed. Three of the major approaches to turn taking have emerged in the 1970s. These are: the stochastic approach 1970, the signaling approach 1977 and the sequential production approach 1974 (Wilson *et al.*, 1984).

The stochastic approach has been proposed by Jaffe and Feildstein in 1970. This approach treats "*turn transition as a probabilistic process*". The probability of speakers' change is examined after silences. Thus, speaker change is sought after silence and "*less strongly after syntactical completion*" (Wilson *et al.*, 1984, p. 161). The weakness of this approach is "*its inability to describe how participants actually orient themselves to conversational phenomena*" because it treats turn transitions as a probabilistic process (Tanka, 1999, p. 62). Moreover, this model has been criticized for neglecting many of the basic and important aspects of turn taking (Wilson *et al.*, 1984).

The second one is the signaling approach. This approach has been proposed by Duncan and Fiske (1977). It assumes that the operation of turn taking depends on certain signals or cues by which participants signal their right to take the turn, yield the turn or hold the turn (Wilson *et al.*, 1984). Thus, this approach views turn taking as determined by the use of certain cues. However, it has failed to take into consideration the social context of interaction. Therefore, it is limited and less generalisable to other languages and cultures (Tanka, 1999).

The third approach is the sequential production approach which is proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). It is considered as the most productive approach to turn taking. This approach views participants as producing turn by turn sequences. It has provided several options for speaker selection and a set of rules as well as aspects of repair if these rules are broken. Sacks *et al.* (1974) have proposed this approach after analyzing a large data of naturally occurring conversation. Wilson *et al.* (1984, p. 170) state that the sequential production approach “is proposed as characterizing the allocation of turns in any conversation irrespective of socially, cultural or linguistic context”.

3. Gender and age differences in the use of turn taking techniques and mechanisms

Anna-Brita Stenström (2011, p. 548) has stated that socio-pragmatics refers to “communication in its socio-cultural context”. Socio-pragmatics investigates the effect of social conditions on language use. These conditions “put special demands on the speaker’s pragmatic competence and ability to adjust his/her speech strategies appropriately according to different social variables”. Thus, it appears that social variables affect language use. Two variables will be investigated here in relation to the use of the turn taking system. These are gender and age variables. There are so many differences between men and women concerning the use of the turn taking system. For example, men’s conversational style is competitive (Coates, 2013), they interrupt more than women do (Beattie, 1981). Moreover, women’s turns are shorter than men’s turns, and they exhibit more silences than men do (Coates, 2013). Besides, gender indicates how a person chooses to express himself, which identifies he actually represents (Abbas & Al-Bahrani, 2015, p. 8). Age, on the other hand, has an effect on the use of the turn taking. Marisa Casillas (2014, p. 54) states that “adults are adept at taking turns. They do so rapidly, with brief or no overlap” even when the length of the turn and turn order is not specified in advance, while children are slow and use very long pauses and fillers.

4. Sacks' et al. Model of Turn Taking: The Sequential Production Approach (1974)

The sequential production approach is considered as the most influential and productive approach to turn taking. It has described most of the important aspects of turn taking used in conversation (Wilson *et al.*, 1984). Sacks *et al.* (1974) depend on analyzing recordings of naturally occurring conversation and they have described the turn taking techniques employed by participants in conversation.

They view the organization of turn taking as a “basic” feature of conversation. It is basic in that “it would be invariant to parties, such that whatever variation the parties brought to bear in the conversation would be accommodated without change in the system, and such that it could be selectively and locally affected by the social aspects of context” (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 700). In their paper “A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of turn taking for Conversation”, Sacks *et al.* (1974) found that the turn taking in conversation contains two components and a set of rules. These two components are the turn constructional component and the turn allocation component.

4.1 The Turn Constructional Component

This component involves identifying the various unit types the speaker can use in order to construct his/her turn at talk. Unit types used in English include the use of "*sentential, phrasal, and lexical constructions*". These units are called "*turn constructional units*" (TCUs) (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 702). Selting (2000, p. 470) defines the TCU as "*the smallest interactionally relevant complete linguistic unit in a given context*". The construction of these units is said to be context sensitive, i.e., it depends on the context of interaction. Furthermore, these units are recognized as TCUs if they are recognized by participants as projectable and possibly complete.

4.2 Turn Allocation Component

Sacks *et al.* (1974) state that the techniques used for turn allocation are divided into two groups: (a) the current speaker selects the next speaker (b) next speaker self-selects himself to take the turn.

a. Current Speaker Selects the Next Speaker

When the current speaker selects the next speaker, then the talk must be designed in such a way that allows for this selection to occur. There are some forms of talk that help the current speaker to select the next speaker such as questions. In addition, Wilson *et al.* (1984) show that a current speaker can be able to select a next speaker through addressing him by name or title. Gene Lerner (2003), on the other hand, thinks that in addition to the use of names and address terms, gaze can be used as a technique for selecting the next speaker.

b. Next Speaker Self-Selects

Liddicoat (2007) shows that self selection occurs when one participant starts talking though there is not any cue in the previous talk that selects this participant to be the next speaker. Moreover, he believes that self selection occurs when the previous talk is constructed in such a way that requires a next speaker to take the turn though the talk does not specify who is to speak next. Moreover, self selection rule can apply only when the current speaker has not selected any other participant to be the next speaker (Garcia, 2013). Sometimes, the current speaker finishes his turn and pauses in order to allow other participants to take their turns. Nonetheless, when no speaker starts talking the current speaker can self select and continue talking again (Liddicoat, 2007). Sacks *et al.* (1974) provide a set of rules that order the use of turn allocation and they stress that the ordering of these rules is very important because each option constrains the use of the other one. These rules are:

A. At initial turn-constructional unit's initial transition-relevance place:

- a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the party so selected has rights, and is obliged, to take next turn to speak, and no others have such rights or obligations, transfer occurring at that place.
- b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted, with first starter acquiring rights to a turn, transfer occurring at that place.
- c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then current speaker may, but need not, continue, unless another self-selects.

B. If, at initial turn-constructural unit's initial transition-relevance place, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the Rule-set a-c reapplies at next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until the transfer is affected (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 704).

In general, the turn taking system proposed by Sacks *et al.* (1974) accounts for certain facts of social interaction. These facts for which the system accounts are considered as the main features of this turn taking system. The characteristics of the turn taking system are the following:

- 1) Speaker change recurs, or at least occurs.
- 2) Overwhelmingly one party talks at a time.
- 3) Occurrences of overlap are common, but brief.
- 4) Transitions with no gap and overlap are common.
- 5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
- 6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
- 7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance.
- 8) What the parties say is not specified in advance.
- 9) The relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance.
- 10) Number of parties can vary.
- 11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
- 12) Turn allocation techniques are used.
- 13) Various turn constructional units are used as TCUs.
- 14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn taking errors and violations.

4.3 Silence

Though the basic rule of turn taking is that no more and no less than one party speaks at a time, silence may occur. However, it is brief and infrequent. Nonetheless, the occurrence of silence is problematic and has to be repaired especially if it is too long (Liddicoat, 2007).

