

**THE SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF MALAYSIAN  
RADIO PHONE-IN PROGRAMMES**

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**2018**

THE SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF MALAYSIAN  
RADIO PHONE-IN PROGRAMMES

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THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

KUALA LUMPUR

2018

**UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA**  
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Matric No: **THA080031**

Name of Degree: **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Title of Project Paper/Research Report/Dissertation/Thesis ("this Work"):

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# **THE SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF MALAYSIAN RADIO PHONE-IN PROGRAMMES**

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the sequential organisation of Malaysian radio phone-in interactions. Based on data recorded from selected English radio phone-in programmes, the analysis applies the organisational properties and structures for social interaction in order to generate a formal description of phone-in interactions. Using the methodological approach of Conversation Analysis (CA), the study explores the sequential organization of interaction in the radio phone-in programmes. This involves the opening and closing sequences, the turn-validation and follow-up stages and the management of participation between radio hosts and callers. The thesis also deals closely with Harvey Sacks' (1992) work on the categorical and sequential organisation of talk and social action, as well as on previous works on radio phone-in interactions (Hutchby, 2001, 2006; Thornborrow, 2001a, 2001b; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferencik, 2007; Dori-Hacoen, 2012, 2014; Ames 2013). The second methodological approach adopted for the study is Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). Calls to a radio phone-in programme is described as a membership categorization device, which is a locally relevant set of categories with associated rules for recognizing and applying these categorizations, that are generated in, and relevant for, situated instances of action (Sacks, 1992). The relevant set of categories is made possible by the hosts of the show as well as callers to the programme. These membership categories and activities are established and made relevant in the organisation of turns-at-talk and social action. Two sets of analysis are shown to illustrate the application

of membership devices during the talk-in interactions. These are the programme relevant categories and the sequential use of categorical information. The former include the categorical devices employed by the host so as to be programme-relevant and callers' devices of call-relevant identities; while the latter refers to the categorical information of topic-relevant categories, topic-opinion categories and topic-generated categories. These categories contribute towards the accomplishment of particular contexts and action. The analysis considers the categorical and sequential organization of episodes of talk-in interactions, and discusses how an institutional order of talk is introduced, developed and accomplished in the course of the sharing of views and experiences. The thesis contributes to conversation analytic research on the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction, and focuses its attention to the categorical organization of sequences and action, and the sequential organization of categorization work. In offering a detailed analysis of phone-in interactions, and insight into the sequential and categorical organization of social action, the thesis makes a significant contribution to the fields of linguistics and media discourse.

**Keywords:** Conversation Analysis, Membership Categorization Analysis, radio phone-in programmes, sequential organization

# **ORGANISASI BERURUTAN PANGGILAN-MASUK RANCANGAN RADIO MALAYSIA**

## **ABSTRAK**

Tesis ini mengkaji organisasi berurutan dalam interaksi panggilan-masuk rancangan radio Malaysia. Berdasarkan data yang direkodkan daripada program panggilan-masuk radio berbahasa Inggeris yang terpilih, analisis ini mengaplikasikan ciri-ciri dan struktur organisasi untuk interaksi sosial bagi menjana penerangan formal mengenai interaksi panggilan-masuk. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan metodologi Analisis Perbualan (Conversation Analysis) (CA), kajian ini meneroka organisasi interaksi berurutan dalam program panggilan-masuk radio. Ini melibatkan urutan pembukaan dan penutupan, peringkat pengesahan-giliran dan susulan, serta pengurusan penyertaan antara hos radio dan pemanggil. Tesis ini juga berkaitan rapat dengan kajian Harvey Sacks (1992) mengenai organisasi interaksi berurutan dan kategorikal dan tindakan sosial, serta juga dengan kajian-kajian lepas mengenai interaksi panggilan-masuk radio (Hutchby, 2001, 2006; Thornborrow, 2001a, 2001b; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald dan Housley, 2002; Ferencik, 2007; Dori-Haconen, 2012, 2014; Ames 2013). Pendekatan metodologi kedua yang digunakan bagi kajian ini adalah Analisis Kategori Keahlian (Membership Categorization Analysis) (MCA). Panggilan telefon-masuk ke program radio digambarkan sebagai alat pengkategorian keahlian, yang merupakan satu set kategori tempatan yang relevan dengan kaedah-kaedah yang berkaitan untuk mengiktiraf dan mengapikasi pengkategorian tersebut, yang dihasilkan dalam, dan relevan untuk, sesuatu tindakan tertentu (Sacks, 1992). Set kategori yang

relevan dapat dilakukan oleh hos program serta juga pemanggil ke program tersebut. Kategori-kategori keahlian dan aktiviti-aktiviti dapat diperkukuhkan dan dijadikan relevan dalam organisasi giliran-bercakap dan aksi social. Dua set analisis ditunjukkan untuk menerangkan aplikasi alat-alat keahlian semasa berinteraksi. Ini adalah kategori relevan-program dan penggunaan berurutan maklumat berkategori. Yang pertama termasuk alat-alat kategorial yang digunakan oleh hos supaya ia menjadi program yang relevan, serta juga alat-alat yang digunakan oleh pemanggil untuk menunjukkan identiti panggilan yang relevan. Yang kedua merujuk kepada maklumat kategorial iaitu kategori topik-relevan, kategori topik-pendapat dan kategori topik-janaan. Kategori-kategori tersebut menyumbang ke arah pencapaian konteks dan tindakan tertentu. Analisis ini menimbang organisasi kategorial dan berurutan episode-episod interaksi-percakapan dan membincangkan bagaimana sesuatu susunan institusi percakapan diperkenalkan, diperkembangkan dan dilaksanakan dalam haluan perkongsian pandangan dan pengalaman. Tesis ini menyumbang kepada penyelidikan analisis perbualan mengenai organisasi berurutan interaksi-percakapan, dan menumpukan perhatian kepada organisasi kategorial dalam urutan dan tindakan, serta organisasi urutan dalam kerja pengkategorian. Dalam menawarkan analisis yang terperinci mengenai interaksi panggilan-masuk, dan pemahaman mengenai organisasi berurutan dan kategorial dalam tindakan sosial, tesis ini memberi sumbangan penting kepada bidang linguistik dan wacana media.

**Katakunci:** Analisis Perbualan, Analisis Kategori Keahlian, rancangan panggilan-masuk radio, organisasi berurutan

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several people that I would like to acknowledge in this thesis. First of all, my main thanks and gratitude are reserved for Professor Dr. Azirah Hashim, my supervisor, for the continuous support of my PhD study and related research, for her patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. I am grateful for her patience during my PhD journey and for her understanding of the several hurdles that I had to face to see through to the completion of my thesis. My gratitude also goes to my former Head of the English Department, Associate Professor Dr Suad Awab, and the present Head of the English Department, Dr Teoh Mei Lin, who have never failed to approve my research leave, as well as, relieve me of some teaching duties so that I could concentrate on my thesis-writing and submit the thesis on time. I would not have been able to see through and complete my thesis without the support of these great people.

This thesis is dedicated to my family; my late husband, Iskandar Mirza Noordin, who would have been proud of my achievement and would have been there for me during my PhD journey. My prayers are always for him. To my adorable and wonderful children; Azreel, Ezzwan, Alya and Amira, who have been very enthusiastic, understanding and patient in the process of the write-up of this thesis. To both my loving parents, Haji Mohd Nor Long and Hajah Siti Hendon, thanks for your ever-growing love, encouragement, concern and constant prayers, without which the research would not have been possible. Last but not least to my siblings, Associate Professor Dr. Siti Nurani Mohd Nor, Saiful Bahri Mohd Nor and Shamsul Bahar, for being there whenever any help is needed.



I would also like to thank my colleagues, for their tremendous help, encouragement and support in some way or another, and also in the generous sharing of knowledge of their PhD; Dr Veronica Lowe, Dr Teoh Mei Lin, Dr Leela Koran, Dr David Yoong, Dr Surinderpal Kaur, Dr Sridevi Srinivass, Dr Daniel Chow, Dr Asiah Sharif and Dr Norizah Hasan. My gratitude also goes to these few people who have offered their assistance in this PhD project; Nurliiyana Johari, Louis Lee Jia Wei, Hazlia Aris and Shazlin Razak. A final gratitude also to the former Dean of the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, Professor Dr. Zuraidah Mohd Don, and the present Dean, Professor Dr. Stefanie Pillai, for all the support and encouragement given.

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## LIST OF NOTATIONAL SYMBOLS

Transcription Conventions are adapted from Hutchby and Woofitt (2002) and Sidnell (2010):

- : Semi-colons indicate speaker identity or turn start.
- = Equal signs are used to indicate latching or no discernable gap between utterances; or to show the continuation of a speaker's utterance across intervening lines of transcript.
- [ ] Square brackets indicate the points where overlapping talk starts (left bracket) and ends (right bracket)
- ↑↓ Upward and downward arrows are used to mark an overall rise or fall in pitch across a phrase.
- A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption.
- , Comma indicates a continuing tone.
- ? Question marks indicate a marked rising tone.
- Arrows in the left margin point to specific parts of the transcript under discussion.
- XX Indicates uncertain hearing or indecipherable syllable from the transcriber's perspective.
- @ Indicates laughter
- Word Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis, by either increased loudness or higher pitch

WORD Loud talk is indicated by upper case

- (0.5) Gaps and overlaps - timed in tenths of a second, done with a stopwatch and inserted at the precise point of occurrence in the recording; within turn or between turns
- (.) A dot in parentheses indicates a 'micro-pause', hearable, but not really measurable; ordinarily less than 0.2 of a second
- hh Breathlessness - marked by 'h' for exhalation and '.h' for inhalation; this feature is transcribed because audible in-breaths may be involved with the management of turn-taking, an open-mouthed in-breath may mark a participant's attempt to start a turn

°word° When there are two degree signs, the talk between them is markedly softer than the talk around it

((whoosh)) Double parentheses are used to mark the transcriber's descriptions of sounds, that is impossible to write phonetically

### **Translation:**

*kebangsaan* Italics indicate talk is in Malay

national Second tier gives a literal English gloss of each item.

*Saya bangga* Third tier gives the vernacular English translation.

I proud Translations are not allotted line numbers in order to differentiate them

I am proud from actual talk in the transcript. Where a non-English utterance takes up more than one line, the final English translation may appear after several tiers of original utterance. Where a single non-English word is inserted into an otherwise English sentence, the third line of the translation is not included.



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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

Talk-in interaction (Sacks, 1995) involves participants performing and pursuing their respective institutional tasks and goals. The study of institutional talk is the study of how people use language to manage those practical tasks, and to perform those particular activities which are associated with their participation in institutional contexts, such as making inquiries, negotiating and interviewing. Therefore in investigating institutional talk, there is a need to focus on the linguistic resources at various levels, which include the lexical, syntactic, prosodic or sequential features of talk. Institutional talk may be conducted face-to-face or over the telephone. The interaction which takes place in calls can be called institutional in as far as the participants engage in and accomplish institutionally relevant activities (for example, in inquiring about something or giving an opinion), and in doing so, conform to the relevance of their institutional identities for the interaction. Analysing institutional talk involves investigating how participants orient to and engage in their institutional roles and identities that is manifested in the details of participants' language, and their use of language to pursue institutional goals. Research on institutional talk have included broadcast news programmes (Greatbatch, 1998); political interviews (Rendle-Short, 2007); talk radio broadcast (Hutchby, 1999, 2001; Ferencik, 1995; 2002; Thornborrow, 2001; Fitzgerald, 2007; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2007; Ames, 2012, 2013; Dori Hachon, 2012, 2013; Thornborrow and Fitzgerald, 2013); and television daytime talk show (Fitzgerald, 2012). Therefore, by focussing on how participants' orientate to their institutional identities, we can explore the details of their verbal conduct in managing their institutional tasks.

Studies in media discourse have been an increasingly popular area for sociological and discourse analytic research (Hutchby 1996; Thornborrow 2001, Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). In media discourse, it is shown that the institutional setting influences the structural organisation of the speech event. Studies on media discourse have successfully used Conversation Analysis (CA) as an analytical tool and these include broadcast news programmes (Greatbatch, 1988); radio call openings (Cameron and Hills, 1990); turn sequentiality of openings in a talk show (Hutchby, 1996, 1999); openings, closing and turn-taking (Bell and Garrett, 1998); the sequential and categorial flow of identity (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002); questions, control and the organization of talk (Thornborrow, 2001a); and participants' use of and display of identity within public access media events (Hutchby, 2001; Thornborrow, 2001b).

Radio phone-in is one particular type of media discourse which has become an increasingly popular area for discourse analytic research. Radio phone-ins possess structural features which are similar to those of telephone conversation, but their structure is influenced by the unequal power distribution of the participants (Thornborrow, 2001; Hutchby, 1996). Scannell (1996) views that radio talk programme minimally has a double articulation, in which it is a communicative interaction between those participating in the phone-in and, at the same time, it is designed to be heard by absent audiences. According to Fitzgerald and Housley (2002), radio phone-in forms a space within which democratic life and the 'public' are seen to air their views. The approach of conversation analysis (CA) has made a significant contribution to research on radio talks and interaction. In particular, it has focused on the social organization of talk in radio phone-in settings (Hutchby, 1991,

1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001; Liddicoat et al., 1992; Thornborrow, 2001a; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferenčik, 2007; Ames, 2013; Dori-Hacohen, 2014). These studies have shown that the participants to a radio phone-in use a recognizable sequential organization in the orderly production and social organization of a public access medium.

Research on radio phone-in talk has also been undertaken by researchers from different socio-cultural settings, such as, prosody (Panese, 1996); conversational mechanics, such as overall organization (Hutchby, 1991; Ferencik, 1995); turn-taking and code-switching (Shields-Brodber, 1992); opening routines (Liddicoat et al., 1992; Ferenčik, 2002; repair (Ferenčik, 2006a), but also a variety of relational issues, such as power and confrontation (Hutchby, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1999; Liddicoat et al., 1994); discursive devices used in legitimating or authenticating lay speakers' opinions (Hutchby, 2001), and the management of participation and the role of questions (Thornborrow, 2001a).

The genre of radio phone-in conversation also holds a prominent position in the mass-media market in Malaysia, in which it has opened up a channel for live participation from the public or ordinary people. In the radio phone-in format, ordinary citizens are given direct access via telephone to the radio studio where they can voice their opinions on various issues or confront them with the hosts who occupy an institutional position in the radio phone-in programmes. By having this direct access to the discussion forum, the public is given the opportunity to participate in shaping the emerging public discourse and, at the same time, 'help build a specific democratic institution of public radio' (Ferenčik, 2007: 352). Media talk is first and foremost produced for the audience and it is not a rule imposed on the participants in constructing their talk, but it is something that the participants orient to, which is

displayed by the actions and practices that they produce (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). Therefore, there is a need to investigate the types of interactional resources used by participants in terms of opinion-giving in this type of media event. As mentioned earlier, radio phone-in programmes provide an important opportunity for the public to voice their opinions on local issues as well as, engage listeners to the content of talk. One interesting fact about this media event in Malaysia is that, interactants participate in talk by using one 'contact language', that is English, even though these participants come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

This research will provide further observations on the study in which the sequential and categorial organization within public access broadcasts may be developed (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002, Hutchby 1996, Ferenčik 2007). The study aims to demonstrate the combination of two methodologies, Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sack, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1972, 1995) in examining the interactional sequences of phone-in interactions in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes and to examine the way in which the sequential and categorial organization of talk can be developed. The study also hopes to explore how membership and categorial devices are used by participants in the development of talk-in interaction in a Malaysian setting. By using both the methodological approaches of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), the study explores the sequential organization of host-host and host-caller talk and how they orientate to certain membership categories or types of category work which sequentially unfold in the development of talk. This also includes investigating how these membership categories are not only bound up with opinion-giving, but also how layers of categorization can be built up and developed within the flow of interaction. Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and

Housley's (2002) analytical framework on the combination of CA and MCA in looking at the categorical features within media talk, together with Hutchby's (2006) work on the sequential organization of media talk will be adopted for the research. Studies of the ways in which phone-in participants' public identities are constructed and displayed and the types of interactions in radio phone-ins (Hutchby, 2001, 2006; Thornborrow, 2001b; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferenčík, 2007; Dori-Haconen, 2012, 2014; Ames, 2012, 2013) are also of particular relevance to the study.

### **1.1 Research Problem**

The choice of investigating the sequential and categorial organization in radio phone-in interactions in this study ensued from a gap in the literature, as a limited number of studies have examined radio phone-in interactions in specific cultures. It would also be interesting to explore whether there are universal features in the sequential development of interactions in radio phone-in programmes, with regard to openings, validating calls, follow-up turns and closing sequences. Studies on the sequential and categorial organization of phone-in interactions have mainly focused on the interactions among native speakers of English or on radio phone-in interactions in East Asia. Therefore, the present study is a first attempt to investigate the sequential organization of phone-in interactions in radio phone-in programmes in English as a second language or among non-native speakers of English. To the best of my knowledge, no study has examined phone-in interactions where English is used as a 'contact language' among speakers with diverse first language backgrounds in Malaysia, within this specific institutional context. The absence of research makes this study an exploratory endeavour in the area of institutional mediated communication in English as a second language (ESL) or among Malaysian speakers of English.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

The objectives of the study are to examine the sequential and categorical organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes, as well as to explore the types of interactions in the programmes.

The following research questions are applied:

1. How do participants to a radio phone-in programme develop their participation in the sequential organization of talk?
2. What types of categorical information are evident in the organization of sequences and actions in the phone-in programmes?
3. What are the types of interactions in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes?

RQ1 will investigate the sequential organization of interactions in the radio phone-in programmes. This will involve the introductory stage of host-host talk, the opening and closing sequences of host-caller talk, the call validation stage or follow-up turns, the management of participation between radio hosts and callers, and the overall sequential organization of the radio phone-in programmes which include the turn-taking procedures or the turn-taking patterns of conversation. The analysis of data is based on the methodological approach of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks, 1995) and previous studies that have applied CA in investigating the sequential organization of radio phone-in programmes (Hutchby, 2001, 2006; Thornborrow, 2001b; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferencik, 2007; Dori-Haconen, 2012, 2014; Ames, 2012, 2013).

RQ2 will explore the categorical and organizational resources employed by participants in opinion-giving. This will be related to the membership categories of the participants, which are demonstrated as a sense of belonging to a particular



category, to show the relevance of their contribution to the topic under discussion. This includes the ways in which members organise their interactions by using categories, devices and predicates. The organizational resources employed will include the topic-opinion category of support or non-support of the issue of discussion and how participants develop their opinions in the on-going interaction. Both the methodological approaches of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) are adopted to answer this research question in order to shed further light on the discursive organization of the radio phone-ins, that is, by considering both the sequential and categorical methods used within this type of communicative event. The study also seeks to explore how participants negotiate their identity from their own perspective, that is, from the angle of their own management in the interaction. This involves how members do category work in the organization of sequences and actions and build identities related to the presentation of opinions in radio phone-in programmes. The analysis of data is based on the methodological framework of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks, 1995) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1995; Stokoe, 2012), taking into consideration the analytical framework of radio phone-in interactions by Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) and the sequential methods which are used within this type of communicative event. By linking these two methodologies, the study hopes to further explain the sequential and categorical features of conversational organization in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes.

RQ3 attempts to explore the types of interactions between host-caller, that is, how participants engage each other in the interactions in terms of agreement or disagreement to the topics of discussion. Drawing upon previous studies (Dori-Hacohen, 2012, Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002) on types of interactions in phone-in

programmes, the following categories of interactions will be identified in the data: the agreement and disagreement interactions; and the neutral interactions.

### **1.3 Significance of Research**

This study contributes to such understandings of how Malaysian speakers of English use interactional resources in presenting their views and opinions in the context of radio phone-ins. There is a need to understand this phenomenon from the point of view of participants and its particular social, institutional or organizational context. This study adopts a qualitative research design which looks at participants' meanings and actions in real-life contexts of phone-in interactions, and is supported by a simple quantitative analysis to investigate the most common types of turn-design in relation to opinion-giving and the types of interactions that will reflect the nature of phone-in interactions in a Malaysian context.

The study is also significant in that it uses a combination of methodologies that have been well established within the broadcast talk framework in the United Kingdom, Australia and Europe, but have been limited in their use in Malaysian broadcast media. Through its detailed analytic work on the sequential and categorical organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes, the study defines the sequential structure and the types of category work that participants orient to, that is reflected in the interactions of host-host and host-caller talk. Moreover, the study contributes to the field of media studies, that can be applied broadly to broadcast talk in a range of different environments, cultural and international contexts.

## **1.4 The Role of the Media Industry in Malaysia**

Before proceeding with the research site of investigation, it is important to provide a brief overview of the media industry and the profile of the Malaysian media. Malaysia has moved to a new era of knowledge creation and fast-moving competitive advantages in the media sector with the increase in the demand of digital media and information communication technology. Therefore, the media is often seen as the key to educating and entertaining the Malaysian society. The role of the mass media has not only become prominent for disseminating information for public and private organisations in today's changing world but also for increasing the degree of literacy. The role of the media helps us to understand how public relations may support organisations to build economic transition in developing countries because it is a powerful tool to shape public opinion. This is seen in the tremendous growth in the mass media of printing, broadcasting and multimedia services in Malaysia which have increasingly become the centralised means of communication and sources of information. Therefore, today's changing media system has provided new learning skills for the Malaysian society to nurture them to be a knowledge-based society. The content industry not only create and publish content in the forms of information, entertainment and education programmes, but is also considered as an industry of culture that disseminates society values, lifestyles and norms to its target audience.

### **1.4.1 Profile of the Malaysian media**

The Malaysian media can be divided into two parts: print and broadcast media. Both play significant roles in shaping public interest as well as for national development in the country. The print media involves disseminating information for knowledge and entertainment in newspapers and tabloids such as the *New Straits*

*Times, the Star, Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia, Nanyang Siang Pao, Sin Chew Jit Poh, Tamil Nesan*, which target particular types of readership, whether in English, in the national language (Bahasa Malaysia or Malay) or in other ethnic languages (Chinese or Tamil). With regard to television networks, there are four major 'free to air' television stations operating in the country: TV1, TV2, TV3, TV9 and NTV7. The audio broadcast media, which are fully owned and controlled by the Ministry of Information, Communication and Culture, operate 24 hours a day, and they broadcast programmes in Malay, English, Chinese and Tamil languages. The media has become a platform for the audience in encouraging new ideas voiced by a civil society. Since this study involves the audio broadcast media relating to the radio, a brief discussion on the radio industry and some background information about the radio programmes taken as sources of data will be provided in the following sections.

#### **1.4.2 The development of the radio industry in Malaysia**

The first radio set was brought into the then Malaya (Malaysia was given a change in name only in 1958) in 1921, by A.L. Birch, an electrical engineer with the Johor government, and the Johore Wireless Society was formed and broadcasted commenced on the 300 meter frequency. Later, the Malaysian Wireless Society was set up in Penang. In 1930, Lord Earl from the Singapore Port council began short wave frequency which was broadcasted twice a week on Sundays and Wednesdays. The Malaysian Wireless Society then began broadcasting three times a week from Bukit Petaling in Kuala Lumpur. Later In 1934, the Penang Wireless Society's station began broadcasts in Bahasa Melayu (Malay), Chinese, Tamil and English. The British Malaya Broadcasting station was opened by Sir Shenton Thomas in 1937 in Caldecott Hill, Singapore. Later, it was taken over by the Straits Settlements government and made part of the British Information Ministry. It was then known as the Malaysian

Broadcasting Authority. During the World War II (1942-1945), the Japanese took control of all radio stations to transmit propaganda. On 1st April 1946, *Radio Television Malaysia* (RTM), a government-owned TV and radio network, started broadcasting radio. The first two radio stations in Malay and English, *Radio Malaya* and The Blue Network were located first in Singapore and were later moved to Kuala Lumpur in 1950. In 1960, commercial advertisements were allowed on radio, ushering in a new era and a new source of income for the government.

Only in 1963, *Radio Malaya* was officially renamed *Radio Malaysia*, with transmissions beginning with its trademark words '*Inilah Radio Malaysia*' (This is Radio Malaysia) on Malaysia Day (16 September 1963). It was reported that radio transmission was able to reach approximately 40% of the entire Malayan Peninsular population then. Radio Malaysia became the first radio station in 1971 to broadcast nationwide 24 hours a day, thus becoming *Rangkaian Nasional* (National Network) in the process. Upon the commemoration of Kuala Lumpur being declared a Federal Territory in 1973, *Radio Ibu Kota* (Capital Radio) was launched. The FM Stereo network only began operations in 1975, thus introducing stereo broadcast to Malaysia. *Radio Muzik* (Music Radio) was then launched on 20 June 1975, which combined entertainment and information. Since then, several regional broadcast channels were also launched. The first private radio station- *Suara Johor* (the Voice of Johor) or Best 104 was launched in 1989 and covered the southern region of peninsular Malaysia. Later, there was a switch of transmission signal from AM to FM in Radio Malaysia in 1992. In 1994, FM Stereo became *Radio Muzik* (Music Radio) and was broadcasted 24 hours (12 hours in Bahasa Malaysia and 12 hours in English) from the headquarters of *Radio Television Malaysia* (RTM) in *Angkasapuri*, Kuala Lumpur. The first private commercial radio station, Time Highway Radio, was also

launched in Central Peninsular Malaysia in the same year. This was followed by the operations of a private cable radio, Rediffusion Ltd. in 1996, which was licensed to launch its new radio station. AMP Radio Network (Airtime Management & Programming) launched its first network in 1997, which became Malaysia's first talk and news format station. The first talk-format radio station was *Hitz FM*, and this is then followed by *Mix FM*, *Light & Easy FM*, *Classic Rock* and *Talk Radio*.

This section describes the major developments of the radio industry in Malaysia and it can be seen that the industry has gone through several changes to keep up with the times and changing demands of the society. The following section will discuss an overview of the radio stations in Malaysia and the background of the radio stations that have been taken as sources of data.

#### **1.4.3 The radio stations in Malaysia**

As of 2016, there are a total of 24 private and 44 government-owned radio stations in Malaysia. Stations owned by the government operate under the *Radio Televisyen Malaysia* (RTM Radio Television Malaysia) group and other privately owned radio stations include the AMP Radio Network, Media Prima, Star Radio Group, BFM Media, Astro Radio Networks and others belonging to institutes and universities. These stations are aired in specific languages such as in the national language (Malay) or English or in both languages, as well as in Chinese and Tamil, which target specific groups of radio audiences. They have specific genres such as, music, talk and news with specific taglines and have different coverage areas (refer to Appendix A).

#### **1.4.4 The infotainment format of radio stations in Malaysia**

Radio stations in Malaysia serve as means to appeal to listeners to engage in discussion while at the same time offer forms of entertainment and a way to reach

vast listeners at a short time. They also indulge in advertising products or promoting good behaviours, as well as, being good instruments in shaping public opinion. Thus, most radio stations adopt the infotainment format. Thussu (2008: 8) defined “infotainment” as “broadcasting material which is intended both to entertain and to inform”. In other words, infotainment can be described as information-based media content or programming that also includes entertainment content in an effort to enhance popularity with audiences and consumers. Thus, it is considered as a type of media which combines both information and entertainment. The purpose of infotainment is to educate people, and at the same time making it interesting and appealing by integrating it with entertainment, such as music, game shows, radio discussions, etc. It aims to educate people about health issues, current news, economic development, as well as on moral and ethical issues. In addition, it formulates good public behaviours such as publicising ethical concerns. Since the purpose of infotainment is to reach masses of audience, people can have a platform to voice their opinions and share their experiences. Therefore, infotainment media is more people-friendly, thus inviting more listeners to listen to such programmes.

Examples of leading radio infotainments in Malaysia include: MixFM, FlyFM, *Radio Malaysia Klasik Nasional*, LiteFM, EraFM and BusinessFM. Some of these infotainments are broadcast through advertisements, radio talks or discourse. The types of topics discussed in these radio infotainments include: health issues, current news, education, social development, culture and arts, moral and social issues, lifestyle and unity. Each of these radio infotainments has their own branding and specific genres or themes (refer to Appendix A).

#### **1.4.5 Radio listenership in Malaysia**

According to the Radio Audience Measurement (RAM) survey results ([www.Asiaradiotoday.com](http://www.Asiaradiotoday.com), 2015) released by Nielsen, a global performance management company that provides a comprehensive understanding of what consumers Watch and Buy, Malaysian radio listeners have continued to grow steadily in the past five years, with 95.0% of people aged 10 years and above in Peninsular Malaysia tuning in to their favourite radio station. The average quarter-hour audience recorded 1.7 million average listeners in 2015 versus 1.9 million average listeners in 2014 ([www.nielson.com/my/](http://www.nielson.com/my/)). On average, Malaysians spend more than two hours listening to their preferred station in a day (20 minutes less compared to previous year). According to Benjamin Ting, Executive Director of Media Industry Group for Nielsen Malaysia, “Malaysians are generally still captivated by radio due to its personalised format and content. Either enjoying the latest hits or tuning in to catch up on the nation's latest news and happenings, Malaysians are spending over two hours a day listening to their favourite station.” He further adds “In today’s rapidly evolving world of consumer choice and technological advancement, audio and more specifically local radio – remains an integral part of our lives. Although there is a growing number of media platforms in the market vying for consumers’ attention, radio still appeals to Malaysian consumers at large” ([www.nielson.com/my/](http://www.nielson.com/my/)).

The Nielsen RAM Survey is conducted twice a year in collaboration with participating radio broadcasters to provide the industry with radio listening measurement. Nielsen RAM provides listening preferences as well as listener profile and their product consumption in Peninsular Malaysia. The study is based on individual quarter-hour diaries completed by a representative sample of 3,000 individuals in Peninsular Malaysia. The most recent survey, Wave #1 2015 was



conducted from 30 March – 26 April, 2015. The 13 key radio stations from Astro Radio Sdn Bhd, Media Prima Radio Networks, Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia (IKIM) and Best Media Network commanded 67.0% share of the radio market in Peninsular Malaysia.

It was also reported that urbanites on-the-go are more tuned-in. The Nielsen RAM survey (2015) also revealed that more than six in 10 radio listeners are under the age of 40 years (62.8%) while nearly eight in 10 listeners consist of urbanites (77.2%). The findings also saw more than half of listeners have an average monthly household income of over RM3,000 (52.9%), and a quarter of them are white collar workers (25.3%). Half of the surveyed respondents said that they would listen to the radio during their daily commute (51.1%) while a third said that they would listen to radio via the Astro decoder (32.1%), and about one in five preferred to listen to their chosen station via their mobile phones or smart devices (19.1%).

Based on the types of radio stations surveyed, it was revealed that the Malay language stations continue to dominate the airwaves. Malay language stations climbed to an overall weekly reach of 56.3% (10.5 million listeners) as compared to 54.9% (10.2 million listeners) in 2014. The top three Malay language stations are *EraFM* (average weekly reach of 26.0% [4.8 million listeners]) followed by *SinarFM* (average weekly reach of 20.0% [3.7 million listeners]) and *HotFM* (average weekly reach of 14.8% [2.7 million listeners]).

However, there was also an improved listenership for English language radio stations. The survey revealed that English language stations in Malaysia registered a double digit overall weekly reach of 10.3% (1.9 million listeners) as compared to 2014 which stood at 9.1% (1.7 million listeners). Malaysia's leading English language

station is still *HitzFM* with a weekly reach of 6.6% (1.2 million listeners) followed by *FlyFM* with a weekly reach of 2.4% (441,000 listeners). Listeners also spent close to seven hours of infotainment on *LiteFM* and more than five hours on *FlyFM*, *MixFM* and *HitzFM* (Source: [www.nielsen.com/my/en/press-room/](http://www.nielsen.com/my/en/press-room/)). *MixFM* is Malaysia's best variety station which reaches 399,000 listeners per week, which offers a great blend of various genres of music. The station's listeners tune in longer, proving their craving for variety in content that *MixFm* offers, thus, continuing to reflect the new urban Malaysian lifestyle. *LiteFM* is preferred by Malaysia's most affluent sectors of society. The radio station is one of the most popular and amongst the top ranked radio station based in Malaysia. The station broadcasts and transmits live from Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia and plays the most favourite Asian music, entertainment talk shows and programmes and topics related to current affairs.

Some of the radio stations cater to specific target listeners, which are categorised by age and governmental purpose. For instance, *LiteFM* caters for mostly young working people and working adults. Examples of topics revolved around current news, economic development, moral and ethical issues, and health. The target audience for *FlyFm* are mostly teenagers and young working people. The radio station focuses more on moulding good behaviours; advertisements and ethical and moral values. Another popular radio station is *MixFm* which mostly targets young working people and working adults. Examples of topics discussed are property management, relationship, moral, ethical issues and lifestyle. *Radio Malaysia Klasik Nasional* (Radio Malaysia National Classics) is owned by the government; thus issues revolve around Malaysian culture and arts (as an action to preserve Malaysian culture). Other segments include poems, language intellect, motivation and moral values.

*BusinessFM* is a “The Business Station” which provides its own dedicated business programmes covering international and local business news headlines, stock market reports and interviews with corporate personalities and organizations. Despite this, it also includes non-business programmes such as interviews with experts on personal and professional development, health, and the arts, and phone-in programmes. The target listeners are usually working adults and those working in the business sectors.

#### **1.4.6 Radio phone-in programmes**

In order to increase listenership to the radio stations, the content and programmes have to keep evolving in keeping with the trends and demands of radio audiences. This brought about to a rise in programmes which specifically deal with competitions and game shows and call-in sessions with radio listeners and hosts of the programmes. These programmes allow the listening audience to be given a channel to participate in such programmes as well as, voice their opinions on certain general or local issues that may affect them personally or the society as a whole. Most of these programmes are aired between 6.00 am to 10.00 am and are popularly known as ‘breakfast shows’ or ‘evening edition’ programmes aired between 6.00 pm to 8.00 pm. Refer to Appendix A for the list of radio call-in programmes that are currently popular in Malaysia.

Most of the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes consist of two or three hosts who will handle the programmes. For the current purpose of the study, two English radio programmes were selected as sources of data: LiteFM and BusinessFM (BFM). These programmes have much in common compared to other radio phone-in programmes, in which pre-selected topics are given by the hosts and radio listeners are invited to call in to present their views or share experiences on the topics of

discussion. A more detailed description of the two programmes selected as data for analysis will be discussed in Chapter Three.

## **1.5 Organization of Thesis**

The thesis is organized in seven chapters. Chapter One provides a background of the study by providing an overall review of studies that have undertaken works in media discourse, that are related to radio phone-in interactions. The chapter also presents some background on the radio industry in Malaysia, the types of radio stations, and finally highlights the rise of radio talk programmes in Malaysia. The chapter then brings to the focus of the study, which specifically deals with English radio phone-in programmes in Malaysia, which will be the research site of investigation.

Chapter Two presents a literature review on studies conducted in media discourse and radio phone-ins, as well as, discusses the various methodological approaches in investigating media discourse. This then, allows the researcher to establish the research gap of the study. This is then followed by Chapter Three, which introduces a more detailed description of the corpus of data, the main methodological approaches adopted for the study, which are Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), and the analytical frameworks that form the basis of the analysis of data, as well as, the procedures and stages of analysis of data.

Chapter Four specifically addresses the first research question and aims to explore the data and discuss the sequential organization of the radio phone-in programmes, as well as, the design of turns in relation to the presentation of opinions.

The chapter attempts to examine the turn-taking procedures of host-host and host-caller in the on-going interactions, and will specifically look at the sequences of openings and closings and the call-validation and follow-up stages of interactions.

Chapter Five addresses the second research question and aims to examine the sequential and categorical information that are related to sequences and actions in the interactions between host-caller. The chapter will explore the categorical information which are related to topic-relevance and topic-opinion and demonstrate how participants build and develop membership categories, membership category devices and category-related actions and predicates which are related to the topics of discussion.

Chapter Six addresses the third research question and attempts to identify the types of interactions between host-caller, that is, how participants engage each other in the on-going interactions. The chapter will consider the types of interactions between host-caller in relation to agreement or disagreement-types or the neutral-types of interactions. The analysis of types of interactions in the data will reflect the nature of interactions that are most evident in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter of the study. The chapter provides a comprehensive summary of analysis and claims for the significance of the study based on the analysis, reviews limitations and provides recommendations for future research.

The study provides important empirical data and insights into the sequential and categorical organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes and shows how

participants construct category-related actions and sequences that are deemed relevant to topics of discussion in the on-going interactions between them.

University of Malaya

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter will discuss previous studies on media discourse, with the focus on research on radio phone-in interactions. While there is a growing body of research on radio phone-in programmes that have used the methodological approaches of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) in the western context, there are very few studies which have examined radio phone-in interactions among speakers of English as a second language (ESL) or among non-native speakers of English. This chapter explores the various researches and methodologies which have used radio phone-in programmes as research data. This study will contribute to such understandings of how Malaysian speakers of English use interactional resources in presenting their views and opinions in the context of radio talks. Thus, the aim of the study is to analyse the sequential structure as well as the participatory roles of the interlocutors and their interactional goals in the context of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. This section begins with the discussion on the status of English in Malaysia.

#### **2.1 The Status of English in Malaysia**

In contexts in which the interlocutors do not share the same native language, the use of English as a ‘contact language’ is significant in their interactions. Thus, when communication breakdowns occur in the interaction, the interlocutors resort to certain communication strategies to resolve misunderstandings and modify their speech in order to accommodate to the linguistic deficiency of those participants who are less proficient in the language. Researches on interactions among non-native speakers of English have received a lot of attention (Seidlhofer, 2005; Kirkpatrick,

2011; Firth, 1996; Meierkord; 2013). When speakers do not share each other's language but resort to a second or third language for communicative purposes, they use a lingua franca, a language which is neither a mother tongue to neither of them. In Malaysia, *Bahasa Melayu* or Malay can be considered as the lingua franca, "an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages" (Seidlhofer 2005). *Bahasa Melayu* or the Malay language is used in administration, business, education and politics. A second language can be said to be any language that is learned in addition to one's native language, especially in the context of second language acquisition (that is, learning a new foreign language). In Malaysia, English is the second language of instruction in the education system and is widely used in most common interactions (international politics, business, education, science, formal or institutional interactions, informal chats or emails). In the education system, students are taught English from primary, secondary to tertiary levels. Therefore, it is not only considered as a subject of learning but is also used extensively in social and institutional contexts. Malaysians have different first languages such as Malay, Chinese, Tamil, and other minority ethnic languages (Kadazan, Iban, etc.) but most interactions in English take place among these 'non-native speakers' who share neither a common first language nor a common culture.

