Hybridity as challenge in televised election campaign interviews

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Abstract

This thesis contributes to on-going discussions amongst academics on broadcast political discourse with respect to the multiplicity and transformation of institutional roles and relations in political news interviews. The thesis has as a starting point the way hybridity in broadcast talk challenges "traditional" standards and participants' identities in political news interviews. Adopting a conversation analytic perspective, it examines how these modified standards and identities shape political news interviews at a micro and a macro level. At a micro level, this thesis investigates episodes of adversarial talk in one-on-one 2012 Greek election campaign interviews, in terms of the turn-taking system and power relations between participants. Doing so, it points to changes in political news interviews (a sub-genre of which is the election campaign interview). In particular, the thesis explores and discusses how, through their hybrid (antagonistic) practices, Greek politicians and journalists transform the televised election campaign news interview into an antagonistic arena where the winner is the one who shows that s/he plays the game of televised news interview in a fair way. At a macro level this thesis contributes with empirical, micro-analytic evidence to wider debates related to politics and media communication by discussing the significance of both participants' hybrid practices regarding: 1) how (mainstream) populism as political style, becomes manifest and 2) the epistemology of TV journalism in relation to its knowledge producing practices. It is argued that the collaboratively produced hybrid practices identified promote antagonistic politics as the norm and legitimise mainstream politicians' populist performances.

Dedication

To the loving memory of my mother Zoe and Dimitris without whom in my life I wouldn't be who I am

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It is really difficult and maybe impossible, to fully acknowledge on a single page the special role every person, that was already part of my life or I met in Cardiff, played while working on this thesis. Nevertheless I will try!

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Abbreviations

CPI (Conventional Political Interview)
API (Adversarial Political Interview)
HPI (Hybrid Political Interview
RPI (Reflexive Political Interview)
BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation)
NET (New Hellenic Television)
PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Party)
SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left)
DIMAR (Democratic Left)
KKE (Communist Party of Greece)
GDP (Gross Domestic Product)
IMF (International Monetary Fund)
EU (European Union)

Transcription Notations

(adapted from Hutchby and Wooffitt 1999, Schegloff 2007 and Glenn 2003)

↑↓	pointed arrows indicate a marked falling or rising intonation in non final position
› ‹	'More than' a 'less than' signs indicate that the talk they encompass was produced noticeably quicker than the surrounding talk.
< >	used in the reverse order they indicate the encompassed talk is markedly slowed or drawn out.
° °	degree marks indicate decreased volume of talk between
<u>Under</u>	underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis
CAPITALS	words in capitals mark a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it.
(guess)	words within a single bracket indicate the transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance.
( )	empty parentheses indicate the presence of an unclear fragment on the tape.
(( ))	words between double brackets indicate transcriber's comments
.	a full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone. It does not necessarily indicate the end of a sentence.
,	a comma indicates a 'continuing' intonation.
ha,ha,ha	onomatopoeic renditions of laughter
hhh	indicates audible aspiration, possibly laughter
·hhh	raised, preceding period indicates inbreath audible aspiration, possibly laughter
£ £	pound sign surrounding talk indicates smile voice
(0.5)	the number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	a dot enclosed in a bracket indicates a pause in the talk of less than one-tenth of a second.
=	the "equals" sign indicates 'latching' between utterances, produced either by the same speaker, to accommodate for overlapping speech, or different speakers
[ ]	square brackets between adjacent lines of concurrent speech indicate the onset and end of a spate of overlapping talk.
?	A question mark indicates upward intonation in final position
-	a dash indicates the sharp cut-off of the prior word or sound
:	colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter. The more the colons the greater the extent of stretching.

1. Introduction

Drawing on one-on-one interviews between the three key players of the 2012 Greek elections, Antonis Samaras (conservative), Evangelos Venizelos (socialist) and Alexis Tsipras (left-wing) and four different journalists working for both private TV channels and the public broadcaster, this thesis has three interrelated foci.

Firstly, it investigates how hybridity in broadcast talk, that is mixing institutional and ordinary talk, is manifested *not only* in journalists' talk, as was the case in the majority of previous research, but in *both* journalists' and politicians' talk, and how its employment reshapes the turn-taking system and power relations in televised political news interviews. In this light the thesis contributes to research on the forms hybridity might take in participants' talk: adversarial (Hutchby 2011a, 20011b, 2017, Patrona 2011) or jovial (Ekström 2011, Baym 2005, 2013) and whether the employment of hybridity indicates the emergence of a new hybrid aggressive genre (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2017) or the modification of an existing one, the accountability interview (Ekström 2011, Baym 2013, Montgomery 2011).

Secondly, by investigating *both* interactants' practices, this thesis provides empirical evidence informing discussions on the epistemology of TV journalism in relation to its knowledge-producing practices (Ekström 2002, Roth 2002). More specifically, the focus would be on what type of knowledge is promoted in relation to how "to do" politics based on the participants' (set) hybrid practices.

Thirdly, the thesis discusses the implications of politicians' and journalists' hybrid talk for the public portrayal of both participants within the emergent genre. As will be argued, through their hybrid talk Greek politicians build a populist political identity and Greek journalists through their hybrid reactions, assist them in that portrayal. Taking this into account, this thesis provides data-driven support for the definition of populism as political style (Moffitt and Tormey 2014) and mainstream populism (Snow and Moffitt 2012, Moffitt 2015).

In this chapter I provide a brief overview of previous studies on hybridity in broadcast news interviews and outline how my research differs from others in the field (1.1). Then I discuss why investigating hybridity in broadcast talk is important in discussions about the epistemology of TV journalism (1.2), and mainstream populism as political style (1.3). The final two sections outline the research questions that will be addressed (1.4) and the thesis structure (1.5).

1.1. Hybridity in broadcast news interviews

Previous research on hybridity in broadcast political news interviews (Ekström and Kroon Lundell 2009, Ekström 2011, Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Baym 2005, 2013), has defined hybridity as the systematic shifting between interview and non-interview speech exchange systems, i.e. incorporating (confrontational) ordinary talk within the institutional activity that is, "event(s) with constraints on […] the kinds of allowable contributions" (Levinson 1992:69), of asking accountability questions.

In particular, Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2014, 2017) discusses hybridity in journalists' questions within the *hybrid political news show*, a broadcast news genre that combines two different frames that is, participants' understanding of the social activity they are engaged in, as interpreted from their interaction (Goofman 1974). The frames mixed in Hutchby's dataset are neutralistic questions, typical in prototypical news interviews, with *personalized argumentative* frames, frequent in mundane conversations and/or radio talk. Within this hybrid news interview genre, the journalist occupies the role of the sociopolitical advocate and, by means of direct tribuneship, a highly opinionated argumentative discourse is created, on the border between an interview and an argument (Hutchby 2014b, 2017).

In the same vein, Baym (2013) and Ekström (2011), also discuss hybridity as a mix of different (frames of) activity types (Goffman 1974, Levinson 1992, Linell 2011) in political talk show interviews, but they focus on how *humour* and serious political talk can be combined in the design of accountability questions. Ekström (2011:151-152) and Baym (2013: 67-75) demonstrate how incorporating laughter and humour within the institutional activity of asking "serious" accountability questions, enables journalists to use these jovial hybrid formats as an adversarial resource and put more pressure on politicians (see also Baym 2005 for a similar discussion). And herein lies the similarity but also the difference with Hutchby's discussion of hybridity.

While for Hutchby, Baym and Ekström the mix of different (frames of) activities is used in the hybrid news interview as an adversarial resource, the discursive positions occupied by the interviewer and the resulting genre in the respective datasets examined are slightly different. In Hutchby's dataset, the use of unmitigated direct and personalised argumentative techniques by interviewers, frequent in mundane argument and/or talk radio shows rather than in prototypical news interviews, positions the journalist as an advocate of specific political views or groups and indicates the emergence of a new genre, the Hybrid Political Interview.

For Baym (2005, 2013) the mix of different frames (social chat, humour and serious questioning) enriches the adversarial armoury of journalists and indicates not the emergence of a new genre, but the appropriation of the "standard" norms of the accountability interview. In between the two, Ekström (2011) claims that mixing frames of activities of ordinary conversation and accountability interviews (i.e humorous and serious political frames) results in the creation of an interview that is on the verge of being defined as something between a friendly conversation (the "soft and feel-good genre" of talk shows, in Clayman and Heritage's 2002a:341 terms) and the "high profile" accountability interview (Montgomery 2007).

The way I understand hybridity in this thesis follows broadly the way the aforementioned researchers have approached it: as the mixture of activity types usually associated with accountability interviews, talk show interviews and (confrontational) talk in institutional (radio shows) or every day contexts.

What differentiates the way I examine hybridity though is that I *systematically* examine it as a feature of *both* interactants talk, i.e. how hybridity is employed by journalists and politicians *alike* within the institutional activities of asking and responding to journalistic questions, as well as within journalistic reactions to politicians' responses. [1]

A second point of differentiation involves the use of the term hybridity. In this thesis I use the term *hybridity* to refer to the theoretical concept of mixing interview and non-interview related (frames of) activities either from (confrontational) ordinary talk or other broadcast genres, i.e. radio or televised talk shows. Doing so, enabled me to capture the two distinct ways hybridity was talked about and exemplified in both strands of research, as outlined in the previous paragraphs, without creating any confusion in relation to which type of hybridity (adversarial or jovial) we refer to.

In the subsequent analytic chapters however, when referring to the specific interactional practices of Greek journalists and politicians, where, contrary to previous research, they mix more than two (frames of) activity types, that is mixing institutional talk with laughter and mundane argumentative frames within a single utterance or episode of talk, I will use the term *integrated hybridity* introduced by Ekström (2011: 137), to signal the distinctive character of my participants' hybrid practices and distinguish them from interactants' hybrid practices documented in previous research.

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[1] Ekström (2011) has also examined hybridity in politicians' responses and in journalists' reactions in third position, but his examination was limited only to the use of laughter and humour.

Other points of differentiation between this thesis and the studies carried out by Hutchby, Baym and Ekström, involve the different cultural context/media system within which the data analysed in the thesis is situated, and the broadcast news interviews examined. In contrast to Hutchby and Baym who have examined political talk show interviews and Ekström, who has examined a radio political show election campaign interview, all hosted by entertainers/journalists, my dataset comprises "prototypical" accountability interviews hosted by "high-profile" journalists and interviews conducted during an early morning news and current affairs programme, hosted by a well-known presenter of those kinds of programmes. These differences in the types of political news interviews examined and the professional standing of the journalists involved, differentiates my research from previous studies in two ways.

Firstly, political talk shows are by definition a marginal case of news interviews, a hybrid genre mixing prototypical news interviews, radio phone-ins (Clayman and Heritage: 2002:8) and ordinary conversation (for an overview see Tolson 2001). Secondly, as indicated by Hutchby (1991, 1996, 2006) radio talk resembles ordinary conversation more than TV talk does. In that respect, features of radio talk show and ordinary talk (laughter, humour, argumentative frames) identified by Hutchby, Baym and Ekström in their respective datasets are somehow "expected", as they were already, to a lesser or greater extent, part of the talk associated with the broadcast genres examined. Finding these features, however, in my dataset that comprises interviews that are more prototypical, is less expected.

Although the interviews broadcast during early morning news and current affairs programmes included in my dataset, are arguably closer to the "feel good" genre of talk shows than to "prototypical" news interviews, they are not talk show interviews. This is the case as both the setting (they did not involve an audience) and the interview structural organisation, resembled the one followed in one-on-one accountability political news interviews. Furthermore, the host of the early morning programme, is neither a comedian nor an entertainer, as the ones in Baym's and Ekström's datasets, but a journalist, financial analyst and TV presenter. Examining thus how hybridity is employed by Greek journalists during interviews in broadcast programmes that do not primarily aim to entertain, would yield interesting (cross-national) and/or cross-broadcast genre results in relation to how hybridity is employed by participants in different types of accountability interviews.

1.2. Epistemology of TV journalism and why hybridity might be important

TV journalism is an influential knowledge-producing institution; daily, news items are being selected and broadcast to millions of viewers and these selected items in turn influence other social institutions, as they are often cited and inform public discourse. This may be described as the contribution of TV journalism to knowledge production and communication, or epistemology of knowledge in Ekström's (2002) terms. As he claims:

" In a sociological study of knowledge-producing practices […] epistemology […] refers to the *rules, routines* and *institutionalized procedures* that operate within a social setting and decide the form of the knowledge produced and the *knowledge claims* expressed (or implied). […] the legitimacy of journalism is intimately bound up with claims of knowledge and truth. It is thanks to this claim of being able to offer the citizenry important and reliable knowledge that journalism justifies its position as a constitutive institution in a democratic society." (Ekström 2002:260, emphasis in the original)

As both Ekström (2002) and Roth (2002) argue, epistemologies are institutionalized within institutional practices. In the case of TV journalism, and news interviews in particular, the turn-taking system and the question design - set institutional practices - are important ingredients in the epistemology of knowledge production. In other words, the way the news interview is conducted, produces knowledge and classifies reality for all the social actors involved (interviewers, interviewees and the overhearing audience). Based on these classifications of reality all the actors involved play, a more or less active role in knowledge production; interviewers through their questions and institutional role produce knowledge for the overhearing audience and the interviewees through their responses do likewise. What safeguards the legitimate place of journalism as an institution producing knowledge in relation to matters of politics, for instance in the minds of the people, is its institutional rules, routines and procedures.

Furthermore, as Ekström (2002:277) argues the knowledge claims of journalism are not primarily legitimized through official declarations or policy documents but through concrete practices. It is by making use of set rules, techniques and genre conventions that one can persuade the public of the trustworthiness of the knowledge produced. In the case of news interviews this is achieved by both parties following the news interview conventions, especially the turn taking system of news interviews thus

safeguarding neutralism, an issue that will be discussed in sections 2.3 & 2.4. Or as Roth (2002:359) puts it: "[…] aspects of turn design do not merely REFLECT a social distribution of knowledge; they partly CONSTITUTE it" (emphasis in the original). Through the social practice of institutional talk-in-interaction, interactants create a social world in which knowledge is produced by means of the orderly practices typical of the TV genre.

What role is hybridity able to play in any discussion of the epistemology of TV journalism? As previous studies have indicated, hybridity may modify the nature of the political news interview, making it more or less adversarial, more or less friendly, thus changing its orderly practices. If hybridity has indeed modified the orderly practices of the political news interview, this may have consequences not only for what constitutes an accepted (institutional) practice but also for the kind of knowledge produced. To put it differently, if hybridity changes institutional practices, this may also affect the kind of knowledge those institutional practices offer the overhearing audience (that is, anybody who happens, voluntarily or involuntarily, to be the recipient of talk and subsequent knowledge produced).

The way I understand and use the term "overhearing audience", in this thesis, as the recipient of public talk, follows Warner's conceptualistion of the public as addressees and participants in any public discourse (2002:422). In that sense politicians' public talk does not only address the audience that recognises themselves as realising the world in the way articulated, i.e. their supporters, but more importantly addresses an "indefinite" overhearing" audience and "hope(s) that people will find themselves in it" (Warner 2002:418).

The knowledge producing practices of (hybrid) televised political interviews are particularly relevant in the case of election campaign interviews as the social world created by both interactants produces knowledge in relation to what kind of qualities are "electable" and subsequently what kind of politics is foregrounded and legitimatized. In other words, if through the co-modified hybrid institutional norms of election campaign interviews, politicians portray a specific persona (i.e. as aggressive or playful), journalists through their hybrid reactions may validate or invalidate this portrayal, subsequently co-producing knowledge in relation to acceptable norms of political behaviour and "doing politics".

1.3. Mainstream populism as a political style

Related to the epistemology of TV journalism and the way I approach hybridity in this thesis, as mixing adversarial and jovial frames manifested not only in journalists' talk (as was the case in the majority of previous research) but also in politicians', is the notion of *populism*. Although populism is a very slippery concept and thus difficult to define with precision and a notion usually used in a derogative way related to xenophobic, nationalist and separatist movements (Mazzoleni 2003:1), it has recently gained much scholarly attention. This is attributed to the challenges facing several countries as a result of economic difficulties (Moffit and Tormey 2014:391), Greece being a primary example, and more recently the immigrant crisis.

As Moffit (2015:189) argues: "the performance of crisis allows populist actors to pit 'the people' against a dangerous other, radically simplify the terrain of political debate and advocate strong leadership". Nevertheless, this is not only done by politicians. As Mazzoleni (2003:2) notes, the mass media themselves may intentionally or unintentionally be "players" in this political game by endorsing or opposing populist performances. Mazzoleni's observations tally with the role of set institutional practices of TV journalism in relation to its knowledge producing practices; if journalists assist (populist) politicians in their performance of crisis, then not only is a crisis enacted and maintained but also populism is legitimatised. In this legitimatisation process two things are foregrounded: firstly the dangerous "other", be it powerful elites, institutions, aliens and, secondly the need to fight back (antagonistic politics). By endorsing populist performances, media seem to legitimatise both.

In times of crisis or for electoral gains however, as Snow and Moffit (2012) have shown, creating a division between "the people" and "the other" can be manifested in mainstream politicians' talk. In order to account for those instances, they introduced the term "mainstream populism" (2012:272). Later on, attempting to fully encompass populism's fluidity as manifested in mediatised contexts by politicians belonging to different political parties, Moffitt and Tormey (2014) introduced the concept of populism as a political style. As they claim: "thinking of populism as political style rather than a distinct ideology allows us to consider how politicians can slip in and out of the populist style" (2014:393). Incorporating the notion of populism as political style in my discussion of the knowledge produced for the overhearing audience during election campaign interviews will put both interactants' hybrid practices into a wider perspective in relation to a premier's electable qualities and related politics promoted.

1.4. Research Questions

Based upon the manifestations of hybridity in Greek journalists' and politicians' talk (integrated hybridity) within the institutional activities of asking and responding to adversarial questions, as well as current discussions on the form the accountability interview is taking and whether hybridity plays a significant role in the process, this thesis will investigate the following:

General Research Question:

How does integrated hybridity as manifested in the 2012 Greek one-on-one election campaign interviews shape the orderly practices of the televised genre and what are the implications of its use in relation to the public portrayal of politicians and journalists and the subsequent knowledge produced for the overhearing audience?

This general question can be subdivided further as follows:

1.   How merging two different types of hybridity (adversarial and jovial frames) within Greek journalists' adversarial questions results in the notion of integrated hybridity (chapter 6).

2.   How the use of integrated hybridity by Greek politicians indicates the emergence of a distinct type of response. How integrated hybridity manifested in *both* politicians' and journalists' micro-argumentative sequences modifies the structural organization of the election interview and the power relations between participants. What the implications are of its use for participants' public portrayal, and the subsequent knowledge produced (populism as political style and the epistemology of TV journalism); that is, whether "doing politics" is co-constructed as antagonism or co-operation (chapters 7 & 9).

3.   How laughter as a specific feature of integrated hybridity in both Greek politicians' and journalists' talk in non-argumentative environments restores standard roles and power (a)symmetries in the election campaign interview. Whether the use of integrated hybridity by both participants signifies the emergence of a new genre or the modification of an existing one (chapters 8 & 9).

1.5. Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 will review previous conversation analytic research on prototypical news interviews norms and how these have been adversarially transformed, leading to current discussions on the form(s) the news interview is taking; whether they signify the emergence of a new genre or the modification of an existing one: the accountability interview. The chapter finishes with an overview of selected studies on the importance of question and answer design for the public portrayal of politicians in election campaign interviews.

Chapter 3 will introduce and define *journalistic adversarial challenges* and *politicians' challenging responses*, two terms that will be used in the subsequent analytic chapters, to contrast patterns identified in previous research to the ones identified in this thesis. In doing so, it will bring together research findings from Conversation Analysis and Social Psychology in news interviews analysis.

Chapter 4 will present and evaluate two strands of previous studies on hybridity in broadcast news interviews (hybridity as argumentative or jovial *journalistic* resource). Following this, the two themes related to hybridity that emerged both through my analysis and in relevant literature will be reviewed and discussed: the use of argumentation in televised political interview analysis and studies on laughter in broadcast talk. The chapter finishes with a discussion of how I understand and use hybridity in the thesis.

Chapter 5 will discuss the methodological approach adopted and analytic methods used in addressing the research question and particulars related to data collection and analysis. Firstly, I will present the rationale behind my decision to use Conversation Analysis and to combine it with insights from Social Psychology and Argumentation Theory in the analysis of hybridity in televised political interviews. Then, I will present the sociopolitical situation that created a political, on top of the financial, crisis preceding the 2012 elections in Greece. Chapter 5 will conclude by discussing the particulars of data collection, selection, transcription and translation.

The first analytic chapter, chapter 6, will introduce the notion of *integrated hybridity* that is, the mix of the two distinct types of hybridity identified in previous literature, within Greek journalists' adversarial challenges. Following this, chapter 6 discusses the implications of its use for the public portrayal of Greek journalists.

The second analytic chapter, chapter 7, will present how integrated hybridity is exhibited both in Greek politicians' responses to adversarial challenges and in

journalistic reactions to them that *sustain* the hybrid argumentative framework established. The role integrated hybridity plays in the unfolding interaction in terms of shaping the participants' roles, power relations, the turn-taking system of the interview, and both interactants' public portrayal will be discussed.

The last analytic chapter, chapter 8, will present how integrated hybridity, and laughter in particular, is exhibited in politicians' responses to adversarial challenges and in journalistic reactions to them that do not sustain but *stop* the on-going adversarial action. It will discuss the functions politicians' hybrid responses and journalists' hybrid reactions have within the unfolding interaction, in relation *specifically* to the portrayal of politicians, and the election campaign interview.

Finally, chapter 9 will summarise the findings of the analytic chapters and return to the multifaceted research question posed: how the manifestation of *integrated hybridity* influences the structural organization of election campaign interviews (and accountability interviews in general), whether its employment signifies the emergence of a new genre or the modification of an existing one (accountability interview) and what its role is in the public portrayal of both journalists and politicians and the knowledge producing practices of TV journalism in relation to acceptable norms of political behaviour and "doing politics".

In the following three chapters (chapters 2-4) I will mostly review conversation analytic research in three areas that are to form the backbone of my thesis: 1) key notions in relation to the political news interview that are challenged by hybridity, 2) journalists' adversarial questioning and politicians' challenges that are my unit of analysis, 3) hybridity as an argumentative or jovial adversarial (journalistic) resource.

Chapter 2 offers a mini historical overview on political news interviews, in order to position my thesis in current discussions about developments in the field. It presents key notions of broadcast talk, such as neutralism and how the news interview turn-taking system differs from the one in ordinary talk. These notions are the ones that are being challenged through the use of hybridity and form the basis of current debates regarding how the news interview has evolved in time, the first broad area that my thesis investigates.

Chapter 3 focuses on the specific types of journalistic questions and politicians' answers examined in my thesis, namely adversarial questions and challenges. After offering a brief overview of previous research, bringing together research findings from the fields of Conversation Analysis and Social Psychology, I propose a regrouping of the relevant categories under two umbrella terms: *adversarial challenges* and *challenging responses*. The suggested regrouping is based on the common function of both interactants' techniques: the maintenance of neutralism. These two categories will then be discussed against the hybrid aggressive techniques journalists and politicians in my dataset use.

Chapter 4 reviews and expands on the existing research on hybridity in televised interviews in two ways. Firstly, it groups it into two categories: hybridity as *argumentative* or *jovial journalistic adversarial resource*. Secondly, building on that categorization, it brings into the picture studies on verbal violence (merging linguistics and argumentation theory) and laughter in broadcast talk. These studies provide a useful theoretical and methodologic framework to account for the techniques used by Greek journalists and politicians, as revealed from my analysis, and relate the identified techniques to the second area of my research: how integrated hybridity as employed by both participants assist politicians in building an identity (political style) and what kind of knowledge in relation to how "to do politics" is subsequently produced for the overhearing audience (the epistemology of TV journalism).

2. The News Interview

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the field of (televised) news interviews and introduce key terms and concepts, such as turn-taking and neutralism that form the backbone of current discussions on the functions of hybrid broadcast talk and what forms(s) the news interview is taking; one of the areas my thesis investigates. Firstly in sections 2.1-2.4 I will review previous conversation analytic research on the prototypical news interview and discuss how neutralism and turn-taking enable participants to "do" interview talk. Then in sections 2.5-2.7 I will present how the news interview as a genre has evolved over time before finishing off by presenting previous research on election campaign interviews, a sub-genre of prototypical news interviews that comprise my dataset.

2.1 The news interview as a form of institutional talk

In this section I will briefly pinpoint the differences between news interviews as a form of institutional talk and ordinary conversation, as their (more or less acute) differences form the basis of subsequent discussions and exemplifications of hybridity in the relevant literature to be presented in chapter 4 and in the analytic chapters (chapters 6-8). Drew and Heritage in their work on the application of conversation analysis to the study of institutional interaction, suggest that certain features distinguish institutional talk from ordinary conversation. Starting from Levinson's (1992:69-72) discussion of activity types in social interaction and incorporating the notion of participants' orientation, Drew and Heritage (1992:22-27) suggest that features distinguishing institutional from ordinary talk include the following:

1) Institutional talk is goal-oriented in institutionally relevant ways. In the case of news interviews that are my particular focus, participants organize their talk with reference to general features of the social institutions involved, such as politics and journalism. General features of TV journalism entail that both participants adhere to pre-determined institutional norms and/or roles that involve - among others - who controls the agenda. Participants' conduct though, may fluctuate in the course of an interview, indicating that participants stretch and/or modify the "standard" institutional norms involved. This is particularly evident in adversarial and hybrid interviews where participants move in and out of "standard" institutional roles as will be discussed in section 2.6, in chapter 4, and will be demonstrated throughout the thesis.

2) Institutional interaction may often involve special and particular constraints on what one or all participants may legitimately contribute to the interaction. This is particularly the case in news interviews where it has been shown that participants take into consideration certain constraints, such as turn-taking, when shaping their contact (Heritage 1985; Clayman 1988; Greatbatch 1988; Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Greatbatch 1998; Clayman and Heritage 2002a; Hutchby 2006; Heritage and Clayman 2010). These constraints as Atkinson (1982) notes bestow a distinctly formal character to the interactional event over and above that of ordinary talk (see also Heritage 1998). Research on hybrid interviews however, as will be discussed in chapter 4, has demonstrated that non-adherence to certain institutional constraints has somehow deprived news interview interaction of their distinctive formal character.

3) Finally, regarding interactional asymmetries in institutional settings, Drew and Heritage (1992), drawing on the work of Linell and Luckman (1991), claim that from the very outset, the boundaries are not so clear cut. In particular, they argue that the dichotomy between the symmetries of conversation and the asymmetries of institutional talk does not accurately reflect either the nature of interactional asymmetry or the nature of ordinary conversation. They go on to claim that: "all social interaction must inevitably be asymmetric on a moment-to-moment basis and many interactions are likely to embody substantial asymmetry" (1992:48). That does not mean that in institutional interaction, asymmetries arising from restrictions on participation rights are not more clearly defined than in ordinary conversation. What it implies though, is that asymmetries should not be taken for granted before examining the specific ways these may be (or not) manifested in a given interaction. Or as Schegloff (1992), Drew (1991), ten Have (1991), Maynard (1991) and Drew and Heritage (1992) point out, researchers should not rely on exogenous explanations as an automatic rationale for any given asymmetries, but demonstrate that particular features of institutional talk embody systematic asymmetries not found in ordinary conversation.

Building further on that last point, that particular features of institutional talk need not be taken for granted, and drawing on the work of Scannell (1988, 1989), Hutchby (2006:1-16) sees the differences between ordinary conversation and broadcast talk, as not being very acute at all. Although acknowledging the institutional nature of broadcast talk, Hutchby stresses the fact that the communicative ethos of broadcasting revolves around the fact that this type of public talk is "hearably ordinary, routine and familiar" (2006:13). For Hutchby, broadcast talk by both drawing on, and at the same

time transforming, the structures of ordinary conversation, is capable of achieving its communicative strength. Nonetheless, broadcast talk being different from ordinary conversation by virtue of it being an institutional form of discourse is directed at an "overhearing audience" thus blending the private and public domains of life by means of space, time and division between public and private sites of talk production and perception (2006:18).

Although the boundaries between ordinary and institutional forms of talk are not as clear cut as they may first appear, especially when examining how "the news interview" has continued to evolve, discussing the differences between ordinary and institutional forms of talk is important. Especially when trying to identify when, where and how the two forms of talk merge and what the significance of this blending (hybridity) might be for the news interview and its knowledge producing practices, as will be discussed throughout the thesis.

2.2. The prototypical news interview

In order to prepare the ground for the subsequent sections (2.5-2.6) on different typologies of the "news interview", I will first present what constitutes a "prototypical one-on-one news interview", the format interviews examined in this thesis have, and what differentiates it from other interview formats.

In their work on the fundamental norms and conventions of news interviews, Clayman and Heritage (2002a:7) note that the prototypical news interview has a specific configuration in relation to who the participants are, what they talk about and how they talk about it. The interviewer is a professional journalist and the interviewee has first-hand knowledge of current affairs because s/he is a government official or an informed commentator. The discussion focuses on recent news events and, in the prototypical news interview, the audience plays no active role in the unfolding interaction.

Furthermore, what significantly differentiates the one-on-one news interview from the "soft and feel-good genre" (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:341) of the celebrity talk show interview, or from the multiple interplay between the journalist and the interviewees and the interviewees themselves in panel interviews (Greatbatch 1992, Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Clayman 2002b), is its formal institutional character. This is particularly evident in the question-answer interactional pattern followed; it is primarily through questions and answers, and the institutional restrictions of the turn taking- system of news interviews, that this broadcast genre is realized as talk in action,

as a distinctive form of broadcast talk. As Hutchby (2006:122) puts it, it is within the formal exchange of questions and answers between interviewer and interviewee that the particular, often competitive, themes in each contributor's agenda are realised. It is probably due to the interactional bras de fer exhibited in one-on-one political news interviews that Lauerbach (2007) considers them as the most adversarial kind of interactional broadcast genres. In her words: "(the genre of) one-on-one interviews is characterized by an argumentative structure where politicians defend their standpoints against the interviewers who take the perspective of a critical audience" (2007: 1394).

2.3 The turn-taking system of news interviews

The turn taking system of news interviews and particularly the pre-allocation of speaking turns and interactants' "allowable" contributions, are important in any subsequent discussion on the functions of hybridity for two reasons. Firstly, because of the key role these set institutional practices play in shaping news interviews as a distinctive form of broadcast talk, that in turn leads to its pivotal role in shaping the epistemology of TV journalism, as discussed in section 1.2. Secondly, because observance of these set practices safeguards neutralism and set power (a)symmetries; these are the two key notions that have been challenged by means of hybridity as will be discussed in chapter 4 and throughout the thesis. So as to set any subsequent discussion into perspective, in this section I will briefly present the generic characteristics of the turn-taking system of news interviews, as discussed by Heritage (1985), Greatbatch (1988), Clayman and Whalen (1988/1989), Greatbatch (1992), Greatbatch (1998), Clayman and Heritage (2002a), Hutchby (2006) and Heritage and Clayman (2010).

All the aforementioned researchers have stressed the distinctive character of the turn-taking system of news interviews, comparing it with the one employed in mundane conversation, mainly in relation to the pre-allocation of speaking turns to speakers with specific institutional identities. In contrast to everyday conversation, the institutional restrictions of prototypical news interview turn-taking are predetermined on the grounds of who is allowed to start or finish a turn, who asks the questions, who answers, when the other interlocutor is allowed to respond and whether the ongoing interaction is a discussion between the two participants involved, or whether it is carried out for the sake of the "overhearing audience". Even in cases when there are departures from the question-answer framework, the exceptions by definition show that there are ground rules to be followed. As previous research has indicated (Greatbatch 1988, Clayman and

Whalen 1988/1989; Clayman and Heritage 2002a; Hutchby 2006; Heritage and Clayman 2010) in most deviant cases participants *do* acknowledge, through their interactional behaviour, that they have violated the set interactional norms, and in most cases endeavour to return the interview to the formal, "standard" turn-taking format.

Two of the most important ramifications for the organization of news interview interaction, as described by Greatbatch (1988:404) that differentiate it from mundane conversation and are challenged by the use of hybridity, as will be discussed in chapter 4 and demonstrated throughout the thesis, are the following:

1. Both participants systematically try to produce turns that are at least minimally recognizable as questions and answers. Departures from the standard question-answer format are frequently accounted for and repaired.

2. Journalists systematically withhold a range of responses that are routinely produced by listeners in mundane conversation indicating acknowledgement of the previous speaker's talk, such as *oh, yes*.

Heritage and Clayman claim that the specific format provides a "conventionalized solution to certain problems arising in broadcast journalism" (2010:225). One of the problems solved by this turn-taking system is the problem of the audience. Through this specific turn-taking system, both parties refrain from "getting too personal" by withholding any acknowledgement and receipt tokens that would indicate personal involvement in the discussion. In that way, journalists and politicians operate as mere "vehicles of talk" for the ears of the overhearing audience.

Of equal importance, as Clayman and Whalen (1988/1989), and Schegloff (1988/1989) indicate, is that the turn taking system of news interviews "safeguards" that a stream of broadcast talk qualifies as *news interview talk* and not as an argument, for instance. In other words, for a stream of talk to achieve broadcast talk status both participants have to comply with the set rules and actively co-operate.

These standard characteristics of the turn-taking system of news interviews result in the production of news interview talk that in turn contributes to the knowledge producing practices of TV journalism, as discussed in section 1.2. As will be discussed in section 2.6 and throughout this thesis, changes in these set practices have resulted in subsequent discussions about the form the news interview is taking and consequently, I would add, the knowledge produced.

2.4. Neutralism as an interactional achievement

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, a key notion in broadcasting that claims to distinguish news interviews from propaganda for instance, and against which any changes in news interviews will be subsequently discussed, is journalists' professional cautiousness (Drew and Heritage 1992:45) or *neutralism.*

Although in early research on news interview conventions (Heritage 1985, Clayman 1988) *neutrality* was the term used to describe the journalistic practice of asking questions that are formally neutral but challenging at the same time, in later works the term *neutralism* was preferred. This was because while neutrality implies that the journalist *is* a neutral channel using questions to elicit answers, neutralism: "foregrounds the fact that news interviewers actually *achieve* the status of 'being neutral' through a set of specialized discourse practices" (Hutchby 2006:127).

Following Clayman and Whalen (1988/1989) and Clayman (1988) who claim that neutralism is not an inherent quality of journalistic discourse in isolation, but that its achievement is visible through the collaboration of the interviewees, the definition of *neutralism* adopted in this thesis, is the following: the interactional ways interview participants organize their interaction so that journalists' conduct may be considered as neutralistic (see also Schegloff 1988/1989: 215-216 and Greatbatch 1998:168). That means that interviewees, by complying with the turn-taking system of the news interview, as discussed in the previous section, co-produce or co-modify both "interview talk" and neutralism.

This definition of neutralism is important in my thesis as it provides the interactional backdrop against which previous research on hybridity is evaluated and on which my own analysis is based. To put it differently, as will be discussed in chapter 4, one of the drawbacks of research on hybridity in news interviews, in relation to whether and how hybrid talk modified neutralism, is that hybridity was examined *only* as the property of journalists' talk. Regarding neutralism though as the interactional achievement of *both* interactants, gives us a better insight into its workings in the unfolding interaction, namely how set practices are co-shaped.

To sum up, the previous three sections (2.2-2.4) presented an overview of the fundamental characteristics of news interviews that are challenged through hybridity, so as to set the theoretical background for the subsequent literature and analytic chapters. The key points of relevance to my thesis are: 1) televised one-on-one election campaign interviews that comprise my dataset can be classified as prototypical interviews due to

the distinctive constellation of participants, subject matter and subsequently expected formal character of the interaction, 2) because of the interviews' prototypicality, journalists and politicians in my dataset are expected to comply to the turn-taking system of prototypical news interviews and adhere to neutralism - both of which are set practices - that produce specific knowledge for the overhearing audience, 3) based on the first two points, examining the way both interactants co-produce "interview talk", by complying or modifying existing norms through hybridity, has a bearing on how prototypical interviews are conducted and what kind of knowledge is subsequently produced. The next sections comprising this chapter examine how the political news interview has evolved over time and how the election campaign interview differs from the news interview.

2.5. Political (news) interviews

In the literature review presented so far, the generic term news interview has been used to refer to broadcast interviews involving journalists and public figures. Montgomery (2007;2008) claims though that the term *news interview* is rather misleading, as it is a generic term to refer to interviews with different kinds of actors, thus it is not necessarily the same as *political interview*. For this reason, he suggests that news interviews should instead be discussed in terms of four different sub-genres that accurately capture the differences in the interviewees' identities. He distinguishes between interviews with experts ("the expert interview'), interviews with journalists ('the affiliated interview'), interviews with members of the public that have had some personal experience to share ('the experiential interview') and interviews with public figures such as politicians ('the accountability interview').

Montgomery (2011:35) claims that the clearest examples of *accountability interviews* are interviews where politicians are being interviewed by high-profile journalists in relation to a current news event or topic, which has been discussed as the *prototypical news interview* in section 2.2 above. For the purposes of my thesis the term accountability interview and not prototypical news interview will be used in the discussion chapter when making general claims about any changes identified. That is because Montgomery's news interview categorisation, with respect to the participants, subject matter and structural organisation, reflects most accurately the generic kind of news interview this thesis aims to investigate.

2.6. Changes in political (news) interviews over time

According to Clayman and Heritage (2002a, 2002b), Clayman et al (2006), Clayman et al (2007), Clayman (2007) and Heritage and Clayman (2010) it is both in the United Kingdom and the United States that journalists' questions changed in the 1960s and 1970s. The rise of aggressive, or watchdog journalism in the US, following political developments of the era, made adversarial questioning a permanent feature of post 1960s US journalistic practices.

The end of the BBC monopoly in news broadcasting in the 1960s marked for Clayman and Heritage (2002a; 2010) and Greatbatch (1986a) the rise in adversarial questioning in the UK, with aggressiveness becoming somehow a journalistic norm rather than a unique feature of journalistic questioning. Lorenzo-Dus (2009) argues along similar lines with regard to political interviews on British television at the turn of the millennium, where the frequent occurrence of *not only* explicit hostile questioning but *also* antagonistic answering "[…] both reflects and reinforces a coarsening of the political interview genre" (2009:130).

Montgomery (2011:42) on the other hand, sees the change in questioning practices from deference to adversarialness not as: "[…] simply a case of what was once deviant and unusual becoming the basis for new norms", but as a sign of an active struggle over appropriateness. In other words, he considers the change from deference to adversarialness a "normative instability", as the relevant actors have realized the inappropriateness of old norms and struggle - within the constraints of the genre - for alternative ones that would fit the modern era of broadcasting. In the context of modern political interviewing at the BBC, Montgomery (2011:53) has identified a further change with regards to the interactional behaviour of both politicians and journalists. Echoing the observations made by Lorenzo-Dus (2009), but interpreting them in a different light, Montgomery notes that *both* journalists and politicians, in the accountability interviews comprising his dataset, moved away from the canonical norms of the political accountability interview to "moves to argument", by initiating denials of the previous speaker's claims (counter-assertions). These "moves to argument" may indicate not the cessation of neutralism but: "a flexing of its limits in the service of what may seem a more economical and authentic adversarialism" (2011:53).

So in contrast to Lorenzo-Dus who sees instances of aggressive questioning and antagonistic answering as negative changes of the broadcast political interview, Montgomery argues that the phenomena identified suggest that the broadcast interview -

as a way of practicing accountability on politicians - is capable of re-fashioning established norms from within the constraints of the form. The challenge for analysts, as he concludes, is to chart and explain these changes in process, and this is one of the challenges this thesis takes up.

In the same vein as Montgomery - that is, trying to chart and explain changes in process - but focusing on the ways political news interviews may (or may not) incorporate speech patterns from ordinary conversation and/or other forms of institutional talk (hybridity), Hutchby (2017:104-5) distinguishes between four types of political interviews:

1) The conventional political interview (CPI) that can be compared to the deferential prototypical news interview, in terms of the participants, turn-taking system and topics discussed.

2) The adversarial political interview (API) in which public figures interviewed by high profile journalists are subject to questioning that resembles forms of talk found in courtroom cross-examination (see also Lauerbach 2004 and Patrona 2006, 2009 for a similar claim). This is compared to the accountability interview in Montgomery's (2007) typology.

3) The hybrid political interview (HPI) that combines adversarial techniques with features of talk outside the conventions of political news interviews, such as confrontational talk systems. These interviews do not necessarily involve high-profile journalists in the role of the interviewer and participants do not strictly adhere to the news interviews turn-taking system. Regardless of the differences, Hutchby proposes that these interviews can be classified as political because of the topics discussed (see section 4.1.1 for further discussion).

4) The reflexive political interview (RPI) in which the talk of both interlocutors appears as both informal chat and formal interview. Types of the RPI are programmes in which interview turn-taking systems are merged with comedy and satire and/or chat show interviews where ironic and playful forms of questioning are used by hosts-celebrities; the type of hybridity discussed by Baym and Ekström, see section 4.3.1.

So, in contrast to Montgomery (2011) who sees the "coarsening" of the accountability interview as an indication that institutional standards re-fashion themselves within the constraints of the norm, Hutchby (2017) argues that the (ever) evolving form of broadcast talk has a new form; from the deferential style of broadcast talk/news presentation, we moved on to the adversarial and now to hybrid.

Finally, according to McQuail (1994:28-29), with the growth of an international media industry we see evidence of an "international media culture", which can be recognized in similar standards worldwide. So arguably, although the research presented in this section was carried out in the USA/UK, the documented changes in political news interviews over time can be extended to other cultural contexts as well and in particular to the Greek context (see also section 5.2 for further discussion of this point).

Building on and extending research regarding the form the political news interview is taking, one of the areas my thesis investigates is whether adversarial hybrid interactional practices as manifested by *both* journalists and politicians in the Greek 2012 election campaign interviews, marks the emergence of a new interview genre or the modification of an existing one (accountability interview).

2.7. Election campaign interviews

In order to put into a wider perspective why and how any potential modifications in the institutionalised practices of televised interviews might have an impact on the overhearing audience, the social epistemology of TV journalism in Ekström's (2002) and Roth's (2002) terms, I will begin this last section by referring to a few studies that have focused on the (negative) impact of politicians' answers during election campaign interviews.

Scannell (1991:9) claims that: "Politicians' answers to interview questions may well be newsworthy events in their own right, especially at election times" as they can subsequently give rise to discussions in the press, radio, TV and social media about what was meant or implied. This in turn may influence voters' decisions, since pre-election speech is not simply "news talk" but persuasion talk. A case in point is a study carried out by Garton et al (1991). The study focused on how a specific answer by Neil Kinnock to a question from David Frost during an election campaign interview on 24 May 1987, was recycled and extended by mass media in the following days, arguably leading to the Labour Party losing momentum. Clayman (2001) argues along similar lines with regard to the recycling of evasive answers produced by politicians. He cites two examples of equivocal responses by presidential candidates, Bob Doyle in 1996 and George W. Bush in 2000, that were subsequently followed by unfavourable media coverage and/or attacks by the opposition presidential campaign (2001:403-405).

Although the scope of both studies was not to measure the potential impact politicians' unfortunate answers had on the electorate, it can be argued that those

answers *did* affect voters' behaviour. After all, as Tolson (2006:77) notes, party election broadcasts *do* sell the party leader's image and policy initiatives to overhearing audiences. The role of journalists' questions in this process of "selling" party politics through (televised) political interviews, and the potential impact these questions may have on the politicians' public portrayal, is the focus of the last section of this chapter. In what follows I will review two studies that are directly relevant to my thesis: Clayman and Romaniuk's (2011) study on the election campaign interview which apart from defining the election campaign interview as a genre, also focuses on the role interviewer questions play in politicians' public portrayal (another area my thesis investigates). Tolson's (2012) longitudinal study on adversarial questions during election campaign interviews not only supplements Clayman and Romaniuk's findings but also firmly places the election campaign interview within the adversarial turn of journalistic questioning (as discussed in section 2.6 above).

2.7.1. Journalistic questions in UK and U.S general elections

In their study, comprising interviews conducted mainly during the 2008 U.S presidential campaign, Clayman and Romaniuk (2011:30-31) identified the fact that when journalists interview political candidates they rely on questioning resources used in other interviewing contexts. For that reason they consider the (election) campaign interview as a variant of the accountability interview, claiming furthermore that election campaign interviews are somehow the epitome of adversarial interviews. This is because election campaign interviews are a domain where journalists exercise their watchdog role more vigorously by scrutinising the leading contestants on the public's behalf. Tolson (2012) in a longitudinal study of interviewer strategies in election campaign interviews with UK party leaders from 1983 to 2010 argues along similar lines. In his study he identified that journalistic questioning in election campaign interviews has always involved some use of interviewer assertion on matters of substantial public debate, marking journalists' questioning as aggressive.

Regarding the specific features of journalistic questioning in election campaign interviews that differentiate them from questions in other political contexts, Clayman and Romaniuk (2011) have identified the following. Firstly that election campaign interview questions focus on a range of substantive issues central to the pre-election arena: knowledgeability, ideological positioning and policy promises. Secondly, that

question design in election campaign interviews is paramount to developing a public portrait of the candidate. As they note:

"Questions matter not only for the responses they elicit, but also for the varying stances that they themselves exhibit toward the candidate. Even though these questions remain for the most part formally neutral or "neutralistic" in being designed as interrogatives that ostensibly "request information", they nonetheless convey information about the candidate in an embedded or implicit way. […] All of this combines to treat the candidate as, for example, more or less knowledgeable, more or less centrist, more or less extreme." (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011:30)

Despite the fact that, as they go on to claim, this portrayal is provisional as candidates during the interview can counter the identity proposed for them, it cannot be completely erased from the public record. Both studies reviewed in this section are important for my thesis for the following reasons.

Firstly, Clayman and Romaniuk's work on the classification of election campaign interviews as a sub-genre of accountability interviews is important as it establishes a link between the accountability political news interviews discussed in sections 2.2-2.5 and the election campaign interview, as a sub-genre of it, with regards to its generic characteristics. Based on this classification, although not discussed by Tolson in this light, his longitudinal study on the rise of aggressive questioning practices in election campaign interviews reflects the relevant trend in accountability interviews (see section 2.6) and extends it to election campaign interviews.

Secondly, Clayman and Romaniuk's work, although it traces continuity, also differentiates the significance of question design from previous studies, as it puts at the forefront not merely the level of aggressiveness journalistic questions might have (as for instance Tolson's study and others briefly reviewed in section 2.6) but their potential impact on politicians' public portrayal. In this respect, Clayman and Romaniuk's line of argumentation together with Tolson's findings tally with the epistemology of TV journalism discussed in section 1.2 (as question design and the subsequent answers elicited comprise set institutional practices that produce knowledge for the overhearing audience, an issue that will be discussed throughout this thesis). In that token, although not discussed by Tolson in this respect, aggressive questioning in election campaign

interviews may have an impact on the politicians' public portrayal, which in turn may explain the politicians' efforts to change this provisional portrayal.

2.8. Chapter Summary

This chapter briefly reviewed previous research on key norms of news interviews and how this type of interaction differs from ordinary talk (due to the subject matter, setting and participants involved as well as the restrictions in the turn-taking system and the neutralism of interview talk as established by both participants). The last two structural norms, the specific turn-taking system of news interview and neutralism, are fundamental in distinguishing institutional from ordinary talk and they are the norms challenged by means of hybridity, as will be discussed in chapter 4 and demonstrated throughout the analytic chapters, so presenting them first lays the theoretical ground for the subsequent theoretical and analytic chapters.

This was followed by a mini-historical overview on how the political news interview has evolved over time in order to place my thesis within current discussions in the field of broadcast talk. These discussions mainly revolve around whether adversarial hybrid forms of journalistic questioning signify the emergence of a new genre (hybrid interview) or indicate the stretching of the limits of an existing one (accountability interview), and this is the first area my thesis investigates: whether *both* participants' hybrid talk in the 2012 Greek election campaign interview indicates the emergence of a new genre, the modification of an existing one, or a novel genre altogether.

The last section focused on two studies that examine how election campaign interviews that comprise my dataset, differ from accountability interviews in relation, mainly, to the importance of question design for politicians' public portrayal. Reviewing these two specialised studies, brought together the literature reviewed in the previous sections of this chapter and linked that literature to the other area of my research: what might be the importance of any modifications to the structural organisation of accountability interviews in relation to how the participants are presented and what kind of knowledge is produced for the electorate.

In the next literature review chapter I will concentrate on the particular kinds of question and answer sequences my thesis focuses on: "adversarial challenges" and "challenging responses".

3. Adversarial Challenges and Challenging Responses

This chapter takes a step back from the current debates presented in the previous chapter, on what form the accountability interview is taking, and focuses instead on how neutralism is maintained within adversarial sequences, these being the focus of my subsequent analytic chapters. By adversarial sequences I mean extended sequences of journalistic adversarial questions in any position and politicians' "hostile" responses to them. In particular, building on the previously presented key notions of turn-taking and neutralism in political news interviews (notions that are challenged by means of hybridity as will be discussed in the next chapter) this chapter presents how journalists are "doing" being neutral while asking adversarial questions and how politicians are "doing" hostile answering in a way that maintains neutralism.

Chapter 3 consists of two parts: in the first part I will present the terminology used in previous conversation analytic research to describe adversarial journalistic questions and suggest the use of the umbrella term *adversarial challenges* to refer to journalists' challenges in various positions within the unfolding interaction. Doing so will enable me to contrast all the previously identified journalistic challenges, in any position, with the hybrid techniques used by journalists in previous research on hybridity and in my analysis. In the second part, building on Harris' (1991) notion of *challenges*, I will introduce *challenging responses*, an umbrella term that will be used to refer to and differentiate the kinds of politicians' "hostile" responses identified in previous studies (within Conversation Analysis and Social Psychology) from politicians' hostile responses examined in this thesis. As challenging responses are defined the responses, which although challenging the question asked, still operate within the Q(uestion)-A(nswer) pattern of news interviews. Challenging responses thus, even on the surface, maintain neutralism, while politicians' hybrid hostile responses identified in my analysis do not.

3.1. Adversarialness in journalistic questioning

In this section I will review previous conversation analytic research on (accountability) news interviews, focusing on journalistic questioning practices that strike a balance between being neutral and adversarial at the same time.

Clayman and Heritage (2002b:754-771) identified ten features of question design that serve as indicators of four basic dimensions of adversarialness (later termed

as *aggressiveness* in Clayman 2006a, 2006b, Clayman et al 2006, 2007), namely *initiative, directness, assertiveness, hostility* (later termed as *adversarialness* in Clayman 2006a, 2006b, Clayman et al 2006, 2007). The specific features identified to exhibit the four dimensions are the following:

a)   *Initiative*: 1) journalists preface their questions with statements that construct a context for the question to follow 2) ask more than one question within a single turn, 3) ask a follow-up question in third or subsequent positions.

b)   *Directness*: the absence of indirect self- and other-referencing frames of questioning such as "I would like to ask, May I ask, Can/Could you tell us, Will/Would you tell us".

c)   *Assertiveness in yes/no questions* designed to favour either a yes or no type answer in two distinct ways: 1) through a prefatory statement or 2) through the linguistic form of the question itself, i.e negative interrogatives that favour or "tilt" in favour of "yes".

d)   *Adversarialness* (an oppositional or critical stance) encoded in: 1) the preface to the question only (preface adversarialness) with the more adversarial prefaces being those that were presupposed by the subsequent question, or 2) the design of the question as a whole (global adversarialness).

e)   Although Clayman and Heritage did not include *accountability* as a separate dimension in their initial work on adversarialness, but it was regarded as a form of hostility (2002b:769), in their subsequent works (Clayman et al 2006, Clayman et al 2007) accountability is   also used as an indicator of journalistic adversarialness, distinguishing between "soft" and "hard" accountability questions. The first is linguistically realized by means of "why did you" type of questions that simply invite a justification while the latter is realized by means of "how could you" type of questions that are accusatory, implying an attitude of doubt or scepticism.

f)   As discussed in section 2.7.1, since election campaign interviews are a type of adversarial accountability interview, I would extend Clayman and Heritage's classification of accountability questions, by adding two of the specific kinds of questions Clayman and Romaniuk (2011:27) identified that journalists ask politicians in the course of election campaign interviews: *political issue questions* (questions seeking broad policy preferences that can be compared to "soft" accountability questions) and *promise-soliciting questions* (questions that invite candidates to commit themselves to a specific course of action that can be compared to "hard" accountability questions).