4.4 Overlap

Garcia (2013, p. 57) defines 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*". As such, overlap mostly occurs at transition relative places (TRPs) as a result of "*potential next speakers*" attempts to start as quick as possible in order to gain the turn. When overlap occurs, it must be removed, and participants should adhere to the one-at-a-time rule. Overlap can have another meaning when it is represented through the ambiguous truth for readers and this is out of the scope of this study (Bahar & Abbas, 2016).

4.5 Interruption

Interruption in conversation is considered as a violation of the turn taking system which allows only one party to speak at a time and which gives participants the right to produce a complete TCU. An interruption occurs when a next speaker talks before a current speaker finishes his turn (Beattie, 1981). Scholars consider interruption as "*a deep intrusion*" on the right of the current speaker and disrupt the flow of conversation (Lie *et al.*, 2005, p. 234). Many scholars, however,

believe that interruption may be a sign of a "*heightened involvement*" (Gregori Signes, 2000, p. 24) and they classified it into two broad types: cooperative interruption and intrusive interruption (Lie *et al.*, 2005). Consequently, when an interruption occurs, people's reaction differs according to the intention of the interrupting participant. Participants accept cooperative interruption, but they reject intrusive ones.

Though the sequential production approach is considered as the most influential approach to turn taking, still it has been criticized for neglecting the nonverbal aspect of turn taking. Therefore, the researchers are going to combine it with a work done by Duncan (1972) concerning turn taking mechanisms and which takes into account the nonverbal cues in turn taking in order to overcome this shortcoming of the sequential model.

4.6 Turn Taking Mechanisms

Duncan (1972, p. 285) states that there are certain cues by which participants show their "*state with regard to speaking turn*". These are considered as the mechanisms of turn exchange. These mechanisms are: turn claiming, turn holding and turn yielding:

A. Turn claiming

This technique is used by participants as an attempt to "get the floor and become the current speaker" (Rui and Ting, 2014, p. 40). This can be achieved by producing filled pauses and verbal fillers or combinations of both to start the turn and claim the floor.

B. Turn Holding

Speakers use some turn taking strategies to hold the turn and keep the floor without being interrupted. One of these mechanisms is the use of filled pauses such as *em, er...etc.* (Abdulrahim, 2006). In addition, speakers can use silent pauses to keep the floor by placing them in "strategic places". Coulthard (1985), on the other hand, argues that speakers can use "utterance uncompleter" such as 'but', 'however', 'and',...etc. to keep the turn. These "clause connectors" are used to turn a "potentially complete sentence into incomplete one" (Coulthard, 1985, p. 64).

C. Turn Yielding

This mechanism is used to signal that the speaker has finished his turn and is ready to yield it to the next speaker. Duncan (1972, p. 286-7) provides "*a set of six behavioural cues*" which may be used alone or in combination to yield the turn. These are: intonation (the use of pitch level/terminal juncture), paralanguage (withdrawal on the last syllable of a phonemic clause), body motion, socio eccentric sequences (you know, but uh), paralanguage (loudness/pitch in combination with the socio-eccentric sequences), and syntax. In addition to these cues, Stenström (2011) states that silent pauses as well as filled pauses in combination with verbal fillers like 'you know' can act as turn yielding cues.

5. Eye gaze and turn taking

Eye gaze is one of the nonverbal elements that play an important role in social interaction in different ways. Many linguists believe that eye gaze has different tasks in conversational interaction. Novick (1996) states that "*gaze plays a powerful and complex role in face to face conversation*". He adds that while speaking with each other, people tend to look at one another to "*monitor listener acceptance and understanding, to signal attention and interest, and to coordinate*

turn taking". Goodwin (1981, p. 30), on the other hand, believes that "gaze is not simply a means of obtaining information, the receiving end of a communication system, but is itself a social act". Furthermore, he asserts that since the gaze of a speaker is "constrained by the social character of gaze" which provides for the organisation and the meaningfulness of the gaze, "thus, the gaze of a speaker toward another party can constitute a signal that the speaker's utterance is being addressed to that party".

Hence, gaze plays a powerful role in face to face interaction and its interpretation is context dependent. The role of gaze in fluent communication has been acknowledged by many scholars. Kendon (1967) was the first to emphasize eye gaze as a turn yielding and turn holding cue. In addition, he thinks that the gaze of a speaker within interaction has two different functions: "a means of monitoring and as a means of regulation and expression" (p. 53). He adds that when the speaker looks at his recipient at the end of an utterance, he "can both monitor the recipient's response and signal that a response is desired". Thus, gaze can be used as an addressing cue to select the next speaker. Moreover, it can be used as a turn yielding cue. Thus, gaze helps in facilitating the smooth exchange of turns in social interaction. In this paper, the researchers are going to investigate the role gaze plays in coordinating turn taking in conversation.

6. Literature review

The analysis of interaction management and the role turn taking techniques play in the organisation of conversation have gained a considerable attention in the recent decades. Many linguists are interested in the analysis of the system that accounts for the organisation of talk in interaction especially with the emergence of new talk genre such as news interviews, radio talk and talk shows. Since then, many studies have been carried out concerning this topic. One of such studies is entitled "Determinants of Turn-Taking in Nigerian Television Talk Shows" by Omolara Grace Olutayo (2013). The data of this study is taken from three popular Nigerian talk shows. The researcher has selected four episodes with different topics from each show. The qualitative method is adopted in this study. The study investigates the main factors that determine the turn taking pattern in Nigerian TV Talk shows. The findings of the study show that the main determinants of turn taking pattern in these shows are discourse topic, the personality of the host, composition of guests, studio audience, duration of the programme, social status of the participants, gender and culture. Controversial discourse topics have resulted in competitive attempts for taking the floor. Moreover, in situations where there are differences in the age and social status of participants, there were very few occurrences of interruption and overlap.

An Analysis of Conversation Structure in Ellen Show is another study done by Kong Rui and SU Ting (2014). The researchers of this study use Ellen Show as the main data to be analysed in this research. They focus on the structure of the show and tried to identify the organisation of the show. The findings of the study show that the show has two structures: global structure and local structure. The global structure includes a three-step opening, interaction-oriented body and three-step closings while the local structure includes turn taking mechanisms which are turn claiming, turn yielding, and turn holding, adjacency pairs and feedback.

Another study is "Conversational Analysis of Turn Taking Behaviour and Gender Differences in Multimodal Conversation". The study is done by Shazia Akbar Ghilzai (2015). This study examines gender differences with reference to the use of turn taking techniques. The researcher analyses turn taking in three types of conversational interaction. These are male to male, female to female and mixed gender conversations. The findings of the study show that there are no gender differences in the same gender conversation. However, they show that in mixed gender conversation, females take more turns than men.

The other study is done by Wang Jie and Chen Miaomiao (2016). The study is entitled "Turn-control Strategies in TV Talk Shows". In this study, the researchers select "the Oprah Winfrey Show" and a "Date with Lu Yu" as the object of their study. Their aim is to compare the hosts' use of turn claiming, turn holding and turn yielding strategies. The study explores the use of turn taking strategies in two different cultures (America and China). Both hosts are found to yield the turn timely and help their guests to continue the conversation through guiding them by using these strategies. Nonetheless, the hosts use the strategy of turn yielding differently. Moreover, the researchers have found that the use of gaze in both shows is different since in China, the use of gaze is not considered as polite. Therefore, the host avoids it while Oprah used gaze so many times in her show.