The forms of English as a second language or the third language for some Malaysians are influenced by the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of its speakers. Despite this, successful communication through English occurs in many interactions, so there must be a significant common core of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation that makes this possible. The most interesting use of English can be



observed in spoken interactions, when the language has to be processed and understood in real time, for instance, expressions in which by native standards would be considered as errors or ungrammatically acceptable are generally unproblematic and not an obstacle to communicate successfully. There are two varieties of English used in Malaysia: the standard Malaysian English (ME) and Manglish. Standard ME has similarities with other standard English and thus has more intelligibility and accessibility. This makes it the preferred choice in formal contexts. However, Manglish, the colloquial variety of ME is often the preferred choice, and it is considered as a sign of solidarity and camaraderie, even for speakers who are highly proficient in standard English (Rajadurai, 2004). This variety refers to major lexicalization which is heavily infused with local language items having components of Malay, Chinese, Indian languages, and other languages, in terms of their vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. For example, the use of the Malay particle “*la*” is infused with English words and phrases such as “You cannot do this *la*” or “What shall we call it *la*”. According to Tongue (1979), the word or particle “*la*” is the most frequently used item in this form of English. It has various meanings, depending on the way it is pronounced and can function as an intensifying particle, as a marker of informal style, as a signal of intimacy, for persuading, deriding, wheedling, rejecting, and many other purposes (Tongue, 1979). The data which involve interactions between Malaysian speakers of English may have these two varieties of Malaysian English that are spoken in the local context. The situation in Malaysia is such that English has now become the preferred language of communication. Malaysians are comfortably communicating in “informal English – English which is Malaysian in identity – and this is reflected by the distinct phonology influenced by their ethnic tongues, lexical items which are socio-culturally

grounded and syntactic structures which are distinctively Malaysian in form. This is the English that is used by Malaysians to create rapport and establish our sense of identity” (Gill 2002:91). Therefore, the status of English that is widely spoken in Malaysia, that is used as a medium of communication by people who do not speak the same first language can be simply defined as non-native speech or Malaysian English (ME).

## **2.2 English as a Lingua Franca**

Researchers have often debated on the view on English as an international language and English as a lingua franca. Sharifian (2009:2) states that English as an international language (EIL) refers to a paradigm for thinking, research and practice, that marks a paradigm shift in TESOL, SLA and the applied linguistics of English. This is partly in response to the complexities that are associated with the tremendously rapid spread of English around the world. Thus, EIL can suggest a particular variety of English, which is not at all what EIL intends to capture. He added that EIL rejects the idea of any particular variety being selected as a lingua franca for international communication. Thus, he emphasized that English, with its many varieties, is a language of international, and therefore intercultural, communication (2009:2). Furthermore, English is used as the main language of communication in countries such as Singapore, India, and Malaysia. The exposure to English and resources available for learning English were limited in many contexts which have traditionally been considered as English as a Foreign Language (EFL). However, learners now have more accessibility to many sources and exposure to learning and interacting with other speakers in English, with the new advance in technology and communication. With these sources and exposure to the language, people are more

fluent and competent in English, and this has a significant implication for their language development in the language.

One of the central themes of EIL as a paradigm, is the recognition of World Englishes. The role and use of English around the world is described by Kachru (1986, 1992) using a model with three concentric circles: Inner-Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding-Circle countries. English is used as the primary language in Inner-circle countries, such as in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and Canada. Countries such as India, Malaysia and Singapore, which are located in the Outer-Circle are multilingual and use English as a second language. Countries in the Expanding-Circle, which include China, Japan, Korea and Egypt, learned English as a foreign language. The term World Englishes is used by Sharifian (2009: 3) to cover all Englishes from all circles.

Moving on to the increasing interest in research on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) or English as a 'contact' language, there have been several definitions of ELF in the literature. Siedlhofer (2001: 146) defines ELF as "an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages". Firth (1996: 240) considers ELF as a "contact language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication." ELF is also defined functionally by its use in intercultural communication rather than formally by its reference to native speaker norms, whereas English as a foreign language or EFL aims at meeting native speaker norms and gives prominence to native speaker cultural aspects (Hulmbauer, 2007).

One of the studies on ELF research includes Seidlhofer (2001) who summarises the pragmatic strategies in ELF. Her findings show that misunderstandings are not frequent and when they do occur, they tend to be resolved either by topic change and the use of communicative strategies such as rephrasing and repetition. She also discovers that interference from L1 (first language) norms is very rare and the interactants in ELF seem to adopt what Firth (1996) has termed the “let it pass” principle’, which gives the impression that ELF talk is consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive. Kirkpatrick’s (2011) investigates the linguistic features and communicative strategies of ELF used by speakers from ASEAN (The Association of South East Asian Nations) countries. His study shows how people who use ELF in ASEAN are mutually intelligible and the variation of ELF is greater at the local level and less at the international level. Cogo (2008) shows that the way ELF is used is heavily dependent on the specific situation of use and that getting the message across is more important than correctness. In Firth’s (1996) study which involves ELF in naturally occurring talk of management personnel from two Danish international companies, he explores a range of issues by applying Conversation Analysis (CA) to the lingua-franca talk-data. His study demonstrates that even though participants face linguistic infelicities and abnormalities in the interactions, “the parties nevertheless do interactional work to imbue talk with orderly and normal characteristics” (Firth: 256).

Recent linguistic discussions by linguistic experts treat the interactants’ cultural and linguistic background as a factor which influences language performance. For instance, speakers accommodate to each other’s cultural backgrounds and may often use code-switching into other languages that they know (Cogo and Martin

2006). According to Hulmbauer (2007), the ELF users develop their own markers of identity (be there common 'European' or 'international' nature or more individual ones) which are created online, depending on the community of practice they are emerging. Based on VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) corpus and additional research (Mauranen, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2005), the following features of ELF lexico-grammar have been identified: use of third person singular zero; shift in the use of articles (including some preference for zero articles); invariant question tags; treating 'who' and 'which' as interchangeable relative pronouns; shift of patterns of preposition use; preference for bare and/or full infinitive over the use of gerunds; extension to the collocational field of words with high semantic generality; increased explicitness; and exploited redundancy, such as ellipsis of objects or compliments of transitive verbs. However, these features are by no means invariant or 'obligatory'. Rather, these forms do not seem to compromise effective communication within an ELF's setting when they do occur.

It has also been established that in ELF interactions, the importance lies on communication strategies other than nativeness, that can lead to communicative situations where those native speakers of English who are not familiar with ELF and/or intercultural communication are at a disadvantage because they do not know how to use English appropriately in these situations (Hulmbauer 2007 and Seidlhofer 2005). An important issue in discussing ELF is the notion of speakers of ELF being active language users in their own right, who do not need to adhere to native speaker norms but use ELF to meet their communicative needs. These users of English tend to focus on effective communication with speakers of other linguistic backgrounds and intelligibility is key to successful communication.

Research on ELF have looked at informal conversations, group discussions and business communication but there are very few studies on interactions among non-native speakers of English in media discourse, in particular, those related to radio phone-ins. In this study, interactions in English in Malaysian radio phone-ins are the main source of data to be investigated. Even though the idea of nativeness or 'near native-like' may not be considered as an issue to be discussed, the idea of how speakers from various first language (L1) backgrounds interact in radio phone-in programmes is the main focus of study. Furthermore, the main focus of the study is to explore the sequential organization and categorical organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes and how Malaysian speakers of English present their views and opinions in the development of talk. To avoid the controversial issue of whether to consider the status of English in Malaysia as a lingua franca, the term 'English as a second language' (ESL) and 'Malaysian speakers of English' (MSE) are used in the study.

### **2.3 The Advance in Media Discourse**

Media institutions represent new sites for public engagement and traditional approaches to studies of media have often looked at the social organization of settings and interactions that constitute popular forms of democratic participation. Thomas, Cushion and Jewell (2004) view that an understanding of the social organization of media settings can formulate an understanding of democratic life as an interactional accomplishment, that is located within specific discursive spaces and moments. These settings may well be varied, both outside and inside the institutional framework of the media. According to Wahl-Jorgensen (2002) among the most popular forums for citizen participation in public debate are radio phone-ins because they have provided

opportunities for public deliberation on matters of common concern in a 'mediatized' society where political communication is overwhelmingly channelled through the mass media. This is supported by Loviglio (2004), who argues that among broadcast formats, the radio phone-in is perhaps the most time-honoured genre because the format has been around for as long as radio itself, and has consistently offered a space for the representation of the public, claiming to speak for 'the people'. In Ross' (2004: 787) study on the BBC's Election Call programme, a call-in show broadcast on TV and radio for 12 days before the 2001 elections in the UK, she found out that callers viewed the programme as a 'genuine public sphere that allows the articulation of alternative voices'. The radio phone-in as a participatory format has also been considered as an important domain of democratic activity that include the structuring, use, and display of culture, values, and world views, which are infused with forms of practice and participation (Housley and Fitzgerald, 2002; Housley and Fitzgerald, 2003; Dori-Hacohen, 2011).

Traditional approaches to studies of media have often looked at the social organization of broadcast settings and interactions that constitute popular forms of democratic participation. Among these studies are those that have adopted the methodological approach of conversation analysis (CA) as a means of exploring turn taking, the allocation of speech rights, topic change and recipient design within broadcast contexts (Hutchby, 1996, 2001; Thornborrow, 2001a). Studies on radio formats (e.g. phone-ins, political interviews and so forth) have increasingly provided important sites for the display of accountability and the airing of views (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2003, 2007). While CA has provided a powerful and relevant understanding of the social or sequential organization of radio talk interaction, developments in membership categorisation analysis (MCA) (Fitzgerald and Housley,

2002; Hester and Eglin, 1997; Hester and Francis, 2000; Housley, 2000a, 2000b, Housley and Fitzgerald, 2002, 2009; Sacks, 1995; Watson, 1978, 1997; Ames, 2013) and other forms of enquiry have also provided a methodological means of analysing not only the social organization of the situated character of radio discourse but also the accomplishment and constitution of opinions, claims making, the moral construction of accountability, and the situated articulation and promotion of world views or government policies (Scannell, 2000; Housley and Fitzgerald, 2007).

Scannell (2000) argues that the immediate and micro-character of activities associated with radio phone-ins have provided a powerful apparatus through which senses of democratic exchange and the promotion of specific views and contested issues can be realized. For example, exchanges between hosts and a member of the public can be framed and used as resources for doing accountability in a democratic society that in a way preserves a sense of immediacy, which is tied to a clearly defined frame of subjectivity. He further adds that the display of public opinion in the radio phone-in form powerful interactional events that can be relayed to huge numbers of listeners in the form of personalized encounter. Studies have also looked at the power of talk radio. For instance, it is found that within the USA, the power of talk radio, with its characteristic use of phone-ins, interviews, and sometimes, opposing or hostile abuse of opinions that differ from those favoured by the programme host, has been guided as a resource for a number of single issue campaigns and the pursuit of party politics. However, this trend is not that evident within the United Kingdom. The onset of talk radio and regional late-night phone-in programmes has provided space for more extravagant exchanges of opinion and the promotion of certain world views and perspectives which concerned government policy. However, even within these 'serious' programming interviews, phone-ins and



the like do represent a form of interactional and discursive machinery through which accountability is popularly heard to be accomplished and realized and policy debate organized, managed and displayed.

Housley and Fitzgerald's (2007) work on themes of public accountability, government policy and interaction in media setting examined empirical instances of radio phone-ins and political interviews as a means of exploring the use of identity categories, predicates and configurations, in accomplishing policy debate. Their research respecified and explored the situated character of media settings as a means of documenting, describing, and illustrating the interactional methods, which are associated with policy debate, public participation/representation and democracy-in-action. The interactional methods not only include turn-taking but also the observable manner through which the debate is generated in terms of actor-level cultural resources, knowledge and attributes in the form of topic-relevant categories, practical moral reasoning, and lay processes of inclusion and exclusion in assessing the warrantability of displayed opinions which concerned government initiatives, actions and policy. Thus, studies on media discourse have been explored from many perspectives and are seen to be an interesting international arena for further research. The next sections will review studies on media talk in general and will then turn the focus specifically on radio phone-in interactions.

### **2.3.1 Studies on media talk**

According to Bell (1995), the interest in studying media language by linguists stems from four reasons. First, the media provide an easily accessible source of language data for research and teaching purposes. Second, they are important linguistic institutions that make up a large proportion that people hear and read every

day and media usage reflects and shapes both the language use and attitudes in a speech community. Third, the ways in which media use language are linguistically interesting in their own right; these may include how different dialects and languages are used in advertising, how tabloid newspapers use language in a projection of their assumed readers' speech, or how radio personalities use language to construct their own images and their relationships to an unseen, unknown audience. Fourth, the media are important social institutions, that is, they are crucial presenters of culture, politics and social life, shaping as well as reflecting how these are formed and expressed. Media discourse is important both for what it reveals about a society and for what it contributes to the character of society.

Most research on media discourse have been widely discussed in view of the Western context among native speakers of English: broadcast news programmes (Greatbatch, 1988); news interview turn-taking system (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1989); radio call openings (Cameron and Hills, 1990); turn sequentiality of openings in a talk show (Hutchby, 1996, 1999); openings, closing and turn-taking (Bell and Garrett, 1998); method in media interaction (Fitzgerald, 2001); sequential and categorial flow of identity (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002); questions, control and the organization of talk (Thornborrow, 2001a); participants' use of and display of identity (Thornborrow, 2001b; Hutchby, 2001), stages of calls to radio phone-ins (Ames, 2013). These studies have shown how the institutional setting influences the structural organization of the speech event. However, there are very few studies on media discourse that have been conducted in the Asian context in which English is used among non-native speakers of English or in the context of English as a second language (ESL).

Wodak and Koller (2008: 6) view that when studying the media, it is essential to keep in mind that “media production always walks the line between content orientation, factual representation, and the necessity to reach and entertain as many people as possible”. Thus, a show where a given topic is presented for open-line discussion raises questions as to the real public opinion of what is being talked about. As Fairclough (2003:45) points out in relation to TV debates, the journalists “gather views from the audience but in a way which separates and fragments them leaving no possibility of dialogue between them”. This focuses on a need to reach a balance between consultation in the public sphere and the hosts’ tight regulation of the interaction or, in other words, the contingent constraints, in the name of a “good show” (Fairclough (2003:45). Habermas’ communication model of deliberate democracy illustrates that a “self-regulating media system” should grant “anonymous audiences feedback between an informed elite discourse and a responsive civil society” (2006: 411-412). The model demonstrates that the public sphere should allow people free access to a space for eventual consensus with the possibility of marking the difference and leading to action.

### **2.3.2 Talk radio and radio phone-ins**

Talk radio offers one of the few media environments in which ordinary members of the public are given the opportunity to speak on issues and events in their own voices, in contrast to, having their viewpoints represented either in the neutralistic register of broadcast news, or the ‘probing’ register of current affairs documentary (Hutchby, 2006: 81). Internationally, different terms have been used to refer to talk radio, which can be referred to as talkback, phone-in, call-in or talk-based talk radio. Whatever they are referred to depend on the context, for instance, whether they occur within commercial, public or community radio appear to have a

significant impact on the type of 'talk' that occurs (Turner, 2000). There are numerous types of talk radio show which range from the 'open line' phone-in where callers are invited to select topics of their own choice (Hutchby, 2006); to the 'single issue phone-in' where callers contribute to a debate on a pre-selected topic, often with a politician or expert in the studio along with the show's host (Thornborrow, 2001a); to various advice-giving shows which focus on relationship issues or other matters that involve specialized information. In Australian research, talk radio is also referred to as talkback radio (O'Sullivan, 2005; Cook, 2002; Ames, 2012, 2013). Cook (2002) distinguishes 'phone-in' with 'talkback', with 'talkback' being 'relatively raw radio, centering on live-to-air talk-relations between callers and hosts', while 'phone-in' radio 'seeks briefer, more focused comments on topics pre-selected, constantly monitored and re-themed by both hosts and call screening staff, which choose which caller comments get to air, and in which order' (cited in Ames, 2012). Turner (2000) also provides a definition of radio talk in an Australian context: 'Talk radio in commercial terms is now almost exclusively 'talkback' or what the British refer to as 'call-in' (2000: 251).

For the purpose of the study, the 'single issue phone-in' (Hutchby, 2006) will be referred to as the data centred on radio phone-in programmes where callers are invited to contribute to pre-selected topics of discussion on local issues or just general views, with the show's hosts.

### **2.3.2.1 Studies on radio phone-ins**

Radio phone-ins have become an increasingly popular area for discourse analytic research and are widely researched internationally in many aspects: the social organization of talk (Hutchby, 1991; 1992a, 1992b, 1996a, 1999b, 1999,

2001); (Liddicoat et. al, 1992); (Thornborrow, 2001a); (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002); (Bell and Garrett, 1998); (Dori-Hacohen; 2014); the categorial organization of talk-in interaction and how public identities are constructed (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002); (Ferenčik, 2007); (Hutchby; 2001); and the stages of a radio call on host-caller interactions (Hutchby, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001); (Liddicoat et. al, 1992); (Thornborrow, 2001a); (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Most of these investigations have traditionally been conducted in single host scenarios, whereby one host interacts with one caller but few studies have looked at stages of calls in multi-hosts scenarios (Ames, 2012, 2013). These researches on host-caller talks in radio phone-in programmes have also included ethnomethodological approaches, such as conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA).

The investigation on the social organization of talk whether it is referred to as ‘talkback’ or radio ‘phone-in’ have been widely found in the literature. For instance, Liddicoat et. al. (1992) examined the opening routines of telephone conversations in talk back radio. Talkback events are particularly well-suited to examining the claims that people modify their normal behaviour in institutional contexts. Based on Schegloff’s (1986) description of telephone opening sequences, they analyzed the opening strategies in talkback radio, in which they provided a discussion on the similarities to and variations from the description in terms of the necessities of establishing on-air interaction. The study also considered ways in which the effectiveness of talkback opening sequences might be evaluated. In another study, Liddicoat et al. (1994) examined publicly available forms of oral argumentation in the form of talkback radio events in Australia, in which callers present a point of view on a particular issue. Argumentation was examined as a structured phenomenon which structuring was evident in conversational activity and which was influenced in

talkback radio by its institutional context. Their study included a description of the complexes of speech acts used by callers to substantiate points of view and identify the complexes of argumentation, complexes of evidence and complexes of concession, used by callers. They also examined the sequencing of these complexes of speech acts within the contribution and the placing and function of host's challenges to points of view and their relationship to other components of the caller's contribution.

Reed (2009) investigated telephone opening sequences from a corpus of English speaking radio phone-in programmes, and found that prosody was a signalling system for participants' negotiation over the sequential status of turns. It was found that callers' first turns on the air were not defined by their position as chronologically placed after the host's introduction, but by their being positioned in the local sequential context as firsts or seconds. Her study showed a first noticing of the potential for a pause between the presenter's introductory turn and the caller's first turn on air. The openings were found to display one of two structures: callers' first turns may be designed as replies, or 'seconds', to the host's introductory turn; or they may be designed as sequence-initiating, or 'firsts'. Participants negotiated the sequential positions of turns primarily, and sometimes exclusively through displayed orientation to other participants' prosody. The study also showed that turns that were designed and treated as seconds orient prosodically to prior turns, while turns that were designed as firsts contain little or no prosodic link with previous talk. Turns that could be interpreted as seconds on lexical or action-related grounds might not be treated as such if they did not contain prosodic orientation to prior turns.

Political radio phone-in programmes are also popular research data. For instance, Dori-Hacohen (2011, 2012, 2013, 2014) carried out extensive research on

Israeli political radio phone-in programmes. He discussed utterances such as *“lemme ask you a question”* in political radio phone-in programmes in Israel (Dori-Hacohen, 2011). Schegloff (1987) described utterances such as *“lemme ask you a question”* as pre-questions, pre-pre’s or pre-delicates. It was found that the participants in the Israel data used these utterances in ways that were similar to Schegloff’s description. Yet, the pre-construction had additional institutional functions for the differing roles of the host and the caller. For instance, hosts used these utterances to manage the interaction during overlaps as a means to secure an exclusive turn of talk following them, while callers used them infrequently at the beginning of their talk as story-prompts. In this way, the pre-constructions in the Israeli radio phone-in programmes employed as interactional practices, relate and construct the roles in this institutional setting. In another study on political talk radio, Dori-Hacohen (2012) explored two types of radio programmes that included one-on-one interactions between a host and caller about current affairs. The description revealed two formats: talk-back and phone-in. Talk-backs were found in commercial stations, in which the host was the star of these long programmes, and the interactions with the callers were used to establish the status of the host, whilst phone-ins were found in public stations, and callers were the center of these shorter programs. These formats created two publics, one of passion at the talk-backs and one of discussion at the phone-ins, in which each public format had its features and relations with the public sphere.

Dori-Hacohen (2013) also examined the openings in host-caller interactions in three leading U.S. political talk radio programmes. The methodological approaches of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) were used as the basis for analysis to describe how fandom is achieved in these shows. He found that callers presented themselves as fans in the first possible position in the

interaction by using various practices which range from uttering the word *ditto* to creating extended discourse structures. The hosts usually perceived these practices as compliments and appreciate them and the callers. Political talk radio is a prime example of a fan-public, since its host harnesses the fans to achieve his political (and commercial) agenda. The hyphen in *fan-public* deserves attention, because this notion is rooted in infotainment, which combined the relationships of the entertainment business, fans, and stars with the realm of politics, which assume some critical notion and individuality in the decision-making processes. In another related study, Dori-Hacohen (2014) carried out a comparative study on Israel and the USA political radio talk programmes in host-caller interactions, and found differences in the overall structural organization of these types of interactions. American phone-ins were found to be highly organized and tightly controlled by the host, who would know and introduce the caller at the opening, and close the interaction unilaterally. However, in the Israeli phone-in, the opening resembled the mundane phone call, in which, the call-taker acted as if he had responded to a summons. There were greeting sequences, and the caller had to identify himself/herself, since the hosts did not know with whom they were talking to. It was found that closings in Israel phone-ins were negotiated and included pre-closings and closing sequences. Unlike the US programme, the Israeli structure promoted non-hierarchical institutional relations between participants, which was similar to mundane relations, which were often taken as relations between equals. His study demonstrated that the overall structural organizations of the radio talk programmes showed connection with the communication patterns in each society, thus suggesting phone-ins as one site that resonates and recreates societal norms.

Ferenčík (2007) examined a corpus of radio phone-ins broadcast on the Slovak public radio over the period of 1995-2004, on how participants to a radio phone-in



programme exercise politeness and develop membership categories. He found that over the course of interaction in the radio phone-in programmes, participants displayed orientation to various aspects of their co-participants' identities, and since membership categories emerged and were developed at various sequentially relevant times, membership categorisation processes were closely tied with the event's sequential organisation. The study showed how categorisation bore on the politeness aspects of interaction as the participation in the public arena caused participants' faces to be constantly at stake. Based on the approaches of Membership Categorisation Analysis and the model of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1984) on the conceptualisation of face, his study demonstrated that participants engaged in category work which sequentially unfolded in the course of the production of phone-in calls, and participants' progressive involvement in talk was closely linked with the construction of layers of their categorial identities. The membership category of 'location' represented the minimum agreed-upon canon of callers' call-relevant identities. As the category is universally applicable, it bore the least face-threatening potential, for which reason it was used explicitly. In contrast, strategies of non-explicit categorisation, that invoked categories through category-relevant predicates, applied to those topic-relevant categories which carried a significant face-threatening load, such as family status or political affiliation. The study showed that the sequential organisation and category work were seen as being closely intertwined, with the latter also being employed as a positive and negative politeness strategy.

As discussed earlier, a lot of studies on radio phone-in programmes have been carried out in Britain, the USA and Europe. In Australia, researches on radio phone-ins are also widely seen as popular discourse analytic research. In Australian studies radio phone-in programmes are referred to as 'talkback radio'. Ewart (2014)

investigated talkback radio in Australia which has primarily been conceptualized as a space where populist meta-narratives are constructed and entrenched. Since, little attention has been paid to talkback that occurs beyond populist programs, his study focused on the contributions non-populist talkback programmes make to local news and community. He examined commercial and non-commercial talkback programmes' facilitation of the sharing of audiences' mini-narratives and their provision of hyper-local news. Drawing on data from 12 Australian talkback radio programmes, he identified that these programmes provided one of the few available sources of hyper-local news in an increasingly globalized media market.

Australian studies have also included studies on the relationship between the listening audience and the public sphere. For instance, Fitzgerald and Housley (2007) explored the relationship between the audience of commercial talkback radio and the actual existing democratic public sphere in Australia. Drawing upon Anderson's (1987) notion of an imagined community and Warner's (2002) discussion of publics, they suggested two different but entwined modes of address which operated around the talkback audience. The first centred on the active creation of an imagined community brought into being and maintained through host and caller interaction, whilst the second, which was dependent on this prior formation, involved the audience being treated as a political public within the public sphere. Investigation on types of callers to talkback radio in Australia is found in Gilman's (2007) study. She investigated the reasons why they called in and suggested that callers should not be regarded as one large homogenous group. She found that radio callers picked up their phones for a number of reasons, from genuinely seeking information to seeking company and, to make sense of their world. Her study showed how callers were integrated into programmes and the ways in which they contributed to the creation of

radio content and public debate. Her analysis also involved an examination on the small group of repeat callers and the role of producers and announcers in the construction of the celebrity talkback caller.

Investigations on radio phone-in programmes in the Asian and Middle-East contexts look at a variety of linguistic aspects, such as, pragmatics, sociolinguistics and conversation analytic methods. For instance, Zhang (2005) investigated the code-choice between two varieties of Chinese dialects in a radio phone-in programme. He examined the relationship between macro-level sociolinguistic structures and micro-level conversational structures by studying code-choice between Putonghua (the standard dialect) and Cantonese (a regional dialect) in calls to a radio phone-in programme in a bi-dialectal city in Shenzhen, in southern China. The study revealed participants' methods of establishing the code for host–caller interaction episodes, and investigated what reality macro-level sociolinguistic structures might have for the speakers as manifested in the micro-level procedures in their talk. Data were obtained from naturally occurring bilingual speech interaction using the conversation-analytic method and information on sociolinguistic characteristics of Shenzhen from library materials. His study showed that individual acts of speech and interaction at the micro-level allowed participants to 'play out' the social structures that were relevant to the macro-sociolinguistic setting in which particular speech events were situated. The findings from the microanalysis also served to validate the macro-level social reality regarding the factors that affected the choice of linguistic code in a bi-dialectal community in Shenzhen.

Guodong (2010) analysed data excerpts from a radio phone-in programme that offered medical advice for males' sex-related diseases, solving problems that the

listeners had about certain sexual behavior, and provided general sexual knowledge. Sex and sex-related topics are rather sensitive in the Chinese culture, thus conversations about those topics prove to be a delicate issue. Conversation Analysis was adopted as the research methodology in analyzing the use of communicative strategies in doctor–patient communication about venereal disease. In the telephone call selected for his research, the caller is the mother of the young man who is infected with venereal disease and needs help from the medical expert who is on the programme. The caller employed indirect compliment, direct compliment, insider claim, and sympathy seeking as communicative strategies to build solidarity with the doctor. The various communicative strategies used lead to a smooth sequential development of the communication, and illustrated how solidarity-building could serve an important function in the specific healthcare context.

Studies on radio phone-in programmes have also investigated the pragmatic aspects in the sequential organization of these programmes. Fathi, Mohamad and Kawakib's (2012) investigated the pragmatic aspects of complaints and complaint responses in interactions between local citizens and the hosts of a live two-hour radio phone-in in Jordan devoted to receiving and handling complaints of a public nature. Using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model, their study examined the functions and patterns of complaints and the types of responses elicited from the hosts. Their findings revealed that callers attempt to promote solidarity with the hosts in order to strengthen the validity of their complaints and increase their chances of receiving remedial action. Given the inherently face-threatening nature of complaints, the data showed that a considerable area of rapport building between callers and the hosts, were achieved through such devices as praising remarks and use of informal address forms. In responding to the complaints, the hosts attempted to negotiate

solidarity with callers by encouraging them to speak freely, using empathic remarks, and promising to transfer callers' problems to the authorities. These phone-in complaints were thus heavily constrained and shaped by the public institutional setting in which they were performed.

Past research has generated two main characterizations of the radio phone-in talk show phenomenon. Some argue that talk shows can provide forums for public deliberation, while others regard talk shows as a form of infotainment that displaces serious political journalism. For instance, Francis Lee (2002) argued that public forum and infotainment were not necessarily incompatible with each other, and he tested this possibility by a case study of talk radio in Hong Kong. His analysis of a survey data pointed to the infotainment characteristics of talk radio listening in the city. However, results of the study also suggested that talk radio provided political information to listeners and served as a forum for the public to criticize the government. He argued that talk radio constitutes a form of politically significant infotainment in Hong Kong.

Whilst research has examined the role of 'talkback' and radio phone-ins in the public sphere in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia, little is known about research on talkback in Asia. Studies have shown that politicians increasingly treat radio talkback as a valuable resource through which to communicate directly with the public. In Fitzgerald's (2007) study, it was shown that the role of talkback in Singapore and Hong Kong was seen as a vehicle for public opinion and political engagement by those who produced and hosted the programs. The study examined a series of interviews conducted in the latter half of 2007 with a number of talkback producers and hosts in both Singapore and Hong Kong. The programmes in which the interviewees were involved ranged from the general talkback current affairs type

through to adversarial political talkback, and included English and Cantonese broadcasting. While talkback was often characterised as aggressive and opinionated in Hong Kong, Singapore's hard-line talkback did not seem to be the norm. The style of programmes found in Singapore were characterised as an interactive forum for discussion of social affairs together with the role of examining and discussing government policy. Even though, sensitive topics might be addressed and callers might offer critical opinions, the programmes themselves were characterised more by information and discussion. In Hong Kong, it was found that the rise and fall of the most prominent programme, *Teacup in a Storm*, coincided with a period of high social and political anxiety in the region. The emergence of the programme seemed to relate to a particular period during a rising sense of anxiety and uncertainty around the future direction of Hong Kong. Prior to *Teacup in a Storm*, the traditional format of talkback in Hong Kong tended to address policy issues in a way which was similar to Singapore talkback (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998), and this would seem to have emerged again since 2004. Fitzgerald (2007) argued that since people were unaccustomed to open political criticism, talkback might provide an avenue to express anxiety in times of uncertainty. During times of stability, the role of talkback was seen as an informal and direct space for feedback between government and citizen. Since talkback radio was not the only channel of opinion or discussion available in these two regions, and that radio was a familiar medium, this served as a particular opening to give voice to its audience. According to Fitzgerald (2007), talkback radio continues to fulfil an important role in sharing the experience and understanding of the rapidly changing world, and the perceived speed and uncertainty of that change for certain sections of society.

From another pragmatic perspective, Kuo (1994) investigated the agreement and disagreement strategies in a phone-in radio conversation between a psychologist and a caller in Japan. She found that agreements showed signs of solidarity and cooperation, and speakers used a range of forms to show that they were collaboratively in agreement. These included agreement strategies such as using linguistic devices which included repetition, upgraded agreement, and back-channel responses, and the discourse markers 'but' and 'well', and turn-taking, to negotiate agreement and disagreement. These strategies displayed a degree of cooperation and rapport between speakers. Her study examined features of organization in disagreement turns that showed disagreement as dispreferred activities in radio conversations.

In Malaysia, there have been very few studies carried out on radio talk shows. Yee (1998) investigated the discourse strategies employed by hosts in a radio talk show in the organization of turn-taking and topic-management. The regular patterns of discourse strategies pointed to the institutional nature of radio talk shows. The patterns also illustrated the central role of the hosts, both in addressing a silent audience, as well as in facilitating interaction among the discourse participants. Her study showed that the hosts frequently used adjacency pairs in turn-taking and topic and sub-topic management, and revealed a tendency of the hosts to allow callers to take too much time for self-introduction and considered the practice as being attributed to the Asian notion of politeness, in which one should establish a relationship before starting a conversation. She suggested that the discourse strategies in radio talk shows reflected, in part, the culture and value system of the hosts.

Nor (2012) investigated discourse markers (DMs) in turn-initial positions in an issue-based radio talk show, which involved experts and a radio host. Her study

illustrated that the various uses of turn-initial interruptive devices seemed to show that during interruptive turns speakers used different strategies to mark the relation between immediately adjacent utterances. Using Conversation Analysis (CA) as the methodological approach, her study showed that such discourse markers had a positive impact on the smooth flow of conversation, in that they helped the participants in the interaction to take or hold their speaking turns. It was found that in interruptive turns, discourse markers also served functional roles in displaying the relation between adjacent utterances, between segments of earlier discourse which were further apart; and also marked the discourse structure for the benefit of the listeners' understanding as well as for the speaker's cognitive orientation. Her study showed that discourse markers fulfilled important functions on the interpersonal levels of spoken discourse and also reflected sequential characteristics related to the functions and performances of DMs in interruptive turns. These DMs also contributed to the coherent and pragmatic flow of the discourse generated in talk radio. It was found that turn-initial devices like 'well', 'now' and 'and' showed significantly different pragmatic functions in interruptive turns. For instance, the discourse marker 'well' functioned as a response marker to what had preceded, as a marker of topic shift and as a delay device before an interruption; 'and' functioned as a topic extension marker as well as a marker of collaboration in topic development; while 'now' was used as a topic extension marker as well as a signal to indicate a shift in topic. Since a talk show dealt with a certain topic of interest in a particular show, it was noted that participants were aware of the functions of these DMs used in the discourse.



## **2.4 Types of Interactions in Radio Phone-ins**

Studies on types of interactions in radio phone-in programmes have also investigated the types of host-host interactions and host-caller interactions. These may include the types of interactional resources that are used by participants in the management of talk, as well as, how participants engage with one another in the on-going interactions.

### **2.4.1 Host-host and host-caller interactions**

As discussed earlier, most traditional studies on phone-in programmes involve investigating the interactions between one host and a caller (Hutchby, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001; Liddicoat et. al, 1992; Thornborrow, 2001a; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferenčik, 2007; Dori Hachon, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). In considering the significance of host-callers interactions, Ames (2007) examined the interaction between listeners and presenters of breakfast programmes in the metropolitan environment region in Australia. Her study revealed that talkback in a traditional sense had emerged as a vital component of the programmes, which at times focused on serious local issues. These programmes provided an important opportunity for locals to voice their opinions on local issues in a format, which was generally renowned for its light-hearted approach to engaging listeners. Where previously ‘talkback’ has been associated with ABC and commercial AM stations, her study also considered definitions of talkback in terms of its application in a regional setting, and revealed the popularity of the format for a demographic previously ignored in the Central Queensland media landscape.

Ames (2012) investigated breakfast and drive programmes in Australia, in which talk between dual or triple host combinations dominated these programmes. These programmes were chat based, and incorporated talk on a range of topics

conducted for an overhearing audience, including talkback segments that involved callers. Using the ethnomethodological approaches of conversation analysis and membership category analysis as the basis for analysis, she argued that in addition to the influence of the radio programmes, three membership category devices influenced host-host talk, which were, 'telling stories', 'members of a team' and 'members of a community'. The ways in which hosts and callers oriented to these had consequences that may lead to the overt or subtle exclusion, or otherwise, of members of the overhearing audience, and this approach encouraged a systematic analysis of the type of community to which participants conformed to within particular programmes.

As the study also relates to the types of interactions which concern agreement and disagreement sequences in phone-in interactions, there is also a need to look at how previous studies have defined verbal agreements and disagreements. According to Avery and Ellis (1978), disagreements over talk radio may involve the exercise of power because it entails a conflict and therefore also a clash of interest. Waldron and Applegate (1994:4) define verbal disagreement as "a form of conflict, because verbal disagreements are taxing communication events, characterised by incompatible goals, negotiation, and the need to coordinate self and other actions." On a content level, speakers will not only be in conflict with their conversational partners but also with regard to protecting the addressee's and/or their own face. There is also the issue of politeness: Brown and Levinson (1987:66) consider disagreement to belong to "those acts that threaten the positive-face want, by indicating that the Speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants etc. – that in some important respect he doesn't want Hearer's wants." Two sub-categories of involvement politeness "seek

agreement” and “avoid disagreement” were formulated by Brown and Levinson (1987:112-117).

In a study of ordinary conversations, Pomerantz (1975, 1984) adopted the ethnomethodological approach to conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) and investigated the formal properties of organizational patterns of agreement and disagreement turns. In most cases, it was observed that agreement was an invited and preferred response, while a disagreement was considered as a dispreferred move, and when a dispreferred move occurred, it was marked in a linguistic sense in some way. For example, agreements occurred quickly, but disagreements were often delayed within a turn. Agreements were explicit, syntactically simple, and occupied an entire turn; while disagreements were syntactically complex, and often implicit. In addition, disagreements were often prefaced in some way, such as with hesitating prefates (e.g. “*Well...*”), requests for clarification of the preceding turn, and/or the inclusion of weak agreement with the preceding turn. Pomerantz further pointed out that preferred responses, whether they were agreements or disagreements, were typically performed with minimum delay, with direct, explicit formulation, and without prefacing and qualification. By contrast, dispreferred responses were usually performed hesitantly, by means of equivocal, implicit formulations and often prefaced in various ways. It was found that in terms of turn shapes, agreement and disagreement were formally different, as the latter was more complex than the former. Pomerantz regarded disagreement as the dispreferred answer and distinguished between strong and weak disagreements. According to Pomerantz (1984) weak disagreement could be accompanied by a delay of the dispreferred message through hesitations, “no talk”, requests for clarification, partial repeats, other repair initiators, turn prefates etc. ; while strong disagreement usually

occured without these devices. She further claimed that positive acknowledgement tokens, such as *mhm*, *yeah*, *right*, *okay*, *I see* and *I know*, were considered as weak agreement forms. Following an assessment of assertion, they occurred without other agreement components to show that the speaker understood and supported the preceding statement. Agreement and disagreement are also included in a broader study of conflict talk. For instance, Grimshaw (1990) claimed that power, is a sociological variable that influences the occurrence, nature, development, and strategic choices of verbal conflicts. He found that it is not likely for a less powerful party to challenge a more powerful opponent and engage him or her in a dispute. He further added that, even if such challenges do occur, they will be indirect, of lower intensity and overtly neutral.