3.1.1. Adversarial Follow-up Questions

As mentioned in the previous section, asking follow-up questions is considered a sign of *initiative* that indicates journalistic adversarialness, and is placed within the "expected" neutralistic framework of (accountability) news interviews. Starting from Greatbatch's (1986a, 1986b) initial classification of follow-up questions, in this section I will bring together all relevant research on questions in third (and subsequent positions) that have, in an explicit or implicit way, examined how journalistic adversarialness is exhibited through follow-up questions.

According to Greatbatch (1986a, 1986b), *counters* are questions that are heard as challenging the politician's response in some way. Eriksson (2011:3334), calling them adversarial follow-up questions, has identified that journalists ask these kinds of questions when they find a politician's answer to an accountability question, or a journalistic narrow question where a certain answer (yes or no) is preferred, unsatisfactory. Rendle-Short (2007a:391-398), calling them adversarial challenges, has identified that in the Australian context, journalists counter politicians by: 1) challenging the content of the previous turn, using "but" for example, 2) interrupting and 3) by initially presenting their challenge as a freestanding assertion, not attributed to a third party.

In Greatbatch's classification, *pursuits* are questions that topicalize a politicians' refusal to answer the question and make that the focus of the journalist's next turn. Building on Greatbatch's concept of pursuits, Romaniuk (2013a: 150-157) highlights various ways used by journalists to "tighten the reins" on politicians through their pursuits: reissuing the question verbatim, adding a contrastive marker like "but" or "although", stressing key words, and finally by transforming an initial open ended "wh-question" to a narrow focused "yes/no question" or to a polar alternative question.

Adding a finer lever of detail on journalistic adversarialness, although not explicitly stating so, Greatbatch (1986a:451-453) points out that journalists, particularly when opting not to sustain a topical line, but also before producing a reformulated version of the unanswered question, may *sanction* the conduct of interviewees in failing to answer or breaching the Q-A interview format. Despite not having placed their work within the typology of follow-up questions, Ekström and Fitzgerald's (2014) study on extended repetitions (what they call "stripped repetitions") in political interviews in the United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States, can be classified as an example of journalistic *pursuits* that also exhibit *sanctioning interviewee resistance*. As Ekström

and Fitzgerald (2014:90) claim, stripped repetitions (that is, repeating the question almost verbatim) are designed as reprimands, in the sense that by not modifying the question, the interviewer treats the answer as a conscious evasion, thus showing to the audience that the politician is not adhering to the Question-Answer format of news interviews. In that sense, stripped repetitions are not "simply" pursuits since - even implicitly - they sanction politicians' resistance in answering. Thus, I would claim that pursuits always involve some kind of sanctioning interviewee resistance, so these two journalistic means of challenging politicians, by default, seem to always merge.

Huls and Varwijk (2011:55-58) group all the above categories of follow-up questions into a single category which they call *persistence* adding this category to the five indicators of adversarialness identified by Clayman and Heritage (2002b) – see section 3.1 above. In particular Huls and Varwijk identify that a journalist shows persistence: "when he does not simply take the politician's answer for an answer, but repeats his question, explicitly addresses the politician's evasive reactions or interrupts the politician" (2011:56). They go on to claim that by doing so, journalists demonstrate to the politician as well as to the audience that the answer given was inadequate and by displaying persistence journalists exercise adversarialness.

Although not explicitly calling it persistence, Montgomery (2011:43-53) has identified that in the British Public Service Broadcasting, journalists frequently move towards *micro-arguments* while trying to hold politicians accountable. These micro-arguments take the form of "assertions - counter assertions" that is, claims that something is true followed by denials (see also section 2.6). In Montgomery's dataset journalists may seek to take back control of the interview by finding a disputable assertion in the interviewee's turn and countering it, if a politician's turn contains assertions of a highly disputable nature or if a politician's turn has been long. Although not explicitly discussed within either the notion of adversarial questioning or follow-up questions, this "initiative" demonstrated from journalists in Montgomery's dataset is clearly adversarial as by means of their counter assertions, in third or subsequent positions, journalists challenge what politicians have said. Therefore I will consider these "moves to argument" as indicating journalistic persistence and will add them to the adversarial follow-up moves discussed in this section.

These "moves to argument", however, do not only challenge politicians but indicate a departure from the canonical Q-A format of accountability interviews. Because of that, it could be argued that they do not neatly fit into the suggested

"adversarial but still within the normative boundaries" framework I have presented so far. As Montgomery claims though:

"Clearly those 'moves to argument' appear on the face of it to be in breach of basic requirements for maintaining neutralism. However the contingent and conditioned nature of Counter Assertion may indicate not the demise of neutralism but a flexing of its limits" (2011:53)

So, in this sense, journalist initiated "micro-arguments" not only fit but also "nicely" extend the boundaries of the adversarial but normative framework I presented in this section. This is the case because although journalist initiated micro-arguments challenge the politician, at the same time these moves observe the normative (even transformed) interview structure. For this reason, I classify them as adversarial challenges, occupying the space between "traditional" and "transformed" journalistic adversarial moves. Doing so also enabled me to differentiate these from Hutchby's classification of similar journalistic techniques as "purely argumentative" (see section 4.1.1) and subsequently compare the "micro-argumentative" sequences initiated by Greek journalists in my analytic chapters to the ones discussed by both Hutchby and Montgomery and identify any similarities or differences.

3.1.2. The concept of adversarial challenges

After having presented the various conversation analytic classifications of adversarial journalistic questions, in this section I will present the rationale behind my suggestion for using the umbrella term *adversarial challenges* to refer to all instances of adversarial questioning that operates within the neutralistic framework of news interviews regardless of the questions' position (first or follow-up questions).

In the majority of works on political news interviews (Clayman 2002, Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Rendle-Short 2007a) reviewed in the previous section, the distinction between questions in first or third and subsequent position was not clearly made; instead the terms *challenging questions*, *hostile questions, adversarial questions*, or *adversarial challenges* were used to refer to questions exhibiting any dimension of adversarialness without any differentiation regarding their position. Even in the cases where follow-up questions were discussed as an indication of hostile questioning or

adversarialness, they were "just" termed subsequent questions, or hostile follow up questions, without differentiating between different types (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:228;241). Although for the purposes of indicating "initiative" as a dimension of adversarialness, discussing whether or not journalists "just" asked follow-up questions could be considered adequate, for the purposes of my thesis it is important to incorporate in the analysis research insights into the various functions of different types of follow-up questions. This is the case since a more or less adversarial design of follow-up questions not only exhibits different levels of adversarialness but also builds a specific portrayal for the politicians interviewed; a portrayal that politicians may want to counter through their responses. As this is an area my thesis investigates (see sections 1.2 and 2.7.1), it was deemed necessary to incorporate different research insights into the function of various types of follow-up questions.

Deciding however to use one of the terms available (challenging questions, hostile questions, adversarial questions) to describe aggressive questions in first position and to use Greatbach's (1986a 1986b) typology to discuss different types of follow-up questions, was not simple either. As indicated in the previous section, in some studies (i.e. Romaniuk 2013a) Greatbach's initial terminology of different follow-up questions was consistently used, in others (Eriksson 2011) different terminology was used (adversarial, non-adversarial), or not taken into consideration at all (Ekström and Fitzgerald 2014, Montgomery 2011).

Another problem with the way adversarial questions - in any position - was presented in the literature reviewed in the previous two sections, was that in their discussions, the majority of analysts took into consideration *only* the design characteristics of the questions examined and *not* how the questions were responded to by the other participant in the interaction: the politician. Although examining in isolation question design features and what their functions in the unfolding interaction might be, provides valuable insights on how neutralism is achieved, it is lacking in two respects. It does not match the definition of neutralism adopted in this thesis and subsequently does not satisfactorily answer the questions my thesis investigates: whether and how the limits of neutralism as an interactional achievement of *both* interactants are stretched and what this signifies for the public portrayal of both participants and the subsequent knowledge produced for the overhearing audience.

The only study from the ones reviewed that *both* took into account how adversarial questions were responded to by politicians (in order to determine whether

neutralism was achieved) *and* used a single term to refer to adversarial journalistic questions in any position was Rendle Short's (2007a) study.

Rendle-Short (2007a), in examining how neutralism was achieved by both interactants in Australian election campaign interviews, has used the term *adversarial challenges* to encompass instances of journalistic challenging questions in first, third or subsequent positions. Although not differentiating between questions in various positions is quite problematic, the choice of the term *adversarial challenges*, although not explicitly discussed by Rendle-Short in that way, most accurately reflects the multiple functions of adversarial questions within extended sequences: to challenge the politician through multiple dimensions of adversarialness.

Furthermore, in line with Clayman and Whalen's (1988/1989) and Clayman's (1988) definition of *neutralism* as the interactional achievement of both journalists and politicians, a definition this thesis adopts, Rendle-Short suggested that the maintenance of neutralism should be investigated not only by examining journalistic adversarialness but also by examining its reception by the other co-participant in the interaction – the politician. In other words, an adversarial challenge is an adversarial challenge if the other party responds to it as such, thus arguably a journalistic question even if it has *not* the design characteristics identified in the relevant literature (as highlighted in section 3.1) to "qualify" as adversarial, if the other participant responds to it as such it *should* be regarded as adversarial by the analyst. As this way of investigating how adversarialness and neutralism are interactionally achieved by both parties matches the research questions my thesis investigates, I decided to adopt Rendle-Short's terminology to refer to adversarial journalistic questions in any position.

In the subsequent analytic chapters, although I differentiate between the different types of questions, I use the term *adversarial challenges* as an umbrella term to refer to all journalistic questions that exhibit *any* dimension of adversarialness in first, third, or subsequent positions and are regarded as such by the interviewees themselves by explicitly saying so and/or through their resistance to answering. Grouping all previously identified adversarial questions into one category allowed me, and possibly future researchers, to map this category against hybrid adversarial questions and against any subsequent modifications in journalistic questioning.

3.2. Politicians' responses to adversarial challenges - Some preliminaries[2]

In the following sections, based on Harris' (1991) notion of politicians' challenges, I will define *challenging responses*, a generic term I use to refer to "hostile" politicians' responses, in order to differentiate them from the kind of hybrid adversarial politicians' responses identified in my analysis. Challenging responses combine characteristics documented by conversation and non-conversation analysts alike, and are responses that although challenging the question asked, operate within the Question-Answer pattern of news interviews, thus – even on the surface – maintaining neutralism.

3.2.1. Challenges

In her discussion of different types of politicians' responses to journalistic questions in news interviews, Harris (1991: 85-86) has identified that certain types of responses apart from not answering the question, also challenge its interrogative power. She terms these responses *challenges*.

Although not discussed by Harris in terms of whether challenges operate within the Question-Answer system of news interviews, they would appear to. And this is so because despite their adversarial nature, politicans' challenges are not reported as being treated by either interactant as deviant cases, thus - even on the surface –they maintain neutralism. Several of the "hostile" ways politicians use to respond to journalistic questions (qualifying them thus as adversarial) that have been identified in previous conversation analytic or social-psychological research, despite not having been discussed by the respective researchers in terms of whether they maintain neutralism or not, have the same characteristic as Harris' "challenges": although challenging the question asked, they maintain neutralism. Those responses I call *challenging responses*. In the following section after fully defining the notion of challenging responses, I will present previous research findings that match the above definition.

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[2] Harris (1991:82) has differentiated between a "response" and an "answer" to a question, with the first term used to refer to whatever follows a question, while the second used to refer to an utterance that is both conditionally relevant and situationally appropriate. In previous studies however, these two terms have been used interchangeably. For the purposes of this thesis, the terms "responses" and "answers" are used interchangeably in the literature review chapters, to reflect how they are used in literature, but in the actual analysis of the extracts the term "responses" is used, to indicate what follows a question, so as to try and avoid any a priori characterization on its conditional and situational appropriacy.

3.2.2 Challenging Responses

As indicated in the previous section, I understand and define *challenging responses* as politicians' responses that although challenging the question asked, still comply with the normative structure of news interviews. As will be demonstrated below, this being the case is evident *both* by the steps politicians themselves take to account for their challenging responses *and* the fact that journalists, by not objecting to this line of answering, treat those responses as "part of the game", as part of an adversarial but still normative news interviews' structure. Based on the definition of neutralism adopted in this thesis, as the interactional accomplishment of both interlocutors, the fact that both interactants treat politicians' challenging responses as legitimate moves in the adversarial game of news interviews indicates that neutralism is maintained (something that journalists in my dataset do not necessarily do as will be discussed in chapters 7 & 8). In what follows I will present a brief overview of politicians' responses that have the above characteristics, covering studies of news interviews interaction from conversation analytic and social psychology perspectives. In this section I will highlight the similarities between the two approaches with regards to the function of politicians' responses in the unfolding interaction. The benefits of the methodological synergy are discussed in section 5.1.1.

From a conversation analytic perspective, Clayman (2001) and Clayman and Heritage (2002a, 2010) discuss how politicians may go about sidestepping a question, distinguishing between *overt* and *covert* resistance techniques. For the purposes of this thesis, that is examining "hostile" politicians' responses, here I will focus only on overt resistance techniques (for an overview of covert resistance techniques which are designed in such a way as to conceal the fact that an agenda shift is in place, see Clayman and Heritage 2002a:269-296).

Overt resistance techniques come in two main forms (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:257-269). One way of *overtly* resisting a question is by displaying deference to the journalist, for instance by requesting permission to shift the agenda (Greatbatch 1986b). In that case, politicians may take steps to explain and justify their efforts to divert the discussion. As Clayman and Heritage (2002a:258-264) demonstrate, by portraying diversions as legitimate, politicians do both damage control, by pre-emptying unflattering inferences that they are avoiding answering, and (even marginally) sustain the journalists' key role as the agenda setter.

Alternatively, politicians may bluntly refuse to answer the question, on the grounds of unavailable information, time constraints, as a matter of general policy or because it would be inappropriate under the circumstances (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:264-269). Clayman and Heritage regard *blunt refusals to answer* as "perhaps the strongest breach of contract" (2002a:264), indicating that these answers are designed in such a way as to shift the responsibility for not answering away from the politicians and towards the journalists themselves. Implicit in Clayman and Heritage's discussion however, is the idea that politicians shift the responsibility for not answering, without explicitly violating the normative structure of the interview. This is the case since, as Clayman and Heritage themselves demonstrate, politicians *do* provide a rationale for not answering and *do not* personalise the refusal, but rather imply that the question was inappropriate (2002a:264-269). In that way politicians provide a minimal answer conforming thus to the Question-Answer structure of the interview and consequently do not overtly challenge the neutralistic status of the interview. That this is the case is further verified by the fact that journalists in Clayman and Heritage's datasets do not overtly object to that line of answering by politicians, indicating thus that it is part of "the game". [3] Therefore, I argue that both types of overt refusals to answer *may* deflect a question on inappropriacy grounds, but still operate within the normative bounds of the news interview, so overt resistance techniques will be regarded as *challenging responses*.

Ekström (2009b), in his conversation analytic examination of interviews conducted during the 2002 and 2006 Swedish election campaigns, argues along similar lines in relation to the function of "announced refusals to answer", a category similar to what Clayman and Heritage call "blunt refusals to answer". In Ekström's categorisation, an announced refusal to answer is:

> "1) an *overt* […] form of non-answer, which explicitly challenges the interrogative power
> of the question; 2) a non-answer announcing that in the actual situation the person will not
> do what he is asked to do even though he has the capacity (the knowledge) to do it (this is

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[3] Politicians may, although quite rarely, attack the interviewer on his/her conduct, in which case the interviewer may abandon the questioning to defend himself/herself by invoking their professional role. This is *not* considered as an overt resistance technique but as an attack on the journalist (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:140-148) or what Bull et al call "politician attacks the interviewer". Attacks on the journalist were one of the techniques Greek politicians in my dataset frequently used and will be discussed in chapters 7&8.

what constitutes a refusal); and 3) a dis-preferred response which implicitly or explicitly deals with the propriety (rightness or wrongness) of the response as well as the question asked" (Ekström 2009b: 685).

As Ekström (2009b:700) claims, echoing my interpretation of Clayman and Heritage's discussion of the function of overt (blunt) refusals to answer, "announced refusals to answer" are designed in such a way as *not* to explicitly indicate the journalist's conduct as inappropriate or display conflict but to portray the politicians as fully accountable. Following Ekström's line of argumentation I regard "announced refusals to answer" as *challenging responses*, because although they challenge the interrogative power of the question, since through them politicians justify their non-answer indicating thus accountability, "announced refusals to answer" are orienting to and *not* breaking the normative Question-Answer institutional framework. This was also evident in journalists' responses in Ekström's dataset (2009b:697-699). Journalists did not treat "announced refusals to answer" as criticisms they had to refute but as part of the game and moved on by asking another question.

Also from a conversation analytic perspective, two other researchers, Rendle-Short and Dickerson, have identified further techniques politicians may use to challenge the journalist's previous turn while staying within the constraints of the normative news interview format.

Within the Australian context Rendle-Short (2007a:398-401) has identified three distinctive ways politicians can use to respond to (what she defines as) adversarial challenges. Firstly, by setting up a contrast between the challenging nature of the journalist's turn and what they wanted to say (by using "I", raised pitch, stressing contrasting words, and prefacing turns with the disjunctive "but"). Alternatively, politicians overtly oriented themselves to the adversarial line of questioning on procedural grounds, in three ways: in the form of a specific comment regarding the politician's right to finish his/her response and not be interrupted, by producing no response at all, or by including a first name address term in their response to an adversarial challenge, an indication that the journalist may have overstepped the boundaries of normative practice.

As Rendle-Short (2007a:402) notes, although challenging the content or the interrogative power of the journalist's question, politicians never accused journalists of not maintaining a neutralistic stance. Thus, despite using all the above techniques to

respond to adversarial challenges, politicians in Rendle-Short's (2007a) dataset did not *overtly* object to the journalist's conduct, thus they co-constructed the news interview in such a way as to maintain its neutralistic institutional norm. This seems to be in line both with my interpretation of the function of "over refusals to answer" and with Ekstrom's (2009b) findings in relation to the function of "announced refusals to answer" in his dataset, thus qualifying politicians' responses to adversarial challenges identified by Rendle-Short as *challenging responses*.

Dickerson (2001) examining politicians' responses to prior interviewer turns, in televised interviews broadcast in the UK between 1994 and 2000, has identified that a proportion of politicians' responses were challenging but "boundaried" at the same time. By "boundaried" he refers to the fact that politicians in making challenges did not construct them in personal terms (something that is frequent in the challenges issued by Greek politicians in my analysis) but rather raised them in passing and/or produced a justification for not cooperating with the journalists in the Question-Answer format of the news interview; in that way the normative structure of news interviews was kept intact (2001:203). Dickerson's results match Ekström's and Rendle-Short's findings in relation to the function of challenging politicians' responses, qualifying once again his findings as *challenging responses* (for an exhaustive list of politicians' challenges as identified by Dickerson, mapped against other types of challenging responses see Table 1, at the end of this section).

The next strand of research which I will briefly review, which has also a direct relevance to my thesis, comes from a social-psychological approach to political interviews analysis. Bull and Mayer (1988,1993), Bull et al (1996), Bull and Eliot (1998) and Bull (1998, 2000, 2003, 2008), to be referred to as Bull et al hereafter, have discussed the relevance of face management, as defined by Goffman (1955), in political interviews. Bull et al argue that in the context of political interviews, politicians aim to present the best possible face for themselves, the party they represent and their allies, while at the same time aim to achieve the above at the expense of their political opponents. Consequently, politicians have to maintain three faces: their own individual face, the face of the significant others and the face of the party they represent.

Having incorporated the concept of face as the reason for politicians' evasiveness in the theory of equivocation offered by Bavelas et al (1988,1990) [4], Bull et al applied their typology of the three faces politicians have to maintain to the analysis of political interviews with various major British political figures across time (Margaret Thatcher, Neil Kinnock, John Major, Paddy Ashdown, Tony Blair, William Hague, Charles Kennedy) and various journalists (Brian Walden, Peter Jay, Jonathan Dimbleby, David Frost, Sue Lawley, Sir Robin Day, David Dimbleby, Jeremy Paxman, Peter Sissons). Journalistic question types Bull et al investigated, included "yes-no" questions, "wh"-How" questions, disjunctive questions and non-interrogative questions (declaratives, moodless, indirect) - the kind of questions Clayman and Heritage (2002a, 200b), Heritage and Clayman (2010) and Heritage (2002) call adversarial questions (see section 3.1). Politicians' answers were defined as replies, non-replies (the ones that failed to provide any of the information requested), or intermediate replies (answer by implication, incomplete reply, interrupted reply).

Based on the selected interviews analysis, an equivocation typology of superordinate and subordinate categories was produced (see Bull 2003: 114-122) and individual differences in equivocation style were identified for Margaret Thatcher, Neil Kinnock and John Major. In a later work Bull discussed how equivocation techniques help a politician to build a specific electable persona. In particular, Bull (2000:244-246) argues that Tony Blair's "rhetoric of modernization", that is, the way Mr Blair equivocated during the 1997 New Labour's electoral campaign interviews, enabled him not only to avoid answering difficult questions, but also to present the best possible face for himself and his party. As he notes, this highly skilled form of political communication, "arguably played a crucial role in the Labour Party's stunning landslide victory in the British General Election of 1997" (Bull 2003:191); a claim that seems to be in line with the view that televised election interviews produce knowledge that may influence electoral results suggested in section 2.7 and the notion of the epistemology of TV journalism proposed by Ekström (2002) and Roth (2002).

Despite the fact that Bull et al did not discuss various politicians' equivocation techniques in terms of whether they complied with the expected neutralistic structure of

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[4] Bavelas et al (1988; 1990) proposed that politicians equivocate in interviews not because they are intrinsically evasive but because the social situation dictates it. In other words, politicians equivocate because they are frequently placed in a situation where all possible replies to a question have potentially negative consequences (avoidance-avoidance conflict) but where they are still required to give an answer. In these cases politicians have no other option but to equivocate.

news interviews, as this was beyond the scope of their work, several of the techniques identified have the same structural characteristics as *challenging responses*, and I therefore regard them as such (see Table 1 at the end of this section for an approximate mapping of the techniques identified by Bull et al against the ones identified by conversation analysts).

Another reason I decided to include Bull et al's work in my discussion and classification of *challenging responses,* apart from having similarities with the work of conversation analysts with regards to the ways politicians avoid giving straightforward answers, is that it also provides two further dimensions of politicians' "hostile" practices that are important for my thesis: the significance equivocation practices may have for a politician's individual political style and how this political style in turn may render them as "electable". These two are research areas similar to the second question my thesis addresses: the significance of politicians' responses to adversarial challenges in relation to how, through them, the specific politicians build their political identity (for a further discussion on the benefits of a methodological synergy see section 5.1.1.).

Finally, Montgomery (2011:47) also claims that in the context of modern accountability interviews, sequences of assertion and counter-assertion may be initiated not only by the journalist but also by the politician, leading to episodes of alternating assertions and counter-assertions, or what he calls "micro-arguments". Although he does not discuss in detail the role politicians' responses played in the maintenance of neutralism, his observation that micro-arguments initiated by both parties "may indicate not the demise of neutralism but a flexing of its limits" (2011: 53) points to that effect. Thus, regardless of the fact that "micro-arguments" do not precisely fit the definition of *challenging responses* offered in this section, I classify them as such, or at least as occupying the space between "traditional" and transformed challenging responses that although challenging the journalists, observe the normative (even transformed) interview structure. Doing so also enabled me to compare the "micro-argumentative" sequences initiated by Greek politicians, as evident through my analysis in chapters 7 and 8, to the ones discussed by Montgomery in relation to their role in politicians' identity construction and the reshaping of news interview norms.

The different categories of politicians', more or less, "hostile" responses, share many characteristics, the most important of which is that they comply with the normative neutralistic structure of news interviews, thus falling into the suggested category of *challenging responses*. Although it is impossible to match with absolute

precision the different types of politicians' "hostile" responses identified in the literature reviewed so far, in Table 1 below, I have tried to put together findings from the different strands of research presented in this section. Creating a single category enabled me, and possibly future researchers, to map politicians' hostile responses already identified against hybrid challenging responses.

In the analytic chapters (chapters 7 and 8), I use the terminology presented below when discussing different kinds of politicians' hostile but "boundaried" responses. I use the umbrella term *challenging responses* in chapters 4 and 5 when specifying my unit of analysis and in chapter 9 when comparing challenging responses to the hybrid challenging responses identified through my analysis.

Research Paradigm	Challenging responses	
Conversation Analysis (Clayman and Heritage, Ekström, Dickerson, Rendle-Short, Montgomery)	*Overt resistance techniques (Clayman and Heritage): when politicians either bluntly refuse to answer a question or ask permission not to answer the question giving various reasons), Announced refusals to answer (Ekström) Adversarial challenges (Rendle-Short), moves to micro-arguments (Montgomery)* *Dickerson: 1) challenging the unattributed claims within the interviewer's prior turn, 2) challenging the assumptions/implications within the interviewer's prior turn, 3) challenging the interviewer's gloss on interviewee's own position/talk, 4) challenging the interviewer's gloss on others' talk/position, 5) challenging interviewer pursuit of overlapping talk (techniques similar to politicians' responses identified by Rendle-Short), 6) problematising interviewer's perspective, agenda, knowledge or bias, 7) problematising the media in general (agenda, bias, knowledge), 8)challenging the characterizations within the interviewer's prior turn, 9) interviewee offers a re-characterisation , 10) explicit refusal by interviewee to answer interviewer's question, similar to blunt overt refusals to answer (Clayman and Heritage) and "politician declines to answer a question'" an evasive technique identified by Bull et al*	
Social Psychology (Bull et al)	*Intermediate replies: 1) questions the question – 1a) requests for clarification, 1b) reflects the question back to the interviewer, (a technique similar to Dickerson's "interviewer returns a question to interviewee", 2)attacks the question because – 2a) the question fails to tackle the important issue, 2b)is hypothetical, 2c) is based on a false premise, 2d) is factually inaccurate, 2e) includes a misquotation, 2f) includes a quotation taken out of context, 2g) is objectionable, a technique similar to Dickerson's "challenging the focus of the question",*	*Non-replies: 1) the politician declines to answer – 1a) on grounds of inability, 1b) unwillingness to answer, 1c) can't speak for someone else, 1d) it's not possible to answer the question for the time being, 1e) pleads ignorance, 2) repeats answer to a previous question*

Table 1 Challenging responses

3.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter suggested the use of two umbrella terms to encompass the various terms previously used to discuss "aggressive" journalists' and politicians' interactional practices in accountability news interviews; the use of the term *adversarial challenges* that was introduced by Rendle-Short (2007a) to refer to instances of journalistic adversarial questioning practices (as discussed by conversation analysts) irrespective of their position in the unfolding interaction. The rationale behind opting for this umbrella term was twofold; firstly it comprehensively captured all instances of journalistic adversarial questioning and secondly, it reflected the way neutralism is approached in this thesis: as the interactional achievement of both interactants.

Also, the use of the term *challenging responses* to encompass all those politicians' responses (identified both by conversation analysts and social psychologists) that although challenging the journalists' questions, are constructed in such a way as to preserve the adversarially transformed, normative still, structure of news interviews. When issuing challenging responses, politicians, even if they challenge the appropriacy of the question, never *overtly personalize* the attack, maintaining thus – even at a superficial level – neutralism.

What unites all the aggressive techniques used by journalists and politicians in the literature reviewed in this chapter is that by means of the adversarial challenges and challenging responses used, both parties preserve the generic structure of the news interview turn-taking system and maintain neutralism. Journalists are the ones asking the questions and exerting pressure on politicians to answer. Politicians, on the other hand, within their interactional role of publicly accountable figures, try to appear forthcoming but at the same time protect their own and their party's face and/or promote their own agendas by means of issuing challenging responses.

Maintaining neutralism, while issuing adversarial challenges and challenging responses, is not necessarily always achieved, as a review of the notion of *hybridity* in news interviews in the next chapter and in this thesis will indicate. Chapter 4 will firstly discuss how the use of hybrid practices puts to the test the traditionally perceived neutralistic role of journalists. The studies to be reviewed, although seeing hybridity as a journalistic resource, view its role in the reshaping of political news interviews in a different way. This is followed by an overview of studies related to the concept of hybridity in political news interviews, both as defined in the relevant literature and as emergent in the analysis of my data: the employment of arguments and laughter.

4. Hybridity in Broadcast News Interviews: Arguments and Laughter

Chapter 4 revisits issues that have been discussed in chapter 2 (changes in political news interviews) and notions that have been introduced in that chapter and formed the backbone of chapter 3 (neutralism, turn-taking, adversarial challenges and challenging responses). These notions are going to be re-examined in this chapter through the lens of hybridity. In particular, chapter 4 reviews studies that have examined, how hybridity is manifested in journalists' adversarial challenges and politicians' challenging responses in an *explicit* or *implicit* way, and what the incorporation of hybridity within the "standard" turn-taking system of political news interviews signifies for either the resulting genre and/or the interlocutors' public portrayal.

Chapter 4 is divided in two parts that broadly reflect how the manifestation of hybridity, as a means to empower *journalists*, has been examined in previous research on news interview talk. Firstly, as a means to attack the other interlocutor and subsequently start an argument, thus signifying the emergence of a new political news interview genre, and secondly, as a jovial challenging resource, indicating the transformation of an existing genre (accountability interview). Based on these two manifestations of hybridity, I will complement the relevant literature, by bringing into the picture studies on the use of argumentation theory in the analysis of political interviews (see section 5.1.1. for a detailed discussion on the benefits of a methodological synergy) and conversation analytic studies on the use of laughter in news interviews.

The rationale behind the decision to incorporate insights from argumentation theory and laughter into current discussions on the use and functions of hybridity in news interviews is both theoretical and data-driven. The theoretical grounds are based on the way I see news interview talk achieving its broadcast status: as the interactional accomplishment of *both* interlocutors (see section 2.4). In this conceptualisation of news interview talk, the interactional behaviour of the other interlocutor, *the politician*, is paramount as it is an aspect that has not received much scholarly attention in current discussions of hybridity in news interviews. Importantly, that is what the studies on argumentation and laughter in political news interviews offer; an insight into *politicians'* talk, in similar interactional environments such as the ones where journalists' hybridity was examined: in political (talk show) interviews. Although the

studies on *politicians'* interactional techniques to be reviewed did not have hybridity as their analytical focus, the research findings match the manifestations and functions of hybridity in *journalists'* talk as reported by previous research on hybridity and emerged as key themes in my analysis: as an argument(ation) and jovial challenging resource, empowering not only the journalists but *mainly* the politicians involved.

Subsequently, this is the way my definition of hybridity in this thesis differs from what has been written before: that I examine hybridity as a feature *not only* of journalists' *but also* of politicians' talk. Examining hybridity as a feature of both interactants' talk will verify, contradict or enrich previous research findings on the way its use has (re)shaped the political news interview and the subsequent knowledge produced for the overhearing audience.

In the first part of chapter 4, I will review studies by Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) and Patrona (2011) that see the incorporation of *mundane confrontational features* within adversarial challenges, that is, challenging questions in any position (see section 3.1.2) as a means to empower the journalist and turn the interview into a confrontation arena. As Hutchby, and indirectly Patrona argue, by means of hybridity the political news interview is taking a new form, something between a courtroom drama, an argument and the "traditional" news interview. Motivated by the interactional techniques exhibited by Greek politicians within extended sequences of adversarial challenges and challenging responses in my analysis, Hutchby's and Patrona's research will be followed by a review of studies (Luginbühl 2007, Hess-Lüttich 2007, Simon-Vandenbergen 2008), that examine confrontational features in politicians' talk-in-interaction. These studies investigate the use of argumentation (mostly in the form of conversational violence) by politicians in debate talk shows. It is argued that the use of conversational violence provides politicians with the means to strengthen their interactional power and outperform the other interlocutor, whether s/he is either a journalist or another politician.

In the second part, I will review studies by Ekström (2011) and Baym (2013) that see the incorporation of humour and laughter within adversarial challenges as a means to empower the journalist enabling him/her to hold politicians accountable in a non-confrontational way. As Baym and Ekström argue, hybridity enables journalists to reshape the accountability news interview, turning it into a more effective genre by enriching journalists' challenging armoury. Motivated once again by the interactional techniques exhibited by Greek politicians in my analysis, Baym's and Ekström's

research will be followed by a review of studies examining the uses and functions of politicians' laughter in election campaign interviews (Romaniuk 2009, 2013b, 2013c) and press conferences (Partington 2006). In these studies it is argued that the use of laughter enables politicians to resist answering and manage aggression within the broadcast interactional environments examined.

4.1. Hybridity in Broadcast News Interviews

As already indicated in chapter 1, previous research on hybridity in broadcast talk has defined it as the systematic shifting between speech exchange systems, such as mixing institutional talk and ordinary talk. Up until recently, although not explicitly labelled as such, hybridity in the form of incorporating features of ordinary talk (such as the use of acknowledgement receipts by hosts) was examined as a property of hosts' talk in *non-political talk shows* (see for instance various chapters in Tolson 2001, especially the ones by Blum-Kulka, Hutchby and Myers) and in celebrity interviews (see for instance Norrick 2010). Research on hybridity in the context of *political talk show interviews*, was quite scarce as politicians did not use these shows as possible platforms to discuss politics.

But as this no longer holds true (see for instance Baum 2005, Baym 2005, 2007, Jones 2010) hybridity in political talk show interviews has become the object of examination in the Swedish context (Ekström, 2011) and in the Anglo-Saxon context (Hutchby, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Baym 2005, 2007, 2010). Ekström, Hutchby and Baym have examined hybridity within different types of the political talk show interview and discussed its function, in different ways: as either a journalistic means to attack the politician and start an argument or as a jovial way to put more pressure on the politician.

Lauerbach (2004) has carried out research on how hybridity was manifested *not* in political show interviews, but in two *one-on-one election night political interviews* hosted by high profile journalists on BBC and ITV; a type of interview that matches more closely the election campaign interviews comprising my dataset. She has identified that journalists' hybrid talk in election night political interviews can draw in other forms of talk like ordinary and courtroom talk, in the form either of supportive personalisations or confrontational interrogating and antagonising the politician respectively (2004:386-387).

Although the focus of her research was quite different from the majority of the research to be reviewed in the next sections - she looked at what the hybridization of political interviews could reveal about the style and ideology of the respective channels and *not* whether the use of hybridity indicates the emergence of a new genre or the stretching of an existing one- her results, in a way, set the scene for what follows. This is because Lauerbach's study highlights the fact that hybridity is *not only* a property of political talk shows but can also be exhibited in prototypical one-on-one election political interviews; a claim this thesis also makes.

In what follows, I will review studies on hybridity in journalists' talk in broadcast interviews, under two headings that broadly reflect the identified functions of hybridity in the unfolding interaction (and also echo to a large extent Lauerbach's claims): the use of hybridity as a means to turn the interview into an argument, and arguably a courtroom drama, and as a "lighhearted" means (talk show discourse) to hold the other interlocutor to account.

4.1.1. Hybridity as argument in journalists' talk

In this section, I will review studies that have discussed how the use of hybridity in journalists' talk, breaches the traditionally conceived neutralistic role of the broadcast news journalist, signifying thus either the need for neutralism to be redefined (Patrona 2011) and/or the emergence of a new genre Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017). Both Patrona and Hutchby investigated how the Question-Answer turn taking system of prototypical news interviews is hybridized through the incorporation of turn-taking systems used in other forms of argumentative talk (ordinary or institutional), how the turn construction indicated speaker actions and what the significance of these hybrid argumentative practices is primarily for the news interview genre and secondlarily for journalists' public portrayal.

Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) discusses hybridity in journalists' talk, mostly in the context of "non-mainstream" news programmes broadcast on US-based cable channels, in talk shows such as Fox News' "The O'Reilly Factor". [5] These shows have many of the formal features of the "standard" adversarial (or accountability) political news interview, in combination with argumentative and confrontation

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[5] That was the case in his 2011a, 2011b, 2013 studies. In his 2017 paper he included in his corpus other programmes from Fox News (Hannity), news broadcasts from other cable channels such as CNN and MSNBC and interviews from 'mainstream' news broadcasting like BBC television's *Newsnight, Daily Politics, This Week*, and ITV's *Six O'Clock News* and *News At Ten*.

exchanges found in mundane argumentative discourse (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b) and/or in other forms of institutional discourse, like radio talk (Hutchby 2017) and debate interviews (Emmertsen 2007).

Patrona (2011) discusses hybridity as a property of journalists' talk in mainstream Greek evening news, a television format that involves live interactions and/or debates of multiple participants with each other and the anchorperson. She regards informal conversation features in journalistic questions, that show overt alignment with or opposition to guests and result in highly opinioned and aggressive discourse, as an indication of hybridity: the talk show debate frame being mixed with the one of the evening news ones (2011:171-172).

By focusing on the turn design of journalists' questions when the speech exchange system shifts into unmitigated and aggravated opposition, both Hutchby (2011a:115-116, 2011b, 2013, 2017:105-114) and Patrona (2011:171-174) identified several characteristics that mark the interviewer's *non-neutrality* in the interviews examined.

Firstly, in contrast to the expected feature of news interview talk that journalists refrain from expressing any personal involvement or opinion (Heritage 1985, Clayman 1988, Clayman and Heritage 2002a), journalists in both Hutchby's and Patrona's datasets indicated direct involvement, by means of using evaluative language to respond to politicians' answers and taking issue with them. In those instances, the confrontational radio talk or television talk shows turn-taking structure of action-opposition (formulating the prior action as arguable by opposing it Hutchby 1996:22-23, 2001), is incorporated into the "Question-Answer-Next question or Question-Answer-Formulation" sequence identified by Heritage (1985) as typical of news interviews. As Patrona puts it, direct agreements and disagreements are the norm and: "opinions and assessments are *not* part of questioning turns; rather they are cast in the form of – categorically phrased – assertions" (2011:171, emphasis in the original).

Another feature of argumentative talk is the personalisation of issues and standpoints: politicians are presented as personally responsible for holding/defending views that the journalist personally takes issue with. This personalization aspect is emphasized by the use of personal pronouns that overtly and explicitly personalize the argument. Politicians may be personally associated with a contentious issue/statement/position by the use of the second person pronoun "you" and journalists may also openly associate themselves with standpoints in opposition to that of the

politician by the use of first person pronoun "I", or first person verbs in the Greek data (Hutchby 2017:110, Patrona 2011:171).

The last aspect of personalisation discussed by Hutchby, which unifies the functions of all other aspects discussed so far, is that through their hybrid personalised talk, journalists foreground their agency as spokespersons for certain political stances or groups (tribunership). By using a tribunership move in the context of disagreements, the journalists in Hutchby's dataset (2017:111-114) move away from the traditionally perceived notion of neutralism as they speak *not* on behalf of the general public, but on behalf of specific groups (e.g. christians, democrats, conservatives). As Hutchby (2013:60) claims, when political interviews are mixed with political arguments, journalists - through their hybrid talk - move beyond their neutralistic role and align themselves either with the liberal side (John Steward's *The Daily Show*, Stephen Colbert's *Colbert Report*) or the conservative side (Bill O'Reilly's *The O'Reilly Factor*, Sean Hannity's *Hannity*). Because of journalists' personal involvement and direct alignment with political parties I would also argue that another function of journalists' hybrid talk, as manifested in Hutchby's dataset, is that it might influence the overhearing audience.

A similar claim is made by Patrona in relation to the function of Greek journalists' hybrid talk: journalists by directly challenging politicians and government spokespersons position the latter as defendants in a courtroom hearing and transform the news genre into an interrogation (Patrona 2006, see also section 4.1 and Lauerbach 2004 for a similar claim about British journalists). This practice gives Greek journalists the freedom to voice concrete views and shape public opinion (Patrona 2009) as well as being portrayed as authoritative experts on political current affairs (Patrona 2012). This practice, in turn, results in journalistic interviewing practices that favour "the construction of societal consensus by 'imposing' preferred readings of public politics on the viewer audience in the process of entertaining programming" (Patrona 2011:174).

The *politicians'* role in Hutchby's and Patrona's datasets is marginal and through their reactions politicians 'passively' accept the journalists' deviant behaviour. As Hutchby (2011a, 2017) states in the interviews examined, the politicians usually orient to their role as respondents, protecting the normative bounds of the interview. In particular, when journalists have outbursts of anger, politicians tend to present a calm response along with manifesting "verbal or para-verbal signals of 'powerlessness'" (Hutchby 2017:110). Similarly, Patrona (2009, 2011:173) notes that in her dataset

Greek politicians do not in any way challenge the journalists' subjective and aggressive assertions. [6]

Hutchby and Patrona take slightly different, but not necessarily contradicting, positions in relation to what the effects of journalists' hybrid talk are for the political news interview genre. For Patrona (2011:171-173) instances of Greek journalists' hybrid talk (as manifested in the design of their turns) and the subsequent turn-taking management from both parties, indicates that journalists' (seemingly set) deviant conversational practices, re-shaped journalistic standards, mediatized politics and the relationship between the media and political authority. As she claims: "by breaching the conversational standards of neutralism, Greek news journalists claim and assert this new – 'deregulated' – type of television news journalism, first and foremost, as an accountability-claiming public watchdog" (2011:174).

Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) sees the combination of features of the neutralism of broadcast interviews and highly opinionated argumentative journalistic discourse, as marking the emergence of a novel political news interview genre; a genre that stands on the verge between an interview and an argument and represents the latest genre in the "evolution" of news interviews over time. As he puts it:

"alongside the 'conventional' neutralistic interview […] we can now identify at least three other cross-cutting types of political news interview: the 'adversarial' political interview involving aggressive but still formally neutralistic questioning, the RPI incorporating comedic/parodic or other infotainment elements, and the HPI which embeds non-neutral argument within formal interview structures" (2013:60):

To sum up, this section presented previous research on the main forms that hybridity as argument (subjective and aggressive assertions, realized mostly through personalization) is taking in journalists' talk. It is argued that these forms result in the emergence of a new type of watchdog journalism, in which the traditionally perceived notion of neutralism is challenged. Because of the breach of neutralism, Patrona and -

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[6] Not all research in Greek broadcast talk supports Patrona's claims. For instance, in Kantara (2012), by examining the question and answer design in a one-on-one news interview used as a case study, I identified that the Greek politician involved, when challenged by the journalist "struck back" using personalisation and every day talk. Although the term hybridity had not been used at the time, I argued that through the use of these features both parties become reciprocally aggressive, maintaining thus a form of balance within the boundaries of the genre.

indirectly – Hutchby, claim that in this form of televised political news interview journalists reshape mediatized politics by foregrounding their authority and imposing preferred readings of current politics onto the overhearing audience. Based on the definition adopted in this thesis of neutralism as the interactional accomplishment of both interactants, the question of whether this is the case depends also on the other interactant's responses; and this is what I will examine in the next section.

Focusing on selected studies that have married Conversation Analysis with Argumentation Theory, I will present how (hybridity as) argument is manifest in politicians' talk and what the effects might be for mediated politics, TV journalism and the knowledge produced. Although the studies to be presented do not have hybridity as their focus, the linguistic forms used by politicians to "attack" broadly mirror the hybrid journalistic practices presented so far and also match the ones used by journalists and politicians in my dataset. So in a sense, what is to follow echoes what has been presented so far.

4.2. Hybridity as argument (and performance) in politicians' talk

In this section, I will present an overview of how argument(ation) has been examined by linguists and argumentation theorists in similar dialogic media genres to the ones examined by Hutchby and Patrona in the previous section that is, political (talk show) interviews. After a brief discussion of how argumentation theory can be used in political interviews analysis, I will focus on studies that have investigated argument(ation) as an interactional strategy in the analysis of both mainstream and extremist politicians' talk in: 1) debate (talk shows), focusing on the notion of "conversational violence", and 2) one-on-one political interviews broadcast on the BBC.

4.2.1. Argumentation Theory and political interviews analysis

In their discussion of whether argumentation theory can be used in the analysis of broadcast talk, Lauerbach and Aijmer (2007:1335-1336) present Toulmin's (1958) dialogue model of everyday argument as a possible model to be used. According to Toulmin's conception, argumentation is a fundamentally dialogic practice, as it involves protypically two interactants and is associated: "with proto-sequences of discourse such as claim and challenge, or claim and counterclaim and subsequent sequences in which the interactants attempt to resolve a conflict of opinion in order to reach consensus or a compromise" (Lauerbach and Aijmer 2007:1335). Toulmin's model seems to be similar

to the action-opposition sequences identified by Hutchby and the assertion-counter-assertion sequences identified by Montgomery (see sections 4.1.1 and 2.6 respectively); sequences typical of mundane argument that have been incorporated in broadcast talk through hybridity. Alternatively, as Lauerbach (2007:1390-1392) puts it in support of the claim that Toulmin's model can be used in the analysis of political interviews, the dialogic form of Toulmin's (1958) logic of everyday argument, realized in questions and answers, and the Question-Answer format of political talk shows and interviews, is a factor that brings together argumentation theory and political interviews analysis.

Another factor, I would also argue, is that both research paradigms see ordinary and institutional argumentation dialogic practices as constructing socially shared consensual knowledge. In Toulmin's model of every day argumentation, through claims and counterclaims or claims and challenges, the interactants try to reach a true consensus or to collaboratively construct knowledge. Researchers in the field of broadcast talk (Ekström 2002 and Roth 2002) claim that the set institutional practices of TV journalism (Question-Answer sequences being one of them) produce socially shared knowledge, or what they call the social epistemology of TV journalism. In a similar way to Toulmin's conceptualisation of dialogic models of argumentation being able to collaboratively produce knowledge for the overhearing audience, for Ekström and Roth the dialogic practices of TV journalism, realised through the set practice of Questions and Answers are also able to do the same. Although the goals of participants may not be equally "authentic" in ordinary and institutional interaction (participants in broadcast interaction may not want to reach true consensus but pursue their own agendas), in both contexts because of the dialogic forms participants are being involved in, irrespective of their goals, they collaboratively construct socially shared knowledge. Thus although the origins of argumentation theory and political interview analysis may differ, their epistemological orientation to knowledge producing practices of dialogical argumentation is similar (see section 5.1.1 for a further discussion of this point).

In the next section I will present three studies that, in a more or less direct way, married linguistics and argumentation theory in their analysis of political interviews. Through the lens of "conversational violence" or "conflict talk", Martin Luginbühl (2007) and Hess-Lüttich (2007) respectively, examine the interactional practices of *mainstream* politicians when addressing the host and each other, in the Swiss political TV debate show 'Arena', a talk show that: "combines elements of the political discussion and the interview" (Hess-Lüttich 2007:1367). Simon-Vandenbergen (2008)

on the other hand, examines whether the political debating style of *extreme right wing* politicians, when addressing the host and each other in political debate shows, is the same or different from that of mainstream politicians.

4.2.2. Conversational Violence as argument and performance in debates

The three studies to be presented in this section involve analysis of political debate shows, a televised genre that is comparable to the ones discussed in the previous section, namely the hybrid political interview and hybrid panel discussions/debates. However, the three studies to be reviewed in this section differ from the ones presented in section 4.1.1 in two ways: firstly, they examine politicians' *and not* journalists' argumentative talk. Secondly, they focus *not* on what the effects of argumentative talk might be for the resulting genre *but* on what kind of symbolic politics is promoted through the staging of a (confrontational) conversational game, an area my thesis also explores.

To begin with, in a similar vein to conversation analysts, for instance Ekström (2008), Luginbühl (2007:1376) claims that politicians participate in political TV discussions to promote their own opinions, their party and their personas, echoing Bull's (2003) suggestions that politicians have to defend three faces in public. Statements made by politicians are information and propaganda at the same time, so the discussion is an instrument for persuasion, a fact that may (or may not) explain the use of conversational violence. Based on previous definitions offered by Frank (1992) and Burger (1995), Luginbühl understands an act of conversational violence as:

"when a person is saying something as a result of which – whether it happens intentionally or not – another participant in the conversation is drastically restricted in his or her conversational rights as determined by the type of conversation and his or her role in the conversation. This restriction of the individual's conversational rights may affect his or her integrity as well as the person's possibilities to influence the direction in which the conversation is going and his or her 'conversational efficiency'." (2007: 1374)

The first form of conversational violence politicians employ in Luginbühl's dataset (2007:1377-1380), is to misuse everyday conversational patterns (asking questions or giving advice) in order to portray the other interlocutor negatively. That these everyday conversational techniques are not perceived as cooperative is reinforced

by the other interactant's reactions that always involve counter allegations. Another form of conversational violence is to discredit the opponent by means of allegations of insincerity. This form can be realized by accusations of spreading false information, lying, or withholding information. To these allegations, politicians react indirectly by making, for instance, statements concerning the standard of knowledge or competency of the opponent.

Extreme right politicians in Simon-Vandenbergen's (2008) study also used similar techniques to attack their debating opponent. In particular, extreme right politicians frequently attacked the questions, the interviewer, the event, and the political opponents not as a political voice, but as an individual (Simon-Vandenbergen 2008: 352-353; 354-356). These attacks seem similar to conversational violence techniques presented above as used by mainstream politicians in Luginbühl's study, namely allegations that the opponent in the debate is incompetent, allegations of insincerity, and making statements concerning the standard of knowledge of the opponent. Because of the similarities traced between the techniques used by politicians in both studies, although Simon- Vandenbergen herself has not used the term "conversational violence", from now on I will use the term when characterising the techniques used by the right-wing politicians in her dataset to attack the other participant in the media event.

Apart from the above forms of conversational violence, Luginbühl (2007:1380-1385) presents other cases where the conversational behaviour of the politician becomes a technique to discredit the opponent. The cases examined involve interruptions on interruptions but also cases where the other interlocutor was not claiming the floor (for instance in cases of short objections, simultaneous starts, latching). Politicians' reactions involved the use of meta-communicative comments such as: "Let me finish my statement, I let you finish". In cases like these Luginbühl (2007:1380;1385) argues politicians "do being interrupted" (Hutchby 1992, Bilmes 1997) and present themselves as the victim. In that way they not only discredit the opponent and his/her conversational behaviour, but also present themselves as protectors of fair debating culture. Doing so also gives them the chance to immediately contradict the opponent and sabotage his/her turn by raising objections or by staging personal attacks of insincerity or inaccuracy, for example, thus turning meta-communication from a method of improving communication into a method of exerting violence. Although not discussed in terms of using metadiscourse to exert conversational violence, the meta-communicative technique of "doing being interrupted", is similar to Margaret

Thatcher's (aggressive) equivocation technique of frequently objecting to being interrupted (Bull and Mayer 1988, Bull 2003:123-124) and presenting herself as the victim of unfair questioning practices.