The last study to be mentioned here is entitled "Interaction Management in Nigerian Television Talk Shows". The study is conducted by Albert Lekan Oyelele (2012). It is concerned with identifying turn distribution techniques used in Nigerian TV. Talk shows. The researcher uses Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's model as the theoretical framework in this study. He selects three Nigerian TV. talk shows. From each show, four episodes are selected. Data collection is carried on for four years and the analysis is both quantitative and qualitative. The findings indicate that the most dominant selection technique in these shows is the next speaker self selects (NSSS). Besides, the study shows that these shows comprise the format of opening, body and closing. All these parts are managed effectively by the hosts.

All these studies have different objectives and have been conducted in different settings. Furthermore, these studies are mentioned to illustrate the difference between them and the present study. This study focuses on the turn taking techniques, strategies and mechanisms which contribute to the management of interaction in the Oprah Winfrey Show. In addition, it examines the effect of gender and power on the use of turn taking. Also, it takes into account the participation of the present audience and tries to show its contribution to the organisation of interaction.

7. The Oprah Winfrey Show

The Oprah Winfrey Show is one of most popular TV talk shows. It has been broadcasted nationally for the first time in 1986. It has become the most popular and the highest rated TV talk show in TV history. As John Smith states, "*Oprah Winfrey is one of the top rated shows in America, with an estimated viewership of 14 million daily*" (Smith, 2003, p. 4). This success is mostly contributed to Oprah Winfrey herself. She knows very well how to control the show, how to distribute turns at talk and most importantly, how to construct intimacy between her and the guests on one hand and between her and the audience on the other hand.

Laurie Haag (1993, p. 119) states "*more so than with the other talk show hosts, the audience knows when she is talking for them, and it knows when she is talking to them, even when she is not employing direct address. She talks to her audience as if they are her friends, as they would talk to their own friends*". These tactics that Oprah employs in her show are very important and contribute to the success of interaction. This construction of intimacy has its own effect on the process of interaction and the distribution of turns since it makes the conversational interaction more natural and spontaneous. Haag explains that Oprah "*manages to overcome the basic conflict between Oprah as a rich talk host and Oprah as a friend*" through her skillful application of the "*communication patterns*" that are associated with friendship (Haag, 1993, p. 120). Due to the great success and popularity of this show, the researchers have chosen this talk show to be the main source of data in this study.

8. Data Analysis

The researchers apply the Sequential Production Model proposed by Sacks *et al.* (1974) in combination with Duncan's work concerning turn taking mechanisms (1972) in this study in order to gain a detailed analysis of the data and reach at precise and reliable results. Moreover, the researchers follow a specific procedure consisting of certain steps in the analysis of data. First, the researchers select some extracts from the episode, categorize these extracts according to the turn taking techniques used in allocating the turns, and analyze and examine the way these techniques are used. Then, they identify and analyze the turn taking mechanisms used in these extracts. Moreover, they identify the occurrence of any violations to the techniques of turn taking, analyze them and examine how they are treated by participants. The researchers analyze and examine the way gender and age affect the use of the turn taking system. Also, they investigate audience participations and their influence on the organization of interaction. Finally, the researchers specify the type of conversation resulted from the use of these techniques, whether competitive or cooperative. The theoretical framework is to be applied to a selected episode from The Oprah Winfrey Show in which Oprah interviews Will Smith and Family.

8.1 Transcription Conventions

This section presents the symbols that have been used to represent spoken utterances and the different aspects of conversations such as pauses, interruptions, overlaps and silence. The following symbols have been used in this paper:

	interruption
[overlap
--	self interruption
.	sentence final falling intonation
...	pause of 1/2 second or more
CAPS	loud volume (emphatic stress)
<>	non-verbal feedback
?	raising intonation followed by a noticeable pause

9. The Analysis

This section provides the analysis of the selected extracts by examining them thoroughly. One episode is selected to be analysed. In this episode, Oprah interviews Will Smith and family. Twenty extracts are to be analysed. Each section includes four extracts except the CSSN in which seven extracts are selected in order to include all the seven participants and silence which includes only one extract since it is the only extract in which silence has taken place.

9.1 Current Speaker Selects Next (CSSN)

Extract (1)

Oprah: *Your stuff*

Jada: *Our stuff, you know, all the baggage that comes with it, and em she and I just had to focus on, what does he need?*

Oprah: *Was there a talk about that?*

Sherrie: *Oh, we had plenty.*

[LAUGHTER]

Sherrie: YEAH. WE DID. WE DID. IT TOOK IT TOOK A MINUTE, BUT WEGOT IT, AND YOU REALIZE WE HAD OUR CHANCE Now it's aboutthose kids Oprah: Right.

Jada: Right.

Analyzing the extract

One of the turn allocation techniques of the turn taking system proposed by Sacks et al., is the current speaker selects next technique (CSSN) by which a current speaker can select his next speaker by displaying certain strategies such as question form, the pronoun "you", gaze pattern, pointing via hand and the use of the name, title or address term. When Oprah selects Sherrie as the next speaker, she uses the next speaker selection strategies which are questions from "**Was there a talk about that?**", gaze, and hand pointing. By the display of these strategies, Sherrie can recognise easily that she has been selected as the next speaker. When she finishes her turn, Oprah yields the floor to Sherrie using falling intonation, syntax and body motion by relaxing her hand from the pointing position signalling the end of her question. Sherrie takes the turn that has been allocated for her by Oprah and starts it, saying "**Oh, we had plenty**". She produces her turn and makes a very short pause. In the meanwhile, Jada, Will, Oprah and the audience laugh, and Sherrie reproduces her turn in a loud voice pitch. By doing so, she claims the floor since one of the cues by which a speaker regains his turn is to say it loudly. Also, she tries to capture the participants' and the audience's attention. Both Oprah and Jada overlap with Sheree's turn saying "**Right**". However, they fall silent when Sherrie continues her turn.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

In this extract, talk occurs between the three female participants so it is the "same gender conversation". Overlap occurs among the turns of the three females and this characterises women's cooperative talk which is shown through the sharing of the floor. When a participant's talk overlaps with the other's in this extract, none of the participants has complained nor competed for taking the floor. Moreover, the length of Jada's and Sheree's turns is almost equal. Oprah's turns, however, are short and are limited to allocating a question or showing support. Concerning power, there are differences in the role of the participants. Oprah is the host while Jada and Sherrie are the interviewees. So, Oprah is in a more powerful position than Jada and Sherrie. Therefore, Oprah directs questions and confines her speakers to produce relevant answers to her talk. Also, she has the power to select her next speakers and this is obvious when she addresses Sherrie and selects her as the next speaker. Thus, Oprah's position as the host of the show gives her more power than that of her interviewees.

Extracts (2)

Will: You know, to keep it together.