There have been very few studies undertaken in investigating the forms of interactions in relation to agreements and disagreements in opinion-giving in media interactions. As mentioned earlier, Kuo's (1994) work on the investigation of agreement and disagreement strategies in a Japanese phone-in radio conversation showed that agreements were generally considered as signs of solidarity and cooperation, and speakers used a range of forms to show that they were collaboratively in agreement. These included agreement strategies such as using linguistic devices which include repetition, upgraded agreement, and back-channel responses, and the discourse markers '*but*' and '*well*', and turn-taking, to negotiate agreement and disagreement. These strategies displayed a degree of cooperation and rapport between speakers. Her study on the features of organization in disagreement turns also illustrated that disagreements are dispreferred activities in talk (Pomertantz, 1984).

One study which is of particular relevance to the present research is Dori-Hacohen's (2012) study on types of interactions in an Israeli political phone-in programme. The study distinguished two aspects of the types of interaction, that is, whether the interaction is based on agreement or disagreement and whether the participants engage each other in the interaction. Six different types of interactions in the phone-in programmes were identified: the one-sided agreement and disagreement interactions; the neutral interactions; the two-sided-agreement and disagreement interactions; and *'dialogue of the deaf'*. In one-sided agreement interaction, the caller did most of the talking, the host agreed with the caller and did not elaborate on the agreement nor engage the caller, but in one-sided disagreement interaction, the caller would do most of the talking and prevent the host from disagreeing with him, thus leading to the termination of the interaction without engagement between the participants. In the neutral-type of interaction, the host refrained from expressing any opinion and allowed the caller to present his opinion. In two-sided agreement interaction-type, the caller would present his opinion, the host would agree with the caller, adding to the topic and engaging the caller. In two-sided disagreement interaction, the caller presented his opinion, the host disagreed with him, which thus led to an engaged discussion about the caller's and the host's opinions. Another interaction type was described by Dori-Hacohen as the *'dialogue of the deaf'*, in which both the caller and host presented their opinions about the same topic but these opinions did not clash and no engagement was created. His study showed that in Israeli political radio phone-in programmes, the most frequent type was the two-sided disagreement interaction, in which hosts and callers argued about issues and problems. Another type of interaction that frequently occurred in the data was the neutral interaction, in which the hosts tried to avoid expressing their opinions. Other

types of interactions also occurred, yet the hosts often remarked on their occurrences. These remarks served to explain the interaction to the audience, to justify the hosts' behaviour and to reprimand and compliment the caller. These remarks also suggested that hosts see these types as non-normative interactions, when compared to the two-sided disagreement and neutral interactions. The normative categories go hand in hand with the demands of the public sphere, showing that Israeli political radio phone-in programmes contribute to the public sphere and to its democratic life.

#### **2.4.2 Callers to radio phone-in programmes**

There have also been extensive studies on the participation of radio callers to talk radio programmes (Hutchby, 1991, 1996, 2001; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Thornborrow, 2001; Dori Hachon, 2012; Ames, 2014) and the types of callers who call in to such programmes (O'Sullivan, 1997; 2005). O'Sullivan (1997) claimed that callers to a talk radio programme were not a homogenous group and they called in for a variety of reasons, from seeking and giving advice to expressing their views on a subject. Her study identified certain categories of callers: 'connotive', 'emotive', 'exhibitionist', 'troubles teller', 'advice-seeker' and 'advice-giver'. In her study on calls to *The Gerry Ryan Show* within the period studied, the majority of callers were 'advice-seeker' or 'advice-giver' and they were more likely to be focused on the problem rather than on their on-air performance. The 'connotive' callers, the second largest group, were more concerned with expressing their views on a subject, or to get their views across. The 'emotive' callers had more concerns in relation to their performances. The 'exhibitionist' caller's aim was not so much to vent his opinions on a particular topic but to project his personality and to become a 'performer'. The final category of callers was the 'troubles teller' where the focal object of the talk was

the teller and his experiences and this type of caller looked for emotional exchange or mutuality rather than advice. Therefore, subsequent callers, who called-in would recount similar experiences and provide this emotional mutuality. These callers were found to have the least concern with issues of performance in the programme. Therefore, while 'exhibitionist' and 'emotive' callers' performance was very much a primary concern, performance was a more secondary concern for 'troubles tellers', 'advice seekers' and 'advice givers' (O'Sullivan, 2005).

Another study on caller types included a comparative study conducted by Dori-Hacohen (2012) in political talk radio programmes in Israel and the United States. His study revealed that there were different caller types, which included the anonymous, regular, returning, first-time and the unmarked standard caller, and these caller types were relevant throughout the interactions. It was found that the interactions with regulars and returning callers were harsher or freer than other interactions, whilst interactions with first time callers were gentler. The various caller membership types also contributed to the construction of a community around the programmes.

Analyzing callers' experiences in radio phone-in programmes has also been explored by various researchers. For instance, O'Sullivan (2005) analysed callers' experiences of participating on the *Gerry Ryan* show. The issue of the presentation of the self in relation to calling was highlighted in her study, which was considered as an aspect of participation on talk radio shows that has been largely neglected by previous studies on callers to talk radio shows. Talk radio is often thought of in relation to its democratic functions, where researchers have focused on the role that talk radio plays in keeping listeners up-to-date with political issues, and how talk radio shows provide a forum where these issues can be discussed by ordinary citizens (Hofstetter et al,

1994). Turrow (1974) introduces the idea that talk radio can be analyzed as a form of interpersonal communication. He hypothesises that calling a talk radio show is a substitute for the interpersonal contact that is missing in people's lives, that is due primarily to the problems associated with urban living. The argument made here moves away from Goffman's (1971) idea on the uses and satisfactions that talk radio offers its audiences and offers an alternative conceptualisation of the genre, as a public setting for the presentation of the self.

## **2.5 The Production Process of Radio Talk Programmes**

Past researches have also included investigations on the production process of radio talk programmes, which involve, increasing listenership, soliciting and managing calls. The production process of radio talk shows is important for the success of a particular show. As Scannell (1996) points out the management of liveness is a central issue for all broadcasters. Goffman (1981:242) views that the principal job of any broadcaster is 'the production of seemingly faultless fresh talk'. This is what makes broadcast talk different from ordinary conversation. In the early days of radio, ordinary people were not invited on air, later their on-air performances were scripted, and over time the audience learnt how to perform without scripting (Scannell, 1996). Broadcasters prefer these unscripted performances, which are considered to have greater communicative power. However these performances can be risky for broadcasters who might need to use a variety of techniques to control or manage callers' on-air performances. Calling is not principally for callers, although it may be experienced by them in this way. The content of the programmes, which in this case includes calls to the show, must be entertaining for the audience. Thus, it is the role of the production team who need to keep the audience in mind in the planning and broadcasting of the shows. Their priority is to keep the audience listening and to



increase listenership (interview with Yew Kiat, production manager of *BusinessFM*, 2016). Thus, the host and the production team need to monitor the ongoing conversation to ensure that the conversation is going well.

### **2.5.1 Soliciting and Managing Callers**

In radio phone-in programmes, soliciting and managing callers are usually done by the production team. The listening audience or ‘ratified’ listeners (Goffman, 1981) are continuously addressed by the host as potential callers. For instance, in O’Sullivan’s study on the Gerry Ryan Show, before nearly every advertising or music break the host repeats his ‘catch-phrase’ *‘1850 85 22 22 the Ryan Line is open’*. On occasion the host reminds the audience in the middle of a discussion that they too can join in: *‘... 1850 85 22 22 by the way if you want to add to that...’*; *‘What did you think? Give us a shout on that or indeed any other matter on 1850 85 22 22’*. Gerry Ryan’s repetition of *‘You tell us and we’ll tell them’* implies an entirely un-mediated relationship between callers and *The Gerry Ryan Show* (O’Sullivan, 2005). Thus, the control of the broadcast output rests with the production team and audience participation on the show, and this is controlled and managed in order to ensure a good show each day. Over the course of a successful call the caller will usually display a familiarity with the production values or the format of the show. This then brings about a working consensus about the meaning of the show and is shared by the production team and callers to the show.

There are a number of ways of how the production team exercise control over the content of the shows. For instance, in the data for the study which involve episodes from *LiteFM* and *BusinessFM* shows, the topics are usually pre-determined rather than

open-ended. Calls are usually pre-selected and there is limited access to the airtime available. As a rule, callers to the shows are treated differently according to whether they are giving an opinion or relating an experience to the topic of discussion. Further details about what the callers will be talking about are usually requested by the production team. The lines to text or the numbers to call (e.g. *LiteFM 0 3 9 5 4 3 3 3 3 3* and *BusinessFM 0 3 7 7 1 0 9 0 0 0 or text 0 1 5 2 0 1 9 0 0 0*) given by the hosts connect callers directly to the Broadcast Assistants (BAs) or production team. The calls then go through a filtering process, which involves an assessment of both the caller and the content of the call. Callers are required to present themselves in a way that corresponds with the style of the show in order to allow the calls to be passed. The decision criteria used by the production team when assessing a caller is something that is learnt when working on the show. As described by the production manager (Steve D'Angelo, 2013), the broadcast team is quite intuitive about which callers fit into the shows. Thus, the production team have a very short amount of time in deciding whether a caller can contribute to the show or not. As O'Sullivan (2005) argues, the key here is that the contribution must be entertaining and not boring. Given the number of callers to each show, listeners do not have a high probability of making it on-air. Therefore, callers also need to learn what makes a good call by listening to the show (O'Sullivan, 2005). For instance, callers who are familiar with the format of the *LiteFM* and *BusinessFM* shows stand a better chance of making their points relevant and so are more successful on getting on-air.

Successful callers tend to be regular listeners to the show, are familiar with the show's style and can adapt their contributions accordingly. This is reflected in the number of times a regular caller would call in to the show (Steve d'Angelo, the

production manager of *LiteFM* ‘breakfast shows’). Therefore, callers must also understand the style, the tone and what is appropriate content for the show. As Scannell (1996) points out, callers must also be judged to be genuine, as sincerity is required for a successful radio performance. Obviously the show’s callers must fulfil the requirement of sincerity and this is achieved through careful screening by the production team. For instance, the production manager (interview with Steve d’Angelo, 2013) of *LiteFM* explains that people who call in to voice out a sensitive issue or to express dissatisfaction over a certain issue that touch on race or religion of the Malaysian society for the purpose of getting on air, are considered as not genuine. People who call in to express their personal problems are assessed in exactly the same way as other callers. However, the aim of any call is to entertain the audience and not to solve people’s problems. Although it is not deniable that many people’s voices are heard about issues that concern the Malaysian society, this is one way for callers to express their feelings of concern about issues that affect them. The next section will discuss how callers present themselves on air.

### **2.5.2 Presentation of the Self On-Air**

This section will discuss issues which concern the presentation of caller’s self on air and the various studies that describe how callers build their own identities in radio talk shows. Building identities in talk is one aspect that will be examined in the subsequent data analysis chapters.

Avery and McCain (1986: 121) argue that while talk radio shows may seem like interpersonal encounters they are in fact ‘a unique media phenomenon’. Hutchby (1991: 129) states that in talk radio shows all ‘callers must be processed’ – that is, have their topic, once introduced, dealt with, assimilated (or rejected) in so far as it makes (or

fails to make) ‘some sense’ of an issue-in-question, and their call must be terminated in order to make way for another caller’. Apart from the institutional aspects of talk on talk radio, various researchers have also highlighted the considerations in examining the performative character of this type of talk. All public sphere for talk always involve an audience. Habermas (1989) states that in contemporary radio talk shows, interaction involves the presentation of the self, and people have concerns with how they manage this presentation, and try and control the impressions they give off. In *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman (1971) outlines his dramaturgical model and uses the term ‘stage’ to convey the performative dimension of interaction. By performance he means ‘all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants’ (Goffman 1971:26). Goffman (1971:235) further argues that individuals, when in public, project a definition of the situation that includes their understanding of themselves, and that individuals do this by what they say, what they do and the impressions they give off. He further elaborates that when an individual presents her or himself s/he will usually have an objective and will be concerned to control others’ responses to this self-presentation. Individuals use both defensive and protective techniques to safeguard the impressions they give off. He also argues that in different circumstances individuals will be more or less concerned to give off a good impression (Goffman 1971:43).

For the majority of callers in radio talk shows, going on-air is a new part that has to be performed. The caller will make use of the limited clues available to him or her about the setting. For instance, in relation to the shows on *LiteFM* and *BusinessFM*, clues will come from the production team or from the caller's prior knowledge of the show. On some occasions the production team will coach callers before they went on-

air. Therefore, many callers demonstrate an awareness of the differences in power that exists between host and caller. They are also aware that the host has the power to terminate the call at any time as some studies have shown (Hutchby, 1991; Liddicoat et al, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002).

Goffman (1971) talks about interaction footing, the process by which we assess what the etiquette is in each context we become involved in. According to him, a breach of interaction footing would involve a violation of this style. It can be argued that the norms that exist in a setting can work to limit how a person can participate in debate and discussion. For instance, radio talk shows offer access to callers to participate in on-air debate and discussion. However, any discussion of this participation must pay attention to callers' orientation to the genre as an arena for the presentation of the self. Even though, a concern with self-presentation and impression management is there in any public forum, the more public the setting is, the greater the concern. In radio talk, successful callers will display an understanding of the style, tone and what constitutes appropriate content for the particular show. O Sullivan (1997) argued that a concern with how the contribution might sound to the audience influenced the content and tone of calls. Callers were found to use a range of techniques to manage the impression given off on-air, and interactional norms and etiquette determine the nature of the ensuing discussion.

## **2.6 Building Public Identities in Radio Talk**

In discussing public participation in radio talk, which has become the focus of attention in media studies, as well as from the social interactional perspectives of discourse and conversation analysis, it has been argued in particular that this type of

talk show genre has given new and enhanced status to the 'authentic' voice of lay members of the public (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Thornborrow, 2001b). In other words, understanding how lay participants build public identities for themselves in order to authenticate their talk and to legitimize their positions to topic-opinion issues, is also an important focus of the study. Since the building of identities by lay participants in radio talk programmes is significant in providing their authentic voices to legitimate their positions to topic-opinion issues, it is significant to discuss the meanings and types of identity. The following section will discuss the meanings and types of identity that have been widely researched.

### **2.6.1 Types of identity**

According to De Fina (2006), identities can be communicated in different ways. They may be openly discussed and focussed upon, or indirectly and symbolically conveyed. She provides the example of a person's claims to be 'good mother', or a 'fan of Manchester United', as that person openly embracing an identity. For instance, people in a political party may self-describe themselves as 'true conservatives' or 'pacifists' and lay out and negotiate the criteria for membership of those categories. Van Dijk, (2009) argues that a great deal of identity work is done indirectly through meaning associations. For instance, sounds, words, expressions of a language and styles are continuously associated with qualities, ideas, situations, social representations, and entire ideological systems. These, in turn are related to social groups and categories that can be seen as sharing or representing them in a process of creating meaning that rests on accepted social meanings while continuously modifying them. According to Silverstein (1992), this process has been called 'indexicality', which is based on the idea that symbols (and not only linguistic ones) will 'index' or point to elements of the social context. For example, he provides the

use of 'mate' by one person to address another which may indicate the existence of a close relationship between them. However, words, accents and expressions may also become associated with aspects of the larger context as when they draw out specific traits, ideas, activities and properties that may be seen as typical of certain social identities. De Fina (2006) further argues that as these associations are continuously repeated and circulated, they become part of socially shared representations about groups and categories, however, they are also open to constant argument and revisiting owing to the process of creating meaning.

De Fina (2006) claims that there are differences between individual and collective identity. For instance, in engaging in a conversation with a friend, a person will be negotiating his/her own identity as an individual and he/she will be uniquely responsible for the kind of image they project as an individual. However, in an institutional encounter we may be talking to members in a group such as a political party or an organization, and at least part of our discursive constructions will involve the identity of the community that we represent. In addition, while some identities will have personal and concrete referents, others such as those related to national or religious communities, such as Americans, Malaysians or Muslims may be abstract and not be associated with particular people (DeFina, 2006). In addition to these distinctions between individual and collective identities, it is further argued for the need to consider the differences between personal and social identities. Social identities are large categories of belonging such as those concerning race, gender and political affiliation (Malays, Chinese, female, Catholics, etc.), while personal identities are constructs that may include not only sets of membership categories, but also moral and physical characteristics that distinguish one person from another (a courageous person or a coward) (De Fina, 2006). Finally, situational identities may be

seen as roles related to the specific context of interaction such as those of teacher-student, doctor-patient or host-caller (Zimmerman, 1998). All of these distinctions may however become quite obscured in actual discourse since, for example personal identities are built on the basis of social identity categories, while collective identities may be personalized (*I am the State, attributed to Louis XIV, King of France*) (De Fina, 2006). Furthermore, social identities do not always correspond with well-defined macro-social categories such as gender or age, since new identities are continuously being created. While some identities such as those attached to nations or religious communities may emerge throughout complex historical processes and become rather fixed and stable, others, such as, identities to new online communities (*Facebook, chatroom, twitter*) are more momentary and negotiable (De Fina, 2006). She concludes that whatever identities emerge will be allocated and negotiated in everyday processes of communication and usually it is through those that they will become available to people.

Johnston (2008: 151) states that all individual display an identity that is “claimed, created and expressed” in conversation, primarily through the art of performance. Johnston concurs that all human interaction is a performance and that this performance orders the establishment of an identity. For instance, there are certain components of identity that are created as a result of a performance, such as, society expects parents to love and protect their children. He illustrates that the performance of identity is also shown in our language, for example, we mark our allegiance through specific groups through the language we use and the gestures we make, as in affiliations and beliefs. For instance, racism can be evident from the language used. The establishment of an identity could be illustrated by choosing an identity with a socially defined role with associated behaviour. For example, teachers,



parents, salespersons, hosts or callers to radio programmes, each has a role with social restrictions and definitive expectations in society. For instance, the hosts of radio programmes are by their nature expected to introduce the programme and topics of discussions, invite callers to call in and discuss issues with radio callers. On the other hand, it is also expected that as part of the callers' identity, callers will display some forms of speech which will be reflected in the interaction. These identity constructions will be discussed in the analysis chapters on the interactions between the radio hosts and callers in the major part of this thesis.

Sacks (1992: 40) began his research on identity with the membership categorization device hypothesis and concluded that there were a "class of category sets". He illustrates that each set comprises a series of initial descriptors, such as age, race, religion and occupation. The purpose of the classification system was to signify membership of the individual to each specific category as relevant. The process allowed each individual in the society to become "classified" by assigning membership of a particular group. Sacks stated that the groups were entirely representative, rather than a strategic system intended to divide individuals in as society. Sacks was of the view that each representative group has an accompanying body of knowledge and inferences that define its social identity. Thus, he further concluded that identity is not static as we can be members of many different social categories simultaneously. Identity can also be context-relevant as revealed by Schenkein (1978, p.58), whilst exposing that certain parts of identity are constant. For instance, he illustrated with the example that salesman and student were both always male speakers, but their secondary occupational identities salesman and student could

be temporary, as occupations could be altered. However, the operating identities of salesman and student were critical to the interaction.

The discussions on identity show that it makes it difficult to exemplify more subtle identities in interaction, as individuals can be classified with many differing identities in vast numbers of categories. For instance, it is not always observed which identity is given prominence at any interaction in ordinary talk without a predetermined context. Furthermore, an infinite list of categories can be created including social class, belief and values systems, but there is a need to note that only certain aspects of identity will be present or relevant in specific domains or contexts.

Riley (2007: 86) concurs that social identity is a “quality which is ascribed or attributed to an individual human being by other human beings”. Riley’s theory being the identity of the individual is constructed by the place of that individual within society, undoubtedly by the classification of that individual into the categories. Based on Sacks’ (1992) study of talk-in interaction, it would be difficult to apply Riley’s view as identity is not static and will change. For instance, Sacks (1992: 46) considered the concept of age to illustrate identity: a forty year old person is young in comparison to an eighty year old person, but in the context of a twenty year old, forty might be viewed as old. Sacks’ example illustrates that identity can alter, as it is dependant upon context or situation and essentially, the way people are perceived changes according to circumstance. Thus, identity is interchangeable. Sacks’ idea that identity is interchangeable is also supported by Zimmerman (1998: 90) who suggests three different classifications for identity in interaction: situational, discourse and transportable. Transportable categories are explained as categories that accompany the individual in every interaction, such as ‘*woman*’, ‘*old age pensioner*’ or ‘*young*

*male*'. These constituents of identity remain consistent, however, they are not applicable to each interaction. For example, the radio host will always be a male in every interaction, but sex or gender may not have any relevance to the discourse. Discourse identities are literally described as who does what, in any given interaction. Zimmerman gives the example in dialling 999 for emergency assistance, in which, in this instance the person calling will be the caller and the responder will be the answerer. However, the status may change during the interaction as the caller becomes the narrator of an event that required assistance and the answerer is then the recipient to that event. Thus, identities may shift throughout the talk-in interaction, but will remain appropriate to the context of the discourse. Thirdly, situational identities are defined as being individuals who remain constantly within their defined role in an interaction. Zimmerman (1998: 95) provides the example of the health visitor who was checking the well-being of the new mother and young baby. The health visitor by profession is charged with monitoring the care of the child which involves calling upon the family. In this interaction, the identities of both parties, that is, the health visitor and mother will remain constant throughout the discourse, as each party has a set of behaviours with accompanying values attached to the identity role. Thus, the identity of each participant will be apparent during interaction.

Barker and Galaskiński (2001: 41) assert that identity cannot be used to demonstrate and predict aspects of linguistic behaviour. They state that there is no "automatic discourse" between linguistic utterance and identity. For instance, we cannot make general assumptions which concerned identity and specific social groups. However, they argue that we can predict that certain forms of linguistic behaviour will be evident in specific identities in talk-in interaction when an institutional context is examined. The context of the talk can direct the structure of the

discourse between the participants, as well as, the purpose of the interaction. For example, the expectations that an appointment with the General Practitioner (GP) intends to follow a designated structure, which comprised an initial greeting, presentation of a problem, examination and diagnosis before a discussion of any treatment and closing remarks. This is supported by Heritage & Clayman (2011) who view that the interaction is unlikely to deviate from this formula, due to time constraints and the active identity roles of the participants, that is, doctor and patient. In relation to a radio call-in programme, a designated structure is also expected, comprising an initial greeting by the host, presentation of an opinion by the caller before a discussion of the topic and closing remarks. Again, the interaction is unlikely to digress from this formula, due to time constraints and the active identity roles of the participants, that is, host and caller. Thus, speaker identity in the context of an interaction is critical and will designate the actions found in the sequence, as each speaker operates within their allotted role to conduct the discourse. Butler (1990) also emphasized that identity is not something that one 'has', but rather something that one 'does' or 'performs' and recreate through concrete exchanges, discourses and interactions between human beings. She further argues that what it means to be a man or a woman, or a member of any social category, is not only contextually variable and open to continuous redefinitions, but they are also related to actions and behaviours as much as to feelings and thought.

### **2.6.2 The concepts of indexicality and local occasioning in identity**

In discussing the construction of identity in radio interactions, it is significant to include the concept of 'indexicality' and 'local occasioning'. Garfinkel (1976) used the term 'indexicality' to characterise the project of ethnomethodology: 'Members' accounts are reflexively and essentially tied for the rationality to the socially

organized conditions of their use. He proposed the basic condition of human sociality as a point for social enquiry. This is derived from the philosophical term which is concerned with a type of expression whose semantic value is in part determined by features of the context of utterance, and hence may vary with that context. Among indexicals are the use of personal pronouns, such as 'I', 'you', 'she', 'he' and 'it'; demonstratives such as 'this' and 'that' ; temporal expressions, such as 'now', 'today', 'yesterday'; and locative expressions such as 'here', 'there' etc. (Lepper, 2000).

De Fina (2006) also views that indexicality is at work when associations are created between a type of accent or the use of specific words and expressions and a certain kind of persona. For example, the uvular pronunciation of the 'r' sound in Italian is associated with a snobbish and stiff persona. These stereotypical associations are used in political discourse as politicians will shape their language in order to project specific identities. Taking the example of the use of language by the republican vice-presidential candidate in the 2008 US presidential election, Sarah Palin, at the time when she was governor of Alaska, Palin depicts herself as an outsider to Washington politics, as a 'regular hockey mom', and a simple, down to earth woman who was just like any other average American, in her introduction to the political scene. Central to the creation of this persona was her language, which is characterized by a careful choice of words and aimed at creating a 'folksy' rhetoric that could promote the populist image (De Fina, 2006).

Researchers who look upon identity as a communicative process that takes place within concrete social contexts and practices also look at the importance of paying close attention to the details of local talk in order to understand how identities are brought about and negotiated. The concept of 'local occasioning' has been

borrowed from conversation analysis (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). They argue that ‘for a person to “have an identity” is to cast into a category with associated characteristics or features’ (1998: 3) and that such casting is indexical and locally occasioned. The concept of local occasioning captures the idea that the way people present their identity or ascribe identities to others not only crucially depends on the context in which the discourse takes place but also shapes that context, making identities relevant and consequential for subsequent talk. Thus, social roles and identities which are associated with them may be relevant to certain social occasions and practices but not to others. For instance, in introducing myself at a meeting at my university I will most likely choose to describe myself as a member of the English department, while at a parents and teachers association meeting I will find it appropriate to introduce myself as ‘*Amira’s mother*’.

According to De Fina (2006), the notion of local occasioning goes beyond the recognition of a mutual relationship between identities, contexts and practices. It taps into the dynamic nature of identity claims by pointing to the fact that while identities and roles are context dependant, the very meaning of categories is indexical as well, and may change according to circumstances and participants. Therefore, the same social identity category may be used to identify someone, but this category will have different meanings according to different aspects of the context. Therefore, indexicality and local occasioning are processes that can help us understand how identities are accomplished and communicated through linguistic behaviour in contextualized ways, as well as understand how people go about understanding and negotiating them.

In relation to the study, aspects of indexicality and local occasioning will be applied by identifying how participants use linguistic features to ascribe their

individual identities, social identity categories or collective identity categories in authenticating their talk to the topics of discussion. The next section will discuss previous works on the construction of identities in radio phone-in programmes.

### **2.6.3 Studies on building identities in radio phone-ins**

Studies on the construction of identities in radio phone-ins have been undertaken by various researchers (Thornborrow, 2001b; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ribeiro, 2008). Studies have shown that expert speakers in public participation broadcasts are typically given names, rank, institutional affiliation and status, which legitimize their position, and in so doing provide their warrant to talk about whatever issue they have been brought in to discuss (Thornborrow, 2001a, Hutchby, 1999, etc.). However, lay participants typically do not have such statuses attributed to them, but need to establish their own position from which to talk. Thornborrow (2001b) examined the public identities that lay speakers build for themselves in radio phone-in programmes. She argued that lay participants routinely draw on a range of discursive resources to construct situated, local identities which provided a warrant for what they have to say. Her study looked at two specific aspects of lay participants' production of a local, contextually relevant identity: one was to do with how they established their status as current ratified speaker in relation to the on-going talk; the other was on how they construct a contextually relevant and grounded position to warrant their position. Her study examined the opening turn sequences, in which callers to a radio programme established their position as currently selected speaker. She observed that lay participants explicitly identified themselves as members of a particular social or professional category to display what they had to say as contextually relevant at that circumstance. It was found that lay speakers seemed to be

concerned with establishing a relevant participatory status as soon as they were brought to the interactional frame. This was sometimes accomplished through a process of self-identification according to social or professional categories, or also accomplished by providing details to ground their talk and warrant their status as participants at that moment of talk. It was found that speakers framed their utterances at the first moments of talk by displaying both their situational institutional identity as currently ratified speaker, and relevant discursive identity as questioner, opinion-giver, point-maker or advice-seeker, before asking their question or making their point. These forms of identity were found to be important features in the design of lay speakers' turns in the opening moments of their talk, and considered as discursive resources which functioned to establish their public role as participants. Her study also showed that callers to the radio phone-in programme had an opinion that will either support or oppose the previous callers' viewpoints. Therefore, this seemed to suggest that callers not only produce an opinion based as members of a pre-established category of informed listeners through the way they design their first moments of talk, but also offered an immediate contribution to the debate by providing an explicit agreement or disagreement with the previous speaker.

Another study which is of particular relevance to the current research is Fitzgerald and Housley's (2002) work on the sequential and categorial flow of identity in a radio phone-in. Their study adopted an ethnomethodological approach in demonstrating that interaction on public access radio could be seen to rely upon categorial and sequential identities that were built up and developed upon over the course of interaction. By paying attention to the categorial features within media interaction, together with the sequential organization, they argued that it was possible



to examine the way identities were reflexively developed in conjunction with the sequential flow of interaction. This allowed the analysis to address the multilayered organizational methods used by members as part of the on-going flow of interaction. It was found that the callers' identity moved from one that was not known to one that was known and this was intensely 'a matter of the interplay between the sequential organization and the membership category development' (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). They also demonstrated that the succession of sequential turn-generated categories oriented into the caller getting into the position from which to do topic talk, showed a complex relationship of category flow and layering. The study also illustrated how participants' senses of culture, society, behaviour, political perspective etc. informed the discourse of radio phone-in talk and interaction. These were considered as locally occasioned matters and were generated from and within the social and sequential organization of the programme. They further added that resources of identity and the associated modes of predication were used as sources to authenticate opinions and regulate the character of debate in a locally accountable manner. These were also tied to conversational details, procedures and practical methods of members' reasoning and sense-making.

Another study on the construction of identities in radio phone-ins included Ribeiro's (2008) work on the discursive construction of Portuguese national identity. She adopted a discourse-historical approach and a CA framework, and looked at personal deictic forms in order to uncover the participants' allegiance and non-allegiance to certain groups referred to in the programme. She highlighted that one of the main discursive strategies was the use of 'us' and the 'other' which were discursively represented when constructing national identity. Her study revealed

features such as the dominant discursive construction of national identity to be very much ingrained in the Portuguese collective past, collective history, collective memory and canonical writers, as illustrated in the semantic macro-areas. Her data illustrated how ordinary participants fell back upon 'othering' the social groups whom they perceived as being responsible for the dominant national identity narrative: the elites, the politicians, the political and economic centres of power. The study drew upon CA's framework by illustrating how macro-topics such as the marked class divide were evident through the analysis of initial turn-taking, participants' footing, forms of address and argumentation construction within the interaction.

A much recent work is Fitzgerald and Thornborrow's (2017) study on the BBC's 2015 phone-in Election Call. The study examined the ways in which political engagement was constructed within the forum during the run up to the UK General Election, using Membership categorization analysis (MCA) as the basis of analysis. The study investigated the ways that callers and politicians engaged in live political debate by transforming personal experiences into politicised social categories. The findings of the study showed the particular emphasis on callers' geographical locations through personal social identities, in comparison to previous Election Call that showed participants constructing political categories through personal social identities.

## **2.7 Methodological Approaches in Radio Talk**

This section will discuss the methodological approaches of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) which have been widely adopted by researchers in their investigations of radio talk shows. CA and

MCA are two popular ethnomethodological methods for analyzing interactional practices, such as radio phone-in interactions. While both are rooted in Sack's (1992) ground-breaking *Lectures on Conversation*, the two methods have had somewhat divergent paths. However, the two methods have attended to be related but consequentially different aspects of discourse practices. Whereas CA '...specifies the normative structuring and logics of particular courses of social action and their organization into systems through which participants manage turn-taking, repair, and other systemic dimensions of interaction' (Heritage, 2005: 104), MCA focuses on 'members' methodical practices in describing the world, and displaying their understanding of the world and of the commonsense routine workings of society' (Fitzgerald, et al., 2009:47). These analytic focus have different sorts of empirical studies. CA works principally across large conversational data corpora to identify robust structural patterns in turn-taking, repair, sequence organization and action formation. In contrast, MCA mainly produces case studies of distinct interactional settings, which focused on turn-generated 'identities for interaction', morality, culture and other categorial matters (Eglin and Hester, 1999; Housley and Fitzgerald, 2007; Plunkett, 2009). The following section will further discuss these two methodological approaches that have been adopted for the study.

### **2.7.1 The methodological approach of Conversation analysis**

The norms of the turn-taking structure of casual conversation were outlined in the influential Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) study and this forms the basis of much Conversation Analytic (CA) research. These norms are concerned with what is systematic about the way speakers decide when to speak during a conversation, how speakers can be related to each other in sequence and may go together as adjacency pairs. A key concern in CA has been with the participants in conversation creating

sequences of talk by taking turns at speaking. Turns are constructed by participants orientating to implicit knowledge about how turns operate. In his lectures, Sacks (1992) proposed a number of maxims that can be seen to operate as general procedures for talk. Three of the most basic of these are: (1) that one person speaks at a time; (2) that conversational turns do not overlap; (3) that people take turns at producing turns. There are also other maxims that participants use to decide: who's turn is it next, when it is their turn, when might be a good time to make a conversational turn, what kind of topics those turns might reasonably deal with, how turns can be organized to bring about an opportunity to talk about something, and so on. These basic maxims and conversational mechanisms are used to 'read' contexts, conversational participants and their interactional 'intentions'. So the ways in which participants organize their talk will tell you something about their role in that setting, their expectations of 'other people's' roles in that setting, their intentions for what the setting should accomplish, and so on (Sacks, 1992).

Another key concept of CA introduced by Sacks (1992) is adjacency pairs (APs). An AP is a sequence of conversational turns that are tied to each other in which the former calls forth the later. Examples of APs include: greeting + greeting/reciprocation; question + answer; summons + acknowledgement; request + compliance, and so on. Moving above the level of individual turns or adjacency turns, conversation analysts are also interested in identifying the sequential norms of interaction in particular settings. For instance, CA has proved to be a comparative tool in the analysis of institutional interactions because baseline sequences of interaction from ordinary conversation can be compared with interactions in institutional or other settings, for instance, in telephone call openings (Schegloff, 1986) or broadcast talk (Hutchby, 2006).

The focus of CA has been to identify the way in which participants' display their orientation to institutional contexts. CA works on institutional settings have included classroom, workplace, social work and medical settings (Heritage 1989: Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2002; Drew, 1994; Hutchby and Drew, 1995). The present study is associated with the environment of the media in the study of which some insightful advancements have been made in the area of radio phone-in conversations. Hutchby (1996b) notes that the genre of radio phone-in conversations focus on a kind of forum on the ways in which talk is conducted and content is related to wider social and cultural issues. Hutchby (1996b) brought a shift of perspective to illustrate how sequential patterns of talk can reveal participants' construction of social realities and communicative activities, and their orientations to social contexts and identity relationships. In his book on 'Media Talk: Conversation analysis and the study of broadcasting' (Hutchby, 2006), he provides a rationale for CA as a methodology that is both appropriate and useful for analysing media talk, since it has been used to study a whole range of different kinds of talk, especially those that are related to institutional or organizational interactions. The key to the conversation analytic approach is the focus on sequences. By concentrating on how utterances are produced as turns in interactional sequences, conversation analysts argue that it is possible to observe and analyse participants' own understanding of one another's actions, and of what is going on in any given social context (Hutchby, 2006). This is because turn-taking requires people to display, in any 'next turn' their understanding of what has been said or done in prior turn(s). If that displayed understanding is accurate, then the first speaker's next turn in the sequence will reveal that (Hutchby, 2006). However, if the displayed understanding is incorrect, that too will be displayed in the following

turns, for instance, the first speaker will seek to correct or 'repair', the faulty understanding.

A lot of research have been conducted using Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) as a methodological approach in investigating media talk (Hutchby, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001, 2006; Liddicoat et. al, 1992; Thornborrow, 2001a; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Bell and Garrett, 1998; Ferenčik, 2007; Dori-Hacohen, 2011). In this study, CA (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) is used as the methodology to investigate the management of conversation and how utterances are produced as turns in interactional sequences and the sequential organization of Malaysian radio phone-ins. Radio phone-ins, or 'talk radio' shows, represent a popular environment in which members of the public at large may discuss the news of the day from their own perspective. In the understanding of turn-taking or conversation analysis (CA), Sacks et al (1974) point out that in interactions which deal with presentations of opinions such as in disagreements, the disagreements are in fact by nature linked to previous positions, but they usually open a next position for a next speaker because a disagreement calls for some kind of reaction from the party disagreed with. This study adopts this CA approach in looking at the structures and patterns of radio talk in which participants (callers to the radio programme) interact with the hosts who represent the institution (the talk programme) in their display of presentation of opinions in the turn by turn sequence.

Most of the studies which have adopted CA as a basis of analysis have focussed on the sequential considerations in radio talks (Hutchby, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001, 2006; Liddicoat et. al 1992; Thornborrow 2001a; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley 2002; Bell and Garrett 1998; Ferenčik

2007; Dori-Hacohen 2011). For instance, Thornborrow's (2001a: 119-143) study which took on a CA perspective examined how the mediated interactional structure of calls to a radio phone-in limit the range of possible actions that were available to callers in their institutional position as questioners. Thus, this produced constraints on what callers could actually achieve in the particular context for institutional talk. She examined the management of participation of calls to radio phone-in programmes, in which callers were invited to put questions to leading politicians of the day about their election policies. In many institutional contexts of talk (e.g. courtrooms, classrooms, political interviews) the role of questioner has been found to be in a more powerful interactional position than the role of the answerer. Thornborrow argued that the potentially powerful discourse role of questioner was interactionally 'defused' through the participatory framework of the call. Another study which has taken a CA perspective in investigating radio talk, and which is particularly relevant to the current research is Fitzgerald's (1999) PhD thesis, in which he examined the lived work of a radio broadcast by combining an appreciation of various participant methods in an initial examination of a radio phone-in. His study examined calls in more detail while documenting a variety of categorical and sequential resources, both routine and specialized, that were used and relied upon by participants when offering their opinions and debating their topic.

