

## COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES AND SOCIO-CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN TALK SHOWS

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### 1. Introduction

The creation, diffusion and success of television programs generally known as talk shows have made of this type of broadcasts a true speech genre characteristic of societies and cultures where it is produced and/or consumed. These programs may be interpreted as anthropological showcases, firstly, in terms of the topics and participants in the debate, and, secondly, as an example of democratic exchange of ideas. Identities are presented and negotiated through interlocutive behavior as well as through the discourse strategies used by different contributors.

The general purpose of this article is to analyze the relationship between socio-cultural identities and communicative strategies in one particular case: One of the programs of *La vida en un xip* (a top rating talk show produced by the Catalan television network, TV3), where the topic was 'neighborhood watch against drug traffic'.

In this analysis, special attention is paid to the discourse behavior of each participant. This behavior is (*a priori*) related to socio-cultural identity (role, status, communicative contract), and also contributes to (re)creating and reinforcing identity. Discourse behavior is shown both in the *interlocutive* dimension (type and number of turns, interruptions and time occupied) and the *enunciative* dimension (the presentation and argumentation of each particular verbal product). These two dimensions enable us to (i) build a discursive picture of each participant in the debate which has a very close connection with his/her specific socio-cultural identity, and (ii) compare these pictures in the context of a particular program.

### 2. The study

This paper is part of a research project which the *Cercle d'Anàlisi del Discurs* of the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona is carrying out together with the *Centre d'Analyse du Discours* of the University of Paris XIII and the University of Bari (Calsamiglia *et al.* 1993). The project could be considered as part of a research program about several discursive genres in the mass media (cf. Charaudeau 1991). The ultimate aim of the study of the talk show "La vida en un xip" is to establish a

series of distinctive features among the talk shows in European television.<sup>1</sup>

Talk shows, as their name clearly suggests, are TV shows based on the staging of a discussion. This is the reason why in this type of program we can find all the components of a speech event according to the specificity of the communicative situation which arises.

### 3. The talk show "La vida en un xip"

The talk show we have studied was produced by the Catalan television network (TV3) in Spain. The language of the program is Catalan but, because of the bilingual situation in Catalonia, some participants use Spanish. The title of the program, literally translated as "Life in a chip" is intended to reflect what could be considered as its main aim: To bring together in a session that could be recorded in a chip different points of view about a polemic issue of general interest.

"La vida en un xip" can be seen as a discursive and cultural product which, in spite of having some basic features in common with other programs of the same type in Europe, is characterized by the fact that it is produced in Catalonia, a part of Spain with its own cultural idiosyncrasy. "La vida en un xip" becomes, therefore, a sort of "anthropological showcase" which can be compared with similar products which are produced in other parts of Europe.

"La vida en un xip" was a very popular program and it was shown during peak hours (Friday evening). Many TV viewers participated in it by phone calls and they gave their opinion on the issue being discussed.

The program is built up around a polemic topic of general interest and is conducted (as well as directed) by a moderator-presenter (whom we will call Conductor) who has previously invited a series of "experts" on the topic (specialists and witnesses) to give their opinion or talk about their experience. The different points of view of the "experts" (as they are called in the program) will set up the basis for a debate in which the studio audience can also take part in the second part of the program.

The "show" always follows the same chronological development. In the first place, there is an introduction which involves a fictional story. After this, the "experts", at the request of the Conductor, start the discussion by presenting the problem and the different points of view (*yes/no, in favor/against, better/worse*). Finally, the studio audience discuss the different arguments presented by the experts. The discussion is from time to time interrupted by TV advertisements, connections with the data centre, which receives the phone calls from the viewers, and interventions by the secretary of the program.

This structure very much conditions the development of the discussion. The Conductor constantly acts as moderator by justifying and guiding, in terms of the ultimate goal of the program, the verbal behavior of the participants. The program is intended to be a "showcase" of Catalan public opinion; it also aims at promoting

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democratic and respectful ways of discussing (and maybe solving) certain matters of general interest. The Conductor is also in charge of defining the mood of the whole discussion, which is also strongly dependent on the topic: Serious (e.g. euthanasia, abortion, suicide...), frivolous (e.g. flirting, eating well), or neutral (e.g. living in the country or in the city, the young and the elderly).