Extreme right-wing politicians in Simon-Vandenbergen's study also used metadiscurse to issue personal attacks. These included meta-comments on the opponent's debating behaviour, as well as attacks directed at the person and not the position they are maintaining (*ad hominem attacks* in argumentation theory terms, Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992). As Simon-Vandenbergen (2008: 356) argues, the last type of personal attack in particular, conveys a negative judgment on the opponent and is meant to lower the opponent's credibility, damage his/her public face, thus going beyond the communicative situation at hand; and that is what mostly differentiated the debating style of extreme right-wing politicians from that of mainstream politicians. As she concludes, there are indications that personal attacks are typical of extremist discourse. For instance, contrasting a bad image of the journalist/opponent with a positive one of oneself was a frequent technique used by Jean-Marie-Le Pen, politician of the French extreme right-wing "Front National" (Bonnafous 1998, Birenbaum and Villa 2003) and Umberto Bossi, politician of the Italian neo-populist right-wing " The Lega Nord" (Biorcio 2003). Bull and Simon-Vandenbergen (2014:13) also note that issuing personal attacks that target the other interlocutor's integrity was also a technique used by the leader of the British extreme right-wing "National Front", Nick Griffin, during BBC's "Question Time".

It seems though that by finding common elements between the debate interactional strategies used by mainstream and extreme right-wing politicians, and placing them under the umbrella term "conversational violence", as I have done thus far, reveals that the debate political style between mainstream and extreme-right wing politicians is not as acute as it was claimed by Simon-Vandenbergen. For instance, both groups of politicians when engaging in debates use conversational violence to construct a positive image of themselves in contrast to cultivating a negative image of the opponent. This is an issue that would be further explored throughout the thesis.

The conversational violence acts presented, are part of the conversational game of the political debate show, which is performed (staged) by mainstream and extreme-right politicians for the ears of the overhearing audience. In this game, as Luginbühl (2007:1386) argues, politicians benefit by publicly portraying themselves as approved fighters in a self-initiated controversy where a satisfactory political discussion of

different points of view is not possible and the audience is not encouraged to become interested in political issues but in conversational fights. In that sense, as Luginbühl claims, the political system uses the media as a platform for symbolic politics, "politainment" in Dörner's (2001) terms.

Hess-Lüttich (2007), in his examination of interactants' talk in the same Swiss TV show (Arena) as Luginbühl, makes similar claims, arguing though that the symbolic politics promoted is not "politainment" but "confrontainment", that is, that the mediatised political communication is focusing more on conflict rather than compromise (Holly 1994, see also Esser 2013:171-172). Starting from the basic premise that conversation in talk shows is a "trialogic" pseudo-dispute of the adversaries with each other, with the host, and with the "implied" public (Köpf 1989, Dieckman 1981, Löffler 1984, 1989), involving rhetorical "winners", and "losers", Hess-Lüttich moves on to discussing how "confrontainment" is exhibited in 'Arena'. As he claims, the show's setting, the staging of conflict talk, the moderator techniques and the participants' talk create the genre of confrontainment. As he notes, the game of confrontainment is played for the entertainment of those watching it and involves:

"conflict talk ignoring the rules of turn taking; emotional in content and expression; […] dialogue roles and status roles are mutually ignored; conflict is transformed from the political to the personal level." (2007:1367).

In relation to the function of the techniques used by the moderator (2007:1368) which are similar to the techniques identified by Hutchby and Patrona in their respective datasets and discussed in the section 4.1.1, (for instance instances of counter-arguments and meta-communicative commentaries, emotional outbursts on the part of the journalist) Hess-Lüttich claims that these do not necessarily improve the exchange of arguments. On the contrary, the moderator's techniques seem to encourage participants to give aggressive statements that are more entertaining than informative; and this is precisely what they do. The invited guests may try to counter-attack, thus proving their verbal fighting capacity, while at the same time devaluing the opponent.

The audience cannot immediately check the validity of the counterargument presented, so it seems that the politicians counter-attacking, win a round in the confrontational game. As Hess-Lüttich (2007:1369) concludes, argumentation in talk shows, in the form of verbal weapons of battle talk, that exhibit features of verbal

violence, serves to stage politics as a symbolic action, a contest, even as a battle, rather than as rational discussion/argumentation. Blumler and Coleman (2010:145-146; 152-153) make a similar claim when arguing that some of the underlying causes for the public's disengagement with politics is the increasingly adversarial nature of political reporting, the emphasis on politics as a game and the competitive nature of journalism and politics. These factors have led to the emergence of a post-deferential culture where politicians compete for attention with popular culture; a claim that combines the conceptualisation of mediatised politics as "politainment" and "confrontainment" as discussed by Luginbühl and Hess-Lüttich.

To sum up, this review of research on the use of argumentation as an interactional strategy in talk show debates, has revealed that conversational violence techniques are used both by mainstream (Luginbühl 2007, Hess-Lüttich 2007) and extreme right-wing politicians (Simon-Vandenbergen 2008). Although not explicitly discussed in terms of hybridity, the identified conversational violence techniques are everyday confrontation techniques, transferred from ordinary to institutional interaction, thus examples of hybridity. Because of that, the aforementioned results complement previous research on hybridity in political news interviews by examining similar techniques (that is the transfer of confrontation techniques from ordinary to institutional talk), focusing however to politicians' *and not* journalists' talk.

The majority of the presented conversational violence techniques (for instance personal attacks, allegations of insincerity/attributing motives) mirror aggressive/confrontational techniques employed by *journalists* in the Hybrid Political Interview and in Greek evening news, when these take the form of panel discussions/debates (see section 4.1.1) but in this case they were used by *politicians*. In that sense the above research findings complement the existing research on *hybridity as argument* in political (talk show) interviews by presenting how hybridity as argument is used *not* in journalists' but in politicians' talk. By employing hybridity, in the form of conversational violence, mainstream politicians in the Swiss context and in the Greek one, as will be exemplified in chapters 7 & 8, instead of being "powerless" (Hutchby 2017:110) or "not challenging the journalists' aggressive assertions or […] contentious questions" (Patrona 2011:173), take an active part in the formation of both symbolic politics and TV journalism as an institution, by mirroring extreme politicians' debate techniques.

4.2.3. Argumentation in political news interviews

The last study to be presented in this part of chapter 4 discussing how studies that have examined political interviews under the argumentation theory lens can assist in the investigation of hybridity as argument in politicians' talk, is Andone's (2013) analysis of one-on-one interviews broadcast on the BBC; a political news interview genre that is quite different from the ones discussed in the previous section but very similar to one-on-one election campaign interviews that comprise my dataset.

Andone's study focuses on the kinds of responses politicians give to accusations of inconsistency, that is how the protagonist (politician) either maintains his/her standpoint and defends it or gives in to the antagonist's (journalist's) criticisms, with the overall aim of explaining how the arguers try to enhance their chances of winning the discussion (2013: 12-14; 125-129). And here lies the main similarity with the three studies presented in the previous section: all four studies focus on the techniques politicians use to win the discussion. In that respect another parallel can be drawn between the four studies. Although the three studies presented in the previous section involve multi-party interactions, whereby the roles of the protagonist and antagonist of a given standpoint are not fixed, and therefore not restricted to the journalist and a single politician, but usually involve two politicians in the respective roles, the notion of the two roles still applies to the interactional game (talk show debates) being analysed. So although not explicitly using the argumentation theory terms "protagonist" and "antagonist", the three studies presented in the prevous section indicated how, through the employment of conversational violence, politicians did not only try to win the discussion but also to outperform the antagonist (that being either another politician or the journalist) preventing them from maintaining/advancing their criticisms. [7].

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[7] There are also differences between Andone's study and the ones presented in section 4.2.2. Apart from the different genre of news interview examined, the majority of patterns identified politicians resort to when accused of inconsistency are not aggressive (2013:127-8). Even in the two cases (2013:113; 118-120) she identified where politicians resorted to subtle rhetorically motivated abuses in order to persuade the interviewer and the audience of the acceptability of their words and actions, these abuses were not "violent" as they did not put pressure on the antagonist by attacking him personally, as was the case with politicians in the 'Arena' show and the debates with extreme-right politicians. Or in argumentation theory terms, they were not the abusive variant of the *ad hominem* attacks aimed at silencing the opponent. Adone (2013:108), in footnote 124 , quoting van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992), presents two variants of the *ad hominem* attack which may be committed by the protagonist: the abusive variant (the protagonist unjustifiably doubts the other party's expertise, intelligence, good faith) and the circumstantial variant (the protagonist unjustifiably casts suspicion on the other party's motives). The abusive variant can be compared to Bull's (2003) 'politician attacks the interviewer' equivocation technique and 'attacking interviewer actions' identified by Clayman and Heritage (2002a: 140-148); techniques used by Greek politicians in the extracts analysed in this thesis.

To sum up, studies reviewed in sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 examined talk show debates and news interviews as a predominantly argumentative activity with distinct argumentation roles identified. In this dialogic argumentative game, questions and answers are important, not so much in relation to the information acquisition features they exhibit, but more importantly for the socially shared knowledge they produce. Viewing the news interview as a dialogic argumentation game with the politicians occupying the role of the protagonist, and journalists the role of the antagonist, and examining the techniques used by politicians to win the discussion highlighted the aggressive nature of politicians' talk. In order to win the game politicians resorted to conversational violence, frequently misusing everyday practices, used meta-discursive comments to silence and/or discredit the opponent, staging politics as a symbolic action, a battle, shifting the focus from rational discussion/argumentation to verbal fight.

Although not discussing politicians' attacks in terms of hybridity, politicians' aggressive techniques, as discussed in section 4.2.2, mirror already identified journalistic hybrid techniques, as presented in section 4.1.1. Thus politicians' aggressive interactional techniques represent "the other side of the coin" in research on how hybridity as argument is manifested in participants' broadcast talk; an important link my thesis makes. Moreover, this verbal fight element manifested in *both* interactants' talk is yet another indication of hybridity, a manifestation of interactional techniques transfer from ordinary talk to broadcast talk across different genres (from talk show debates to one-on-one interviews). Hybridity as argument is a feature evident in the talk of both Greek journalists (personalisation) and politicians (personalisation and conversational violence) as will be discussed and exemplified in my analytic chapters (chapters 6-8).

4.3. Hybridity as laughter and challenge in news interviews

As already stated in the introductory section of this chapter, motivated by the interactional features exhibited in both journalists' and politicians' talk in my analysis, and in order to position my research within current discussions on the form and functions of hybridity, the second part of chapter 4 will present a different strand of research on hybridity; one that sees hybridity as the mixing of institutional and humorous every-day talk into the asking and answering adversarial questions in political news interviews. Although hybridity as a term was not explicitly used by all researchers whose studies I briefly review in this part, their research is similar to the strand reviewed in the first part of chapter 4: they discuss the appropriation of every day talk

features (hybridity) into the institutional norms of news interviews. All of them discuss the strategic use not of mundane argumentative/confrontational talk but of laughter and/or humorous everyday talk by both participants to achieve their interactional goals; for journalists, this is to put more pressure on politicians, while for politicians this is to avoid answering adversarial questions. The main difference though is that, in a more or less explicit way, researchers in the strand of research to be presented in the second part of chapter 4, do not see the use of hybridity as indicating the emergence of a new genre (as Hutchby does) but as indicating the transformation of an existing one (accountability interview).

Section 4.3.1 will review studies by Ekström (2011) and Baym (2013) that have discussed how mixing serious political questioning and humorous talk enables journalists to put more pressure on politicians while asking adversarial challenges, the term I introduced in section 3.1.2, to refer to challenging questions in various positions.

As laughter is a key feature in both journalists' and politicians' talk, within sequences of adversarial challenges and responses in my analysis, in the next section, 4.3.2, I will present a brief overview of what laughter is, and how it has been examined by conversation analysts both in ordinary talk and in institutional settings. Building on that, section 4.3.3 will review a few selected studies on the use and functions of politicians' laughter when issuing challenging responses, the term I introduced in section 3.2.2 to refer to responses that challenge but not breach the neutralistic norm of news interviews. Although not explicitly discussed in terms of hybridity, the use of laughter by politicians as will be discussed in section 4.3.3, complements the research to be presented in section 4.3.1, which conceptualises hybridity as a jovial adversarial resource that enables journalists to put pressure on politicians. In that sense, the research to be presented in section 4.3.3 extends the claims made about the employment of laughter to put pressure on the other interlocutor from journalists to politicians.

Finally in section 4.3.4, I put together all the key ideas presented so far, that came up also as key themes in my analysis, in order to explain how I understand and use hybridity in this thesis. In that way I will position my research within current debates on the forms hybridity takes and how its manifestation (re)shapes broadcast talk, news interview norms and participants' identities.

4.3.1. Hybridity as a jovial adversarial journalistic resource

This section will review selected studies by Ekström and Baym that have examined the use and function of journalists' humorous talk and/or laughter as an indication of hybridity while posing adversarial challenges during election campaign talk show interviews. These interviews are similar to the ones presented in section 4.1.1 in terms of the genre involved (talk show interviews) and to the ones comprising my dataset in terms of the specific subject matter (election campaign interviews).

As discussed in sections 2.3 & 2.4, journalists should refrain from indicating any personal stance (for instance by laughing) in their questioning during accountability interviews, in accordance with the expected professional norm of neutralism. But as will be discussed thoughout this section, examination of hybridity in broadcast talk has thrown new light onto the use of laughter and humour by journalists. Employing humour and laughter is not regarded as an indication of unprofessionalism anymore, but as an indication of pushing the limits of one's professionalism further in the service of holding a politician to account. That is what connects but at the same time differentiates the studies to be presented in this section from the ones presented in section 4.1.1. Although both Hutchby and Patrona and Ekström and Baym see the use of informal conversational features (hybridity) as a means used by journalists to achieve their interactional goals appropriating thus every-day talk practices into institutional talk, their focus and view on the effects of hybridity in the unfolding interaction is different. Hutchby and Patrona focus on the use of mundane confrontational talk and argue, directly or indirectly, that its use dramatically transforms institutional talk norms resulting in the creation of a new genre. Ekström and Baym focus on the use of humorous ordinary talk and argue that its use is an indication of stretching institutional talk norms (indirectly agreeing with Montgomery 2011, see section 2.6).

Within, what Hutchby (2017:105) calls the Reflexive Political Interview, a genre in which interview turn-taking systems are merged with comedy, satire and/or chat show interviews (see also section 2.6), Ekström (2011) and Baym (2013) investigated how hybridity as a playful form of questioning is manifested on two political talk shows in the US and Sweden respectively, presented by comics or entertainers.

Baym (2013) analysed extended interviews with politicians and policy makers broadcast at the beginning of the 2012 US presidential election campaign on the "Daily Show". "The Daily Show" is a hybrid TV show that involves, within a single programme, serious nightly news, Sunday morning political interview programmes,

late-night celebrity chat and stand-up comedy that "produce(s) a unique approach to political talk" (2013:64). As Baym goes on to claim, the programme's interview segments blend multiple discursive frames, one of which is the frame of accountability interviews; that is, seeking to hold those in public power accountable and thus providing information necessary to the citizens to participate in democratic processes.

Two of the areas he examined were the host's questioning style and the interaction patterns between the host and his interviewees. These two areas roughly match my unit of analysis (sequences of journalistic adversarial challenges and politicians' challenging responses) and can be compared to the areas of analysis presented in the first part of chapter 4: how hybridity is manifested in journalistic questions and what politicians' responses these hybrid practices trigger (if any).

In relation to the first area, Baym identified that the host's questioning style was "deeply hybrid", as he mixed frames of talk by blending social chat, humour and serious questioning. In this way, the questions posed set up a jocular exchange, and launch the interview in a "friendly environment" (2013:67). As he goes on to argue, the larger strategy at work in the interviews he examined was that humour was used to: "ask and mask critical questions; to challenge the positions and assumptions of the guests without overtly or improperly appearing to do so" (2013:70). Although Baym did not specifically claim to have examined how hybridity was embedded in *adversarial challenges* (which is my specific focus), his comments on the effect of the journalist's hybrid questioning techniques points to that effect; that due to hybridity the questions asked qualified as adversarial challenges.

In relation to the second area, Baym (2013:69) identified that politicians are often partners in the effort, co-constructing the humorous, friendly frame of the interview, which allows them to express multiple dimensions of their identities (political or not) and speak in a range of voices (see also Baym 2007, Ekström 2011). In Baym's dataset politicians' responses to the host's humorous hybrid questioning practices are in contrast to the ones reported by Hutchby and Patrona, in section 4.1.1, and to Greek politicians' responses, as has emerged in my analysis. While in Hutchby's and Patron'a datasets politicians did not react to the adversarial hybrid journalistic questioning, in Baym's dataset (and in mine as will be exemplified and discussed in chapters 7 & 8) they actively co-constructed the hybrid news interview format.

As Baym (2013:84) concludes, the hybrid form of the interviews examined, offers the journalists a resource largely denied by more traditional journalistic interview

formats. In this form of interview, humour is mixed with critical exchanges, adversarialness with laughter and debate, resulting not in infotainment or fake news but to the transformation of accountability interviewing.

Although viewing politicians' identity construction from a different perspective, this aspect of Baym's research connects his observations to the ones made by Luginbühl and Hess-Lüttich in relation to the use of conversational violence by politicians; that is, that employing ordinary talk features enables politicians to build a specific identity. Baym's observations are also linked to the second area of my research: how politicians' identity is *co-constructed* through the set practices of TV journalism and what kind of knowledge is subsequently produced.

In a similar vein as Baym, that is investigating how mixed frames of talk (humour and serious political talk) may function as an adversarial tool in political talk shows with politicians during an election campaign, Ekström (2011) examines an interview between the Swedish Prime Minister and the female entertainer and host of a radio talk show "Lantz P3", during the 2006 Swedish election campaign.

What differentiates Ekström's study from Baym's, however, is that he did not only focus on how hybridity (as the mix of humorous and adversarial talk) was employed in the asking of questions but also in *host reactions* to interviewee answers, thus expanding on the idea of politicians' collaborating in the construction of a "friendly atmosphere" discussed by Baym, by introducing the notion of sequential frame shifts.

Another factor differentiating Ekström's study from Baym's is the use of terminology. As Ekström puts it, he focuses on journalistic activities in which the host orients to and makes use of *integrated hybridity*, that is: "(that) different frames are invoked and merged into one and the same utterance, sequence or episode of talk" (2011:137). Integrated hybridity is a term I found very useful for the purposes of this thesis and I borrowed to describe and refer to Greek journalists' and politicians' hybrid practices in my analytic chapters, in order to highlight the fact that Greek participants merge different frames of talk within sequences of adversarial challenges and responses in *more creative* ways than the ones already reported.

In relation to the asking of questions, in line with Baym's findings, Ekström (2011:138-143) identified that the hybrid format employed in question design (the mixing of humour with serious political questioning) enabled the journalist to ask provocative questions in a non-threatening way. In relation to the management of frame shifts, using Scannell's (2012) idea of shared responsibility that is, that even if the host

is the one who has the resources and power to manage the interaction, the guests share the responsibility for keeping the talk going, creating the conversation for the overhearing audience, and Hutchby's (2006:11) claim that an interview is an audience oriented form of talk, designed to be heard and understood in specific ways, Ekström (2011:147-151) demonstrates how in hybrid talk, frame shifts are significant sites for both collaborative work (see also Baym above) and dominance and struggle (see also Hutcby and Patrona in section 4.1.1 in relation to journalists and Luginbühl and Hess-Lüttich in section 4.1.2 in relation to politicians and also Wadensjö 2008).

In particular he identified that by shifting between institutional and ordinary talk, as evident both in sequence organisation and asymmetrical distribution of power, reflected in the turn-taking system of the interview and the participants' contributions (e.g who does the questioning, who does the answering), both participants oriented to the structure of "shared responsibility" (Scannell 2012) in live broadcast talk. That is, that both participants by going in and out of the "standard" news interview format collaboratively, created talk that could be identified as "news interview" talk by the overhearing audience. Scannell's idea of shared responsibility as manifested by participants' hybrid talk in Ekström's study, seems to tally with the structure of *neutralism* as a collaborative achievement (Clayman and Whalen 1988/1989 and Clayman 1988), that I employ in this thesis in order to examine whether hybrid talk used by both Greek journalists and politicians indicates the emergence of new or transformed news interview norms.

In relation to journalistic reactions to politicians' answers, contrary to the "standard" journalistic practice in news interviews of withholding any acknowledgement tokens that would indicate their personal stance (Heritage 1985, Clayman 2007, see also sections 2.3 & 2.4), but in line with previous research on hybridity in non-political talk shows, Ekström (2011:144-147) found that reactions in third position are common. Following Hutchby (2001:161, 2006:68-69) who demonstrates how the host of the "Ricky Lane" show uses reactions to make complainable matters visible to the audience and invite them to react to what the guest is saying, Ekström makes a similar argument in relation to the use of giggles by the host. In particular, by pointing out how reactions can be used to draw the audience's attention to various aspects of the interaction, Ekström shows how the giggles produced by the host in third position, have manifold functions. They might highlight the laughable aspects of what the interviewee is doing (see also section 4.3.3 for a similar

point made by Romaniuk 2013b, 2013c in relation to politician's use of laughter during one-on-one political news interviews), play with his/her identity, a claim also made by Baym above, or highlight distinctions between the lay and the expert (see also section 4.3.2.1 for a similar claim made by Hakaana 2001 in relation to the function of patients' laughter in doctor-patient interaction).

As Ekström argues, echoing Baym's claim above, by means of the journalist's reactions, the politician is held accountable in a more complex way compared to the non-hybrid form of traditional news interviews. Also, through her frequent reactions, the journalist invites the overhearing audience to not only evaluate the politician's answers but also the identities performed and negotiated (2011:147).

In the same vein as Baym above, Ekström (2011:136;151-153) regards this hybrid interview as an example of the development of contemporary media and the expansion of political talk. Orienting to humour allows the journalist to put pressure on the politician, without doing something obviously face-threatening. The politician in responding to these hybrid questions does not only have the difficult task of answering as an accountable politician, but also has to show that s/he can handle the unexpected, negotiating also his/her (authoritative) identity.

I would also add that a further challenge a politician may face in this situation, is whether to answer the question in a serious frame, foregrounding thus his/her authoritative identity as an accountable politician, or move to a playful frame, risking thus to be thought of as opting out of the activity of answering; a challenge Greek politicians in my dataset face and deal with in various ways as will be discussed in my analytic chapters. Ekström's research, apart from aligning with Baym's in relation to the claims made that the employment of hybridity indicates the stretching of limits of an existing genre (accountability interview), provides useful insights into my thesis in two other areas. Firstly, his explicit focus (and subsequent observations) on journalistic reactions in third position, match my analytic focus on adversarial challenges, that is journalistic challenges *not only* in first but in various positions within extended sequences of talk. Secondly, his observations about the *function* of giggles as third position reactions directed towards the audience (and the politician I would also add) point not only to similar research in talk shows (Hutchby 2001) but open up a space for researchers on hybridity to also look at studies on laughter, incorporating them into current debates on the forms and functions of hybridity, one of the areas my thesis aims to contribute to.

Since laughter is a key feature in both interlocutors' talk in my dataset and can be linked to the use of humorous frames as an indication of hybridity, as discussed by Ekström and Baym above, in the next sections I will review previous conversation analytic studies on the use of laughter in ordinary and institutional talk. Then I will move on to presenting an overview of studies that, although they have not discussed the use of laughter by politicians in terms of hybridity, investigate how laughter is strategically used by politicians when responding to adversarial challenges. Because of that, the studies on the use of laughter by politicians fit the conceptualisation of hybridity as the mixing of institutional and jovial ordinary talk, extending Ekström's and Baym's claims about the effects of the use of hybridity for the political news interview from journalists to politicians.

4.3.2. What is laughter?

As Glenn (2003), Holt (2011) and Haakana (1999, 2001, 2002, 2010) note, laughter is a complex phenomenon that is communicated and perceived both visually and audibly, combining different modalities: visual (smiling), auditory (smile voice, laugh particles) and body movement. Lavin and Maynard (2001:467), quoting Shor (1978) and Tartter (1980), describe smile voice as the particular voice quality in a speaker's voice that is achieved when s/he smiles while talking. Smile voice can be detected both visually and audibly, by means of laugh particles. As is frequently the case, speakers do not 'simply' use laugh particles when they laugh; in fact, laughter and smiling frequently co-occur. Smiling may be used as a pseudo-laughing response, in the form of smile voice (Lavin and Maynard 2001:472), and/or as a device in the evolving laughing sequence (Glenn 2003:67-72), either as a pre-laughing device, Haakana (2010:1510) or on its own taking the form of either a smile or smile voice.

4.3.2.1. Conversation Analysis and Laughter

Previous research on laughter within Conversation Analysis has revealed that laughter is highly organized and it contributes to ongoing interaction (Jefferson 1979, 1984, Jefferson et al 1987, Glenn 2003). Holt and Glenn (2015:948-949) and Holt (2013:1-4) discuss the orderliness exhibited by laughter and its contribution to the action sequences in which it occurs. Laughter regularly occurs: 1) within turns, either in the form of laugh particles within words, smile voice or as free laugh particles at the end of the turn. In both positions laughter can be used to modulate the nature or strength of

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the action (Potter and Hepburn 2010), a kind of post-completion stance marker, in Schegloff's (1996) terms, 2) in pairs of turns, as a response to an invitation to laugh made through laughter in the previous turn, exhibiting either affiliation or disaffiliation with the previous turn, 3) in extended sequences, where laughter was examined as a response to improprieties. As shown by Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff (1987), in those sequences laughter can be a midpoint between being fully affiliative and non-affiliative. Although not used as a response to improprieties, a similar claim is made by Lavin and Maynard (2001:472) about the use and function of smile voice used as a response by interviewers in telephone surveys. They claim that by the use of smile voice interviewers both maintained an appropriate social relationship with the respondents and at the same time maintained survey standardization, thus the function of smile voice in those cases was both affiliative and non-affiliative. Holt (2010) also shows how shared laughter, in extended sequences of ordinary conversation, involving no improprieties, is associated with topic closing and how laugh responses can be used to defuse complaints (Holt 2012).

Laughter though is not only a response to non-humourous sequences in ordinary conversation but also in professional settings. Analysis of laughter in institutional settings, where restrictions on its (reciprocal) use and issues of power asymmetries are at play, has revealed that laughter is frequently related to difficult or delicate interactional environments and is not reciprocated. For instance, Adelswärd (1989) suggests that in interaction in various institutional settings (job interviews, post-trial interviews with defendants, negotiations between high-school students, telephone conversations between social welfare officers and parents) laughter was used as a resource in managing face threats.

Haakana (1999, 2001, 2002) has identified that in doctor-patient interactions, patients laugh more than doctors and they usually laugh alone. In those cases, Haakana (2001: 189; 214) claims, patients' laughter is an implicit way of indicating the speaker's awareness of the possible delicacy of the situation, signalling and mitigating interactional tensions between the expert and the non-expert. In that context, as the laugh does something other than inviting the doctor to laugh – it indicates a discrepancy between what the patient is currently saying and what the doctor has said or suggested - doctors refraining from laughing is the right thing to do (Haakana 2001:196).

Research on the use of laughter in police interviews by Carter (2011) has revealed similar results in the way laughter is used by police officers and suspects as in

doctor-patient interactions. In Carter's data, laughter is not reciprocated and it "formed distinct uses by officers and suspects" (2011: 40). In particular, laughter provided suspects - the "weaker" interlocutors in context - with an additional method to express their innocence, truthfulness or other assertions. It was also used to mitigate dis-preferred actions such as avoiding answering a question or contradicting the officer. Laughter provided officers with an additional method to challenge the suspect or to mitigate potential breaches of protocol (2011:35; 51; 64; 66-67).

This brief overview on conversation analytic work on the use of laughter in institutional settings, has indicated that laughter, as is also often the case in ordinary talk-in-interaction, is not always a response to something "funny" but it might be a response to something "serious" marking it as a delicate issue and/or is used to mitigate breaches of protocol and face threats.

Whether someone is *laughing with* (affiliative function), *laughing at* (disaffiliative function) someone in ordinary or institutional interaction or uses laughter to accomplish different interactional functions, gets worked out according to specific features (Glenn 1995, 2003:48-49; 51; 64). These include: 1) what is being laughed at (the laughable), 2) who laughs first, 3) how the recipient responds to the first laugh, 4) subsequent talk (what happens next). As Glenn (1995, 2003:49; 64) claims though, these four "keys" are only starting points that may help the participants themselves and the overhearing audience disambiguate the laughter's function(s); these alignments are not fixed and may change in the moment by moment unfolding interaction.

To sum up, the research presented so far, verifies the ambiguity of laughter both in relation to the ongoing courses of action and to its referent: the laughable. As Holt and Glenn (2015:948) claim, in principle, everything can be a laughable, and having identified the laughable does not necessarily mean that the orientation to it is straightforward or similar in all cases. This is particularly relevant to institutional talk where institutional roles and identities are important. The last section of this brief literature review on the use of laughter in talk-in-interaction will focus on exactly this: how laughter is used to construct (primarily) politicians' rhetorical identity in broadcast talk, where several restrictions on participants' interactional behaviour apply. For instance Glenn (2003:65) claims that in news interviews journalists will not laugh, since the use of laughter, whether affiliative or hostile, can be heard as violating the neutralism expected by journalists. Operating within the expected neutralism of news interviews, politicians should *also* not laugh as this would indicate personal

involvement and would go beyond the "standard" neutralistic news interview talk (see also section 2.3 for a discussion of how the prototypical turn-taking system of the news interview safeguards this).

4.3.3. Laughter as hybridity in politicians' challenging responses

Romaniuk (2009, 2013b, 2013c) examined politicians' laughter in televised news interviews that was *volunteered* and not *invited*, in Jefferson's (1979) terms, that is it was not a response to something constructed as funny in either an explicit or an implicit way. Her dataset involved one-on-one interviews broadcast between 2007 and 2010, on five of the major US commercial television networks (ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, NBC) with either already elected US officials or political candidates for public office.

In her dataset, politicians' laughter, in the form of laugh particles, occurred before a verbal response within two sequential environments: 1) at the completion of journalists' opinion-seeking questions that are *not* formulated in any adversarial way and are *not* about the politician, 2) during the journalists' questioning turn. She examined what is being laughed at (the nature of the laughable), its *retrospective* function, and how laughter is responded to and what happens after its occurrence, its *prospective* function (Romaniuk 2013b:204-205).

Within the first sequential environment, the politicians' laughter as a pre-verbal response in turn-initial position, acts retrospectively as an implicit commentary on the legitimacy of the question, undermining it and casting it as the laughable. Prospectively, it projects a delayed disaffiliative verbal response. In this environment, politicians' laughter establishes a laughing at (disaffiliative) environment *not* at the journalist but at the proposition expressed in the question asked.

Within the second sequential environment, politicians' laughter occurs during prefaces (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:104), which are question components that are in some way adversarial since they offer some form of critical commentary about the politicians themselves, their position(s) or something related to them. What is important to note, is that as Romaniuk claims, politicians' laughter in this sequential environment comes after *a third party* attributed adversarial prefatory statement, on the part of the journalists, so politicians: "are not heard or understood as laughing at the IR (interviewer), or what the IR says, but as laughing at what the IR is reporting someone else has said." (2013b: 210).

In this sequential environment (during the interviewer's questioning turn) politicians' laughter, combined with smiles, does not only treat the third party attributed prefaces as the laughable, matters not to be taken seriously (Romaniuk 2013b: 216), but also projects a disaffiliative response. In other words, laughter in these environments is another form of resisting answering a question - an embodied one.

In Romaniuk's dataset, journalists did not react to the politicians' laughter by reciprocating it; they remained "po-faced" (Drew 1987). As she argues, by systematically refraining from producing reciprocal laughter, and/or terminating the relevance of further laughter, for instance by pursuing their serious line of questioning and/or pressing for an answer, journalists achieve two things: they do not only disalign with the politicians' laughter as a kind of response treating it as inadequate, but they also safeguard their neutralistic and objective posture (2013b:217). I would also add that by safeguarding their neutralistic posture, journalists also indicate that they treat politicians' embodied resistance in answering as "part of the game", not deviant behaviour. In that way, journalists' objective posture in Romaniuk's dataset, qualified politicians' moves as *challenging responses* (what I defined in section 3.2.2 as politicians' responses that challenge the question asked but at the same time maintain neutralism).

Not all studies though reinforce Romaniuk's claims about the functions of journalists' *non reciprocal laughter* when "invited" to laugh by politicians. Research findings from studies investigating journalists' *reciprocal laughter* in political (radio) talk shows and press conferences indicate that reciprocal laughter was strategically used by journalists to achieve various interactional goals. At the one end of the spectrum, laughter by journalists is used to affiliate with something funny the politician has said, align with him/her and create a friendly atmosphere within the encounter (Ekström 2009a, Eriksson 2009, 2010). At the other end of the spectrum, laughter is being used to disalign with what was said, in the form of third position reactions (Ekström 2011, see section 4.3.1).

Somewhere in between sits Partington's study. Partington (2006) examined the strategic use of laughter talk that is, "the talk preceding and provoking, intentionally or otherwise, a bout of laughter" (2006:1), by journalists and podiums (White House Press Secretaries) in language corpora comprising press conferences held at the White House. As he claims, the tactical use of laughter-talk by both interactants, achieves specific

rhetorical ends. These include constructing an identity, threatening someone else's face, boosting one's own and/or making an argumentative point.

In particular, laughter, in the form of smile and smile voice, often accompanied incidents of teasing and verbal dueling in Partington's dataset. In those cases, he argues (2006:181), laughter talk, is tactically used by both sides to serve their goals; journalists may use it to make accusations of podium evasiveness. The podium uses it to make argumentative points, outperform journalists in order to have power over them, thus imposing his agenda/version of the events (a similar point has been made by Ekström 2009a in relation to the use of humour/laughter from President Bush). As he puts it, in the context of argumentative environments, such as the press briefings comprising his dataset: "(Laughter talk) is integral to many of the rhetorical strategies speakers use to construct identity through talk and to make their case in a competitive, argumentative environment" (Partington 2006:229).

His comments with regards to the function of participants' laughter in press briefings are similar to other studies (Ekström 2009a, 2011, Romaniuk, 2013b, 2013c, Baym 2013) in relation to issues of power and face work in broadcast talk. What Partington's study adds to the body of research on laughter in dialogic media talk, is his discussion of the strategic use of laughter (talk) to construct one's identity in a competitive environment while making argumentative points. The use of laughter (talk) to discredit and/or expose the other interactant being either the podium or a journalist, seems to reveal another aspect of laughter use in those environments; its strategic use in the argumentative game of winning the discussion, complementing thus the claims made in section 4.2.2 about the use of conversational violence to achieve the same end: winning the discussion. This is how laughter is used by Greek journalists and politicians, as will be demonstrated in the extracts to be analysed in chapters 7 & 8.

In the subsequent analytic chapters, following Romaniuk (2013b, 2013c) I will examine laughter that was *volunteered* and not *invited*, i.e not a response to something constructed as funny. However, my examination of laughter in participants' talk differs from Romaniuk's study in three ways.

The first difference is a subtle one and has to do with the *perceived* interactional environment within which the politicians' laughter is placed. Romaniuk claims that politicians in her dataset employed laughter after non-threatening journalistic questions (i.e. questions that did not involve personal criticisms and/or included third-party attributed challenging prefaces). According to previous conversation analytic

categorizations though (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman 2006a, 2006b, Clayman et al 2006, 2007) these journalistic questions *are* adversarial as they put pressure on the politician (see section 3.1). So although I explicitly claim that I examine politicians' laughter as a response to journalistic adversarial challenges, while Romaniuk does not, in line with previous conversation analytic research the interactional environments within which we examine politicians' laughter are similar.

The second difference is that unlike politicians in Romaniuk's dataset that used laugh particles *only before* their verbal response, politicians and journalists in my dataset employed laughter *also within* their verbal responses in the form of not only laugh particles, but also of smile and smiling voice. So, following Haakana (1999, 2001, 2002, 2010) and Lavin and Maynard (2001) in this thesis I also take a holistic view of laughter as a multimodal phenomenon, subsequently examining instances of smiling, smile voice and laugh particles co-occuring. Although in the subsequent analytic chapters I will differentiate between instances of smiling, smile voice and laugh particles, I will also use the term laughter as a general, umbrella term when referring to the use and functions of all the above.

Thirdly, unlike journalists in Romaniuk's dataset, Greek journalists in the extracts to be examined *do* employ laughter either within adjacency pairs of adversarial challenges and responses (in a similar way as journalists in Baym's and Ekström's datasets) or within extended micro-argumentative sequences (in a similar way as journalists in Partington's dataset; what he calls "verbal duelling"). Journalists' laughter occurs *both* in first position as a response to politicians' hybrid challenging responses that do not involve the employment of laughter and as a response to politicians' "invitation" to laugh that is, the employment of laughter within politicians' hybrid challenging responses. As already discussed in section 4.3.2.1 (see also Schegloff 1996, Jefferson 1979, 1984), speaker-initiated laughter (in first position) is not always invitational as it may guide the recipient in how to interpret the unfolding utterance. In that light, since laughter "invitations" are not always invitations to laugh but may have different functions altogether, the term "invitation", whenever used to refer to speaker-inititated laughter, would be put within quotation marks to indicate its ambiguous nature: that the next speaker's reaction, being it in the form of laughter or non-laughter, should not be taken for granted

To sum up, combining all previous research on the use of laughter by *both* interactants in news interviews (Baym, Ekström, Romaniuk and Partington), in the subsequent analytic chapters I will examine how laughter as an indication of integrated hybridity is employed by *both* journalists and politicians within extended sequences of adversarial challenges and challenging responses in the 2012 Greek election campaign interviews.

4.3.4. Hybridity as challenge in Greek televised election campaign interviews

To paraphrase Hutchby (2006:18), the way I understand and use hybridity in this thesis is that I see it as the appropriation of elements of every day conversation (laughter, mundane confrontational talk) *and* elements of non-prototypical news interview talk (political talk show interviews, debates), through to the "high-profile" election campaign interview. In the analytic chapters to follow, I will use the term hybridity to refer to this abstract idea of different elements being incorporated into the activity of news interview and *integrated hybridity* (Ekström 2011:137) to refer to the specific hybrid practices Greek journalists and politicians exhibit through their talk, in order to highlight how their hybrid practices differ from interactants' relevant practices reported in previous research.

What differentiates the way I examine hybridity from previous studies (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011, Ekström 2011, Baym 2013) is that firstly I do not examine it *only* as a property of journalistic adversarial questioning practices but *also* as a property of politicians' adversarial responses. The second point of differentiation is my explicit focus on *how* personalisation, "doing laughter" and using conversational violence *both* manifest hybridity *and* help interactants to manage aggressions and construct a public identity. Furthermore, in this thesis, I will examine *not only* how these hybrid practices (re)shape the interactional norms of televised accountability (election campaign) interviews *but also* how, through the identified hybrid practices, knowledge for the overhearing audience is subsequently managed and produced.

This element of "struggle" over appropriacy, foregrounded though hybridity, in relation to the structural organisation of news interviews that is at the heart of current discussions about the form the news interview is taking (Hutchby 211a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Ekström 2011, Baym 2013 and implicitly Montgomery 2011), a form that in turn signifies processes that produce and manage knowledge, is what I perceive

differentiates hybridity from conversationalisation. In Fairclough's (1992:204-205, 1994) terms, *conversationalisation* involves the use of informal conversation-like linguistic features by journalists and politicians in order to appeal to the overhearing audience. As discussed by Matheson (2005), O'Keefee (2006), Fetzer and Lauerbach (2007), to name just a few, conversationalisation is the outcome of media and political elites trying to align with listeners and viewers in their attempt to get their message across, foregrounding the entertainment factor of broadcast talk. Hybridity on the other hand, as already indicated in this section and will be discussed and exemplified in my analysis, is a struggle between journalists and politicians over appropriation and counter-appropriation of institutionalised interactional norms. These power struggles create knowledge, which can be translated as the epistemology of TV journalism in Ekström's and Roth's terms; a notion that can be compared to the understanding of the ontology of hybridity inbuilt in hybrid media logics as the examination of:

> "how the discrete interactions between media elites, political elites and publics create shared understandings and expectations about what constitutes publicly valued information and communication […] shap(ing) the public's expectations about what "politics" is" (Chadwick 2013:19)

To put it differently, conversationalisation focuses on how the mediatised message would appeal to the audience, resulting in infotainment (Altheide and Snow 1992) or politainment (Dörner 2001). As I understand it however, hybridity focuses on the power struggle between media and political elites, over who has the knowledge and authority to speak on political matters and subsequently who should the public trust.

4.3.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed mainly conversation analytic studies on the forms and functions of hybridity as examined in journalists' talk in political (accountability) interviews in the UK, the USA, Sweden and Greece. Two strands have been identified: one that sees the use of personalised (every-day) confrontational practices as a means to turn the interview into an argumentation arena, where the role of the journalist as a sociopolitical advocate is foregrounded. These hybrid news interviewing practices, move away from neutralism (viewed as a single property of journalists' talk) and empower journalists by enabling them to impose specific readings of public politics on

the audience (Patrona 2011, Hutchby 2013, 2017). Hutchby and, indirectly Patrona, claim that this form of hybridity (mixing everyday confrontational and institutional talk) does not only empower journalists but results in the creation of a new genre.

The second strand (Ekström 2011, Baym 2013) sees the mixture of "serious" accountability and "feel good" talk show interview practices, like combining humour and laughter with serious questioning, as a means to appropriately practice accountability and put pressure on politicians. These hybrid interview practices *also* empower journalists, enabling them to exercise their watchdog role in a flexible and effective way. As politicians collaborate with journalists in the creation of a "friendly atmosphere" the hybrid practices identified by Ekström and Baym do not move away from neutralism (as an interactional achievement of both interactants) so therefore they do not result in the emergence of a new genre but to the appropriation of an existing one; the accountability interview.

Based on these two strands, and the interactional practices Greek politicians and journalists manifested in my analysis, this chapter complemented existing literature on hybridity in broadcast talk, by reviewing studies that focused on interactional techniques being employed by the other interactant: the politician. Although not explicitly using the term hybridity, the studies presented investigated politicians' interactional practices from the same two angles: as argument(ation) and as a jovial means to put pressure on the other interlocutor.

The first key issue discussed was the use of "conversational violence" by politicians in debate talk shows that prohibited the development of rational discussions and enabled politicians to construct a specific identity; by initiating verbal fights, politicians created a "fighter's" persona, for the benefit of the overhearing audience (Luginbühl 2007, Hess-Lüttich 2007, Simon-Vandenbergen 2008).

The second key issue discussed was the use of laughter in political interviews, mainly by politicians. Despite the versatile nature of laughter, several of its functions in the unfolding interaction were discussed, such as its use as an embodied means to resist answering questions, as a means to exercise accountability and power, as a means to "do" face-work, manage aggression and construct one's identity (Romaniuk 2013b, 2013c, Partington 2006). To what ends Greek journalists and politicians employed confrontational every-day techniques and laughter during the activities of asking and responding to adversarial challenges, will be discussed in the subsequent analytic chapters (chapters 6-8).

5. Methodology and Data

This chapter comprises two parts that serve two different purposes. In the first part, I will discuss the epistemology of Conversation Analysis and the rationale for choosing it as the primary method of analysis, while at the same time assessing criticisms made against its epistemological claims. Then I will present my rationale for augmenting Conversation Analysis by incorporating insights from the application of Argumentation Theory, and Social Psychology (equivocation theory and face management) in political news interviews analysis. In the second part I will provide information about the dataset (political situation, time frame, key actors, data selection, sampling issues) followed by a brief discussion of transcription and translation issues. The second part finishes with an overview of the research questions and how they will be investigated in the subsequent analytic chapters.

5.1. Conversation Analysis: Rationale and Epistemology

Following previous research on political news interviews, the data were analysed using Conversation Analysis as its epistemological claims, encapsulated in its approach to the examination of naturally occurring interactional phenomena, suited my research aims: to identify regularities in journalists' and politicians' talk on matters that they consider as important during the course of the election campaign interview.

Conversation Analysis examines unfolding talk-in-interaction in order to discover, identify, describe and analyse social meanings, identities and relationships as exemplified by the participants through their moment-to-moment talk, without taking into account the participants' social roles or a pre-determined context beforehand (Psathas 1995, Liddicoat 2007, Hutchby and Wooffitt 1999, Silverman 1998). In other words, conversation analysts try to record how social order is manifested, maintained or changed through the collaborative interactional actions of the participants; how participants through their collaborative interaction, for instance, make an interview and not a confession or a speech. As Psathas (1995:56) puts it: "how talk-in-interaction 'enables institutional modes of conduct'". The social identities of the participants, their institutional roles as well as the context need not be pre-determined as these may be renegotiated by participants through their interactional behavior. Conversation analysts are interested in examining whether and how, through their specific interactional practices, participants connect with or change their social and institutional roles,

identities, tasks and context. As Heritage and Clayman (2010:21) argue, the relationship between interaction and its context is inadequately conceptualized by the "bucket theory" of context, where the bucket (context) does not alter in any way by whatever liquid (interaction) is being placed in it. Echoing Duranti and Goodwin's (1992) view that social context is never independent of actions due to the reflexive relationship between action and context, Heritage and Clayman argue that context is not stable but changing through the (interactional) actions of the people involved in it. Thus:

> "[…] only *after* the structural features of, for example, turn taking and interruption have been determined that it is meaningful to search for the ways in which sociological factors […] may be manifested in interactional conduct." (Heritage and Clayman 2010:14, emphasis in the original)

Using Conversation Analysis would enable me to focus on the emerging patterns of interactional conduct regardless of the individuals taking part in the interaction (election campaign interview in this case) and their political affiliation, in the case of politicians, or possible accusations of bias in the case of journalists, based on the TV channel they worked for. I am aware though, that the mere practice of transcription, for example, aiming to capture the structural features of the interaction *is* an act of power, as discussed by Bucholtz (2000), and despite my best intentions, my transcription as an exemplification of the participants' actions, may be open to conflicting interpretations. I do claim nonetheless, that by providing transcripts in as much detail as possible, as Conversation Analysis requires, I can examine the data as objectively as possible. Even if I am not successful, because my theoretical preconceptions and personal history may have influenced my transcripts and/or my analysis, the fact that "detailed" samples of data transcripts are provided, enables readers to clearly see the basis of my claims.

Conversation analysts have been accused of taking a participant orientation which is too narrow (Wetherell 1998), that is that in their effort to study the particulars of conversation, they dis-attend to what the participants see as their main concern (Billing 1999). I believe that exactly because a conversation analyst carefully, line by line, examines talk in interaction, s/he is able to identify matters that participants exhibit as being their concern, thus indicating that these matters are of concern to the public (in the case of news interviews) or any volutionary or involutionary overhearer (in the case of ordinary conversation). That is particularly the case in accountability news

interviews, where matters of concern to interactants might involve both adhering to the interview format/constraints and at the same time sticking to their own agendas, these being either to hold politicians to account (if they are journalists) or to answer the questions asked in a way that would not expose them to criticisms from the overhearing audience (if they are politicians). [8]

Another strength of Conversation Analysis, that counterbalances any claims of its restricted notion of analytic description and narrow scope (Wetherell 1998) and, subsequently, of the findings' significance, is that by means of detailed examination of the data "things not previously suspected to occur or exist can be cogently and convincingly brought to serious notice" according to Schegloff (1999:579). In that light, an arguable weakness (narrow scope) can be turned into an advantage as only through minute analysis (restricted notion of analytic description) can things that might otherwise go unnoticed be brought to the surface and provide the springboard for further research.

Wetherell (2001) in her presentation of debates in discourse research discusses problems of *objectivity, relevant context* and *epistemological issues* of various discourse analysis traditions. As regards what is relevant context, Wetherell (2001:390) claims that followers of the methodological principles of Conversation Analysis: "define the discursive narrowly as just the talk which is being investigated with the remainder of social life […] placed outside the discourse under investigation."

 I believe that this is a misinterpretation of context as defined by Conversation Analysis researchers, similar to the "bucket theory of context". As discussed above, conversation analysts are equally interested both in the "bucket" (context) and the "liquid" (interaction) as they strongly believe that the liquid may change the bucket, so both are viewed as fluid and changeable. Conversation Analysis' focus on, or starting point from the interaction itself, does not mean that the social context is ignored or placed outside the discourse under investigation. It just means that action comes first and definition(s) second. In other words, participants through their (inter)actions will define themselves as social actors taking over specific (institutional) roles, maintaining or transforming social norms and power relationships and not the other way round.

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[8] The way I understand and use the term overhearing audience, in this thesis, as a recipient of public talk, follows Warner's conceptualistion of the public as addressees and participants in any public discourse (2002:422). In that sense the politicians' public talk does not only address the audience that recognise themselves as realising the world in the way articulated, but more importantly addresses an "indefinite"overhearing" audience and "hope(s) that people will find themselves in it" (2002:418).

By answering the prevalent conversation analytic question: "Why that now?" analysts are in a position to document participants' orientations both to the immediate, micro-context (i.e. the interview norms, in this case) and the wider, macro-context (i.e. institutions of politics and TV journalism) and their role in them. In the context of political news interviews: "CA (Conversation Analysis) argues that institutional talk is centrally and actively involved in the accomplishment of the 'institutional' nature of institutions themselves" (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1999:145). In other words, it is through the participants' collaborative talk-in-interaction that their roles as well as the institutional context of a political news interview, are manifested, changed, and shaped.

In relation to epistemological issues and issues of objectivity, Wetherell (2001:395-397) identifies in Conversation Analysis working assumptions that relate to empiricism, carrying out research that aims to reveal an objective truth that can be checked back, both by other researchers and the reader, through the transcripts provided. She describes conversation analytic research as an inductive activity whose goal is to describe what is there and find a pattern without any preconceptions.

As she goes on to claim, other discourse analysts (Ashmore 1989, Wilkinson and Kitzinger 1996, MacMillan 1996, Horton-Salway 2001) are critical of this inductive approach and the empiricist style of Conversation Analysis. Their argument is that identification of patterns always involves some kind of theory or prior assumptions, thus it would be better if conversation analysts reflexively acknowledged them, instead of claiming that their research findings constitute objective descriptions of the way discourse works, void of any theories or prior assumptions about the way the social world is organized.

Conversation Analysis researchers *do* indeed claim that their research falls within the empiricist paradigm, in the sense that the data gathered and subsequently analysed is naturally occurring, with none or the minimum possible researcher obtrusion, and the data transcripts provided permit others to check the validity of the claims made (Psathas 1995, Liddicoat 2007, Silverman 1998, Hutchby and Wooffitt 1999, Heritage and Clayman 2010). Also, as Heritage and Clayman (2010:13) note:

"Once obtained, the data can be analysed and reanalyzed in the context of new research questions and of growing knowledge and can be employed as cumulative data corpora in processes of comparison that accumulate over time."

In that sense, patterns of interaction already identified, may be enriched in light of new research questions, and previous descriptions - and not testimonies about reality as the term "objective truth" used to describe conversation analytic methodology (Wetherell 2001) might imply - of how interactants co-produce structures of social action may be modified. It is against this accumulation of empirical findings, based on talk-in-interaction, that social context and roles are shaped and reshaped through interaction. This is the theory, or previous assumptions that conversation analysts *do* bring into their analyses and reflexively acknowledge.

Apart from that though, as already discussed, *after* the identification of structural features in interaction, which would determine social context and roles as the participants demonstrate them, researchers may bring into focus sociological, or political factors. At this stage, previous life histories, ideologies and values may influence the methodological framework(s) individual researchers may choose to employ in the synergy between Conversation Analysis and other approaches. Although issues revealed by participants in the data should be the main driving force behind any such decisions, the multiplicity and variety of such issues may permit individual values to come into play.

For the purposes of this thesis, for instance, after having identified the structural features of election campaign interviews as demonstrated and co-shaped by Greek journalists and politicians, I discuss how these features re-shape established power relations within the interview. In particular, following Hutchby (2014a), I used Foucault's (1977/1980) notion of power as manifested at the smallest level of interpersonal relationships, to account for power asymmetries and (re)negotiations identified at the micro-level (or micro-context). Also, methodological tools and insights from argumentation theory and equivocation and face management in political interviews were used to account for, mainly, politicians' interactional behaviour at a micro-level, but at the same time to open up wider context issues (see section 5.1.1. below). As indicated in chapter 1, wider context issues were attended to, at a macro-level (or macro-context) by examining the social epistemology of interactants' practices within the institution of TV journalism. In other words, after having identified how the institutionalized practices of election campaign (accountability) news interviews have been co-modified by both interactants, I discuss how they produce knowledge for the citizenry both in relation to the politicians' political style and the kind of politics legitimatised.