Some of the notable works in radio phone-ins include Hutchby's extensive research on radio phone-ins in England (Hutchby, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001, 2006). In an article on 'The pursuit of controversy: routine scepticism in talk on talk radio' (Hutchby, 1992), Hutchby examined resources for arguing in talk on talk radio, a cultural setting for which disputation is a routine activity. He found that a contrastive device built to the format *'you say X, but what*

*about Y'* was shown to be an important, recursively deployed linguistic resource for the accomplishment of such routine disputation. He discussed aspects of the interactional work achieved with this device in relation to the setting-specific activity of 'arguing for arguing's sake', which was referred to as the 'pursuit of controversy'. The device facilitated the construction by a contentious party of an argument out of the minor details of an opponent's account. It was observed that both hosts and callers in this setting orient to the effectiveness of the format as a resource for doing argument. He also examined episodes in which callers try to restrict the damage which hosts routinely seek to inflict on their claims through the use of the device. In another study, Hutchby (1995) explored aspects of recipient design in expert advice in calls to a radio advice line. It was found that instead of being a two-way dialogue between advice-seeker and advice-giver, advice talk on call-in radio had a more complex communicative framework in which four parties were involved: the caller (advice-seeker), the expert (advice-giver), the studio host (professional broadcaster), and the overhearing audience. His study examined the ways in which the expert's talk handled the tension between the personal and the public dimensions of advice-giving in this type of communicative event. By looking at systematic features of the recipient design of responses to advice-seeking questions, Hutchby described how advice talk on call-in radio dealt with this private-public tension by being constructed to be simultaneously relevant to a specific (private) recipient, that is, the caller; and to a nonspecific (public) recipient, the various potential constituencies of the overhearing audience. In another study, Hutchby (1996) investigated power in the case of arguments on a case study of a British talk radio show. Using calls to a British talk radio show as a case study, he illustrated how these resources were linked to the interactional and technological organization of participation in the setting. He



presented an approach to exploring the ways in which power functioned in institutional discourse. His study illustrated how the play of power in discourse could be analysed from the fundamentally local, sequential perspective of conversation analysis. He also argued that power was best seen as a shifting distribution of resources which enabled some participants locally to achieve interactional effects that were not available to others.

Conversation analysts have argued that institutions do not define the kind of talk produced within them; rather participants' ways of designing their talk actually constructs the 'institutionality' of such settings. Hutchby (1999) extended his research on CA by drawing on Goffman's (1987) ideas of frame attunement and footing in the organisation of openings in talk radio. Focusing on opening sequences on a talk radio show and tracing the accumulative process by which mutually ratified participation in an institutional encounter was accomplished as a temporally unfolding, conjoint activity, he found that the first three seconds of each call see the participants embodying a series of footings as they come to establish their relevant institutional identities. In his 2001 study on 'The use of first-hand knowledge in legitimating lay opinions on talk radio', Hutchby explored some discursive devices used in authenticating lay speakers' opinions about news in the context of talk radio. He provided a number of examples of calls to a talk radio show in order to show the oriented-to importance of 'witnessing' (claims to first-hand knowledge) in establishing the legitimacy of an opinion. His study included a discussion of a range of factors which include, the variety of types of first-hand knowledge that may be invoked; the sequential and interactional contexts in which first-hand knowledge is

invoked; and the way in which first-hand knowledge itself may be used not just to legitimate, but to undermine, the status of a caller's contribution to the show's debate.

Other studies which have taken CA as the methodological approach look at the structural organization of radio talks, which include the opening and closing sequences. For instance, Liddicoat et al (1992) explored the effect of the institution on the opening routines in talkback radio. The opening strategies in talkback radio were analysed according to Schegloff's (1968, 1986) description of telephone opening sequences. They investigated the similarities and variations in terms of the necessities of establishing on-air interaction.

In a study of Hebrew radio phone-ins, Nir, Dori-Hacohen and Maschler (2014) explored the properties of formulations by combining two theoretical frameworks: conversation analysis (CA) and dialogic syntax. This combination of frameworks was applied towards explaining an anomalous interaction in the collection of a caller's marked, unexpected rejection of a formulation of gist produced by the radio phone-in's host. Their study showed that whereas previous CA studies of formulations account for many instances throughout the corpus, understanding this particular formulation in CA terms did not explain its drastic rejection by the caller. They conducted an in-depth examination of strategies for lexical and syntactic resonance as a stance-taking device throughout the interaction. They argued that the study not only shed light on the anomalous interaction, but also offered an answer to a provocative question that was previously put forward by Haddington (2004) concerning which of the two - stances or actions - have more meaningful consequences for the description of the organization of interaction. In the particular interaction analyzed, stances play

the more significant role. They proposed that the intersubjective stance-taking of participants might be viewed as a meta-action employed among participants as they moved across actions, sequences, and activities in talk.

Analysis on political radio phone-ins has also been a popular area of investigation using CA as a methodological approach. For instance, Thornborrow and Fitzgerald (2013) analyzed the discursive frameworks for interaction in a UK political radio phone-in between 2001 and 2010, and the implications of those frameworks for public engagement with politicians. In its attempt to provide listeners with the opportunity to engage with politicians and political parties live on air, the BBC Radio 4 phone-in program Election Call, broadcast in the run-up to a general election, experimented with ‘new’ interactive technology (TV simulcast, web broadcasting and e-mail). However, by 2010 the program had returned to the original ‘old’ media format of telephone interaction only. Building on previous research in the discourse of radio phone-in broadcasts (Hutchby 1996; Thornborrow 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Hester & Fitzgerald 1999; Fitzgerald & Housley 2002; Thornborrow & Fitzgerald 2002), the study focused on the empirical implementation of the 2010 shift in editorial policy which explicitly invited callers to engage with issues rather than just giving opinions. They argued that while interactivity might broaden access to democratic debate, it was through live interaction that callers were best able to challenge politicians and hold them to account. Political radio phone-in programmes are also taken as research data by Dori-Hacohen (2011), who discussed utterances such as “*lemme ask you a question*” in political radio phone-in programs in Israel. Taking Schegloff’s (1980) descriptions of the utterances such as “*lemme ask you a question*” as pre-questions, pre-pre’s or pre-delicates, he found that the way these utterances were used by the

participants in the Israel data to be quite similar to Schegloff's description. Yet, the pre-construction had additional institutional functions for the differing roles of the host and the caller.

Therefore, it can be seen that much of the established studies which have adopted CA as a basis of analysis have focussed on sequential considerations in radio talks. Thus, the present study seeks to further extend the research by adopting the CA approach in looking at the structural organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes and explore the management of participation of host-host and host-caller in their display of presentation of opinions in the turn by turn sequences.

### **2.7.2 The methodological approach of Membership Categorization Analysis**

Membership categorization analysis (MCA) was first developed by Sacks (1972, 1995) and further developed by subsequent authors (Watson, 1978; Watson, 1997; Eglin and Hester, 1999; Hester and Eglin, 1997; Housley and Fitzgerald, 2002). MCA examines the ways in which members organise their interactions by using categories, devices and predicates, which are mapped onto a category or collection of categories. The focus is on the display of categories and the orderly process of categorization. Based on Sacks' (1995) famous example, "*The baby cried. The mommy picked it up*", there is an analytical consideration of how to make sense of the story. The categories of 'baby' and 'mommy' can be associated with the membership categorization device 'the family'. Two rules of application were offered by Sacks: the 'economy rule' and 'consistency' rule. The 'economy rule' refers to the conversational process by which a member can use a single category from any device that he/she can be recognized to be doing adequate reference to a person; while the 'consistency rule' states that if a member of a given population has been categorized

within a particular device, then other members of that population can be categorized in terms of the same collection (Sacks 1995).

Sacks (1995) generated a further a set of analytical concepts called membership categorization devices, membership categories and category-bound activities. For instance, personal categories such as ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘son’ or ‘daughter’ are described by Sacks as membership categories (MCs). These are viewed as membership categories of the membership categorization device (MCD) ‘family’. In addition, this category apparatus was complemented by the notion of category-bound activities (CBAs) which attempted to describe how certain activities were common-sensically tied to specific categories and devices (e.g. the tying of the activity of crying to the category ‘baby’) (Sacks, 1995). Sacks’ initial ideas of categories or descriptions involved a conceptualization of an array of ‘collections’ or a shared ‘stock of common sense knowledge’ which membership categorization devices (MCDs) were seen to encase. Therefore, for Sacks, such categorization and their devices formed part of the commonsensical framework of members’ methods and recognisable capacities of practical sense making (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). This common-sense reasoning displayed by members when describing the world can also be extended to include the sequential aspects of conversation. For instance, in conversations, it is possible to conceive of references to such sequential actions as questions and answers or adjacency pairs (AP), by utilising categorial aspects within a sequential structure. Even though questions and answers are sequential actions, they can also be described as ‘categories-in-action’. For instance, in producing an utterance in the form of a question in radio talks, the speaker (the host) not only occupies the sequential slot of questioner but also produces the question for a particular audience (radio listeners). Therefore, the person who produces such an utterance does not only

occupy a sequential position, but also an interactional environment, which are filled with associated predicates and potentially reliable forms of predication (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002). The 'predicates' do not only involve knowing how to form a question, but also how to produce what is a recognizably relevant question for the person being addressed. Fitzgerald and Housely (2002) considers the construction of the question as 'recipient designed', in that the speaker is forming just this question for just this particular type of audience (i.e. radio listeners). Therefore, in producing a question the member is oriented to not only the sequence of conversation but also to the membership identities present. Subsequently, the production of an 'answer' carries with it certain obligations when occupying the category 'answerer', for it to be heard as an answer to the question. Thus, the sequence of question-answer then, has a categorial and sequential direction, with the two sequential categories 'questioner' and 'answerer', with each having categorial obligations of sequence and task. The sequential actions, if successfully completed, can change over the course of the conversation on a turn by turn basis (Sacks et al. 1974). Watson (1997) describes this as a sense of 'category flow' which are built into and inherent within all on-going interactions.

In considering the examination of sequential methods as valuable, there are also other factors involved in establishing the serial nature of interaction (Sacks, 1995). Sacks further argues that there is the layered texture of interaction, in which the surface of interaction is not a flat surface in which the sequential structures of interaction proceed according to the various turn-generated categories. Rather, these turn-generated categories may be embedded in social or topical organization which produces a layered texture of relevance. Therefore, this layered texture of interaction

can combine both the sequential actions and the membership category work carried out by participants (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002).

For CA experts, talk is seen to play a crucial role in the process of identity negotiation, that is, through talk, participants construct their personalities by their presentation of selves to others and explication of their actions (Ferenčík, 2007). However, MCA offers a methodological tool, which is designed to approach participants' moment-by-moment identity negotiation from their own perspective, i.e. from the angle of their own management in the interaction (Francis and Hester 2004). By revealing their orientation to various aspects of the surrounding reality (including others' identities) participants attempt to arrive not at an understanding which is totally subjective or objective, but one which is 'intersubjective', i.e. dialogically based, shared, constantly negotiated and renegotiated (Francis and Hester, 2004). According to Nekvapil, (2000), speakers' category work is a kind of 'on-line practical sociology' which enable them to make sense of each others' activities through the recognition of existing ties between categories (category devices) and specific predicates and activities which are mapped onto them. In other words, categorization is connected to the sequential organization of talk as categories are invoked, developed and negotiated over the course of interaction.

Membership categorization analysis (MCA), seeks to uncover the "methodical practices" that members use "in describing the world, and displaying their understanding of the world and of the commonsense routine workings of society" (Fitzgerald, Housley, & Butler, 2009: 47). Like CA, MCA also originates from Harvey Sacks' work on social interaction, who proposed that the operation of membership categorization devices, which consist of collections (for example, gender) of related categories (e.g., male/female) can be understood as belonging

together in talk-in-interaction. Hester and Eglin (1997) also argue that categories themselves are associated with certain predicates, the prototypical actions and attributes that members can be expected to perform or possess, as well as attendant rights and obligations. Schegloff (2007a) considers them as inherently ‘inference-rich’ because these categories serve as vital sources of information about their members. Schegloff also describes such categories as the “the store house and the filing system” for our “common-sense knowledge” about “what people are like [and] how they behave” (2007a: 469). Despite their common origins, Stokoe (2012) observes that CA and MCA experts have typically engaged in distinct inquiries. CA’s interest has traditionally been in revealing patterns in turn-taking, sequence organization, and action formation, while MCA has been more concerned with the construction of identity and culture in particular contexts (Stokoe, 2012: 278). The attempts at a closer integration of both ‘sequential’ and ‘categorical’ concerns can be found in Schegloff’s (2007) article on ‘A tutorial on membership categorization’, which is, a reintroduction of Sacks’ work. Another recent attempt is Stokoe’s (2012) work on the analysis of the role of membership categorization in account-giving, advice-giving, and question and answer sequences. As both Schegloff (2007) and Stokoe (2012) have noted, one of the challenges and potential drawbacks of MCA lies in demonstrating that it is the participants themselves, and not merely the analysts, who are invoking and orienting to categories.

Much research in radio phone-ins has adopted MCA as a methodological approach in investigating categorical sequences and actions in the development of talk. One of the most cited sources of reference for research on radio phone-ins is Fitzgerald and Housley’s (2002) study on identity, categorization and organization in a radio phone-in in UK. They demonstrated that interactions in the radio phone-in



seem to rely upon categorical and sequential identities which are built up and developed upon over the course of the interaction. They suggested that not only was there a sequential flow of interaction but also a category flow, where various, but related, membership categories were used in order to develop the on-going call. The callers' identity, when transformed from one who was not known into one who was known, was overwhelmingly a matter of the interplay between the development of sequential and the membership category organization. They further added that the succession of sequential turn-generated categories, oriented to getting the caller into a position from which to do topic talk, demonstrated a complex relationship of category flow and layering. A similar organization was also evident when discussing the use of topic-opinion categories in which the host orientated to a category relational pairing for the development of the call. In instances where that topic-opinion category was not apparent, or was negated in some way, the sequential organization of the talk could be oriented to establishing that membership category, in the sense that the category informed the sequential organization. Therefore, it was found that what was apparent was the development of multilayers of sequential and category relevance over the course of a call. Their study also illustrated the focus on categories, in addition to sequential organization, which drew their attention to how participant's senses of culture, society, behaviour, political perspective and so forth informed the discourse of radio phone-in talk and interaction. These were regarded as 'locally occasioned' matters and were generated from and within the social and sequential organization of the programme. They also demonstrated that through this form of analysis, the resource of identity and associated modes of predication were used both as a source of legitimating opinion and regulating the features of debate in a locally accountable manner. As stated in previous work (Housley, 2002; Housley and

Fitzgerald, 2001), the public sphere and media institutions are often viewed as important domains of democratic activity although the basic and micro-characteristics of such activity is often taken for granted. Their study located such activity in concrete examples that illustrated the manner through which such domains were suffused with ordinary forms of action and locally produced senses of social structure, culture, norms and world views. Furthermore, the accomplishment, display and mediation of such activity were seen to be tied to conversational particulars, procedures and practical methods of members reasoning and sense making. Much of the basis of analysis of the current study follows the analytical framework of Fitzgerald and Housley's (2002) work on associated membership categories that emerge in the development of radio phone-in talk.

Another study by Housley and Fitzgerald (2007) examined the themes of public accountability, government policy, and interaction in media settings. They explored empirical instances of media discourse as a means of exploring the use of identity categories, predicates, and configurations as a means of accomplishing policy debate in participatory frameworks such as radio phone-ins and the accountable frames of political interviews. They respecified and explored the situated character of media settings as a means of documenting, describing, and illustrating the interactional methods which were associated with policy debate, public participation/representation, and democracy-in-action. Another study by Housley and Fitzgerald (2009), examined the extent to which MCA can inform an understanding of reasoning within the public domain where morality, policy and cultural politics are visible. Through their examination of three examples: a letter-to-the-editor of a national newspaper, a public access phone-in and a broadcast political interview; they demonstrated how specific types of category device(s) were a ubiquitous feature of

accountable practice in the public domain where morality matters and public policy intersect. MCA provided a method for analysing the mundane mechanics which were associated with everyday cultural politics and democratic accountability assembled and presented within news media and broadcast settings. Their study supported that MCA served to reveal the ways in which populations and constituent identity groups were categorized, morally constituted and accounted for in practice which in turn could inform questions about the sociological understanding of normative regulation and norms-in-action in relation to the current state of cultural and morality politics where questions of 'recognition' have become paramount. These were explicated in terms of practical moral reasoning and categorical regulation of membership, i.e. who belongs where, and when and how they should or should not act. According to them, it was these practices that constituted norms-in-action.

In the investigation of Slovakian radio phone-ins over the period of 1995-2004, Ferenčík (2007) adopted MCA and the model of politeness based on the conceptualisation of face as the basis of analysis of his study (see section 3.2.3.1). He demonstrated that over the course of interaction, participants displayed orientation to various aspects of their co-participants' identities. It was found that membership categories emerged and were developed at various sequentially relevant times, and these membership categorisation processes were closely tied with the event's sequential organisation. He further added that categorisation bore on politeness aspects of interaction as the participation in the public arena caused participants' faces to be constantly at stake. Using data from chat-based programmes in Australia, Ames (2012) investigated the features of host-host conversations by adopting both CA and MCA as ethnomethodological approaches as the basis for analysis. In addition to the influence of the radio programme, she demonstrated that there were three membership

category devices that influenced host-host talk, that is, 'telling stories', 'members of a team' and 'members of a community' (see section 2.4). In another related study, Ames (2013) investigated call sequences in a dual-host radio talkback setting in Australia, also using CA and MCA as the basis of analysis. Her study considered a talkback segment within a chat-based program in which two studio-based hosts were involved in conversation with callers. Her study considered previous research into call sequences as applied to this scenario and revealed that rather than working to challenge the caller, the hosts worked together to enable the callers to challenge the hosts but in a way that oriented to sociability rather than conflict.

In the Asian context of radio phone-ins in which both CA and MCA have been adopted as methodological approaches, Ohara and Saft (2003) conducted a feminist analysis of gender ideologies in social interaction in a Japanese phone-in consultation TV programme. They argued that the position that CA had taken had much to contribute to the feminist critique of Japanese society. Combining two strands of CA research, that is, Hutchby's (1996) reconsideration of power as an interactional achievement and MCA, they illustrated that CA made it possible not only to point out places in the interaction where participants oriented to gender, but also to track how the sequential structure of the interaction was used to invoke and reinforce ideological beliefs about women. Following the analysis, they discussed ways on how their analysis may be used to further discussion on feminism in Japan.

In summary, much research on radio phone-in interactions have adopted both CA and MCA as methodological approaches in analyzing the sequential organization of radio phone-in programmes and how members in the speech event do category work in the development of talk. Research on media discourse is rather limited in Asia and most studies that have been conducted reflect the respective first languages

of the specific communities. Yet what is lacking is research on phone-in interactions which concern callers from diverse cultural backgrounds interacting in English. Therefore, this study is an extension of earlier works on the sequential and categorical organization of radio phone-in programmes conducted in the literature. The study also hopes to seek whether it is a universal phenomenon in radio phone-in contexts that is achievable among speakers from diverse cultural backgrounds in English as a contact language. Further, this study hopes to examine how a great deal of knowledge that members have about the Malaysian society is revealed in talk that is related to issues that concern the society.

### **2.7.3 CA and MCA: Issues and developments**

There have been a set of concerns in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis that includes the question of how conversation analysis (CA) can deal with studies of social structure or studies of talk in institutional settings. According to Schegloff (1991:47-48) this can be stated as:

“..how to show from the details of the talk....that we are analyzing that those aspects of the scene are what the parties are oriented to....to show how the parties are employing for one another the relevances of the interaction and are thereby producing the social structure”.

This would include their work-specific categorizations and orientations. He further adds that the issue is to show how the parties, in their interaction, do, in fact, adapt to each other in terms of institutional or work-specific categorizations. Schegloff further questions:

‘What is “..the relevance of the ‘context’ in which talk-in interaction occurs, e.g. the context of the ‘courtroom’ or ‘the classroom.....How does the fact that talk is being conducted in some setting (e.g. the courtroom, the hospital) ..issue in any consequence for the shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction that the parties conduct?....”

(Schegloff, 1991:47-48).

This concerns the issue of how to maintain a “...balance between the focus on social structure and the focus on conversational structure in studying talk-in interaction (and not to use social structural formulations of context to pre-empt analyses of the structural features of the talk.)”. Thus, Schegloff (1991:47-48) argues that if ‘institutional’ or ‘organizational’ or ‘work’ contexts are to be referenced or incorporated in one’s analysis, it must be shown in the following ways: (1) how such structures are made relevant by the parties; (2) are relevant for the ways in which the parties interact; and (3) that such a focus does not preclude or pre-empt the study of conversational-interactional structures themselves.

As the direction of research in the Schegloff/Jefferson tradition in CA has proceeded, it is shown that CA’s attention is primarily, to the structures of interaction sequences, to naturally occurring conversation, studies without regard to who the parties are, when the talk occurs or what topics the talk is concerned with. Primary attention is given to such structures as adjacency pairs, pre-sequences, repair, the organization of turn-taking, and other sequential phenomena, and the key word in characterizing these studies is *sequential analysis*. This work continues and remains focused on the study or talk as it is remotely produced, as the participants on-goingly produce the very structures which organize their talk-in interaction. In contrast, the study of talk-in interaction within various “institutional” or “organizational” settings that have focused on how the talk is “modified, shaped, influenced, or constrained” by contextual factors, how talk is differentially organised from the “base environment” of ordinary conversation, and how such matters are visible or demonstrable in the talk are characterized as “*talk in institutional setting*” (Schegloff, 1991). Researches have also focused on how the work of the organization is carried out in and through the talk-in-interaction. This include matters of identifying what the ”organisable

features” are, what “organizational context” is, and what is meant by “the organizational setting” in the first place (Watson, 1997). Watson (1997) proposes that CA should examine the relation of setting to talk, which is, *membership categorization practices*, bringing back an earlier concern of Sacks and others in CA. The notion here is that, if the identities of the parties, their socially situated, conventionally identifiable identities, are relevant for the parties in interaction, then this will be manifested in the various ways that the parties invoke, formulate, and orient to contingently relevant membership categories (Watson, 1997). Further, he adds that by understanding how “categorization work” is on-going, it is also possible to understand how organizational context is invoked and made relevant by the parties since organizational identities are involved. And, since, in their talk-in-interaction they are engaged in “work”, such studies may reveal how the work of the organization is on-going produced in and through the interaction.

Another issue that concerns categorization work is the link to moral order because they refer to common-sense understandings of the world within a particular group of participants in interaction. The most influential work is Jayussi’s (1984) ‘Categorization and the moral order’ on the analysis of moral order in conversation. Jayussi demonstrates that displays of moral stance could be intimately tied to questions of ‘membership’, and that agreements and disagreements that orient for and against any display of moral stance are ‘produced, displayed or pointed to in occasioned ways’ (p. 74). Jayussi offers a distinction between the use of membership ‘categories’ and ‘categorization’:

‘...the latter term refers to the work of members in categorizing other members or using ‘characterizations’ of them, whereas the former refers to the already culturally available category-concepts that members may, and routinely do, use in categorisational work and the accomplishment of various tasks’.

(Jayussi, 1984: 18)

Drawing on Sacks' (1984) rules of consistency and economy and categorization devices, she highlights the link between 'norms' and moral order, to illustrate ways in which participants in conversations are able to attribute practical reasoning as being morally organised:

'What is observed in the everyday world is a variety of judgments, verdicts, notions, inferences, pre-suppositions, descriptions and actions, etc. that have a moral character. Moreover, that moral character is itself displayed, detected, made sense of, relied on, pointed to, evaluated and defeated in orderly methodic (conventional) ways'.

(Jayussi, 1984: 199)

Jayussi argues that moral talk is not just talk about morals, but is evident in a range of practical activities that occur in talk, such as asking questions, and providing descriptions that demonstrate orientation to a norm.

Therefore, with these concerns, studies on social structure or studies of talk in institutional settings have also been included among studies on CA and MCA. Psathas (1999) focused on how the accomplishment of "work", as in the sequential organization and "categorization" were interrelated. He argued that membership categorization was shown to be a complex, on-going interactive accomplishment. Using two sets of data from a Ski-School and Choice (a package delivery service), he demonstrated how membership categorization work was accomplished as the parties interacted and how membership categorization could be analyzed in interaction. His study showed that the parties acted in ways that were "predicatively-bound" (i.e. predicates of action, rights, obligations, etc.) which allowed inferences to be made by each of the parties about the other based on these actions. Thus, these enabled each to accept/confirm/validate the other's self-categorization and to produce, via their own actions, activities that were congruent with the other's self-categorization. Activities



of the parties were considered as category-relevant and category-generative. For instance, a standard relational pair of category memberships may be co-produced, such as, customer-service provider: inquirer-responder; service requester-service provider. Therefore, “work” or “the work of the organization”, (e.g. a package delivery service), was being accomplished in and through the talk and interaction of the parties. In other words, Psathas’ (1999) analysis showed that it was possible to discover, describe and analyze the “organization” in and through the actions or interactions of the parties at work.

A more current concern of debates about CA and MCA is found in Stokoe’s (2012) claims that there have been debates related to conversation analysts and other (mainly critical) discourse analysts who purportedly make assertions about their data without ‘warrant’ (2012:282). A persistent issue for MCA is how far it is possible, for analysts to claim what the relevant activities, predicates and so on are, such that the analysis does not become ‘wild and promiscuous’ (Schegloff, 1992, 2007a). She further questions how far one can claim the relevance of categorical phenomena that are not formulated explicitly and unambiguously by speakers, and what is there left to analyse if everything is made explicit. Stokoe further argues that the issue remains further fuzzy, because according to Sacks, categories are ‘*inference-rich*’. This means that categories store ‘a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society’ (Sacks, 1992: 40-41). She goes on to illustrate an example of how a particular ‘woman’ may also be correctly categorized as a ‘mother’, ‘lady’, ‘wife’ or ‘daughter’, but each category carries a different set of category-bound activities, predicates, or rights or obligations that are expectable for an incumbent of that category to perform or possess. She further argues that categories and their *inferential* upshots can be implied, but not overtly stated, by mentioning some category-

incumbent features. Sacks (1992: 47) claims that ‘there are ways of introducing a piece of information and testing out whether it will be acceptable, which don’t involve saying it’. According to Benwell and Stokoe (2006), the fact that we cannot be definitive about relevant categories and inferences is what gives language practices their *defeasibility*: that Sacks suicidal man was ‘homo-sexual’ remains *provisional*, and crucially, *deniable*. Thus, Stokoe (2012) argues that debates about analytic principles on MCA will unavoidably continue. She goes on to demonstrate in her study, a usable method for MCA, rather than committing to a particular ‘side’ in such debates. She focuses on speakers’ explicit and largely unambiguous uses of categories, across numerous databases, such as advice-giving, account-giving, or question-answer. She identifies and unpacks the ‘category-generated features’ (Jayyusi, 1984) that get tied to them; the actions they accomplish, the local and cultural meanings they acquire, maintain or transform; and the overarching patterns in their use. According to Hester and Eglin (1997), MCA unpacks people’s ‘reality-analysis’, that is, how categories are specified, how membership in a category is accountable, and particularly how speakers proffer their category work as common, cultural knowledge. As Clifton (2009:3) points out:

“....categories do not reflect pre-discursive entities that are ‘out there somewhere’ and which members use to make sense of what is happening. Rather, what constitutes a category, and the predicates (i.e. expectable features, characteristics, behaviours, states of mind etc.) that accompany categories, are locally produced and are designed to ‘do’ social actions....there is nothing a priori about the association of certain predicates with certain categories”.

Stokoe’s (2012) study involved numerous databases, in which the hierarchical relationship between CA and MCA was considered. She proposed that in so doing it would prompt fresh debates about the relationship between these two lines of

ethnomethodological inquiries, that would be productive for both. In her article on 'Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis', she proposed CA as the 'juggernaut' to MCA's 'milk float' and that for MCA to survive either as a separate discipline or as an equivalent focus within CA, it must generate new types of systematic studies that revealed fundamental discourse practices. Stokoe provided a set of clear analytic principles, 'keys' and procedures for conducting MCA, which were grounded in basic categorial and sequential concerns. She demonstrated how order could be found in the intuitively 'messy' discourse phenomenon of membership categories, and how to approach their analysis systematically such that they might be studied as a robust feature of particular action-oriented environments. She further showed that MCA could tell us something about 'the commonsense routine workings of society' (Fitzgerald et al., 2009) without adopting 'wild and promiscuous' analytic approach. Based on her analysis of the different databases, she demonstrated how speakers invoked, produced, sustained and resisted a category's situated meanings. For example, she showed 'what counts' in gendered attributes and actions (e.g. making the first move on a date, being casual in relationships, being reluctant to go to the doctors, letting women dangle, not hitting women and so on). Stokoe further added that as categories come interactionally and textually into view, they were given a taken for granted and enduring accuracy. It was through these categorization practices that 'the world is rendered objectively available and is maintained as such' (Heritage, 1984:220; Lynch, 1993).

In response to Stokoe's arguments on MCA, Fitzgerald (2012) considered the emergence of 'MCA' as an approach to the study of social-knowledge-in-action, the relationship between MCA and contemporary directions in conversation analysis (CA), and the future of MCA as it continues to develop. He argued that 'MCA is not

only a viable and lively area of analytic interest, which is growing in interdisciplinary awareness, but also that it frames an approach that continually explores and builds upon our understanding of members' lived messy work through experimentation with the tools and analytic attitude gifted by Sacks' (Fitzgerald, 2012: 310). By mixing metaphors between the characterization of MCA as 'wild and promiscuous' as compared to a 'tame and chaste' of CA, he considered that 'CA might well lead one to conclude that experimenting on the back of the milk float is more exciting than the temperate responsibility of steering the juggernaut' (Fitzgerald, 2012: 310).

Fitzgerald et. al. (2009), Wooffitt (2005) and Stokoe (2010) concurred that MCA could give us what a macro-level analysis of discourses did not; a warrantable method for making claims about 'the world' and its categorical arrangements. Baker (2000:112) argued that the analysis of categories showed how 'discourses', if one found the concept appealing, were 'locked into place'. "When speakers "do describing", they assemble a social world in which their categories have a central place...these are powerful statements about what could be the case, how the social order might be arranged, whether or not it really is" (Baker, 2004:175). Stokoe went on to suggest that, not 'by their nature' but in their empirical use, categories short-cut and package common-sense knowledge about category members and their actions. That is, by building into categorial formulations devices for saying 'there-is-more-to-this-category-than-I-need-describe-here' (a 'common knowledge component'; an idiomatic quality), and by observing that such formulations were often collaboratively built between parties, the 'inference-rich nature of categories' is in fact, an endogenous (having an internal course and origin) orientation of those parties. She further argued that building large, multi-modal and multi-setting datasets enabled this type of corpus-based MCA. Connecting data extracts from different settings that

nevertheless contain the same description-category-predicate-action combinations (e.g. gendered actions in early dating advice, gendered orientations in questions about violence) built our understanding of the world, society and its categories. Furthermore, in her study, Stokoe provided a framework of procedures for and examples of MCA for debate and a new generation of studies of the categories of our everyday domestic, institutional and virtual lives. This study will make reference to Stokoe's (2012) framework of procedures in carrying out an MCA analysis on Malaysian radio phone-in interactions.

## **2.8 Summary**

This chapter provides an overview of studies on radio phone-ins which have been widely researched internationally. It has also introduced the methodological approaches of Conversation Analysis and Membership Categorization Analysis, that will be adopted for the study to analyse sequences of talk and category work in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. This chapter has also discussed the methodological issues that have arisen from the approaches, which then justify their application in this study, in relation to the interactional resources employed by participants in radio phone-ins in the sequential and categorical organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology in data collection, description of the data, the transcription conventions of the recorded data, the methodological approaches and analytical frameworks adopted for the study, and stages of data analysis.

#### 3.1 The Research design

The study adopts a qualitative methodology which not only focuses primarily upon the identification and explanation of information and facts, but also upon people's interpretations of these facts, and how they help to illuminate and make sense of them. A simple quantitative analysis is also carried out to identify occurrences of certain features and tendencies related to the turn design patterns and types of interactions in the radio phone-in programmes to substantiate the qualitative findings.

#### 3.2 The Data

The data are drawn from a corpus of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes which were broadcast on LiteFM (LFM) and Business FM (BFM), two very popular radio stations which are fully broadcast in the English language. These programmes are issue-based programmes from *Talk Tuesday* (broadcast on Tuesdays from 6-8 am on LFM), *Funky Friday* (broadcast on Fridays from 6-8 am on LFM) and *Talkback Tuesday* and *Talkback Thursday* in the Evening Edition (broadcast on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 6-8 pm on BFM) and they offer light entertainment to radio audiences. These four programmes are selected because they represent public participation from radio listeners. The standard format of the radio phone-in

programmes are similar in which the host of the programmes would invite callers (members of the public) to become involved in discussions concerning current affairs, social, education, work and relationship issues which feed the public discourse in the Malaysian society. Therefore, these programmes consist of callers phoning the programme to air their views on a pre-selected topic and discuss their viewpoints with the hosts. The structure of the phone-in programme is composed of an introduction to the topic of the day which then sets the range for callers' input in the form of a remark or a comment. The callers' contributions formed the main part of the programme and the object of the research study. The production team of each radio programme decides on the daily topics to be aired for the show. The selection of topics is based on newspaper articles or news that is trending or anything that would be of interest to their specific listeners (Steve D'Angelo, 2013; Yee Wei Keat, 2015, Mohd Ezra Mohd Zaid, 2016).

For each programme, two radio hosts are present in the studio. There is no studio audience present and callers do not speak to each other. Therefore, all forms of interactions are between the callers and the hosts. The following table shows the description of the sources of data:

Table 3.1: The description of the radio phone-in programmes

Description of sources of data				
Radio station	Year launched	Target audience	Content: music/ topics/themes	Examples of topics
LiteFM (LFM) (92.2MHz) <i>Talk Tuesday</i> <i>Funky Friday</i>	January 1997	Adults over the age of 35	English classics and sentimental songs from the 1960s – 90s, 2000's and present Light-hearted issues on current affairs, relationship, moral and ethical issues	Age difference in a relationship Children working during school holidays Financial assistance to adult children Keeping up with technology Marriage complements or hinders a career
Business FM	September 2008	Adults over the	Rock genre music Light-hearted issues on	Veteran politicians Transportation hike

(BFM) (89.9MHz) <i>Talkback Tuesday Talkback Thursday</i>		age of 30	current affairs and serious local issues on education/the economy/government policies etc.	Migration National unity Fuel hike The Malaysian race ( <i>Bangsa Malaysia</i> )
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The data consist of 25 hours of recorded data from a number of radio talk shows. The next stage involve a random selection of episodes of talk shows from ‘*Talk Tuesday*’, ‘*Funky Friday*’, ‘*Talkback Tuesday*’ and ‘*Talkback Thursday*’ that deal with opinion-giving, which were then selected for analysis. These selections of episodes of the talk shows were then fully transcribed, which consisted of 13 hours of data samples. Other examples of episodes of the same programme or the same hosts were used as supplementary sources. This was often necessary when attempting to draw general conclusions about individual shows or the genre in general. These additional shows were not transcribed, but only listened to for reference purposes. Even though the data collection may represent a very limited sample of radio talk show discourses, it may not be able to provide enough data for generalizations. However, after listening to recordings of quite a number of radio talk shows of the same programmes and radio hosts, it is found that the examples selected are fairly representative of the genre. The list of selected episodes from the radio programmes are represented in the following table:

Table 3.2: List of selected topics and episodes from LiteFM and BusinessFM

LiteFM				
No.	Topics	No. of callers	Gender of callers	
			Males	Females
1	Table manners	6	2	4
2	Keeping up with technology; a necessity or a fashion trend	6	6	0
3	What makes a relationship successful?	6	4	2
4	Bigger spenders: Men or women	6	5	1
5	Do some women cry to gain advantage?	6	4	2



6	Is it better to be a jack-of-all-trades or a master at one?	6	4	2
7	Do attractive people have bad attitudes?	6	6	0
8	Is it worth waiting for a perfect partner?	5	3	2
9	Are we materialistic with our gifts?	6	5	1
10	Could we go back to the days without the internet?	6	4	2
11	Is age difference in a relationship a factor?	6	3	3
12	Financial assistance to adult children; when do we stop	3	2	1
13	What do you think should make a comeback from the olden days?	5	4	1
14	Does it pay to be generous?	3	2	1
15	Is money the biggest motivator in your job?	4	4	0
16	Does marriage complement or hinder a career?	3	3	0
17	Should we dress our age as we get older?	4	3	1
18	Should parents encourage their children to work during school holidays?	3	3	0
19	Should we spoil our parents?	4	3	1
20	How far can we trust someone?	4	4	0
21	Are good looks an advantage at the office?	6	3	3
Total		104	77	27
<b>BFM</b>				
1	<i>Bangsa Malaysia</i> – removing the race box	22	20	2
2	Migration	24	17	7
3	Are English medium schools the answer to national unity?	27	21	6
4	Fuel hike	22	20	2
5	Women in decision making	8	5	3
6	Transportation hike	11	10	1
7	Banning mobile phones in schools	19	17	2
8	Should veteran politicians step down to make way for younger leaders?	10	9	1
Total		143	119	24
TOTAL		247	196	51

The full list of topics and duration of talk per episode is given in Appendix B. As can be seen in Table 3.2, there is a noticeable difference in gender orientation of callers to both programmes. Significantly, there were more male callers (196) than female callers (51) to both programmes. This does not seem to imply that there were necessarily more male listeners than female listeners in the LiteFM and BFM audience, but they were more publicly represented through talk-in interaction with hosts during the period of data collection. As shown in the table, the range of topics

covered in the two programmes was quite diverse, but they were dedicated to the discussion of an issue. While some of the topics were quite general, some were also locally oriented. These topics could be further categorized and two types of topics were evident: the light-hearted and serious topical issues. The first type which was considered as 'light-hearted' topics which revolved around ethical and moral issues, relationship and current trends were evident in LiteFM programmes; while topics which would be considered as 'serious' or which concerned national issues, such as education, transportation hike or migration were more evident in BusinessFM programmes. In LiteFM programmes, the hosts might invite the listening audience to call in to relate their own personal experiences on the issue in question or to present a general view of the topic. For instance, a topic on *"Does marriage complement or hinder a career"* or *"Is age difference in a relationship a factor"* might require the listeners to relate their personal experiences on the topics and voice their opinions; while topics such as *"Table manners"* or *"What makes a relationship successful"* might request for a more general opinion on the topic from the listeners. However, in BusinessFM programmes, the topics usually centred on an issue related to a particular event or news of the week or that which concerned national interests. For instance, the topic on *"Transportation hike"* arose because the government had recently increased the transportation fares or a proposal by a government Minister to remove the race box in all official forms had brought about the topic on *"Does bangsa Malaysia (Malaysian race) come at a cost of our individual cultural identities"*.