The study presented in this paper deals with the second part of the program, and it analyzes the different communicative strategies of the "expert" participants (specialists and witnesses) in a particular episode of the talk show. This episode (18 October 1991) is entitled "Neighborhood Watch Groups" and deals with the right that the neighbors of a particular suburb have to organize themselves to fight against crime, especially drug-trafficking. The analysis will show the degree to which the construction of the experts' socio-cultural identity, even though it is determined by the social and communicative role assigned to them, is also the result of their verbal behavior in the course of the episode.

#### 4. Theoretical background

This study must be considered in the light of those linguistic theories for which language is connected to action. Setting aside the objects of study and the methodology employed, there seems to be a general agreement on the idea that an action is characterized by the intentions and the goals of the actor, it is socially regulated and intersubjective. Our ultimate aim in this project is to show that actions become meaningful through the dynamics of verbal use.

The talk show is a type of TV program which is subjected to (i) a particular goal: Entertain while discussing a current and interesting topic; and (ii) a peculiar context: A debating space among guest participants directed by a conductor in the presence of a studio audience but also addressed to an "absent audience" (the viewers). These parameters define two types of "scenarios" (the show and the discussion), which establish *a priori* a series of communicative rituals and assign specific roles to the participants (introducing, questioning, responding, etc.). However, this situation does not allow us to predict how each individual will speak, which knowledge of the world they will bring into their talk, how they will construct their presentation of self or the inferences that the different participants will make to interpret what is said.

We agree with Charaudeau (1991) on the existence of a "communicative contract" or "frame" (Goffman 1974; Gumperz *et al.* 1989) which is defined at an intersection point between what is situational (goals, status, social roles, and norms of interaction) and what is discursive (forms of participation and ways of speaking). This contract, which includes the shared background and allows the participants to establish relations between what happens and what is known, is the space of construction of the speakers' identity both as social individuals and as participants in a speech event. Thus, we could say that an individual has the social status of doctor, that he/she is young and that within the talk show he/she has the social status of guest. However, only through his/her verbal behavior can we say that he/she adopts the communicative role of rejecting, informing, etc. This distinction between the social role and linguistic role makes it possible to describe the discursive socio-cultural traits that characterize each participant in the discussion.

The communicative contract is not static but dynamic, and it depends on the restrictions that the changes of situation (i.e. the management of the structure of the program) impose. Thus, we can talk about a space that imposes a series of restrictions. However, given the goal of the talk show (i.e. arouse controversy by confronting different points of view or worlds of belief), the contract leaves a certain amount of freedom for the co-construction of the reference and the negotiation of meaning. This negotiation involves the deployment of different communicative strategies which, given the goal of the speech event, are aimed at the following:

- (a) Constructing a coherent position in connection with the topic discussed and with the contributions of the other participants.
- (b) Showing the social identity of each speaker.

If the strategies deployed are to accomplish their objective, they must be legitimized or acknowledged by the rest of co-participants (guests and conductor), since social meaning is constructed in a process of production and reception-interpretation (see, for example, Sherzer 1987). Thus, the strategies are realized by means of "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1992). These cues allow the participants to construct the context of the interaction (e.g. Duranti & Goodwin 1992; Auer & Di Luzio 1992) and they work at different linguistic and non-linguistic levels and, although they can carry information in themselves, their meaning is connected to the interactive process. Gumperz (1992) points out that the meaning of contextualization cues, as opposed to words, of which one can speak out of context, is implicit and, consequently, cannot be analyzed in the abstract, but rather within the context in which they appear.

In order to study the contextualization cues we have taken into account the following aspects:

- a) The *interlocutive* dimension, that is (i) the verbal capital (no. of turns, no. of words and time occupied by each participant), (ii) the origin of the turns, (iii) the type of turn transition, and (iv) the communicative roles of the participants.
- b) The *enunciative* dimension, which involves the linguistic procedures that speakers use to construct their discourse. These procedures mainly affect (i) the enunciative modalities, i.e. the way in which an individual appropriates language, and (ii) the modes of discourse organization, i.e. the principles related to the order in which linguistic production is structured according to the goals of each speaker. Following Charaudeau (1992) we consider three enunciative modalities:

- *Elocution*, or procedure by which the speaker specifies his/her position with regard to what he/she says.
- *Appeal*, or linguistic device by which the addressor involves the addressee in his/her act of enunciation.
- *Delocution*, or device through which the addressor and the addressee can disappear from the act of enunciation.