Lastly, another criticism referred to by ten Have (1990, 1999) against Conversation Analysis is that in contrast to other qualitative methods, participants are not asked, after the analysis has been carried out, about their own interpretation of what happened, as might be the case in ethnographic research when interviews and/or focus groups can be used. As ten Have notes though, this would be beyond the scope of the research, as the focus of Conversation Analysis is primarily on patterns of interaction and not on participants' explanations of them. As argued above however, this does not mean that *after* patterns have been identified, political or sociological factors cannot be incorporated into the analysis. In the case of news interviews, what is important, is the way the interview is interactionally conducted and the way interactants manoeuver within the institutional limitations of the genre and/or how they adapt these and not their explanation of why this happened. In other words, the focus of Conversation Analysis is to examine *how* participants are "doing being" politicians or journalists and how their patterns of interaction co-construct social order. So, the way to examine how news interviews - as a societal institution - are conducted, is to carefully examine the participants' talk, turn-by-turn to see how they, themselves, co-construct the particular speech-exchange and (re)negotiate their roles in it.

To round off the discussion offered in this section, in order to answer the research questions posed in the introductory chapter of the thesis, that is, how the institutionally determined social order of election campaign interviews is co-constructed by interactants, also having in mind the audience, Conversation Analysis is the main methodology I will use in this thesis. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, specific organizational features of the election campaign interviews that I will focus on in the analysis of selected extracts in the subsequent analytic chapters, are the participants' turn-taking practices and more specifically the design of adversarial sequences. By adversarial sequences, I refer to extended sequences of adversarial challenges, that is, journalistic adversarial questions in any position, politicians' challenging responses to these, namely, interviewees' "hostile" responses (see sections 3.1.2. and 3.2.2 for a detailed discussion of the first two terms), and subsequent journalistic reactions.

Focusing on the specific unit of analysis reflects current discussions on the form(s) the accountability interview is taking, a variant of which is the election campaign interview, previous research on hybridity, and the overarching epistemological claims of Conversation Analysis. As discussed in sections 2.6, 4.1.1 and 4.3.1 respectively, current discussions on whether a new genre is emerging -

through hybridity or not - or an existing one (accountability interview) is being appropriated from within established norms and how participants' interactional practices demonstrated this, centre around the adversarial turn in accountability interviews. To put it differently, any epistemological claims made about the emergent forms of journalism (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011, Montgomery 2011, Ekström 2011, Baym 2013) involved how participants *themselves* make sense of and co-construct the media event and their identities, which *is* the core epistemological claim of Conversation Analysis. Or to use the "bucket" metaphor discussed earlier, participants' interactional actions and how they, themselves make sense of what is happening in the media event, determine the way participants perceive it: as an argument, as a political interview, as both, or as something different altogether.

As already indicated, in chapter 4, based on the interactional practices of both Greek journalists and politicians, as revealed through the micro-analysis of data extracts, I decided to complement Conversation Analysis with two other approaches to news interview analysis. In the next section, I will discuss why and how augmenting conversation analytic research on news interviews with insights from the application of social psychology (equivocation theory and face management in political interviews) and argumentation theory into political news interviews analysis, would benefit all three paradigms.

5.1.1. A methodological synergy and the concept of 'wider context'

As discussed in the previous section, the main concern of conversation analysts in carrying out a turn-by-turn micro-analysis of the unfolding interaction is to examine how any given institutional social order is co-constructed by participants. This is not examined in a vacuum, but having in mind the overhearing audience and how participants' interactional practices constitute actions and shape roles for the ears of the overhearing audience, in the case of news interviews that are the focus of this thesis. In other words, Conversation Analysis examines how the collaboration of participants *makes* the social interaction examined a news interview, which appears *as such* not only for the participants but, more importantly for the audience.

And here the notion of "wider audience" as approached in the work of the Ross Priory group on broadcast talk and discussed by Wieseman (2008:5) and Hutchby (2006), in relation to the appropriation of ordinary talk for institutional purposes, (see also section 2.1) comes into play. As Wiesman notes, although the notion of

(overhearing) audience to which broadcast talk is addressed is a rather complex one, especially with regards to how to account for the listenable properties intentionally built into it (Scannell 1991:1), the importance of broadcast talk in relation to the public sphere is paramount. Wieseman (2008:5) claims, drawing on the work of Scannell (1998) and Tolson (2006), that concepts such as sociability, sincerity and being ordinary underlie the complex construction of identities as exhibited in broadcast talk. These concepts are also connected with the basic requirement that broadcast talk attends to the need of its audience, what Hutchby (2006:13) calls its "broadcasting ethos".

In this discussion of the significance of participants' talk-in-interaction as social practices in broadcast talk with regards to its audience, the work of Bull and his colleagues within Social Psychology and the application of Argumentation Theory on news interviews analysis, attend to these concerns and at the same time pay attention to empirical micro-analyses of news interviews. In that respect, they nicely complement Conversation Analysis by bringing into the discussion issues of the "wider audience" and indirectly the relationship of broadcast talk with media and politics.

Although starting from slightly different premises, the framework of face management theory in political equivocation developed within Social Psychology by Bull and Mayer (1988; 1993), Bull et al (1996), Bull and Eliot (1998) and Bull (1998; 2000; 2003; 2008) has many similarities with Conversation Analysis with regard to the way the political news interview is approached, and the attention paid to textual analysis (see section 3.2.2 for a brief discussion of the framework). Regardless of the difference in terminology used (avoidance-avoidance conflicts compared to adversarial challenges) both paradigms see political interviews as a space where politicians are asked to account for their words and actions; both approaches propose empirical micro-analysis of news interviews; both approaches investigate the nature and function of questions and answers within the unfolding interaction; both are interested in the way questions and answers are handled in the interview, having in mind the audience.

Therefore it is not surprising that the research findings of Bull and his colleagues, that journalistic questions are handled as a means for politicians to appear straightforward but at the same time not damage their public face, are in many ways similar to the ones identified by researchers in the conversation analytic tradition, nicely complementing each other (see section 3.2.2 for further discussion). Furthermore, although not explicitly referring to the different epistemological starting points and subsequent claims made, research findings from the work of Bull and his colleagues

have been used in the discussion of news interviews analysis from conversation analysts, for instance Clayman and Heritage (2002a), Eriksson (2009), Ekström (2009b) and vice versa. So in that sense, my suggested combination of research traditions is not a novelty but a rather "well-established" practice. What constitutes a "novelty" however is my attempt to spell out the commonalities between the two approaches to news interview analysis, and the possible benefits of an explicit synergy between the two.

To begin with, a key idea in the framework of face management in political interviews, as developed by Bull and his colleagues, is that politicians in the course of political interviews have to maintain three faces: their own (political) individual face, the face of the significant others and the face of the party they represent. This idea of the three faces politicians have to maintain during the course of an interview, points towards the significance of the design of the politicians' responses for the overhearing audience. Accounting for the fact that politicians have to maintain multiple faces, while at the same time appearing forthcoming and responsible, can shed light on how they maintain or challenge their public portrayal as set up by journalists' questions (see also section 2.7.1). This idea of performativity, implicit in face management theory in turn, may account for politicians' responses. So, for the purposes of this thesis, incorporating findings from the application of face management in political interviews, within a conversation analytic framework, would aid my discussion of the way politicians orient to their public portrayal, having in mind the wider audience.

On a more general level, a synergy between the two methodologies would benefit both approaches to political news interviews analysis. The focus, from Conversation Analysis, on talk-in-interaction and how the participants themselves exhibit what is relevant and important to them, would enrich research in Social Psychology, strengthening coding and reliability by outweighing the possible disadvantage of using subjective interpretations of individuals who are external to the interaction - a set practice in the field - to determine what makes a face threatening act. In other words, incorporating a conversation analytic perspective would provide social psychologists that qualitatively analyze news interviews (or any other kind of interview for that matter) with an "insider's" and not an "outsider's" perspective on coding and reliability; participants themselves, by means of their answers, would determine the coding of categories enhancing thus reliability.

Equally, as already discussed at the beginning of this section, a social psychological perspective would enrich conversation analytic findings in relation to

possible reasons the given institutional social order is co-constructed by participants in certain ways. For instance, the notion of political face maintenance can account for the design of *politicians' hybrid challenging responses* having in mind the overhearing audience. Or to use again the "bucket theory of context" metaphor, a social psychological perspective would provide a possible "bucket" *after* the "liquid" has been minutely examined through conversation analytic lenses.

As already discussed in Chapter 4, research on hybridity has indicated the importance of argumentative strategies, such as unmitigated direct and personalised argumentative techniques employed by journalists (Hutchby 2011, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011) in current discussions on the form the political news interview is taking, thus highlighting the relevance of using argumentation theory in the analysis of broadcast talk. Because of the different research orientation between the two research paradigms, each sees the use of argumentation strategies through different lenses: argumentation theorists view the use of different kinds of argumentation strategies, whether these are more or less violent, as an in-built feature of dialogic media genres, such as news interviews, while conversation analysts (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) view their presence as a hybrid phenomenon, namely as coming from other genres outside the news interview: mundane arguments and/or radio confrontational talk, or consider the initiation of micro-arguments as a "natural" evolution of the accountability interview (Montgomery 2011).

In a nutshell, the main difference in the way researchers from both paradigms view the employment of argumentative techniques in political news interviews, that also reflects their different epistemology, is whether argumentative techniques are an integral part of the political news interview. Argumentation theorists *do* take the presence of argumentative moves for granted, so their analytic focus is on examining the validity of those argumentative moves (see for instance Lauerbach 2007, Andone 2013). Conversation analysts *do not* take argumentative moves for granted and when exhibited, they try to explain why those moves are there and what their function in the unfolding interaction is; the prevalent "Why that now?" question of Conversation Analysis. Despite the aforementioned differences however, there are several similarities between the two approaches to political news interviews analysis.

The principal similarity is that both approaches see interviews as a jointly constructed interactional event, taking place for the ears of the overhearing audience. This indicates the emphasis both research paradigms place on the dialogic, co-

constructed nature of the talk used by both participants in the interactional event, a fact that accounts for other similarities as well.

Researchers coming from both traditions use similar terminology to talk about similar speakers' actions; Montgomery (2011) talks about assertions and counter assertions, leading to micro-arguments, Hutchby (1996, 2001) talks about action-opposition sequences, when argumentation theorists talk about arguments and counter arguments (Andone 2013) challenges and counter challenges (Toulim 1958, Lauerbach 2007). Conversation analysts talk about adversarial challenges (questions, follow-up questions, tightening the reins on politicians) and responses to them, which correspond to the opening, argumentation and concluding stages of the news interview, in argumentation theory terms (see Andone 2013:60 Figure 4).

Researchers from both traditions see the functions the above strategies have in the unfolding interaction and in shaping participant roles, in similar ways. Regarding participant roles, in conversation analytic terms, journalists ask difficult questions trying to hold politicians accountable and at times they initiate micro-arguments in order to perform their watchdog role more adequately. Politicians on their part might try to resist answering the questions asked and/or initiate micro-arguments themselves (Montgomery 2011) in order to outperform journalists. Alternatively, journalists may use everyday argumentative techniques in order to put pressure on politicians with the result that the emerging exchange verges on something between an interview and an argument (Hutchby 2013, 2017). Argumentation theorists, on the other hand, starting from the premise that question and answer sequences create ideal rational arguments, where putting pressure on politicians in expected, examine how both interview participants, perform a (more or less violent) argument in order to convince the audience of the validity of their claims.

On a general level, a synergy between Conversation Analysis and Argumentation Theory, as van Rees (2007:1459-62) claims, would benefit Argumentation Theory by providing empirical evidence on how argumentation is organised, produced and understood by participants. Conversation Analysis on the other hand, can benefit from a synergy with Argumentation Theory as the latter can provide "a theoretical apparatus with which they (conversation analysts) can describe what they see" (2007:1463). Although not explicitly stating so, Hutchby (1996) makes similar claims in relation to a possible synergy between Argumentation Theory and

Conversation Analysis in his examination of argument as an interactional process in radio talk. As he puts it:

"once we shift the focus toward opposition as the key feature of arguments, we can begin to account for how apparently […] non-argumentative actions […] can be responded by others in a way that makes them the starting point for stretches of argumentative talk" (1996:21-22).

For the purposes of my thesis in particular, incorporating insights from argumentation theory research in political interviews analysis, enabled me to account for the interactional moves made by both participants and their subsequent roles in the unfolding interaction. This applies especially in cases where micro-arguments are initiated by either party (Montgomery 2011) and/or in cases of verbal violence (Luginbühl 2007) exhibited by politicians. When trying to account for the fluctuation of interactants' roles and describe the roles taken, the notions of "protagonist" to describe the politician and "antagonist" to describe the journalist, taken from argumentation theory (Andone: 2013:7) have enabled me best to account for the participants' "established" roles and subsequently to describe the power and role reversal evident through the participants' interactional moves. Furthermore, using the notion of *ad hominem* attacks, attacks towards not the question but the person (Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992), taken from argumentation theory, has enabled me to better account for Greek politicians' hybrid challenging moves and differentiate these from challenging moves having already been identified both within conversation analytic research (for instance Clayman and Heritage 2002a) and social psychology (Bull 2003).

To sum up, I decided to complement the principal conversation analytic methodology to be applied in the analysis of data extracts in the analytic chapters with methodological tools from social psychology and argumentation theory. In the subsequent discussion I will also incorporate Foucault's (1977/1980) notion of power as manifested at the smallest level of interpersonal relationships, to account for possible power asymmetries and (re)negotiations identified at the micro-level. As argumentation theorists (Andone), social psychologists (Bull and his colleagues in particular) and conversation analysts (such as Clayman and Heritage) I do investigate political news interviews as a dialogic form, thus I share their interest in both interactants' practices

and the effect these have on both the unfolding interaction, the political news interview, and on the "wider audience".

Unlike argumentation theorists though, I will not focus on the validity/fallacies of the arguments presented, but on the interactional ways arguments are being put forward. I do not claim that in this thesis I will use the whole theoretical apparatus of argumentation theory in the investigation of the argumentative techniques participants in my dataset may employ; far from it. In the thesis I will selectively employ some notions used in previous (argumentation analysis) studies, as a first step towards a fruitful synergy between Conversation Analysis and Argumentation Theory, both in relation to the functions of argumentative/confrontational techniques that participants employ in the unfolding interaction, and in political news interviews in general, regarding the socially shared knowledge produced.

In the next part of this chapter, I will present particulars about the dataset (time frame, key actors involved, data selection and sampling issues) followed by a brief discussion of transcription and translation issues. The second part finishes with an overview of the research questions and the ways they will be investigated in the subsequent analytic chapters.

5.2. Context and Data

As already indicated in chapter 1, my dataset comprises televised election campaign interviews conducted in 2012 in Greece. According to the three models of media and politics developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004:67; 73; 89-142), the Greek media system is labelled as the *Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model* (for a discussion of the other two models see Hallin and Mancini 2004:74-75; 143-248). All Southern European countries, France being an exception in many ways, fall under this model and its basic characteristics are that there is a strong focus on political life and a tradition of commentary-oriented or advocacy journalism, where journalists depending on the media corporation they work for, support or criticise the government, the opposition or both.

In the Mediterranean countries the state plays a major role in the media world by being the owner, regulator and funder of media, thus public broadcasting tends to be party-politicized. Commercial media owners often have political ties or alliances and it is common for journalists to become politicians and vice versa. Although journalists' unions cut across political lines they are quite weak and codes of ethics, although in

place, have not become strongly institutionalized in the culture and practice of journalism (Hallin and Mancini 2004:98; 111-114). [9]

In Greece in particular, the political majority has effective control of public broadcasting while commercial broadcasting is dominated by industrialists with a long tradition of using media as a means of putting pressure on politicians (see also Dimitras 1997, Papathanasopoulos 2001).

These frequently antagonistic relationships between the state (and consequently the ruling party), journalists and industrialists as the owners of commercial broadcasters, entailing various conflicting political and economic interests, create a unique media system in the Mediterranean countries; a media system where the public broadcaster - being state regulated - is always controlled by the ruling party and commercial broadcasters, depending on their relationship with the ruling party, criticise or support the government.

However, as Hallin and Mancini (2004:271-273) note, in Western Europe, North America and the Mediterranean countries there was a significant shift in the 1960s and 1970s from a form of journalism that was relatively deferential towards a relatively more active, independent form of journalism (see section 2.6 for a similar discussion by Conversation Analysis researchers). This shift varied in form and extent but seems to have been quite generalized across national boundaries in the countries of all the three models. It involved the conception of the media as a collective watchdog of public power and a conception of the journalists as representative of a generalized public opinion (see also Lloyd 2004 for a similar claim in relation to the adversarial turn in British journalists' questioning practices).

Specifically, in all of the Mediterranean countries this shift resulted in an increased tendency to frame events as moral scandals and for journalists to present themselves as speaking for an outraged public against the corrupt political elite and a deeply rooted decline of traditional loyalties to political parties (this is similar to Hutchby's (2017:110) comment about American journalists in the Hybrid Political Interview having emotional outbursts, especially of anger, towards politicians and, under certain circumstances, also similar to his notion of "tribunership", especially if journalists decide to explicitly take sides, see section 4.1.1 for further discussion). This shift in journalistic practices has resulted in the increase of the social and professional

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[9] See Appendix A: 207 for an excerpt of the Greek code of ethics for journalists.

status of Greek journalists. As Papathanasopoulos (2001:512) puts it, echoing Patrona's (2009, 2011, 2012) findings in relation to the authoritative discourse of Greek journalists in prime time TV news:

> "Television journalists and especially television news anchorpersons have become public figures. They have adopted the role of authorities, i.e. they present their views and interpret social and political reality. They do this by presenting themselves both as professionals with the right to make judgments and as representatives of the people. By taking on both these roles, they increase their public profile and authority"

To sum up, as Mc Quail (1994:28-9) claims, and has already been discussed above, there is evidence of an "international media culture", which can be recognized in similar standards worldwide. So, although my data seems to be quite different from the majority of previous research presented in the literature review chapters, being specific to the Greek or South European media systems, the patterns identified may be applicable in other media systems as well.

5.2.1. The political situation in Greece before the 2012 elections

The political situation in Greece before the 2012 general elections was, to say the least, turbulent. In October 2009, the Socialist Party of Greece (PASOK), under George Papandreou's leadership, had won the general elections with an overwhelming majority, using the 'catchy' slogan: "There is money (to be spent)". Six months later, after having admitted that the country was in financial crisis and having imposed the first round of severe austerity measures, on April 23th 2010 George Papandreou addressed the nation and announced that the country would turn to the EU/IMF for financial help. Subsequently, between April 2010 and October 2011, several things happened: the country signed the first bailout agreement and two further sets of austerity bills were voted. [10] Simultaneously, New Democracy, a conservative party, one of the two major political forces until then, began to fracture. Several members, who refused to vote for the austerity bills, were expelled from the party and subsequently formed their own parties, such as Panos Kammenos, who formed "Independent Greeks".

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[10] See a relevant article in *The Guardian*, available at:
http://www.theguardian.com/business/2011/oct/31/eurozone-debt-crisis-greece-crisis-timeline (accessed March 26 2016)

During the spring-summer of 2011, in line with the anti-austerity movement of "*indignados*" in Spain, a similar movement called "Κίνημα Αγανακτισμένων Πολιτών" (Indignant Citizens Movement) or "κίνημα της πλατείας" (Movement of the urban square) started in Greece. Thousands of people demonstrated in front of the Greek Parliament in Syntagma Square from late May to early July, especially during the days leading up to June 29th 2011 when the third set of austerity measures was voted in.[11] General strikes took place throughout the country.

On November 6th 2011 George Papandreou resigned, and on November 11th an interim coalition government was appointed, under the premiership of Lukas Papademos - an economist and former Governor of the Bank of Greece and Vice President of the European Central Bank. The mission of the interim government was to finish off the swap bond offer, finalise the details of the second bailout agreement and then announce an election date. [12] The election date was set for May 6th 2012, but as no party won absolute majority a new government could not be formed. Subsequent discussions for the formation of a coalition government failed, and an interim government was appointed to lead the country to a second round of general elections that took place on June 17th 2012.

The outcome of the May 6th elections was unpreceded in many ways. First of all, it was the first time after the restoration of democracy in Greece in 1974 that the two major political parties (New Democracy and PASOK) which had alternated in power for almost 40 years had lost so many voters. It was the first time that a left-wing party (SYRIZA), had increased its popularity to such an extent (4.6% in 2009) that it became the second largest party in Parliament gaining 17% of people's votes.[13] It was the first time that an extreme far right party (Golden Dawn) rose from non-importance (0.03% in 2009) to gain 7% of people's votes[14].

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[11] See a relevant article in *New York Times* , available at:
http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/17/world/europe/17greece.html?_r=0 (accessed March 26 2016)
[12] See two relevant articles in *The Guardian* available at:
http://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/mar/09/greek-debt-crisis-timeline and
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/10/lucas-papademos-greece-interim-coalition (accessed 26 March 2016)
[13] SYRIZA established its position as the second largest party after the June elections, with the conservatives (New Democracy) being the first and the socialist party (PASOK) taking the third place. As again no party gained absolute majority after the June 2012 elections, a coalition government was formed with the cooperation of New Democracy, PASOK and DIMAR.
[14] See also the commentaries by Featherstone (2012), Monastiriotis (2012) and Konstantinidis (2012) at Greece@LSE, available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/greeceatlse/2012/05/08/greece-implodes-as-protests-drown-out-its-european-vocation/, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/greeceatlse/2012/05/08/no-dilemma/ and

The May-June 2012 Greek election results paved the way not only for a new post-dictatorial politics, but also for the introduction of new "key players" in the political arena. The way in which these new political players and especially Alexis Tsipras, treated the media and were treated by them during interviews conducted in both pre-election periods comprising my dataset, (May-June) adds an interesting comparative element to my research.

5.2.2. The dataset and sampling issues

Because the focus of the thesis is on how hybridity is exhibited in journalistic adversarial challenges and politicians' responses to those challenges, it was important that the interviews to be selected for analysis would involve various journalists and TV channels. This avoids any possibility that adversarial challenges were the result of political bias on the journalists' part. For this reason the criteria for choosing the interviews for analysis were the following:

1) All interviews were conducted by leading journalists, [15] 2) these journalists were employed by a range of different TV channels: one of the (then) public TV channels (NET), the two most popular national commercial TV channels (MEGA TV, ANT1 TV), and another commercial channel (SKAI TV), 3) the same journalist should have interviewed at least two different political party leaders and the same political party leader should have been interviewed by at least two different journalists, 4) the topic of the interviews should be either the parties' general political programmes or the parties' political agenda on various political, social and financial issues, 5) the time span of the interviews should be between the beginning and the end of both pre-election periods, 12/04/2012-04/05/2012 and 19/05/2012-15/06/2012, respectively, [16] 5) the interviews should have been given during special pre-election programmes in the above TV channels, or incorporated in the TV channels' evening news bulletins.

As it was practically impossible to record in real time all the interviews that were broadcast at the same time on different TV channels, I decided to collect data from the political parties' Web TVs. All Greek political parties, with the exception of SYRIZA and the Communist Party, have their own Web Channels, where all the interviews given during both pre-elections periods were uploaded. In order to make sure that the whole interview and not just particular extracts were uploaded, I double checked the beginning, end and length of the interviews with the ones shown on the relevant TV channels' archives and included in my dataset only the ones that were not cut. With regards to the interviews given by the leaders of SYRIZA and the Communist Party, I tried to locate as many videos as I could find that had been uploaded onto You Tube and then followed a similar procedure; double checked their length with the original interviews on the relevant TV channels' archives and included in my dataset only the ones that were not cut. Applying the set criteria detailed above, I collected 24 interviews. These comprised 13 one-on-one interviews, 8 two-on-one interviews (two journalists interviewing one political party leader) and 3 three-on-one interviews (three journalists interviewing one political party leader).

As my focus was on "prototypical" one-on-one interviews, the final dataset used in this thesis, consists of only the thirteen one-on-one televised election campaign interviews. These interviews involve leaders of six out of the seven political parties that won seats in the 2012 parliament, after the second, June elections. Nikos Michaloliakos, leader of the far right ultranationalist party, (Golden Dawn) that was the seventh party to win seats in the 2012 parliament, gave *only* one, one-on-one interview to a journalist who did not meet *any* of the set criteria, so this interview was not included in the dataset. In the order of (the then) popular vote these leaders are: Antonis Samaras (the then leader of *New Democracy*, a Conservative Party), Alexis Tsipras (leader of *SYRIZA*, Coalition of the Radical Left), Evangelos Venizelos (the then leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, *PASOK*), Panos Kammenos (leader of the right-wing populist party, *Independent Greeks*), Fotis Kouvelis, (the then leader of DIMAR, the *Democratic Left*), Aleka Papariga (the then leader of the Communist Party of Greece, *KKE*). For a detailed description of the one-on-one interviews comprising the dataset, see Table 3 Appendix B: 208. Details about interview number and distribution by TV programme and by political party leader and journalist/TV channel can be found as Figures 1 & 2, in Appendix B: 209 & 210, respectively.

Out of the thirteen interviews comprising my dataset, however, only six exhibited integrated hybridity *both* in the design of journalists' adversarial challenges *and* in politicians' challenging responses. The other seven interviews either did not exhibit integrated hybridity in both participants' talk or exhibited other patterns of hybridity *only* in journalists' talk, that is, hybridity as collaborative and not adversarial behaviour; these patterns are beyond the scope of this thesis but have been analysed elsewhere (see Kantara 2017). The resulting mini-dataset comprised interviews conducted by five high-profile journalists, working both for the public broadcaster and commercial ones, thus counterbalancing any possibility of bias. The journalists involved are: Yiannis Pretenteris, Elli Stai, George Autias, Maria Houkli, and Stelios Kouloglou. [17] Analysing only these six interviews, enabled me to focus on the hybrid interactional practices of the three *mainstream* key players of the period: Antonis Samaras, Evangelos Venizelos, Alexis Tsipras. Although Alexis Tsipras as the leader of a radical left-wing party with a non-centrist "niche" ideology, in Adams et al's (2006: 513) terms, might be considered non-mainstream, since he aimed to become one of the key players of the period, I hypothesized that he would try to appropriate his performance to suit a more mainstream audience, so I consider him as mainstream. The six interviews, extracts of which will be analysed in the analytic chapters, including two of the most viewed one-on-one interviews of the period, are set out in Table 2 on the next page. [18] The extracts analysed, with my subtitles in English, and the six interviews (in Greek) can be found on a DVD attached on the inside of the back cover of this thesis.

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[17] The journalists' status is reinforced by their being selected to present the election nights by the TV channels they work(ed) for. Their popularity and people's "trust" was reinforced by the respective viewer ratings during both election nights as presented in two articles published by *To Vima* newspaper entitled "The ballots of viewing rates" and "NET won the election night" published on May 7th 2012 and June 18th 2012 respectively (available in Greek at: http://www.tovima.gr/media/article/?aid=456534 and http://www.tovima.gr/media/article/?aid=462934. My translation of the viewer ratings, as presented in the above newspaper articles, (in descending order – from the most highly viewed to the least) is given below, with the names of the journalists included in my dataset in bold and the names of the most popular TV channels (both public and commercial) in italics:
May 6th: *MEGA* 24% (hosts: Olga Tremi, PavlosTzimas, **Yiannis Pretenteris**), *ANT1* 17% (hosts: **Maria Houkli**, Stratis Liarelis), *NET* 15% (host: **Elli Stai**),
June 16th: *NET* 18,2% (hosts: **Elli Stai**, Yiannis Politis, Nikos Felekis), *MEGA* 17% (hosts: Olga Tremi, PavlosTzimas, **Yiannis Pretenteris**), *ANT 1* 15,4% (hosts: **Maria Houkli**, Stratis Liarelis).
[18] According to a newspaper article published on December 30 2012, in the newspaper *Ethnos* entitled "News and Current Affairs programmes, the most viewed TV programmes in 2012" the most viewed *one-on-one* interviews were the following: 1) Mr Samaras' interview to Yiannis Pretenteris broadcast on MEGA on April 9th after the 8 o'clock news (857.000 viewers) 2) the interview between Mr Tsipras and Stelios Kouloglou broadcast on NET on May 16th after the 9 o' clock news (813,000 viewers). the article is available in Greek, at: http://www.ethnos.gr/entheta.asp?catid=22807&subid=2&pubid=63759440 (accessed March 28 2016)

Politician	Journalist	TV Channel	Date and Time
Antonis Samaras (conservative)	Yiannis Pretenteris	MEGA (commercial)	9/4/2012 (40:02)
Evangelos Venizelos (socialist)	Elli Stai	NET (public)	1/5/2012 (53:13)
	George Autias	SKAI (commercial)	21/4/2012 (35:10)
Alexis Tsipras (radical left)	Maria Houkli	ANT1 (commercial)	25/4/2012, (13:14)
	Stelios Kouloglou	NET (public)	16/5/2012 (1:16:53)
	George Autias	SKAI (commercial)	20/5/2012 (42:30)

Table 2 Interviews to be analysed

As indicated in section 5.1, my unit of analysis, that seems to be the bone of contention among researchers in the field of broadcast talk regardless of whether they examined the functions of hybridity or not, comprises extended sequences of journalistic adversarial challenges, politicians' challenging responses, and journalistic reactions to them. As discussed in section 3.1.2, adversarial challenges are regarded as all journalistic questions that exhibit *any* dimension of adversarialness in first, third, or subsequent positions and were regarded as such by the interviewees themselves by explicitly saying so and/or through their challenges. As challenging responses are regarded politicians' hostile responses that even if challenging the appropriacy of the question, never *overtly personalized* the attack, maintaining thus neutralism (see section 3.2.2 for further discussion).

Finally, regarding anonymization issues I decided against using pseudonyms to protect the participants' identity for two reasons. Firstly, because the televised interviews examined did not involve vulnerable participants but public figures discussing not private matters but matters of public concern. Secondly, as the names of the TV channels and dates of the interviews are given, identifying the politicians and journalists involved would be very easy for any interested party, since the interviews are on the public domain intended to be widely viewed, so using pseudonyms to protect the participants' identity would be pointless (see also Townsend and Wallace 2016:13 for a similar discussion).

5.2.4. Transcription and Translation

The six interviews have been transcribed using Conversation Analysis conventions, following Hutchby and Wooffitt (1999), Glenn (2003) and Schegloff (2007). For a detailed account see p.vii. All interviews have been transcribed in the standard (not phonetic) Greek alphabet and then the excerpts included in the analytic chapters have been presented in the original language alongside my translation in English.

Following ten Have's (1999:94-97) suggestion I made transcriptions in rounds: I started by transcribing all the interviews in my dataset in standard orthography, marking only overlaps and latching, and after having identified areas of interest i.e. hybrid forms of adversarial challenges and responses, I went back to the audio and/or video files to add the various details concerning the *how's* (ten Have 1999:95), (e.g. rising, falling intonation, speaker emphasis, laughter, smile voice). [19] Having done so, does not mean that, in spite of my best intentions, I treated the transcript or the audio/video material through "a frame of innocence" (Ashmore and Reed 2000). In other words, I do not claim that my repeated *listening* was *hearing* (Ashmore and Reed 2000:9), that is, that while listening to the recordings to produce a transcript that was as faithful as possible to what I was hearing on the audio files, I did not police the tape, being thus not innocently hearing what was happening. I do claim though, that based on the research aims that underpinned my methodological decisions, I tried to represent as accurately and consistently as possible what was recorded on the audio/video files both the first time I "innocently" heard them and the second and subsequent times I listened to them.

Whilst as Duranti claims (1997), cited in Ten Have (1999:81), using standard orthography when transcribing involves an idealisation of speech in terms of standard language, I decided to use standard orthography in my transcriptions, for various reasons. The first one is that, as ten Have (1999:81) notes, most readers are used to reading texts in standard orthography thus transcribing in phonetic alphabet would alienate the majority of potential non-academic readers. A second closely related reason is that as my focus is on the ways journalists pose adversarial challenges and the ways politicians try to avoid answering them, capturing phonetically in the transcription regional variation or everyday informality would not be locally relevant so it would not reveal interactional patterns significant to my research. This decision is in line with the

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[19] I used a transcription pedal to transcribe all interviews. After manually identifying points of interest, I revisited them and transcribed the selected extracts in detail.

claims made by Ochs (1979) and Coates and Thornborrow (1999) that decisions about how to transcribe are theoretical ones; the same data can be transcribed in many different ways, depending on the focus of the transcriber. As my focus is on conversational sequence organisation (asking and answering questions) using standard orthography in my transcriptions, suits my purpose best.

Although, as ten Have (1999) notes, the methodological literature of Conversation Analysis hardly discusses problems of translation, a notable exception is Liddicoat (2007: 45-49), who suggests that the issue of translating and presenting materials is not at all straightforward. Translating talk-in-interaction, where the focus is not on content but on structure, is a very difficult task as frequently the word order in the original, signifies the importance placed by speakers in specific words, and this cannot always be maintained in the translation.

The greatest challenge I faced when translating the extracts to be included in the thesis was to keep a balance between being faithful to the original text and producing a readable English translation. In other words, I frequently had to make decisions regarding how best to communicate speakers' choices to the reader of the translated text, but at the same time, for analytical purposes, being faithful to the original text. As Honig (1997:17) claims, a literal (word by word) translation could be seen as doing more justice to what speakers have said and allow the reader to interpret the text on their own. At the same time, however, such practices can reduce readability. A more "elegant", free translation that "reads well", on the other hand, has several implications. As Rubin and Rubin (1995: 273) claim, even in one's language, editing quotations involves the risk of misinterpreting the speaker's meaning, thus losing information from the original. In this thesis, I decided to do both; my initial translations were literal, but when retaining the original structure presented comprehensibility problems, as checked at various points while presenting my research to various audiences, I went back and changed the structure, and/or gave further details during the analysis of a specific excerpt, such as adding clarification comments on the transcript or, more frequently, rendered the literal translation in the analysis of the extract indicating the changes made in the transcript for readability purposes.

In the process of transcribing the texts to be included in my analysis, apart from having to frequently go back to the audio and video files to try and add the *how's* in my transcriptions, as mentioned above, I had also to go back to the translation to modify it numerous times, without claiming that I managed to produce the "perfect" translation

that might not be modified in the future. I would, therefore, argue that with regards to translation processes in transcription, the claim made by Coates and Thornborrow (1999:596) that: "A transcript can only be the best version at that moment" applies also to transcript translation.

In relation to presentation issues I decided not to adopt any of the options presented by ten Have (1999:93), namely: 1) present the materials only in the language of publication, 2) present materials in the language of publication in the body of the text and give the original transcript in an appendix, 3) present the materials in the language of publication in the body of the text, with the original transcript given immediately below it, as a separate block, or the other way round, 4) present the materials in the original language, with a translation into the language of the publication immediately below it, line by line 5) present the materials in the original language, but with first a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and then a translation into the language of the publication immediately below it, but follow Liddicoat (2007:47) instead.

That is, I decided to present the two texts, the original and the English translation, side by side so as to enable the reader to easily follow overlapping speech, latching and other conversational features in both languages and not be inhibited by the distance between either the texts and/or the line after line translation. This decision was also influenced by what Edwards (1993:6) calls principles of readability: "It makes sense for transcript designers to draw upon reader expectations in their choice of conventions." As she goes on to mention, one of the cues used widely in print to channel reader attention and shape perception, is spatial arrangement. Taking into consideration, that the majority of bilingual texts are parallel, for instance in airline magazines and bilingual announcements in universities, with the texts presented next to each other, and that readers of bilingual texts are used to that spatial arrangement, I decided to follow it in the presentation of my transcription. This decision may be characterised a politicised decision, as discussed by Bucholtz (2000) in relation to transcription, applied here to presentation decisions. That might be so, in the sense that by applying this format, no language transcript is given more prominence by being placed below or above the other, but the Greek text is more prominent through left to rights reading norms.

5.3. Chapter Summary

In the first part of this chapter I have presented the principal methodology to be followed in this thesis (Conversation Analysis) and I have argued that incorporating insights from social psychology and the application of argumentation theory in news interview analysis would enrich conversation analytic research in two interrelated areas. Firstly, by accounting for the significance certain actions interactants indicate are important to them in relation to their public portrayal. Secondly, by accounting for the participants' interactional practices in relation to how the event is staged for the ears ands eyes of the overhearing audience. In turn, incorporating tools from conversation analysis into social psychology and argumentation theory approaches to political interviews analysis would enrich the latter by providing insights into how the participants themselves organise, produce and understand the media event.

In the second part, I have provided a brief overview of the socio-political political situation and the key political players in Greece back in 2012, to place the subsequent analysis in context. As indicated, because Greece was one of the countries deeply affected by the global financial crisis, this was transformed into a domestic crisis both in the financial and political arena resulting in the collapse of the two party system and the emergence of new key players in Greek politics. In the last section, I have given particulars of the dataset and discussed selection, transcription and translation issues.

The way hybridity is manifested in Greek journalists' and politicians' interactional practices, whether these practices modified election campaign interview norms and whether, because of the crisis, Greek politicians' adopted mainstream populism (Snow and Moffitt 2012, Moffitt 2015) will be explored in the analytic chapters. In particular, the subsequent analytic chapters will examine: 1) how integrated hybridity is used by journalists in the design of their adversarial challenges 2) how integrated hybridity is used by politicians in their challenging responses, 3) how both parties manage the introduction of hybrid frames by the other speaker.

The numbering of extracts starts afresh in each chapter and in my analysis I discuss participants' whole turns and not lines within turns. In the analysis of extracts, following Clayman (2001:406-407) and Clayman and Heritage (2002a:241-242) I will use the term "evade/evasive" for actions that are interactionally explicitly treated as inadequate by the participants themselves and other terms (resist, sidestep, agenda-shift) to describe responses that depart from the agenda but have not been interactionally treated as such by the participants.

6. Hybridity in journalists' adversarial challenges

Chapter 6 enriches research on how hybridity is manifested *specifically* in journalists' talk while posing adversarial challenges, the notion I introduced in section 3.1.2 to refer to challenging questions in any position, in two ways.

Firstly, it exemplifies how Greek journalists within a specific type of adversarial challenge *sanctioning interviewee resistance*, i.e. adversarial follow up questions or comments in third or subsequent position used by journalists to expose politicians' evasiveness to the public (Greatbatch 1986a:451-453, and Romaniuk 2013a:157-159), extend the hybrid argumentative techniques identified by Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) and Patrona (2011) and presented in section 4.1.1. In particular, Greek journalists within the design of their prefatory statements, those being : "additional statements that lead up to the question itself" (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:104), blend institutional talk with already identified hybrid argumentative techniques, and also incorporate cultural opposition strategies from ordinary interaction. This practice results in the creation of a distinct type of hybrid adversarial challenge where accountability questioning practices are blended with culture and non-culture specific mundane argumentative forms and meta-discursive talk. In the thesis I use the term metadiscourse in the way Montgomery (2011:42-43) uses it, as talk that refers back either to interview talk (previous turns) or the norms of the interview.

Secondly, chapter 6 demonstrates that Greek journalists employ *integrated hybridity* that is, they "merge different frames into one and the same utterance, sequence or episode of talk" (Ekström 2011:137) in more complex ways than the ones reported in relevant research (see sections 4.1.1 and 4.3.1). Through the analysis of the extracts in this chapter I will demonstrate how Greek journalists, by merging laughter with every-day confrontational and "serious" institutional talk within extended sequences of adversarial challenges, marry the definitions of hybridity as a means to start an argument (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017 and, indirectly, Patrona 2011) and as a jovial journalistic resource to put pressure on the politician (Ekström 2011 and Baym 2013). This mixing of the two definitions offered in the literature reviewed in chapter 4, sets the ground for the analytic chapters to follow, as those chapters will further discuss and exemplify how *integrated hybridity* is manifested by *both* journalists and politicians in the extracts to be analysed. In that way, this and the next two analytic chapters will offer data-driven support (through the interactional manifestation of interactional

hybridity) for my definition of *hybridity* as the appropriation of ordinary confrontational talk, laughter and talk related to other broadcast genres (televised talk shows, debates) by *both* politicians and journalists within the activities of making and responding to adversarial challenges during election campaign interviews.

The three extracts to be presented, involve interviews between the three key political party leaders of the period: Alexis Tsipras, Evangelos Venizelos, Antonis Samaras, and three journalists. Two of the journalists (Stelios Kouloglou, Elli Stai) were working for the public TV channel and Yiannis Pretenters for a commercial one.

6.1. Sanctioning interviewee resistance

As discussed in section 3.1.1, journalists frequently monitor politicians' evasiveness and in third or subsequent positions ask (adversarial) follow-up questions, pursuits and/or explicitly sanction interviewee resistance in answering. As claimed by Huls and Varwijk (2011) all these journalistic practices show *persistence*. By doing so, journalists demonstrate to the politician as well as to the audience that the answer given was inadequate, thus exercising adversarialness.

In the following extracts journalists incorporate hybridity - in the form of *personalised meta-discursive talk* and *every-day Greek talk opposition strategies* in the design of their prefatory statements, to sanctioning interviewee resistance moves. Personalisation in this thesis, based on the way *both* participants in my analysis exhibited it, is manifested through the use of binary forms of address, e.g ('I' vs 'you'), see also Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017), Patrona (2011) and section 4.1.1, to set the ensuing interaction on personal terms. As discussed in section 4.3.4, based on my particiapnts' practices, I approach hybridity - and subsequently personalisation as one of its features - under the themes of argumentation, antagonism and power struggle in the news interview. In that sense, the way personalisation is approached differs from the way Thornborrow and Montgomery (2010:102-103) approach the use of ('I vs you') under the themes of sincerity, emotion and expressivity.

As the focus of this first section is very narrow i.e examining prefatory statements, I will not focus on whole turns, but just on specific lines. From section 6.2 and throughout chapters 7 & 8, journalistic adversarial questioning and politician's challenging responses would be discussed in terms of extended turns as indicated in chapter 5.

The first extract is taken from an interview between Antonis Samaras (the then leader of New Democracy, a conservative party) and Yiannis Pretenteris, working for a commercial TV channel (MEGA TV). The interview was broadcast after the 8 o'clock evening news on April 9th 2012, before the first round of elections. Several turns before the specific excerpt the journalist had asked the politician a question that was asked by all journalists in my dataset to the three major players of the period (Antonis Samaras, Evangelos Venizelos, Alexis Tsipras): with whom would they form a coalition government if their party would not achieve absolute majority. In this specific interview the question asked was whether Antonis Samaras would form a coalition government with the socialist party (PASOK). Just before the excerpt, the journalist had reformulated his initial question and asked the politician whether one of the problems in collaborating with PASOK was whether they would agree that he would be the Prime Minister (instead of the PASOK leader). The politician evaded answering by explaining why he wanted the absolute majority, making a political point in Bull's (2003:120) terms; "talking up his own side". At this point the journalist overlaps.

Extract 6.1

Audio: 34:36-34:30, Video: 5:35-5:39, Date: 09/04/2012

1	Δημ:	[μου ξεφύ-, μου μου μου]	Jour:	[you evad-, you you you]
2		μου ξεφύγατε όμως λίγο		evaded a little though the
3		στην ερώτηση. γιατί η		question. because the question
4		ερώτηση αφορούσε τη		was about Sama↓ras'
5		πρωθυπουργία Σαμα↓ρά=		premiership=

The journalist metadiscursively comments on the inadequacy of the politician's response, by characterizing what the politician *did* in the previous turn 'you evaded the question though', in lines 1-2, before explicitly referencing the initial question in lines 3-5: 'because the question was about Samaras' premiership'. The meta-discursive prefatory statement is set within a *personalisation* framework that was discussed by Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) as indicative of mundane confrontational talk, intergrating thus hybridity in the journalist's adversarial challenge. [20]

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[20] I will use the term "framework" to refer to the the reciprocal participatory framework (Goffman 1974), journalists and politicians switch to when including different frames within their institutional activities of asking and responding to adversarial challenges.

The personalised framework is specifically exhibited through the *marked* use of the *first person object* pronoun 'μου' in lines 1&2 in the Greek text, in juxtaposition with the *second person* plural inflection (-τε) in the verb 'ξεφύγατε-evaded' in line 2. [21] It was not possible to render the exact meaning of the utterance in English, so '*μου*' as the second object of the verb '*ξεφύγατε*-evaded' had to be dropped in the translation. A possible paraphrase is 'you evaded *me* the question'.

The use of the first person pronoun '*μου*' is marked, as the verb '*ξεφύγατε*-evade' does not take two complements. This is so, as according to Clairis and Babiniotis (1999:228) if a personal pronoun is used as an object with transitive verbs indicating action, such as '*ξεφεύγω*', its function is to stress the recipient of the action. And that is what the use of '*μου*' indicates in the journalist's prefatory statement in this extract: it indicates the journalist as the recipient of the politician's evasive action, thus giving a personal aspect to the interaction, as if it is not for the ears of the overhearing audience but a "personal discussion".

What differentiates the journalist's personalised meta-discursive prefatory statement from similar ones reported in previous research in the Greek context, see Kantara (2012:178; 181-182) for a discussion of this personalised technique to expose the politician's evasiveness to the public, is the use of the diminutive '*λίγο -a little*' in line 2. The use of the diminutive to indicate a slight divergence, is placed *after* the journalist's personalised hybrid argumentative move and although – even indirectly – positively evaluates the politician's previous action thus mitigating the force of the sanction in the prefatory statement, does not annul its adversarial function; which is to make the politician and the overhearing audience aware of the fact that he, as the journalist, noted the politician's evasiveness. The next extract demonstrates a similar sanctioning interviewee resistance technique exhibited by a different journalist.

Extract 6.2, comes from the beginning of an interview between Alexis Tsipras the leader of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left) and Stelios Kouloglou, a journalist working for the public TV channel NET. The interview was broadcast on May 16th during an evening pre-election programme after the negotiations for the formation of a coalition government had failed, and the second round of elections was about to be announced. Six turns before the specific excerpt the journalist had asked the

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[21] Greek is a pro-drop language where person is indicated by the verb inflection (Brian 1994), so the second person pronoun 'εσείς-you' as the subject is not clearly marked but 'embedded' within the verb.

politician the same question Yiannis Pretenteris asked Antonis Samaras in Extract 6.1: with whom would he form a coalition government if his party would not achieve absolute majority. The politician in his response made a political point, "offers political analysis", an evasive answer in Bull's (2003:119) terms. In particular he talked at length about the impact the rise of his party had in Europe and how a potential victory in the second round of elections would change the status quo in Europe. At this point the journalist latches.

Extract 6.2

Audio: 44:54-44:30   Video: 31:57-32:22   Date: 16/5/2012

1	Δημ:	=εντάξει, αλλά αυτό δεν απ-	Jour:	=ok, but this has not ans-
2		αυτό, (.) ωραία ήταν η		this, (.) your answer was
3		απάντηση που δώσατε, (.)		fine, (.)
4		ε, αλλά δεν, δεν		eh, but you have not, not,
5		απαντήσατε στο ερώτημα		answered ↓my question.
6		↓μου. διότι το ερώτημα μου		because my question
7		↑είναι, εντάξει όλα ↓αυτά.		↑is, that's all ↓fine.
8		είναι ↓καλά. πράγματι,		It's↓good indeed,
9		έπαιξε ↓ρόλο, και τα λοιπά.		it played a ↓role etc.
10		με ποιες πολιτικές		with which political
11		δυνάμεις, εσείς, θα		powers, will, you, form (.)
12		↓κάνετε, (.) συμμαχία, (…)		an ↓alignment, (…)

The extract begins with the journalist characterising what the politician *has not been doing,* in line 1 by using the disjunctive '*αλλά*-but' a contrastive marker that previous research has shown to be used to mark both pursuits (Romaniuk 2013a:150) and adversarial challenges (Rendle-Short 2007a: 392). The journalist stops in mid-word though, '*αυτό δεν απ*- this has not ans-'and after a micro pause reformulates his meta-discursive prefatory statement in lines 2-3 by characterising the politician's response in the previous turns as appropriate '*ωραία ήταν η απάντηση που δώσατε*-your answer was fine', probably as a means to mitigate the force of the sanction to follow and minimise its face threat.

After doing so, the journalist sanctions the politician's conduct again by using the disjunctive '*αλλά*-but' once more in line 4 and also by using a hybrid technique (personalisation*)* through the use of the binary pronouns 'you' in line 5 (realised through the verb ending -*τε* in the verb'*απαντήσατε*') and '*μου*-my' in line 5 (line 6 in

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the Greek text). The use of the disjunctive and binary personal pronouns, set up a contrast within the journalist's meta-discursive prefatory statement, between what the politician *has not been doing* 'you have not answered' with what he was supposed to be doing: answering the journalist's question.

The use of binary pronouns to sanction the politician's resistance is continued in lines 6-7, where the journalist references the initial question 'because my question is' using the first person possessive pronoun '*μου* –my' together with '*ερώτημα*-question' as a means to strengthen and legitimatise his sanction, indicating that the question the politician answered was not the one asked by the journalist. As was the case in the previous extract, the use of binary pronouns here places the interaction within a hybrid personalised framework, indicating the journalist as the recipient of the talk.

In lines 7-9 though, the journalist once again *positively* evaluates the content of the politician's response 'that's all fine. It's all good. Indeed it played a role etc' that he sanctioned in the previous lines, before repeating his question 'with which political powers will you form an alignment' in lines 10-12. When repeating the question the journalist uses contrasting stress to "tighten the reins" (Romaniuk 2013a:154) on the politician indicating what was problematic in his response and block further resistance. By stressing '*ποιες*-which' in line 10 and '*εσείς*-you' in line 11, Stelios Kouloglou indicates that these were the key issues in his previous question, (with which political powers the politician's party will collaborate); issues that the politician has failed to address.

In line with the journalistic practice discussed in the previous interview segment, in this extract, binary pronouns are repeatedly used in the journalist's prefatory meta-discursive statement to indicate *both* what was problematic in the politician's response/performance (what the latter *has not done*), and to set the interaction within a hybrid argumentative personalised framework (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011). The journalist in this section, much more markedly than in Extract 6.1, within his prefatory metadiscursive statement to the sanctioning interviewee resistance move, positively evaluates the politician's previous turn, in order, retrospectively, to mitigate the force of the sanction.

This oppositional journalistic technique (disagreeing first, mitigating afterwards) exhibited to a greater or lesser extent in both extracts, seems to be an instance of transference of a *cultural opposition strategy* from ordinary to institutional interaction. In her investigation of opposition strategies used in conversation in Greek among family

members and among friends, as well as in classroom discourse by Greeks in English, Kakava (2002) has found that one of the common oppositional strategies used by participants in all three contexts, was the foregrounding of disagreement followed by accounts or other mitigating strategies rather than the reverse (2002: 1552). This seems also to be the case in extracts 6.1 & 6.2, where journalists, transferring their ordinary talk-in-interaction practices to institutional discourse, subsequently further hybridising it, started their personalised meta-discursive prefatory statements by overtly sanctioning interviewee resistance and *then* provided an evaluation of the previous turn as a means to mitigate the sanction before repeating the initial question.

To sum up, in the extracts examined in this section, journalists use hybrid forms identified in previous research in the design of their sanctioning interviewee resistance moves. In line with journalists in Hutchby's and Patrona's datasets by means of using mundane argumentative talk – in the form of binary pronouns 'me-you', - Greek journalists personalise issues, in this case interviewee evasiveness. This hybrid practice empowers journalists by enabling them to hold politicians personally accountable and put more pressure on them to answer.