The examples used in the data are referred to by the name of the show i.e. LiteFM (LFM), Business FM (BFM) and are then numbered throughout. For instance, the 5<sup>th</sup> episode from LiteFM will be coded and numbered as LFM5, while the 5<sup>th</sup>

episode from BFM will be coded and numbered as BFM5. The various codes for hosts and callers are given as follows:

Table 3.3: The codings used for episodes and participants of the programmes

Name of programme and episode	Host	Caller
LFM1-20	H1	C1
	H2	C2
		C3
BFM1-10	H1	C1
	H2	C2
		C3

Legend:

H (Host) : H1 – the first host; H2 – the second host (as they appear in the particular order of interaction)

C (Caller): C1 – the first caller; C2 – the second caller; C3 – the third caller (according to the particular order when they call-in to the talk shows)

### 3.2.1 Background of the phone-in programmes

This section will discuss some background information of the radio phone-in programmes that have been taken as sources of data for the present study.

BusinessFM (89.9MHz) is Malaysia's first independent business and current affairs-oriented radio station. It first went on air on 4 September 2008, promoting itself as Malaysia's first business radio station with a goal "to build a better Malaysia by championing rational, evidence-based discourse as a key element of good policy decisions" ([www.bfm.my/](http://www.bfm.my/)). BFM is known as "The Business Station" because it provides its own dedicated business programmes which cover international and local business news headlines, stock market reports and interviews with corporate personalities and start-ups. Despite this, it also includes non-business programming into its programmes such as interviews with experts on personal and professional development, health, and the arts. The station also made inroads into sports programming by having live broadcasts of Premier League matches since August

2009. It also offers live talk programming between 6am and 9pm on weekdays, and during its live Premier League football games during weekends. BFM is also known for playing adult-oriented rock music during non talk-programming segments, which is considered a rarity in Malaysia where more mainstream radio stations prefer to play recent pop music. It also plays Malay songs during off-peak hours from 12am to 6am daily. The station also offers talk shows where well-known figures or personalities are invited and call-in programmes, where radio listeners are invited to call-in and present their opinions to current, topic-related issues in their *Talkback* segments. These talkback segments are only aired on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 6 pm to 8 pm, thus explain the name of the segments as '*Talkback Tuesday*' and '*Talkback Thursday*'. They have the same regular hosts for the programmes, however only two hosts will manage the segment per episode. Episodes of these selected *Talkback* segments from 2014 till 2015 are taken as the main source of data for the study. These *Talkback Tuesdays* and *Thursdays* segments are still being aired by BFM radio station.

LiteFM (105.7MHz) is one of Malaysia's popular English-language radio stations. It is managed by Astro Radio, a subsidiary of Astro Holdings Private Ltd. LiteFM was launched in January 1997 after being one of Astro's audio-only channels since the launch of the satellite network in October the year before. It was formerly known as 'Light and Easy' and was renamed "Lite FM" on 20 October 2006. The station began in 1997 as an oldies format focusing songs mainly from the 1960s to the 1980s targeting an older audience above 45 years old. However, since the change of the station's name and logo, Lite FM gradually changed into an easy listening adult contemporary music format. More current tracks from the 1990s till now have been added into Lite FM's playlist as the station wants to target a younger audience rather than the older ones. Starting from 2009, the station has focused on playing music

mainly from the 1980s, 1990s, and now with less frequency on playing 1970s music each hour. Starting from 2013, the station no longer plays 1960s music during the weekday, and 1960s music is only heard during the weekends. In fact, some of the 1960s and 1970s songs were dropped from its playlist as the station wants to concentrate on songs from the 1980s and beyond. Its music selections target anyone who prefer relaxing tunes even though the station's current slogan is "Classic Hits all Day". It also cultivates and encourages the love of classic hits among younger generations aged under 40. The station also has a segment for call-in sessions for radio listeners during its breakfast time slot between 6 am to 10 am on weekdays. These segments have pre-selected topics on current affairs and topics which deal with relationship, moral and ethical issues. The segments have regular hosts who would exchange views and experiences with radio callers on topic-related issues. Episodes of these selected breakfast call-ins are the sources of data for the study. However, these breakfast programmes are only aired on Tuesdays and Fridays, thus explain the names of the programmes, that is, '*Talk Tuesday*' and '*Funky Friday*'. The LiteFM episodes were selected from 2010-2012. After 2012, the programme underwent a change in the style of programming and different hosts manned the programmes. Therefore only selected episodes of the same regular hosts from 2010 – 2012 are taken as the source of data for analysis.

However, since radio talk shows constantly develop rapidly, the present study could be considered as representative of radio talk shows in Malaysia within that particular period (2010-2015). The table below shows the description of data.

Table 3.4: The descriptions of data

Radio Stations	Name of programmes	Radio hosts (H)	Radio callers (C)	Duration of episodes	No. of topics
LFM 105.7 MHz	<i>Talk Tuesday and Funky Friday</i>	CO, RH, RD	104	13 – 19 mins.	21
BFM 89.9 MHz	<i>Talkback Tuesday and Talkback Thursday</i>	EZ, CO, UP	143	35 – 60 mins.	8
Total		6	247	13 hours	29

The hosts of the programmes are only presented by the initials of their names.

The Host (H) represents the broadcasting institution and he/she is a known public person. The Callers (C) are generally Malaysians (Malays, Chinese or Indians etc.), with the exception of one Singaporean caller. The callers are also regarded as the overhearing audience. The corpus consists of a series of interactions from LiteFM and BFM radio programmes which focus on natural spontaneous speech produced by radio hosts and radio callers from a number of first language (L1) backgrounds.

In collecting the samples of radio interactions, it was important to ensure that the resulting data was natural. Therefore, the radio interactions (the raw data) between the radio hosts and radio callers were recorded while the talk was ongoing. No editing was done to the recordings. The topics involved pre-selected topics which encourage views or opinions from the radio audience. Therefore, this would involve mostly speech that is produced spontaneously in radio interactions between the radio hosts and radio callers. The episodes recorded were within the duration of 13-60 minutes. The duration of talk per episode depended on the topic, as well as the number of callers who called-in. The types of talk shows selected consist of information and opinion-giving activity on a pre-selected topic related to common issues which involve the Malaysian public at large. Although the age range of target radio listeners were those above the age of 30, there were also much-younger listeners, such as,

school children who would call-in when the topics were specifically related to these younger generation of callers.

Altogether there were 253 participants in the corpus, i.e. 6 radio hosts and 247 radio callers. The hosts and radio callers comprised different races. The different races of the participants are identifiable by the names of the hosts or when the hosts acknowledge the callers by their names. The backgrounds of the callers were not disclosed, however, sometimes these became evident when callers revealed their backgrounds in their talk. From the evidence of the interactions between the hosts and callers, it can be clearly established that the participants were regular users of English in the Malaysian context. Thus, they might be callers with English as their second language, or their third language, but this is not disclosed unless specified during the course of the interaction. It can be established that the hosts use English regularly in their personal, social or professional contexts. However, there are some instances, where they need to code-switch to Malay or *Bahasa Melayu* depending on their interlocutors' proficiency level of English. There was only one occurrence when a caller requested to speak in Malay. Therefore, the data at this stage may also confirm that in all but very few instances the participants were pragmatically successful users of English in the Malaysian context.

The episodes for the analysis of data were randomly selected as shown in Table 3.2 on the list of topics. Only episodes which deal with opinion-giving were selected for the study. Therefore, altogether 29 call-in episodes which represent different topics were selected for the study with a total duration of 13 hours of data. These episodes involved interactions between the radio hosts and radio callers. The

reason for the two different radio programmes selected for the study is to provide a larger sampling of radio interactions which involve radio callers' speech and to identify the communicative strategies used by the participants in radio interactions, and also to identify whether there are differences in the types of interactions in both programmes.

### **3.2.2 Transcription of data**

Since the transcripts of the data are considered as the main text for analysis and the main piece of information, proper transcription conventions need to be adhered to. For the present analysis, Hutchby and Wooffitt's (2002) and Sidnell's (2010) transcription conventions (see List of Notational Symbols, pp. xii) have been adopted. Ochs (1979) has pointed out that transcription is a selective process which always reflects theoretical goals and definitions. Therefore, it is encouraged that the researcher becomes selective and not to include too much information in the transcripts so that it is not too difficult to follow them. Ochs views that the transcription should reflect the particular interest of the researcher. Based on these considerations, the study has attempted to produce a transcript which is easy enough to follow but also includes some of the audio information which might be important for the research goals. Non-verbal aspects of communication such as, laughter, in-breaths and out-breaths etc. are also provided in the transcriptions. The methodological approaches of conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis have been adopted for the analysis of data. Therefore, the transcript will represent the data itself and serves as an analysis of the interaction being studied, with the different analytic aims.



### **3.3 The Research Framework**

The methodological approaches of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) have been adopted as the analytical frameworks for the analysis and interpretation of data. This section will include detailed descriptions of the two methodologies and discusses the appropriateness of using the two methodologies in analysing data from the radio phone-in programmes.

CA and MCA are two ethnomethodological methods for analyzing interactional and textual practices. While both are rooted in Sack's (1992) ground-breaking *Lectures on Conversation*, the two methods have had somewhat different directions (see section 2.7.1 and 2.7.2). CA indicates the normative structuring and logics of particular courses of social action and their organization into systems through which participants manage turn-taking, repair, and other systemic dimensions of interaction, while MCA focuses on members methodical practices in describing the world, and displaying their understanding of the world and of the commonsense routine workings of society' (Fitzgerald, et al. 2009:47). As discussed earlier, these analytic focus also have different sorts of empirical studies (Eglin and Hester, 1999; Housley and Fitzgerald, 2007; Plunkett, 2009; Summerfield and McHoul, 2005). In the following sections, the methodological approaches of CA and MCA will be discussed in detail and a glossary of the concepts that have been applied in the course of the analysis and interpretation of data will be provided.

#### **3.3.1 Conversation Analysis**

The norms of the turn-taking structure of casual conversation as outlined in the influential Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) study, formed the basis of much Conversation Analytic (CA) research. These norms are concerned with what is systematic about the way speakers decide when to speak during a conversation, how

speakers can be related to each other in sequence and may go together as adjacency pairs. The methodological principles of CA are described by Hutchby as follows:

1. Talk is a principal means for accomplishing social actions.
2. Talk is produced in specific interactional contexts, and how people talk is highly sensitive to that context.
3. Talk and interaction are orderly, that is, we can find specific patterns and structures in the ways that people use talk to interact.
4. Talk is organised sequentially, that is, by focussing on how people take turns at talking we can understand how they interpret the immediate interactional context, since turns are related together.
5. The best way to analyse this is by looking at recordings of naturally occurring interaction, rather than using fieldnotes, as in ethnography, or intuition, as in many kinds of linguistics.

(Hutchby, 2006: 24)

These principles of CA have been applied since its beginning from the 1960s to a wide range of different forms of talk: from ordinary telephone conversations to consultations in doctors' surgeries, from job interviews to television interviews with celebrities and politicians, to speeches given at political rallies. While some conversation analyst have focused mainly on the investigation of ordinary talk, which examined talk as a social institution in its own right with its own structures (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Lerner, 2004), others have concentrated on the analysis of 'institutional' interactions, by applying the findings of CA to the study of how talk plays a role in the management of other social institutions (Boden and Zimmerman, 1991; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Thornborrow, 2001a, 2001b). It is the later type of work that this study finds a linkage with the analysis of radio phone-in talk. This study involves the analysis of data based on the methodological principles of CA in exploring the interactional contexts, the turn-taking structures and patterns and the sequential organization of radio phone-in interactions. Before moving on to the stages of analysis of data by adopting the

methodological principles of CA, a brief explanation on the key features of CA will be discussed.

A key concern in CA has been with the participants in conversation creating sequences of talk by taking turns at speaking. Sacks (1992) proposed a number of maxims that can be seen to operate as general procedures for talk: that one person speaks at a time; that conversational turns do not overlap; and, that people take turns at producing turns (see 2.7.1). Another key concept of CA is adjacency pair (AP), and this is a sequence of conversational turns that are tied to each other in which the former calls forth the later (see 2.7.1). The focus of CA involves identifying the way in which participants' display their orientation to institutional contexts (Heritage, 1989; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2002; Drew, 1994; Hutchby and Drew, 1995). Hutchby (1996b) notes that the genre of radio phone-in conversations focus on a kind of forum on the ways in which talk is conducted and content is related to wider social and cultural issues.

In Sidnell's (2010: 29-35) textbook on 'Conversation Analysis: An introduction', a number of suggestions about CA's analytic steps is included. These include looking for 'patterns across data samples' (e.g. collecting instances of turn-initial phenomena), 'patterns within the data' (e.g. silence after a particular type of turn), 'selecting formulations' (e.g. how a particular person, object or event is described) and 'selecting formats' (e.g. distinguishing between different methods for accomplishing action). Additionally, he lists a number of 'keys' that analysts can use to track through and define instances of CA phenomena (e.g. self-repair, transition relevance places, silence etc.). By applying CA methods, this study attempts to document and explain how participants in a radio phone-in programme managed their

understandings of one another's action during the back-and-forth interaction between them, and how they constructed their turns so as to respond to prior turn(s). Therefore, the study will focus on those features of talk that are prominent to participants' analyses of one another's talk, in the progressive unfolding of interactions. In this study, empirical data and transcriptions are used by adopting CA in investigating and analysing phone-in programmes in a Malaysian setting. Three key features of talk are investigated in the study, namely, the turn-taking procedures, sequential organization, adjacency pairs and the management of talk by participants. The following section provides a glossary of the key concepts that have been applied in CA research (Sacks, 1995, Schegloff, 2007; Liddicoat, 2007) and also those concepts that are used in the analysis and interpretation of data for the study.

#### **3.3.1.1 Glossary of key concepts in CA**

1. ***Turn-taking procedures:*** include the manner in which an orderly conversation normally takes place. This includes the investigations into the organization of talk-in-interaction. Conversation is structured at several fundamental levels and these are analytically distinct but operating in conjunction with: sequence organization, preference organization and repair organization.
2. ***Sequence organization:*** refers to the way in which talk is organized in sequences of actions; that is, how courses of action are constructed turn by turn and methodically produced as action-response sequences, such as invitation-acceptance, greeting-greeting, question-answer and so on.
3. ***Preference organization:*** includes the structural relations between action and the way participants orient to their actions and responses as aligning or non-aligning. For example, a non-aligning response like rejecting an invitation is constructed and

delivered in ways that distinctively mark it as dispreferred; or preferred and dispreferred actions and sequences as in agreement-disagreement.

4. **Repair organization:** includes the methods that conversationalists use to identify and fix problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding in conversation. This also includes the process by which a speaker recognizes a speech error and repeats what has been said with some sort of correction.
5. **Overall structural organization:** refers to the ways in which conversations are constructed as units of interaction with recognizable stages or segments with distinct sequential structures, such as openings and closings.
6. **Adjacency pair:** refers to a type of turn-taking in which the second utterance, for example, “Fine, thank you” depends on the first utterance of “How are you?”, as in a greeting sequence; or question-answer; summon-acknowledgement; request-compliance and so on.
7. **Back-channel signal:** refers to a noise, gesture, word, or expression used by a listener to indicate that he or she is paying attention to a speaker, for example, *okay*, *mm*, *mhm*.
8. **Cooperative overlap:** refers to a face-to-face interaction in which one speaker talks at the same time as another speaker to show an interest in the conversation.
9. **Echo utterance:** refers to a speech that repeats, in whole or in part, what has just been said by another speaker
10. **Discourse marker:** refers to a particle, such as *oh*, *well*, *you know*, and *I mean*; that is used in conversation to make speech more coherent but that generally adds little meaning.
11. **Fillers:** refers to a filler word, such as *um* or a cue phrase ‘*let’s see*’ that is used to mark a hesitation in speech.

12. **Conversational grounding**: refers to the interactive process by which speakers and listeners work together to ensure that messages are understood as intended.
13. **Turn-constructive unit (TCU)**: refers to any linguistic constituents, such as words, phrases, clauses and sentences which can potentially function as a TCU. Although TCUs are made up of structural elements, TCUs are not structurally defined units, such as typically used in grammatical accounts of language, including word, clause or sentence. TCUs are context-sensitive and a decision about what constitutes a TCU can only be made in context.
14. **Turn completion point (TCP)**: refers to a stretch of talk that is possibly complete. An utterance can be seen as possibly complete in three main ways (Sacks et al, 1974): (1) it may be a syntactically complete unit; (2) it may be intonationally complete, that is, it may occur with an intonation contour which indicates that the unit is now complete. For example, 'what?' with rising intonation can be hearable in context as a complete question; (3) it needs to be complete as an action: it must count as having done what needs to be done at this point in the conversation, for example, having asked a question, provided an answer etc.
15. **Transition relevance places (TRPs)**: refers to points where a speaker's talk is possibly complete and that at points of possible completion, speaker change is a possible next action. TRPs are not places where speaker change has to occur, but rather where speaker change could occur.

As discussed earlier, Conversation Analysis (CA) is one of methodological approaches adopted for the study. The main focus of a CA study was not primarily on the analysis of linguistic forms or the investigation of language samples, that were extracted from the original context, rather, the main interest was to examine the social phenomena or occurrences within communication. Therefore, the social relationship among

participants may be displayed in language use, for example, in the structural organization of discourse.

### **3.3.2 Membership Categorization Analysis**

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) examines the ways in which members organise their interaction by using categories, devices and predicates, which are mapped onto a category or collection of categories (see 2.7.2 on the key features of MCA). The focus is on the display of categories and the orderly process of categorization. As mentioned Francis and Hester (2004), MCA offers a methodological tool, which is designed to approach participants' moment-by-moment identity negotiation from their own perspective, that is, from the angle of their own management in the interaction (see 2.7.2). Therefore, it can be established that categorization is connected to the sequential organization of talk as categories are invoked, developed and negotiated over the course of interaction.

Three key features of MCA will be explored in the study, namely, membership categories (MC), membership categorization devices (MCD), and category-bound activities (CBA), which are evident in the ongoing interaction in the radio talks. This research will further explore how CA and MCA can be used to shed further light on the discursive organization of Malaysian radio phone-ins, by considering both the sequential and categorial methods which are used within this type of communicative event. By linking these two methodologies, the study hopes to demonstrate that both frameworks of analysis can be brought together to further explain the multi-layered nature of conversational organization in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002).

### 3.3.2.1 Doing Membership Categorization Analysis

A number of books, articles and chapters have included descriptions of categorization methodology (Lepper, 2000; Baker, 2000; Hester and Eglin, 1997; Silverman, 2006; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2015). Key MCA publications have made visible aspects of the method-in-use (Hester and Eglin, 1997; Housley and Fitzgerald, 2009; Jayyusi, 1984, 2014; Watson, 1978). Schegloff's (2007a) tutorial also explains clearly Sack's treatment of categories. Stokoe (2012) has offered the clearest way to begin and proceed with a categorization study in her paper on "Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods of systemic analysis". She presents five guiding principles for doing MCA described as follows:

1. Collect data from all sorts of domestic and institutional settings; collect both interactional and textual materials depending on the focus of the study. Data collection may be purposive (e.g. gathering together instances of particular categories in use because of an a priori interest in that category) or unmotivated (e.g. noticing a category's use and pursuing it within and across multiple discourse sites).
2. Build collections of explicit mention of categories (e.g. man, human, boy-racer, anarchist, teacher, Australian, pianist, etc); membership categorization devices (e.g. occupation, parties to a crime, stage of life, sex, family etc.); and category-resonant descriptions (e.g. the descriptions 'she's eighty-nine years old' and 'don't be too testosterone' do not mention categories explicitly but are attributes that 'convey the sense...of being deployed as categories'; Schegloff, 2007a: 480).
3. Locate the sequential positions of each categorical instance with the ongoing interaction, or within the text.
4. Analyse the design and action orientation of the turn or text in which the category, device or resonant descriptions appear.
5. Look for evidence that, and of how, recipients orient to the category, device or resonant description; for the interactional consequences of a category's use; for co-occurring component features of categorical formulations; and the ways speakers within and between turns build and resist categorizations.

(Stokoe, 2012: 280)

Stokoe's five guiding principles have been applied to the categorization work of the present study. This involves collecting data from radio phone-in programmes with the purposive focus on topic-related issues of discussion; building collections of categories that are related to topic-opinion and topic-relevance; locating the sequential



positions of each categorical instance with the on-going interaction between host-host and host-caller; analyzing the turn design in the type of institutional context of radio phone-in programmes; and looking for evidence of how participants conform to the category, device or resonant descriptions; and the ways speakers within and between turns build and resist categorizations.

The following section provides a glossary of the key concepts that have been applied in MCA research (Sacks, 1992; Psathas, 1999; Silverman, 2006; Stokoe, 2012) and also those concepts that are used in the analysis and interpretation of data of radio phone-in interactions (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002) related to the study.

### **3.3.2.2 Glossary of key concepts in MCA and radio phone-in research**

The following are the key concepts in carrying out a categorization study (Sacks, 1974, 1992, 1995; Psathas, 1999; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Silverman, 2006; Stokoe, 2012):

1. ***Membership categories (MC)***: refers to personal categories such as ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘son’ or ‘daughter’ that belong to the membership categorization device (MCD) ‘family’.
2. ***Membership categorization device (MCD)***: refers to the device or apparatus through which categories are understood to ‘belong’ to a collective category. In radio phone-ins, the membership categories of ‘host’ and ‘caller’ belong to the MCD ‘parties to a phone-in’.
3. ***Category-bound activities (CBA)***: refers to a class of predicates which can conventionally be claimed on the basis of a given membership category. Activities that are in-situ or locally situated, linked to categories, such as ‘Why are men

(category) so reluctant to go to the doctors (activity)?’ or “Should children (category) work during school holiday (activity)?”.

4. **Category-tied predicates:** refers to a category’s characteristics, such as ‘this mother (category) cares (predicate) tremendously for her baby’. Other predicates may refer to motives, rights, entitlements, obligations, knowledge, attributes and competencies, which may be relevantly used in describing the activities and conduct of those categorized in a particular way. For instance, if caller is categorised as “caller to a radio phone-in” then the host (questioner) may “request a reason for the call” or “request for an opinion”.
5. **Standardized relational pairs:** refer to pairs of categories that carry duties and moral obligations in relation to the other, such as parent-child, husband-wife, neighbour-neighbour or occupational or work-based categories such as, teacher-pupil; server-customer, doctor-patient, lawyer-client, host-caller.
6. **Duplicate organization:** refers to categories that work in a unit or ‘team-like’ way with specific obligations to each other, such as ‘centre-forward’, ‘goal-keeper’ and ‘defender’ in a football team or ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘aunt’, ‘sister’ and ‘son’ in the same ‘family’.
7. **Positioned categories:** refer to some collections of categories which occupy a hierarchical relationship, for example, ‘baby’, ‘teenager’, ‘adult’, such that an adult can be accused of behaving like a ‘teenager’, and so on (Stokoe, 2012).
8. **The economy rule:** refers to a single category which may be sufficient to describe a person, or one membership category that is adequate for describing a member of some population. For example, Psathas’ (1999:143-144) example of “*our speaker this evening...*”, “*the driver who brought me here*”, “*that man on the street*”. One category, in each instance, is adequate for describing a member for some population,

for example, the persons in the room, the persons in the taxi or the various persons passing by on the sidewalk.

9. **The consistency rule:** “If some population of persons is being categorized and if a category from some device’s collection has been used, (to categorize a first member of the population) then that category or other categories of the same collection may be used to categorize further members of the population” (Sacks, 1974:219). For example, in describing persons in an orchestra, if the first person is categorized as a “*first violin*”, then further persons may be categorized by using the collection “*instrument players in the orchestra*” e.g. oboe player, conductor, bassoonist etc.

10. **Categorization ‘maxims’:** Sacks (1992:221, 259) derived the *hearer’s maxims* as a consequence of these rules of application for duplicatively organized categories: “if two or more categories are used to categorize two or more members of some population, and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection, then: hear them that way”. A second hearer’s maxim connects to predicates: “If a category-bound activity is asserted to have been done by a member of some category where, if that category is ambiguous (i.e. a member of at least two different devices) but where, at least for one of those devices, the asserted activity is category bound to the given category, then hear that at least the category from the device to which it is bound is being asserted to hold”. In Sacks’ example, “*the baby cried the mommy picked it up*”, the category “*baby*” is ambiguous because it could be referred to the device “*stage of life*” or “*family*”. If “*crying*” is category-bound for one of these devices, hear that category as being bound to the device for which such category-bound activity holds. Crying is tied to baby as “*stage of life*” device, not to “*family*” (though a member of family may cry). So, minimally “*baby cried*” ties to “*stage of life*”. According to the consistency rule: “*baby*” and “*mommy*” would be in

the same device “family”. Combining the two maxims, “baby” is “stage of life” and “family”, “mommy” is “family”. “Baby” is then the “baby” of the “mommy” and “baby” is also the category for which the activity of “crying” is category bound. Sacks (1992:221,259) also derived the *viewer’s maxim* for category-bound activities: “if a Member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one sees it being done by a member of a category to which the activity is bound, see it that way”. This means that the category-bound activity is relevant for identifying the person performing the action; that inferences can be made concerning their identity or category incumbency. In other words, persons make inferences about persons’ identities by means of assumptions concerning how norms are related to activities and to the categories to which they are bound.

There are also other key concepts that have been considered in MCA research in relation to radio phone-in interactions. These include turn-generated categories; programme-relevant categories; call-relevant identities, topic-relevant categories and topic-opinion categories (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferenčik, 2007).

1. **Turn-generated categories (TGC):** may be related to sequence-type or utterance-type and are those which are relevant for the call to a radio phone-in programme. They refer to the types of sequential categories that develop in interactions and to other ways in which membership categorization can be accomplished in action which may be found in the relation of categories in turn-types. Turn-types may take the form of summon-answer sequences at openings, identification-recognition sequences, and closing sequences. The summon-answer sequence at the opening of calls is a very important adjacency pair sequence that is bound to occur. The ‘identification-recognition’ sequences involve the host providing the name of the radio station,

followed by the telephone numbers to call. The closing sequences involve the sequences that lead to a close between host and caller. In radio phone-ins, it is the host's obligation to monitor the interaction and find a place where readiness to close can be produced (Watson, 1997; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002).

**2. *Programme-relevant category (PRC)*:** refers to categories which are directly related to the organizational aspect of phone-in interactions, and these include membership categories of the 'host' and 'caller' (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). These categories, which are taken together form a membership categorization device (MCD) called 'parties to a phone-in'. They are part of the 'participatory framework' and may be practically called upon at any time during the interaction, hence there are referred to as 'omni-relevant categories' (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002).

**3. *Call-relevant identities (CRI)*:** include the identification of the caller offered by the host, such as the name of the caller and location. This can also include some information in order to proceed with the call where the caller can address the issue they wish to raise (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002).

**4. *Topic-relevant categories (TRC)*:** include the experience of the caller to the topic under discussion, to show some justification to the authenticity of their opinions (Fitzgerald, 1999, Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002, Thornborrow, 2001b).

**5. *Topic-opinion categories (TOC)*:** include the views or opinions of the caller with regard to agreement or disagreement to the topic under discussion (Fitzgerald, 1999, Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002).

Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and Housley's (2002) categorization work on radio phone-ins are of particular relevance to the study. Psathas (1999) emphasizes that the work of the organization (e.g. institutional talk related to radio phone-in programmes) can be accomplished in a number of ways which involve membership

categorization as well as turn type and sequential structures. For instance, the way in which “work” is being accomplished in a radio phone-in programme can be described as follows: The caller’s first utterance in the call to the programme provides information whether the caller agrees or disagrees to the topic under discussion. In cases where an opinion is not clearly stated in the first turn, information that is relevant to the topic may be given by the caller. Identification of caller’s name as a categorization device is, in this instance, to present oneself as one in a collection of “radio callers”. Thus, any other next caller can be categorized from the same collection (Psathas, 1999). . The ‘work’ of the organization (Psathas, 1999) can also be accomplished by the type of request. For instance, in the data, a caller’s request to speak in Malay, self-categorises caller as not knowledgeable in the English language. Or by a request for information, caller can be categorised by host as provider of information. Hosts, through a series of question-answer sequences indicates when requisite information has been obtained for the purpose of discussion. In this instance, hosts require caller’s background relevant to the purpose of discussion. Thus, caller can display their competency and knowledge of what is needed in justifying their opinions.

As Hester and Eglin (1997:2) have said:

“...both the sequential and the categorizational aspects of social interaction inform each other. Thus, the production of particular types of sequential items is informed by an orientation to the membership categories of the speakers, just as these items contribute to the categorization of the speakers. Social identity provides for a sense of the (sequentially organized talk), just as the talk provides for a sense of social identity...in practice these aspects, (the sequential and categorizational) are so closely intertwined as to be separable only for the purposes of analysis”.

Drew and Heritage (1992:3) refer to “talk-in-interaction (as) the principal means to which lay persons pursue various practical goals and the central medium through

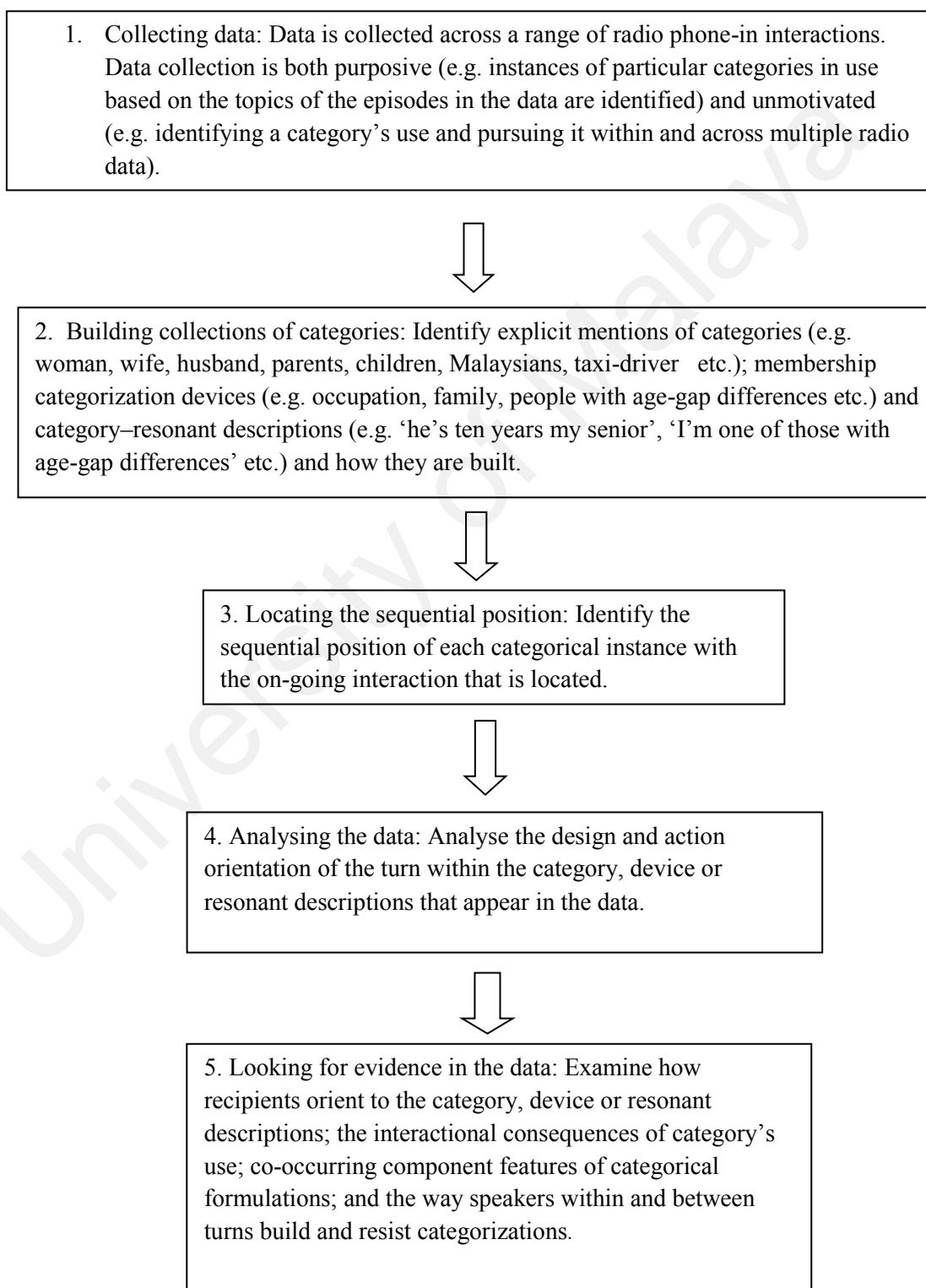
which the daily working activities of many professionals and organizational representatives are conducted.....Interaction is institutional in so far as participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged." These considerations on how 'work of the organization' may be accomplished and the sequential and categorical aspects of social interaction relating to Malaysian radio phone-in programmes will be the purpose of analysis of the study.

### **3.3.2.3 Stages of sequential and categorization analysis**

This section will discuss the stages of analysis in investigating the sequential and categorical organization of the phone-in data. The study will apply three levels of analysis: the macro-linguistic level; the categories at an intermediate level; and the micro-linguistic level. The analysis will be applied according to the two methodological approaches of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA). This will include the analysis of sequential structure and the turn-taking systems of the radio phone-ins, as well as, the concepts of membership categorization analysis which emphasize on categories in context for the interpretation of data. The study will first focus on the macrolinguistic level of analyzing the openings, closings and the overall structural organization of talk in the presentation of opinions in the phone-in programmes, and this will be followed by the second level of analysis which involve identifying the membership categories at an intermediate level of talk that developed in the on-going interactions in the phone-ins. At the microlinguistic level of analysis, the study will only focus on the lexical and phonological features which are deemed relevant at the point of analysis.

The stages of the categorization analysis of this study are based on the five guiding principles derived from Sacks' (1992) and subsequent MCA work by Stokoe (2012). The five stages are presented on the next page.

Figure 3.1: Stages of analysis





### **3.4 Ethical issues**

There are certain ethical issues that a researcher might need to consider in collecting data from this particular type of media event relating to radio phone-in programmes. However, in broadcast talk, people are aware that they are being listened to by the listening audience. According to Ten Have (1999: 63), “people do not shift to a completely different set of interactional procedures when they know that their talk is broadcast”. Moreover, even if broadcast talk is not taken as a source for research, the same conversation would have taken place between the host and the caller in talk radio. Goffman (1981) argues that radio talk is “everywhere available, particularly easy to record, and, because publicly transmitted words are involved, no further prior permission for scholarly use seems necessary”. Cameron (2002: 25) is also of the view that “callers to radio phone-in programmes clearly expect and indeed want their talk to be heard by large numbers of people”. Therefore, with these arguments and views, it can be established that interactions aired on radio are available for public use and accessibility. Hence, there is no further requirement to seek prior permission from those who have participated in such radio phone-in programmes. Furthermore, talk radio can be considered as an oral practice in its own right and has various advantages as a source of data for research.

### **3.5 Reliability and validity of conversation analytic research**

In conversation analytic research, recordings and transcripts are the ‘raw materials’ comparable to ethnographers’ field notes (Silverman, 2006). Accordingly, the “quality of recordings and transcripts has important implications for the reliability of conversation analytic research” (Silverman, 2006: 285). According to Sacks (1984: 26) by realizing the potential of audio or video-recorded materials, it actually gives a crucial impetus to the creation of CA:

“It was not from any large interest in language or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied that I started with tape-recorded conversation, but simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again, and also, consequentially, because others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me” (Sacks, 1984: 26).

Recordings and transcripts based on them can provide for highly detailed and publicly accessible representations of social interaction (Silverman, 2006: 285). Kirk and Miller suggest that in qualitative research, “issues of reliability have received little attention” (1986: 42) does not apply to conversation analytic research. CA claims part of its justification on the basis of being free of many shortcomings in reliability characteristic of other forms of qualitative research, especially ethnography (Silverman, 2006: 286). However, the reliability of CA in its own field can be justified. Silverman (2006: 288) offers three key aspects of reliability: these involve the selection of what is recorded, the technical quality of recordings, and the adequacy of recordings. The selection of what is recorded arises from the research problem, that involves recording encounters in specific settings (e.g. classroom, doctor’s clinics, educational counsellor’s office etc.). However, the researcher still has to make some consequential choices, like how much to record. In order to achieve a variation of the phenomenon under study (the sequential organization of radio phone-in programmes), a large enough collection of cases are needed. Therefore, there is need to have access to a large database, in order for the phenomena under study to be specified. About 25 hours of phone-in episodes are recorded, out of which only about 13 hours of episodes have been fully transcribed. In other words, by transcribing only certain episodes from the collection of data, the full variation of the phenomenon, that is the overall sequential organization of the phone-in programmes, can be observed. The rest of the recorded episodes have been kept as secondary sources.

The technical quality of recordings is another aspect of reliability. For instance, there is no way of retrieving the data if it is lost or remain inaudible in the recording (Silverman, 2006). This problem can be minimized at the planning stage of the research, that is, by paying enough attention to both the quality of the recording equipment and the arrangements of recording. In considering the crucial aspects of sound quality, a good quality MP3 player is used for the recording of phone-in episodes, and some digital recordings from the programmes' websites are also conducted. The adequacy of transcript is equally important: even though in a proper analysis of data, the recording needs to be listened to, at least the selection of what is analysed in detail is usually done on the basis of the transcripts only (Ten Have, 1999: 77-78). The Audacity software is also used to measure pauses and intonation while doing the transcribing work on the data. Many aspects of vocal expression are also included in the transcript. In order to ensure the reliability of the transcription of data and coding of data, a couple of researchers and interaters were sought for assistance to check on the accuracy of transcription of the content of the data and coding of data, while a rich transcription, which is the resource of analysis was carried out by the researcher, in which the details may be important for the analysis. Several listenings to the oral data have been conducted in order to develop a rich transcription by following Hutchby and Wooffitt's (2006) and Sidnell's (2010) transcription conventions. After the analysis has been completed, some of the special notations that have not been used are left out.