As regards the modes of discourse organization and still following

Charaudeau (1992), we distinguish four categories: *Enunciative* (which we will call *expository*), *descriptive*, *narrative* and *argumentative*. The last three categories must be understood according to their traditional definition in rhetorical studies. The *expository* mode structures the text according to the position of the speaker in relation to him/herself, the addressees and the world referred. We include in this category those organizations of discourse that in order to manifest a point of view express assertions about facts in the world referred in evidential form. They are meant to transmit truth and authority values.<sup>2</sup> This mode is also relevant for the realization of the other modes, depending on the character type which the speaker chooses to adopt in order to construct the descriptive, argumentative and narrative modes.

## 5. Analysis of the data

### 5.1. *Situational contract: Situation, scene and participants*

The corpus of data studied is based on the video-tape recording and the transcript of the program mentioned above. The goal of the part of the program analyzed is to introduce both the problem to be discussed and the different positions of the experts. This part lasts forty minutes approximately and takes place in the presence of the studio audience. According to the basic communicative contract, in this part of the talk show only the expert participants and the Conductor can take part. The audience are only allowed to participate in the discussion in the third part of the program. For this reason, the TV cameras are only focused on the section of the studio occupied by the expert participants, who sit in a semi-circle so that they can see one another and can be seen by the viewers (see figure 1)

The total number of participants in this part of the program is eleven. Three of them form part of the regular staff: the Conductor (P), who directs and controls the development of the talk show, and two Secretaries (S and SC), who act as informational support. The Conductor (P) is a very popular TV professional who has designed and directs the talk show. He has a double communicative contract: with the TV viewers and with the expert participants. He is the participant in charge of (i) making the program progress while guiding the discussion and entertaining the audience, and (ii) performing the task of triggering and managing the participation of the other participants.

The other eight participants are "experts" who have been invited only for this specific program. The Conductor has selected them so that they can introduce different points of view in the discussion. The basic contract emphasizes their role:

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<sup>2</sup> The following example may clarify what we consider the *expository* mode of discourse organization:

19. J - *bueno primer hi ha una cosa | els jutges naturalment | | estem sotmesos com tothom | però potser més perquè: | | per la nostra feina | estem sotmesos al principi de legalitat | |*

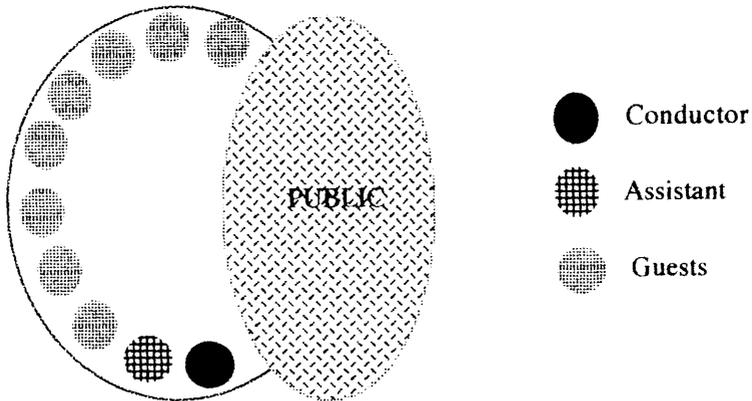
J - well first there is one thing/ judges naturally// we are submitted like everybody/ but maybe more because of our work/ we are submitted to the principle of legality//

they are expected to speak from the point of view of the status for which they have been asked to participate in the program. Five of the experts can be further defined as 'specialists' and the other three should be considered as 'witnesses':

<u>Specialists</u>		<u>Witnesses</u>	
G	Governor	T0	witness
A	Mayor	T1	witness
M	Doctor	T2	witness
E	Writer		
J	Judge		

Another aspect that differentiates the expert/specialist participants from the expert/witness participants is that the former are public, well-known characters, whereas the latter are 'anonymous'. There is another factor which can help us to establish a division among the 'expert/specialist' participants: those which represent some governmental institution or those who do not represent any governmental institution. In the program studied, the doctor (M) has been invited as a professional, whereas the other four 'expert/specialist' participants have all been invited as representatives of governmental institutions: the Government of the Nation (G), the City Hall (A), the Parliament of the Autonomous Region (E) and the Law (J).