Jada: Yeah *er*

Oprah: That's true. So, what is the bigger vision for your marriage?
what is the bigger

Jada: well, we had to figure that out because we're two big beings that came together, and I had my vision, and he had his, and so we had to join it
(continued)

Analyzing the extract

One of the turn taking mechanisms in the turn taking system is the turn claiming mechanism by which a speaker signals his intention to take the turn and participate in the conversation. Jada uses the minimal response 'yeah' in combination with the filler 'er' to claim the floor. By doing so, Jada gives Oprah a cue that she wants to be the next speaker. When Oprah notices this cue, she understands Jada's intention and instantly allocates her a turn. Oprah uses the CSSN technique by using the question form "**So, what is the bigger vision for your marriage? What is the bigger--**", gaze and hand pointing. Thus, Jada recognizes that she has been selected as the next speaker. So, Jada interrupts Oprah's turn and starts her turn "**well, we had to figure that out because...**" before Oprah yields the floor to her since she has understood Oprah's question. As a result, Oprah falls silent and yields the turn to Jada.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is set among mixed gender participants. Oprah's and Jada's turns are longer than Will's. When Jada takes the turn allocated to her by Oprah, she interrupts Oprah. This interruption is cooperative because Jada's intention is to give Oprah a cue that she understands her question and is ready to answer it. In relation to power differences in this extract, Jada exercises her power over Oprah. Since she has not been addressed by Oprah in the first place, Jada produces a verbal filler "yeah" plus a filled pause "er" to claim the floor. By doing so, Jada

exercises her power over Oprah. Being one of the interviewees, Jada believes that she has the right to participate and to be addressed within the process of interaction. Therefore, she claims the floor and shows her desire to talk and this reflects her powerful position.

Extract (3)

Oprah: But tell me about--so you have a marriage business plan and also family meetings.

Will: We had a family meeting the other night. Yeah.

Jada: [self selects] Very interesting.

Oprah: Yes.

Will: Here's

Oprah: Do you have regular family meetings?

Will: Yeah. Here's the problem with Letting your kids talk, Oprah.

[LAUGHTER]

Analyzing the extract

In the extract, Oprah selects Will as the next speaker using an indirect question form "**But tell me about--so you have a marriage business plan and also Family meetings**", the pronoun "**you**" and gaze pattern. It is known that the question form does not inherently select the next speaker, so it must be combined with another cue. In this instance, the pronoun '**you**' is used. But since the use of the pronoun 'you' is problematic in multiparty conversation a third cue must be used. In this case, gaze has been used and it works as the crucial cue by which the next speaker has been specified precisely. In this extract, Oprah has selected Will twice using the same three strategies. While Will and Oprah are talking, overlap occurs. Will overlaps with Oprah saying "**Here's**" and he was about to continue his turn, however, Oprah continues her turn and causes Will to fall silent by interrupting his turn. Concerning turn taking mechanisms, all participants use the turn yielding mechanism by which they cede the turn to the other participants. The turn yielding cues displayed here are intonation, syntax and pause: Oprah "**you have a marriage business plan and also family meetings.**", Will "**yeah.**", Oprah "**Do you have regular family meetings?**".

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

In relation to gender, the conversation is a mixed gender conversation. Oprah, Jada and Will are involved in the conversation. When Oprah allocates the first turn in the extract to Will, he answers her in the clear without overlapping with or interrupting her and this reflects men's adherence to the one at a time rule in accordance with what Coates (2013, p. 136) says "*male speakers prefer a one-at-a-time model of turn-taking, in contrast with women, who often adopt the jam session model*". However, in the other turn, Will overlaps with Oprah because he starts his turn while Oprah is still talking, and a very brief overlap occurs at this point. This supports the view that in mixed gender, participants compete for the floor through the use of overlap and interruption. Here, Will is eager to take the floor and speak up his thoughts. Though Jada has not been addressed in the whole extract, she self selects and comments on Will's speech. By doing so, Jada reflects women's cooperative conversational style. Here, self selection is intended

to comment and not to take the speaking turn. Concerning the length of the turns, Oprah's and Will's turns are almost equal. Jada's turn, however, is very short. Regarding power differences, Oprah is the host, so she has the power to direct questions and select her next speakers. This is shown when she directs two questions to Will. Also, her power is shown through her selection of Will as the next speaker. Will here is in the position of an interviewee so he is less powerful than Oprah though he overlaps with her. Though Jada is in the position of an interviewee and is supposed to be less powerful than Oprah, she exercises her power by self selecting and producing a turn in the process of Oprah's and Will's talk.

Extract (4)

Oprah: Welcome back, everybody. But Trey, our first time meeting.

Jada: Yes.

Trey: Yes <nods>

Oprah: So you're the only one who's not in the family business.

Trey: Well, I'm mm-hum working on er producing now, so, you know, I'm er getting up there
producing music and stuff like that, so, you know

Jada: will see

Trey: Yeah, will see.

Oprah: Were you just not--you didn't get bit by the acting bug?

Trey: Not really. I think they're the professionals, so

Oprah: so you have no interest.

Analyzing the extract

Three parties are involved in the conversation in this extract: Oprah, Trey and Jada who, though she has not been addressed, has taken a turn using the self selection technique. Oprah has allocated three turns to Trey using the CSSN technique. In allocating the first turn, Oprah uses the CSSN strategies of gaze, name of the addressee 'Trey', and pointing by hand. These strategies, especially the use of names specifies precisely the selected next speaker. Though Oprah has addressed Trey, Jada takes the turn by self selecting and answers Oprah before Trey answers her. Trey, however, nods his head saying "yes". Again, Oprah directs Trey a second turn, asking him a question using gaze, the indirect question form and the pronoun 'you', so he takes the turn. While Trey is still talking, Jada interrupts his turn. She interrupts him while he was using the filler "you know" to yield the floor. Trey falls silent, letting Jada say her turn, and then he repeats Jada's words in overlap confirming her talk. Oprah allocates the third turn again using gaze, indirect question form and the pronoun 'you'. While Trey is talking, Oprah interrupts him though he was using the utterance incompletor 'so' as a turn holding cue. As a result, Trey falls silent and yields the floor to Oprah.

Oprah yields the three turns to Trey using intonation and syntax. Jada also uses the same mechanism and the same cues. Trey, however, uses both turn yielding and turn holding. He yields the floor using intonation, syntax and body motion. Moreover, he uses a turn holding mechanism by displaying certain cues. These cues are filled pauses and verbal fillers like 'so', 'like' and 'you know'.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

In relation to gender differences, Trey overlaps with Jada's turns because he starts his turn very close to the place of possible completion of her turns. His overlap is not intended to compete for the floor like what happens in mixed gender conversations. When Oprah interrupts him, he falls silent and does not compete for the turn because Oprah's interruption is cooperative and is intended to help him. Oprah's and Jada's interruption here is cooperative and reflects women's tendency to support the other participants. Concerning power differences, Oprah is the host of the talk show while Trey and Jada are the interviewees. So, Oprah is in a more powerful position than both Jada and Trey. This is reflected through the way she allocates the turns for Trey and the questions she asks him. Also, she exercises her power over Trey by interrupting him. Two factors have played a role in letting Oprah exercise her power over Trey. These factors are social role and age. Thus, Trey is less powerful than Oprah since he is an interviewee and is younger than Oprah. Jada also seems to be more powerful than Trey and Oprah in this extract. Her power is shown through self selecting and taking a turn without being addressed. Moreover, her power as Trey's stepmother is shown when she interrupts and overlaps with his speaking turns. Therefore, Jada's power has been also affected by her social role as an interviewee and by her relationship with Trey.