This hybrid personalised adversarial/accountability framework is enriched with meta-discursive comments on interviewee performance that further expose politicians' evasiveness to the public. Hybrid meta-discursive comments on politicians' performance are expressed verbally by means of explicit references to what the politicians *did not do* or are implied by the marked use of binary pronouns. These hybrid meta-discursive comments (within the journalists' prefatory statement) are further hybridised through the incorporation of a cultural opposition strategy transferred from ordinary to institutional talk: mixing personalised disagreement with mitigating strategies in the form of positive accounts on politicians' previous answers.

The emerging framework merges the discussions of hybridity offered by Hutchby (2011a, 2001b, 2013, 2017), Patrona (2011) and indirectly by Georgakopoulou and Patrona (2000:336). As the latter have argued, without explicitly using the term hybridity though, instances of transferring ordinary talk techniques, that is instances of (host)-unmediated disagreements within the turn taking organisation of panel discussion programmes, does not consist of a "simple" replication of ordinary conversation norms but a strategic adaptation of them to serve the needs of the mediated context, echoing the discussion offered by Ekström and Baym in section 4.3.1. So it seems that blending accountability questioning practices with culture and non-culture specific mundane

argumentative forms and institutional meta-discursive talk, provides Greek journalists with an additional means to hold politicians accountable and draw the attention of the overhearing audience to what the politician is doing: evading answering.

In the next section I will examine instances of integrated hybridity, in the form of *personalisation*, and *using laughter* in the design of journalistic adversarial challenges in second, third or subsequent positions.

6.2. Integrated hybridity in journalists' adversarial challenges

In this section I will examine how integrated hybridity, that is, the incorporation of *three* different frames of activities (merging institutional talk with confrontational techniques and laughter) within one and the same adversarial sequence, marries the two definitions of hybridity (as an aggressive or jovial means to put pressure on politicians) offered in chapter 4. As stated in section 4.3.3, following Haakana (1999, 2001, 2002, 2010) and Lavin and Maynard (2001) and based on how laughter is exhibited by my participants, I take a holistic view of laughter as a multimodal phenomenon examining instances of smiling, smile voice and laugh particles co-occurring. In the subsequent analysis I will differentiate between instances of smiling, smile voice and laugh particles, but I will also use the term laughter as a general, umbrella term when referring to the use and functions of all the above. My analytic focus in this section would be on the journalist's turn, but unavoidably I will refer to the politician's turns as well, in order to explain journalistic persistence. Points of interest are indicated in bold for the journalist's turns and in italics for the politician's.

Extract 6.3, comes from an interview between Evangelos Venizelos, the then leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and Elli Stai, a journalist working for the national TV channel (NET). The interview was broadcast after the 9 o'clock evening news, on May 1st 2012, before the first round of elections. Eight turns before the excerpt, the journalist had asked the politician a promise-soliciting question, that is, a question that invites candidates to commit themselves to a specific course of action (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011:27): whether his party's financial programme could guarantee that there would be no further cuts in salaries and pensions. The politician in his answer made a political point, (presents policy), an evasive technique in Bull's (2003:119) terms, namely claiming that his party's financial programme also included structural changes and a development package. At this point the journalist overlaps.

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Extract 6.3

Audio: 22:51-21:56   Video: 30:20-31:07   Date: 01/05/2012

1	**Δημ:**	**[εγώ θέλω να επιμείνω λίγο σε αυτό που σας ρώτησα.]=**	**Jour:**	**[i want to insist a little on what i have asked you.]=**
2	Πολ:	=όταν κάνουμε δημοσιονομική προσαρμογή, δεν έχουμε μόνον το έλλειμμα. έχουμε και πόσο είναι το ΑΕΠ.=	Pol:	=when we make a fiscal adjustment, we do not only consider the deficit. we also consider how much the GDP is.=
3	Δημ:	=μμ,=	Jour:	=mm,=
4	Πολ:	=όταν λοιπόν, αυξάνεις το ΑΕΠ, κάνεις πιο εύκολα την δημοσιονομική προσαρμογή. το, παρουσιάζω ένα πακέτο με <u>αλληλουχία</u>. [το οποίο απορρέει από την εμπειρία της διαπραγμάτευσης.]	Pol:	=when then, you increase the GDP, you make the economic adjustment easier. the, i present a <u>coherent</u> package. [that stems from the experience of negotiating.]
5	**Δημ:**	**[εγώ θέλω να επιμείνω <u>λίγο</u>, γιατί γνωρίζετε ότι] αυτό είναι ένας <u>φόβος</u> που διακα<u>τέχει</u> τους έλληνες πολίτες,=**	**Jour:**	**[i want to insist <u>a little</u>, because you know that] this is a <u>fear</u> that all greek citizens <u>ha</u>ve,=**
6	*Πολ:*	= ναι, αλλά δεν είδα [*να απαντά κανείς στην πρόταση μου*]	*Pol:*	=yes, but i have not seen [anyone *responding to my proposal*]
7	Δημ:	[από τις <u>συνεχείς</u> ΠΕΡΙΚΟΠΕΣ,]	Jour:	[due to the <u>constant</u> CUTS,]
8	*Πολ:*	[*δεν είδα να απαντά κανείς*]	*Pol:*	[i have not seen *anyone responding]*
9	**Δημ:**	**[θέλω να σας- εγώ θέλω] να ρωτήσω <u>εσάς</u>↓εδώ. και να <u>επιμείνω</u>. εά:ν λέγοντα:ς, (0.1) ((χαμογελά)) <u>μέσα στο πακέτο</u> το οποίο,=**	**Jour:**	**[i want you to-i want] to ask <u>you</u>↓here. and to <u>insist</u>. i:f by sayi:ng, (0.1) ((smiling)) <u>in the package</u> that=**
10	Πολ:	=παρακαλώ,=	Pol:	=please=
11	**Δημ:**	**=έχετε προτείνει και παρουσιάσει, και μας το είπατε και επιγραμματικά, ε, <u>τώρα</u>.** εάν αυτό το <u>όχι</u> σε περικοπές <u>άλλες</u> στις χαμηλές συντάξεις, στους χαμηλούς μισθούς, <u>όχι</u> οριζόντιες περικοπές, εννοείτε όχι περικοπές γενικώς σε μισθούς (…)	**Jour:**	**=you have suggested and presented, and you have also briefly sketched out for us, eh, <u>now</u>.** if by this <u>no</u> to <u>further</u> cuts to low pensions, to low pensioners, <u>no</u> horizontal cuts, you <u>mean no</u> cuts <u>in general</u> to salaries (…)

In turn 1 the journalist uses a meta-discursive statement that comments on the politician's previous turn(s), in order to announce what kind of action she will perform next: ask the same question again ''*εγώ θέλω να επιμείνω λίγο σε αυτό που σας ρώτησα*- I want to insist a little on what I have asked you'. By announcing that she will repeat her question, effectively issuing a pursuit in Greatbatch's (1986a, 1986b) terms, regardless

of the fact that she did not explicitly indicate what was problematic in the politician's previous turns, the journalist overtly sanctions the politician's evasiveness. This is the case as, in line with the journalists in extracts 6.1 & 6.2, Elli Stai places her "reprimand" on personal terms by means of the marked use of the first person pronoun 'εγώ-I' in juxtaposition with the marked use of 'σας-you'.

The use of the first person pronoun 'εγώ-I' is marked, as Greek is a pro-drop language (Fetzer and Bull 2008:287) where first and second person pronouns indicating the subject of the verb are not realised overtly but covertly through the corresponding inflectional morphemes, so if they are explicitly used by speakers they are the marked case, having an additional function, other than recipiency. This additional function, as Clairis and Babiniotis (1999:213) note, is that the current speaker might indicate emphasis or contrast. In this case, it seems that the double articulation of the subject of the verb 'θέλω-want' indicates *both* emphasis and contrast. This is the case as 'εγώ-I', used to emphasise who speaks, is contrasted with 'σας-you', the recipient of the action denoted in the verb 'ρώτησα-ask'. Clairis and Babiniotis (1999:227) note, that in Greek, the object of transitive verbs, can be omitted if it is easily understood. This *is* the case here as, who is the recipient of the action, is evident from the two-way interaction the speakers are involved in, so there is no need to explicitly state it. A non-marked sentence, where the people involved in the two-way interaction would not be foregrounded, would be: 'θέλω να επιμείνω λίγο σε αυτό που ρώτησα'.

Since the politician in turns 2 & 4 "ignored" her pursuit and kept on talking about the benefits of the financial programme he presented, the journalist repeats almost verbatim her meta-statement in turn 5, 'I want to insist a little', and in turn 9 issues yet another pursuit. More specifically, after the politician in turns 6 & 8 tried to change the topic by "attacking the opposition", an evasive technique according to Bull (2003:118), accusing them of not responding to his suggested financial programme, the journalist uses the verb 'ρωτήσω-ask' in juxtaposition with 'απαντά-responding' used by the politician in turns 6 & 9 (in italics), as a means to indicate what was problematic in the politician's previous turn (he is not supposed to expect but give responses).

Within the same turn, turn 9, the journalist employs personalisation to explicitly set up the contrast between what the politician *has not done* and what she wants him to do. Personalisation in this instance, as was the case in turn 1, is realised through the marked use of binary personal pronouns, namely by using and stressing the second person pronoun 'εσάς-you' and by using the first person pronoun 'εγώ-I for emphasis

and contrast. The personalised framework, within which the journalist places her repeat question, is strengthened by two features. Firstly, by the use of the adverb '*εδώ*-here' to indicate what kind of action she expects the politician to perform in the context of the interview: answer her question here and now. Secondly, it is enriched by the journalist's laughter, in the form of smiling. As previous research on the use of laughter in third position (Ekström 2011) has indicated, laughter may be used by journalists to provide a hybrid meta-discursive commentary on politicians' performance in the previous turns. And that is what Elli Stai's laughter is doing in this turn: provides a commentary on the politician's evasion in turns 6 & 8.

What differentiates the adversarial challenge in turn 9 from the ones discussed in previous research on hybridity, is that the Greek journalist within her adversarial challenge, marries the two distinct types of hybridity offered in the literature thus far. Within a personalising issues argumentative hybrid framework (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017 and Patrona 2011) the journalist also incorporates hybridity in the form of laughter (Ekström 2011, Baym 2013), resulting in a hybrid journalistic questioning technique that is both argumentative and jovial.

To make matters more hybrid, in turn 11, before repeating her question, that ends in a narrow focused polar alternative question that "tightens the reins" (Romaniuk 2013a:153) on the politician, the journalist acknowledges the politician's previous answer – '(the package) you have suggested and presented, and you have also briefly sketched out for us now'. This acknowledgement of the function of the politician's previous talk seems to be used both as a means to stop the on-going politician's action (evading answering) and as a means to mitigate the force of the ensuing adversarial challenge (pursuit). The second function is reminiscent of the cultural opposition strategy transfer, discussed in the previous section; that disagreement comes first (in turns 1, 5, 9) and mitigation afterwards (in turn 11). In that sense, this extract exhibits integrated hybridity within a sequence of adversarial challenges (turns 1, 5, 9, 11), in the form of personalisation, laughter, culture specific mundane opposition techniques and meta-discursive talk on what the politician did (evade answering the question whether there would be further cuts to salaries and pensions on the whole).

6.3. Discussion

Within the adversarial turn in journalistic questioning (see sections 2.6 and 2. 7.1) and the incorporation of hybridity in journalists' adversarial questioning, documented both in the Greek, UK, U.S and Swedish contexts, this chapter demonstrated that Greek journalists use *integrated hybridity* to enrich their adversarial challenges. The integrated hybridity employed by Greek journalists in the extracts examined, marries the definitions of journalistic hybridity as a jovial adversarial resource and as argumentation (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.1 respectively for a detailed discussion) and adds a cultural element to the mix.

To begin with, journalists in the extracts examined incorporate into their prefaces to "sanctioning interviewee resistance" moves (Greatbatch 1986a) a personalisation technique, transferred from ordinary to institutional talk. This involved the marked and repeated use of binary personal pronouns ('I' versus 'you') as a means to indicate to the politician and the overhearing audience what was problematic in the politicians' previous turn: that the action (Schegloff 2007:7-12) performed was different from what they were asked to do, legitimising thus question repetition.

Secondly, Greek journalists, together with personalisation within their prefaces to adversarial challenges, frequently characterise the previous turn(s) in terms of what the politicians *did not do,* focusing on interviewee performance as a means to "tighten the reins" (Romaniuk 2013a) on politicians, legitimise question repetition and refocus the interview on their agenda.

These personalised meta-statements at times include, apart from characterisations of what the politician *did not do,* evaluations of the previous turn. As discussed in section 6.1 this is another instance of hybridity as it involves transference of a cultural opposition strategy from ordinary to institutional talk. This cultural meta-discursive dimension is an important aspect of the adversarial framework within which journalists operate and it differentiates the hybrid journalistic adversarial framework emerging in my dataset from the ones reported in previous research (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011, Montgomery 2011). While in Hutchby's, Patrona's and Montgomery's research the (hybrid) argumentative framework established by journalists involved their personal disagreement with what the politician said, in my dataset it involved what the politicians *did* or *did not do,* in the course of the interview i.e. their performance in the media event.

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Clayman and Heritage (2002a:236) claim that innovation in question design and particularly the emergence and growth of prefaced questions, apart from giving the overhearing audience background information about the question to follow, represent an extension of the interviewer's initiative and power, as hostile questions could not be that easily launched without prefaces. If we extend Clayman and Heritage's argument to the significance of the hybridity in the design of adversarial challenges as identified in my dataset, I would argue that the personalised prefatory meta-comments on interviewee performance used by journalists before re-launching their questions, have a twofold function. By evaluating/commenting on politicians' performance Greek journalists inform the public about politicians' evasiveness, thus adding further legitimacy to their interactional move. Doing so enables Greek journalists to exercise and strengthen their interactional power, making it even harder for the politician to evade answering the repeated question to follow.

Finally, within *a single* episode of adversarial talk that is, within extended sequences of adversarial challenges, Greek journalists blend personalisation, laughter and cultural opposition strategies in the design of their adversarial challenges, exhibiting *integrated hybridity* in more creative ways that the ones discussed by Ekström (2011). This hybrid practice results in the enhancement of Greek journalists' 'watchdog' role and strengthens their professionalism, echoing similar claims made by Ekström (2011), Baym (2013), Patrona (2011, 2012) and Papathanasopoulos (2001). Whether Greek politicians react "passively" (Patrona 2011) to these adversarial journalistic moves or "strike back" is discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

7. Hybridity in the service of interactional argumentation

Chapter 7 has three aims: firstly to provide data-driven support for my definition of hybridity, discussed in section 4.3.7, as the appropriation of elements of every day conversation and other broadcast genres' talk into the accountability (election campaign) interview, featuring *not only* in journalists' talk *but also* in politicians' talk. Secondly, it aims to expand on the notion of *challenging responses*, which I introduced in section 3.2.2, as politicians' "hostile" responses that challenge but at the same time maintain the neutralistic status quo of news interviews. Thirdly, this chapter will complement discussions about the role hybridity plays in the participants' public portrayal and the structural organisation of the news interview (see sections 2.6, 4.1.1, 4.2.2, 4.3.1, 4.3.3, 6.3).

To begin with, building on the notion of *integrated hybridity* discussed in the previous chapter as exemplified by Greek journalists, this chapter will focus on *politicians'* related practices, expanding thus relevant research on hybridity from journalists to politicians. As argued in chapter 6 integrated hybridity, that is the mixing of personalised argumentative meta-discursive talk and laughter within a single utterance or sequence of adversarial challenges, marries the definitions of hybridity as argumentation and as a jovial adversarial journalistic resource offered by Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) and Patrona (2011) and Ekström (2011) and Baym (2013) respectively. In this chapter I will examine how Greek politicians use integrated hybridity *not only* by mixing personalised meta-discursive comments and laughter with institutional talk, as Greek journalists did, *but also* by bringing in conversational violence, a feature of talk associated with non-interview settings (debate talk shows), within their responses to adversarial challenges.

As discussed in chapter 4, and exemplified in the extracts analysis in the previous chapter, the way I use personalisation in this thesis, based on *both* participants' practices, follows broadly the way Hutchby defines it when referring to adversarial *journalistic* techniques extending it to politicians' challenging responses; that is, the contrast set up between what the politicians said and what the journalists want to say through the use of binary personal pronouns ('I' vs 'you'). In this chapter in particular, personalisation also involves the use of redundant formal address terms (title and surname), redundant as in a two-party interaction their use is marked (Rendle-Short

2007b, Rendle-Short 2011:95 and Clayman 2010), and the use of verbs of attribution that hold the journalist personally accountable for the proposition expressed. [22]

Although neither termed hybrid nor explicitly mentioned the use of binary pronouns ('I' vs 'you') and verbs of attribution as means to set up an argumentative framework, the use of the above together with the use of title and surname was found to be part of the distinctive aggressive equivocation style of Margaret Thatcher; what Bull and Mayer (1988:43) call "personalising issues" and Bull (2003:116) calls an "attack on the interviewer". What differentiates Greek politicians' challenging responses from Margaret Thatcher's, as will be discussed in section 7.1.2, and partly qualifies them as distinctive type of responses, is the incorporation of ordinary talk techniques that are not necessarily confrontational (laughter).

Subsequently, this is the second issue this chapter addresses. As I will demonstrate, by manifesting *integrated hybridity*, that is bringing into their responses elements from confrontational ordinary talk (personalisation), debate talk (conversational violence) and/or laughter, Greek politicians signify the emergence of a distinct type of response: *counterchallenges*. In contrast to *challenging responses,* politicians' responses that although challenging journalists' questions, are constructed in such a way as to still preserve the adversarial, normative structure of news interviews, *counterchallenges* do not. As argued in section 3.2.2, politicians in previous research (i.e Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Bull 2003, Rendle-Short 2007a, Dickerson 2001) by using a challenging response, even if they challenge the appropriacy of the question, never overtly personalized the attack, maintaining thus neutralism. Hybrid personalised challenging responses (counterchallenges) on the other hand, attack not so much the appropriacy of the question but mainly the journalists' right to ask it and/or their professional conduct.

Finally in the same way as employing integrated hybridity empowers journalists, as argued in the previous chapter, in this chapter I will argue that employing integrated hybridity through setting up and maintaining *micro-arguments* with journalists empowers Greek politicians, and results in building a specific political identity.

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[22] The term personalisation in relation to *politicians' talk*, involving the redundant use of (first name) address terms by politicians in disalingning environments, including topic shifts, non-conforming responses and disagreements, has already been used in previous research (Rendle-Short 2007b, 2011:95, Clayman 2010) but as its use was not reported as involving a personal attack on the interviewer, as is the case in my extracts, the way I use it in this thesis differs slightly from the way Clayman and Rendle-Short use it.

Whether or not the public portrayal built through politicians' hybrid challenging responses is sustained outside the micro-argumentative environment discussed in this chapter is discussed in the last analytic chapter (chapter 8).

7.1. Journalists and politicians argue about journalists' professional capability: politician attacks

The two extracts included in this section involve hybrid micro-argumentative sequences initiated by a specific politician (Evangelos Venizelos, the then leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK) during interviews with two different journalists. Integrated hybridity is exhibited in the politician's talk, by means of using personalised metadiscursive comments, through the use of verbs of attribution, that hold the journalist accountable for the proposition expressed, and/or binary pronouns.

Bull and Fetzer (2006) and Fetzer and Bull (2008:284-287) have discussed the strategic use of pronouns in the form of "pronominal shifts" in politicians' answers, that is, changing the second person 'you' included in the journalist's question to the collective 'we' in their answers to deal with personal criticisms and downplay their personal role. The way "pronominal shifts" have been discussed by Bull and Fetzer however, does not reflect either the form or the function of the pronouns used by Evangelos Venizelos in this section, and Alexis Tsipras and Antonis Samaras in subsequent sections. Greek politicians, mirroring hybrid adversarial journalistic techniques already identified used binary personal pronouns ('I' vs 'you') *and not* ('you' vs 'we') to set up a micro-argumentative sequence and issue a personal attack against journalists. Doing so enabled Greek politicians to shift responsibility for not answering the question from themselves to the journalists.

To the Greek politician's hybrid challenging responses (counterchallenges) both journalists react by defending their professional capability, challenging thus the politician's grounds for attacking them. In this way, journalists sustained the hybrid personalised argumentative framework established. As indicated in sections 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 micro-argumentative sequences, involve assertions, that are categorically phrased statements, and counter-assertions that are denials of these (Montgomery 2011:45). Montgomery who introduced the term "micro-arguments" to portray the alternating adversarial sequences between British journalists and politicians in news interviews broadcast on the BBC, demonstrated how assertions and counter-assertions are exhibited in *adjacency pairs* leading to a micro-argumentative episode (2011:45-53).

Following this characterisation, I will use the terms "assertions" and "counter-assertions" to refer to the *first* micro-argumentative adjacency pair, where assertions involve journalistic adversarial challenges and counter-assertions involve politicians' counterchallenges. After each micro-argumentative adjacency pair I will start *afresh* and label as "assertions" any journalistic categorically phrased statements, in third or subsequent positions, that explicitly point to the falsity of the politicians' attacks (by citing outside sources for instance) and as "counter-assertions" any subsequent politicians' moves.

The first extract is taken from an interview between Evangelos Venizelos and Elli Stai, broadcast after the 9 o'clock evening news, on May 1ˢᵗ 2012 on the national TV channel (NET), before the first round of elections. After a long preface, that linked the previous topic (possible cuts in salaries and pensions), with the new one (possible layoffs in the public sector) the excerpt starts with the journalist's adversarial challenge that introduces the new topic. Points of interest in this and subsequent extracts are indicated in bold for the politicians' turns and in italics for the journalists'.

Extract 7.1

Audio: 11:58-11:45, Video: 40:55-41:38, Date: 1/5/2012

1	Δημ	[στο δημόσιο,] *στο δημόσιο τομέα*, στο οποίο σχεδόν όλες οι πολιτικές δυνάμει::ς, ε, λένε ότι είναι ένα::ς , α, υπερμε<u>γέθης</u> δημόσιος τομέας και <u>πρέπει</u> με κάποιο τρόπο, να κουμανταριστεί <u>αλλιώς</u>, για να το πω έτσι, *προβλέπονται απο↑λύσεις. =*	Jour:	[in the public,] *in the public sector*, for which almost all political partie::s, eh, say that it is a::n, eh, over<u>grown</u> public sector and it <u>must</u> somehow, to put it like that, handled in a <u>different</u> way, *↑layoffs are scheduled.=*
2	Πολ:	=↓όχι. προβλέπεται, <u>συνολικά</u> στον ευρύτερο δημόσιο τομέα, μείωση του προσωπικού κατά 15.000. αυτή η μείωση του προσωπικού κατά 15.000,=	Pol.:	=↓no. <u>in total</u> a personnel reduction of 15,000 is scheduled, for the wider public sector. this personnel reduction of 15,000,=
3	Δημ:	=<u>για φέτος</u>, ↑15.000=	Jour:	=↑15,000 <u>this year</u>,=
4	Πολ:	=>όχι. όχι<. 15.000 για την περίοδο <u>του μνημονίου</u>. 15.000=	Pol.:	=>no.no<. 15,000 during the <u>memorandum</u> period. 15,000=
5	Δημ:	=δεν είναι ↑150.[000 κ. ↑Βενιζέλο]	Jour:	=isn't it ↑150,[000 ↑mr Venizelos]
6	Πολ:	**[όχι. όχι.] όχι↑βέβαια.<u>προφανώς</u> όχι. (0.3) ↑πως σας ήρθε αυτό το νούμερο? το↓ πολλαπλα<u>σιάσατε</u> ↑επι 10.=**	Pol.:	**[no.no.] certainly ↑not. <u>obviously</u> not. (0.3) ↑how did you come up with that number? you↓multiplied it ↑by 10.=**
7	Δημ:	=↑όχι. >δεν το πολλαπλασίασα	Jour:	=↑no. >↑i did not multiply it.<

↑εγώ.<[μιλώντας με τους αρμόδιους υπουργούς, μιλούσαμε για 150.000, (0.1) με τον κ. <u>Ρέππα</u>, για ↓παράδειγμα πριν ένα δυο ↑μήνες,]	[talking with the relevant ministers, we talked about 150,000 (0.1) with mr <u>Repas</u>, for ↓instance, a couple of ↑months ago,]

To the journalist's adversarial challenge, in turn 1 (in italics) the politician responds in turn 2, by initiating a "micro-argument" that extends for six turns. The series of journalistic assertions and politicians' counter assertions is summarized below:

Journalist: Layoffs are scheduled in the public sector

[Assertion]

Politician: No, 15,000 are going to be laid off

[Counter assertion]

Journalist: 15,000 are going to be laid off this year

[Assertion]

Politician: No, 15,000 during the whole duration of the memorandum

[Counter Assertion]

Journalist: 150,000 are going to be laid off during the whole duration of the memorandum. *[Assertion]*

Politician: No. you made a mistake in multiplying

[Counter Assertion]

Journalist: I did not make a mistake. The relevant ministers gave me that number *[Assertion]*

What is distinctive in this micro-argument and differentiates it from the ones discussed by Montgomery is the personalised attack on the journalist's professional capability issued by the politician in turn 6, (in bold) as a response the journalist's adversarial challenge.

In the previous turn, turn 5, the journalist tries to "tighten the reins" (Romaniuk 2013a:154) on the politician through a free standing statement plus the use of a title and surname as a means to hold him personally accountable for the different number presented by him "Isn't it 150,000 Mr Venizelos?" (see also Rendle-Short 2011:96 for a similar discussion of the functions of the use of title and surname to address politicians

in news interviews). Unattributed statements such as the one made by the journalist in turn 5, seem to have become the norm in current discussions about the "adjusted" (Montgomery 2011) or "deregulated" (Patrona 2011) news interview norms. Nevertheless, they still seem to be considered as highly vulnerable to sanctions (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: 145), as the politician's response in turn 6 demonstrates; that he treats the journalist's turn as expressing her own opinion or personal knowledge on the subject and not a well-supported fact. So that is what he does in his response: challenges the journalist's knowledge.

In order to invalidate the journalist's assertion, the politician in turn 6 mirrors her adversarial challenge and personalises his attack by means of using a second person pronoun "σας", a pre-verbal clitic that expresses an indirect object together with the colloquial, in this context, verb of attribution, "ήρθε". The literal translation of the original Greek text would be "How did this number get to you". As this is nonsensical in English, I rendered it as "How did you come up with that number?" in my English translation next to the original in the transcript.

By personalising the counter assertion, the politician explicitly assigns authorship of the number quoted to the journalist, thus challenging her knowledge/professional capability, to accurately present facts. This is coupled with the use of a second person verb "πολλαπλασιάσατε-you multiplied" in the same turn, turn 6, that also refers explicitly to the journalist as the person responsible for misrepresenting the facts, numbers in this case, explicitly exposing her amateurism to the overhearing public. By overtly attributing the "miscalculation" to the journalist, the politician disqualifies her adversarial challenge in the previous turn (turn 5) as factually inaccurate and being based on a mistake, thus attacking not so much the question but the professional herself, thereby challenging the journalist's professional capability of presenting information accurately.

To this attack on her professional capability, the journalist reacts in the next turn by denying that she is the "author", in Goffman's (1981) terms, of the number given, through the marked use of the first person pronoun "εγώ-I" juxtaposing it with citing ministers as the expert outside source providing her with this number (Mr Reppas, was the then Minister of Labour). Greek is a pro-drop language where person is indicated by the verb inflection (Brian 1994). In this case "-σα" in "πολλαπλασίασα" indicates first person, so the use of the personal pronoun "εγώ-I" is not necessary but it is used for emphasis.

The journalist's reaction that sustains the personalised ('I' vs 'you') micro-argumentative framework, attests to the fact that she herself considered the counter assertion as challenging her professional capability, thus an *ad hominem attack*, in argumentation theory terms (Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992, see also And one 2013:108, footnote 124), targeting not the question but the person. Issuing an ad hominem attack on the journalist as a professional (a counterchallenge) by exposing to the overhearing audience the factual inaccuracy of the adversarial challenge, has the following functions:

Firstly, it involves a power and role reversal, shifting, even momentarily, the focus of the interview from the politician and his (mis)response to the topic/agenda set by the journalist, to the journalist herself and her professional status. In that way, the fact that there is an action agenda departure (Clayman 2010:166-168), which is that the politician did not account for the difference in the numbers presented, is backgrounded and the journalist's inadequacy as misrepresenting facts is foregrounded. This in turn results in a further departure from the Question-Answer norm of political news interviews, with the journalist abandoning her questioning role in order to account for her adversarial challenge.

Secondly, it seems that the personalised challenging response (counterchallenge) issued by the politician in this extract, further hybridises the micro-argumentative sequences initiated by politicians, identified by Montgomery (2011:47), which, as I argued in section 3.2.2, are on the verge between "traditional" and "emergent" forms of journalism. Apart from resulting in an extra move being added to the micro-argumentative framework in which the journalist accounts for her challenge, and incorporating elements of mundane disagreement (personalisation), this hybrid micro-argumentative sequence appears also to introduce to the political news interview ad hominem attacks on the person/professional as a means to discredit them. As discussed in section 4.2.2, ad hominem attacks on the person manifest conversational violence and are associated with (extreme-right wing) politicians' talk in debate talk shows, found here in election campaign interviews. So their incoproration further hybridises the election campaign interview by introducing talk features of another televised genre: debate talk shows. This manifestation of integrated hybridity is further exemplified in the next extract.

Extract 7.2, taken from an interview between the same politician and a different journalist, George Autias, features similar hybrid techniques embedded within a micro-argumentative sequence. The interview was broadcast on April 21st 2014, on a commercial TV channel (SKAI), before the first round of elections. Before the specific excerpt the journalist and the politician had been discussing the suggested austerity measures the new government might need to take, related to the Memorandum of Understanding (memorandum) signed between Greece and the IMF/EU. The extract starts with the journalist overlapping and posing an adversarial challenge in the form of a free standing assertion, challenging the politician's claim that there would be no new tax measures.

Extract 7.2

Audio: 28:50-28:32, Video: 6:20-6:37 Date: 21/4/2012

1	Δημ:	*[το πακέτο του ιουνίου] έχει περικοπές φοροελαφρύνσεων ↑όμως. [που είναι οι πρόσθετοι↑φόροι.]*	Jour:	*[the june package] has tax exemption reductions ↑though. [that are the extra ↑taxes.]*
2	Πολ:	[προσέξτε, <u>δεν, δεν, δεν</u>] >δεν το έχει πει ↓κανείς ↑αυτό.<=	Pol:	[mind you, <u>no, no, no</u>] >↓nobody has said ↑that.<=
3	Δημ:	=↑πως δεν το έχει πει κανείς? [↓αφού το γράφει το:::, το μνημόνιο.]	Jour:	=↑how come nobody has said that? [↓since it is written in the:::, the memorandum.]
4	Πολ:	[∘δεν το έχει πει κανείς αυτό. όχι, όχι με συγχωρείτε,∘] δε, δε, δε [>£δε λέει έτσι το μνημόνιο.£<]	Pol:	[∘nobody has said that. no, no excuse me,∘] no, no, no [>£no the memorandum does not say so.£<]
5	Δημ:	[το λέει επί <u>λέξει</u>.] όπως λέει και για μισθούς <u>βουλγαρίας</u>,=	Jour:	[it says so <u>verbatim</u>] as it says about salaries at <u>bulgarian</u> standards,=
6	Πολ:	=δεν λέει έτσι το μνημόνιο, [ούτε για μισθούς,]	Pol:	=the memorandum does not say <u>that,</u> [not about salaries,]
7	Δημ:	[>μισό λεπτό κύριε Βενιζέλο,<]=	Jour:	[>wait a minute mr Venizelos,<]=
8	**Πολ:**	**=<u>αυτά, (.) δεν τα έχετε διαβάσει [σε κανένα μνη↓μόνιο.]</u>**	**Pol:**	**=these, (.) <u>you have not read these [in any memo↓randum.]</u>**
9	Δημ:	[↓λέει, ↑ο::χι,]να σας ↓πω. σελίδα [424,]	Jour:	[↓it says, ↑<u>no::</u>] let me ↓tell you. page[424,]
10	Πολ:	[σε, σε,]=	Pol:	[in, in,]=
11	Δημ:	=<u>μισό λεπτό</u>.=	Jour:	=<u>wait</u> a minute.=
12	Πολ:	=[σε κανένα μνημόνιο.]=	Pol:	=[in any memorandum.]=
13	Δημ:	=[>μισό, μισό, μισό, μισό.<]↓ λέει.	Jour:	=[>wait, wait, wait, wait.<] it ↓says.

The journalist's adversarial challenge, in turn 1 in italics, is marked by the use of 'όμως-though' to indicate the point of contrast between what the politician had said before, that a few new tax measures would be imposed (turn not included) with the issue the journalist introduces, that (according to the signed agreements) new taxation is to be expected soon, i.e. 'the June package'. To this adversarial challenge, the politician responds in turn 2 by issuing a counter-assertion, initiating a micro-argument sequence extended for twelve turns. The series of assertions and counter-assertions, involving the journalists' categorical statements of fact and the politician's denials, is summarized below:

Journalist: The new measures involve tax exemption reductions that equal new taxes   *[Assertion]*

Politician: nobody has said that   *[Counter Assertion]*

Journalist: it is written in the memorandum   *[Assertion]*

Politician: the memorandum does not say that   *[Counter Assertion]*

Journalist: it says that verbatim   *[Assertion]*

Politician: the memorandum does not say that   *[Counter Assertion]*

Politician: you have not read these in the memorandum

[Counter Assertion]

Journalist: They are there. I'll tell you. It's on page 424

[Assertion]

Politician: you have not read these in the memorandum

[Counter Assertion]

Journalist: wait (a minute) it says   *[Assertion]*

While engaging in the series of assertions and counter-assertions, both the journalist and the politician are using techniques already identified in the relevant conversation analytic literature as used by journalists (Romaniuk 2013a: 154) and politicians (Rendle-Short 2007a:398) alike to pose adversarial challenges and respond to them, such as stressing key words: 'reductions' in turn 1, 'no,no,no' in turn 2, 'verbatim' and 'Bulgarian' (standards) in turn 5, 'the memorandum does not say that' in turn 6, 'these you have not read these in any (memorandum) in turn 8, 'no' in turn 9. Apart from stressing key words to indicate the important information around which the micro-argument centres, in this extract, both the journalist and the politician use falling

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intonation (in turns 2,3,8,9,13) as: "a focalization process to highlight the most important information" (Botinis 1998:308); an alternative way to stress contrasting words and mark important information in Greek.

While the micro-argument escalates, and after the journalist has used a title and surname address form 'Mr Venizelos' in turn 7, to put the politician on the spot, the politician switches from impersonal structures: '*δεν το έχει πει κανείς αυτό*-nobody has said that' and '*δε λέει έτσι το μνημόνιο*-the memorandum has not said that' in turns 2, 4 and 6 to the personal structure: '*Αυτά, δεν τα έχετε διαβάσει σε κανένα Μνημόνιο*-these, you have not read these in any memorandum' in turn 8 (in bold).[23] By doing so, the politician explicitly accuses the journalist of mispresenting information in his adversarial challenges/assertions in turns 3&5. This accusation is further strengthened by means of using and stressing both the strong form of the determiner '*Αυτά-These*' and the weak form '*τα-them*' within the same sentence, and by using a second person verb of attribution, in this context, '*έχετε διαβάσει*-have read*'* that specifically attributes the action performed '(mis)read/(mis)quoted' to the journalist himself.[24]

Within the micro-argumentative context of the above extract, the politician's move to shift from the impersonal to the personal as the series of assertions and counter-assertions are unfolding, introduces a mundane argumentative talk frame (hybridity) in the institutional interaction and has multiple functions: firstly, it acts as an accusation of professional inadequacy (the accusation is that the journalist has not read the memorandum, and/or has misread it thus his adversarial challenges in turns 1, 3 & 5 are unsubstantiated). Secondly, this counterchallenge exposes the journalist to the overhearing audience as being both unprepared and biased in his questions. Through hybridity, the politician does not "simply" problematize the journalist's knowledge or bias (Dickerson 2001) but explicitly accuses him of not having done his job properly. That is, that the memorandum the journalist cites as his authoritative/external source, does not contain the facts indicated. In this way the journalist's adversarial challenge is

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[23] The use of laughter as a means to counterchallenge the journalist, featuring in turn 4, will be discussed in detail in the next section and in Chapter 8.

[24] Greek is a pro-drop language where personal pronouns are not realised overtly but covertly through the corresponding inflectional morphemes. Personalisation in this case is covertly indicated in the verb form by the inflectional morphemes '*-ετε*' and '*-ει*'. I claim that the verb 'read' is a verb of attribution in this context, as it is linked by means of antonymy, in context, with the 'authentic' verbs of attribution used by the journalist in turns 3 &5 'has said', 'it is written', 'says verbatim'. Also it is linked by means of synonymy, in context, with the 'authentic' verbs of attribution used by the politician in turns 2,4,&6, 'has said', 'does not say' forming thus a lexical chain (Hoey 1991)

portrayed as lacking legitimacy, the journalist as lacking professionalism and the politician as legitimate in not attempting to answer the question. Thirdly, apart from the substantial power and role reversal (the politician exposes the journalist to the overhearing audience as unprepared and indirectly asks him to account for his inadequecy, an institutional activity that is usually performed by journalists) this counterchallenge also involves a shift of focus/topic: from tax reductions and the politician's manifesto *to* the journalist's inadequacy.

To sum up, in the analysed extracts, the politician incorporated hybrid challenging responses (counterchallenges) within the micro-argumentative sequences examined, by mirroring relevant journalistic practices. In particular, when the micro-argumentative sequences escalated, the politician responded to the journalists' unattributed, free-standing assertions, a journalistic practice already documented as being in place by Montgomery (2011) and Patrona (2011), by attacking this very practice. It appears that by playing on the fact that the journalists' assertions were unattributed, the politician issued personalised attacks, through the use of binary pronouns and verbs of attribution, holding the journalists personally accountable for, what he presented as, the misrepresentation of information.

By issuing counterchallenges, the politician put the journalists on the spot, exposing to the overhearing audience the latters' lack of professionalism. Furthermore, by attacking/discrediting journalists, the politician introduces conversational violence into the micro-argumentative sequences (as exhibited by right-wing politicians in Simon-Vandenbergen's 2008 dataset). As thus far, the concept of conversational violence was used to characterise extreme-right politicians' responses during debates and not interviews (see section 4.2.2), the use of it is another feature of *hybridisation* in Greek politicians' counterchallenges: the appropriation of confrontational techniques used in other institutional genres (debates) to the election campaign interview.

This leads to a shift in the micro-argumentative sequences, and the interview in general, from the politician and his non-answers, *to* the journalists and their professional inadequacy. Journalists, in turn, within this modified micro-argumentative sequence, abandon their questioning roles - even momentarily - in order to provide further details that legitimatise their initial adversarial challenges, escalating thus the micro-argumentative sequence.

Moreover, it seems that the use of counterchallenges (ad hominem attacks) within micro-argument sequences, in the election campaign political interview, besides

hybridising the genre, portrays the interlocutors in a specific way. Politicians and journalists are antagonists in a game that is reminiscent of debate shows, where politicians modify their role as protagonists into one more resembling that of a fighter; by discrediting his opponent Evangelos Venizelos portrays himself as an eloquent verbal fighter.

This might be a reaction to the authoritative discourse used by Greek journalists (see the discussion in section 5.2 and Papathanassopoulos 2001, Patrona, 2006, 2009, 2011 for further details) on the part of the politician; a power struggle to gain back their authoritative status by discrediting their "opponent". By the same token, the politician's counterchallenges seem to be the "natural" interactional moves/responses to journalists' adversarial challenges within the already "adjusted" (Montgomery 2011) or even "deregulated" (Patrona 2011, Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017) adversarial environment of political interviews. Or as Montgomery puts it: "If deference has given way to abrasive adversarialism, then adversarialism is almost certain to evolve into something quite different in decades to come" (2011:51). These changes in journalistic questioning that have been documented as already being in place seem to have resulted in similar changes in politicians' responses.

In the next section, I will examine another counterchallenging technique that mirrors journalistic questioning practices. Politicians respond to an adversarial challenge by posing a question within a personalised framework. These personalised questions, often accompanied by laughter, exhibit integrated hybridity, challenge the journalist's knowledge and as they invite an answer, these questions reverse normative interviewer-interviewee power relationships and established institutional roles.

7.2. Journalists and politicians argue about journalists' professional capability: politician asks a question and laughs

Integrated hybridity in politicians' responses in the extracts to be examined in this section is exhibited by personalising issues through the use of binary pronouns and verbs of attribution, laughter and asking a question instead of answering one. Although it can be argued that the Greek politicians' practice of asking a question instead of answering one is on the verge between challenging responses that "attack the interviewer" and "attack the question" already identified (Bull 2003:117;115), I will argue that this is not the case. As discussed in the previous section, since Greek politicians' counterchallenges are placed within a personalised framework, they attack

the person and not the position maintained, so asking a question instead of answering one constitutes another type of ad hominem attacks. Furthermore, following Luginbühl (2007) I will also argue that when responding to a question by asking another one, politicians misuse everyday conversational patterns, exhibiting thus conversational violence.

In a different context, in ordinary conversation, a similar claim is made by Heritage and Raymond (2005:28-35) in relation to how interrogative syntax is employed by second speakers to upgrade their socioepistemic claims/rights over first speakers. As they argue, by using interrogative syntax, second speakers, quite aggressively provide a new first pair part for first speakers to respond to, asserting thus claims of epistemic supremacy and indicating the reflexive character of these practices in relation to access rights in turn sequence. Extending Heritage and Raymond's claim to institutional interaction and news interviews in particular, where first speakers are journalists and second speakers are politicians, I would claim that by employing interrogative syntax second speakers (politicians) quite aggressively claim first speakers' rights in turn sequence and socioepistemic claims/rights.

As stated in section 4.3.2 and demonstrated in the extracts analysis in the previous chapter, although in the subsequent analysis I will differentiate between instances of smiling, smile voice and laugh particles, I will also use the term laughter as a general, umbrella term when referring to the use and functions of all the above. As was the case in the previous extracts, points of interest are indicated in bold for the politicians' turns and in italics for the journalists'.

Extract 7.3, is taken from an interview between Antonis Samaras, the then leader of New Democracy, a conservative party, and Yiannis Pretenteris, working for a commercial TV channel (MEGA). The interview was broadcast after the 8 o'clock evening news on April 9th 2012, before the first round of election. Before the extract, the journalist had asked the politician whether he would renegotiate with the IMF and EU, certain financial measures already suggested by those bodies, if he became the next prime minister. The politician responded by slightly changing the agenda, a covert resistance technique in Clayman and Heritage's (2002a:269) terms, and started talking about his suggested plan for lowering taxation. At this point the journalist latches and asks a clarification follow-up question (Eriksson 2011:3337-3339) in turn 1.

Extract 7.3

Audio: 13:55-13:49 Video: 26:16-26:24 Date: 9/4/2012

1	Δημ:	=περιμέν- *θα θα το ακούσουμε προεκλογικά αυτό το χρονοδιάγραμμα? θα ανακοινωθεί?=*	Jour:	=should we- *will will we hear* this *schedule* in the preelection period? *will it be announced*?=
2	Πολ:	=**τώρα δεν ήμαστε** προεκλογικά? **δεν σας το λέω?**	Pol:	=**aren't we now** in a preelection period? **am i not telling you** about it?
3	Δημ:	(.)£*ναι, μου το λέτε γενικά*.£ ότι <u>θα</u> υπάρξει χρονοδιάγραμμα. [*δεν μου λέτε μέχρι τότε.*]	Jour:	(.) £*yes, you are telling me generally.*£ that there <u>will</u> be a schedule. [*you are not telling me by when.*]

Having been asked about whether his plan to lower taxation would be announced as a specific '*χρονοδιάγραμμα-schedule*' in the pre-election period, the politician in turn 2, responds by asking two "personalising issues" narrow yes/no questions that turn the journalist's non-adversarial, clarification follow up question in turn 1 into an adversarial challenge, and temporarily suspend the normative Question-Answer interview pattern. This is the case since, as discussed in section 3.2 following various conversation analysts (Heritage 1985, Greatbatch 1988, Clayman and Whalen 1988/1989, Schegloff 1988/1989, Greatbatch 1992, Greatbatch 1998, Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Hutchby 2006, Heritage and Clayman 2010) who note that through the distinctive turn-taking system of news interviews, "news interview talk" is co-produced by both interactants, and Rendle-Short (2007a) in particular, who argues that a journalistic question is adversarial if regarded as such by the other participant, I claimed that: "an adversarial challenge is an adversarial challenge if the other party responds to it as such" (cf.31).

And this appears to be the case in this extract: the journalist's non-adversarial, clarification follow-up question qualifies as an adversarial challenge because of the counterchallenge issued. The politician's response in the form of a question, functions as a double counterchallenge, since by uttering it, the politician not only reverses their roles, journalists should ask questions while politicians should answer them, but also attacks the validity of the journalist's question. This is achieved, firstly by the use of '*τώρα* – now' and present tense '*δεν ήμαστε* – aren't we, *δεν σας το λέω* - am I not telling you?' juxtaposing the future tense used in the previous turn '*θα το ακούσουμε*-

will we expect to hear it, *θα ανακοινωθεί* – will be announced' with what is happening now, during the interview. As there is no present progressive tense in Greek, simple present together with the use of time adverbials, i.e. ''*τώρα* -now', are used to denote that something is happening at the time of speaking. The use of present tense indicates that since the plan is being communicated now, the journalist's question about the need for the plan to be communicated as a '*χρονοδιάγραμμα*-schedule' in the future has no grounds, thus it is inappropriate and not worthy of an answer.

Furthermore, the politician personalises the counterchallenge by using a binary opposition, in the form of a first person verb '*λέω*-I am telling' versus a second person pronoun '*σας*-you' expressing the indirect object[25]. By placing the interaction within a personalising framework, two further functions are being performed: the politician, as the leader of the party, by taking personal responsibility for the proposition expressed, is presented as the legitimate person to inform the public about the plan, so all the appropriate conditions are met for the speech act to qualify as an official announcement. Secondly in doing so, the politician's non-answer is not only legitimatized but also the inadequacy of the journalist's question, a challenge to his professional capability, is highlighted for the overhearing audience, thus discrediting the journalist.

To this counterchallenging move, the journalist responds in the next turn (turn 3) by meta-discursively accounting for/justifying his question, operating at the same time within the personalised exposing framework set by the politician himself. In his reformulation/justification, the journalist firstly acknowledges that the latter is indeed giving some information '*ναι, μου το λέτε* - yes, you are telling me' but in general and not specific terms. The negative evaluation of the politician's previous turn is linguistically expressed by the use of '*γενικά* – generally' that denotes inexplicitness, a way of speaking that politicians, in theory, should avoid, especially in pre-election periods.

The journalist's challenge is strengthened by being uttered in smile voice, marking *retrospectively* both the content and the interactional move of the politician's counterchallenge as the laughable, providing an implicit commentary to it. *Prospectively,* the use of laughter projects a justifying move/verbal challenge and

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[25]Here it could also be claimed that the second pronoun 'you' is used to refer to the general public and not the journalist, mirroring the use of the inclusive 'we' by the journalist in the previous turn to refer to both himself and the overhearing audience. The journalist's interpretation though as explicitly addressing him, indicated by the use of the first person pronoun '*μου*-me' in the next turn, disambiguates the use of the pronoun, at least for the interactants, thus for the analyst as well.

strengthens its communicative force. Although not discussed within the context of televised one-on-one election campaign interviews, this seems to be in line with previous research on the function of laughter in institutional interaction by the "more powerful" interactants: the use of giggles by the journalist to highlight to the audience the laughable aspects of what the politician is doing (Ekström 2011), counterchallenging in my case, and the use of laughter by police officers to challenge the suspect (Carter 2011).

Within the same turn, the journalist further strengthens his challenge - that the politician speaks in vague terms – in two ways. By stressing '*θα* – will', denoting that the politician's words are part of a general political manifesto, an evasive technique in Bull's (2003) terms that do not qualify as an announcement/commitment. Following this, by exemplifying what would constitute a commitment '*δεν μου λέτε μέχρι τότε* - you are not telling me by when', implying that what the politician communicated is not a programme that would include a specific timeline (indicated by the use of when) but a general plan. The journalist's response sustains the personalising issues framework established by the politician through the use of first person pronouns/verbs: '*μου λέτε*-*you* are telling *me*'. This journalistic adversarial challenge is in line with the hybrid adversarial challenges issued by Greek journalists discussed in section 6.2. That is, it exhibits integrated hybridity in the form of mixing personalised metadiscursive comments on what politicians *did or did not do* in the previous turn, laughter and institutional talk.

To sum up, this extract exhibits a series of assertions and counter-assertions that further hybridise the micro-argumentative sequences identified by Montgomery. In these sequences both interactants, and not only the politician as was the case in the extracts discussed in the previous section, construct *each other* as incompetent to the overhearing audience. The sequence is summarised below:

> *Journalist*: are we going to hear about this programme in the pre-election
> period?   *[Assertion-exposing]*
> *Politician:* I am telling you now that it's a pre-election period
>   *[Counter assertion- Counter exposing]*
> *Journalist:* You are telling me something general and not specific
>   *[Assertion-Exposing]*

In this modified version of a micro-argument, apart from the integrated hybridity exhibited by *both* participants - in the form of personalised metadiscursive comments and asking a question on the part of the politician and personalised metadiscursive comments plus laughter on the part of the journalist – another important feature is the introduction of conversational violence into the micro-argumentative framework. As argued by Luginbühl (2007:1377-1379), mainstream politicians taking part in the Swiss talk show "Arena" misuse every-day conversational patterns, such as asking questions instead of answering ones as a means to portray the other interactant negatively. And that is what Antonis Samaras is doing in this extract: by asking a question that challenges the journalist's follow-up question, portrays the journalists as an incompetent professional. Counterchallenging a journalist by asking a question instead of answering one, is a technique used by two other Greek politicians as Extracts 4 & 5 demonstrate.

Extract 7.4 is taken from an interview between Alexis Tsipras (leader of the leftish party SYRIZA) and Stelios Kouloglou, broadcast on the public broadcaster, between the first and second round of elections. Before this excerpt, the journalist had asked the politician twice, whether he was for reintroducing the drachma. The politician twice resisted answering. The extract begins with the journalist, in turn 1, sanctioning the politician's resistance in answering and trying to move on to a new topic. However, despite his apparent resistance the politician overlaps and maintains the topic.