*Figure 1. Distribution of space in the studio  
(Lochard & Soulages, in press)*



## 5.2. Interlocutive dimension

The interlocutive dimension includes all those factors that define the different ways in which each participant occupies the interactional space. In order to describe this dimension we take into account the following aspects:

- 1) Verbal capital of each participant: Number of turns taken, number of words and time taken up by each turn.
- 2) Interlocutive mechanisms:
  - 2.1) Origin of the turn (self-selection/other-selection), bearing in mind that they can also be failed or merely continuing.
  - 2.2) Types of turn transition (pause, interruption, overlap).
  - 2.3) Communicative roles (Questioning, Responding, Asserting, Validating -Agreeing/Disagreeing-, Managing ).<sup>3</sup>

The description of these factors leads to a clear understanding of the role of each participant in connection with the basic communicative contract. This role is based on the status of each participant and the potential deviations due to the strategic behavior of each participant in constructing his/her own identity. The basic premise is that a verbal contract is not rigid. It functions as a frame, which allows each participant to enact a role that is more or less coherent with his/her status. This part of the study allows us to see, on one hand, the effects of authority, legitimacy and protagonism of the different participants, and, on the other hand, the degree to which his/her verbal behavior corresponds with the status he has been assigned at the beginning of the program.

With regard to the verbal capital, the results of the analysis show that the conductor (P) takes a much greater number of turns than any of the other participants, and they are distributed throughout the entire program (34.6%). He fulfills his organizing function derived from the contract. In contrast, the time occupied by his contributions is very similar to that of the other participants (see figures 2 and 3). In the group of 'expert' participants, two 'witnesses' and one 'specialist' stand out in terms of number of turns: T0 (15.7%), a drug-addict attacked by a neighborhood watch group, T2 (10%), an active member of a different neighborhood watch group, and G (8.3%), the Governor. We interpret that the dominance of these three participants is not a coincidence but rather the result of the fact that the program is centered around a past event whose main actors are represented precisely by the three participants.

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<sup>3</sup> For a clarification of categories such as *question/response*, *validating agreement/disagreement* and different kinds of *managing*, see the examples in the appendix.

Figure 2. Turns and time

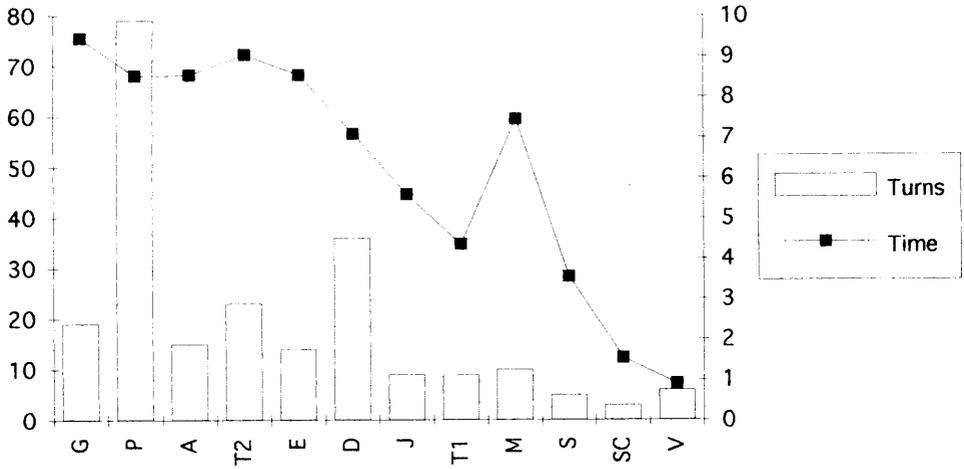
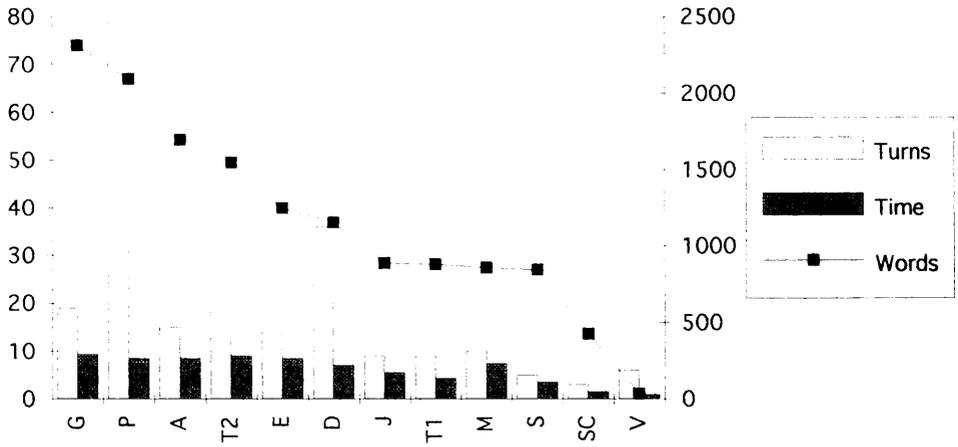