Extract (5)

Oprah: So, do you think your parents are cool, or do they sometimes embarrass you, Jayden?

Jayden: Hmm, my parents embarrass me ALL THE TIME.

[Laughter]

Oprah: I did not expect that answer.

Jayden: When I'm at school sometimes, my dad will just pull his pants down.

Will: Hey!

Oprah: HA HA HA!

Jada: Will is playing, he is always playing.

Analyzing the extract

Oprah selects Jayden using the CSSN technique. She selects him using gaze, hand pointing, the question form and Jayden's name. So, Jayden knows for sure that he has been selected as the next speaker. Oprah yields the floor to Jayden using intonation, syntax "**do they sometimes embarrass you, Jayden?**", hand relaxation and pause. Jayden takes the turn and answers Oprah's question. Then, he yields the floor to Oprah using intonation "**my parents embarrass me ALL THE TIME**", syntax, hand relaxation and pause. Oprah again addresses him by her talk so he takes the turn. Jayden clarifies for Oprah how his parents embarrass him. Will says "**hey**" in an attempt to silence him. Oprah laughs, Jada self selects to clarify to Oprah that Will is joking.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is set among mixed gender participants. Oprah's and Jayden's turns are almost equal in length. Jada's and Will's turns length, however, is short since they self select to participate. Concerning power differences, Oprah is the most powerful participant since she is the host of the show and the one who sets the topic of interaction and selects her next speaker.

Will and Jada are more powerful than Jayden. They are able to self select. Position, social role and age play a role in the amount of power each participant has.

Extract (6)

Oprah: I'm looking at your hair. I think that's such a cool haircut. Yes. I think that's such a cool-
-now, when you wanted to cut your hair like thatwas this your idea to cut it?

Willow: Yes, it was.

Oprah: Ok, so did you have to go to your mother or your father to be

Willow: my mom.

Oprah: YOUR MOM.

Willow: Yeah and she's always the one who says we could do this, put the star in it, and then we could do the lines, and let's colour that in." Yeah. That exactly"

Analyzing the extract

Oprah selects Willow to be the next speaker using the CSSN technique. She does so using hand pointing, gaze, the pronoun "you" and the question form "**was this your idea to cut it?**" Oprah yields the floor to Willow using falling intonation "**was this your idea to cut it**", syntax and hand relaxation. Willow takes the turn and answers Oprah's question. Oprah then allocates Willow another turn using the pronoun you, gaze and the question form "**Did you have to go to your mother or your father to be--**". Willow interrupts Oprah before she yields the floor. Willow interrupts Oprah because she has understood Oprah's question before she finishes it. So, she starts her turn earlier than should be. Oprah falls silent as a result allowing Willow to take the turn. She does not compete for the floor nor complains since it is a cooperative interruption. When Willow finishes her turn and yields it to Oprah using intonation, syntax "**my mom**" and pause, Oprah produces another turn in a loud voice pitch as if it is a question. She yields the turn to Willow using intonation "**YOUR MOM**", syntax and pause. So, Willow takes the turn.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

Oprah and Willow are involved in the conversation, so the conversation is between the same gender participants. Willow's use of interruption reflects women's cooperative conversational style. Though the number of Willow's and Oprah's turns is equal, Oprah's turns are a bit longer than Willow's. Concerning power differences, Oprah is the host and this institutional role makes her more powerful than Willow who is an interviewee. Also, being older than Willow, Oprah has more power than Willow who is a nine year kid. Oprah's power over Willow is obvious through her interrogation of Willow. Oprah directs some questions to Willow and confines her to produce a relevant talk.

Extract (7)

Oprah : You said, you <pointing>

Audience: I have children of seven, five and three years; I wondered what kind of punishment is in your house?

Will: Well *er* you know that's one of the really difficult struggles because we don't believe in punishment per se um the idea is that there are consequences to your actions, so we believe in restrictions that...that

Oprah: I like that you can have as much freedom as you can handle... you can cut a hair, or (...) *er* you can have as much freedom as you can handle and as soon as you do something that is detrimental, that is detrimental to yourself and can't be trusted with your freedom then you have to be pulled down but it is not about punishing you for what you did, it's about protecting you *erm* from the potential damage that you could do to yourself.

Oprah: That's good parenting that is

Audience: <Applause>

Analyzing the extract

Oprah selects a participant from the audience as the next speaker. This participant seems to have shown her desire to participate through the use of turn claiming mechanism though it is not obvious which cue she has used to do so. But the context and the way Oprah allocates her the turn "you said <pointing>" raises this suggestion. Oprah allocates the turn to this audience using the CSSN technique. She does so through the use of gaze pattern, the pronoun 'you' and hand pointing. As a result, this particular audience recognises that she has been selected as the next speaker and takes the turn. Oprah yields the floor to the audience using intonation "you said" and hand relaxation. The audience directs her question to Will. Therefore, Will has been selected as the next speaker through the use of gaze pattern and the question form "I wondered what kind of punishment is in your house?" She yields the floor to Will using intonation, syntax "what kind of punishment is in your house?" and pause. Will starts his turn after the audience has finished her turn so no overlap has occurred. While Will is talking, Oprah overlaps with him saying "I like that". However, Will does not yield the floor nor falls silent. Instead, he continues his turn till he finishes it. Oprah says "That's good parenting that is" and the audience show applause.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is set among mixed gender participants. The female audience allocates a turn to Will. Will's turn is longer than the audience's turn as well as Oprah's comments. Oprah overlaps with Will to show her admiration, so her overlap is cooperative. In relation to power differences, the audience is in a powerful position since she selects the next speaker and allocates him a turn. Will, on the other hand, dominates the talk since he has been selected as the NS.

9.2 Next Speaker Self Selects (NSSS)

Extract (1)

Oprah: but I hear that you all really do set goals, that there is a marriage business plan.

Will: Yes.

Jada: Yes

Oprah: You can write a BK About that and help a lot of people that there's a marriage business plan?

Will: You know, what we discovered is

Oprah: Look at Jada's shoes...

Analyzing the extract

According to the turn taking system proposed by Sacks et al., the self selection rule can be used only when the current speaker does not select a specific next speaker. Therefore, the other participants can self select. Since Oprah directs her talk to both Will and Jada, the two participants found themselves in a situation in which they are forced to self select. As a result, Jada and Will self select and talk simultaneously, overlap occurs. This overlap is brief and it is the outcome of the self selection rule itself. When again Oprah directs a turn to both participants, Will manages to gain the turn through using the self selection technique but this time overlap does not occur. This shows that it is not always the case that overlap occurs whenever the self selection technique is used. While Will is still talking, Oprah interrupts him causing him to fall silent. The interruption used by Oprah here is intrusive because the turn taking system gives the speaker the right to produce a complete TCU. Oprah, however; cuts off Will's turn and her intention is neither to support nor to clarify. She shifted the talk to a completely different area of interest.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation in this extract is a mixed gender conversation. Oprah, Will and Jada are involved in the conversation. When Oprah directs her talk to both participants, overlap occurs. This overlap occurs because of the participants' competition for the turn. This illustrates the view that in mixed gender men and women compete for the turn through the use of overlap and interruption. Moreover, Oprah interrupts Will while he is still talking. Her interruption is intrusive. This point shows that women can use intrusive interruption and not only cooperative interruption in mixed gender conversation. In terms of power differences in relation to turn taking, it can be noticed that Oprah's turns are longer than those of Will's and Jada's. Also, she plays the role of a questioner who asks questions and confines the others to answer them. In addition, she uses intrusive interruption. All these actions reflect Oprah's powerful position being the host of the show and the main director.