The core of the aim of CA research is to investigate talk-in interaction, not as 'a screen of which are projected other process', but as a phenomenon in its own right (Schegloff, 1992: xviii). The commitment to the naturalistic of transcription order according to Goffman (1983) and the social action taking place within that order

(Sacks, 1984), gives a distinctive shape to the issues of validation in CA. These include the transparency of analytic claims, validation through 'next turn', deviant case analysis, questions about the institutional character of interaction, the generalizability of conversation analytic findings and the use of statistical techniques. As Sacks et al. (1974: 728) argues, any interaction that is produced in talk-in-interaction will be locally interpreted by the participants of that interaction. Therefore, their interpretation is displayed in the next actions after the utterance or the next turn. Therefore, any interpretations that conversation analyst may suggest can be subjected to the 'proof procedure' as outlined by Sacks et al.: 'the next turn will show whether the interactants themselves treat the utterance in ways that are in accordance with the analyst's interpretation'.

According to Heritage (1995), after regular patterns of interactions have been established, the analyst next task is to search for and examine 'deviant cases'. These are cases where 'things go differently' - most typically, cases where an element of the suggested pattern is not associated with the other associated elements (Silverman, 2006). Another key issue of validity in CA research concerns the institutional character of talk. Schegloff (1987, 1991, 1992) offers two basic criteria for the validity of claims which concerned the institutional character of talk. The first involves the relevancy of categorization. For instance, it is possible to categorize on the basis of gender, age, social class, education, occupation, income, race and so on, to understand the setting of interaction accordingly. Schegloff argues that in the momentary unfolding of interaction, 'the parties, singly and together, select and display in their conduct which of the indefinitely many aspects of context they are making relevant, or are invoking, for the immediate moment' (1987: 219). Another key issue addressed by Schegloff (1991, 1992) involves 'procedural consequentiality

of context'. He argues that it is not sufficient to say that a particular context is oriented to 'in general' by the participants in interaction, but instead it has to be shown how specifiable aspects of the context are consequential for specifiable aspects of the interaction. Hence, the aim is to make a direct 'procedural' connection between the context and what actually happens in the talk (Schegloff, 1991: 17). This includes what is said, when it is said, and how, by whom and to whom, may invoke the context. Therefore, the goal of the conversation analytic researcher is to demonstrate exactly how the things said are brought forward in the context. The 'relevancy of categorization' and 'procedural consequentiality of context' are fundamental for conversation analytic research on interaction, because they constitute a validity test for the claims which concerned the institutional character of interaction. In demonstrating them in the study, the study will focus on particular phenomena in interaction, in particular, turn design, sequence organization and overall structural organization of the phone-in programmes, as well as, the categorization work that are displayed by the participants in the context of radio talk.

Pomerantz (1990) suggests another crucial dimension of validity of conversation analytic research which concerns the generalizability of the research findings. Many conversation analytic studies are based on small databases, therefore, there is the question of how widely the results can be generalized. The character of the problem is closely dependant on the type of conversation analytic research. In studies of phone-in interactions, the baseline assumption is that, the results are desirable to the whole domain of radio phone-in interactions and to a certain extent even across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Even though the common interactional practices and structures, such as turn-taking and adjacency pairs are almost universal, there are others such as, openings, turn-design and closings (Hutchby, 1999, 2006; Fitzgerald

and Housley, 2002; Ferencik 2011; Dori-Hacohen, 2014; Ames 2013), which may differ in different settings. There have been studies which have made explicit comparisons between different settings. For instance, Drew (2003), focuses on formulations in four different settings – news interviews, workplace negotiations,, radio call-in programmes and psychotherapy, and shows how this practice is shaped differently in each setting, so as to serve in its specific occurrences. Miller and Silverman (1995) apply the comparative approach in describing talk about troubles in two counselling settings: a British haemophilia centre and a family therapy centre in the United States. They focus on three types of discursive practices: those concerned with trouble definitions, trouble remedies and the social contexts of the clients' troubles. Ames (2013) focuses on two types of regional radio talk programmes in Australia and compares 'members of a team' and 'members of a community. These different studies build up a cumulative picture of a CA study but do not provide a comprehensive generalizability finding, rather it is the robustness of the findings from case studies that may be identified across different cases.

The present study involves an effort to describe in detail the management of turn-taking, participation framework, turn-design, sequential and categorical organization in two different radio talk programmes, one which deals with lighter topics such as relationship, moral and ethical issues; while the other deals with more serious current and local issues, such as, government policies and social issues. The results of the study may provide the answer to the kinds of interactions found in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes and whether these features and characteristics are universal across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

The final aspect of validity for CA research concerns statistical techniques. The use of large databases and quantification is another strategy to ensure

generalizability of any analytical research finding. Silverman (2006) views that statistical analysis may be useful in certain conversational research designs, for instance, research designs that concern relations between social categories and interactional practices (like the relations between gender and interruptions studied by West and Zimmerman, 1985). In order to substantiate the qualitative analysis, this study will carry out some statistical analysis on the types of turn design in relation to the presentation of opinions by radio callers and the forms of interactions in the phone-in programmes. The results obtained will present an overview of the kinds of interactions that are common among Malaysian radio phone-in programmes that are related to the presentation of views to topic-related issues.

### **3.6 Summary**

This chapter has discussed the description of sources of data, the methodological approaches of the study, which consist of Conversation Analysis and Membership Categorization Analysis, the stages of analysis of data, ethical issues and the issues of reliability and validity of carrying out the research. The following three chapters, Chapters Four, Five and Six will consist of the analysis chapters to address the three research questions of the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF RADIO PHONE-IN PROGRAMMES**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

Creating sequences of talk by taking turns at speaking among participants has been a key concern in Conversation Analysis (CA), in which turns are constructed by participants orientating to implicit knowledge about how turns operate. By applying CA methods, this chapter attempts to document and explain how participants in a radio phone-in programme arrived at understandings of one another's action during the back-and-forth interaction between them, and how in turn they constructed their turns so as to respond to prior turn(s). Therefore, this chapter focuses on those features of talk that are prominent to participants' analyses of one another's talk, in the progressive development of interactions in radio phone-ins.

This chapter is the first of the three analysis chapters that specifically address the research question that aims to identify how participants to Malaysian radio phone-in programme develop their participation in the sequential organization of talk, and to discuss any similarities or differences between the programmes on how talk is accomplished. The chapter will examine the stages of talk which specifically deal with the introduction stage of host-host, the opening and closing sequences of host-caller, the management of participation between host-host and host-caller in terms of how participants collaboratively co-construct their talk, the design of turns in relation to opinion-giving by callers, and the turn-taking procedures and turn-taking patterns of conversation that demonstrate how the radio phone-in programme as an institutional setting influences interaction. The discussion begins with a brief



description on the management of participation or the participation framework in the phone-in calls.

#### **4.1 The Participation Framework in the Calls**

The overall format of the radio programme is something known and familiar to regular listeners. The format is also achieved by sequential action, for instance, the host is always the first to speak after a transition from songs or news, to introduce the programme or the first to ask a question of a caller. These are rules that are associated with radio programmes (Fitzgerald, 1999). Regular segments such as radio phone-ins occur at the same time, and there is a consistency and regularity to the presentation, for example, song is followed by talk or news, or talk is followed by song. Regular listeners would be familiar with the hosts and know that the format of the programme is to invite listeners to call-in and discuss their views or experiences on current topics of interest. In the case of this study, the breakfast programme on LiteFM and the evening programme on BFM have a specific format, that is, they are chat-based and incorporate talkback segments.

Before moving on to discussing the stages of talk in the radio programmes, a brief description on the participation framework that emerges in displaying the relationship among participants will be discussed. According to Goffman (1981), a participation framework emerges when it displays the relationship among participants, and which changes and adapts to the back-and-forth interaction between speakers and hearers. 'Participant status' or 'participant role' is defined as the relation of a member of a participant framework to an utterance. In other words, participants take on the status of a speaker or a hearer role, and thereby assume their places in the participation framework for each moment of speech. In Goffman's participation framework, two types of hearers were identified and named: 'ratified' (official) and

unratified (unofficial) participants. This supports media discourse as a participative event and introduces the notion of '*ratified*' and '*unratified*' hearers. A '*ratified*' hearer can be applied to anyone who listens to a radio programme, in which, they are considered as part of the discourse event and may join in if they choose. This framework allows us to promote the audience to official hearer status within the event. However, the audience is no longer an over-hearer of talk on radio and has a place within the participation framework when they take the role of 'caller' or '*unratified*' hearer. Thus, there is a need for the researcher to examine how talk is modified and guided by the participants (e.g. hosts and caller) to meet the demands of fully ratified hearers (the listening audience) who are not physically present but who are out there within the participation framework.

The actions of the host in managing the programme (opening calls, determining the length of the calls and organizing the transition from one caller to the next, closing the calls) provide a generically recognizable, structured framework for the talk. However, this framework also results in a highly delimited set of possibilities for participants in terms of who gets to do what in the space of a call. As in normally the case in such programmes, the process of selecting the callers and establishing the order of their calls has already taken place off the air, as is seen by the hosts' announcement of the callers' names, which show the participation framework of how a caller is addressed. This can be illustrated in the following extracts.

Extract 1      LFM16

- |     |     |   |
|-----|-----|---|
| 153 | H1: | All right Talk Tuesday, does marriage complement and hinder     |
| 154 |     | your career, that's what we're talking about this morning (0.5) |
| 155 |     | what do you think Arif?   |
| 156 | C1: | I think it's complement   |

Extract 2            LFM16

- 230    H1:    Talk Tuesday and we're discussing does marriage complement or  
231           hinder your career (0.4) and we're coming in with Andy  
232    C2:    in my case I would say, it it did hinder my marriage because I am  
233           in the entertainment line and in uh media industry

In announcing or summoning the caller such as “*Arif*” and “*Andy*”, the host (H1) addresses the callers as ratified participants. The callers may be the ‘overhearing audience’ at first but changes participants’ status to ratified participants once they are summoned or addressed on air by the host of the programme. In other words, this brings the callers to official status as ‘ratified speakers’. In these two examples, it is seen that the name of the show ‘*Talk Tuesday*’ plays a very important role in the opening sequence of talk before the host moves into the topic of the talk that is, ‘*Does marriage complement or hinder your career*’. This is followed by the host introducing the caller and moving the caller into the participation framework of the phone-in programme (lines 155 and 231). The host refers to a pre-determined order of calls and topics, where callers have already been allocated a particular topic slot in the programme. Since calls from listeners are initially received off the air, the openings of the calls as they are broadcast have consequences for participants in terms of the turn types available to them. The different types of turn in opening sequences will be dealt with later in the sections.

An example of reference to ‘ratified’ participants or overhearing audience can be seen in the following extract:

Extract 3            BFM7

- 13    H1        Aw thank you very much ah its that time of the year again alright it it's been  
 14                happening over the last few years it's it's it's part of the governments ah subsidy  
 15                rationalization plan  
 16    H2        Ahah  
 17    H1        Uhm so what **we are asking you today is how you feel about this um**  
 18                **petroleum price hike (.) we are asking you if you are one of those people**  
 19                who were stuck in traffic ah and you wanted to get home but you were stuck in a  
 20                traffic because of all these people park outside your local petrol station trying to  
 21                save themselves from 10 to 15 *ringgit*

In a radio talk show, the host plays a significant role in inviting callers to participate in the programme and this is shown in the host's introduction to the topic and invitation for callers' participation: *'we are asking you today is how you feel about this um petroleum price hike (.) we are asking you if you are one of those people...'* (lines 17-18). The lexical pronoun 'you' refers to the 'overhearing audience' or listeners who may happen to tune in into the programme and the phrase *'one of those people'* may be a request for those listeners who may have been affected by the traffic congestion at petrol stations with motorists trying to fill up petrol before the price increase the following day, to call into the programme. This typifies a frequent occurrence in Malaysia whenever the government announces that there will be a fuel hike that takes effect the following day. In seeking callers' participation to the call-in programmes, it shows that the format of the programme is to encourage ratified hearers or the overhearing audience to call-in and present their views on the issue of discussion. This format will keep on occurring during the course of each episode of the radio programme.

The following sections in this chapter will focus on the stages of talk in sequences of interaction in the radio programmes, specifically looking into host-host talk that precedes host-caller interaction, the opening and closing sequences of host-

caller talk, the call- validation and follow-up stage, and the design of callers' turn in the presentation of opinions in the programmes.

## **4.2 Stages of Talk: Features of Host-host Talk**

This section will examine the stages of host-host talk that precede host-caller interaction, that is the introduction stage of the programme, the turn-taking patterns in the on-going interaction between host-host, and how both hosts collaboratively managed the programme before the lines are opened to radio callers. These features will describe the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes.

### **4.2.1. The introduction stage of LFM programmes**

In a radio phone-in programme, the introduction of topics for the day plays a significant role on the development of participation of radio callers. The topic of interest or the relevance of the topic gives callers a reason to call-in to air their views. Therefore, the introduction stage which precedes host-caller interaction is also important because it sets the stage for the discussion and the development of participation of radio callers. Hence, the introduction stage of host-host talk is also one of the features of the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes.

The host-host talk that occurred between the hosts took on two main forms: the duologue, in which both hosts discuss the specific topic, and the reading of facebook and twitter messages from senders. Talkback segments on these programmes are always pre-empted by host-host duologue prior to engaging caller response to the topic (Ames, 2013:101). Korolija (1998) referred to this type of talk as 'cotext', which has been studied specifically in relation to talkback conversations where its use is more common and more highly visible than in ordinary speech. Korolija defined 'cotext' as "the talk or text preceding a particular unit of discourse

under analysis” and “is a recent and locally shared resource for topicality and coherence” (1998:100). She further added that cotext is a contextual resource because not all features of previous conversations become cotext; because cotext is recycled in segments or and is actively used by “actors” in a conversation who seek for “shared understanding” and establishing common ground (Korolija, 1998:100). The aspect of cotext is also mentioned by Schegloff (1987) in that the cotext’s givenness must be empirically explored rather than simply assumed; and there is a need to look in detail in what interlocutors in discourse single out from cotext and re(activate). Furthermore, it is also suggested that the effects of a context in the organization of discourse cannot be simply stated but there is a need to actively look at the ways participants “select and display in their conduct which of the indefinitely many aspects of context they are making relevant, or invoking, for the immediate moment” (Schegloff, 1987:219; Korolija, 1998:102).

The duologue below between host 1 (H1) and host 2 (H2) shows a lengthy co-text that precedes host-caller interaction. This co-text (Ames, 2013; Korolija, 1998) is important to consider in interaction as it can establish a pre-requisite for calls as a contextual resource for further interactions. The interactions between both hosts immediately precede host-caller talk and there are a number of significant features of this interaction which are worth examining. The regular hosts of the programme are a male and a female, referred to here as H1 and H2.

Extract 4      LFM16      H1: host 1 (M)   H2: host 2 (F)

- 1   H2:   Okay Richard so, interesting article I read the other day about
- 2       Kareena Kapoor, bi:g bollywood actress on the verge of saying I
- 3       do the happiest day of her life and all that, and the article was
- 4       talking about whether her marriage will hinder her flourishing
- 5       acting career, you know she got me thinking,
- 6   H1:   Uhuh

7 H2: I guess marriage can hinder your career if you think about it,  
8 I'm not saying it always does, but you know, in times you turn  
9 down a promotion , because that means you're way more, or you  
10 might have to move to another country and being married well,  
11 okay that can be really tough

12 H1: Okay

13 H2: You know women uh you know they become working mother and  
14 it's very, hard, to follow a select career path, I mean we work to  
15 pay our bills to support our families (0.4) take less risk at work and  
16 jobs we weren't happy because you know we have our  
17 responsibilities to our family and that is to provide, so loving and  
18 being in a right job is not so important (0.4) then you know, there  
19 are the occasions when you know, your kids get sick

20 H1: Ehem

21 H2: and no one is able to take care of them, and one of you has to  
22 take time off to nurse them back to health, that sort of  
23 thing, I mean, some companies might not want staffs who  
24 are constantly have to take time off work because of family issues  
25 [so ]

26 H1: [Right] right

27 H2: and I know some people whose job is to take them far away from  
28 their spouses way too much and they start growing apart, they  
29 start feeling frustrated and all that, so definitely yes, marriage  
30 does hinder your professional growth (0.4) particularly if you both  
31 don't share the same priorities, but (0.4)who am I saying, I am not  
32 married, let's talk to an expert in this [Richard, master Ng, tell us,]

33 H1: [@@@@@]

34 H2: does marriage hinder or complement your career?

35 H1: =ok, this is my two cents worth *la*, I know where you are  
36 coming from, single *la* went through some, trying to adjust  
37 and learning to embrace family life *la* so to speak, you know  
38 especially so after I got Marissa and my kid (0.4) sure, there are  
39 few career opportunities that, you ↑know, I've had to pass *la*,  
40 but no regrets you know 'cause, I'd be selfish just to think about  
41 myself when my family is [involved]

42 H2: [hmm]

43 H1: And you know my philosophy nowadays is very simple, I have to  
44 think as a team every time I'm required to make decisions and  
45 then try to find balance between the two *la*, I mean my  
46 family itself is the motivating factor you know, simply because I  
47 need to provide and to have a good balance between work and  
48 family, [otherwise]

49 H2: [yes]

50 H1: I'll go crazy you know, so I think it's about having to, prioritise  
51 at times, it's not a matter of which comes first, but how do I strike  
52 the balance (0.5) harmoniously *la*

53 H2: [Mmm]

54 H1: [so to speak]That's what we want to find out in this Talk Tuesday,  
55 does marriage complement or hinder your career, give us a call,  
56 0395433333 to share your thoughts.

This co-text serves as an introduction to the calls from the listening audience. Ames (2012) and Tolson (2006) view that an orientation to the personal is a feature of radio phone-in programmes, and while this topic is about whether *marriage complements or hinders your career* (a relationship issue), it is seen that the presentation of the topic prioritizes the personal experience of the hosts (lines 35-41 and 43-48) and at the same time calls for opinion from the listeners (line 54-56). In the earlier few lines in the interaction, it is observed that one of the strategies of the host is to establish a situation that is related to an ‘interesting article’ about ‘Kareena Kapoor’ a ‘big Hollywood actress’ (lines 1-5) and the article was about whether ‘*marriage will hinder her flourishing acting career*’ (lines 4-5). The reference to the article which then leads to the discussion is observed in line 5 with H2’s utterance of ‘*she got me thinking*’ (line 5) and this establishes the initial stage for the topic of discussion for the show. In line 7, H2 offers her opinion strongly on the issue that ‘*marriage can hinder your career*’. She further supports the issue by offering a gender category of ‘women’ and provides a predicate to ‘*a working mother*’ but further uses the first person plural pronoun ‘we’ to offer a collective category of all women in general, with the inclusion of the speaker herself (H2) (lines 13-14). H2 further provides the category bound activities (CBAs) of ‘women’ in general relating to paying the bills, supporting their families and having responsibilities to their family (lines 13-24). It is noticeable that H1 only offers minimal responses or continuers such as ‘okay’ and ‘right’ when H2 presents her talk.

In line 32, H2 establishes her status as ‘a single woman’ by saying ‘*who am I saying, I’m not married*’ and then changes the focus to summoning H1, which she claims is ‘*an expert in this*’ (line 32). The question of ‘*does marriage hinder or complement your career*’ (line 34) is then directed to the first host in the next turn.



This seems to represent that H2 is 'not married' thus the choice in presenting the argument would be more appropriate for H1 who is '*an expert on this* (being married)'. The category membership of '*an expert*' is conferred in the host's utterance of '*let's talk to an expert*' (line 32) and the much formal address term of '*Master Ng*' further illustrate an address term for a person in that particular category of '*an expert*'. This then offers the conversational floor to H1 for his turn at talk. Here, H1 establishes his personal position in relation to the topic, by uttering that he has '*few career opportunities*' that he '*had to pass*' but there was '*no regrets*' because he would '*be selfish just to think about*' himself when his family is involved (lines 35-41). On a number of occasions in the interactions between the hosts, H1 would offer his personal opinions in relation to the topic based on his own experience as a '*family man*'. These views from hosts can be considered as a significant strategy to encourage the listeners to share their experiences with regard to being a '*family man*' or '*being married*', in line with the topic of discussion.

It is seen in the example here that both hosts work collectively and collaboratively to establish a position on the subject and this can be considered as a point of interest. It is found that each conversational turn builds on what was previously generated, which ultimately builds towards the hosts' personal opinions. Therefore, each succession of turns from both hosts brings towards the focus of the topic for the day which H1 then directs the focus of the topic to the listening audience (line 54-56). In most instances of call openings in LiteFM (LFM), the name of the programme '*Talk Tuesday*' is announced followed by the topic of the day, for instance, '*Talk Tuesday.. does marriage complement or hinder your career*' or '*Talk Tuesday.. is age a factor in a relationship*'. It is observed that the opinion called for is directly related to personal knowledge or experience of listeners when H1 asks

listeners to call in about whether ‘*marriage complements or hinders your career*’ (lines 54-56). The reference to ‘your’ in addressing the listening audience may target certain membership category of listeners who may have experience the problem of whether a career would complement or hinder a marriage or also those who do not have experience but do have an opinion. Thus, this indicates that anyone can have an opinion on the topic but that experience on the topic may have more legitimacy. This is seen in the deferment by the host (H2) who is single and who has an opinion, to the host (H1) who is married with experience. There are 18 turn-exchanges that develop between the interactions of both hosts in this episode

### **Acknowledgement of comments**

Another interesting feature of host-host talk in the data involves acknowledging comments or opinions from Facebook senders. The occurrences of this strategy are evident before the lines are opened to callers or until a caller is ready to offer their opinions on air. This is another type of co-text (Ames, 2013; Korolija, 1998) that is important to consider in interaction as it can be a contextual resource for further interactions between the hosts and as a pre-requisite for calls. The following samples show how the acknowledgement of callers’ opinions from Facebook senders can be further developed in the interactions between host-host. The samples of extracts are taken from an episode from LiteFM on the topic ‘*marriage complements or hinders a career*’. In this particular episode, the first caller is only able to get on air after 67 turn-exchanges between the hosts.

Extract 5: LFM16 H1: host 1 H2: host 2

- 61 H2: ah, few things on Facebook, Michael says in my opinion it is a
- 62 complement to our career, without it we won’t strive hard to excel
- 63 in our career, as we need to support and and the rest of the family,
- 64 that’s interesting Richard because that’s what you say as well, so
- 65 your family motivate you, to work and get money?

66 H1: no [choice @@]  
 67 H2: [ but your family @@] said so lovingly [@@@]  
 68 H1: [@@@] yes  
 69 H2: but you see, your family don't motivate you to get the job that you  
 70 want necessarily. You know because you need to think about  
 71 your security more so then what makes you happy than your  
 72 career  
 73 H1: right  
 74 H2: so in a way is that kind of like a little [°hindrance is that is?°]  
 75 H1: [I'm happy ] in whatever  
 76 I'm doing, I mean this has been like a kind of passion for a lo:ng  
 77 time and that's why I manage [to stick to it for so long]

In this example, H2 reads out a comment given by a Facebook sender: '*Michael says in my opinion, it is a complement to our career, without it we won't strive hard to excel in our career, as we need to support and the rest of the family*' (lines 61-63). She further relates this to H1's earlier opinion (lines 64-65) '*that's interesting Richard because that's what you say as well*' and seeks clarification from H1, '*so your family motivate you to work*'. This receives a brief response of '*no choice*' from H1. A brief response as such provides an opportunity for H2 to further continue with her turn to challenge H1 that it is not the family that motivates H1 to get the job necessarily but it is '*the security*' that matters (lines 69-71). In line 73, H1 provides an affirmative response to H2's views which H2 then further challenges H1 by uttering that '*in a way*' marriage is '*like a hindrance*'. Notice that this speech is hearably quieter than the earlier utterance. In this instance, the host tries to create a kind of scenario, which is then taken up by the other host as a challenge to further provide some justification for his viewpoint. In lines 75-77, it shows evidence that H1 is quite firm on his stand stating that he is happy in whatever he is doing and '*work*' has been his passion for a long time. The next example shows further reference to comments made by Facebook senders which provides a resource for further development of talk between the hosts.

Extract 6: LFM16    H1: host 1                    H2: host 2

- 97 H2:    yeah, Nelson adds it depends on who your partner, this is very  
98           interesting, if your partner is somehow one who is tolerant and  
99           and understanding  
100 H1:    ehem  
101 H2:    then careers ((shush)) that's my sound effect for smo:oth  
102           sailing,  
103 H1:    yes  
104 H2:    but if your partner is not as per mention then things would be in  
105           contrast

In this example, H2 reads another comment from a Facebook user: “*Nelson adds it depends on who your partner is....if your partner is somehow one who is tolerant and understanding*” (lines 97-99). Here, a personal viewpoint is provided by H2 which H2 affirms that careers would be ‘*smooth sailing*’ in line with the comments that the partner is someone ‘*who is tolerant and understanding*’. This then receives an affirmative response from H1 whereby H2 further goes on to say that ‘*if your partner is not*’ with reference to the earlier FB comment, then ‘*things would be in contrast*’ (lines 104-105). So, in establishing views on the topic, it can be seen that both hosts need to collaboratively interact with one another before the first caller gets on air. This seems to be a strategy that is used by both hosts in this phone-in programme before it is time for a caller to call-in. If there is no caller that is ready to be on air (in which the information is provided by the production team), then both hosts would use this strategy to further develop their interactions. These exchanges of turns with regard to opinions from Facebook senders are frequent occurrences in the data. It is found that the Facebook posts are often used by the hosts in the cotext sequences, rather than during a call. These social media posts serve as an interesting feature in the cotext where they are used to open up the topic from and between the hosts, prior to a call. Further examples are illustrated in the next extract.

Extract 7: LFM16    H1: host 1    H2: host 2

- 117 H2: =yeah definitely, Selena adds marriage may not hinder but once  
118 the juniors come along things usually are different, usually the one  
119 who earns less will give up the career and pay more attention to  
120 the little ones  
121 H1: [I think about that also]  
122 H2: [well you agree,] I mean definitely but when the kids come along  
123 stuff like [that]  
124 H1: [but] but I wouldn't consider hinder, I would consider  
125 working together again with your spouse and see, you know, (0.5)  
126 who does the, (0.7) bread earning *la*

The example shows evidence that comments given by FB senders contribute to the exchanges of opinions from both hosts. For instance, there is an overlap between the exchanges of turns of H1 and H2's, in response to 'Selena's' opinion that when the children come along things would be different and it is usually the case that the person who earns less will give up the career and take care of the '*little ones*' (lines 117-120). This further proves to show that in stating '*I think about that also*' (line 121), H1 is in fact offering a personal opinion. This is further confirmed by H2 that H1 agrees to the FB comment as evident in H2's utterance of '*well you agree*' (line 122). However, notice the note of disagreement from H1 in the use of the contrastive marker '*but*', in which he disagrees that having '*kids*' would hinder a marriage but offers an opinion that working together with the '*spouse*' and seeing '*who does the bread earning*' should be considered (lines 124-126). Therefore, this example illustrates that in the development of talk between the hosts, comments from FB users can be a source for the hosts to establish their views on the topic, as well as to share the views of others in relation to the topic under discussion. The views can be related to the personal experience of the host or a more general view of the topic.

The following example shows further interactions between host-host in developing views from FB senders. For instance, lines 135-137 show H2 referring to

Nelson's (extract 6) earlier comments, that is, it depends on the '*kind of person you are*' (lines 136-137). This further proves to show that earlier comments from FB senders can also be a source of reference for the development of talk between the hosts.

Extract 8: LFM16 H1: host 1 H2: host 2

- 133 H2: yeah definitely you know kids and marriage , definitely if you  
 134 have a plan or you wanted to go have a career and you get married  
 135 and you have kids, I mean that might just fly out the window, so  
 136 you know it's up to you, what Nelson said earlier, what kind of  
 137 person you are, and how're you gonna stick at it, instead of juggle  
 138 it, finally Kitschen said (0.4) be single if you want a high flying  
 139 career or no kids,  
 140 H1: [@@@]  
 141 H2: [@@@] that's just easy, you know there're no  
 142 H1: yup  
 143 H2: no fuss or anything there you you you're free to do anything you  
 144 want, so there you go  
 145 H1: okay so that's what we're discussing this morning, Talk Tuesday,  
 146 does marriage complement or hinder you career well, (0.6) feel  
 147 free to give us your uh cents of the coin, uh, your point of view  
 148 0394533333 .....

In line 138, H2 uses the lexical device '*finally*' as a cue to indicate that she is coming to the end of reading comments from FB's senders: '*finally, Kitschen said be single if you want a high-flying career and no kids*' and further supports the idea by uttering '*no fuss or anything there you're free to do anything you want, so there you go*' (lines 143-144). This only receives a minimal response of laughter and '*yup*' from H1. In line 144, when H2 utters '*there you go*', this seems to provide a cue for H1 to proceed with his turn at talk, which then marks the beginning of the introduction of the topic for the day: '*does marriage complement or hinder your career*' (lines 145-148). In these few lines, H1 starts off by introducing the programme '*Talk Tuesday*' which is followed by the topic to invite callers to call in '*feel free to call in.....gives us your point of view*' and this is then subsequently followed by the phone number to

call. Notice the repair sequence in '*cents of a coin*' to a corrected version after the hesitation to '*your point of view*'. What is noticeable in this interaction is that there are 67 turn exchanges between both hosts before the topic is again introduced to the listening audience and before the first caller gets on air. So, it is evident that during the interaction or co-text of host-host talk, there are several activities involved before the lines are opened to listeners to call in to air their views on the topic under discussion. The following shows the turn sequences or activities involved in host-host talk which precedes host-caller interactions that have been identified in the data:

1. Establishing a situation – with reference to an article on a relevant issue related to the topic
2. Establishing personal opinions on the issue – relating experience or offering support or non-support of the issue
3. Acknowledging comments or opinions from Facebook senders
4. Introducing the topic for the day

These sets of procedures before the telephone lines are opened to listeners to call in are evident in the data from LiteFM programme. It is found that in this phone-in programme, host-host talk reflects the nature of the programme in relation to the target listeners. The nature of the programme is that topics are not introduced in the initial stages of the programme, rather interactions between host-host are developed in line with the topic that ensues. The topic of discussion for the day is only slotted in or introduced later in the interactions between both hosts and also after the acknowledgement of comments from FB senders. What is evident in the programme is that the facebook posts are only used by the host in the cotext sequence, rather than during a call. This shows an interesting feature of the work of the social media posts, in which they are used to open up a topic from and between the hosts prior to a call.

This supports Thornborrow and Fitzgerald's (2002) discussion on dealing with emails in radio phone-ins and how this new media form is dealt with by the hosts and guests of the programme. There is also evidence to show that as the episodes progress, dealing with social media posts becomes more of a routine event in each subsequent LFM programme. Therefore, the discussion on social media posts becomes part of the routine works and allows further development of talk by both hosts, as well as, provides a resource for further discussion from callers. This not only allows both host to open the topic up further, but also able to control the topic and acknowledge the participation from social media. In other words, opinions are established between both hosts and these are not only evident in the turn-taking exchanges but also noticeable when hosts read comments from FB senders and respond to them. These views from hosts are significant because they help to define the topic under discussion. It is shown that both hosts work collectively and each conversational turn builds on what was previously discussed, which ultimately builds a scenario for the setting of the topic for the day. Thus, these collective positions act as an invitation for listeners to discuss their point of view or to relate their experience on the topic under discussion. These interactions thus demonstrate how hosts take a position on a topic, but at the same time allow for some concerns regarding the issue prior to requesting calls from listeners. Thus, this will also enable callers to take a position that would align with at least one of the hosts' stated positions. The interaction also shows that personal experience offered by hosts can also play an important role in host-host conversation that precedes host-caller interaction to establish further development of talk.



#### 4.2.2 The introduction stage of BFM programme

Likewise, in the more controversial radio programme such as in BFM, the ways that both hosts work collectively to establish a position on the subject can be seen as an interesting feature in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. As discussed earlier for LFM programmes, each conversational turn between the hosts builds on what was previously generated, which ultimately builds towards the hosts' personal opinions. These features of collaborative work in the introductory stages of interactions between host-host are discussed in the following episodes from BFM.

In BFM programmes, the structure of the introduction stage is quite similar to LiteFM programmes, in which the hosts discuss the topic and cooperatively and collaboratively work with one another before inviting callers to call-in. However, the topic of discussion is introduced by the host much earlier on than in LiteFM programmes. Topics in BFM programmes are mostly related to more serious topics such as 'fuel hike', 'transportation hike' or 'national unity', which would generally have an impact on the society in general. The following example discusses one such topic, that is, on 'national unity'.

##### Extract 9 BFM1

- 1 H1 Good evening I'm Ezra Zaid and alongside me is Caroline Oh and of course it's talkback  
2 Thursday 27 of February and of course we have a great topic here I think it's a bit of er uh  
3 uh a favourite among er er as a topic amongst many Malaysians  
4 H2 Yes  
5 H1 On Saturday Tan Sri Joseph Kurup the minister in charge of national unity urged Putrajaya  
6 to remove hh the race category from official forms to help form hh a unified nation(0.3)  
7 now Tan Sri Joseph Kurup said that it was sad to see Malaysians so divided by racial and  
8 religious identities (.) after 50 years of independence and that Malaysians should start  
9 seeing ourselves as Malaysians rather than using racial and religious identifiers  
10 H2 =Now of course er using racial and religious identifiers is something that is so integral ah to  
11 our society hh you know it goes it goes way back and a lot of times we don't think about it  
12 in fact until hh and unless something happens something like this statement that comes out  
13 in [the press]  
14 H1 [mhm mhm]  
15 H2 That get the tongues wagging hh it is something that er I suppose er largely we have just

16 accepted as er well the way we are and and er that is something that we do (.) however er  
 17 the discourse does come back um when something like this you know dominates the  
 18 headlines then it goes away dominates the headlines goes away  
 19 H1 yes  
 20 H2 um and its back again ↑ (0.2)  
 21 H1 yes um its interesting because the media treats er this whole topic eh eh you know at  
 22 different levels (.) we cover it er you know with some intensity some not it it looks at it on a  
 23 cosmetic surface level it and of course the the real question is what exactly does it mean  
 24 um er (.) you know to be: *bangsa* [Malaysia] so to [speak]  
 25 H2 [yah ] that's [right] um um depending on your  
 26 perspective of it eh you know you if you think of er *bangsa* Malaysia simply in this context  
 27 where you remove (.) say race or religion from official forms  
 28 H1 uhm  
 29 H2 er the responsibility is yes we're all Malaysians  
 30 H1 =we're all equal  
 31 H2 =yeah we're all equal but (.) it feels a little bit too simplistic just branded as such  
 32 H1 =correct  
 33 H2 =and that makes us equal I mean does it does it really you know and and I suppose the  
 34 question we have to ask ourselves is hh where does this desire: for equality stems from  
 35 does it stem from an equal or from an uneven playing field  
 36 H1 =or course there are er also the question of hh er assimilation what does that mean er the  
 37 cultural context I mean we look at other countries let's say we look to our neighbours in  
 38 Indonesia  
 39 H2 Uhuh  
 40 H1 I mean everybody identifies themselves as Indonesians most of (.) comes at the expense er  
 41 eh to a lot of their cultural identifiers you know how do we compare ourselves let's say to er  
 42 the United States another melting pot (.) where everybody identifies them identify  
 43 themselves as an American hh but of course ah they don't necessarily take away ah their  
 44 cultural and ethnic [groups]  
 45 H2 [yeah ] yeah that's right we are a nation of immigrants um yeah our so  
 46 called culture is heavily I feel is heavily influenced anyway hh ah so you know what are we  
 47 holding onto what should we hold on to  
 48 H1 =tell us what you: think about this statement by Tan Sri Joseph Kurup the minister in charge  
 49 of national unity er does being *bang bangsa* Malaysia connect come at the cost of our  
 50 individual cultural identities call us at 0377109 thousand hh you can text us at 0162019  
 51 thousand and you can tweet us (.) at BFM radio we have some music for you walking with  
 52 the ghost by Keegan and Sarah right here on the evening edition BFM 89.9 (*break for a song*)

In this BFM episode, the introduction stage takes a different structure. The first host introduces himself (*I'm Ezra Zaid*) and his co-host (*Caroline Oh*), and this is followed by the name of the programme (*Talkback Thursday*) and the date of the episode of talk. This is followed by a preface to the topic, referring to '*we have a great topic here*' and '*a favourite... amongst many Malaysians*', thus positioning the topic as a topic which would create a local

interest. The topic is then introduced by the host: *'on Saturday Tan Sri Joseph Kurup the minister in charge of national unity urged Putrajaya to remove the race category from official forms to help form a unified nation (0.3) now Tan Sri Joseph Kurup said that it was sad to see Malaysians so divided by racial and religious identities (.) after 50 years of independence and that Malaysians should start seeing ourselves as Malaysians rather than using racial and religious identifiers'* (lines 6-9). A contextual resource is provided by the host in pursuing the topic of discussion, that is, the minister in charge of national unity *'Tan Sri Joseph Kurup'* has urged the government (*Putrajaya*) to remove the race category from all official forms to help form a unified nation. This is further developed by H1 that the minister has expressed his sadness that Malaysians are divided by racial and religious identities even after 50 years of independence, thereby the minister proposes that Malaysians should start seeing themselves as Malaysians rather than being identified along racial and religious lines. Issues which concerned national unity, national education, social and the economy, which are of current interest to Malaysians as a whole, are recurrent topics discussed in BFM programmes. This goes in line with the aim of the station, that is, to promote public discourse in order to create a better life for all Malaysians. In lines 10-18, the co-host (H2) opines that *'using racial and religious identifiers is something that is so integral'* to the society and further expresses that *'we don't think about it in fact until and unless something happens something like this statement that comes out in the press'*, people start talking about the issue (*we get the tongues wagging*). There is a repetition of the same phrase by H2 in the same turn with reference to: *'when something like this you know dominates the headlines then it goes*

*away dominates the headlines goes away*' (lines 17-18), thereby emphasizing on the fact that issues such as these keep on recurring in the news. The topic is further pursued by H1 who poses the question on the meaning of *Bangsa Malaysia* (the Malaysian race) and whether it simply means removing '*race or religion from official forms*' and the '*desire for equality*' and '*the question of assimilation*' (lines 23-24; 36-38). A further contextual reference to consider on the idea of assimilation is provided by H1 in lines 40-44, in which he makes reference to '*Indonesians*' and '*Americans*' who are identified as belonging to one united race without taking away '*their cultural and ethnic groups*'. This contextual reference is further supported by H2 in the next turn, who further addresses the problem that '*culture is heavily influenced*' and poses questions to the listening audience: '*what are we holding on to*'; '*what should we hold on to*' (lines 45-47). The next turn is then taken up by H1 who sees to the introduction to the issue of discussion with reference to the minister's statement on whether being *bangsa Malaysia* come at the cost of our cultural identities (lines 48-50). With this, H1 further announces to the listening audience on the various ways to express their opinions, that is, via telephone calls, text messages or twitter messages (lines 48-51).