Figure 3. Turns, time and words



This interpretation can be corroborated by our analysis of the turn-taking system, which shows that the discussion is very much subject to the Conductor (P) and the way he wants to approach the topic. Thus, the 'expert/witness' participants (T0, T1, T2,) and the Governor (G) are more frequently other-selected by the Conductor (P) than the other participants. This points to the fact that the Conductor (P) tends to adopt an interrogation format for those 'experts' who are more directly related to the issue being discussed and whose information is of greater interest: Those who are directly in charge of preventing crime (police, organized citizens), and those who pay the consequences (drug-addict and neighbors).

We could say that, in general, the 'witnesses' are more other-selected than the 'specialists', and the 'politicians' more other-selected than the 'professionals' or 'independent characters'. Perhaps the extreme case of this would be the Doctor (M) and the Judge (J), who are never other-selected. While the 'politicians' and 'witnesses' construct an "informative" identity (which should be further specified in each case (G: propagandist; A: Critical) the 'professionals', because of the technical or ideological nature of their contribution, take part in the discussion only when the topic leads directly to their area of specialization.

Self-selection arises from the legitimacy or authority that each participant assumes throughout the program depending on the communicative contract and other factors. The fact that the Conductor (P) always participates in the discussion through self-selection is part of the basic contract of the program (he is responsible for the management of the whole interaction). Of all the 'expert/specialist' participants, the one with the highest degree of self-selection is the Doctor (M). This may be an indication of the authority which he assumes as a result of his relatively independent status, free from political constraints.

It is interesting to point out that one of the 'expert witnesses', the Witness/Drug-addict (T0) participates with a high degree of self-selection: He is the only participant who takes part in the discussion without being requested to do so. This participant, as a drug-addict who was attacked by a neighborhood watch group, has a first-hand experience of the issue and, therefore, feels legitimized to construct his identity as an 'expert/specialist' participant rather than as 'expert/witness'. In this case as well as in the case of the Doctor (M), self-selection is connected with the thematic development of the discussion.

The writer (E) also constitutes a special case. His mode of participation is balanced between self-selection and other-selection. This pattern corresponds to a construction of a complex identity: He is a politician (member of the Catalan Parliament), he is an intellectual (leftist, writer) and he may also be considered as a 'witness' because he himself lives in a suburb with drug-traffic problems.

The analysis of the transitions between turns shows a general absence of interruptions and long pauses. This is an indication that all the participants honor the implicit contract of respecting the other's turn. However, as one could expect, at points of intense discussion all the participants tend to overlap each other. One of the 'expert/witness' participants, T1, is the only exception to this tendency, which confirms the construction of a non-conflicting identity.

Only three of the participants interrupt the other's turn: The Conductor (P), for whom this seems to be a right derived from his role as manager of the program, the Writer (E) and on the 'expert/witness' who is a drug-addict (T0). This confirms

the impression that was mentioned before that the behavior of the Writer (E) and the Witness/Drug-addict (T0) is distinctive and that it is the outcome of a complex identity in the program.