Extract (2)

Oprah: And speaking of extended family everybody is here both grandmothers are here

Jada : Yeah Kale and my brother, we got Sherry who's Try's mama.

Oprah: So your ex-wife.

Will: Yeah

Jada: And her husband

Will : And her husband Pastor Tyrell

Oprah: Hello.

Analyzing the extract

In this extract, Oprah directs her talk to both participants. She does not select a specific next speaker. Thus, giving the other participants the right to self select. Jada interrupts Oprah and self selects. She starts telling Oprah about the members who are present from their extended family by mentioning their names and pointing at them. Jada's interruption of Oprah is totally cooperative. Jada is trying to give a cue to Oprah that she understands her inquiry and she is supporting her by mentioning the names of the other members. When she finishes her turn, Oprah directs her talk to Will saying "**So your ex wife**". Will answers saying "**yeah**" and again Jada self selects and overlaps with Will telling Oprah that Sheree's husband is present also. Will also self selects and overlaps with Jada repeating Jada's information. With the emergence of this topic about the extended family, many instances of self selection have occurred. As a result, many instances of overlap occur. These overlaps are intended to show support and add more information.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation takes place among mixed gender participants. Jada, Will and Oprah are involved in it. Oprah directs a turn to both Jada and Will. Jada answers Oprah and cuts off her turn. Jada's interruption here is intended to support Oprah. Thus, it is a cooperative interruption that reflects women's tendency to show cooperation with the other participants. Will also overlaps with Jada's turn. Though this overlap shows that Will and Jada are competing for the turn, it shows that they are supporting each other by adding new information to one another's turn. In addition, Oprah's and Jada's turns are almost equal. Will's turns, on the other hand, are shorter than both Oprah's and Jada's turns. Concerning power differences, Oprah exercises her power as a host by initiating the topic and inquiring the participants about their extended family. Jada, on the other hand, exercises her power over Oprah by interrupting her. Jada is more knowledgeable than Oprah concerning the Smiths extended family.

Extract (3)

Oprah: I've asked this often of other guests because everybody is trying to have a life that's better than their parents had so whether you are movie stars like yourself or whether you are just doing better than your parents did, how do you raise children who are grounded, who are gracious, who are giving, who are solid inside themselves when they have access to everything?

Will: Well, I tell the kids all the time, it's like, "mommy and daddy are rich you all are broke," [laughter] you know?

[Laughter]

Will: You know, it's like, we don't allow them to kind of just sit around and (.) we talk about the concept of the group and the necessity of you adding to the family, and then you have to add to your neighbourhood, and then you have to add to *er* humanity. So there's the idea

Oprah: you all have those discussions?

Jada: Oh, absolutely yeah.

Analyzing the extract

Though Oprah addresses the question to both Will and Jada and her gaze is directed towards both, Will self selects and takes the turn. Will notices that Oprah has finished her turn and is ready to yield the floor, so he starts his turn. Some turn yielding cues are used by Oprah. These are syntax, intonation and hand relaxation. Will starts his turn and before he ends it, Oprah and the audience laugh and he continues saying '**you know**' but the audience are still laughing. So, Will laughs with them and when they stop laughing, he starts his turn. He uses the verbal filler '**you know**' as a sign of claiming the floor. Moreover, he uses filled and silent pauses in order to hold the floor and secure his turn. Before Will finishes his turn, Oprah interrupts him and addresses Jada a turn. Will does not reject this interruption and falls silent. Then, Jada takes the turn to answer Oprah's question.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

Oprah, Will and Jada are involved in the conversation in this extract. So, the conversation is among mixed gender participants. Concerning the length of turns, Oprah's and Will's turns are longer than Jada's. In relation to power difference, Oprah is seen to be more powerful than Will. Oprah exercises her power over her participants by directing them some questions and confining them to produce relevant talk. Also, she exercises her power over Will by interrupting his turn before he finishes it. Will, on the other hand, is more powerful than Jada. He exercises his power by self selecting and managing to gain the turn though he has not been addressed.

Extract (4)

Willow: she is always the one who would say "Do this, put a start in it and then we could do the lines and let's color that in, yeah oh that exactly"

Jada: Well, we had the talk today. She was like "Mom, I want to cut my hair," and I said "ooh, we have to talk to daddy"

Oprah: And what did daddy say? Obviously yes.

Jada: Well, eventually, he said yes.

Will: NO, NO. THEY CREPT UP ON ME. She was already in the

Jada: no. that wasn't true.

chair, and the barber was there and then it was "Daddy can I have my haircut" and I was like aah

Analyzing the extract

Though Jada has not been selected as the next speaker, she self selects and takes the turn after Willow has finished her turn. Jada gets the chance to self select before Oprah is able to address any other participant. So, she starts her turn as quick as possible to get a turn at talk. When Oprah addresses a turn to Jada, Jada answers her in return but Will overlaps with Jada opposing her talk. The overlap that occurs between Jada's and Will's turns is competitive "**Will: She was already in the chair, and the barber** >> **Jada: no. that wasn't true, Will**>>**And then it was, "Daddy, can I have my hair cut" and I was like aah.**" Each one of them is opposing the other's talk and stating something different from the other's talk. Jada on the other hand, overlaps with Will saying "**no. that wasn't true**". Will, however, continues his turn opposing Jada's speech and telling Oprah that he was surprised "**I was like aah ...**". As a result, Jada falls silent and cedes the turn to Will.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is set among mixed gender participants. All of Jada, Oprah and Will are involved. Will overlaps with Jada and Jada also overlaps with him "**Well, eventually, he said yes.**", **Will** >> **NO, NO. They crept up on me. She was already in the chair, and the barber**", "**Jada** >> **no. that wasn't true**". Their overlap in this instance is competitive. Each one of them is trying to oppose the other. This overlap supports the view that in mixed gender conversations, men and women compete for the floor through the use of overlap and interruption. Concerning power differences in this extract, the social role of Oprah as the host of the show gives her the power to control and guide the process of interaction. So, she is more powerful than her interviewees because of her institutional position. This position gives her the power to ask questions, allocate the turns, select the topic of interaction, interrupt others and overlap with them. So, Oprah exercises her power by questioning the interviewees and confining them to produce a relevant talk. Though Will is one of the interviewees, it seems that he has more power than them. He overlaps with Jada and takes a turn at talk. And though Jada overlaps with him, he manages to hold the turn and oblige her to fall silent.

9.3 Silence

Extract (1)

Oprah: So, what would be the most surprising to know about him?

Jada: (2,0)

Oprah: what would be the most surprised to know?