In this host-host interaction, there are 21 turn-exchanges that develop between both hosts, in which each host takes a turn to either develop the issue or provide a contextual resource for further development of talk. This turn-taking patterns show how both hosts collaboratively work together to develop the issue of discussion which precedes host-caller interactions. That there is only one occurrence of an overlapping turn in lines 24-25 and some

occurrences of latching in lines 30-33, seem to indicate that there are more cooperative turns rather than counter-arguments in the interactions between host-host. These types of turn-taking patterns are common in most of the BFM data. In contrast with the LiteFM example, in the introductory stage of BFM episode, the hosts do not provide personal opinions or relevant experience to the topic, rather both hosts develop a collective opinion on an aspect of the topic. In pursuing an aspect of the topic or providing a contextual resource for the development of talk by hosts, and how callers build upon this co-text to further develop their arguments or views based on these aspects in the introduction stage, will be discussed in the later sections.

Hutchby (1996a) (10/2) refers to introductions as “taking up positions”, and this view is supported by Fitzgerald (1999) who refers to the desire for hosts to be counter-aligned with their callers on topical issues. In the example given, it is seen that both hosts establish a position on the topic with regard to the context of the minister’s statement, and only introduces the topic of discussion later in the interactions. However, the discussion on whether the hosts have the desire to counter-align with the caller will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

The following extract revolves around the topic on ‘*transportation hike*’. A brief introduction to the issue is provided by H1 in the initial stages of the episode: ‘*it was reported that SPAD (Suruhanjaya Awam Pengangkutan Awam Darat Malaysia or Land Public Transport Commission Malaysia) has put up a recommendation to the Ministry (Transport Ministry) to increase public transport charges nationwide while the proposal waits the green light*

*from the government'* (lines 4-7). This is evident after the exchange of introductions by both hosts (lines 1-2). The introduction of the names of hosts in full (*I'm Ezra Zain, I'm Caroline Oh*) takes on a more formal form of addressing the listeners in such settings, compared to introductions in other radio phone-in programmes (Hutchby, 1996; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Thornborrow, 2001a; Frencik 2007).

Extract 10: BFM7

- 1 H1 good evening I'm Ezra Zain  
 2 H2 and I'm Caroline Oh  
 3 H1 its talkback 037719 thousand you can text us at 0162019 thousand tweet us at BFM radio  
 4 we're talking about public transportation price hike ah it was reported yesterday that  
 5 SPAD has put er a recommendation to the ministry to increase public transport charges  
 6 nationwide, while the proposal waits the green light from the government many are um  
 7 probably quite up in arms about this whole thing  
 8 H2 = and surprisingly so you have some people saying that public transportation hike is  
 9 unavoidable (.) given ar the meagre wages sustained by these workers of these  
 10 transportation companies and so whatever the outcome is I think will prove to be rather  
 11 ((noise)) as seen on online in the web you know with the recent fuel hike last month  
 12 H1 absolutely and of course so on *talkback Tuesday* we're asking you if of course the  
 13 transportation price hike takes place what kind of service do you expect then are they  
 14 achievable I mean yah  
 15 H2 do you think the price hike is justifiable so you know we always we tend to do is this (.)  
 16 we talk about the minimum wage we also talk about the civil servants we talk about  
 17 tea:chers  
 18 H1 umm  
 19 H2 and a lot of the times (0.3) complaints come through saying that teachers don't earn  
 20 enough money and therefore  
 21 H1 that's the quality we get  
 22 H2 the quality surpass  
 23 H1 yeah  
 24 H2 um you know but the argument is whether or not they should be doing a good job  
 25 regardless of salary

It is observed that in the opening sequences which lead to the topic of discussion, both hosts (H1 and H2) provide some background information about the issue on '*transportation hike*': '*we're talking about public transportation price hike ah it was reported yesterday that SPAD has put er a recommendation to the ministry to increase public transport charges nationwide while the proposal waits the green*

*light from the government many are um probably quite up in arms about this whole thing*' (H1) (lines 3-7); *'you have some people saying that public transportation hike is unavoidable ..given ar the meagre wages sustained by these workers of these transportation companies'* (H2) (lines 8-11). Two contrasting contexts are provided by H1 and H2 here; that many people are voicing their dissatisfaction with the recommendation: *'many are um probably quite up in arms about this whole thing'* (H1) (lines 6-7); and some people are saying that it is unavoidable in view of the *'meagre wages'* earned by *'workers of these transportation companies'* (H2) (lines 8-11). In the next turn, H1 agrees with H2 by uttering *'absolutely and of course'* and thereby continues his turn by inviting the listeners to express their opinions on the issue with regard to the expected *'kind of service'* and whether they are *'achievable'* if the transportation hike takes effect (lines 12-14). H2 then moves on in the next turn with the question of whether *'the price hike is justifiable'*, which she later develops her talk to include a specific group of people *'the civil servants'* and provide a further specific membership category of *'teachers'* (lines 15-24). In the development of talk, it is noticeable that these series of questions are targeted to the listening audience, thus implicating them as an invitation for the listening audience to call in and express their views on the issue. What is noticeable here is that further development of related topics are introduced by the host which relates to teachers not earning enough money and the quality of the job and the argument is further pursued on whether teachers *'should be doing a good job regardless of salary'* (lines 23-24). Thus, what is seen in the development of talk between hosts is that, both hosts response to prior turns of speakers and at the same time they are seen to create different scenarios in introducing talk related to the topic of discussion. Likewise, as previously discussed in LiteFM programmes, it is also observed in BFM programmes that both hosts work

collaboratively and provide responses to each other's prior turns in the stages of host-host talk. In contrast to LiteFM programmes where hosts exchange personal views and experience on the topic, the issues raised on BFM programmes take on a more serious note. Therefore, introducing the topic by including some scenario and background information is a common feature in the initial stages of host-host talk before the lines are opened to radio callers in these types of programmes.

### Acknowledgment of comments

Similar to LiteFM programmes as discussed earlier, the next stage of the co-text or host-host talk involves the hosts reading comments from facebook (FB) senders and twitter or text messages. This is evident in the following extract:

#### Extract 11: BFM7

- 25 H1 er you have er Jenny from the Consumers Association in Kelantan goes on to say it's unfair  
 26 to raise the fares without improving the reach, the frequency and the quality of the bus  
 27 services (.) uh I get that point with regards to improve the reach and frequency, but when it  
 28 comes to the quality of the bus services what does that mean is it because you're just getting  
 29 a higher pay therefore you're going to be sort of doing a better job on that idea and sometimes  
 30 we look at the quality of the services has to be irrespective of uh uh what their salary is and  
 31 you know sometimes that correlation to know with regards to that  
 32 H2 I think it's two separate issues we're talking about bus bus services and here you're talking  
 33 about lo:w wa:ges I mean there's only so much say a bus driver can do (.) to increase to  
 34 increase say for example or expand the route it's certainly not within his control (.) and will  
 35 paying him a better salary guarantee that I really don't think so  
 36 H1 And we're looking at taxi companies for example um one of the biggest corporate taxi  
 37 companies association goes on to say that taxi companies could no longer cope with the rise  
 38 in wages if the price of fuel spare parts and servicing their vehicles (.) commuters do not  
 39 have to pay GST for public transport but taxi drivers may have to pay GST on their daily  
 40 vehicle rentals which currently range between 50 *ringgit* to 100 *ringgit* hh depending on the  
 41 vehicles so what we're looking at is almost like a domino effect uh uh the rise of public  
 42 transport fares towards other goods and services  
 43 H2 Well why you can't argue with that there's certainly what sort of what's going to happen  
 44 there's a whole (.) something to be said about the system  
 45 H1 Mm  
 46 H2 which taxis are running on their the whole permit system going on hh and um and a lot of  
 47 it doesn't doesn't trickle down so there isn't a trickle down effect and we've had you know  
 48 countless talkbacks about taxis for example and uh the grouses that they have (.) the  
 49 difficulties and challenges that they go through so you know whether or not it's justifiable  
 50 (.) you tell us today  
 51 H1 Absolutely the public transportation price hike has been proposed by the transport ministry  
 52 and if this is so what kind of service do you expect then are they achieve do you achievable



Note: *ringgit* refers to the Malaysian currency.

In lines 25-27, H1 reads a text message from ‘Jenny’ who represents ‘*the Consumers Association in Kelantan*’ who gives the view that ‘*it’s unfair to raise the fares without improving the reach, the frequency and the quality of the bus services*’ and provides an agreement with the texter’s view ‘*with regards to improve the reach and frequency*’. However, H1 questions the texter’s view on ‘*the quality of the bus services*’ with regards to ‘*getting a higher pay*’ and whether they would do a ‘*better job*’ on the services. He further states his argument that ‘*the quality of the services has to be irrespective of what their salary is*’ and brings up the issue of ‘*the correlation between quality of services and higher pay*’ (lines 29-31). This argument is then taken up by H2 who goes on to provide her own stand on the issue by clarifying that ‘*there are separate issues we’re talking about*’ (line 32), that is, by making reference to ‘*bus services*’ and the issue brought up by H1 on ‘*low wages*’. H2 further justifies her argument that it is beyond the bus driver’s control to increase or expand the route, and further questions H1’s argument that paying ‘*a better salary*’ will ‘*guarantee*’ the kind of service provided (lines 32-35). H2 thus ends her turn on a disagreement note of ‘*I really don’t think so*’ (line 35), thus implicating that the increase in salary for ‘*bus drivers*’ will not necessarily justify better services.

In lines 36-42, H1 takes a turn and further provides another line of argument concerning ‘*taxi companies*’ with reference to ‘*one of the biggest corporate taxi companies association*’. He further continues by bringing up the issue that ‘*taxi companies could no longer cope with the rise in wages if the price of fuel, spare parts and servicing their vehicles*’ increase. He further supports his argument by stating that

*'commuters do not have to pay GST for public transport but taxi drivers may have to pay GST on their daily vehicle rentals'* and associate the situation or liken it to a *'domino effect'* which will lead to a rise on *'other goods and services'*. In lines 46-50, H2 further adds that it cannot be argued about what is going to happen or about the *'taxi permit system'* and a lot of what is happening does not *'trickle down'* and supports earlier *'talkback'* issues on *'taxis..grouses..difficulties and challenges'*. Topics on issues which affect the general public such as *'fuel hike'* and *'transportation hike'* are common topics of discussion on BFM programmes. H2 then ends her turn by directing the issue to the listening audience: *'so you know whether or not it's justifiable..you tell us today'* (lines 49-50). This shows a cue for a call for opinions from the listening audience to discuss the justification of the transportation hike. An agreement token of *'absolutely'* by H1 provides further development of the topic in which the issue is then directed to the listening audience: *'what kind of service do you expect then are they achieve do you achievable tell us what do you think'* (lines 51-53). Notice the self-repair in H1's speech of *'are they achieve'* and *'do you achievable'* in which H1 still creates an incorrect structure in his speech. This shows evidence that the host is able to recognise a speech error but is unable to make corrections to his speech, thus continues with his talk.

Therefore, in the introductory stage of host-host talk, it is found that both hosts work collectively to bring up issues that are related to the topic on *'transportation hike'* and questions many issues related to those who work in the transportation sector like *'taxi drivers'* or people who may be affected by the rise such as *'civil servants'* or *'teachers'*. These strategies of the hosts in the earlier part of the programme provide some resource for callers to call in with their views on the issue. These strategies of bringing up topic-related issues by hosts occur quite frequently in most of the radio

talks in BFM programmes. These topic-related issues also provide a resource for callers to air their views and they are found to be common occurrences in these programmes. The generation of topic-related issues will be discussed further in the next chapter.

In the introductory stage of host-host talk, the lead host (H1) will always introduce the topic of discussion after a break for a song or news. In this particular episode, there are four phases observed in the introduction to topic by the host. The following are samples of extracts that illustrate these phases which are taken out of context:

Phase 1: *Its talkback 037719 thousand you can text us at 0162019 thousand tweet us at BFM radio we're talking about public transportation price hike ah it was reported yesterday that SPAD has put er a recommendation to the ministry to increase public transport charges nationwide while the proposal waits the green light from the government many are um probably quite up in arms about this whole thing*

Phase 2: *Good evening I'm Ezra Zain and alongside me is Caroline Oh its Talkback Tuesday hh and of course we're talking about public transportation price hike SPAD has proposed for an increase in public transportation charges nationwide **we're asking you what do you think** about this.. is the price hike justifiable will we I mean will commuters experience better public transportation you can call us 037719 thousand you can text us at 0162019 thousand and tweet us at BFM radio*

Phase 3: *You're with Caroline and Ezra its Talkback Tuesday you can call us 037719 thousand you can text us at 0162019 thousand of course you can tweet us at BFM radio today we were talking about the public transportation price hike hh uh SPAD has recommended to the transport ministry that uh this price hike should be implemented nationwide and of course it's going to be waiting for some sort of approval **we're asking you what you think** about it is it justifiable*

Phase 4: *You're with Caroline and Ezra on talkback Tuesday.. SPAD has proposed an increase in public transportation charges nationwide **we're asking you what you think** about this is this price hike justifiable will we see commuter experience a.. little bit better and will it be better for public transport in general 037719 thousand is the number to call ..our first caller for the day hi Ewan*

What is noticeable is the similarity of utterances of host for the request for callers' views as seen in 'we're asking you (do) what you think' and 'whether the price hike is justifiable'. The names of the hosts are mentioned in all phases. This

seems to show that even though regular listeners may be familiar with the hosts, there is also the possibility that there may be first-time listeners who may not be familiar with the hosts or the format of the programme. In phase 4, we see evidence of the host summoning the first caller: *'our first caller for the day hi Ewan'*.

In the introductory stage of host-host talk, it is seen that other contexts in relation to the topic are discussed between the hosts. This can be seen in the following extract:

Extract 12: BFM7

- 61 H2 Yes and what do you think whether it's justifiable so when was the last time you go into  
 62 a cab and oh what kind of experience uh cause I don't think it's fair to compare say it's  
 63 not apples let's say comparing buses taxi services uh I mean the last time I got into a  
 64 cab was yesterday and I had a very pleasant experience @@@  
 →65 H1 Um actually I had er er a great cab experience (.) yesterday (.) as er I kind of left this  
 66 cellphone in the back seat (.) hh and the cab went away and I had to call the cab  
 67 company but the guy came back in about 20 minutes and the of course ar you know I  
 68 rewarded him generously with a nice tip because you know I got my phone back but (.)  
 69 sometimes that kind of experience is more (.) the exception rather than the rule right  
 →70 H2 Certainly am am back to what we were saying whether or not it's fair to ur to talk about  
 71 public services or rather public transportation along the same vein can you you know  
 72 say that these taxi services and um you know whether that's fair to say for buses  
 73 services hh from the report we received from the newspapers it doesn't seem that way  
 74 about the grouses since I took the bus  
 →75 H1 Yah and you're thinking about fare increase and the context of the goods and services  
 76 tax hh which is going to be imposed in April next year double blow for low income  
 77 commuters who rely on public transport and so what do you think about this public  
 78 transportation price hike is it justifiable, tell us what you think about it 0377109  
 79 thousand of course you can text us at 0192109 thousand or tweet us at BFM radio

For instance, in lines 61-69, there is an exchange of 'cab' experience between H2 and H1, in which H1 relates the experience that he had left his *'cellphone in the back seat of the cab'* and the cab driver came back to return his cellphone and was rewarded generously. H2 agrees in the affirmative with *'certainly'* and continues to question whether it is fair to bring up the issue of *'public transportation along the same vein'* as it has been reported in the newspapers that there have been *'grouses'* about buses

services (lines 70-74). Getting views from callers from all aspects of society keeps recurring in the interactions between both hosts. For instance in lines (75-77), H1 further provides another context of price increase with the imposition of tax on ‘*goods and services*’ which is to be imposed in April the following year, and the effect on ‘*low-income commuters*’ and thereby calls for listeners for their views on whether this is ‘*justifiable*’. In view of the interactions between both hosts, the introduction of different contexts by hosts seems to provide a resource for further development of talk. In other words, there are different angles of discussion which are related to the topic which are seen as an encouragement for listeners to call in.

In between requesting for callers to call in, the co-host (H2) reads further comments from text messages as displayed in the following extracts:

#### Extract 13: BFM7

- 87 H2 =that’s right Azmi sends in this message any increase (.) in prices must be  
 88 justifiable and it must be a uniform increase be it again a competition act an  
 89 increase would be against the assurance given by the government that there would  
 90 be no price hike due the GST implementation as for improving (.) improving the  
 91 quality we have heard this many times before and we have been misled a::ll the time  
 92 (.) I suppose having full confidence that something is going to change and when it  
 93 comes to public transportation (.) it’s very very difficult (.) because its true we’ve  
 94 heard this again and again (.) we’re doing something about we’re doing something  
 95 about it (.)
- 96 H1 I just want to place some context to this (.) bus and taxi operators (.) have appealed  
 97 to the government to allow them to raise their fares to up to 30 per cent to 40 per  
 98 cent request they said was justifiable as operational costs hh have increased but of  
 99 course they haven’t changed since 2008 (.) hh Syed Hamid (.) Albar was uh SPAD  
 100 the commission sympathize with the operators that the increase was justifiable due  
 101 to rising hh operational costs and (.) you know t:o that point this is what they are  
 102 requesting again so I guess consumers and commuters using public transportation  
 103 be asking back but what do we get in return when these price hikes go up (.) I mean  
 104 hh is the quality and the (.) experience of the buses or taxis (.) will that improve the  
 105 reach and frequency of some of these hh uh means of public transportation will it  
 106 improve
- 107 H2 =indeed and it’s a matter of perspective isn’t it Min See says uh after the petrol hike  
 108 now these people would continue to drive in jams continuing nothing changes hh  
 109 except (.) the fact except the fact that we’re getting poorer nothing and so you know  
 110 (.) when you talk about perspective eh ah who’s perspective do you go with

H2 reads a text message by 'Azmi' who says that '*prices must be justifiable and it must be a uniform increase*' and that the government has given the assurance that there '*would be no price hike due the GST implementation*' and expresses his dissatisfaction that they have been misled by the improvement of the quality of services' (lines 87-91). Further justifications are then provided by H1 with the request '*to place some context to this*', that is the appeal to the government by bus and taxi operators to allow them to raise their fares to justify higher '*operational costs*' which has not changed '*since 2008*' (lines 96-99). H1 continues further by adding that the minister in charge has sympathized with '*the operators*' on the '*rising operational costs*' and in view of that, taxi operators are requesting again for the price increase. The issue on the effect of the price increase on '*consumers and commuters*' and the improvement in services are further developed by H1 (lines 98-104). Two issues of concern are brought up by H1: the first is the appeal from bus and taxi operators to raise fares owing to the rise in operational costs; while the second, is the requests from consumers and commuters on the improvement on the quality of services of public transportation. This shows how hosts will raise local issues and social knowledge about the subject in the context of the discussion to encourage callers to air their views on the topic. The final text message by 'Min Yee' offers another aspect of social knowledge on the situation with regard to '*the matter of perspective*' and with the '*petrol hike*' people will still drive regardless of the traffic '*jam*' or traffic congestion (lines 105-108). This opinion places the texter on the social knowledge about the situation concerning the topic of discussion.

'*A final point*' in H1's speech sees a possibility that the host is coming to the final point that is raised in relation to the topic. Another angle of discussion is provided by H1 here regarding taxis to neighbouring Singapore.

Extract 14: BFM7

- 113 H1 =yah I'm going to give the number once again 037719 thousand text us 0162019 thousand  
 →114 tweet us at BFM radio just **a final point** (.) o:n this recommendation by SPAD the transport  
 115 ministry the recommendation included taxis carrying passengers to Singapore (.) it was  
 116 reported earlier that there are 200 such taxis (.) were expected to face losses due to toll  
 117 hikes at toll immigration and quarantine complex (.) this is of course in Woodlands (.)  
 118 checkpoint in Singapore (.) hh of course there's going to be more dialogue in future (.) the  
 119 taxi of Singapore association should be patient with regard to this fare in:crease as you need  
 120 some sort of consent from the Singapore government as well so that's another (.) sort of  
 121 element to his whole discussion as well  
 122 H2 =and whether or not on (.) ah that cost should be um should be passed on to the consumers↑  
 123 H1 Yes absolutely um 03719 thousand you can text us 01621079 thousand tweet us at BFM,  
 124 clearly if you care so much about this issue you can't wait to dial in the number again  
 125 037719 thousand its talkback Tuesday we have some music for you by Ribeye on BFM  
 (break)

A 'final point' in H1's speech can be seen as an indication to end the context of discussion provided by the host in the introductory stage of host-host talk. H1 raises the issue on taxis in neighbouring Singapore and '*toll hikes at toll immigration and quarantine complex*' in Woodlands, the checkpoint in Singapore. The host further adds that this issue foresees '*more dialogue in future*' as this may be an international issue with regard to the fare increase on '*the taxi of Singapore association*' as that would require '*some sort of consent from the Singapore government*' (lines 115-120). H1 further adds this as another element to the whole discussion on transportation hike. It is seen that in line 122, H2 latches in with the question raised earlier that is, whether the cost should be passed on to '*the consumers*'. A cooperative turn by H1 is seen here with the use of the affirmative device of '*yes, absolutely*' to show an agreement to H2's prior utterance, in which he further continues his speech by giving out the numbers to call to the programme.

Thus, it is observed that there are many types of strategies used by hosts in introducing resources for further interactions from radio callers and these are common occurrences in BFM programmes. For instance, as seen in this episode, the first caller only gets on air in line 133 or after 35 turn-exchanges between the hosts. The fewer

turn-exchanges between hosts in BFM compared to LiteFM thus indicate that the hosts in this programme provide longer turn-taking between them. It is observed in the data that both hosts provide longer turns and more issues or content of talk in each subsequent turns of hosts, thus explains the shorter turn-exchanges between them.

Turns are more cooperative, in which each speaker takes a turn each in the development of talk. The turn-taking procedures are structured in that each host takes a turn each, therefore overlapping turns are less frequently observed. This shows that talk in the programme is organised in sequences of actions which are related to the context of discussion. In other words, the sequences that are constructed and methodologically produced by each turn, are not seen as action-responses, rather they are considered as action-action sequences of hosts. In other words, host does not provide a response to prior turns in host-host talk, rather an action of talk is followed by another action of talk. Thus, both hosts provide content for talk which may be important as a resource for further development of talk in host-caller interaction as contexts for discussion. The cooperative turns as observed in the data are also seen in the instances of latching which normally occur when a speaker continues with what prior speaker has just said or introduces another context of discussion that is related to the topic. A summary of the context of discussion identified in the data on the topic on 'transportation hike' include: meagre wages of taxi drivers, quality of transportation services, high operating costs of taxis, tax on goods and services, and the problem of toll hikes in neighbouring Singapore. These contexts of discussion may be pursued by callers and these issues will be discussed in the call validation stage of talk.

The following illustrates the turn sequences or activities involved in host-host talk which precedes host-caller interactions identified in the data:



1. Establishing a situation – with reference to a relevant or current issue related to the topic
2. Establishing personal opinions on the issue – relating experience or offering support or non-support of the issue
3. Establishing a context of discussion – relating to the topic and how the issue may affect certain categories of people, such as, *commuters, consumers, civil servants and teachers*.
4. Acknowledging comments or opinions from Facebook senders and text/twitter messages on the issue
5. Introducing the topic for the day

These turn sequences recur throughout the interactions between the two hosts. Even though in some samples of data the order of the sequences in which they may occur may differ, the strategies used by the hosts in the co-text which precedes host-caller interaction have somewhat similar features. As discussed in LFM programmes on the context of discussion, the hosts in BFM programmes also establish a context with respect to certain groups of people who may be affected by the issue. However, since the topics revolve around more controversial issues, the context may apply to a larger reach of the Malaysian society.

It is also observed that there is a variation in the range of turn-exchanges between hosts in both programmes in the examples shown: LiteFM has 67 turns, while BFM has 35 turns, though the number of turns may differ, depending on the topics or episodes of talk. LiteFM has more overlapping turns compared to BFM due to the fact that hosts exchange personal views and experiences on the topic of discussion, whereas BFM has more cooperative turns in that a turn develops and this is followed by the next turn of the other host. The use of back-channels such as, *okay, mmm, mm, yeah* that frequently occur in the programmes indicate that co-host acknowledges or supports the current speaker's talk. The frequent overlapping turns in LiteFM programme that are observed indicate that the programme is more conversational relating to features of ordinary conversations (Sacks, 1991), in contrast to BFM programme which takes on a more formal atmosphere.

It is evident that in these radio phone-in programmes, host-host talk reflects the nature of the programmes in relation to the target listeners. As the format of the radio phone-in programmes are issue-based, certain topics may attract or encourage specific groups of listeners to call in and exchange views on the topics of discussion. Therefore, hosts take on the significant role of targeting these specific groups of people. Even though, the specific groups of people may be the listeners and not necessarily the callers who call-in the programmes, hosts will still take on the institutional role of providing contexts of discussion and personal views to attract the listening audience. These contexts of discussion and views are significant because they help to define the topic under discussion. It is observed that both hosts work collectively and each conversational turn builds on what was previously discussed, which ultimately builds a scenario for the setting of the topic for the day.

There are also instances in which hosts provide collective positions which act as an invitation for listeners to pose a different point of view or to align with the hosts' views, and which in fact reinforce the role of hosts as being initially impartial to a debate (Fitzgerald, 1999; Hutchby, 1991). These interactions thus demonstrate how hosts take a position on a topic, but at the same time allow for some doubt to be established within that position prior to requesting calls from listeners (Fitzgerald, 1999; Hutchby, 1991). They also allow callers to take a position that would align with at least one of the hosts' stated positions. The interaction also demonstrates that personal experience can play an important role in host-host conversation that precedes host-caller interaction to establish the right to speak. In LiteFM programmes which cater for more light-hearted issues such as relationship, moral and ethical issues, the nature of the programmes are rather conversational, which ascribe them as being entertaining, as entertaining listeners is the main purpose of the talk shows. Laughter and jokes are also common occurrences among

the hosts. The formality of the hosts in BFM programmes reflect the nature of the programme which focus on more serious issues to encourage discourse which may affect a larger section of the Malaysian society.

#### **4.3 Stages of talk: Features of host-caller talk**

This section will discuss the opening stage of host-caller talk, the call-validation stage and the follow-up turns of host-caller, and the closing stage of the programmes.

##### **4.3.1 The opening stage and introducing the calls**

Schegloff's (1972, 1979) model of the opening sequence of a telephone call shows that after the initial summons/response adjacency pair, the caller initiates the greeting sequence, and gets to give the reason for their call in the first topic slot. In this type of opening sequence, the call receiver speaks first in response to the telephone ring summons, and the caller speaks next with a greetings/identification turn. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) identified four defining characteristics of the adjacency pair (AP), which are composed of two utterances, that is, they are adjacent; produced by different speakers; ordered as a first pair part (FPP) and a second pair part (SPP); and typed, so that a particular first pair part provides for the relevance of a particular second pair part. That means, a complaint can receive a remedy, an expression of agreement, or a denial as its second; or a question can receive an answer as its second.

In a radio phone-in on-air opening, the sequential ordering of the summons-response AP-type pair is reversed. The host summons the caller in the first turn (by naming them) and the caller responds in the next turn. In the two opening turns of the phone-in call, the host speaks first and the caller speaks next, thus changing the

relationship between the participants in the phone-in call. Therefore, the order of a typical two-turn opening sequence of the phone-in call is as follows:

Host: summons  
Caller: response

In phone-in call openings, it is the obligation of the caller to listen to the host, as the caller is in the position of having to respond to the host's initial identification and greeting. Therefore, the caller needs to place himself in a position of having to listen to what the host says next, rather than the other way round. In other words, the first pair part (a question) provides the relevance of a second pair part (an answer).

What is evident in the phone-in data is that, the SPP of caller depends on the FPP of AP of host. For instance, a greeting by host will be followed with a response to the greeting by caller, or a question by host will be followed by an answer by caller. In most calls to the LiteFM phone-in programmes, callers come on air and straight away offer an opinion on the topic under discussion. Since there are two hosts present, it can either be the first host or the second host who initiates the discussion. In the call openings in LiteFM, routine patterns are observed in the first few turns. These routine patterns typify the nature of the programme. Typical turns consist of a two or four-turn sequence, in which each participant takes at least one turn, as exemplified in the following extracts:

Extract 15: LFM16    H1: host 1    H2: host 2    C1: caller 2    C2: caller 2

153 H1: all right Talk Tuesday, does marriage complement or hinder  
154 your career, that's what we're talking about this morning (0.5)  
155 what do you think Arif?  
156 C1: I think it complements  
157 H2: [=you think you don't sound very convinced though]  
158 H1: [@@@@@]  
159 C1: no, no I had a streak with career, I was working with people for 17 over  
160 years

#### Extract 16: LFM16

- 230 H1: Talk Tuesday and we're discussing does marriage complement or  
231 hinder your career (0.4) and we're coming in with Andy  
232 C2: in my case I would say, it it did hinder my marriage because I am  
233 in the entertainment line and in uh media industry

As both examples show, it is usually the lead host (H1) that takes the initial turn in introducing the topic of discussion. In most cases of the phone-in programme, the male host always takes the initial role in introducing the topic and acknowledging the caller on air rather than the female host. This is then followed by requesting the caller's opinion and acknowledging the caller's name (lines 153-155 and 230-231). In example 16, the topic is introduced by the host, but the opinion is not requested from the caller, the presence of '*and we're coming in with Andy*' (line 231) indicates the cue for the next caller to have a turn at talk. As illustrated in example 15, the host's first turn contains four components: the name of the programme; the topic for the day; the call for opinion and the identification of the caller. This can be exemplified as follows:

Name of programme + the topic for the day + call for opinion + identification of caller  
*Talk Tuesday + marriage hinder or complement your career + what do you think + Arif*

The identification of the caller's name then gives the cue for the caller's turn at talk. However, there are variations in the ordering of the components and these may affect what happens in the next turn. For instance, in example 15, the host requests for the caller's view by asking '*What do you think Arif?*', and this is then followed by an opinion statement by the caller, that is, '*I think it complements*' (line 156). Therefore, the FPP (summoning/questioning) is followed by the SPP (answering summon/answering question). The three-turn sequence thus follows that, H1 takes the first turn, followed by the caller's turn and this is then subsequently followed by H2's turn. However, as the talk develops, the name of the programme and topic of discussion

are not repeated by the hosts. This is observed in the following extract in which the topic of discussion concerns *'being materialistic with gifts'*.

Extract 17: LFM9    H1: host 1 H2: host 2    C5: caller 5

- 233 H1: Gomez, what do you think  
234 C5: yes you know you know because why, nowadays parents you know  
235        they they they think they what they they they want to pamper their  
236        kids with whatever they ask for  
237 H1: of course they want to  
238 C5: you see you see you see uh uh uh XX you know does your child  
239        really need it and are they going to make full use of what you give

As discussed earlier, the function of the host's first turn is to bring the caller into the participatory frame by identifying them (out of a set of possible next callers) by name and to open to the next party. This is illustrated in the above example when H1 summons the fifth caller into the episode with *'Gomez what do you think'* (line 233). Levinson (1988) considered this as a 'channel link' to the next party by giving the cue 'you're on line'. The sequence between hosts and caller can then proceed, thus bringing all participants into the interactional frame.

Fitzgerald and Housley (2002), Thornborrow (2001a), Ferencik (2007) and Dori Hachohen (2014) have characterized the introductory sequence as routine openings in calls in radio phone-ins. These terms are not meant to imply that these forms are the norm nor the most common, but simply that the "routine" displays all the features which are found in the opening turns of radio phone-ins in the literature. Some of the sequence types found in the analysis of radio phone-ins include: summon-answer sequence; identification-recognition sequence; greeting-exchange sequence; and *'how are you'* sequence (Fitzgerald and Housley (2002), Thornborrow (2001a), Hutchby (2006), Ferencik (2007) and Dori Hachohen (2014). These studies have shown that the opening sequences in radio phone-ins have common norms and features where names of the

callers are announced, followed by the names of the location and a greeting sequence. According to Hutchby (1991), often the only evidence of a caller in the introductory sequence is their name and location. However, in most of the Malaysian data, the location of the caller is seldom mentioned by the host. The callers are only introduced by their names and this is then followed by the host inviting the callers to offer their thoughts on the issue. However, there are very few cases in the data in which the location of the caller is specified by the callers themselves. Greeting sequences are also not frequent occurrences in the LiteFM data. As the examples (extracts 15,16,17) show, most of the introduction stage of host-caller interactions involve the host prompting the caller to state an opinion about the topic which is the focus of the programme. For instance in extract 18 shown below, the host (H1) seeks the caller's opinion and then acknowledges his name as evident in the first turn *'so what do you think Anthony'* on the topic *'Is money the biggest motivator when looking for a job'* (lines 139-141).

Extract 18: LFM15

- 139 H1: we're on to a very interesting discussion this morning, is money  
 140 the biggest motivator when looking for a job, so what do you  
 141 think Anthony?  
 142 (1.0)  
 143 C2: if it was for me, if in the earlier stages, where I use to earn like  
 144 tons of money because I I'm in sales u:h uh by the way, I've been  
 145 doing sales a lot and and money is like a big thing for me,  
 146 problem is, as time went by, what I realise was I gave a lot of  
 147 opportunities in career wise, you know I had managerial uh  
 148 position that came to me, I didn't take it because you know why I  
 149 know that, that managerial position was not paying me that  
 150 amount of money and the worse thing is, until right now, I'm still  
 151 stuck with you know doing sales  
 152 H1: so basically the managerial pos- position is like a fix salary every  
 153 month but in sales you just earn by commission is it?

In some data, there are occasions where the caller engages in a multi-sentence monologue when the caller is introduced to the show by the host in the first few introductory sequences. This is illustrated in the above example. In lines 143 and 151, the caller identifies himself '*I'm in sales*' and '*doing sales*' and these descriptions illustrate reference to a caller's membership identification category or an occupational category. In other words, this shows relevance of the caller's position in offering his opinion to the topic being discussed. Based on the characteristics of an AP, the first pair part (FPP) (*Is money the biggest motivator when looking for a job...what do you think Anthony*) provides for the relevance of a particular second pair part (SPP) (*I'm in sales...I've been doing sales..*). The three-turn sequence is then marked with the host confirming the caller's position or statement that the managerial position offers the caller a fixed salary but in sales he earns through commission (lines 152-153). This confirmation is marked by the tag question '*is it?*' (line 153). This tag question which is different from a tag question used in British or American English expressions in question forms, is a common way of confirming a fact in Malaysian English. It is a colloquial form of English that is commonly used among Malaysians in informal situations. So in this introductory stage, there is no counter-alignment and C2 has engaged in a multi-sentence monologue to make a case for himself. The host does not challenge or question this position at this early stage of introductory sequence.

In the next extract on the same topic, there is counter-alignment from both hosts when the caller states his position directly on the topic in the next turn following H1's introductory stage.



Extract 19: LFM15

- 246 H1: All right Talk Tuesday asking you, is money the biggest motivator  
247 when looking for a job, let's see what Edward has to say  
248 C3: Ya actually money is the most important factor in getting a job  
249 H2: [ wa: really ]  
250 H1: [I'm so surprised when] people think like me  
251 C3: But when you got a job, you're going into a new company, you  
252 don't know the company's environment the cheapest in there, and  
253 when you meet someone who's going to spoil your career and  
254 he's always after your superior or things like that  
255 H2: What, sounds like you're talking from a bit of experience here huh

Here, when the caller emphasizes on the word '*most*' he receives some kind of doubtful response of '*wa: really*' from H2, but receives a supportive statement from H1: '*I'm so surprised that people think like me*' (lines 248-250). What is noticeable here is the occurrence of overlapping utterances between H1 and H2 when both hosts offer their responses to the caller's opinion (lines 249-250). These turn-taking sequences are frequent occurrences in the radio phone-in programmes when a caller gets on air and directly offers his/her stand on the issue. In lines 251-254, the caller however contradicts his earlier statement by describing that when a person starts on a new job, he is going to experience a new working environment and further elaborates on the negative side of it when one meets someone who is '*going to spoil your career and he's always after your superior*'. Here, on this occasion of talk we find that the caller does not develop on the opinion that he has offered earlier (line 248) but further provides an account of his experience of working in a '*new company*'. In line 255, H2 provides a response in the form of a confirmation of the fact that the caller is actually talking from experience: '*what, sounds like you're talking from a bit of experience here huh*'.

Therefore, in the introductory stages of host-caller talk, it is evident that there are various ways of developing the sequences of talk and these seem to depend on what the caller has to say on the issue of discussion when the caller is first introduced to the show. The callers will either develop a multi-sentence monologue without raising his stand on the issue (extract 18) or offers a direct opinion and receives some kind of feedback or responses from the hosts of the show (extracts 15, 16, 17, 19). In the data, there is evidence that the hosts on the station oriented to concurring with or affirming the caller's view as a priority on the interactions on the topic. For instance the host regards the topic as an issue and questions the caller further or affirms the fact based on caller's own experience of the issue.