Extract 7.4

Audio: 11:54-11:18, Video: 01:05:00 - 01:05:35, Date: 16/5/2012

| 1 | Δημ: | =°ναι. κ. Τσίπρα, καταλαβαίνω ότι είναι, ε, ε, <u>γενικά</u>, επειδή ακρι↓βώς το μνημόνιο έχει έρθει, έχει φέρει τη χώρα εδώ που την ↑έχει:: φέρει°, είναι, σχετι↑κά ↓εύκολο, να το απο<u>δομήσει</u> κανείς. είναι <u>πολύ</u> εύκολο. >να αποδομήσει< και να αποδομήσει και τις κοινωνικές του συνέπειες. <u>εντούτοις</u>, >παρόλα αυτά<, ε↑σείς ↓τώρα, ε, πηγαίνουμε σε εκλο↓γές, για να::::, πάμε προς το τέλος τη::ς [ενδιαφέρουσας συζήτησης] | Jour: | =°yes. mr Tsipras, i understand that it is, eh, eh, <u>generally</u>, because pre↓cisely the memorandum has arrived, has brought the country at thi::s ↑stage°, it is, ↑relatively ↓easy, for one to de<u>construc</u>t it. it is <u>very</u> easy. >to deconstruct it< and to deconstruct the consequences it has for society. <u>regardless</u>, >despite this<, ↑you ↓now, eh, we are heading for e↓lections, to::::, move towards the end of thi::s [interesting discussion] |

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2	Πολ:	**[↓ναι.για να μην αφήσω αναπάντητο] όμως το ερώτημα της δρα↑χμής, (.)**	Pol:	**[↓yes. so that i don't leave unanswered] though the question about ↑the drachma, (.)**
3	Δημ:	ναι,=	Jour:	yes,=
4	Πολ:	**=κ. ↑Κούλογλου, γιατί το επανα↑φέρετε °↓διαρκώς αυτό το ερώτημα σε μας?°=**	Pol:	**=mr ↑Kouloglou, why do you keep on ↑raising°↓constantly this issue with us?°=**
5	Δημ:	=↑εγώ δεν το επα↑νέφερα. το είπαν, ε, ε, μπαίνει, ε, από καπ-[↓μπαίνει, (.) καταρχήν από ΣΤΕΛΕΧΗ σας ↓μπαίνει. μι↓σό λεπτάκι.]	Jour:	= ↑I did not ↑raise it. they have raised it, eh,eh, it is raised, eh, by som- [it is ↓raised, (.) primarily by your senior party FIGURES ↓it is raised. ↓wait a minute.]
6	Πολ:	[το, το τε-το τε, το τε ήταν με αι.]£το τε ήταν με αι.£=	Pol:	[it, it, it, it was in the passive voice.]£it was in the passive voice.£=
7	Δημ.:	=↑α, εν↓[τάξει.]	Jour:	=↑ah, al↓[right.]
8	Πολ:	[χα]	Pol:	[ha]
9	Δημ.:	[γιατί μπαίνει από στελέχη σας. το ↑ξέρετε, ↑έτσι?]	Jour:	[because it is raised by your senior party figures. you ↑know that, ↑right?]
10	Πολ:	[λοι↓πόν. ↑γιατί, ↑γιατί επανέρχεται,] με αι, δεν λέω για εσάς,=	Pol:	[↓well. ↑why, ↑why is it being raised,] in the passive voice I do not mean you,=
11	Δημ:	=ναι=	Jour:	=yes=

The politician in turn 2 (in bold) overlaps with the journalist, not allowing him to change the topic and move on with his agenda, by responding to the latter's implicit sanctioning interviewee resistance move in turn 1 (it is easy to deconstruct the memorandum=that's what you have been doing and not answering my question) issuing a counterchallenge in turn 4.

In particular, the politician after using metadiscourse in the form of reflectively defining his own previous turns as non-answers to the journalist's question 'In order not to leave unanswered though the question about drachma' (in turn 2) he moves on in turn 4 to attack the journalist by using personalisation to directly challenging the latter's right to pursue the question "about the drachma". The means used to directly challenge the journalist are the use of the verb "*επαναφέρετε*-(you) keep on raising", coupled with the use of the adverb "*διαρκώς*- constantly" and the use of title and surname "*κ. Κούλογλου*-Mr Kouloglou" (see also Bull and Mayer 1988:38-45 for a discussion on the use of title and surname by Margaret Thatcher to reprimand journalists). Through these means, the politician both holds the journalist personally accountable for issuing the pursuit and at the same time questions the legitimacy of this journalistic practice (of asking the same question repeatedly).

As discussed in the analysis of the previous extract, the function of such a counterchallenging move, in the form of asking a question instead of answering one, is to shift the focus of the interview from the politician and his non-answer to the journalist and the inappropriacy of his/her question, exercising conversational violence. As was the case in the previous extract, the politician's counterchallenge initiates a micro-argumentative sequence, where the focus is not on *what* was said but on *who* has the right to say it, shifting thus the focus from content to the interview rules and interactants' performance.

The journalist, in turn 5 in italics, through his answer to the politician's question abandons the standard Question-Answer pattern of news interviews to defend himself against the politician's accusation. At the same time, by evoking the politician's party members as the agents of the action of recurrently raising the issue and not himself, the journalist adds legitimacy to his initial question, thus gaining back his socioepistemic rights, in Heritage and Raymond's (2005:28-35) terms. The journalist's accounting/justifying move is in line with the moves made by the other journalists examined in this and the previous section, that is, through stressing key words, and issuing metadiscursive comments, Stelios Kouloglou attempts to both regulate the topic and at the same time maintain the hybrid personalised framework established by the politician. In particular, the journalist does so through the marked use of the first person pronoun "εγώ- I", and by raising his voice when uttering "στελέχη σας-your senior party figures".

The politician in turn 6, tries to minimize the impact of the journalist's assertion/sanction by repeatedly uttering in smile voice "it was in passive voice" indicating that the subject of the action verb in his counterchallenge was not the journalist but an impersonal agency[26]. The use of smile voice together with the rest of the politician's verbal response seems *retrospectively* to further mitigate the force of the counterchallenging move/direct attack on the journalist and at the same time indicates the delicacy of the situation (Haakana 2001, Carter 2011), that is, the breach of the news interview protocol: that the politician has reversed their roles and explicitly accused the

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[26]In Greek the distinction between active and passive voice is *only* indicated by the verb inflection (επαναφέρετ-ε - *active*, επαναφέρετ-αι - *passive)*. As the two forms are pronounced the same, the politician tried to create a word play, based on that, claiming that he had used the passive and not the active form. This is not the case though as he clearly indicated the journalist as the subject of the verb in turn 4, through the use of title and surname, clearly using the active and not the passive form. This word play was not possible to be rendered in the English text where I just used 'it was in the passive voice' to indicate what is happening.

journalist of bias. In this way the politician tries to downplay the impact his counterchallenging move might have on the overhearing audience, and do damage control.[27] It seems that the politicians' use of laughter momentarily ends the pseudo conflict, with the journalist in turn 7 accepting the rationale offered 'ah, alright', uttered with a stopping fall in tone, indicating a possible end of the turn construction unit (Sachs, Schegloff and Jefferson 1978) but coming back to the micro-argumentative framework immediately afterwards.

In particular, in turn 9 the journalist, goes back to his previous move and repeats his justification, by stressing again the noun phrase '*στελέχη σας* - your senior party figures'. He adds '*Το ξέρετε, έτσι?* - You know that, right?' a question that functions in Greek as a tag question, by means of the use of '*έτσι*-right' uttered in upward intonation, seeking confirmation for the proposition expressed. To this second justifying/accounting move, the politician responds in a similar way as in turn 6, namely by indicating that he does not refer to the journalist but his question is in passive voice '*με αι, δεν λέω για εσάς* – passive I do not mean you'. The journalist this time, in turn 11, accepts the response/shift from the person to the question and "agrees" to end the micro-argument.

To sum up, in this extract, as was the case in previous research on the use of self-initiated laughter both in ordinary conversation (Norrick and Spitz 2008:1679;1682, Holt 2012:448) and institutional settings (Adelswärd 1989, Haakana 1999, 2001, 2002, 2010, Carter 2011, Romaniuk 2010, 2013b, 2013c) laughter as used by the "weaker" - in context - interactant, that is the politician in this case, does not necessarily create a laughing with or laughing at environment, but performs different functions. It may indicate the delicacy of the situation that is, a breach of professional norms and it may also be used to defuse complaints and save someone's face, consequently doing damage control. Asking a personalised question that reprimands the journalist's conduct and invites an answer thus exhibiting integrated hybridity is also exhibited by a different politician in the next extract.

The last extract of this section is taken from an interview between Evangelos Venizelos and George Autias (see also Extract 7.2). Before the excerpt, the journalist had asked the politician about the misleading slogan (there is money (to be spent)) used

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[27] Romaniuk (2010, 2013b, 2013c) has made a similar observation about the use of laughter by politicians to do damage control but *not* within micro-argumentative sequences and *not* in responses in third position.

in the politician's party 2009 pre-election campaign, that allegedly helped them win the elections. The politician in his response claimed that this was a thing of the past and tried to change topic by moving into the present, a covert resistance technique in Clayman and Heritage's (2002a:270) terms. When asked a pursuit: why since he knew that the slogan was misleading he did not do anything to stop his party using it, the politician claimed he was not consulted on the matter. At this point the journalist overlaps.

Extract 7.5

Audio: 21: 27-20:37, Video: 13:42-14:20, Date: 21/4/2012,

1	Δημ:	[δεν ρωτη↑θήκατε?]=	Jour:	[you were not ↑asked?]=
2	Πολ:	=να σας πω κάτι?=	Pol:	=may i tell you something?=
3	Δημ:	=δεν ρωτη↑θήκατε ↑είπατε?=	Jour:	=you were not ↑asked you ↑said?=
4	Πολ:	= ναι, δεν ήμουνα εγώ μέσα στο <u>επιτελείο</u> του 2009. (.) σημασία να- έχει-↑<u>ξέρετε ποιο έχει σημασία</u>?=	Pol:	=yes, i was not in the <u>executive team</u> of 2009. (.) the important- **do you↑know what is important**?=
5	Δημ:	=παρακα↓λώ.=	Jour:	=↓please.=
6	Πολ:	=↓<u>μη ↓με κοι↓τάτε. έκπληκτος.</u> ((χαμογελά))=	Pol:	=**do ↓not ↓look at ↓me. startled.**((smiling))=
7	Δημ.:	=<u>έκπληκτος</u>. ↓σας [κοι↓τάζω.]	Jour:	=<u>startled</u>. i ↓[look at ↓you.]
8	Πολ:	[£<u>μη με]</u> κοιτάτε, [δε-δεν με πείθετε,£]	Pol:	**[£do not] look at me, [you-you do not convince me,£]**
9	Δημ:	[((χαμογελά)) δηλα↑δή, ↑ήσασταν το ↑νούμερο ↑δύο στο Πασόκ,]	Jour:	[((smiling)) ↑so, you ↑were the ↑number ↑two in Pasok,]
10	Πολ:	[£↓πρέπει να σας ↑πω, α↓φήστε με,£]=	Pol:	**[£i ↑have to ↑tell you, ↓let me,£]=**
11	Δημ:	=£μι<u>σό</u> λε↑πτό. κ. Βενι↑ζέλο£,=	Jour:	=£<u>wait</u> a ↑minute mr Veni↑zelos,£=
12	Πολ:	=£<u>λοι↓πόν</u> κ. Αυτιά, [α↓κούστε,£]	Pol:	**=£↓well mr Autias, [↓listen, £]**
13	Δημ:	((χαμογελά)) [↑νούμερο ↑ δύο] στο Πα↑σόκ και [↑δεν ρωτη↑θήκατε για το, λε↓φτά υ↓πάρχουνε? ↑το 'ξερε ο Λο↓βέρδος και δεν το ↑ξέρατε εσείς?]	Jour:	((smiling)) [↑number ↑two] in Pa↑sok and [you were ↑not ↑asked for the, ((Pasok's 2009 pre-election slogan)) there ↓is ↓money? Lo↓verdos ↑knew about it and ↑you didn't?]
14	Πολ:	[£<u>ακούστε τώρα</u>, ↑εσείς ↓είστε, (.) <u>ακούστε</u>, α-<u>ακούστε</u>] α κούστε με λίγο.£=	Pol:	**[£<u>listen now</u>, ↑you ↓are, (.) <u>listen</u>, li-<u>listen</u>] listen to me for a while. £=**
15	Δημ:	=ελάτε.=	Jour:	=please.=

In turn 1 the journalist overlaps and asks a pursuit, followed by a stripped repetition of it (Ekström and Fitzgerald 2013), in turn 3, after the politician resisted answering and attempted to change the topic in turn 2. To the journalist's stripped repetition the politician responds in turn 4 by offering a minimal answer and then tries again to change the agenda by asking a question 'do you know what is important?', a counterchallenging technique that reverses the interviewer-interviewee roles, with the politician taking over the role of the agenda setter from the journalist. The journalist in the next turn, turn 5, accepts this change of topic/agenda by means of his uttering 'please' that both invites the previous speaker to take the floor, and stops the on-going action, that is the pursuit of an answer to his question.

Although having been offered the floor to pursue his own topic, the politician in turn 6 initiates a meta-discursive "micro-argument" sequence by objecting *not* to the verbal content of the journalist's previous turn but on its paralinguistic features, i.e the look on the journalist's face ('do not look at me startled'), smiling while uttering it. Previous research on ordinary talk has indicated that self-initiated smiling, i.e in first position, can convey a positive and appreciative stance in storytelling and other forms of talk (Ruusuvourli and Peräkylä 2009:384, cited in Fatigante and Orletti 2013:163). Previous research on institutional talk (Haakana 2010) has yielded similar results. It has indicated that self-initiated smiling can be used as a pre-laughing device, indicating alignment with the previous speaker. In this case though as self-initiated smiling, together with the politician's verbal response, initiates a micro-argument, and it indicates the speaker's disalignment with the previous speaker's turn (his gaze) it has a completely different function: it marks the journalist's paralinguistic move as an adversarial challenge, as the laughable and grounds for interruption.

From this point onwards an extended micro-argument sequence develops for 10 turns in total (turns 6-15). The politician's personalized verbal attack, through the use of binary pronouns 'με-me' in turns 6,8,10, 'σας-you' in turn 10, 'εσείς-you' in turn 14, title and last name (Mr Autias) in turn 12, is reciprocated by the journalist by the same means. In turns 9 and 13 the journalist mixes institutional talk, personalization and smile voice while uttering counters (Greatbatch 1986a, 1986b), or adversarial follow-up questions, in Eriksson's (2011: 3334-3337) terms. Personalisation in the journalist's talk is achieved through verb inflections of all the verbs used (ήσαστ-αν, ρωτηθήκ-ατε, ξέρ-ατε) that indicate a second person subject, i.e the politician.

Finally, in turn 11 the journalist personalizes his metadiscursive comment, that attempts to regulate the topic of the interview (Montgomery 2011:43) through the use of title plus last name 'Mr Venizelos' to put the politician on the spot (Rendle-Short 2011) and an imperative 'wait' uttered in smile voice. Throughout this meta-discursive personalized micro-argumentative sequence, the politician keeps on hybridizing his counter-assertions by means of smile voice while challenging the journalist on his gaze firstly (in turn 8) and then on procedural grounds (turns 10, 12 and 14). In the same way as the politician and the journalist in Extract 7.4, both interactants in this extract engage in a hybrid micro-argumentative sequence over who is "doing his job properly", summarised below:

Look at the politician in disbelief/startled   *[assertion-exposing]*

Don't look at me like that& smiling

                                                                [counter assertion-counter exposing]

I am looking at you in disbelief   *[assertion-exposing]*

Don't look at me like that, you don't convince me (in smile voice)

                                                                [counter assertion-counter exposing]

Counter & smiling   *[assertion-exposing]*

Allow me (to speak) (in smile voice)   *[counter assertion-counter exposing]*

Wait a minute plus title & surname (in smile voice)

                                                                [assertion-exposing]

Listen (in smile voice)   *[counter assertion-counter exposing]*

Repetition of counter & elaboration & smiling   *[assertion-exposing]*

Listen to me (in smile voice)   *[counter assertion-counter exposing]*

In this extract, the journalist's reciprocal or shared laughter contradicts findings of previous research in ordinary conversation (Holt 2010:1524), in relation to its role in topic termination. As the journalist's reciprocal laughter formed an integral part of the on-going micro-argumentative action, it was not used to terminate the topic and action but to sustain it. So it appears that the function of reciprocal laughter by both interactants leads to action continuation and forms an integral part of it.

To sum up, in this extract the politician's counterchallenges exhibit integrated hybridity initially in the form of issuing a question in turn 4 and then in the form of personalised attacks, accompanied by laughter, on the journalist's (embodied) conduct

in turns 6,8,10,12,14. The functions of the counterchallenges are twofold: *retrospectively* they disaffiliate with the journalist's line of questioning (pursuing an answer to the same question) and *prospectively* start a new on-going action; a micro-argument sequence. In this micro-argumentative sequence, *both* parties incorporate personalised argumentative talk and laughter within their turns so as to stick to their agendas, (re)take control of the topic and mark the on-going sequence/action as the laughable: the journalist asking the same question, exposing the politician's evasiveness in answering and the politician attacking the journalist's conduct.

Integated hybridity as manifested in this extract confirms and enriches previous research findings in relation to the functions of hybridity in the unfolding interaction and the maintenance of news interview norms. Laughter, together with the personalised verbal attacks issued by both interactants, *firstly* enables them to sustain the argumentative framework established without appearing overtly aggressive (as was argued by Baym 2013 and Ekström 2011 *but not* within micro-argumentative sequences). *Secondly,* because these hybrid verbal attacks are reciprocal, i.e both participants are engaged in a hybrid metadiscursive argument, they sustain the news interviews status quo as well (as was argued by Montgomery 2011 *but not* in relation to the use of hybridity). As was the case in the previous extract, in this extract the politician's attacks also involve the use of meta-discursive comments on the journalist's professional conduct (and not so much on the inadequacy of the question as was the case in extract 7.3 and in the extracts examined in the previous section); an interactional feature that exhibits conversational violence, according to Luginbühl (2007).

7.3 Discussion

As stated in the introductory section, this chapter had three aims: firstly to provide data-driven support for my definition of hybridity as the appropriation of elements of every day conversation and talk associated with other broadcast genres, into the accountability (election campaign) interview, featuring in *both* journalists' and politicians' talk. Secondly, to map the hybrid practices exhibited by Greek politicians through my analysis against challenging responses that is, the umbrella term introduced in section 3.3.2 under which I placed politicians' responses that although challenging journalists' questions, are constructed in such a way as to preserve the adversarially transformed, yet normative, structure of news interviews. Thirdly, it aimed to

investigate what the effect is of the employment of *integrated hybridity* on the structural organisation of the news interview and the public portrayal of both participants. [28]

In relation to the *first question*, chapter 7 demonstrated that Greek politicians' hybrid responses to adversarial challenges within micro-argumentative sequences manifested *integrated hybridity* in the same way Greek journalists did in chapter 6. By doing so, chapter 7 expanded previous research on the manifestation of hybridity from journalists' institutional talk to politicians' institutional talk. Moreover, chapter 7 demonstrated that the integrated hybridity exhibited by Greek politicians in the extracts analysed, enrich the hybrid practices Greek journalists exhibited in the previous chapter by bringing in conversational violence, a feature of talk associated with other televised genres, namely debate shows.

In particular, hybridity in politicians' talk takes the form of personalisation, an ordinary talk confrontation technique that mirrors relevant hybrid aggressive journalistic practices already reported (Hutchby 2011a, 2001b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011). Personalisation is manifested by means of binary personal pronouns and/or verbs of attribution and the use of title and surname to put the journalist on the spot, challenge his/her knowledge on a given subject and subsequently their professional capability and right to ask the given question. As argued, since these responses are placed within a personalised framework, they are *attacks ad hominem* (Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992), that is they attack the person and not the position maintained, a confrontational technique used by extreme-right politicians in debates (Simon-Vandenbergen 2008: 352-353). Their use adds another level of hybridisation to the election campaign interview: the appropriation of confrontation techniques used in other institutional genres (debates) to the election campaign interview.

Hybridity is also manifested by means of politicians asking a question instead of answering one, challenging once again the journalists' knowledge on a subject and subsequently their professional capability and right to ask the given question. Asking a question instead of answering one is a misuse of an everyday conversation technique, featuring in debate shows (Luginbühl 2007:1379) that also exerts conversational

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[28] As argued in chapter 6, integrated hybridity (the practical manifestation of more than one frame of activities in journalists' institutional talk) as the mixing of personalised meta-discursive talk and laughter within a single utterance, or sequence of adversarial challenges, marries the definitions of hybridity as argumentation and as a jovial adversarial journalistic resource offered by Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2017) and Ekström (2011) and Baym (2013) respectively.

violence and presents the other interlocutor negatively. Asking a question instead of answering one, also adds another level of hybridity: the misuse (conversational violence) of everyday conversational techniques to discredit the other interlocutor transferred from ordinary talk to debates, to election campaign interviews.

Moreover, integrated hybridity in politicians' responses is manifested through the use of laughter, another instance of appropriating ordinary talk features into institutional talk. In the analysed extracts, laughter featured in politicians' hybrid responses that initiated micro-argumentative sequences, accompanying *both* personalised attacks on the journalists, and personalised questions posed by politicians to journalists. The employment of laughter together with Greek politicians' verbal responses within these micro-argumentative sequences appears to combine and extend the already identified functions it may have from non-argumentative environments to argumentative ones. Previous research on the use of laughter by the less powerful interactants in *non micro-argumentative* institutional interaction, indicated that laughter was used to mark a delicate situation in medical consultations, (Haakana 2001) and police interviews, (Carter 2011), to offer an implicit commentary on the previous turn or do damage control, (Romaniuk 2013b, 2013c) in one-on-one election campaign interviews. Laughter was used by Greek politicians within their micro-argumentative sequences to provide an implicit commentary on the previous turn thus both strengthening and hybridising the attack on the journalist (see extract 7.5) Alternatively it was used at the end of the micro-argumentative sequence to indicate the delicacy of the situation and do damage control (see extract 7.4).

In relation to the *second question*, whether the hybrid challenging responses issued constitute a distinctive category of challenging responses, chapter 7 demonstrated that by manifesting integrated hybridity, Greek politicians signify the emergence of a distinct type of responses: *counterchallenges*. It seems that the personalised character of the hybrid challenging responses examined and their inbuilt elements of conversational violence and laughter, distinguish them from the rest of the challenging responses discussed in section 3.3.2. This is so, as previous literature (i.e Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Bull 2003, Rendle-Short 2007a, Dickerson 2001) reviewed in section 3.3.2 has shown, politicians who use, what I called a challenging response, even if they challenge the appropriacy of the question, never overtly personalize the attack, thereby maintaining – even at a superficial level – neutralism, as an interactional achievement of *both* interactants.

In the extracts analysed, this does not seem to be the case for various reasons. Firstly, politicians' hybrid challenging responses were framed in highly personal terms, through the use of binary pronouns/verbs of attribution and title and surname that put the journalists on the spot. Secondly, because of their personalised features and highly argumentative character, the hybrid responses (counterchallenges) issued by Greek politicians, attack not so much the appropriacy of the question but mainly the journalists' right to ask it and/or their professional conduct. In cases like these, where the other party is directly held to account, as Schegloff (1988/1989:224; 238, footnote 6) argues referring to the Rather-Bush interview, the media event becomes a confrontation as the Question-Answer roles do not guide the interactional activity. [29] It appears that, through the counterchallenges issued in the extracts examined in this chapter, Greek politicians indicate that neutralism as the interactional product of both interactants was not achieved, or in Hutchby's words that: "the journalist did not achieve the status of being neutral" (2006: 127).

So in contrast to Hutchby's (2017) and Patrona's (2011) research, but in line with Montgomery's (2011), Greek politicians in the extracts analysed do not "seem powerless" when challenged by journalists but they reciprocate through the same means. So in a sense what happens in the extracts examined, reinforces Baym's (2013) and Ekström's (2011) claims but *on the reverse*: in their datasets hybridity in the form of laughter was used by both participants to co-construct a non-threatening adversarial environment, while in my extracts integrated hybridity, involving laughter and personal attacks, was used to co-construct an argumentative environment.

In relation to the *first aspect of the third question* that is, what the effect is of the employment of integrated hybridity on the structural organisation of the news interview it appears that by employing integrated hybridity within their micro-argumentative sequences, Greek politicians reinforce the prevalence of Montgomery's (2011:47) notion of politician-initiated micro-argumentative sequences and at the same time hybridise it.

The first category of Greek politicians' hybrid micro-argumentative moves counterchallenges (personalised attacks challenging the adequacy of the journalists' question, set up by means of binary pronouns and verbs of attribution) indicated that the adversarial challenge (in the form of adversarial follow up questions or pursuits) was

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[29] Holding the other party - the journalist in this case - accountable however, does not necessarily always lead to confrontations in the form of micro-argumentative sequences, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

inappropriate - thus not worthy of an answer – consequently legitimising the politicians' non-answers. Their use also involved a substantial, if only momentary, power/role reversal as the focus of the interview was shifted *from* the initial agenda/topic, the politician and his non-answer to the adversarial challenge, *to* the journalist and his/her professional misconduct, marking also an action shift; journalists were held to account instead of politicians. In those terms, there was also a shift from what the politician *did not say* to what the journalist *did* (not having researched enough, not having adequate knowledge, being biased).

The next category (politician responds to an adversarial challenge with a question and laughter) is also placed within a personal discussion/disagreement framework, as the politicians explicitly address journalists through the use of binary pronouns/verbs of attribution, while posing a question that invites an answer. Asking a question as a means to respond to an adversarial challenge has similar functions to the first category, namely: there is a substantial role/power reversal with the politician taking over the journalist's role as the agenda setter within an explicit breach of the Question-Answer norm. In this way, the politicians' non-answers are legitimized and the journalists' "misconduct" is being exposed to the overhearing audience.

So it seems that in a highly adversarial environment where journalists pose adversarial challenges that expose politicians' evasiveness to the overhearing audience, in the form of pursuits or adversarial follow-up questions, politicians react in a similar way. Mirroring journalists' free-standing assertions, a fact that has been attributed by Patrona (2011) to journalists' not observing neutralism while by Montgomery (2011) to the stretching of the boundaries of neutralism and the implicit assumption that journalists speak on the public's behalf, politicians frame their responses in personal terms, counter-exposing journalists. By personalizing issues, laughing or asking a question instead of answering one, in effect placing their responses within a hybrid framework, Greek politicians both incorporate elements of conversational violence from another televised genre (debate talk shows) to the election campaign interview and turn the tables on journalists by mirroring their own strategies. In doing so, Greek politicians effectively discredit both the person and their position and subsequently contrast a negative image of the journalists, treating them as opponents, with a positive image of themselves. All the aforementioned attacks also affect the journalists' integrity and seem to be in line with Hess-Lüttich's (2007:1369) claim about (pseudo-) argumentation in debate talk shows, extended here to election campaign interviews, that: "[…] serves to

stage politics as symbolic action [...] the debate is presented as a controversy, contest, even as a battle, rather than as a rational discussion and argumentation."

But this is not where the story ends. To politicians' counterchallenging/counter exposing moves, in both interactional contexts, either within micro-arguments or within a series of argumentative Question-Question-Answer sequences, journalists reacted in a similar way; they sustained the established hybrid argumentative framework, while accounting for their adversarial challenges. By doing so, journalists indicated that the politicians' counterchallenges were an attack on their professional capability, knowledge or conduct, an attack from which they had to defend themselves.

Within these added interactional moves, journalists employed integrated hybridity in the same way as politicians did: through the use of binary pronouns/verbs of attribution and laughter. Journalists reactions resulted in a series of exposing - counter exposing - accounting/ justifying interactional moves, that shift the focus of the interview from what is said (content) to how it is said (performance). In particular, the following pattern seems to emerge:

Journalist: adversarial challenge/exposing move (in the form of adversarial follow-up questions or pursuits)

Politician: counterchallenge/counter exposing move (in the form of counter-assertions, realised through integrated hybridity, that initiate a micro-argument)

Journalist: accounting/justifying/exposing (by means of integrated hybridity)

To sum up, it seems that the functions of integrated hybridity as employed by both interactants in the unfolding interaction are the following: its use breaches the Question-Answer pattern of accountability interviews, and turns the unfolding interaction into a mini-confrontation where each interlocutor exposes and counter exposes the other to the overhearing audience.

These features, hybridise and modify the micro-argument sequences discussed by Montgomery (2011) in two ways: they bring into the micro-argument features of (confrontational) everyday talk (laughter, personalising issues) or confrontational talk associated with other televised genres (asking a question instead of answering one in order to discredit the interactional opponent, featured in debate shows). This in turn, results in another shift in the micro-argumentative sequence; a shift from what is said to how it is said, another feature of debate talk shows (see section 4.2.2 and Luginbühl

(2007) and Hess-Lüttich (2007) for further discussion). So in effect, the micro-argumentative sequences examined in this chapter resemble the three turns of conflict talk identified by Norrick and Spitz (2008:1667), namely *arguable action* that is, the proposition initiating conflict talk, *initial opposition*, the denial of the arguable proposition and finally the *counter opposition* that is, the counter-claim (see also (Coutler 1990, Gruber 1996, Hutchby 1996, Maynard 1985, Muntigl and Turnbull 1998, Schiffrin 1985, Spitz 2006 among others) for a general discussion on the sequential structure of conflict talk. These three turns of conflict talk identified in ordinary conversation, seem to have been replaced by *challenging, counterchallenging/counter-exposing, justifying/exposing* moves in institutional interaction in the extracts examined.

The politicians' counterchallenging moves may be attributed to two factors. Firstly it may be a reaction to the linguistic practices of Greek journalists that allow them to present themselves as authoritative experts on political current affairs (Patrona 2011, 2012 and Papathanassopoulos 2001, see also section 5.2). To these linguistic practices, politicians "strike back" by challenging the journalists' epistemic authority and knowledge in forming their adversarial challenges, by means of challenging the journalist's professional capability. I use the term "epistemic authority" in the way Heritage and Raymond (2005:15) use it: as determining whose view is more significant or authoritative with respect to the matter at hand, usually indexed by the first speaker in "going first" in assessing some state of affairs. In the case of adversarial challenges and counterchallenges, the journalist occupies the first position in assessing the matter/topic at hand, a position the politician tries to occupy by counterchallenging the first speaker's view.

Secondly, as Hutchby (1996, 2006, 2014a) has demonstrated, putting Foucault's (1977/1980) notion of power as manifest at the smallest level of interpersonal relationships into practice, interactants can resist the power structure inherent in interactional discourse by mimicking the linguistic power resources available to more powerful interactants. In the case of political news interviews, the more powerful participant, in context, is the journalist and the less powerful participant is the politician. As already discussed in this section, the hybrid techniques used by politicians resemble the ones used by journalists themselves when asking adversarial questions (e.g why-questions) or when sanctioning interviewee resistance (expose the journalists' lack of knowledge or research in order to render the question as inappropriate, thus not worthy

of an answer). So in this context, politicians try to resist the power exercised by journalists by mimicking the latter's linguistic resources.

This now leads to the *second part of the third question* this chapter investigated: what are the implications of the use of hybridity for the public portrayal of both journalists and politicians? Dieckman (1981), cited in Hess-Lüttich (2007:1362) notes that political discourse has aspects of theatricality in it and: "is a 'trialogue' in which a speaker moves in relationships with two groups of listeners […] (and) each of the contributions signify different types of verbal action". Applying Dieckeman's claim to my data (and any political interview for that matter) I argue that the personalised adversarial challenges and counterchallenges employed by journalists and politicians address both the overhearing audience by exposing it to each other's inadequacy in the interactional game, but at the same time address the other participant, portraying the current speaker as the most powerful. Based on that and in line with both previous research on the importance of journalistic question design for politicians' public portrayal and how politicians modify (or not) this portrayal through their answers (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011), as well as general discussions on the way participants orient their broadcast talk to the overhearing audience (Hutchby 2006:11, Scannell 1991, 2012), the following picture seems to be painted.

Through their unmitigated adversarial challenges journalists portray themselves as knowledgeable and politicians as less so, fulfilling at the same time their watchdog role adequately (through their persistence) and also exposing to the overhearing audience politicians' evasiveness.

To these adversarial moves, politicians respond in a similar way, counter-exposing journalists to the overhearing audience. In this way politicians regain their "lost" epistemic authority on matters of politics and expose the journalists' professional inadequacy to the overhearing audience. Doing so, paints a specific public portrayal for the three politicians involved in the extracts examined. It portrays Alexis Tsipras, Antonis Samaras and Evangelos Venizelos as "approved fighters in a staged confrontation" in Luginbühl's (2007: 1386) terms.

In turn, by accounting for their adversarial challenges, journalists sustain the hybrid micro-arguments initiated and try to get their epistemic/professional authority back. This power struggle through hybridity might be another way of exercising accountability, where what is important is not *what* is said but *how* it is said. What is equally important to note is that politicians, employ hybridity in the form of

personalisation and asking questions instead of answering them to counterchallenge journalists in one-on-one "prototypical interviews", not only in the Greek media context but also in other media contexts, as analysis of two extracts taken from interviews between Jeremy Paxman and the President of Iceland and a Welsh politician indicate (see Appendix C: 211-215).

This power struggle, the shift from what is said to how it is said, the functions of hybridity in the unfolding interaction and their implications for the public portrayal of both interactants will be further discussed in the next chapter. Chapter 8 will examine extended sequences of politicians' responses to journalists' adversarial challenges, but involving different journalistic actions in third position than the ones examined in this chapter; journalistic reactions that do not maintain or escalate the confrontational environment established, but *halt* it.

8. Hybridity in the service of 'normality'

Chapters 6 and 7 introduced the notion of integrated hybridity that is, mixing jovial and adversarial frames within a single utterance or sequence of institutional talk manifested in Greek journalists' and politicians' talk. Chapter 7 also explored how the employment of integrated hybridity, enabled both interactants to set up and maintain a hybrid micro-argumentative framework over news interview norms, power and status quo (i.e who has the power to ask and answer questions, thereby effectively regulating the topic and agenda of the interview, and who is more knowledgeable on matters of politics and current affairs). Building on these discussions, chapter 8 will focus on laughter as a specific feature of integrated hybridity and investigate how its manifestation in both interactants' talk enables them either to further "deregulate" or go back to "standard" news interviews norms and status quo.

In particular, chapter 8 will examine how politicians use laughter within their counterchallenges (responses that exhibit integrated hybridity) to attack journalists and how journalists in turn employ laughter within their hybrid reactions in third and subsequent positions, to respond to the politicians' attacks. Journalists' laughter will be examined within two institutional activities that *halt* the on-going adversarial action. Firstly, within journalistic neutralising moves, a notion introduced by Hutchby (1996:23) to refer to the ways radio-hosts dealt with callers' argumentative actions, used here to describe journalists' similar moves. Secondly, within restoring normality moves, (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:144), that is when journalists evoke their professional role in order to restore the institutional asymmetrical relationship between interactants.

Chapter 8 will also expand on my argumentation in chapter 7 about the functions of the use of integrated hybridity in both interlocutors' talk with regards to their public portrayal. In chapter 7 I argued that through integrated hybridity Greek politicians and journalists indicate to the overhearing electorate (and to each other) their respective inefficiencies in terms of epistemic authority. [30] In particular, through the extracts analysis in chapter 7, I have argued that by challenging journalists' professional capability politicians portray themselves as fair and knowledgeable players in a (self-initiated) verbal duel, while journalists by reciprocating (through their

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[30] I use the term 'epistemic authority' in the way Heritage and Raymond (2005:15) use it: as determining whose view is more significant or authoritative with respect to the matter at hand, usually indexed by the first speaker in "going first" in assessing some state of affairs. In the case of adversarial challenges and responses the journalist occupies the first position in assessing the matter/topic at hand, a position the politician tries to occupy by counterchallenging the first speaker's view.

accounting/justifying moves) try to defend both their professional status and expertise in the field of politics and current affairs and regain their "lost" epistemic authority.

Extending this discussion on the power struggle over appropriacy and status between journalists and politicians, in this chapter I will first argue that Greek journalists through their hybrid neutralising moves, help politicians maintain the "fighter's" persona they have built through their hybrid argumentative interactional practices. In that way, even momentarily, journalists "hand over" their institutional power and enable politicians to appear the winners in a self-initiated verbal fight. Secondly, even when journalists employ integrated hybridity to "restore normality", in effect pointing out to the overhearing audience what the politician has been doing (counterchallenging them) and arguably have "won" the interactional argument over appropriacy, the knowledge produced is still the same with that produced when they argued (in chapter 7) or when the journalists neutralised politicians' attacks: that political and media elites are fighting over power and authority by re-appropriating news interview norms through hybridity.

8.1. Neutralising politicians' counterchallenges

In this section I will analyse the openings of two out of the four one-on-one interviews Alexis Tsipras, leader of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left), gave during the 2012 election campaigns. Because Alexis Tsipras employed laughter within his counterchallenges to the *first* adversarial challenges posed by journalists, I will argue that laughter was strategically used from the *very beginning* to build a specific political identity.[31] In this section I will examine journalists' reactions to the politician's counterchallenges that neutralised them by ignoring the attack. Integrated hybridity in the politician's talk is manifested through laughter, personalisation and attacking the question. Hybridity in the journalists' talk is exhibited through laughter. Points of interest are highlighted in bold for the politician's turns and in italics for the journalists'.

The first extract is the opening of an interview between Alexis Tsipras and Maria Houkli. This interview was broadcast on a private TV channel (ANT1), during the 8 o'clock evening news before the first round of elections, days after Alexis Tsipras

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[31] Alexis Tsipras counterchallenged a *third* journalist through laughter and personalisation at the beginning of another one-on-one interview, and the journalist, in line with the journalists in the extracts to be examined, also neutralised the counterchallenge. But as the journalist did not employ hybridity in his neutralising move the extract is not included in the body of the thesis but in Appendix D: 216-217, as Extract 3.

had publicly discussed the possibility of forming a coalition government with a right wing populist party (Independent Greeks) if his party was given the chance to govern (something he eventually did after the 2015 elections).

Extract 8.1

Audio: 13:24-12:47, Date: 25/4/2012, Video: 00:00-00:36

1	Δημ:	να καλησπερίσω τον κ. Αλέξη Τσίπρα τον πρόεδρο του Σύριζα, (.) [του συνασπισμού]=	Jour:	i welcome mr Alexis Tsipras the president of Syriza, (.) [the coalition]=
2	Πολ:	=[καλησπέρα κ. Χούκλη.]=		=[good evening ms Houkli.]=
3	Δημ:	=της ριζοσπαστικής αριστεράς, (.) *κύριε ↓πρόεδρε, (.) μας ↑έχετε, ↓μπερδέψει. θέλετε, (.) την <u>κυβέρνηση</u> ? ή την <u>εξουσία</u>? ή και τα δυο?*	Jour	=of the radical left, *(.) mr ↓president, (.) you ↑have, ↓confused us. do you want, (.) the <u>government</u>? or the <u>power</u>? or both?*
4	Πολ:	**χα, χα [£χαίρομαι που σας έχω μπερδέψει με τέτοια διλήμματα κ. Χούκλη,£]**	Pol.:	**ha,ha [£i am glad that i have confused you with such dilemmas ms Houkli, £]**
5	Δημ:	*[((χαμογελά)) ·χα, χχχχ]*	Jour:	*[((smiling)) ·ha, hhhh]*
6	Πολ:	**διότι συν<u>ή</u>θως, σας μπερ<u>δ</u>εύαμε για-με τον <u>ποιον</u> θα συνεργα↓στούμε, ↑ποιον θα στη↓ρίξουμε, ↑ποιον θα υποστη↓ρίξουμε. ενώ τώρα, (.) μας ρωτάτε αν ↑θέλουμε [<u>μόνο</u> τη διακυβέρνηση, >ή και την εξουσία<, σας απαντώ. ότι]**	Pol.:	**because <u>usually</u>, we have been confusing you with-with regards to <u>whom</u> we will collaborate ↓with, ↑whom we will su↓pport, ↑whom we will ↓back up. while now, (.) you ask us if we ↑want [<u>only</u> the government, >or the power as well<, i am answering you. that]**
7	Δημ:	[σας (0.1) σας ρωτάω, διότι]=	Jour:	[i (0.1) i am asking you, because]=
8	Πολ:	**=ότι £και να μας προσφερθεί,£ (.)[αν ο <u>λαός</u>]**	Pol.:	**=that £whatever may be offered to us,£ (.) [if the <u>people</u>]**
9	Δημ:	*[£καλοδεχούμενο ε,£?]=*	Jour:	*[£it would be welcomed eh,£?]=*
10	Πολ:	**=το-μας το προσφέρει,=**	Pol.:	**=o-offer it to us,=**
11	Δημ:	=μμ,[μμ]	Jour:	=mm,[mm]
12	Πολ:	**[θα το] δεχτούμε με ↑μεγάλη ↓ευχαρίστηση.=**	Pol.:	**[we will] accept it with ↑great ↓pleasure.=**
13	Δημ:	=σας ρωτώ ↑γιατί,=	Jour:	=i am asking you ↑because,=
14	Πολ:	**=>είναι ↑δυο ↑διαφορετικά ↑πράγματα< ↓όμως.=**	Pol.:	**=>they are ↑two ↑different ↑things<↓though.=**
15	Δημ:	=↓βεβαίως, ↓βεβαίως. το ↓ξέρω. το, το, το διαχωρί<u>σατε</u> <u>εσχάτως</u>, ↑για αυτό σας το ↓ρωτώ<(…)	Jour:	=↓certainly, ↓certainly. i ↓know. you, you, you have made the dis<u>tinction</u> <u>recently</u>, ↑that's why I am ↓asking you (…)

The interview begins with the journalist asking a promise soliciting question in turn 3. Promise soliciting questions that are designed as closed (usually yes or no) questions, invite the candidates to affirmatively commit themselves to a specific course of action if elected, according to Clayman and Romaniuk (2011:27). Due to their design, promise soliciting questions allow politicians little room to manoeuvre thus they are aggressive in Clayman's (2002a) terms. Consequently, I have grouped them under the umbrella term "adversarial challenges" in section 3.1.2.

In this particular instance, the journalist's promise soliciting question, that echoes public discussions at the period 'Mr President you have confused us. Do you want the government or the power or both?' exhibits adversarialness as it invites the politician to commit himself to one of the alternatives presented: whether he wants to govern the country (by becoming the Prime Minister in a coalition government with Independent Greeks as he had announced several days before) or whether he would be "satisfied" to agree to support another party in their effort to form a government (possibly one of the two powerful parties of the period: New Democracy or PASOK), without having an active role. To the journalist's adversarial challenge the politician responds in turn 4 by issuing a counterchallenge that manifests intergrated hybridity through laughter and personalistaion.

The politician employs laughter in two forms. Firstly, by means of pre-verbal laugh particles that previous research (Romaniuk 2013b, 2013c) has indicated that mark the whole of the previous turn as the laughable. Secondly, by uttering his verbal response in smile voice indicating thus which parts of the journalist's question triggered his laughter. What appears to have triggered the politician's laughter is the aggressive nature of the journalist's narrow disjunctive promise soliciting question that allows him little room to manoeuver and the use of the verb 'έχετε μπερδέψει – have confused (us)' by the journalist. The verb has highly adversarial connotations as it associates the politician with two negative qualities – non clarity, and non-commitment, associations the politician seems to want to disassociate from.

The politician's non-commitment is also verbalized by his use of the word 'διλήμματα – dilemmas', uttered in smile voice, that both summarises/characterises the proposition expressed by the journalist in the previous turn, giving it rather negative connotations, and treats it as a laughable. Moreover, the politician's challenging response is also put within a personalising issues framework by means of his using a second person singular pronoun 'σας-you' and a title and surname when addressing the

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journalist '*κ. Χούκλη*- Ms Houkli', putting her on the spot and foregrounding that she is the author (in Goffman's 1981 terms) of the proposition expressed in the previous turn.

The use of laughter, and a second person pronoun plus title and surname, that hold the journalist personally accountable for the proposition expressed, hybridise the politician's response by qualifying it as a counterchallenge. This is so, as by treating the question as the laughable and personalising it by attributing it to the journalist, the politician does not "simply" resist answering the question, but de-legitimatises it, stripping it off the legitimacy it "should" have and indeed had through the use of the inclusive first person plural pronoun '*μας*-us' that the journalist used in her question to refer both to herself and the general public.

In turn 6 the politician continues his counterchallenge by turning the binary *personalised* adversarial framework ('I' versus 'you') initiated in turn 4 to a binary *impersonal* but still adversarial framework. This is achieved by means of changing the parameters of the initial question ever so slightly (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:254) in three ways. Firstly, although the initial question was addressed specifically to him, something he maintained in turn 4, in turn 6 he moves away from this, shifting from 'I' to 'we', a modification of a "pronominal shift" (Bull and Fetzer 2006 and Fetzer and Bull 2008), speaking on behalf of his party. Secondly, the politician makes a semantic shift when using '*σας*-you' to refer not to the journalist as a person/professional as in the previous turn, but to what she stands for: a media representative. In this way he shifts the previous personalised framework 'I' vs 'you' to a more general binary one: 'my party' vs 'the media', sustaining thus the adversarial framework established. Thirdly, he starts listing the kinds of questions the media found confusing in the past, contrasting them, by means of using '*ενώ*-while', with the question asked that he repeats (slightly modified) at the end of the list. In doing so, it enables him to portray the present "confusion" as just another one in the long line of things the media have been finding confusing. In this way the significance of the question is minimized and the focus shifts away from committing himself to a specific course of action *to* what his party wants and, even implicitly, *to* the media "confusion" with regards to his party.

This enables the politician in turns 8-12 to be "doing answering" (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:242) by shifting the focus again away from what he commits himself to do - as explicitly set out within the parameters of the original question 'Do you want the government or the power or both' *to* what the people want. In particular, in turn 8, he uses a passive construction uttered in smile voice '*οτιδήποτε μας προσφερθεί* – whatever

may be offered to us' that comes as a hybridised response to his modified version of the initial question at the end of turn 6 'you ask us if we want only the government or the power as well'. In the politician's hybridised response the agency again has shifted from what either *he*, as the party leader, or *his party* wants to what the people want. In this way he evokes the people as the responsible party to answer the self-characterised "dilemma" presented in the initial journalist's question, excluding himself and his party, marking the dilemma once again as the laughable through his use of smile voice.

Finally, in turn 14, although he "answered" the journalist's question in turn 3, the politician comes back to the question (do you want the government, or the power) and challenges its conceptual appropriacy: 'they are two different things though'. This counterchallenge that attacks the legitimacy of the promise-soliciting question is at the end of the hybrid adversarial continuum established by the politician in turn 4: laughter, counterchallenging through personalisation and use of smile voice, attacking the legitimacy of the question (exercising conversational violence).

The journalist's (hybrid) reactions throughout this extract *do not* reciprocate or escalate the personalised adversarial framework established by the politician but on the contrary they *neutralise* it. In particular, the journalist in turn 5 responds to the politician's counterchallenge by smiling and using a laugh particle. Although as already indicated in previous research on laughter (Schegloff 1996, Jefferson 1979, 1984, Adelswärd 1989, Haakana 1999, 2001, 2002, Glenn 2003, Holt 2010, 2012) the nature of laughter is highly versatile, in this context it seems that its employment by the journalist signifies a reaction *only* to the use of laughter by the politician and not the content of his turn. This appears to be the case as it comes *immediately after* the use of free-laugh particles and in overlap with the politician's utterance, so it appears that it was a response to the politician's "invitation" to laugh.

In turn 9, the journalist's talk exhibits hybridity, not as defined and used in this thesis as an adversarial resource, but as used in Kantara (2017:120) where I discussed its manifestation in Greek journalists' talk within interviews coming from the same dataset as the ones examined in this thesis. In Kantara (2017:120-121) I examined hybridity as a listening practice in news interviews, investigating the use of interviewer feedback activities in third position, that match listeners' practices in everyday conversation such as enganging in co-narration (see also Norrick 2010:525). As argued there, journalistic hybridity as a listening practice enables politicians' to appropriate their manifestos to the public and co-shape the public domain. In the specific extract, in

turn 9, by completing the politician's previous turn the journalist co-produces talk, helping the politician to formulate his argument. At the same time while doing so the journalist sustains the neutral and "friendly" atmosphere established through her reciprocal use of smile voice. In that sense the journalist's hybrid practice does not only neutralise the on-going adversarial action initiated by the politician but also helps him formulate his argument and project a specific identity; that of an assertive and witty politician. [32]

In the next extract the same politician exhibits a similar interactional behaviour that is, responds to the first question of the interview by issuing a counterchallenge. Alexis Tsipras' response is formulated by means of employing laughter and attacking the conceptual appropriacy of the question. The journalist reacts in a similar way as Maria Houkli in extract 8.1.

Extract 8.2 is the opening of an interview between Alexis Tsipras and George Autias, the host of an early morning weekend news and current affairs programme broadcast on a private TV channel (SKAI). The interview was broadcast on 20 May 2012, after the first round of elections, when SYRIZA had increased its vote share from 4% (in the 2009 elections) to 17% in the May 2012 elections, so Alexis Tsipras was "officially" regarded a key player, able to influence political developments in the country. This is depicted in the opening question where the journalist clearly indicates that the new government would be formed by the leaders of the two parties that gained the majority of votes in the May 2012 elections: either by Alexis Tsipras or Antonis Samaras (the then leader of New Democracy, a conservative party).

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[32] In turns 5, 7 & 13 the journalist ignores the politician's counterchallenges (neutralises them) and tries – unsuccessfully - to issue a pursuit. The same happens in turn 15, where she responds to the politician's explicit attack on the appropriacy of her question by accepting the challenge and building on it in order to issue, successfully this time, her pursuit. Although the journalist's neutralising moves in these turns have the same function as her moves in turns 5 & 9, because they do not exhibit hybridity, I have not included them in the discussion of this extract. Similar practices, that is, neutralising moves that do not exhibit hybridity are also used by other journalists within interviews with Antonis Samaras, Evangelos Venizelos and other politicians in my extended dataset, but as these journalistic neutralising moves do not exhibit integrated hybridity or hybridity those extracts have not been included in this thesis, but will be discussed elsewhere.

Extract 8. 2

Audio: 42:30-42:03, Video: 00:00-00:27, Date: 20/5/2012

1	Δημ:	με το::ν, πρόεδρο του Σύριζα. το::ν, ε, κύριο::: ↓ Τσίπρα, (0.1) θα θέσω το ίδιο σ- το ίδιο ακριβώς ερώτημα <u>και</u> στον κ. Σαμαρά. ↑τι θα κάνετε τις <u>πρώτες</u>, εκατό μέρες. <u>ή</u> (.) αν θέλετε, (.) τα <u>τρία</u> πρώτα μέτρα, (.) που, η κυβέρνηση ↓Τσίπρα, (.) στις πρώτες εκατό ↓μέρες,=	Jour:	with the:: Syriza president. miste::r, eh, miste::r ↓Tsipras, (0.1) i will ask mr Samaras e- exactly the same question. *↑what will you do the <u>first</u> one hundred days. <u>or</u> (.) if you like, (.)the first <u>three</u> measures, (.) that ,the↓Tsipras' government, (.) during the first one hundred ↓days,=*
2	Πολ:	**=↓εδώ, [έτσι όπως έχουμε]**	Pol:	**=↓now, [as things]**
3	Δημ:	[θα εφαρμόσει.]=	Jour:	[will implement.]=
4	Πολ:	**=↓φτάσει, ((χαμογελά))=**	Pol:	**=↓stand, ((smiling))=**
5	Δημ:	*=↑ναι,((χαμογελά))=*	Jour:	*=↑yes,((smiling))=*
6	Πολ:	**=£και έχουνε γίνει οι ↑μέρες, ↓μήνες,£=**	Pol:	**=£and ↑days, have become ↓months,£=**
7	Δημ:	=↓τώρα, ή=	Jour:	=↓now, either=
8	Πολ:	**=£και οι ↑μήνες, [χα, χα, δεκαετίες. έτσι? £]**	Pol:	**=£and ↑months, [ha, ha, decades. right£?]**
9	Δημ:	*[χα,χα,χα]* =	Jour:	*[ha,ha,ha]*
10	Πολ:	**=£εκατό μέρες, είναι μεγάλη απόσταση,£=**	Pol:	**=£one hundred days is far away,£=**
11	Δημ:	=<u>ακούστε</u>. εκεί που πάει τώρα το πράγμα, ή εσείς ή ο [Σαμαράς. ↑ενας από τους δυό↓:: κ. Τσίπρα.]	Jour:	=<u>listen</u>. as things stand, <u>either</u> you <u>or</u> [Samaras. ↑one of the ↓two:: mr Tsipras.]

The extract begins with the journalist's promise soliciting question in turn 1: 'the first three measures that the Tsipras' government will implement in the first one hundred days' that asks the politician to commit to a specific course of action.