Jada: Most surprised to know about Will (.) I would say probably how *er* sensitive he is.

Analyzing the extract

Oprah allocates a turn to Jada asking her a question. Jada pauses for a while (two seconds). Therefore, Oprah produces a post-completor by repeating her question to Jada "**what would be the most surprised to know?**". According to the model proposed by Sacks et al., silence is attributable, and participants should minimise the occurrence of gaps between their turns. For this reason, when Jada pauses for two seconds, Oprah repeats her question in order to be sure that her next speaker has heard her question. After Oprah repeats the question, Jada uses a short pause and then she answers Oprah's question. This silence between Oprah's and Jada's turn is considered as long; therefore, it should be resolved and Oprah has tried to resolve this silence by repeating her question thinking that Jada has not understood it.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is set between two female participants: Jada and Oprah. In the same gender conversation, there are no observed differences. Concerning power differences, there are two participants who occupy different social roles in the talk show. Oprah as a host is more powerful and has the right to allocate turns and select her next speakers, select the topic of interaction, allocate questions and confine her next speakers to produce relevant talk. Oprah's power is obvious in this extract through the allocation of turn and selecting Jada as the next speaker. Moreover, asking Jada a question is another way of exercising power. Oprah's power comes from her institutional position as the talk show host. Jada, on the other hand, is less powerful than Oprah. Her position as an interviewee confines her to answer Oprah's question. Interaction in TV talk show with its semi-institutional nature differs from interaction in classroom in that the teacher is the one who "controls turn-taking and sequence organization, and who has greater rights to initiate and close sequences" (Gardner, 2013, p. 593).

9.4 Interruption

Extract (1)

Oprah: That's true. So, what is the bigger vision for your MARRIAGE? What is the Bigger

Jada: Well, we had to figure that out because we're two big beings that came together, and I had my vision, and he had his, and so we had to join it, and so ~~er~~ we decided

Will: TO just do what she says.

Jada: that's the vision.

[LAUGHTER]

Oprah: Yeah. But I REALLY WANT TO HEAR. I REALLY WANT TO Hear.

Analyzing the extract

Jada interrupts Oprah and starts her turn "**Well, we had to figure that out**" because she understands the question, so she starts her turn before Oprah finishes her turn. Oprah falls silent because of Jada's interruption. While Jada was talking, Will interrupts her by saying a funny comment "**TO just do what she says**". As a reaction, Jada does not finish her turn and comments on Will's speech then she falls silent without finishing her turn. This silence can be seen as a signal of being interrupted. The audience, Oprah and Will laugh at Will's funny comment. Oprah states that she wants to hear, and she repeats it twice while raising her voice pitch "**Yeah. But I REALLY WANT TO HEAR. I REALLY WANT TO Hear**". By doing so, Oprah tries to regain control over the audience by giving them a cue to keep silent. Also, she wants to give Jada her right to speak and finish her turn.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

Concerning gender differences, we have differences in the use of interruption. Jada uses cooperative interruption in order to answer Oprah's question and gives her a cue that she got the point. Will's interruption, however, is intrusive and cuts off Jada's turn. His interruption is neither intended to support nor to add something. It is intended to provide a funny comment. In relation to power differences, Oprah exercises her power over both the audience and the interviewees. She does so by raising her voice pitch and giving the audience a signal in order to fall silent. Also, she gives Will a cue that this is Jada's turn and she has to take her right and finish it.

Extract (2)

Will: So, you know, and it's like with TREY *er* with his FOOTBALL AND Willow with singing and Jayden acting, I just want them to live in service to greatness, you know, I want them to live and to create in a way that when people see it, people are inspired and people become better just by having contact with the things

Oprah: with their excellence

Will: With their excellence

Oprah: yes *yes*

Jada: right

Will: you know

Jada: but they have to be able to define that for THEMSELVES.

Will: For themselves, right.

Analyzing the extract

While Will is talking, Oprah interrupts him and completes his turn by saying the words he wants to say "**with their excellence**". Her interruption is cooperative. Will neither rejects this interruption nor does he complain. He repeats Oprah's words "**With their excellence you know**" and he is about to continue his turn but Jada interrupts him "**but they have to be able to define that for THEMSELVES**". While Jada is talking, Will overlaps with her by saying "**For themselves, right**".

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

In relation to gender differences, in the extract Oprah and Jada have used interruption. Their interruption here is intended to cooperate and support. Oprah helps Will to say the appropriate expression while Jada adds other information concerning the vision of their children. Will also overlaps with Jada saying "**For themselves, right**". Concerning power differences, Will dominates the floor and his turn is longer than the turns of Oprah though Oprah is the host and must have more power than her interviewees. This reflects men's dominance of the floor in mixed gender conversations. Oprah as the host of the show has the power to interrupt and overlap with her participants and this is obvious in the extract when she interrupts Will "**with their excellence**". However, Jada seems to be a little more powerful than both Oprah and Will because she self selects and expresses her point without being addressed. Also, she obliges Will to fall silent and cede her the turn by interrupting him though he has not finished yet.

Extract (3)

Jayden: Um, I mean, I'm good at, kissing, [LAUGHTER] so it's not as challenging as it could have

Oprah: It wasn't as it could've been HAD YOU had you not had some previous experience.

Jayden: Yeah aha [laughter] you know, it

Will: See, this is why you need old-school parenting, Oprah.

Analyzing the extract

While Jayden is talking and before he finishes his turn, Oprah interrupts him asking for clarification. Jayden takes his turn but Will interrupts him and does not let him continue the turn and takes the turn for himself. Will's interruption is intended to silence Jayden and Will succeeds in doing so.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is among mixed gender participants. Two of the participants use interruption in two different ways. Oprah uses cooperative interruption by asking Jayden for clarification while Will uses intrusive interruption to silence Jayden and takes the turn for himself. In relation to power differences, Oprah as a host is more powerful than both Jayden and Will. She selects the next speaker, interrupts and directs questions to Jayden. Will, on the other hand, exercises power over his son Jayden by interrupting him and silencing him. His power comes from certain factors: age and social relation with Jayden (Jayden's father).

Extract (4)

Jada: You know and I tell Will listen I understand that there are certain things you're trying to build in but at the end of the day , he is eleven, you know what I mean so you know we just have to find a nice balance and I'm telling you he is a different child

Will: he really is

Jada: [delayed completion] from his experience in China.

Analyzing the extract

Jada is still talking to Oprah about Jayden's experience in China. While she is talking, Will interrupts her. He talks before she finishes her turn and cuts it off for awhile because she falls silent. Then, Jada uses a delayed completion device "**from his experience in China**" to complete her turn and to give reference that she has been interrupted before she finishes her turn.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

Jada and Will are involved in the conversation. Will uses cooperative interruption and agrees with Jada. As a result, Jada falls silent. However, she uses delayed completion to complete her turn and give reference to this interruption. Thus, Jada reacts in a different way this time in dealing with interruption. In relation to power, though Will seems to be more powerful than Jada because he interrupts her, Jada can be seen as having equal power since she manages to regain her turn and give a reference to the act of interruption.

9.5 Overlap

Extract (1)

Oprah: People call the Smiths as the first family of Hollywood, they do everything: singing, acting, producing, was this part of a master plan you have?