The communicative roles which are displayed in this particular show are the ones to be expected from the specific communicative contract of the program. Questioning and Managing are the characteristic roles of the Conductor because of his double task: (i) arouse interest, and (ii) moderate the discussion. The panel of experts (specialists and witnesses) mainly adopt the roles of Asserting, Validating and Responding, which correspond to their function of supplying different points of view based on their experience while following the script set up by the Conductor.

A closer study of the results shows that whereas the contributions of the expert specialists are equally distributed between Responding and Asserting/Validating, in the case of the 'expert witnesses', their contributions appear mainly as Responding. This is the communicative role that corresponds to the Questioning role (Responding is the logical consequence of Other-selection) and confirms the special identity constructed by the Witness/Drug-addict (T0), who becomes more similar to the 'expert specialists' in terms of the communicative roles he adopts. The study also confirms the "sniper" identity of the Doctor (M), who is never Questioned and, consequently, never plays the role of Responding.

All the participants sporadically adopt communicative roles which are characteristic of the Conductor (i.e. Questioning, Managing) but their low frequency does not allow us to speak of their "adopting" a different identity. However, it is significant to remark that the Governor (G) and the Mayor (A), the 'politicians' who are directly responsible for the events being discussed, never adopt either of the two roles. This shows how strictly they observe the limits of their identity, which excludes the roles of Managing the discussion.

Finally, if we take into account the communicative role Validating Disagreement, we should point out that the most polemic participants are the Doctor (M), the Governor (G) and the Witness/Drug-addict (T0). However, this result must be confronted with the rest of the speech event because disagreement is not necessarily expressed by adopting the role Validating Disagreement. This could be the case of the Writer (E), who introduces his disagreement in a disguised manner by making use of questions or specific anecdotes.

In short, the analysis of the origin of turns, the modes of transition and the communicative roles show, in the first place, that in general the participants honor the verbal contract of the program. In the second place, we can see that the verbal behavior of the participants during the interaction is a key element for the creation of more or less complex identities, which in some cases may become "subversive" in terms of the verbal contract of the talk show (the Witness/Drug-addict (T0), especially, but also the Doctor (M) and the Writer (E)).

### **5.3. Enunciative dimension**

In our analysis we consider that the enunciative dimension becomes explicit basically in two types of phenomena which contribute to defining the enunciative style of each participant in the debate:

- a) The presence of interlocutors in the text: the cues related to personal deixis.
- b) The modes of discourse organization.

### 5.3.1. *Personal deixis*

Within the aspect of personal deixis we can distinguish three categories:

- a) The elocution, characterized by the presence of first person tokens (*jo, nosaltres* 'I, we').
- b) The appeal, characterized by the presence of second person tokens (*tu, vosaltres, vostè, vostès* 'you: informal singular, informal plural, formal singular, formal plural').
- c) The delocution, including tokens of the third person (*ell, ells, ella, elles* 'he, she, they masculine, they feminine') but referring to participants in the discussion.

The most relevant results from the analysis of the data we carried out so far are the following:

- a) The Conductor (P) is the participant with the lowest number of elocution tokens.
- b) There are only three participants, the Conductor (P), the Doctor (M), and the Witness/Drug-addict (T0), who introduce appeal tokens in their discourse.
- c) Likewise, there are only three participants, the Conductor (P), the doctor (D) and the Judge (J), that present delocution tokens in their discourse.
- d) There are different procedures and deictic devices (deictic variation, mainly) that clearly contribute to the construction of the identity of the participants and that require a very detailed analysis. We suggest the following relevant aspects:

(i) There is only one participant whose contributions to the discussion show a dominance of the token *jo* 'I' against all the other possible deictic tokens. This participant is the Witness/Drug-addict (T0), the main witness of the event commented, and the only one who constructs his discursive identity as a specific individual rather than a representative of a social group or institution.

(ii) The rest of the participants show ambiguities of different types. In general, the individual *jo* 'I' goes side by side with *nosaltres* 'we', which is used to denote the group or institution represented by the speaker (the legal branch, the executive branch, the doctors, etc.). However, we can find extreme cases in which a participant never makes use of *jo* 'I' and resorts exclusively to an institutional *nosaltres* 'we' (the Judge (J) for example). The opposite case is that of the Doctor (M), who constructs his identity from a very personal point of view, ignoring the public side of his status in the program. Finally, we

have a participant like the Mayor (A), who uses *nosaltres* 'we' to refer to two different social groups: The citizens and the institutional authorities. The Mayor (A) constructs his discursive identity through a fluctuation between the two referents of *nosaltres* 'we', and this may sometimes cause ambiguity. This ambiguity is reinforced by the fact that he also uses the third person plural pronoun *ells* 'they' to refer to both the citizens and the authorities.