The politician in turns 2-10 responds to the journalist's promise soliciting question, by means of hybridity, that is by employing laughter and attacking the appropriacy of the question, subsequently counterchallenging it. In particular, the politician builds his response in turn 10, uttered in smile voice: 'one hundred days is far away' that challenges the time frame of the promise soliciting question, on a series of reasons followed by smile (in turn 4) uttered in smile voice (in turns 6&8) and/or followed by free laugh particles (turn 8). By foregrounding the laughability of the question's time frame, the legitimacy of the whole question is challenged, indicating that it is not worthy of an answer. In this way, the politician's covert refusal to answer (Clayman and Heritage 2002a) and commit himself to a specific course of action, (what

measures he will take in the first one hundred days if he becomes the Prime Minister) is backgrounded, through hybridity (counterchallenge).

The journalist, like Maria Houkli in the previous extract, does not reciprocate the politician's unfolding counterchallenge but neutralises it by smiling and laughing in turns 5 and 9 and by ignoring it and trying to issue a pursuit in turns 7 and 11. In that way, even indirectly, George Autias assists the politician in building a public image for himself as cool and witty.

To sum up, in the analysed extracts Alexis Tsipras responded to the first question posed by journalists, in the form of a promise-soliciting question, by "striking back" through hybridity. The counterchallenges issued involved the use of laughter, personalisation (using binary personal pronouns and a title and last name address) and challenging the appropriacy of the question, subsequently de-legitimising it. In this way, as was the case in the extracts analysed in the previous chapter, the focus shifted from the politician and his non-answer to the inadequacy of the question. What differentiates the two extracts analysed in this section from the ones analysed in the previous chapter is the employment of hybridity, and laughter in particular, by the politician from the *very beginning* of the interview to counterchallenge the journalists' questions. Alexis Tsipras' use of laughter as part of the counterchallenges issued enriches previous research on the use of laughter by politicians as a response to journalistic adversarial questions both at a micro and macro levels.

At a micro level, that is in the unfolding interaction, Alexis Tsipras' laughter, as part of the counterchallenges issued, enriches Romaniuk's (2013b, 2013c) research regarding the functions of laughter by US politicians during one-on-one election campaign interviews. [33] *Retrospectively* it identifies parts or the whole or the prefatory statement to the previous question as the laughable, providing, together with the politician's verbal response, an implicit commentary that undermines and/or challenges the legitimacy of the question. *Prospectively,* together with the introduction of conversational violence in the form of an attack on the appropriacy of the question, it forms part of a disaffiliative verbal response: a counterchallenge.

As televised news interviews are "staged" for the ears of the overhearing audience Alexis Tsipras' laughter has an additional prospective function related to its

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[33] Romaniuk did not discuss the use of laughter by politicians within a *hybrid interactional framework*, and in her dataset, journalists did not reciprocate laughter in any way, but maintained their neutralistic stance as discussed in section 4.3.3.

performance, an area at the intersection between the micro and macro. It invites the overhearing audience to *laugh with* him *at* the proposition expressed by the journalist in his/her question. In that way the question's laughability and consequently its non-legitimacy is foregrounded and the politician's resistance in answering is backgrounded. This performative aspect of laughter within a counterchallenging environment indicates that its role is not "simply" to mitigate the force of the ensuing disaffiliative verbal response but that it forms part of it (for a similar argument see Romaniuk 2013b:218). Its use also adds an aspect of embodied conversational violence, as by strengthening the politician's verbal attack, laughter plays an active role in undermining the journalists' questions and subsequently the latters' professional capability, exposing them to the overhearing public.

As laughter (forming part of the counterchallenges issued) comes at the openings of the majority of the one-on-one interviews Alexis Tsipras gave in the 2012 pre-election period, it seems to have also a more global performative function at a macro-level: to construct identity through talk.[34] As Glenn (2003:3) claims, people "do" laughter, laughter helps participants to "do" talk and laughter "does" the participants. In the case of the interview openings examined, it seems that the use of laughter, as part of the counterchallenges issued by Alexis Tsipras, portrays him in a specific light: as a politician who, from the very beginning of an interview, can deal with "difficult" questions in a comfortable but assertive manner. This portrayal appears to be strengthened, or at least not challenged by the journalists' reactions.

As already demonstrated, the journalists involved in the extracts analysed neutralised Alexis Tsipras' counterchallenges by reciprocating the politician's laughter, introducing thus hybridity in their neutralising reactions, thereby enriching previous research on (journalistic) neutralising moves in broadcast talk (Hutchby 1996). In particular, Maria Houkli in Extract 8.1 reciprocated Alexis Tsipras' laughter twice in the form of smiling in turn 5, and smile voice while overlapping and finishing the politician's sentence, in turn 9. George Autias in Extract 8.2 reciprocated twice as well: in turn 5 by smiling and in turn 9 by using free laugh particles.

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[34] Alexis Tsipras gave *four* one-on-one interviews during the 2012 double election campains. He employed laughter and personalisation to counterchallenge journalists in *three* out of the four interviews. The third journalist, Stelios Kouloglou working for the public broadcaster, in line with Maria Houkli and George Autias, *also neutralised* the counterchallenge. But as the journalist did not employ hybridity in his neutralising move the extract is not included in the body of the thesis but in Appendix D: 216-217, as Extract 3.

Previous studies on the use of laughter in institutional discourse (Haakana 1999, 2001, 2010, Lavin and Maynard 2001, Ekström 2009a, Glenn 2010) have indicated that smiling and/or smile voice can be considered a minimal divergence from the participants' institutional role. This is especially the case in institutional environments where the participants' role requires a "neutralistic stance" as is the case with journalists in news interviews (Greatbatch 1998, Clayman 1992b, Clayman and Heritage 2002a), an interactional environment where journalists should remain "po-faced" (Drew 1987). In the extracts examined the introduction of hybridity in the form of laughter within the journalists' neutralising reactions enables them, at a micro level, to "maintain" their required professional neutralist posture and at the same time to "mildly" respond to the "invitation" to laugh. In that way, hybridity, in the form of laughter, manifested in journalists' reactions neutralises and does not escalate the argumentative environment established by the politician as was the case in the extracts examined in the previous chapter.

Finally, at a macro level, that is in relation to the participants' public portrayal it seems that the journalists' hybrid neutralising moves assist Alexis Tsipras in the creation of a specific political persona. This does not mean though that this neutral and "friendly" environment established at the beginning of the interview necessarily holds throughout it or that journalists laugh only as a means to neutralise politicians' counterchallenges, as argued in the previous chapter and will be discussed in the next section.

8.2 Restoring normality

As stated in the introductory section of this chapter, section 8.2 discusses how hybridity can be used to restore normality by re-inventing the "standard" roles in accountability interviews. Integrated hybridity in politicians' counterchallenges and journalists' reactions in third position is exhibited through the use of laughter and personalised metadiscursive comments, in the form of binary pronouns and verbs of arttibution. The three extracts to be analysed in this section involve interviews between two political party leaders (Alexis Tsipas and Antonis Samaras) and two journalists (Yiannis Pretenteris and Stelios Kouloglou).

In relation to journalists' hybrid reactions in third or subsequent position, this section, in contrast to the previous one, examines journalists' hybrid metadiscursive reactions that are a combination of moves that restore normality by denying any

"wrong-doing" (Clayman and Heritage 2002a:144) and invoking the journalists'
professional role as "speaking in the name of the people". By providing a hybrid
metadiscursive comment on politicians' interactional behaviour, journalists perform two
slightly contradictory but complementary interactional actions, at a micro-interactional
level. Firstly, they stop the ongoing adversarial action initiated by politicians through
their counterchallenges and regain their institutional power, without appearing overtly
aggressive. At the same time however, by providing metadiscursive comments that
evoke their professional role, journalists expose politicians' (unfair) counterchallenges
to the overhearing audience, indirectly sustaining the metadiscursive confrontational
framework established by the politicians. In that sense, both interactants' hybrid
practices to be examined in this section are reminiscent of the exposing-
counterexposing moves discussed in chapter 7, but in this section both interactants'
hybrid practices do not only redefine established roles, as was the case in chapter 7, but
reappropriate them.

The first extract in this section, extract 8.3, is taken from an interview between
Alexis Tsipras, the leader of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left) and Stelios
Kouloglou, a journalist working for the public TV channel NET, broadcast on 16 May
2012, between the first and second round of elections. The topic in this part of the
interview was the way the politician had handled the talks for the formation of a
coalition government, after no political party gained absolute majority in the first round
of elections. The extract was preceded by a video excerpt from the politician's speech
given one day before he met the other two key political party leaders of the period (Mr
Venizelos and Mr Samaras) to discuss the possibility of forming a coalition government.
In the video excerpt, Alexis Tsipras set as a condition to start the negotiations that Mr
Venizelos and Mr Samaras would send a letter to EU officials stating that they will not
implement the measures already agreed. The extract starts with the journalist's
adversarial question. Points of interest in this extract and the following ones are in bold
for politicians' turns and in italics for journalists'.

Extract 8.3

Audio: 59:30-59:20, Video: 17:22-17:32   Date: 16/5/2012

1	Δημ:	ε:, τώρα αυτό:, μήπως ήτανε::, (.) ε, δεν ήτανε::, (.) >κατηγορήθηκε από πολλούς ότι ήτανε μια αλαζονική [συμπεριφορά<.]	Jour:	eh:, now thi:s, maybe it wa::s, (.) eh, wasn't i::t, (.) >many saw it as arrogant [behavior<.]
2	Πολ:	[δεν σας ↑άρεσε.]=	Pol:	**[you didn't ↑like it.]=**
3	Δημ:	=όχι, εγ-,((χαμογελά)) όχι εμένα. (.) ε↓μένα, εγώ κάνω το::ν (.) μεταφέρω,=	Jour:	=no, i-, ((smiling)) not me.(.) ↓me, i, play the:: (.) role, i pass on,=
4	Πολ:	=ναι, [χα, χα]	Pol:	**=yes, [ha,ha]**

The extract begins with the journalist's adversarial challenge, marked by the use of a negative interrogative 'δεν ήτανε-wasn't it' that favours a "yes" response, exhibiting *assertiveness* (Clayman and Heritage 2002b).

In turn 2, the politician responds by explicitly attributing the principalship of the proposition expressed in the previous turn to the journalist himself, although the latter, was careful to attribute to an anonymous collective external party 'πολλούς-many' the authorship of his challenging characterisation 'αλαζονική συμπεριφορά-arrogant behaviour'.

The politician's counterchallenge operates within a hybrid personalised accusatory framework that is set through the use of the second person genitive pronoun 'σας' used as pre-verbal clitic to express the indirect object (a literal translation being 'it didn't like to you'). By explicitly identifying the journalist as the person behind the 'many', the politician foregrounds the journalist's decision to quote the opinion of these unidentified individuals, probably the former's critics, thus indirectly accusing the latter of bias, subsequently exhibiting conversational violence. The journalist's hybrid reaction in the next turn attests to this.

In particular, the journalist responds to the counterchallenge in turn 3 through integrated hybridity by invoking his professional role as simply the animator of the view expressed and not the author or the principal (in Goffman's 1981 terms). This is linguistically achieved by him denying that *he* is the principal of the challenge twice 'Όχι, όχι - no, no', the marked use of first person pronouns four times 'εγ-, εμένα, εμένα, εγώ- I, me, me, I', that sustain the personalising issues framework established by the politician, and the use of verbs denoting his professional role as animator 'κάνω τον, μεταφέρω – I play the role of, I pass on'. The journalist's move is further hybridised by him smiling in mid-utterance, indicating thus *retrospectively* the politician's counterchallenge as the laughable.

Stelios Kouloglou's hybrid reaction (laughter together with his personalised verbal justification/account) *prospectively* has two functions: to restore normality but at the same time to invite the overhearing audience to *laugh with* the journalist, through the legitimatization of the journalist's challenge, *at* the politician's move. This seems to be reinforced by the politician's reaction (laughter) in the next turn, a reaction that reinforces previous research on the use of laughter by the less, in context, powerful participants in institutional interaction; it indicates the delicacy of the situation (Hakaana 1999, 2001, 2010) and does damage control (Romaniuk 2013b, 2013c).

To sum up, in this extract hybridity as exhibited by both interactants enables – in an explicit and direct way - the politician and the journalist to deregulate but at the same time re-regulate the political accountability interview norms.

More specifically, the politician's personalised challenging response breaks the Question-Answer normative framework of news interviews and involves a substantial power and role reversal as through his counterchallenge the politician takes control of the action agenda. Furthermore the counterchallenge explicitly attacks the journalist as a professional by displaying to the overhearing audience the journalist's bias/lack of objectivity. In that way, the focus of the interview segment shifts *from* the politician, the agenda and topic of the interview (whether the politician behaved in an arrogant way towards the other political party leaders before the beginning of the negotiations for the formation of a coalition government) and the politician's expected answer to the adversarial challenge, *to* the journalist's alleged misconduct.

To this counterchallenge the journalist responds by evoking his professional role, a move that both indirectly sanctions interviewee resistance and at the same time restores normality. In this re-regulation of interview norms, integrated hybridity and especially the use of laughter, seems to enable the journalist to create a challenging but not threatening environment, enriching previous research both on journalistic "restoring normality" moves (Clayman and Heritage 2002a) and the use of laughter by journalists in third and subsequent positions to challenge what the politician is doing (Ekström 2011).

In the next extract a different politician and journalist exhibit a similar interactional behaviour, that is using integrated hybridity (mixing laughter and personalised metadiscursive attacks with institutional talk) to both deregulate and re-regulate the institutional norms of the accountability interview.

Extract 8.4 is taken from the interview between Antonis Samaras, the then leader of New Democracy (a conservative party) and Yiannis Pretenteris, a journalist working for a commercial TV channel (MEGA). The interview was broadcast after the 8 o'clock evening news on April 9th 2012, before the first round of elections.

Extract 8.4

Audio: 19:22-19:09, Video: 20:48-21:10, Date: 9/4/2012

1	Δημ:	=ερώτηση. σας είπα πριν για την υπερφορο↓λόγηση=	Jour:	=question. i told you before about over ta↓xation=
2	Πολ:	[δεν μπορώ από εκεί και πέρα]	Pol:	[i cannot beyond that]
3	Δημ:	[την οποία <u>κάνατε, κάνατε</u>]	Jour:	[that <u>you, you</u>]
4	Πολ:	**>να σας πω κάτι?< δεν μπορώ εγώ από εκεί και πέρα, (.) £όπως, (.) βλέπω, ότι εσείς, θα θέλατε να πω£, <u>να υποσχεθώ</u>, ότι θα αποφύγουμε τα πάντα.(.) ΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΤΕΡΑ προσπαθώ να αποτρέψω. =**	Pol:	**>may i tell you something? < i cannot beyond that, (.) £as, (.) i see, that you, want me to say£, <u>to promise</u> that we will avoid everything. (.) i am trying to prevent THE WORST from happening.=**
5	Δημ:	=εγώ. [καταρχήν δεν]	Jour:	=i. [first of all i do not]
6	Πολ:	[τα οποία <u>ποτέ</u>] δεν επέτρεψε ↓αυτή η κυβέρνηση.=	Pol:	[that <u>never</u>] ↓this government prevented.=
7	Δημ:	*=£εγώ δεν θέλω να πείτε τίποτα.εγώ απλώς κάνω ερωτήσεις, £>που νομίζω πως είναι εύλογες ερωτήσεις για τον κάθε άνθρωπο,<,και ΑΛΛΗ ↓μια εύλογη ερώτηση, (....)*	Jour:	*=£i do not want you to say anything. i am simply asking questions, £ > that i think are reasonable questions for everybody,< and ANOTHER ↓ reasonable question, (...)*

The extract begins with the journalist sanctioning interviewee resistance (Romaniuk 2013a) in turns 1&3, by means of stressing key words "*ερώτηση* – question, *κάνατε*-you (literal translation 'you made') explicitly exposing interviewee evasiveness to the public.

To this adversarial move, the politician responds in turn 4 by directly accusing the journalist of bias, thus breaching neutralism. This is achieved through the marked use of binary personal pronouns '*εγώ*-I, *εσείς*-you' and second person verbs of attribution'*θέλατε*-want, *να πω*-to say, *να υποσχεθώ*-to promise' indicating the actions the journalist wants him to perform and placing the counter challenge within a hybrid personalised accusatory framework. This counterchallenging move is being strengthened by means of the politician uttering the actions the journalist wants him to

perform 'as I see you want me to say' in smile voice, and smiling while uttering 'to promise'. As already discussed in cases like these: "the problematizing move(s) (are) used more directly to hold the other party to account" (Dickerson 2001:215), thus marking the interaction as highly confrontational, with the politician clearly departing from the Question-Answer norm and issuing a direct personal attack on the journalist.

By exposing to the overhearing audience the journalist's lack of neutralism, the politician uses a counterchallenging technique that mirrors the journalist's exposing move in the previous turn. In the same way as the journalist exposes to the overhearing audience the politician's evasiveness, the politician counterchallenges by exposing to the overhearing audience the journalist's "seemingly" lack of neutralism as the motive behind the latter's persistence.

The counterchallange also functions as a means for the politician to legitimize his non-answer to the question asked, since this is disqualified as biased. As already discussed, in chapter 7 and in the analysis of previous extracts in this chapter, personally attacking the journalist involves a substantial power/role reversal and - even momentarily - shifts the focus of the interview from the politician, the topic/agenda and his non- answer, to the journalist and his professional misconduct, marking also an action (Schegloff 1996, 2007) shift. This is that the politician, instead of answering the question (the intended second position action, following a question in first position), attacks the journalist, performing a completely different action from the one expected.

To this counterchallenging/counter-exposing move, the journalist in turn 7 responds in a similar fashion while restoring normality. In particular, through the marked use of the first person personal pronoun 'εγώ-I' that sustains the personalising issues framework established by the politician in the previous turn, and by denying that he wants to make the politician do anything 'δεν θέλω να πείτε τίποτα – (I) don't want you to say anything', smiling while uttering them, before evoking his professional role as the rationale behind his persistence 'Εγώ απλώς κάνω ερωτήσεις – I simply ask questions' the journalist legitimises/justifies his sanction, before evoking popular interest and moving on with another question.

The journalist's use of smile voice - together with his restoring normality move - is in line with the functions of relevant journalistic moves discussed in the previous extract. Retrospectively it marks the politician's previous turn as the laughable both in terms of content (what the politician said) and in terms of performance (what he has done – counter-challenging the journalist), exposing thus the politician's "unfair" attack

to the overhearing audience. *Prospectively*, though, apart from projecting an accounting for/justifying move the journalist's reciprocal use of laughter seems also to have the same function as shared laughter in ordinary conversation; to indicate topic termination (Holt 2010) and also termination of the on-going adversarial action (the challenging/exposing- counterchallenging/counter exposing sequence).

The next extract, is taken from the beginning of the same interview between Antonis Samaras, and Yiannis Pretenteris. Before the specific excerpt the journalist had asked the politician a question that was asked by all journalists in my dataset to the three major players of the period (Antonis Samaras, Evangelos Venizelos, Alexis Tsipras): who would they join in a coalition government if their party did not achieve absolute majority? In this specific interview the question was whether Antonis Samaras would form a coalition with the socialist party (PASOK). The politician replied that he wants the absolute majority and in a follow-up question (what will happen if his party does not gain absolute majority) the politician replied that there should be a second round of elections. At this point the journalist latches and mounts an adversarial challenge in turns 1, 3, 5.

Extract 8. 5

Audio: 36:33-36:18, Video: 03:39-03:54, Date: 9/4/2012

1	Δημ:	=δεν ακούγε↑ται,=	Jour:	=doesn't this ↑sound,=
2	Πολ:	=επ=	Pol:	=i=
3	Δημ:	=λίγο εκβιαστι↓κά αυτό?=	Jour:	=a little like ↓blackmail?=
4	Πολ:	=↑όχι.=	Pol:	=↑no.=
5	Δημ:	=ότι ή βγάζετε εμένα [ή κανένανε?]	Jour:	=that you either elect me [or nobody?]
6	Πολ:	**[όχι. εκβιαστικό,] εκβιαστικό είναι αν θέλετε, (.) εσείς να με υποχρεώσετε, (.) να συγκυβερνήσω μαζί με το Πασ↓όκ (.) μμε το οποίον,=**	Pol:	**[no. blackmail,] blackmail is if (.) you want, (.) to make me (.) form a coalition with↓Pasok (.) wwith which,=**
7	Δημ:	*=[>όχι εγώ<. ο λαός (υποχρεώνει)]*	Jour:	*=[>not me<. people (make)]*
8	Πολ:	**[δεν μπορούμε, ε, ε,] ασφα↓λώς.ε, στην ερώτηση ((χαμογελά)) απευ[θύνομαι.£έτσι?£]**	Pol:	**[we cannot,eh, eh,] of ↓course. eh, i am ((smiling)) addres[sing the question, £ok?£]**
9	Δημ:	*[ναι. χα,χα]*	Jour:	*[yes. ha,ha]*
10	Πολ:	=>δηλαδή<, να μην μπο↑ρέσω να ↓κάνω, αυ↑τά τα οποία	Pol:	=>that,< is ↑not to be able to↓do what↑ is ↓needed. ↑or to↓do half of

χρει↓άζονται. ↑ή να ↓κάνω τα
μισά από εκείνα >τα οποία
χρει↓άζονται<. ασφαλώς
εξαρτ↑άται από την
ετυμηγο↓ρία του ελληνικού
λα↑ού,=

>what is ↓needed<. of course it
de↑pends on the ↓verdict of the
greek ↑people,=

The politician in turn 6 responds to the adversarial challenge by issuing an attack that metadiscursively "challenges the characterization within the journalist's prior turn" (Dickerson 2001:206). The politician's attack/counterchallenge takes the form of a hybrid personalised exposing move and this materialises in two ways.

Firstly, by changing the association of '*εκβιαστικό*-blackmail' from describing/summarising what he has *said* to what the journalist is "supposedly" *doing* while asking an adversarial question. By making this semantic shift, the negative attribution shifts from the politician to the journalist, making the latter - even momentarily- the focus of the interview. This aggressive move is further strengthened by being explicitly placed within a personalised accusatory framework. This is achieved through the use of second person causative verbs '*Θέλετε*- (you) want, *υποχρεώσετε*– (you) make', stressing also the second verb, and the marked use of the second person personal pronoun '*εσείς*-you' to indicate the subject of those verbs, juxtaposing it with the object of the verb '*με*-me'. [35] By explicitly accusing the journalist of making him do things, and actually naming which things the journalist "makes" him do, the politician verbalises why and how the journalist's move was "blackmail", legitimising thus both the semantic shift made and his non-answer.

Antonis Samaras indicates this personalised accusatory framework by means of his body language as well; when he utters the personal pronoun '*εσείς*-you' that indicates the subject of the verb '*υποχρεώσετε*–(you) make' he points his finger at the journalist. When he utters the object of the same verb '*με-me*' he points his finger at himself. So through his verbal and non-verbal language Antonis Samaras defuses the journalist's adversarial challenging move and accuses the latter of being biased subsequently attacking him as a professional, an interactional move that exhibits conversational violence.

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[35] In Greek, person is indicated by the verb inflection so the use of any pronoun to indicate the subject in a two party interaction is marked as it is used for emphasis.

To this counterchallenge, the journalist responds in turn 7 by invoking the people's will as the agent responsible for making the politician doing things (and not the journalist himself). By doing so, Yiannis Pretenteris restores normality since by justifying his adversarial challenge as echoing people's voting preferences (as expressed in opinion polls) he highlights his institutional role and stops the on-going adversarial action. As already discussed in the analysis of extracts 8.3 and 8.4, in this way the journalist also counter-exposes the politician to the overhearing audience as "unfairly" accusing him of breaching the professional norm of neutralism.

That this is the case is also evidenced by the politician's subsequent reaction. In a similar way as Alexis Tsipras used laughter and metalanguage to do damage control after being "sanctioned" for counterchallenging Stelios Kouloglou (discussed in the analysis of extract 7.5 in section 7.2), Antonis Samaras similarly uses laughter and metalanguage to do damage control.

In particular, to the journalist's reaction the politician responds in turn 8 by initially agreeing with the justification offered 'ασφαλώς – of course', and then moves on offering a clarification, through smiling and smile voice, for his counterchallenge in the previous turn; that he did not address the journalist but the question asked. By doing so, the politician firstly *overtly* acknowledges that he has personally attacked the journalist, as through the use of a first person singular verb 'απευθύνομαι- (I) address' he takes responsibility for his counterchallenge in the previous turn.

Secondly, by shifting the target of the previous attack from the journalist to the question, the politician does damage control as he legitimises his interactional move placing it within a highly adversarial environment, but one where neutralism prevails. In other words, by claiming that he addressed the normative practice of adversarial questioning and not the person asking the question, the politician seconds the journalist's "restoring normality" move sustaining the taken for granted assumption that journalists ask questions "in the name of the people" and thus the propositions expressed are not their personal views.

Of particular interest is the politician's use of laughter. Antonis Samaras' self-initiated laughter in this sequence seems to function *retrospectively* in a similar fashion as previous research on the use of laughter by the less powerful has indicated it performs in institutional interactions between doctors-patients (Haakana 1999, 2001, 2002), and police-officers-suspects (Carter 2011), and in ordinary conversation among equals (Holt 2012); to mark the delicacy of the situation and defuse complaints. What

differentiates the use of self-initiated laughter in this extract from the ones reported in the aforementioned contexts, however, is that laughter is used after the politician has been exposed as erroneously accusing the journalist of bias. Its function though remains the same: to *retrospectively* mark the politician's exposing move as a breach of protocol, within the news interview framework.

Furthermore, together with his use of metalanguage, the politician's laughter is a means to do "damage control". It seems that within the shift from what both interactants *have said* to what they *have done*, where each one exposes the other to the overhearing audience, as "unfairly playing the game", the politician's laughter apart from indicating a delicate situation/breach of protocol, also defuses the journalist's "complaint". This seems to be depicted by the journalist himself who, in turn 9, accepts the politician's justification and accompanies his acceptance with laughter.

A last function of the use of laughter has to do with its placement within a micro-confrontation sequence (in the form of exposing and counter exposing moves). In ordinary conversation Norrick and Spitz (2008) have indicated that laughter alone can help resolve sequences of verbal conflict as it may mitigate tension and allow talk on topic to continue. As they claim: "laughter alone suffices to break the chain of opposition and counter-opposition, thereby transforming conflict into amenable discussion" (2008:1679) and that is what the use of laughter by both participants seems to do. Within the exposing-counter exposing framework of the analysed extract, it seems that the use of laughter by both the politician in turn 8 and the journalist in turn 9 has the same function as the function of laughter by participants in ordinary conversation; to end the conflict and allow talk on the topic to continue. This is also in line with a similar claim made by Holt (2010) in relation to topic termination and the role of shared laughter in it within ordinary conversation:

"Joining in with shared laughter by producing a turn comprising a further laughter may, in certain sequential environments, display an orientation to participate in bringing the topic/sequence to an end (along with other activities it may perform […]) (2010: 1524)

In this extract, the journalist by reciprocating/sharing the politician's self-initiated laughter displays a shared orientation to bring the action sequence to a close. Thus the function of the journalist's laughter in this case both *retrospectively* and *prospectively*, indicates the end of an action and the beginning of another one (allowing

the politician to continue his, and the journalist's topical talk in turn 10 and subsequent turns).

Both interactants in a more or less explicit way perform three separate actions through their hybrid talk: exposing and counter-exposing each other to the overhearing audience and doing damage control while trying to stop the on-going adversarial action and restore "normality". By doing so they simultaneously deregulate and re-regulate the institutional norms of the accountability interview.

To sum up, this section examined two specific Greek politicians' (Alexis Tsipras and Antonis Samaras) counterchallenges, in the form of direct personal attacks on journalists' professional conduct and journalists' hybrid reactions to them. Politicians' counterchallenges, exhibited integrated hybridity through personalising issues by means of the use of binary pronouns and verbs of attribution, the use of laughter and metadiscursive comments on the journalists' professional conduct.

Journalists' hybrid reactions in turn, in the form of restoring normality moves, sustained the personalised accusatory framework established and, in a more or less direct way, counter-exposed the politicians' unfair attacks to the overhearing audience through the same means: laughter and personalised metadiscursive talk.

Within the adversarial (personalised) institutional framework of accountability interviews (see section 2.6 and Montgomery 2011) in the extracts examined in this section, both politicians and journalists used hybridity, not only to re-negotiate their role and power relationships within the interview setting, as was the case in the extracts examined in chapter 7, but also to re-invent them. In other words, both interactants used integrated hybridity, in the form of laughter and (personalised) metadiscursive talk, to redefine "standard" roles; in the case of politicians hybridity was used to counterchallenge/counter-expose, subsequently changing the established power and status quo. In the case of journalists, hybridity was used to react to the counterchallenges issued in a way that sustained, or better in a way that modified but not altered the established status quo.

In this sense it seems that hybridity was used to collaboratively produce "new norms" in the election campaign interview, indicating both that the broadcast interview is capable of re-fashioning established norms from within the constraints of the form (Montgomery 2011:51) and that hybrid interviews seem to be the new form of adversarial accountability interviews (Baym 2013).

8.3. Conclusion

Chapters 6 and 7 provided data-driven support for my definition of integrated hybridity employed *both* by Greek journalists and politicians, which mixes institutional talk associated with accountability interviews and debate talks shows with Hutchby's (2011a, 2001b, 2013, 2017), and Baym's (2013) and Ekström's (2011) definitions of hybridity as argumentative and jovial resource respectively, within an utterance or a sequence of *argumentative* talk, and introduced the notion of politicians' counterchallenges. Following on, chapter 8 examined the use of integrated hybridity in a different interactional environment, investigating how integrated hybridity, and laughter in particular, was manifested in politicians' and journalists' talk in *non-argumentative* interactional environments and what its functions might be at a micro and macro level.

As was the case in chapter 7, in this chapter, Greek politicians employed integrated hybridity within their counterchallenges, in the form of personalisation, conversational violence (attacks on the appropriacy of the question), and laughter. In a similar way to the extracts examined in the previous chapter, this hybrid personalised accusatory framework resulted in a breach of the "standard" Question-Answer pattern of news interviews and in a power and role reversal. Regarding especially the employment of laughter, in line with the extracts examined in the previous chapter where laughter, as employed by both interactants, enriched both politicians' and journalists' micro-conflict verbal moves with embodied ones, in this chapter politicians and journalists employ laughter as an embodied means to strengthen their interactional moves.

What differentiates how laughter is used by both interactants in this chapter from the previous one however, is its function both at a micro and macro level. While in the previous chapter laughter, being an integral part of the adversarial challenges and counterchallenges issued, assisted both politicians and journalists in regaining their epistemic authority, and appear as equals in the interactional bras de fer, in this chapter it has a different function. It provides both interactants with an embodied means to challenge and counterchallenge each other, neutralise aggression, resolve conflict and restore normality. Laughter as employed in this chapter enables participants to build a different public portrayal than the one in chapter 7 and subsequently modify the "rules of the game". In chapter 7 the employment of intergrated hybridity (including laughter)

by both interactants led to the "deregulation" of news interview norms and status quo; in chapter 8 it led both to their deregulation and re-invention.

Regarding politicians, laughter is employed by Alexis Tsipras within the counterchallenges issued at interview openings and by him and another politician (Antonis Samaras) in third or subsequent positions to initiate argumentative actions. Regarding journalists, while in the extracts examined in the previous chapter hybridity was employed by journalists when overtly reciprocating politicians' confrontational counterchallenges, with both parties employing hybridity in the form of personalised (jovial) metadiscursive comments that exposed and counter-exposed to the overhearing audience each other's interactional "inadequacy", in this chapter journalists did the opposite; they used hybridity to neutralise politicians' confrontational counterchallenges by accepting and/or ignoring them or restoring normality.

In line with research both in institutional interaction (Adelswärd 1989, Haakana 1999, 2001, 2002, 2010, Carter 2011, Romaniuk 2010, 2013b, 2013c) and ordinary conversation (Norrick and Spitz 2008, Holt 2012), Alexis Tsipras' and Antonis Samaras' laughter at the unfolding interaction (micro level) *retrospectively* indicates the delicacy of the situation/breach of news interview norms. *Prospectively,* it has two different functions. When employed within the politicians' counterchallenges, as was the case in the extracts examined in chapter 7, it projects a dissafiliative response. When it is employed after the journalists' restoring normality moves, it stops the on-going adversarial action.

At a macro level, in line with Jefferson's (1984) work on the infiltration of trouble-telling with laughter and Clift's (2013) discussion on the use of self- initiated laughter while complaining in ordinary conversation - through which identity work is being done, i.e. to forestall negative attributions of character – laughter as used by politicians to complaint (in the form of counterchallenging), assists them to construct specific (political) identities.

It seems that the use of laughter especially by Alexis Tsipras and Antonis Samaras (either at interview openings or after being exposed by journalists to the overhearing audience as evasive, through journalistic sanctioning resistance moves) projects politicians that can deal with "difficult" questions and/or pressure in a comfortable but assertive manner. In that way a "poised for action" identity is being portrayed. Or to use Jeffersons's words in relation to the use of self-initiated laughter in ordinary conversation applied here in self-initiated laughter in institutional interaction:

"He (the interactant employing self-initiated laughter) is exhibiting that, although there is this trouble, it is not getting the better of him; he is managing; he is in good spirits and in a position to take the trouble lightly" (1984:351).

The same applies when laughter is used by politicians after being exposed as "unfairly" accusing journalists through the latters' restoring normality moves. In that case, the employment of laughter mitigates the politicians' loss of face, providing also "damage control", subsequently helping the specific politicians manage and maintain the best possible face for themselves.

Journalists' hybrid reactions and the employment of laughter in particular, seem to assist politicians in the construction of that identity. All journalists (Maria Houkli, Yiannis Pretenteris, George Autias and Stelios Kouloglou) use laughter within their reactions when counterchallenged by politicians either within neutralising or restoring normality interactional moves. As was the case with politicians, journalists' laughter when used as a response to being counterchallenged is also multifaceted, addressing both the content and the performative aspect of the previous talk. Having in mind the versatile nature of laughter and in line both with revious research on laughter (Jefferson 1979, 1984, Adelswärd 1989, Schegloff 1996, Haakana 1999, 2001,2002, Carter 2011) that has indicated that speaker-initiated laughter is not always invitational, in the extracts analysis I claimed that Greek journalists' laughter had two slightly contradicting functions within the unfolding interaction.

Firstly, journalists' laughter, in the form of smiling, smiling voice or free laugh particles within their neutralising moves, seems to assist a specific politician (Alexis Tsipra) to build a specific political identity: as a cool and witty politician. This is the case as by employing only laughter as a response to the politicians' self-initiated laughter, Greek journalists indicated that they considered it as a laughter invitation.

When Greek journalists employed laughter within their restoring normality moves though, it seems that it had a different function. Potter and Hepburn (2010) and Shaw, Hepburn and Potter (2013:102), claim that the use of laughter may modulate the nature of strength of an on-action but does not cancel it. Following this line of argumentation, I claim that laughter employed by journalists within their restoring normality moves, does not only manage face threats (in a similar way as when employed by politicians) but it also strengthens the on-going disaffiliative action. I

regard restoring normality moves as covertly adversarial ones since journalists, by indicating that they are "simply" doing their job, demonstrate that they were "unfairly" attacked.

Whether laughter forms part of the micro-argumentative sequences discussed in chapter 7 or when used within moves that restore normality, it seems to do similar identity construction work at a macro level for journalist as for politicians; to portray professionals that deal with complaints lightly but also assertively. Only when laughter is employed as a means to neutralise politicians' attacks does it seem to do a different job: to allow the politicians – even momentarily – to appear the most powerful participants in the interaction.

As already discussed in section 4.3.3, Partington (2006:83; 109) argues along similar lines when discussing the use of "laughter talk" by journalists and podiums in press conferences held at the White House in relation to the management of aggression and the tension it arouses. As he notes, the tactical use of laughter-talk achieves specific rhetorical ends like constructing an identity, threatening someone else's face, boosting one's own, making an argumentative point, and/or allowing face tensions to be explicitly referred to and defused. [36]

To sum up, it seems that laughter was "strategically" used by both politicians and journalists within the context of Greek one-on-one election campaign interviews, providing both parties with an additional means to pursue their roles and agendas; politicians to evade answering by counterchallenging and journalists to sustain their professional role as public watchdogs. In other words, laughter was used by both parties as an embodied means to legitimise non- answering, defuse complaints, expose and counter-expose each other to the overhearing audience, while also doing "damage control". In that sense, it can be argued that reciprocal laughter as employed by both journalists and politicians not only helped in the maintenance of established roles and relationships, but also in their re-invention as noted by Eriksson (2009:915-916). Extending Eriksson's argument to the employment of integrated hybridity by both Greek politicians and journalists, I argue that hybridity played a key role in the collaborative transformation of the high-profile, prototypical one-on-one televised

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[36] Partington's comments although involving a different political talk genre (press conferences) to my dataset, a fact that has also implications for the power and role relations between the participants (the politicians are in a more powerful position than journalists in press conferences, while in one-on-one interviews theoretically the opposite holds) are similar to the functions of laughter in my dataset.

election campaign interview into an antagonistic genre/confrontation arena. In this transformed genre, for the ears of the overhearing audience, both parties claim legitimacy and arguably epistemic authority on political matters by discrediting the other interlocutor.

This antagonism, which was more pronounced in the extracts examined in the previous chapter and still present in the extracts examined in this chapter, points towards not only a power and role re-negotiation within the election campaign interview, but also towards the participants' face management and identity construction. As regards politicians in particular, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the use of hybrid challenging responses (counterchallenges) may be an indication of populism that in turn leads to politicians' building a specific political style (identity construction). And that is what the study of hybridity as an indication of populism might add not only to the exploration of the relationship between populism and political style but also in relation to its implications for the televised one-on-one (election campaign) accountability interviews and the knowledge producing practices they entail.

The study of hybridity in journalistic talk might provide insights into two areas of broadcast talk to be discussed in the next chapter. Firstly, how the election campaign interview in particular, and the accountability interview in general, (Hutchby 2011a, 2001b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011, Ekström 2011, Bayn 2013, and indirectly Montgomery 2011) are transformed into a genre where (confrontational) forms of ordinary and non-interview associated talk are appropriated into the "standard" news interview norms, without necessarily dramatically transforming the news interview genre. Secondly, how this news interview genre subsequently, produces specific knowledge regarding the type of politics legitimatised and promoted (antagonistic politics).

9. Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis contributes to cross-national discussions within the Mediterranean or Polarised Media Model (Greece), Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model (Sweden) and the North Atlantic or Liberal Model (US, UK), regarding the form accountability interviews are taking (see section 2.6 and Hutchby 2013, 2017, Montgomery 2011, Baym 2013) and the role hybridity plays in this process (see sections 4.1.1 and 4.3 and Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011 and Baym 2013, Ekström 2011).

For some, the identified adversarial turn in the "prototypical" accountability political news interview marks the emergence of new, more coarsened journalistic norms (Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Clayman 2007, Heritage and Clayman 2010), while for others it constitutes "an active struggle over appropriacy" (Montgomery 2011). When hybridity (merging ordinary and institutional talk) is used as a means to account for the (adversarial) changes in the news interview norms, a similar picture emerges. For some, incorporating confrontational strategies from ordinary to institutional talk marks the emergence of a new genre (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017 and indirectly Patrona 2011). For others, mixing "serious" journalistic questioning with non-adversarial but jovial ordinary talk frames, constitutes an appropriate adjustment of news interview norms in order to effectively hold politicians to account (Ekström 2011, Baym 2005, 2013).

In my examination of whether news interview norms are dramatically changing *specifically* through hybridity, leading to the emergence of a new genre or whether the changes documented are a sign of the appropriation of an existing one (accountability interview), I focused on the same unit of analysis that seems to be the bone of contention among researchers in the field of broadcast talk, regardless of whether they incorporate the notion of hybridity in their discussions or not: *adversarial journalistic questioning*. In order to encompass both previous research on the various forms of journalistic adversarial questions and the range of journalistic adversarial questions in my dataset, in section 3.1.2 I introduced the notion of *adversarial challenges*, an umbrella term that groups together journalistic adversarial questioning practices that appear in any position in the infolding interaction. Apart from having a similar starting point however, my thesis differs from previous research on a number of points.

The first point of differentiation is that I have paid equal attention to *both* journalists' and politicians' hybrid practices, thus extending the unit of analysis from examining hybrid adversarial challenges to examining *extended sequences of journalistic hybrid adversarial challenges and politicians' hybrid challenging responses* to them. [37] So far in the majority of discussions regarding the emergent forms of journalism and the role hybridity in particular plays in the processes (Baym 2005, 2013, Ekström 2011, Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011) the focus was mostly on journalists' talk. [38] Paying equal attention to both journalists' and politicians' hybrid interactional practices was deemed necessary both for theoretical and analytic reasons. As news interview talk is the interactional achievement of both interactants (Heritage 1985, Greatbatch 1988, Clayman and Whalen 1988/1989, Schegloff 1988/1989, Greatbatch 1992, Greatbatch 1998, Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Hutchby 2006, Rendle-Short 2007a, Heritage and Clayman 2010) any investigation of how news interview talk is modified, through hybridity or any other means, needs to take also into account the other co-participant, the politician and that is exactly what this thesis does. Investigating the hybrid practices of both journalists and politicians, enabled me to examine not only what form hybridity is taking in both participants' talk, but also how the employment of hybridity by journalists and politicians *alike* influences the structural organization of election campaign interviews.

Another point of differentiation is that this thesis investigated the functions of hybridity not only in the unfolding interaction, in relation to the changes emerging in political news interview norms but also their significance for both participants' public portrayal. Previous research in the field has touched on this issue, namely both Hutchby (2011a, 2001b, 2017) and Patrona (2011) have discussed what kind of portrayal the use of hybridity paints for the interactants. In their respective datasets, however, politicians "remained powerless" to journalists' hybrid adversarial challenges. Hutchby's and Patrona's focus was thus on the portrayal of journalists. In contrast, in my dataset politicians did not "remain powerless" but through their hybrid practices actively participated in the process, co-modifying interview norms. Because of that, both

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[37] Challenging responses is an umbrella term I introduced in section 3.2.2 to refer to politicians' hostile responses that although challenging the question asked, still comply with the normative neutralistic structure of news interviews.

[38] Ekström, Baym, Patrona and Hutchby *do* mention politicians' (hybrid) responses to journalistic hybrid adversarial questioning, but as politicians' (hybrid) responses do not constitute the main focus of their studies, the subsequent discussion offered was rather limited; so, there was both a theoretical and analytic gap that this thesis attended to.

participants' interactional practices had to be investigated and theorised. Paying equal attention to both participants hybrid practices, as their talk-in-interaction unfolded in extended sequences, enabled me to make observations not only about the effects these practices had for the interview genre but equally importantly for the politicians' public portrayal; a public portrayal that in turn was sustained or modified through hybrid journalistic reactions.

The last point of differentiation, involves my specific focus on the knowledge produced for the overhearing audience through both interactants' hybrid practices. Due to the nature of my dataset that comprises election campaign interviews (a sub-category of accountability political news interviews) any subsequent discussion in relation both to the public portrayal of the interactants, as painted through the interviews examined, and the knowledge produced for the overhearing audience, were linked to what kind of qualities are being foregrounded as being "electable" or appropriate/desirable for the future Prime Minister. In that sense, this thesis enriches with empirical evidence discussions on the social epistemology of (election campaign) televised interviews (Ekström 202, Roth 2002 and indirectly Clayman and Romaniuk 2011).

The forms and functions of hybridity as exhibited by both interactants, were examined within three interactional environments that comprised the three analytic chapters of my thesis: in the design of journalistic adversarial challenges (Chapter 6), in the design of politicians' challenging responses, and in the design of journalistic reactions that sustained the micro-argumentative environment established (Chapter 7) and finally in the design of politicians' challenging responses, and in journalists' reactions that either neutralized them or restored normality, with a special focus on the employment of laughter (Chapter 8).

My dataset comprises one-on-one televised election campaign interviews carried out during the double 2012 Greek general elections between all three major political players of the period, Antonis Samaras, the then leader of New Democracy (a right-wing party), Evangelos Venizelos, the then leader of PASOK (a socialist party) and Alexis Tsipras, the leader of SYRIZA (a left-wing party) and five journalists working both for commercial TV channels and the then public broadcaster NET.

As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, in order to best approach the multifaceted nature of hybridity, as became manifest in Greek politicians' and journalists' talk through my analysis, in this thesis I combined conversation analytic research on news interviews and laughter with research on news interviews originating from the fields of

argumentation theory and social psychology (equivocation theory and face management in political interviews).

In the sections to follow, I will first summarise the main findings of my analytic chapters under the three key themes emerged through my analysis: 1) Hybridity and integrated hybridity (section 9.1), 2) Power games and the re-invention of interactants' roles (section 9.2), 3) The ambivalent role of laughter (section 9.3). Then, in sections 9.4-9.6, I will discuss the wider context implications of my findings in relation to their significance for the resulting genre, the participants' public portrayal and the subsequent knowledge produced for the overhearing electorate. The chapter will finish with a discussion of the limitations of the thesis and suggestions for futher research.

9.1 Hybridity and integrated hybridity revisited

As demonstrated in this thesis (see chapter 6), the hybrid forms used by Greek journalists blend adversarial questioning and meta-discursive talk with already identified hybrid (non) argumentative techniques and cultural oppositional strategies. This interactional practice indicated that Greek journalists employed *integrated hybridity*, that is merging within an utterance or episode of adversarial talk different frames (of activities) (Ekström 2011:37) in more complex ways than has been documented in relevant literature (Ekström 2011, Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017, Patrona 2011, Baym 2013).

In particular, Greek journalists within a single utterance or episode of adversarial talk merged different institutional and (confrontational) cultural and non-cultural specific ordinary talk frames. Greek journalists merged accountability questioning with personalisation - a confrontational technique transferred from ordinary to institutional talk as already documented by relevant research on hybridity (Hutchby 2011a, 2011b, 2017, Patrona 2011), laughter – a jovial hybrid technique employed by journalists to put pressure on politicians (Baym 2005, 2013 and Ekström 2011) and a cultural opposition strategy. The transference of a *cultural opposition strategy* from ordinary to institutional interaction involves foregrounding of the disagreement followed by accounts or other mitigating strategies (Kakava 2002: 1552).

Through their manifestation of integrated hybridity within sequences of adversarial challenges, Greek journalists in the extracts analysed, marry the two distinct definitions of *hybridity as a means to start an argument* (Hutchby 2011a, 2001b, 2013, 2017, and indirectly Patrona 2011) and as *a jovial journalistic resource* to put pressure

on the politician (Ekström 2011, Baym 2013) offered in the literature so far. This interactional practice of Greek journalists resulted in my re-definition of hybridity, for the purposes of this thesis, as the appropriation of institutional and ordinary confrontational and non-confrontational talk within the activity of issuing adversarial challenges during election campaign interviews. The employment of integrated hybridity at a micro level enables Greek journalists to exert pressure on politicians and strengthen their institutional power. This in turn results in the enhancement of their watchdog role and professionalism, at a macro level, echoing similar claims made by Ekström (2011), Baym (2013), Patrona (2011, 2012) and Papathanasopoulos (2011).

Building on the notion of integrated hybridity, as manifested in Greek journalists' adversarial challenges, this thesis further demonstrated that Greek politicians also employ integrated hybridity, merging even more frames (of activities) by introducing to the mix elements of conversational violence [39] (see chapters 7 and 8).

In the extracts analysed conversational violence was exhibited in Greek politicians' talk by means of asking a question instead of answering one and making personalised accusatory meta-discursive comments attacking the journalists' professional capability, knowledge or conduct (*ad hominem* attacks in argumentation theory terms). The employment of conversational violence, together with Greek politicians' personalised meta-discursive comments and laughter, introduced another layer of hybridity (the employment of elements from non-interview related broadcast talk, namely debate talk shows), to both the definition of hybridity, as a theoretical concept, and integrated hybridity, as its interactional manifestation, in the Greek 2012 election campaign interviews.

On account of that, this thesis informed research on the manifestation of hybridity at a micro level (in the unfolding interaction) by extending relevant discussions on hybrid interactional practices from journalists' to politicians' talk. The employment of integrated hybridity, and especially the incorporation of personalised accusatory meta-discursive comments within politicians' responses, signified the emergence of a distinct type of challenging response: *counterchallenges*. The effect of

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[39] Manifestations of conversational violence that limit the conversational rights of the other interactant have been been documented as a feature of either mainstream politicians' talk (Luginbühl 2007, Hess-Lüttich 2007) or extreme-right politicians' talk (Simon-Vandenbergen 2008) in debate talk shows (see section 4.2).

the use of counterchallenges for the participants' interactional roles within the 2012 Greek election campaign interviews will be discussed in the next section.

9.2 Power games and the re-invention of interactants' roles

Greek politicians' counterchallenges seem to have three separate but interrelated functions in the unfolding interaction: *firstly*, the personalised accusatory framework within which politicians' counterchallenges are placed indicates that the expected professional norm of neutralism in news interviews has been breached and portrays the politicians as "fair players, unfairly accused" in the course of the interactional game of accountability interviews. *Secondly*, the employment of counterchallenges indicates a power and role reversal, with the politicians taking over the role of the interview action and agenda managers from the journalists (journalists are usually the ones that hold politicians to account for their words and/or actions and not the reverse). *Thirdly*, it results in a further deregulation of the standard news interview norms with Greek journalists "accepting the invitation" to account for their adversarial challenges.

The power and role reversal Greek politicians' counterchallenging moves involve, may be attributed to the specifics of the Greek media system. As discussed in section 5.2, Greek journalists have adopted the role of authorities on political and social matters (Papathanasopoluos 2001) and this is reflected in their linguistic practices that allow them to present themselves as such (see Patrona 2011, 2012). Within this media culture, Greek politicians' counterchallenges may be a reaction to already established journalistic practices. By "striking back", in effect challenging journalists' epistemic authority and knowledge, politicians regain their expert status on political matters and appear as the most knowledgeable in the media event.

On a more general level, Greek politicians' aggressive practices can be accounted for, in terms of the ways power and resistance feature in interaction. Putting Foucault's (1977/1980) notion of power as manifest at the smallest level of interpersonal relationships into practice, Hutchby (1996, 2006, 2014a) has demonstrated that interactants can resist the power structure inherent in interactional discourse by mimicking the linguistic power resources available to the more powerful interactants. In the context of the 2012 Greek election campaign interviews, politicians try to resist the power exercised by journalists by mimicking the latter's linguistic resources. This is achieved as the hybrid techniques used by politicians resemble the ones used by

journalists themselves when asking adversarial questions or when sanctioning interviewee resistance.

The implications of this power struggle for both journalists' and politicians' roles within the interactional event can be summed up as follows:

1) Through their hybrid adversarial challenges journalists portray themselves as knowledgeable, while at the same time as fulfilling their watchdog role adequately by exposing to the overhearing audience politicians' evasiveness. In this way, Greek journalists enhance their professional profile as important players in the mediatised public sphere.

2) Through their counterchallenges Greek politicians "strike back", in effect reverting journalists' portrayal painted through the latters' adversarial moves. By employing hybridity to counter-expose journalists' professional inadequacy to the overhearing audience Greek politicians background their evasiveness and foreground their dominant power. In this way politicians regain their "lost" epistemic authority on matters of politics, effectively re-inventing their role as authoritative experts, a role that was contested through journalists' adversarial challenges.

3) In turn, by accounting for their adversarial challenges (through hybridity) journalists try to get their epistemic/professional authority back, effectively claiming back their role as experts. This power struggle between journalists and politicians over 'who plays the interview game in a fair way', might be another way of exercising accountability, where what is important is not *what* is said but *how* it is said.