Jada: No, no.

Will: Yeah, no. I mean, yeah, yeah, Oprah

Jada: Yeah. We fell into it.

Will: it's pretty we've seen it

Oprah: hahaha

Jada: yeah we fell into it

Will: hahaha

Oprah: but I hear that you all really do set goals, that there is a marriage business plan.

Will: Yes.

Jada: Yes.

Analyzing the extract

Will and Jada self select and talk simultaneously. As a result, overlap occurs. As a way of resolving overlap and emphasizing on her inquiry about setting a marriage business plan, Oprah reformulates her utterance without selecting a next speaker. However, both participants again answer simultaneously.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

Oprah, Will and Jada are talking. Will and Jada overlap with each other. Their overlap is the result of self selection. There are no obvious gender differences. Concerning power, Oprah is the host; therefore, she is in a more powerful position.

Extract (2)

Jada: Yeah Kale and my brother, we got Sherry who's Try's mama

Oprah: So, your ex-wife.

Will: Yeah

Jada: And her husband

Will: And her husband Pastor Tyrell.

Oprah: HELLO.

[LAUGHTER]

Oprah: AND SO *er* Obviously...obviously everybody gets along, and you all made a CONSCIOUS EFFORT FOR THAT to Happen.

Will: Absolutely

Jada: Absolutely

Analyzing the extract

When Oprah starts a subtopic that is related to Jada's speech about the presence of the extended family, there occur many instances of overlap. Jada, Will and Oprah talk simultaneously about the present relatives of the Smiths family. This overlap is brief and it is ended by Oprah when she welcomes the extended family and starts a new turn addressing both parents. Oprah starts the new turn by repeating the word '**obviously**' twice using silent pauses in between in order to get the attention of her guests and the audience's as well. She addresses the turn to both participants letting them answer in overlap.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is among mixed gender participants. There is a sharing of turns among all the participants. This sharing, however, is not competitive. Will and Jada are sharing the floor to tell Oprah about the present members of their family in a cooperative way. Concerning power, Oprah exercises her power over her interviewees and her audience as well when she claims the floor for herself and through her attempt to capture their attention by producing her turn in a loud voice pitch.

Extract (3)

Oprah: And what did daddy say? Obviously yes.

Jada: Well, eventually he said yes.

Will: They, NO, NO. They crept upon me. She was already in the chair, and the barber was there

Jada: No. That wasn't true.

Will: and then it was, "daddy, can I get my hair cut. " I was like, aah..."

Analyzing the extract

When Jada is talking, Will overlaps with her trying to oppose Jada's words "**They, NO, NO. They crept upon me**". Jada also overlaps with him to oppose his talk "**No. That wasn't true.**" Will continues his turn and Jada falls silent thus resolving overlap.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

Jada and Will are opposing each other's talk through overlap. Therefore, their overlap is competitive. In relation to power, Will is more powerful than Jada since he dominates the talk and even when Jada overlaps with him, he continues his talk and causes Jada to fall silent.

Jada: it comes from experience cry baby

Will: no no it is good cause we've we've been having

Jada: passionate.

this passionate debate. I feel like greatness lives on the edge of
destruction (.) that's where lives

Jada: and this is a hard thing to swallow

Will: Right, greatness is on the edge of destruction

Oprah: So, you have to almost come to the breaking point just as what you said.

Analyzing the extract

These utterances take place at the very end of the interview. Will calls it a "**passionate debate**". They are discussing the way Will tries to raise his son Jayden and teach him work. Therefore, the debate is heated and many instances of overlap occur "**no it is good cause we've we've been having this passionate debate >> Jada: passionate**", "**that's where lives >> Jada: and this is a hard thing to swallow**". However, they are very brief and resolved instantly. These overlaps are used by Will and Jada, who are giving their opinion in one another's point of view and way of thinking. These overlaps are neither intended to claim the turn nor to deprive a speaker of his right to speak. They reflect the cooperative nature of the conversation.

Gender and power differences in relation to turn taking

The conversation is a mixed gender conversation and it is set among three participants: Will, Jada and Oprah. Many instances of overlap have occurred among the participants. Each one tries to speak out his idea and take his turn at talk by self selection. In addition, Will tries to dominate talk and he even has taken more turns than Jada and Oprah. Concerning power differences, Will seems to be more powerful than Oprah and Jada since he talks more than both of them. His turns are longer than those of Jada and Oprah. He even succeeds in holding the floor and letting Jada falls silent. Nonetheless, Oprah manages to compete with him for the floor and oppose his ideas.

10. Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to investigate and examine the turn taking techniques and mechanisms which contribute to the management of interaction in the Oprah Winfrey Show. The researchers have investigated the use of the turn taking system from a socio-pragmatic perspective by applying Sacks *et al* (1974) model of turn taking and6 Duncan's work (1972) concerning turn taking mechanisms. The analysis of the data shows that the most frequently used turn allocation technique is CSSN. Oprah employs this technique so as to give all her interviewees the chance to participate and have equal turns. In addition, the analysis shows that the nonverbal signal 'gaze' plays a crucial role in selecting the next speaker. Oprah relies heavily on the use of gaze in selecting her next speakers. Nonetheless, in some occasions, she gives her participants the right to self select. In addition, the analysis shows that the most used turn taking mechanism is the 'turn yielding' by which the current speaker yields the floor to the next speaker by displaying certain cues.

Though participants adhere to the rules of the turn taking system, so many violations such as interruption and overlap occur in so many situations. Moreover, there are gender differences in the use of these violations. Overlap occurs a lot and is used by all the participants, but it is brief and resolved by the participants themselves. Mostly, overlap occurs because participants start their turn very close to the possible completion of each other's turn. Interruption, on the other hand, happens in many instances by different participants. Furthermore, the analysis shows that Jada interrupts more than the other participants. Oprah also uses interruption. However, the interruption used by Jada and Oprah is cooperative and this refers to the women's cooperative conversational style. Though Will uses interruption less than Jada and Oprah do, his interruption is cooperative in some instances and intrusive in others. The analysis of the present study shows that when participants are faced with interruption, they tend to yield the floor and fall silent rather than compete for it. In addition, the length of Will's turns is longer than Jada's and Oprah's turns.

In relation to the age of participants, there are many differences concerning the use of the turn taking system. The children, Trey, Jayden and Willow use short turns in comparison to their parents and Oprah's. Also, Trey and Jayden use so many filled and silent pauses as well as verbal fillers signalling hesitation. Willow, however, appears to be more fluent. She does not use silent or filled pauses and even sometimes she uses cooperative interruption. Also, in some occasions, she overlaps with other participants' turns. Although the audience participation is very limited, Oprah does address some of them and let those who show their desire to participate to do so. Sometimes, Oprah questions them and other times she lets them question her.

The conversation flows in a cooperative manner. The participants have equal rights to participate and even they can signal their desire to speak and share ideas. Moreover, the interaction between the participants is very spontaneous and natural, though it takes place in an institutional setting. Oprah succeeds in constructing a relaxed atmosphere between herself and her interviewees letting them feel that they are having a friendly talk through the successful manipulation of the turn allocation techniques.

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