### 5.3.2. *Modes of discourse organization*

In relation to the four basic modes of discourse organization we distinguish three categories of participants depending on the dominant use of these modes:

(1) The "expositive" or "assertive" characters, whose discourse is characterized by their positioning in connection with the issue being discussed; the most representative participant of this type is the Governor (G), as in this fragment:

*G - jo crec que e: ens obliga a tots a pensar una mica | jo crec que s'ha d'interpretar com una: | un esclat | d'una preocupació ciutadana | un crit dient escoltim | prou | aquest tema no està resolt | e: s'ha de posar sobre la taula | s'ha de fer l'esforç | | jo crec que aquest és la vessant positiva | |*

G - I think that it leads us to think/well/ I think that this has to be interpreted as a: /an explosion/ of a citizen's problem/ a shout saying listen/ that's enough/ this problem is not solved/ um it has to be posed clearly/ we have to try hard// I think that this is the positive side of the question//

(2) The "argumentative" characters, who organize their discourse around the causes and the consequences of the events discussed rather than around their personal positioning in front of the problem. The clearest example of this type of characters is the Doctor (M), as in the following example:

*M - hi han persones marginades | que no tenen res que veure amb les drogues | | però moltes persones marginades | que sí tenen que veure amb les drogues | | llavors això | genera | | unes formes particulars de viure | | i aquestes formes particulars de viure | | topen amb altres formes de viure | que no tenen aquestes particularitats | | allavorens indubtablement |*

M - there are marginal people/ that have no relation to drugs// but many marginal people/ have to do with drugs// then this generates particular ways of life and these particular ways of life// clash with other ways of life that do not have these particularities// then with no doubt/

(3) The "narrative-descriptive" characters, who supply information for the discussion in the form of narrations or descriptions, as in the following example:

*T0 - pue:s había allí un coche de patrulla de la policía nacional | y otro: de la policía*

*municipal* | | y: *vieron cómo se me echaba la gente encima no?* | y *no actuaron* | | *o sea* | | *una chica que venía conmigo* | | *gracias a ella* | | *no? pues* | *se fue para: la guardia urbana y les rogó o sea les suplicó por favor* | | *que intervinieran que me estaban matando no? o sea* | *entonces* | *pues* | | *la guardia urbana: intervino* |

T0 - so: there was a patrol car of the national police and another one of the local police// and they saw how people attacked me you know?/ and they didn't do anything// well// a girl who was with me// thanks to her// right? well/ she went to the police and she asked them well she supplicate please// do something they were killing me right?/so then // the police came/

This would be the case of the 'expert/ Witness' participants (T0, T1 and T2). Only the Witness/Drug-addict (T0) escapes this mode of discourse in order to adopt an "expositive" or "assertive" mode, stating his personal point of view.

Even if these are the three dominant types, we have also found that some of the participants, like the Writer (E) or the Witness/Drug-addict (T0), build up their own identity through the combination of more than one style.

## 6. Final remarks

With this study we have tried to show the relevance of analyzing talk shows as anthropological showcases. This type of communicative event is characterized by a high degree of ritualization. It has a previous and rigid communicative contract and the conductor acts as an efficient manager of social identities throughout the whole program.

In spite of the conductor's efficiency, the participants are able to (and in some cases they must) construct their socio-cultural identities through their own discourse behavior. In the particular talk show studied this construction is achieved basically both by means of interlocutive mechanisms as well as by means of what we have defined as enunciative styles.

This kind of analysis should allow us to compare this particular Catalan program with other talk shows with the aim of discovering cross-cultural differences and similarities.