9.3 The ambivalent role of laughter in the 2012 Greek election campaign interviews

As discussed in chapter 4, Glenn (2003, 2008), Holt (2010), Holt and Glenn (2013, 2015) claim that laughter shows up in two kinds of environments in every day conversations: celebrations and troubles and it moves between polarities of hostile and affiliative, self- and other-referential. Through laughter people may affiliate with their interlocutors, display resistance to what is going on, or use it as a resource for managing delicate actions such as complaining, thus making laughter's ambiguity versatile. With reference to institutional talk, Hakaana (1999, 2001, 2002, 2010) Partington (2006), Carter (2011), Ekström (2011), Romaniuk (2013b, 2013c) make similar claims. Their research demonstrates how laughter is associated with the management of aggression and the tension it arouses, how it allows face tensions to be explicitly referred to and defused, how it is used to make complainable matters visible; exactly how it was used

by Greek journalists and politicians in this thesis. Forming an integral part of the integrated hybridity employed by the three major political players of the period (Alexis Tsipras, Antonis Samaras, and Evangelos Venizelos) and the five journalists involved in the extracts examined, laughter was employed by *both interactants* to complain, display resistance and mitigate face threats.

In particular as regards *politicians*, in line with Romaniuk's (2009, 2013b, 2013c) research on the use of laughter by US politicians, Greek politicians' laughter, *retrospectively* indicates the previous turn as the laughable. In contrast, however, to Romaniuk's research, Greek politicians' laughter, together with their verbal response, *prospectively* does not only project a disaffiliative response but a counter-challenging move, an attack, that marks an action and agenda shift. Consequently, within the unfolding interaction, laughter was not only used by Greek politicians to display resistance and mitigate face threats, as was the case in Romaniuk's research, but also to complain. In turn, incorporating laughter within their counterchallenges assisted all three key players of the period (Alexis Tsipras, Antonis Samaras, and Evangelos Venizelos) in constructing specific (political) identities at a macro level; to project an image of politicians who can deal with "difficult" questions and/or pressure in an assertive manner. In that way a "poised for action" identity is being portrayed for the benefit of the overhearing electorate, indicating that being ready for action, in the form of combat, is deemed as electable quality.

Laughter, as employed by all five *journalists* (Maria Houkli, Yiannis Pretenteris, Elli Stai, George Autias and Stelios Kouloglou) has a more versatile role than when employed by politicians. As discussed in chapter 6, when laughter is used within hybrid journalistic adversarial challenges, in line with previous research (Ekström 2011, Baym 2013), it strengthens the force of the challenge, thus empowering journalists by enabling them to put pressure on politicians in a non-threatening environment. When laughter is employed by journalists within micro-argumentative or better micro-confrontational sequences as a reaction to politicians' counterchallenges, as demonstrated in chapter 7, its use adds an embodied dimension to the antagonistic relationship established through both interactants' hybrid talk.

However, this antagonistic relationship with politicians changes when laughter is employed within "neutralising moves". As discussed in chapter 8, Greek journalists by employing laughter to neutralise a specific politician's (Alexis Tsipras) counterchallenges at interview openings, assist him in building a specific public persona

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and, even momentarily, enable him to take the upper hand in the media event by appearing as the more powerful interactant.

Midway between the two (antagonistic or co-operative) is the use of laughter by journalists within their "restoring normality" moves. Through their hybrid "restoring normality" moves, where laughter plays a key role, journalists point out to the overhearing electorate and the politician that they have been "unfairly" accused, effectively halting the on-going aggressive action. Although it seems that this is interactionally achieved (i.e politicians equally employ laughter to stop the on-going adversarial action, do damage control and maintain the best possible face for themselves), journalists' restoring normality moves *do* expose politicians to the overhearing public as "unfairly" accusing them, thus even indirectly maintaining the confrontational exposing-counter exposing framework identified in chapter 7.

As Partington (2006:229) notes in relation to the uses of laughter by White House Press Secretaries (podiums) and US journalists, an observation that seems to apply also to the way laughter was used by Greek politicians and journalists in the analysed extracts: "(Laughter talk) is integral to many of the rhetorical strategies speakers use to construct identity through talk and to make their case in a competitive, argumentative environment". The use of laughter (talk) to discredit/expose the other interactant, reveals another aspect of laughter use in argumentative environments (these being either Press Conferences as in Partington's case or election campaign interviews as in my case): its strategic use in the argumentative game of winning the discussion, complementing thus the claims made in section 4.2.1 about the use of conversational violence to achieve the same end; win the discussion.

Finally, Eriksson (2009: 915) argues that when the management of laughter is characterized by cooperation between interviewer and interviewee, it may temporarily dissolve established roles and relationships. This would appear to be exactly the function of laughter as employed by both Greek journalists and politicians in several of the extracts analysed. Inbuilt into (personalised) metadiscursive (accusatory) talk or on its own, laughter played a key role in the *collaborative transformation* of the one-on-one televised election campaign interview into an antagonistic genre where, for the ears of the overhearing audience, both parties claimed legitimacy and arguably epistemic authority on political matters by discrediting the other interlocutor.

The effect of the use of not only laughter but hybridity in general, in the structural organisation of election campaign interviews and, whether its use signified

the emergence of a new genre or the transformation of an existing one, (accountability interview) will be discussed in the next section.

9.4. Hybridity and the re-invention of interview norms

Based on how integrated hybridity is manifested in the "high-profile", prototypical election campaign interviews analysed in this thesis and the way Hutchby (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017), Patrona (2011), Ekström (2011) and Baym (2005, 2013) have demonstrated that ordinary talk frames can be incorporated in non-prototypical news interviews, it seems that hybridity tends to be a permanent feature of *both* prototypical and non-prototypical broadcast genres (see also Lauerbach 2004 for a similar discussion). Because of that, it appears that the interactional practices of Greek journalists and politicians of mixing laughter, personalisation, culturally specific opposition mundane talk frames, and conversational violence with institutional talk (integrated hybridity), is a "natural" evolution of the political (accountability) news interview. To put it differently, it seems that the way hybridity becomes manifested in Greek journalists' and politicians' talk is merging the two distinct definitions of hybridity offered in the literature so far, as a means to start an argument and as a jovial journalistic resource to put pressure on politicians, is not a deviant case but the "next step" in the evolution of the political (accountability) news interview.

By the same token, and in line with Montgomery's (2011) observations that in interviews between various politicians and journalists working for the BBC, micro-argumentative sequences were initiated *both* by journalists *and* politicians, it comes as no surprise that hybridity was employed *both* by Greek journalists *and* politicians within extended sequences of adversarial challenges and counterchallenges in my dataset. As argued in chapters 6-8, the manifestation of integrated hybridity in the extracts analysed in this thesis, opened up a space in relevant discussions on the use and functions of hybridity, discussions that previously focused mainly on journalists' talk, to include also politicians' talk. On top of that, the way hybridity was manifested in the thesis "bridged the gap" between the two distinct definitions of hybridity offered in the literature so far, by providing data-driven support for a definition that encompasses both. Last but not least, the employment of hybridity by both interactants also enriched the micro-argumentative sequences identified in the UK context by Montgomery (2011) in the following ways.

Journalist-initiated counter-assertions in Montgomery's dataset, exhibited the overt expression of the journalists' opinion and overt disaffiliation from the politicians' expressed views (2011:50). In my dataset though, journalists in their counter-assertions (in the form of sanctioning interview resistance moves), did not exhibit any personal opinion on the matters discussed or dissafiliation from the views expressed by politicians. What Greek journalists' counter-assertions involved however, was a metadiscursive comment on the politicians' interactional behaviour, that is whether or not politicians answered the question posed satisfactorily (e.g *your answer was fine but you have not answered my question. Because my question is* (…), Extract 6.2).

In relation to politicians, Montgomery (2011:50) claims that in his dataset, politician-initiated counter-assertions involved questions of motive (e.g. *all you are interested in is settling scores)* and unsolicited comments on prior talk (e.g. *you did it again this morning which is probably why I'm a bit upset*) and asking questions, to which journalists answered. In my dataset, politician-initiated counter-assertions however, involved hybrid metadiscursive comments on either the journalist's knowledge (e.g *they are two different things though,* Extract 8.1, *you have not read these in any memorandum,* Extract 7.2), conduct (e.g. *don't look at me startled ((smiling)),* Extract 7.6) or asking questions combining both (e.g. *aren't we now in a pre-election period? Am I not telling you about it?* Extract 7.4, *how did you come up with that number?* Extract 7.1). As argued in chapter 7, making (personalised) metadiscursive comments that question journalists' state of knowledge and professional conduct exposes journalists as unfair players in the interactional game of news interviews and subsequently portrays politicians as fair players. It also shifts the focus of the argument away from the content of the interview, towards its performative aspect (whether both interactants perform their respective roles adequately).

This difference in politician-initiated counter-assertions in the two datasets is evident also in journalists' reactions. In Montgomery's (2011:43) dataset, journalists' reactions to politicians' counter-assertions involved journalists answering politicians' questions or reflexively defining the nature of a prior or current act (e.g. *I am not implying dishonestly I'm just asking what your plan is).*

Greek journalists however, when challenged employed integrated hybridity either to "restore normality", a move similar to the ones performed by journalists in Montgomery's dataset, that is they reflexively defined the nature of the prior or current act, (e.g *£ I don't want you to say anything. I am asking questions£ that I think are*

reasonable questions for everybody (…)*,* Extract 8.4), or to "strike back", (e.g. *I did not raise it. It is raised primarily by your senior party FIGURES* (..), Extract 7.5, *I did not multiply it. Talking with relevant Ministers (…),* Extract 7.1*, (.) £yes, you are telling me generally.£ that there will be a schedule. you are not telling me by when,* Extract 7.4).

So it seems that Greek journalists' reactions that in an implicit (restoring normality moves) or explicit (striking back) way, sustain the performative aspect of the micro-argument by trying to prove that they are unfairly accused and *they* are playing the interview game in a fair and legitimate way, epitomise the way the micro-argumentative sequences identified in my dataset differ from Montgomery's. The emergent exposing (journalistic adversarial challenges)-counter-exposing (politicians' counterchallenges)- exposing (journalists' striking back or restoring normality moves) framework established, does not only resemble the three turns (arguable action, initial opposition and counter opposition) of mundane conflict talk identified by Norrick and Spitz (2008) but also focuses on performance rather than content.

In this hybrid argumentative arena, the winner seems to be the one who "better" exposes the other participant to the overhearing audience as an unfair player, thus portraying oneself as the fair one. *This* seems to be the function of the hybrid metadiscursive adversarial challenges and counter challenges exchanged by both sides: to expose to the overhearing audience the unfairness of the other's game.

So what are the implications of Greek journalists' and politicians' hybrid practices for the election campaign interview and the accountability interview in general? My research indicates that by employing integrated hybridity within their argumentative interactional moves, Greek journalists and politicians seem both to change and at the same time sustain the structural organization of "prototypical" news interviews by re-inventing it.

By holding journalists accountable for their interactional behaviour, politicians reverse the "standard" Question-Answer structural pattern of news interviews. However, the fact that in the subsequent moves this "anomaly" is resolved by means of the internal mechanisms of the interview itself indicates that *even if adversarially modified*, the "standard" news interview mechanism is still in place. So it seems that even if *both* participants re-invent the structural norms of the news interview to more aggressive ones, they *still* operate within the constraints of the genre, indicating thus not the emergence of a new genre but the adversarial modification of an existing one (accountability interview). What is important to stress is that these "modified norms to

argument as performance" are collaboratively produced, thus being an indication of a "new form of neutralism", echoing Montgomery's (2011:51) claim, that the broadcast interview is capable of re-fashioning established norms from within the constraints of the form. Put it differently, the fact that news interview norms are *co-produced*, indicates that the "generic" news interview mechanism, modified as it might be, is still "observed" thus able to be recognisable as such by all actors involved.

Moving from the intersection of the micro with the macro in relation to the functions of hybridity in the unfolding interaction and its implications for the collaborative transformation of the election campaign interview, in the next section I will discuss its implications for the public portrayal of both journalists and politicians and the subsequent knowledge produced for the overhearing electorate.

9.5. Populism as political style

The politicians in my dataset, coming from a wide spectrum of political parties, ranging from the radical left to socialist and centre right, used similar techniques to attack during one-on-one election campaign interviews with the ones used in debate talk shows by either Swiss mainstream politicians or extreme right politicians in Belgium and France (see section 4.2.2 and chapters 7 and 8).

Employing counterchallenges, in the form of personalised metadiscursive accusatory comments and questions (conversational violence), frequently accompanied with laughter, enabled Greek politicians to present themselves as protectors of fair interview culture and journalists as breaching standard norms and procedures (i.e breaching neutralism). As argued in the previous section, this resulted in the collaborative transformation of the news interview genre into a confrontational arena where, for the ears of the overhearing audience, the winner is the interactant that can more successfully discredit the other interlocutor. This is not only the doing of politicians but also of journalists, who through their hybrid metadiscursive reactions may either sustain the micro-conflict sequences, as was the case in the extracts analysed in chapter 7 or stop the on-going conflict sequences, sustaining at the same time - even implicitly - its counter-exposing character, as was the case in extracts analysed in section 8.2. So what are the implications of these antagonistic practices for the public portrayal of politicians and journalists?

Developing an antagonistic relationship with journalists has the following upshots for *politicians*. Firstly, by reversing the roles of the protagonist and antagonist

of the news interview and asking the journalists to account for their words and actions (effectively becoming the protagonists), politicians make, even momentarily, the journalists' public performance the focus of the media event and not their own. Secondly, by attacking the journalists, politicians not only reverse their provisional public portrayal of being seen as evasive, established by journalists' adversarial challenges, but they also portray themselves as poised, ready to attack if challenged.

In this light, it seems that the global symbolic function of the counterchallenges issued by Greek politicians is to promote political interviews as *antagonism*. The way I understand and use antagonism in this thesis follows broadly the definition offered by Mouffe (2013:7) as struggle between enemies. Although the notion of "enemies" to describe the relationship between Greek journalists and politicians in one-on-one (election campaign) accountability interviews might seem quite far-fetched, it tallies with similar claims made both by linguists and political communication theorists in relation to the interactional behaviour of non-Greek mainstream politicians.

As has already been discussed in section 4.2.2, Luginbühl (2007) and Hess-Lüttich (2007) talked about *staged antagonism* when discussing the global function of conversational violence as employed by Swiss mainstream politicians during debate TV shows. Luginbühl (2007:1386) in particular, argues that the employment of conversational violence: "enable(s) politicians to show their capacity for handling political conflict in the absence of any real existing conflict". This claim foregrounds an element of combat in Swiss mainstream politicians' talk that seems similar to Mazzoleni's (2008) discussion of media populism as (populist) politicians' talk that puts pressure on journalists (see also Biorcio 2003 and Birenbaum and Villa 2003 for a similar discussion). This idea of theatricality and performativity has also been the focus of recent discussions on populism (Moffitt and Tormey 2014, Moffitt 2016, Schoor 2017), linking populism to political style.

In relation to what political style consists of, Schoor (2017:4) identifies social style that is, the co-construction of identities in interaction with others, as one of its components. This idea of a social political identity being constructed through (talk-) in interaction with others, from a wider discursive perspective, tallies with the epistemological claims and findings of conversation analytic research, the principal methodology adopted in this thesis, in relation to *identity construction* both in institutional talk; see for instance Clayman and Romanuk (2011:15) on the importance of politicians' responses to journalistic questioning in election campaign interviews for

their public portrayal and Jefferson (1984) and Clift (2013:235-236) on the role of laughter for the interactional construction of identity in ordinary talk.

In a similar light, from a political theory angle, Moffitt and Tormey (2014: 387) define political style as "the repertoires of performance that are used to create political relations" and claim that incorporating the concept of performance with political style enables researchers to examine, among other things, how ways of acting within politics can become the backbone of the public's political "common sense". This idea tallies with the epistemology of TV journalism (Ekström 2002, Roth 2002) and the subsequent knowledge both journalists' and politicians', set institutional interactional practices produce, an issue that will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

In their discussion of how populism as political style may be enacted and performed, Moffitt and Tormey (2014:391-394) identify three stylistic features, with the core one being "appeal to the people", around which all the others are built. In relation to this stylistic feature and the manifestation of politics as conflict (see also Schoor 2017:8), in contrast to the usual division between "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" identified in previous literature on populism (i.e. Mudde 2007), Moffitt and Tormey claim that "the other" may be any group or institution (2014:391). In the extracts examined from the one-on-one Greek 2012 election campaign interviews, where politicians attack journalists, this "other" are the media elites, or better the journalists representing media institutions. In light of this, the use of Greek politicians' counterchallenges, as examined in this thesis, is an indication of *populism as performance*, through which Greek mainstream political party leaders are allowed to build their political performative identities.

Morfitt and Tormey (2014: 392-393) claim that viewing populism as a political style has two advantages. Firstly, it frees researchers from the puzzle of populism's ability to appear across the political spectrum and points towards the re-definition of populism (as political style) as potentially a feature of *any* politicians' talk. Secondly, it allows us to consider the consequences of populism's mainstream appropriations and how it is possible and "appropriate" that politicians move in and out of the populist style to achieve rhetoric ends and electability (see also Snow and Moffitt 2012:274).

And this is what appears to be happening in the extracts examined in this thesis. Greek political party leaders coming from diverse political spectrums ranging from the left and socialism to the center-right, employ populism in the form of interactional antagonism to build their mainstream populistic political identities. What are the

specific features of this populist political style that is being created through Greek political leaders' counterchallenges in the course of election campaign interviews?

By initiating a staged fight with "the other", this other being journalists working for either the public broadcaster or private TV channels, arguably representing media elites, Greek political party leaders seem to foreground populism as an electable quality. By indicating to the general public that they are ready and able to "attack" the antagonist/journalist, treating them as "the other", the Greek mainstream political party leaders involved, align themselves with "the people" and dis-align themselves with the "corrupt elites". Or to paraphrase Moffitt (2015:189) by pitting people against the other (media elites in this case), Greek politicians make a first performative step towards a promised fight with any kind of established elite/other, indicating that they have got what it takes to govern the country and safeguard its interests in moments of socio-political and financial crisis (as was the case in Greece in 2012, see section 5.2.1).

In turn, the implications for the public portrayal of *journalists* in this hybrid, personalized argumentative arena are twofold. Firstly, within the identified exposing and counter-exposing argumentative sequences, the journalist, - even momentarily, - loses his/her central role in the news interview becoming instead the enemy, the "villain" in the interactional game. By being subjected to criticism/attacks journalists seem to lose, even momentarily, their "alleged" epistemic authority on political matters. This contradicts previous research findings both within the UK-USA context (Hutchby 2017) and within the Greek context (Patrona 2009, 2011, 2012, Papathanassopoulos 2001) about the role of the journalist as the centre of the story, able to construct societal consensus by imposing preferred readings of politics on the audience. Secondly, although this image seems to be more or less reversed through the journalists' reactions in third and/or subsequent positions, reactions that either sustain the micro-argumentative/micro-confrontational environment established or "restore normality", this is not necessarily the case. Using Clayman and Romaniuk's ideas I will conversely argue that politicians' counterchallenging techniques may have long-lasting consequences for journalists' public portrayal.

In their discussion on the effect of journalistic questioning for politicians' public portrayal in election campaign interviews, Clayman and Romaniuk (2011:30-131) argue that journalistic questions matter not only for the responses they elicit but also for the portrait they paint of candidates. This portrayal, as they go on to claim, may be provisional as candidates themselves may work to change the identity being proposed

for them, but nevertheless the initial portrayal cannot be completely erased from public record and/or the ears of the overhearing electorate.

Extending this argument from the kinds of *questions* asked during an election campaign interview to the kinds of *responses* received, responses that move away from the content of the questions asked, towards either their validity or the conduct of the journalist asking them, as is the case in the extracts examined in this thesis, I argue something similar for the functions of those responses for the public portrayal of journalists. Although journalists' reactions to politicians' counterchallenges may attempt to change the negative portrayal painted for them, those reactions may not be effective in erasing the negative picture painted for journalists by politicians. Putting it differently, even if journalists evoke their professional role or even "fight back" against politicians' counterchallenges, the accusations of unprofessionalism, incompetency and/or bias towards them may not be easily erased from the public domain.

To sum up, Greek journalists, working both for commercial TV channels and the then public broadcaster, by playing along in this antagonistic interactional game seem to assist Greek mainstream politicians in their identity construction and to co-legitimatise populist performance by making it an integral part of the institutional talk-in-interaction norms. So it seems that the knowledge produced for the overhearing audience, through the co-construction of institutional talk-in-interaction, is the legitimatisation and normalisation of populism as a mainstream political style. This tallies with Mazzoleni's (2003:2) claim that, the mass media by being players in the political game may intentionally or unintentionally endorse populist performances; and that seems to be what the Greek journalists in the extracts analysed in this thesis did.

9.6. Antagonistic politics

The last question this thesis addresses puts all the micro and macro dimensions of the use of hybrid antagonistic practices by politicians and journalists into a wider social epistemological context. In what follows I will discuss the possible significance of the modified televised genre of Greek election campaign interviews for the knowledge producing practices of TV journalism.

Ekström (2002) and Roth (2002) argue that in the case of TV journalism and news interviews in particular, the turn-taking system and the question design - set institutional practices - are important ingredients of the epistemology of knowledge production. The way the news interview is conducted, produces knowledge and

classifies reality for all social actors involved (interviewers, interviewees and the overhearing audience). Based on these classifications of reality, the actors involved play an active role in knowledge production; interviewers through their questions and their institutional role as managers of the media event produce knowledge for the overhearing audience, and interviewees through their responses and compliance with the news interview institutional norms, do likewise. What safeguards the legitimate place of journalism as a knowledge-producing institution in the minds of people, is its institutional rules, routines and procedures.

Within the above social epistemological framework, the institutionalised hybrid antagonistic practices identified in the Greek 2012 election campaign interviews seem to signify two things: firstly that the turn to a reciprocally antagonistic or confrontational genre is a well-established practice in accountability interviews, indicating a stretch on its limits (see also Montogomery 2011) and secondly that apart from portraying journalists and politicians in specific ways, these practices produce knowledge for the overhearing audience in relation to "how politics is done" or what constitutes a legitimate form of politics.

In particular, these aggressive practices foreground and legitimise a specific type of politics, antagonistic politics, in Mouffe's (2013) terms. [40] In that understanding of politics, as practices that are potentially antagonistic, both participants through the set hybrid antagonistic practices this thesis identified as being employed, foreground and legitimatize antagonistic politics as the "acceptable" form of current politics, producing thus knowledge for the overhearing audience: that antagonistic politics is the norm, or at least an acceptable form.

Apart from the kind of politics this transformed accountability interview genre seems to foreground, there is another related dimension of the public knowledge produced: that what matters is not *what* the politicians say but *how* they say it. By indicating that the rhetorical concerns for winning the discussion, in Andone's (2013:133) terms, have taken the upper hand, politicians of various political parties, together with the journalists involved, turn the interviews into an impression management field where populist performance is more important than political manifestos. This might be the case since, as Lloyd (2004:126) claims, all political

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[40] Although Mouffe (2013:7) distinguishes between "antagonism" (struggle between enemies) and "agonism" (struggle between adversaries) discussing this dimension of the emerging politics is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

parties have more or less the same ideology, thus what matters is not ideological differences but performativity. This idea of performativity being a key concern in mediated contexts in general, is also echoed in Louw's (2010) claim, cited in Wahl-Jorgensen (2014:318), that political coverage: "is increasingly focused on the *process* of politics rather than on substance or *policy*" (emphasis in the original) and Moffitt and Tormey's (2012) claims about the prevalence of mainstream populism as a political performance in current politics.

Based on the aforementioned, we can conclude that political aggressive behaviour seems to be a set feature in accountability political news interviews, maybe as a reaction to already long established aggressive journalistic techniques. In turn, these reciprocally aggressive techniques, as a set institutional practice, educate the public that: a) aggressive behaviour, in the form of verbal violence, is the norm thus acceptable, b) performance and impression management are more important than discussing political manifestos, c) a political party leader should project a fighter's persona, as this quality is deemed electable and d) mainstream politicians adopt populist politicians' interactional techniques, upgrading the latter to mainstream.

9.7 Limitations and implications for further research

A limitation of the thesis is that the data analysed comes from a specific point in time, so the conclusions drawn may reflect only the climate of that period. Further research could investigate whether the changes identified have become part of the interactional game of televised news interviews and consequently mark the emergence of a different relationship between political and media elites.

Furthermore, as the focus of my thesis was on extended sequences of journalistic adversarial challenges and politicians' counter-challenges, the extracts analysed were the ones in which journalists exhibited their watchdog function by exercising adversarialness. Within the same interviews though, there were cases where the same journalists did not exhibit persistence and/or their adversarial challenges were not met with such forceful resistance by the same politicians. Further research could investigate whether politicians "attack" journalists only when the latter show persistence by asking follow up questions in second or subsequent positions (as was the case with Antonis Samaras and Evangelos Venizelos) or as a response to adversarial challenges in any position (as was the case with Alexis Tsipras). To put it another way, further research could investigate whether different politicians move in and out of populist strategies

within different interactional environments, with the aim of discerning differences between politicians in relation to their individual populist political styles.

Also within the same interviews comprising my dataset, journalists did not use hybridity only to challenge politicians but also at times to help them develop their arguments by co-constructing them (see Kantara, 2017), indicating that hybridity can be used to facilitate politicians' practical process of persuasion (or propaganda in Taylor's 1992 terms). This fact, apart from being an indication of another level, type, function or use of hybridity, indicates also how fluid the notion of norms and standards is: that within the same accountability interview interactants may act as adversaries or co-operatively, mix humour with confrontation, propaganda with verbal duels.

Or as Eriksson and Östman (2013:320) put it, the exchange model (asking deferential and information seeking questions) and the adversarial model are not mutually exclusive. Journalists can operate in a co-operative or adversarial mode, depending on what happens when they meet politicians. Ekström et al (2013:423) make a similar claim when discussing whether bias in election campaign interviews is solely related to journalistic values and actions. As they demonstrate, the journalistic level of aggression in interviews is partly interactionally produced and locally managed depending on how the politicians respond to the interview questions.

Applying both Eriksson and Östman's and Ekström et al's claims to my dataset and extending it to politicians as well as journalists, it can be argued that four models can co-occur within the same interview: the exchange model, the adversarial model, the hybridity as antagonism and the hybridity as propaganda model. Further research could investigate whether this mixing of models is indeed the form accountability interviews are taking. Other research avenues would include the following. Firstly, research in other media or cultural systems could verify, contradict or identify variations within the identified hybrid antagonistic or confrontational election campaign interview (or the accountability political news interview in general; see Appendix C: 211-215 for some initial observations made in relation to non-Greek mainstream politicians' hybrid challenging responses when interviewed by Jeremy Paxman on the BBC). Another area would be to investigate what might be the possible effects of the knowledge produced for the overhearing electorate (i.e. whether indeed voters reward aggressive politicians through their electoral behaviour). Lastly, if populism is indeed becoming the dominant political style among mainstream politicians what has substituted it, in the "traditional" sense of the term, in populist politicians' talk and style?

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Appendix A-Greek Code of Ethics for Journalists

According to the Journalists' code of Ethics, published in both POESY (Panhellenic Federation of Journalists' Unions) and ESHEA (Daily Newspapers Journalists' Union) sites, journalists should:

"Article 1. f. […] publish or broadcast opposite opinions, without necessarily expecting an answer (reaction), that would put the journalist in a favourable position to the challenged party. […] *(my translation)*

Article 2. b. […] Only when it is necessary to inform the public, should a journalist tactfully and responsibly, use personal data of public figures that due to their powerful position are accountable to general public. […]" *(my translation)*

(sources: http://www.esiea.gr/gr/index.html accessed on May 18 2013, http://www.poesy.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=7&Itemid=32 accessed on May 18 2013)

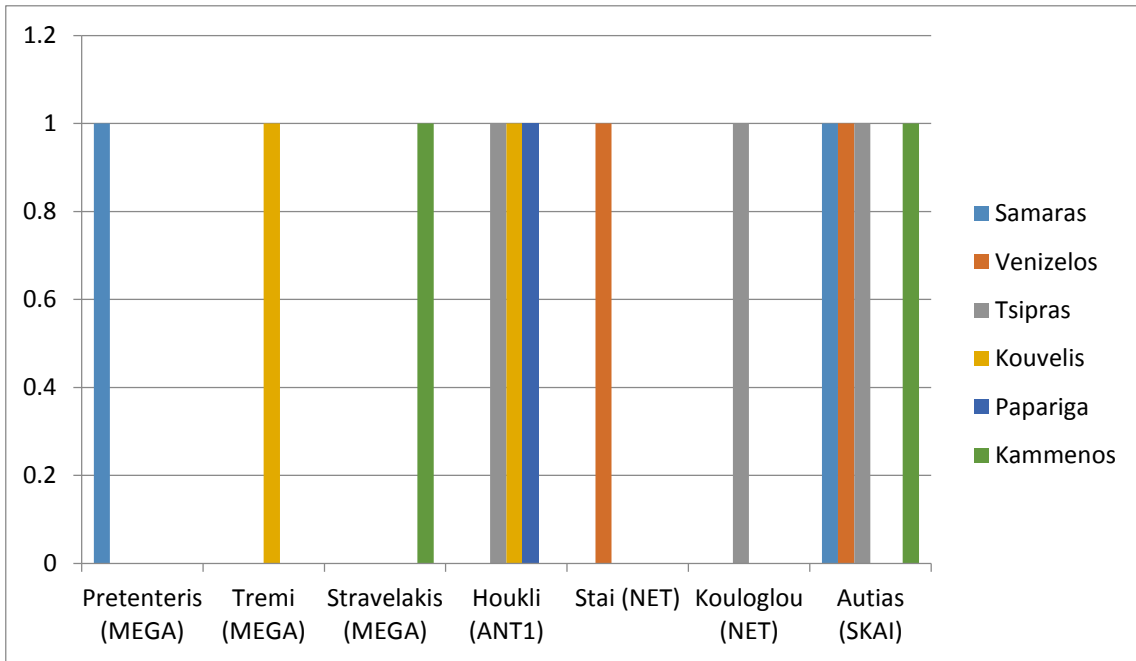# Appendix B – Initial dataset by political party leader, journalist, TV channel and type of programme

Journalist	Media Organisation, and type of TV programme	*Antonis Samaras- New Democracy*	*Evangelos Venizelos – PASOK*	*Alexis Tsipras – SYRIZA*	*Fotis Kouvelis – 'DIMAR'*	*Aleka Papariga – KKE*	*Panos Kammenos - Independent Greeks*
Yiannis Pretenteris*	*MEGA* (commercial). after the 8 o'clock news	Date: 09.04.2012 Duration: 40:02					
Olga Tremi*	*MEGA* (commercial). during the 8 o'clock evening news				Date:14.06.2012 Duration: 9:42		
Nikos Stravelakis*	*MEGA* (commercial). during the 8 o'clock weekend evening news						Date: 28/4/2012 Duration: 8:41
Maria Houkli	*ANT1* (commercial). during the 8 o'clock evening news			Date:25.04.2012 Duration: 13:24	Date:24.04.2012 Duration: 10:13	Date: 11/06/2012 Duration: 13:00	
Stelios Kouloglou	*NET* (public). after the 9 o'clock news			Date: 16/5/2012 Duration: 1:16:53			
Elli Stai*	*NET* (public). after the 9 o'clock news		Date: 01.05.2012 Duration: 53:13				
George Autias	*SKAI* (commercial). during an early morning news and current affairs programme	Date: 03.06.2012 Duration: 50:02	Date: 21.04.2012 Duration: 35:10	Date: 22.04.2012 Duration: 26;47 Date: 20.05.2012 Duration: 42:30			Date: 10.06.2012 Duration: 28:27

Table 3. Interviews included in the dataset by TV channel, type of programme, date and time of broadcast. Asterisks (*) denote that the journalist has also interviewed politicians in a different interview format, that being either two-on-one (two journalists one politician) or three-on-one (three journalists, one politician)
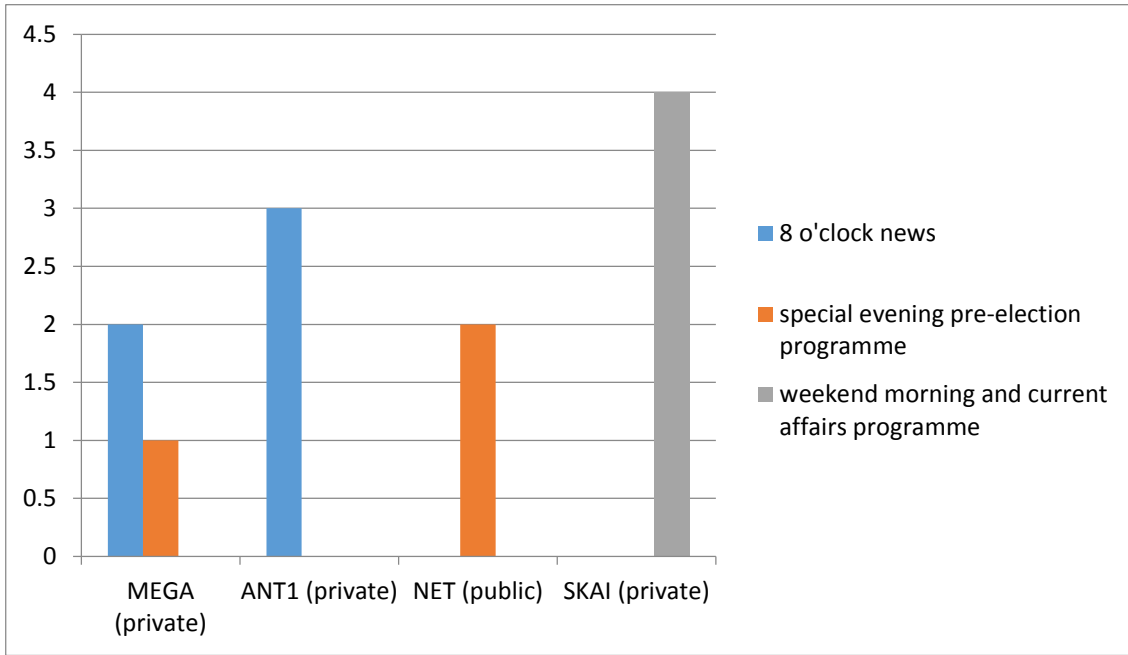
Figure 1: Interview distribution by TV channel and programme

Figure 2: Interview distribution by political party leaders and journalist/TV channel

Appendix C – Politicians striking back when interviewed on the BBC

As mentioned in Chapter 7, analysis of several extracts from my dataset demonstrated that in the Greek context mainstream politicians may "strike back" by issuing hybrid attacks. These may take the form of personalizing the attack, through the use of binary pronouns, employing laughter and conversational violence (i.e asking questions instead of answering ones) to legitimize the attack. Several of the techniques to counterchallenge used by Greek mainstream politicians within the Polarised Pluralist Media System are also used by mainstream politicians in other Media Systems, as the following two extracts from interviews taken from BBC2's Newsnight demonstrate. Analysis of the next two extracts indicates that although the practice of mainstream politicians employing hybridity to strike back when faced with adversarial challenges has not been reported in relevant research on *one-on-one "high-profile, prototypical" interviews* within the Liberal and Democratic Corporatist Media Systems, apart from the aggressive practices of Margaret Thatcher reported by Bull et al, it is a rather "widespread" practice or at least not limited to politicians coming from a Polarised Media System.

Extract 1 comes from a short interview between Jeremy Paxman and the President of Iceland, Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, broadcast on January 6th 2010 on BBC2's Newsnight. The topic/agenda of the interview was the decision of the President of Iceland the previous day, after the collapse of Iceland's three main commercial banks in 2008, not to counter-sign a bill that would turn the Icelandic (Bank) Loan guarantees to the UK and Netherlands into a law, but refer the law to a referendum. Points of interest are indicated in bold.

Extract 1

Audio: 02:50-1:20, Video: 5:57-7:26, Date: 06/01/2010

1	Jour.	[mr president, <u>the lesson</u> that-mr president <u>the lesson</u>] that many people are drawing from all of this, is quite <u>simple</u>. <u>don't</u> trust an icelander.
2	Pol.	**(0.1) well, you have to trust the democratic process,=**
3	Jour.	=but-=
4	Pol.	**=you see, <u>in france</u>, <u>in the netherlands</u>, <u>in ireland</u>, in many european union countries, eh, re-referendums are normal part of the democratic process. i know <u>in britain</u> you don't really have an experience,=**
5	Jour.	=bu-=
6	Pol.	**=of <u>trusting the people</u>=**

7	Jor.	=but-=
8	Pol.	**=with a referendum, but <u>all over</u> ↓europe, there are countries that <u>trust</u> the people with a referendum,=**
9	Jour.	=(yeah, but)=
10	Pol.	**=and what <u>i</u> decided, was simply to <u>follow</u> an-an <u>honored,</u> european tradition of allowing the people, to make the final decision.=**
11	Jour.	=a-and what about the <u>other</u> ↓<u>part</u> of the democratic tradition, that people ↓elect <u>a</u> <u>government</u>, and <u>governments</u> make agreements in ↑good faith, and they are <u>not</u> to be set aside <u>highhandedly</u> by some <u>president</u> ↑somewhere.
12	Pol.	well, (0.1), a, eh, the difference between and the British and the, icelandic constitution is, that <u>in britain</u> the parliament, eh, is-is, sovereign. in iceland, it is <u>the</u> <u>nation</u> and the will of the ↓people, which is, which is <u>sovereign</u>. and <u>within</u> the european ↑union, we have the maastricht treaties, the lisbon treaties, which are much more complicated than the treaty between iceland and [britain and the UK]
13	Jour.	[·hh, ha,ha]=
14	Pol.	=being <u>put</u> to a referendum. so i can't simply <u>see</u> why britain and netherlands shou- should object=
15	Jour.	=but-=
16	Pol.	=to eh, this being put to a referendum, in, in iceland, [where much more complicated and international treaties negotiated by the EUROPEAN UNION GOVERNMENTS,]

In turns 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 (in bold) the politician responds to the journalist's adversarial statement in turn 1 "the lesson many people are drawing from this (your decision) is simple. Don't trust an Icelander", by problematizing the interviewer's perspective, Dickerson (2001), through a hybrid framework. The politician achieves this by juxtaposing the personal pronoun 'I' in turns 4,10,14, when referring to himself both as a person and as a representative of Icelanders, with 'you' in turns 2&4, when referring to the journalist both as a person and as a representative of British people in general, framing thus his reply "on personal terms". Through the use of binary personal pronouns the politician personalizes the 'attack' by attributing the adversarial statement made in turn 1 to the journalist's lack of knowledge, and by extension to the journalist's professional incapability to research how other (non-British) systems operate. Through hybridity (personalisation) and by comparing the way Britain and other European democratic countries handle the issue of referendums (in turn 12), the politician renders the journalist's adversarial challenge as conceptually inappropriate, implicitly attributing it to the journalist's lack of knowledge and/or research; a technique Greek politicians employed as well as discussed in chapters 7&8.

In the next extract the same interactional phenomenon is exhibited to a more dramatic extent. Extract 2 is taken from an interview between Jeremy Paxman and Plaid Cymru's senior economic advisor, Eurfyl ap Gwilym, broadcast on April 26th 2010 on

BBC2's Newsnight. The topic/agenda of the interview was the decision of the Welsh government to ask for more money from Westminster. Points of interest are indicated in bold.

Extract 2

Audio: 3:44-2:03, Video: 2:12-3:52   Date: 26/04/2010

1	Jour.	=can you <u>explain</u> WHY it is↑, given that, <u>per capita</u> wales receives more than <u>any</u> english region, [↑anybody,]
2	Pol.	[no we <u>don't</u>,] we get-we-london gets a 115% of identified >all public expenditure<, you look at the (pisa) of report <u>from</u> the treasure, that came out [<u>last</u> week, **get your facts right**.]
3	Jour.	[i (.) well, i am looking at the treasury] figures I had them in front of me,=
4	Pol.	**=yes, and what does it say for london?**
5	Jour.	(0.1) (umm) am, ↑what [per head?]
6	Pol.	**[what does it say] for london? per capita, yes.=**
7	Jour.	=per capita.=
8	Pol.	=yea. Go on.=
9	Jour.	=e::=
10	Pol.	**=the index, the index, give me the index, [(at the end of it),]**
11	Jour.	[you want the::], this is the one, eh, i'll give you that, sure. [( )]
12	Pol.	[115] ↓% of the UK average.=
13	Jour.	=ah, no, it isn't↓ it, o, eh, v, well,=
14	Pol.	**=115 [% get your ↓numbers]**
15	Jour.	[there are <u>thousands</u> of statis↓tics] here, [but st-]
16	Pol.	**[no, no well,] do your homework=**
17	Jour.	=we are looking at seven- <u>i have done</u> my ↑homework
18	Pol.	**well why don't you see the 115% index then?=**
19	Jour.	=because [you're re↑ferring,]
20	Pol.	[and wales is 112]=
21	Jour.	=you are referring to a more <u>congenial</u> chart. i am looking at the figure <u>per head</u>.=
22	Pol.	=yes,=
23	Jour.	=is this the one you are looking at?=
24	Pol.	=go, go on ↑then, ↓yes,=
25	Jour.	=right. [nine thousand]
26	Pol.	[what's the]=
27	Jour.	=four hundred and sixty four. <u>correct</u>?
28	Pol.	(0.1) i haven't it in front of me now, you-you [tell me wha-]
29	Jour.	[oh i see.] you haven't [got it in ↓front of you]
30	Pol.	**[is that for london?] no, is that the ↑wales [number,]**
31	Jour.	[alright]=
32	Pol.	**=or the ↑london number?=**
33	Jour.	=eh, that's the london number. according to that, [that's the figures,]
34	Pol.	**[what's the] wales number?=**
35	Jour.	=I want to <u>ask</u> you,=
36	Pol.	**=what's the ↑wales number?**
37	Jour.	(.) ·hhhh my god, (.) ↓right i'll [give you-would you,]

38	Pol.	[well you're] picking up on numbers, so i am telling you, [it's]
39	Jour.	[do you]
40	Pol.	=115% of the UK average <u>in london</u> 112% [in wales,]
41	Jour.	[well i don't have that] chart [in front of me]
42	Pol.	**[well you ought to] have it in front of you if you've done your homework. before [you start]**
43	Jour.	[all I ↓see]=
44	Pol.	**=saying that spending in wales is <u>much much</u> higher than <u>every </u>other part of the ↓UK,=**
45	Jour.	=<u>no</u> [i <u>did not</u> say that.]
46	Pol.	[that's simply un↑true]=
47	Jour.	=i am ↓sorry. you've just mis↓quoted me. i said, than <u>any other english</u>-any <u>english</u> region=
48	Pol.	**=right well london's in england I think. isn't it?=**
49	Jour.	=and it's not an English ↑region=
50	Pol.	=it ↓is, if you look at the treasury figures it's analysed as a ↓region.
51	Jour.	↓right. so you are,=
52	Pol.	=correct?=
53	Jour.	=eh, hm,=

In this extract, in contrast to the majority of previous research in the Anglo-Saxon world, the Bush-Rather interview being a notable example (see Schegloff 1988/1989 and Clayman and Whalen 1988/1989 for further discussion) and the way Margaret Thatcher personally attacked the interviewers (Bull 2003:123-124), the politician directly challenges the journalist. But in contrast to Margaret Thatcher who used a title and surname as a means to create a distance and reprimand the journalist, (Bull and Mayer 1993, Bull 2003) the politician in this extract uses a second person pronoun (you, your) in his challenges. By doing so, the mainstream Welsh politician personalizes the attack and frames the ensuing talk as a "verbal duel", in the same way the mainstream Greek politicians in my dataset and (extreme-right) politicians in Simon-Vandenbergen's (2008) and Luginbühl's (2007) respective datasets did (see sections 4.2.2, 7.1, 7.2).

In particular, in turn 2, the politician responds to the journalist's adversarial 'why' question in turn 1, by challenging the facts presented in it, ending his turn by explicitly accusing the journalist of not being adequately prepared: "get your facts right" (in bold). The use of the second person possessive pronoun 'your' personalizes the attack and exposes the journalist's lack of knowledge/research to the overhearing audience. The same technique is also used in turn 14: "get your numbers". In turns 16, 42, 44 the politician continues his personal attack on the journalist, through personalisation, by exposing the journalist's lack of knowledge/research, granting thus the latter's initial adversarial question in turn 1: "can you explain why it is, given that per capita Wales receives more than any English region (you should get more money)" as inaccurate. In particular, in turn

16 the politician asks the journalist to "do *your* homework" explicitly exposing the latter's lack of knowledge/research to the overhearing audience. In turns 42 and 44, the politician explicitly reprimands the journalist as being unprepared, not having studied the chart with the latest financial figures: "well *you* ought to have it in front of *you* if *you*'ve done your homework. Before *you* start saying (…)".

Asking a question of the journalist is another counterchallenging technique used by the politician in this extract that is similar to the ones used by Greek politicians in the extracts examined in the main body of this thesis. This counterchallenging technique, a misuse of mundane talk featuring conversational violence, in Luginbühl's (2007) terms, is exhibited throughout this short extract. In particular, in turns 4 and 6 (in bold) the politician asks the journalist to look at the treasury figures report and report back: "yes, and what does it say for London?" turn 4, "[what does it say] for London? Per capita, yes." turn 6. The same technique, namely asking the journalist a factual question, the answer to which supports/strengthens the politician's hostile challenging response and exposes the journalist's lack of knowledge/research and consequently the inaccuracy/inapproriacy of the initial journalistic adversarial question, is also used by the politician in turns 10, 18, 30-32, 34, 36 and 50-52 (in bold).

The interactional sequences of the extract analysed so far are highly confrontational as was the case in my dataset. What differentiates though this extract from the ones examined in the body of the thesis is the journalist's reactions. In contrast to the Greek journalists who "struck back" through hybridity, what Jeremy Paxman *mainly* does, is trying to answer the questions posed by the politician (see turns 5, 11, 13, 19-21, 23, 25, 27, 33, 37). Paxman's reactions are in line with other British journalists' reactions within micro-argumentative sequences as reported by Montgomery (2001:50).

Although quite limited, as the tentative conclusion to follow is based on the analysis of only two extracts, it seems that politicians from other cultural/socio-political contexts apart from the Greek one use counterchallenges to attack journalists in one-on-one, non-debate non-talk show, interviews. Further research would verify, contradict or enrich the above observations with regards the employment of hybridity by mainstream politicians as a means to aggressively respond to adversarial journalistic questioning within the ever-evolving broadcast genre of the accountability interview.

Appendix D-Alexis Tsipras' laughter at an interview opening

The following extract is the opening of the third one-on-one interview where Alexis Tsipras employed laughter to counterchallenge, as a response to the first question asked. The journalist involved is Stelios Kouloglou and the interview was broadcast on the public TV channel NET. The interview took place after the negotiations for the formation of a coalition government had failed, and the second round of elections was about to be announced.

Extract 3

Audio: 01:16: 37- 01:15:18, Date: 16/5/2012, Video: 0:15-1:35

1	Δημ.:	(…) ↓σήμερα, έχουμε::, μια ειδική::: βραδιά με έναν, ε, ξεχωριστό καλεσμένο, ο οποίος πρωταγωνίστησε, στις τελευταίες εξελίξεις. τον, ε, πρόεδρο της κοινοβουλευτικής ομάδας του Σύριζα, τον, κ. Τσίπρα. καλησπέρα κύριε Τσίπρα.	Jour.:	(…) to↓day, it i::s a specia:::l night with a,eh, distinguished guest, who has played a key role in the latest political developments. the, eh, leader of the parliamentary team of SYRIZA, mr Tsipras. good evening mr Tsipras.
2	Πολ.:	καλησπέρα κ. Κούλογλου.	Pol.:	good evening mr Kouloglou.
3	Δημ.:	↓ήρθαμε για να συζητήσουμε::: ↑μαζί τι έγινε όλες αυτές τις μέρες, και να δούμε τι θα γίνει μετά τις, μετά τις εκλο↓γές. ↑ξέρετε, όλο αυτό τον και↑ρό, που εσείς οι πολιτικοί ↑αρχηγοί, (.) συνε↓ριά↓ζατε για να ↓βγάλετε κυβερ↑νήσεις, και τα ↑λοιπά, >γίνονται διάφορα πράγματα στην<, στην κοινω↑νία, και κυρίως στην οικονομία. [δηλαδή τι γίνεται? κυκλοφορούν φήμες,]	Jour.:	we are ↓here to discu:::::ss what has happened all those days, and see what will happen after the, after the ↓elections. *you ↑know, during all this ↑time, that* **you** *the political party ↑leaders, (.) have been conferring to ↓form a ↑government ↑etc, >several things have been happening in the<, the so↑ciety, and mainly in the economy. [so, what is happening? there are rumours,]*
4	Πολ.:	**[((χαμογελά)) ενημερώστε με] για το τι ↑γίνεται στην κοινω↓νία, γιατί ήμαστε £κλεισμένοι ↑εκεί στο προεδρικό μέγαρο 5 μέρες, =**	Pol.:	**[((smiling)) inform me] about what is ↑happening in the so↓ciety, because we have been £locked inside ↑there in the presidential mansion for 5 days,=**
5	Δημ.:	=↓ναι,=	Jour.:	=↓yes,=
6	Πολ.:	**=και μπορεί να μην έχω υπόψη μου.£=**	Pol.:	**=and I may not be aware .£=**
7	Δημ.:	=να σας πω λοιπόν τι ↑γίνεται. (.) ε, κυκλοφορούν διάφορες ↓φήμες ότι καταρρέει η χώρα,=	Jour.:	=let me tell you then what is ↑happening. (.) eh, there are various ↓rumours that the country is collapsing,=

In turn 4, the politician overlaps, while the journalist formulates his question, by smiling, and claiming the floor through a verbal interjection that ends in smile voice. In this extract, the politician's laughter comes as a response to the prefatory statement of a long policy issue question (the country collapses as there are various social and economic problems, finalized after 7 turns), that implicitly asked for his position on the matter.

What seems to have triggered the politician's laughter is the use and stress of the pronoun "εσείς – you" before "political party leaders" on the part of the journalist in turn 3. Its use seems to create an in-group, out-group distinction between the political party leaders and the rest of society that is being represented by the journalist as he "speaks in the name of the people". This creates an unfavourable image of the politician, as someone who is distant from the rest of society and does not know what is happening, so is in need of being informed. That this is the case, and the politician considered the prefatory statement a form of implicit criticism that painted an unfavourable image of him, a picture he wanted to disassociate himself from, is also reinforced both by the position of the politician's laughter and the personalized character of his ensuing verbal response. In particular, the politician's smile came as a pre-verbal response to the journalist's uttering the words 'society and economy', and in overlap with the journalist announcing that he will move on by informing him of what is happening (in society and the economy).

Finally, the politician places his ensuing verbal response in turns 4&6 within a personalising issues framework by means of using binary pronouns/verbs "ενημερώστε με-you inform me" in turn 4 and "μου-me" in turn 6 (the latter could not be rendered in English, but an approximate literal translation would be: I myself may not be aware (of what's happening)). By setting the interview on explicitly personal terms the politician further marks the prefatory statement as a criticism, attributing it to the journalist and sanctioning his decision to start the interview in this way. In addition to this, by providing the "reason" for his lack of information in smile voice: 'we were locked inside there in the presidential mansion for 5 days and I may not know' that echoes the rationale given by the journalist in turn 3: 'all that time you political leaders have been conferring', Alexis Tsipras further challenges the journalist's rationale/prefatory statement by treating it as the laughable.

In the same vein as the journalists in the extracts examined in the body of the thesis, not employing hybridity however, the journalist in this extract neutralises the politician's counterchallenges, by ignoring them in turns 5&7.

Appendix E-Video Appendix (see DVD attached on the inside of the back cover)