## Appendix

Question (Q) -Response(R) (talking about a neighborhood called San Cosme where drugs are easily found)

33. P - *i per què anaves a san cosme?* | | (Q)  
P- and why did you go to san cosme? | | (Q)
34. T0 - *e: iba a comprar* | | (R)  
TO- I: I went to buy | | (R)
35. P - *però* | *per què a san cosme?* | (Q)  
P- but/ why to san cosme? | (Q)
36. TO - *perquè- porque: aparte de que: san cosme* | *um sale más a cuenta* | | *¿no? porque:* | *és más barata* | y: *mejor calidad* | | (R)  
TO - why- because we: | | san cosme/ um is much better// you know? becau:se/ it 's

cheaper/ a:nd better quality// (R)

## Assertion (A)-Validating agreement (VA)

24. T0- *Una cosa sobre este tema no?* | *es que:* | *e: hay personas que:* | *mm están: o sea | necesitan la droga no?* | *entonces* | *e: sobre lo que le- les estaba comentando usted al señor juez* | *es que* | *um yo creo que necesitarían sitios adecuados para estas personas porque* | *precisamente muchos de ellos* | *entran en prisión* | | *que no toman* | | *y salen* | | *tomando* | | *o sea* | *allí dentro* | *por las circunstancias en las cuales se ven* | | *a- acaban tomando= o [sea]* (A)

T0- One thing about this /right?/ is that/ uh: there are people that um are: well/ they need drugs/ right?/ then uh: about what you were saying to the judge/!/ um I think that there should be appropriate places for this people because/ many of them go into prison without drugs but they get out of it with addiction well/ in there/ for the circumstances in which they live// they e-e-end up having drugs= well (A)

25. J - *[sí sí]* | | *sí sí* | (VA) *és que e: clar* | *el que passa aquí* | *és que sempre rep* | *el més dèbil* | | *aquí el que dreu no el que rep és el drogodependent* | *que:* | *que el pobre* | *pues té un: un problema molt serio que és una malaltia* | | *i: i li toca el rebre* | | *aleshores* | *e: clar* | *seria més indicat* | *pues* | *e: bueno primer plantejar-s'ho globalment* | *com diu el doctor freixes* | (VA)

J- (yes yes)// yes yes// (VA) of course what happens here is that the weaker is always the one who gets the worse part// here what you say no the one who has the worse part is the drugdependent/ who/ well/ he has a very serious problem it's an illness// and then/ u:m of course what would be best is/ well/ um first pose the problem globally/ as doctor freixes says/ (VA)

## Assertion (A)-validating disagreement (VD)

116. G - *home jo crec que el tema* | *si que s'ha avançat* | *a les escoles s'ha sensibilitzat* | *no hi han nous heroïnòmans* | | *gairebé no hi han nous heroïnòmans eh?* | | *l'edat [està av (??)]* (A)

G- well I think that there has been an improvement about this/ in the schools there has been more sensibility/ there are no more new heroine addicts// practically there are not new heroine addicts right ?// age (is advan (??)) (A)

117. M - *[però això no és per la política de vostès eh?]* | *perdoni senyor navarro* | (VD) *això és perquè els heroïnòmans tenen por de morir-se de la sida* (A)

M- (but this is not because of your politics right?// I beg your pardon mr. navarro/ (VD) this is because the heroine addicts are afraid of dying of AIDS (A)

## Topic managing

153. P - *el sector vuit-cents u* | | *que és* | *un punt específicament conflictiu mereixerà la nostra atenció d'aquí un instant* (TM)

P- section eight hundred a// which is/ a very conflictive point will deserve our attention in a minute (TM)

## Contract managing

3. P - *nosaltres al xip* | *tenim: cada setmana l'objectiu d'interessar: vostès* | | *i: per aquesta raó busquem* | *plantejaments de qüestions* | *que considerem que són del seu interès* | | *però també ens agrada fer-ho d'una manera planera ja saben que aquest és un programa espontani que s'emet en directe* | | (CM)

P- in this program: we have every week the aim of getting your attention// a:nd this is why we look for questions/ that we consider most interesting// but we also like to do it very plainly you all know that this is an spontaneous program which is emitted in direct (CM)

## Presentation managing

27. P - *estem sentint | en un jove el qual | | encara no havíem tingut oportunitat de parlar amb ell | | (PG) ens pot explicar qui és vostè? (Q)*  
 P- we are listening/ to a young person who/// still we had not had the opportunity to talk to/// (PG) can you tell us who you are? (Q)

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