In contrast to LiteFM introductory sequences, BFM programmes observe different patterns in the introductory stage. The examples below illustrate the different introductory sequences:

#### Extract 20: BFM6

- 123 H1 you're with Caroline and Ezra on talkback Tuesday (.) SPAD has proposed an increase in  
 123 public transportation charges nationwide we're asking you what you think about this.. is  
 124 this price hike justifiable will we see commuter experience a (.) little bit better and will it  
 125 be better for public transport in general 037719 thousand is the number to call **our first**  
 126 **caller for the day hi Ewan**  
 127 H2 **hi**  
 128 C1 **hi good good afternoon**  
 129 H1 **[good afternoon]**  
 130 H2 **[good afternoon]**  
 131 H1 10 points for you for being our first caller what do you have to say  
 132 C1 ah:: the price increase for public transport (.) doesn't really answer the real problem the

#### Extract 21: BFM6

- 237 H1 it's talkback and you're with Caroline and Ezra what we're talking about today is public  
 238 transportation price hike hh SPAD has proposed to the transport ministry for an increase  
 239 in public transport charges nationwide hh we're asking you what you think about this  
 240 and whether the price hike is justifiable 0377109thousand you can text us 016019  
 241 thousand tweet us at BFM radio we want to hear hh from all of you folks we want to  
 242 hear from folks in the company↑ bus drivers cab drivers and consumers and (.)  
 243 commuters as well↑(.) we're heading straight to the phone lines **Kompana is on the line**  
 244 **hi there**  
 245 C2 **hi guys**

246 H1 [hi]  
 247 H2 [hi]  
 248 C2 um um my name is Kompana I'm a student (.)  
 249 H1 uhm

Extract 22: BFM7

71 H1 = and what do you think about the NUTP president stand that a stop must be put to cell  
 72 phones um being used as recording device to record bullying incidents do you agree with  
 73 that call us at 037719 thousand you can text us at 0162019 thousand tweet us at BFM radio  
 74 **our first caller of the day is Leonard**  
 75 H2 **hello Leonard**  
 76 C1 **good evening how are you**  
 77 H1 **[good evening]**  
 78 H2 **[good evening] you're on the line**  
 79 C1 It's just a mind boggling way how this ridiculous can come up with this statement er I was I

Extract 23: BFM5

234 H1 ...tell us what you think 037719 thousand is the number to call should cellphones be  
 235 banned in schools as a means to curb bullying what do you think about it ah **Ahmad is**  
 236 **on the line hi Ahmad**  
 237 C5 **Hi how are you both**  
 238 H2 **[Fine]**  
 239 H1 **[Fine] thank you your thoughts**  
 240 C5 Um yeah ok its (.) I think that the issue here is one (.) to ban cellphones I think the reason

From the examples above, it can be seen that BFM opening sequences follow a certain routine pattern as described below:

(Identification of programme and hosts) + topic of discussion + (numbers to call, to text or to tweet) + summons + identification of caller + (greeting)

The patterns in parentheses may or may not occur before the introduction of subsequent callers. For instance, in extracts 20 and 21, the name of the programme and hosts are introduced: '*It's talkback and you're with Caroline and Ezra*' or '*You're with Caroline and Ezra on talkback Tuesday*'. This kind of routine openings are observed in numerous occasions in BFM. In these instances in which the identification of programme is evident, the first host will proceed with the

introduction of the topic of discussion which is then followed by the numbers to call: *'what we're talking about today is public transportation price hike .....we're asking you what you think about this and whether the price hike is justifiable 0377109 thousand you can text us 016019 thousand tweet us at BFM radio'* (extract 21: lines 237-340). The next sequence is the identification or introduction of caller: *'our first caller of the day is Leonard'* or *'Kompana is on the line'*. This is then followed by greetings and exchanges of greetings: *'hi Ahmad'* or *'hi Ewan'*. After the completion of greeting sequences, the caller gets his turn to state his view on the issue. In cases in which the name of programme and hosts are not mentioned, the lead host will introduce the topic of discussion, followed by the numbers to call. In the next sequence of host's talk, the host summons and identifies the caller to the participation framework (extract 23).

In BFM programmes compared to LiteFM programmes, there are normally 4 to 5 turn sequences in the opening sequences of host-caller. Exchanges of greetings are observed as evident in the samples of extracts given. For instance, a greeting of *'hello Leonard'* as FPP of an adjacency pair is then followed by a greeting of *'good evening how are you'* sequence in SPP. As observed in extract 23, both hosts respond to the caller's greeting which results in an overlapping speech of talk (lines 238-239). Greeting sequences of these AP types are common occurrences in BFM data. The opening sequences in this programme also follow a routine pattern although there may be some slight differences as to the sequences of which pattern occurring first, that is, whether the name of the programme or the names of the hosts are announced in the opening stage of host talk before the caller is summoned for their turn at talk on-air.

What is similar in both LiteFM and BFM is that in the opening stages of host-caller talk, the lead host either announces the name of the programmes or the numbers

to call. This is then followed by the topic of discussion and the final stage involves the host's identifying the caller's name and or summoning the caller to provide a response to the question or to present his/her views on the topic.

Greeting sequences are mostly evident in BFM programmes with all instances of greetings occurring in the introductory stages of host-caller talk. However, there is no evidence of greeting sequences in the introductory stages of host-caller talk in LiteFM episodes. Nevertheless, the introductory stage follows a similar routine for both programmes in which the host will introduce the caller and summon the caller to present their views on the topic of discussion.

#### **4.3.2 Call validation and Follow-up turns in LFM**

From the introductory sequences or when the caller is acknowledged for his turn on air, the calls then move to the call validation stage. In the case of these programmes, the orientation to alliance is also evident. It is noticeable that during this initial stage, there are hardly any questions asked by the hosts to elicit or clarify the opinions of callers. Rather, the sequences demonstrate the callers offering opinions and experiences and the hosts' responses to acknowledge the caller's opinions. The following extract illustrates the use of acknowledgement tokens in the interactions between the hosts and the caller.

- 230 H1: Talk Tuesday and we're discussing does marriage complement or  
 231 hinder your career (0.4) and we're coming in with Andy↑  
 232 C2: In my case I would say, it it did hinder my (.) marriage because I 'm  
 233 in the entertainment line and uh in the (.) media (.) industry  
 234 H2: Okay  
 235 C2: and my line of work definitely does require me to, sometimes  
 236 work late at night, you know to be with er the events  
 237 H2: Entertaining clients and all that sort [of things, yeah]

After the initial introduction of the programme and topic, H1 acknowledges and introduces the next caller as in '*we're coming in with Andy*' (lines 231-230). C2 begins his turn by admitting that '*it*' referring to '*career*' hindered his marriage, thus giving a reason that he works in '*the entertainment line*' and in '*the media industry*' (lines 232-233). This shows the relevance of the topic to the caller to authenticate his talk. H2's utterance of '*okay*' serves as an acknowledgement of the opinion as well as allows the caller to continue with his speech. In the next turn, C2 continues his talk by elaborating on his line of work which requires working '*late at night...with events*'. There is evidence of the social knowledge or moral judgements provided by H2 here that if someone works in the entertainment line, the category of activities involved will include entertaining clients and sort of other things as well, in response to C2's earlier claims of '*working late at night*' (line 237). Thus, H2 offers the category-bound activities (CBAs) (*entertaining clients and that sort of thing*) which are bound to the occupational category of people working in the entertainment industry. In other words, an elaborative turn is observed in H2's speech with the association with C2's earlier talk (lines 237). This reflects the moral ordering based on category-related actions of '*working late at night*'. As reflected in Sacks' (1995. Vol.1:183) study, 'these actions have made sense of in terms of a generalized category behaviour which

then explains or accounts for this individual category action'. In other words, the host in acknowledging the opinion from the caller, offers some moral judgements about a certain occupational category based on social knowledge and what activities entail from that kind of job category.

Extract 25: LFM16

238 C2: [ya entertaining] clients and sometimes,  
239 it's just difficult for me at that time, because I have to constantly  
240 get calls or (0.2) answer my wife's calls and it's like , sort of like  
241 because it's not that I (.) choose to do, uh something like this but it  
242 is in my line of [work XXX]

In the subsequent turn, an affirmative 'ya' from the caller indicates an agreement with H2's elaboration of '*entertaining clients*', in which the caller then continues by elaborating on the difficulty of having to attend to his wife's calls, thus further justifies his line of work (lines 238-242). It is observed that C2 places emphasis on the lexical item '*choose*' to emphasize that it is not his choice that his job requires him to work late at night, thus provides a defence for his position. This shows that in presenting opinions on the topic of discussion, a caller would provide some justifications in support of his view. Extract 26 (LFM16) illustrates that the caller has authenticated his talk by relating his personal experience on the topic.

243 H1: [er er and and] you cannot say, you don't answer her call and  
244 uh, why does she call so much? Doesn't she know you're at work?  
245 you know being having to entertain clients and all that?  
246 C2: =Well definitely, ya obviously she knows I'm at work but it's just that  
247 sometimes they can get a little insecure↑  
248 H1: (.) Oh!  
249 H2: Ah: right  
250 H1: [She gets suspicious though when you're away]  
251 H2: [so a lot of trust issues, a lot of trust issues] came  
252 [up with ]

253 C2: [yeah definitely] yeah because  
 254 the: for them it's it's it's they will have this in  
 255 their mind is that why do you have to be out there all the time?  
 256 H2: [alright]  
 257 H1: [And uh], did your entertaining go till very late in the night, and all  
 258 that sometimes, you know?  
 259 C2: sometimes, in order to get things done, or you know, to make sure you have  
 260 business continuity, definitely need to be there

Another collaborative turn is observed in the above extract (extract 26) when H1 supports C2's speech by a series of 'and' to illustrate some additional points in relation to the caller's problems mentioned in the caller's prior talk (line 243). This is a reformulation of what has been presented by the caller on the difficulty in attending to the 'wife's' calls due to the nature of his work. Several interrogative statements are evident in H1's speech which can be described as rather accusative such as '*Why does she call so much? Doesn't she know you're at work?*' *You know being having to entertain clients and all that?*' (lines 243-245). The construction of questions by the host is 'recipient-design', that is, the host forms these questions specifically for the particular type of caller on account of the series of events provided by the caller. The recipient design is both for the co-speaker but also for this particular action at this point of the interaction. In other words, the recipient design is both oriented to the speaker and the sequence of the interaction. What is interesting about the construction of questions by the host is that, as Sacks (1995) implies, hearers are able to make judgements in relation to the person's behaviour despite not having met the people involved. In relation to Fitzgerald's (2012) study, despite 'not being there people are able to make reasoned, moral and normative judgements about behaviour based on the



available category memberships and what the category-based actions towards other related categories would, or should expectably be’.

The series of questions posed by H1 that is related to ‘the wife’s’ behaviour provide a challenge for C2 to response to H1’s acts of questioning. Thus, this places the caller in the category of ‘answerer’ in the sequential position of the caller. However, what is noticeable from the series of interrogative statements is that H1 has in fact shifted the blame on ‘the wife’ for not understanding C2’s ‘line of work’. In a way, H1 is in fact defending the caller’s position by referring to the caller’s occupational category relating to entertaining clients that is required of his line of work (line 245). The answer or response that is provided by C2 then places C2 on the defensive when he agrees that his wife knows he is at work and offers a justification to his position that *‘they can get a little insecure’* (lines 246-247). Notice the rise in intonation for *‘insecure’*. An exclamation of *‘oh’* by H1 in response to the caller’s statement and the statement of *‘she gets suspicious though when you’re away’* as an expansion of the caller’s talk, overlaps with a topic development on ‘trust issues’ as seen in H2’s utterance (lines 248-251). This shift in topic on *‘trust issues’* is further taken up by C2 in which he agrees with H2 and further extends on his speech that the wife has *‘this on their mind, it’s like why do you have to be out there all the time?’* (lines 254-255). This provides further elaboration on the question of trust from the wife’s position. What is reflected in this talk is that the issues of moral reasoning do not only come from the caller’s position in defending his stance on the issue but also in considering issues related to the second party, that is, from the caller’s wife’s position. It is also noted that C2 makes a lot of reference to the third person pronoun *‘they’* (lines 247 & 254) when he refers to his wife rather than the use of the second pronoun *‘she’* in presenting the account of events related to the wife. What is

interesting to note in this episode is that questions to the caller are mostly posed by the male host (H1). Furthermore, the ways in which participants in conversations are able to attribute practical reasoning as being morally organised is seen in this episode (Jayussi, 1984). The series of questions can also be seen as morally organised, as illustrated in the examples below, in which the questions are specifically designed for the recipient (lines 257, 261 & 271):

Did your entertaining go till very late at night and all that sometimes....?  
Was there very little time you spend with her as well?  
Are you still in the same line after your divorce?

Jayussi (1984) (11/2) also argues that moral talk is not just talk about morals, but is evident in a range of practical activities that occur in talk, such as asking questions, and providing descriptions that demonstrate orientation to a norm. She also highlights the link between 'norms' and moral order, to illustrate ways in which participants in conversations are able to attribute practical reasoning as being morally organised. Thus, these series of interrogative statements require the caller to justify his position, where in the first questioning act, the caller becomes defensive by providing a reason for working late (CBAs of working late) as evident in his utterances: *'to get things done....to have business continuity...definitely need to be there'* (lines 259-260). This receives another interrogative statement from H1 when he questions C2 about whether there was very little time he spent with the wife. These turn sequences demonstrate the APs of question-answer sequences, in which the FPPs (questions) require the SPP (answers).

Extract 27: LFM16

- 257 H1: [And uh], did your entertaining go till very late in the night, and all  
 258 that sometimes, you know?  
 259 C2: sometimes, in order to get things done, or you know, to make sure you have  
 260 business continuity, definitely need to be there  
 H1: =Yeah and uh was, was there very little time that you (.) spend with her as  
 261 well?  
 262 C2: I do (.)try my best to do it and make it up during the weekend  
 263 for our own little getaway  
 264 H2: =How did it work out (.) between you and your wife then a:h, Andy?  
 265 have you crossed the bridge now or [are] you guys okay↑  
 266 C2: [oh ] unfortunately now  
 267 ah I I've divorced↑  
 268 H2: Oh↑ so this is a true (.) case that happened to you↑ then?  
 269 C2: Yes (.) it is  
 270 H2 [Ah:]

Further defensive positions are also established by the caller in response to H1's question in lines 262-263: *'I do to try my best to do it and make it up during the weekend for our own little get away.* It is observed here that only after a series of exchanges of talk between H1 and C2 that H2 is able to self-select her turn in the interaction. This is evident when the second host gets her turn at talk by producing a series of interrogative statements to seek further clarification from the caller regarding the caller's status in the marriage *'How did it work out between you and your wife then a:h, Andy? Have you guys crossed the bridge now or have you guys'* (lines 264-265). An overlapping turn occurs between the host and the caller's utterances and which the caller then admits with a rise in intonation that he has *'divorced'*. In the next turn, H2 further asks for confirmation: *'this is a true case that happened to you then'* (line 268). The concept of 'witnessing moves' is seen here when the caller justifies a 'claim to authentic speakership in the public discourse arena of the talk radio show' (Hutchby, 2006: pp 83). Here it is observed that the caller uses actions or descriptions of events which are associated with making claims to personal experience in respect of a topic under discussion. In allowing the caller to narrate the

events in support of the topic that his marriage has hindered his career, both hosts work collaboratively with each other to seek further clarification on the caller's position by posing a series of questions to the caller. For instance, in response to H2's question of '*so this is a true case that happen to you then*' (line 268), C2 affirms that the case is true as he utters '*yes it is*'.

Extract 28: LFM16

- 271 H1: [Are] you still in the same line↑ (.) after your divorce?  
 272 C2: still in the same line until that now you know, I feel like a  
 273 huge burden is off my: shoulders?  
 274 H2: =Wow, okay now that is definitely, you know marriage hindering (.) his career↑

The next few sequences show another set of interrogative turn from H1 to further seek clarification from C2: '*are you still in the same line after your divorce?*' (line 271). In response to H2's question, C2 admits that he is still working in 'the same entertainment line and further elaborates that he feels relieved that the '*huge burden*', referring to the category device of '*being married*' has been overcome (lines 272-273). In the next turn, H2 provides an exclamation remark of '*wow*' which is then followed by a closing device of '*okay now*'. H2 then proceeds with an evaluative summary of C2's opinion, with the emphasis on the indexical expression '*that*' which is uttered in a closing sequence of '*that is definitely you know marriage hindering his career.*' The use of pronouns such as 'this' or 'that' serves to invoke shared knowledge between speaker and recipient and introducing topics in this way "in the public domain is a significant way in which it is constructed as an issue" (Hutchby, 1996a:43). In other words, the issue is on how a caller can relate an authentic experience or present an account of a true experience on the topic that 'marriage can hinder a career'. Thus, this establishes the justification of opinion-giving by the caller.

It is found that the association of the witnessing act can establish a position of one's view. Hutchby (2001: 484) proposes that witnessing is a term that refers to 'a range of actions associated with making claims to personal knowledge, personal experience, direct perceptual access, or categorical membership in respect of an event or topic under discussion' (Hutchby, 2001:484). Lerner (1992) states that witnessing is common in story-telling and the claims to speak based on a sense of entitlement involved a number of different techniques, which includes first-hand knowledge (Hutchby, 2001), and this is evident as being relevant in C2's elaboration of statements relating to his failed marriage as a result of his career. The use of '*okay*', '*yes*' and '*right*' by hosts as affirmation devices in the interactions between host-caller serve as an encouragement for the caller to continue. It is apparent that in the interaction, the hosts and caller show attempts to ultimately cooperate with one another. The hosts use certain discourse markers as affirmation devices to encourage the caller to continue and acknowledge caller's opinions, as well as, use formulation devices such as '*okay now*' with the effect of terminating a sequence.

Heritage (1985) considers these devices as cooperative formulations, whereby a 'recipient' can assist a speaker to make his point clear, or expand utterances to make them agreeable to the speaker. In uttering these affirmation particles, the host gives support to the caller's opinions. In the above case, the host not only acknowledges the caller's views but also initiates further talk on the topic as observed in the data. Another strategy used by hosts in initiating further talk on the topic, is by posing a series of questions to further establish the position of the caller with regard to his marriage.

## Follow-up turns of host-host

The collaboration between the co-hosts in follow-up turns after caller's call has been terminated can be seen in the next extract. These follow-up turns show elaboration of caller's opinion by both hosts. Features of follow-up turns are commonly observed when there is no indication of callers' available turn on air.

### Extract 29: LFM16

- 272 H2: =Wow, okay now that is definitely, you know ma:rrriage hindering (.) his career↑  
 273 H1: Yeah  
 274 H2: only because of his line of work (0.2)  
 275 H1: depending on your li:ne of [work]  
 276 H2: [I mean] I've seen that as well you know, I've got  
 → 277 some fri:nds whose husbands, are awa:y, I mean it happen to my own  
 278 [parents], my mom was back in [Kuching] my dad was working in  
 279 H1: [mm] [okay]  
 280 H2: KL from Monday to Friday on the weekends we would go back  
 281 H1: and spend the [way]  
 → 282 H2: [Yeah], I I mean that↑ (0.2) it not only that you miss them, you  
 283 don't know what the:y're do:ing, they don't contact you as much , you  
 284 know all of a sudden there's er where were you, who' re you out  
 285 with and then trust issues start coming up (.) and hh you know it's like a very  
 286 ugly (.) uh (.) like uh (0.2)  
 287 H1: [I know yes exactly]  
 288 H2: [Mistrust] coming out] from one point  
 289 H1: =And it just get from (.) bad to wor:se  
 290 H2: =It does so you can definitely see there but that, you know  
 291 [that marriage would XXX]  
 → 292 H1: [From me, you know] let's say if you ask me personally (.) u:m okay  
 293 I would sit down and talk to them okay, this is uh what its going to be  
 294 involved, I'm going to have to travel yada yada yada and then (.) okay (.)  
 295 go ahead I'm going take up the job (.) but if uh, (.) something should  
 296 happen in between, let's [say] we start drifting and all that okay  
 297 H2 [yah]  
 298 H1 maybe I should then reconsider hh (.) and come back and find  
 299 something else  
 300 H2: =Ya °very difficult° though [you know ] you used to [living]  
 301 H1: [uh ] [ sometimes]  
 302 H2: sort of like, you get used to doing your work, and doing your thing  
 303 there, and your wife's at home or your husband's at home, and  
 304 they're doing their own thing, you sort of hh (.) I mean for some↑  
 305 couples it wor:ks grea:t, I know a couple [that] that you know that they were, u:h  
 306 H1: [mm]  
 307 H2: separate a lot, but when they come back together, they're like hh

308 (0.2) two peas in a pod, you know, they love [each other]  
 309 H1: [Ah: then]  
 310 H2: sit through each other [that sort of thing]  
 311 H1: [yeah yeah yeah] they're both very [understanding] in the  
 312 H2 [but that's]  
 313 H1 same game  
 314 H2: not, that's not to say that that you know, they (.) they (.) trust  
 315 each other, you know I'm pretty sure, my if I was married my  
 316 husband's overseas working at (.) I'm pretty [sure I have some issues] too  
 317 H1: [have some, issues too]  
 318 H2: Hey you didn't call me, who who're you going out with, oh, I was  
 319 late last night out until three am, ((gasp)) who was there? Uh so  
 320 you know you start thinking about things hh definitely in that sense  
 → 321 marriage can hinder your career I mean hh, look what happened to poor  
 322 Andy he got I mean [divorced at the end]  
 323 H1: [exactly ] back again to the individual, and also the  
 324 line of [work]  
 325 H2: [line ] of work you're in yeah  
 326 H1: and er a lot of things come into play as well, so that's what we're discussing  
 327 this talk Tuesday @ (.) does marriage complement or: hinder your career  
 328 all right? Uh uh if you want to share your thoughts with us feel free to  
 329 give us a call 03954 3 double 3 double 3

At lines 275-284, H2 relates a personal experience on the question of 'mistrust' that has been developed by the earlier caller (extract 24-28). Here, she provides her own experience (*I mean it happen to my own parents, my mom was back in Kuching, my dad was working in KL from Monday to Friday on the weekends....then trust issues start coming out and, you know it's very ugly..*). Relating personal experience among hosts is a common feature in LiteFM programmes, where it is seen that at lines 290-295, H1 offers his own opinion that he would discuss with his family about his work commitments and if there are problems in the relationship, he would 'reconsider' about his work. This shows how both hosts develop on the topic of 'marriage complement or hinders a career' by providing their own scenario of the issue. At lines 313-317, H2 brings up an experience relayed by an earlier caller with reference to '*look what happen to poor Andy, he got divorce at the end*'. It can be established that the sequences of talk between host-host is morally ordered. What is

seen is that both hosts try to provide accounts of social knowledge that is related to the topic of discussion with reference to an account of experience provided by a prior caller. Even though both hosts seem to support the caller's view on account of his experience, neither hosts show explicit agreement or disagreement to whether 'marriage complements or hinders a career'. In the next turn (lines 321-325), H1 turns the focus to the listening audience by announcing the name of the programme again, and this is then followed by the topic of discussion and the telephone number to call. These stages of follow-up turns between host-host after caller's call has been terminated are observed in a number of occasions in LiteFM programmes.

#### **4.3.3 Call validation stage and follow-up turns in BFM**

Likewise, in the call validation stage in BFM programmes, both hosts work collaboratively with the callers in seeking information, clarification or confirmation on the caller's position or status. However turn sequences are shorter compared to LiteFM programmes and hosts will always refocus the callers to the topic of discussion. For instance, consider the following extract on the topic '*removing the race column*'. As in most BFM episodes the topic of discussion revolves around government policies. In this episode, there was a proposal in 2014 by the Minister in the Prime Minister's Department TSJK (only the initials are provided here) who suggested that Malaysia should take a major step towards creating a single national identity by removing the "race" category from all official forms in an effort to promote national unity. Therefore, there was a call to get opinions from the public with regard to the issue on "*if this proposal is adopted, how will it affect our individual cultural identities?*." The following extract shows how hosts collaborate with the caller to get his opinion across on the issue. Twenty-two callers came on the episode.



Extract 30: LFM1

- 64 C1 hi hi how are you?
- 65 H1 Hi good thank you what do you think about eh this er particular er question about er  
66 when the minister in charge of national unity said that you know we should remove  
67 the race category↑  
68 (0.2)
- 69 C1 I think its a good idea its a a national identity that's er that is singular (0.2) I I I  
70 stayed in Australia for multiple years and I work for a multi-company that goes by  
71 regular um  
72 (0.2)
- 73 H1 Ahah
- 74 C1 Yeah the two countries they they have ah one ah one national race (.) when they er  
75 like in Australia when they play the cricket when they go to a soccer game in  
76 Australia where they play they all vote for their country↑
- 77 H1 Sure
- 78 C1 Ah as one err you see many different race uh coming from (.) ah India: you know  
79 Pakista:n er Germany and er so many and so forth
- 80 H1 =Now Brian but of course you know when you look at the history and the let's say  
81 ethnic compositions of these respective countries it's it's quite different and hence  
82 um how each country reaches towards national identity is different what do you  
83 think (.) can be done he:re to achieve that national identity  
84 (0.2)
- 85 C1 I think the first thing we need to do is like what Indonesia has done right↑ is to  
86 have just one identity which is Malaysians and once you are Malaysians ah and  
87 everybody feels like a Malaysian I think that (.) then things will progress I think  
88 everybody will have his own diversity ah in terms of culture (.) I think that's er the  
89 the rich the richness of of er of who are Malaysians is right
- 90 H2 =You're not erm erm do not see this you do not feel a typical Malaysian at this  
91 point  
92 (0.3)
- 93 C1 Ah:: yes and no ah:: Malaysia is a great place to work to live er: but there are um  
94 there are sti:ll ah ah the thought that you are different like you're not if you're not  
95 of one race then  
96 (0.2)
- 97 H2 So by eliminating this on the form do do you think we're addressing the symptom  
98 and not the cause  
99 (0.2)
- 100 C1 yes ah we need to be just one: um as one I guess when you put your mi:nd to it and  
101 you fee:l it then you are one ah ah if your mind there is some multiple ah  
102 difference ah ah that's the niche of different people then you will never be one  
103 right↑
- 104 H1 Thank you very much Brian for your call uh Caroline this is interesting because you  
105 know this whole conversation starts from the call from the ministry in charge of  
106 national unity who says that you know let's remove ah the race box you know we  
107 have a lot of box ticking exercises let's [remove that one]

This episode shows evidence of the hosts' use of interrogative statements to seek the caller's position on the topic of discussion. The introductory stage shows an AP of greeting-greeting sequence, which H1 then proceeds with the topic of

discussion: *'what do you think about eh this er particular er question about er when the minister in charge of national unity said that you know we should remove the race category'* (lines 65-67). C1 develops his turn with an opinion statement *'I think its a good idea it's a a national identity that's er that is singular'* and further provides an account of his background (lines 69-71). A response of *'ahah'* by H1 shows interest to the caller's speech in which C1 further develops his argument that the *'two countries they they have ah one ah one national race'* and goes on further to talk about *'cricket'* and *'soccer game'* where *'they play they all vote for their country...'* and how the different races come together for such games (lines 74-76). At lines 80-83, there is an attempt by H1 to refocus the caller to the topic at hand with the use of the discourse marker *'now'*. This shows indication that the host tries to focus the caller to the topic of discussion on how the issue *'can be done he:re to achieve that national identity'*. Evidences of hosts' attempts to bring the callers back to the topic at hand when callers get off track are commonly observed in BFM episodes. This suggests that hosts play an institutional role to adhere to the broadcasting nature of the programme. The emphasis on the abverbial *'here'* shows an attempt by the host to bring the caller back to the local context of discussion. In lines 85-89, C1 provides a suggestion to emulate *'Indonesia'*, that is people should just have one identity which is *'Malaysians'* so things would progress and everyone would have their own cultural diversity. An attempt by the second host is evident here when H2 latches in and questions the caller on whether he feels that he is a *'typical Malaysian at this point'* (line 90). Notice some hesitations in C1's speech in lines 93-95, before he further justifies his position that *'Malaysia is a great place to work to live'* but is of the opinion that there are still issues of the thought that people are regarded differently if they are not of one race.

In justifying his position on the topic, the caller bases his views not only on local knowledge but also on social and world knowledge on the issue at hand. After a short pause, H2 further questions the caller on whether they '*are addressing the symptom and not the cause*', that is, by eliminating race on the form (lines 97-98). In response to the question, C1 provides a concluding remark in which he emphasizes on the fact that people need to put their mind as belonging to '*one race*' and if people consider multiple differences in cultures then they '*will never be one*' (lines 100-103). A closing sequence is provided by H1 with a thanking device of '*thank you Brian*', which H1 then turns to the co-host as evident in his speech: '*Caroline this is interesting because you know this whole conversation starts from the call from the ministry in charge of national unity who says that you know let's remove ah the race box you know we have a lot of box ticking exercises let's remove that one*' (lines 104-107). This sees an end to the discussion with C1 in which there is an attempt by H1 again to provide the context of discussion to the listening audience.

In the turn-taking sequences of this episode, what is noticeable is that when one host is involved in the discussion with the caller, the co-host will remain silent until he/she sees an opportunity to interact with the caller. H1's attempts at talk are only observed in the first few turns, which are then taken over by H2 until the very end of the interactions between host-caller. H1 only shows evidence of getting back his turn after the caller's turn has been terminated or at the end of caller's speech. What is evident in most episodes in BFM is that the lead host (H1) will always initiate the discussion and ends the discussion. The co-host or the second host usually takes on the role in the middle part of the interactions between host-caller. Interrogative statements by hosts are also observed when hosts seek further clarification or justification from the caller.

In the call-validation stage of host-caller, there are also evidences of counter-arguments of host's with caller's views. The following extract is presented in table form in order to illustrate the turn sequences that develop in the episode.

Table 4.1: The development of turns in a radio phone-in

Line	Speaker	Content	Turn-sequences
467	C10	Ya ah I don't think that's a good idea	Line 467: caller presents opinion statement
468	H2	Tell us why?	Lines 469-471: caller justifies his argument by relating to the issue on education
469	C10	Why (.) are we so worried about ticking er the race column you have already separated us from our childhood we go to separate schools systems (.) for 11 years (.) from standard one to form five	Lines 472-473: host seeks clarification
470			Lines 474-477, 479-483: caller clarifies his arguments; provides an account about the issue
471			Lines 484-486: host seeks further clarification and redirects caller to topic of discussion
472	H1	=So sorry when you say separated meaning er that everyone is going to their own respective vernacular [schools]	Lines 487, 490-492: caller clarifies the issue; rejects the second host's idea of 'window dressing' and provides an account
473			Line 493: host clarifies the issue
474	C10	[for myself] is that we are the only country on earth that have a separate schools system and when we are separated from schools (.) separated literally speaking	Lines 494-501: caller further justifies his arguments and exemplifies them with the rights of a community (Malay community)
475			Lines 502-504: host accepts the caller's view and further seeks caller's opinion on solution
476	H2	Mhm	Lines 505-509: caller rounds off his arguments; provides
477	C10	I mean that we do not know the Malay do not know the Chinese and the Chinese also do not know them the Malays or the Indians likewise the Indians also we don't have the idea about the Malays or the Chinese..we are separated from schools why honest we are so what idea is this that we have to er remove the race column	
478	H1	Sorry ah ah I I'm a bit confused I understand the fact that you're saying we're separated anyway so your point is that if we remove the race column that it doesn't matter anyway?	
479	C10	We're missing the bigger picture that is just the er (0.2)	
480	H2	Window dressing	
481	C10	Official column that is not a window dressing all other countries they have like in America they have Latino, Asians, Americans hh ah of course there'll [be ways]	
482	H1	[I think the] issue is how it is used Shamsul	
483	C10	Er the issue is our prejudice because actually there's the truth about that from what I see is that is not the..you see er here it all comes in a package if for example we said oh why not we just remove the race column.. other communities may not like it because they see this just like er: an attempt from from their perspectives (0.2) to like for example to abolish their rights I'm I'm talking about the Malay communi[ty]	
484	H1	[I] understand where you're coming from so Shamsul what would you like to see what do you think would be a useful solution there	
485	C10	Okay the useful solution is that we have to be honest with ourselves (.) that one of the key problems is that we: we live separately because we go to the separate school system and because we go to separate school system (.) we do not know each other anymore [like]	
486	H1	[But]	
487	C10	=thirty years ago	

512	H1	But based on that theory everyone went to national schools in the	an account
513		past couple of generations then wouldn't have this problem	Lines 512-513: host
514		(0.2)	challenges the
515	C10	No we wouldn't have this problem in because thirty years ago I	caller's 'theory'.
516		<u>have</u> a Chinese friend a Malay friend um an Indian [friend]	Line 515-516: caller
517	H1	[But] Shamsul I have Malay Chinese and Indian friends you know	further justifies his
518		does it really reflect which school I went to	arguments
519		(0.2)	Lines 517-518: host
520	C10	My point is that when we go to separate school separate school	challenges the caller
521		system↑ we we seldom mix with other races and the main thing	by providing a
522		when we seldom mix with other races we do not know them	personal perspective
523	H1	=I don't I don't disagree with you on that point Shamsul look now	and questions caller
524		this the second caller now that we've had with regards to putting	on the perspective
525		really the focus on a lot of folks going to vernacular schools and	Lines 520-522: caller
526		that everybody attending a single school system of	justifies his
527		<i>sekolah kebangsaan</i> so to speak	arguments and
		national school	rounds off his
			position
			Lines 523-527: host
			provides an
			evaluative summary;
			turns attention to the
			audience and second
			host

The turn sequences exemplify the various development of turns of host's seeking for justification for caller's views and caller's developing his arguments to show justification for his views. A more elaborate discussion is presented in the following part of the discussion.

In line 467, the caller (C10) presents an opinion statement on the issue (*I don't think that's a good idea*). A request for an elaboration of the statement is pursued by H2 (line 468). The caller justifies his argument by questioning the issue on 'ticking the race column' and relating it to the issue on education which has '*separate schools systems (.) for 11 years (.) from standard one to form five*' (lines 469-471). Local knowledge about the school system in Malaysia is being brought up here by the caller, in which Malaysia observes three types of school system: the national-type, the vernacular-type and religious-type schools. Therefore, children are already integrated in different school systems since childhood. A clarification of the issue is seen in line

472, when H1 seeks clarification in an apologetic note of 'sorry' with regard to the caller's statement on '*separated meaning.. that everyone is going to their own respective vernacular schools*'. C10 further clarifies his statement which is seen in a turn-initial overlap with H1's turn (line 475): '*we are the only country on ear:th that have a separate schools system and when we are separated from schools.. separated literally speaking*', in respond to H1's query on what the caller meant in his prior utterance of '*separated*'. C10 further provides an account of the issue (lines 479-483) and expresses a disagreement to the proposal of removing the race box. In lines 484-486, an apologetic token of 'sorry' is expressed by H1 to interrupt the caller's turn. Notice that this is the second time the host has used this token to get his turn to speak. H1 claims that he is in fact 'confused' with C10's prior statement and reformulates the caller's opinion to seek further clarification on the issue: '*I understand the fact that you're saying we're separated anyway so your point is that if we remove the race column that it doesn't matter anyway?*' (lines 483-485). The caller further provides some clarification, which is interjected by H2 with the utterance of '*window dressing*'. The next turn sees a rejection of H2's '*window dressing*' to that of '*official column*' provided by C10 in his next turn, in which an account of world knowledge is given: '*.like in America they have Latino, Asians, Americans hh ah of course there'll be ways*' (lines 489-491). Notice the counter-argument in H1's turn when he reiterates with '*I think the issue is how it is used Shamsul*' (line 493). In addressing the caller by name gives assurance that the host is trying to put the facts right to the caller.

In the subsequent turn of the caller, the caller further justifies his opinion that '*other communities*' may see this issue as an attempt '*to abolish their rights*' by specifically referring to the cultural category of '*the Malay community*' (lines 495-

500). Here, a cultural membership category is brought up, as the speaker is a Malay. In line 502, H1 is seen to accept the caller's view but changes focus by asking the caller: *'what do you think would be a useful solution there'*. A repetition of an earlier argument on *'separate school system'* is seen in C10's next turn when he rounds off his arguments. However, there is an attempt by H1 to interrupt on the issue but the turn is not successful due to C10's attempt to continue with his speech. Nevertheless, in lines 512-513, H1's attempt to get his turn is successful when he challenges the *'theory'* brought up by C10, that people in the past generations did not have this problem. A short pause is seen before C10 is able to develop his turn in respond to H1's arguments. In this turn, C10 further justifies his arguments but is again interrupted by H1's initial turn with the contrastive marker *'but'*. This successful interruptive turn thereby allows H1 to pursue his argument by providing a personal perspective on the issue and questions caller on whether that would reflect which school he went to (lines 517-518). Again, a short pause is seen before C10 is able to compose his argument further and firmly states his point: *'My point is that when we go to separate school separate school system we we seldom mix with other races and the main thing when we seldom mix with other races we do not know them'* (lines 519-521). This turn is seen as an attempt to round off his position.

Here, in the development of turns in this particular episode, there have been several attempts made by the caller to justify his arguments whenever the host provides a challenge to the arguments or opinions given. What is observed is that the attempts in challenging the caller's view on the topic are only evident in H1's turns. H1 takes the floor to challenge the caller's position, while H2 only offers responses to the initial part of the interaction. An evaluative summary of C10's opinion is given by H1 (lines 522-526) in which he emphasizes that he *'doesn't disagree'*, implicitly

stating that he agrees even though this is not clearly stated in his speech. The host proceeds by informing the co-host and the overhearing audience that this is the second caller that has brought up the topic on '*vernacular schools*' and '*sekolah kebangsaan*' (national schools) in relation to the views given on '*removing the race column*'.

### Follow-up turns of host-host

The follow-up turns of host-host talk after a caller's turn has been terminated is rather brief compared to LiteFM programmes. The example below illustrates the follow-up turns that precede host-caller talk with reference to extract 30.

#### Extract 31: BFM1

- 94 H1 Thank you very much Brian for your call uh Caroline this is interesting because you  
 95 know, this whole conversation starts from the call from the ministry in charge of  
 96 national unity, who says that you know let's remove ah the race box you know we  
 97 have a lot of box ticking exercises let's [remove that one]  
 98 H2 [Yeah yeah ]  
 99 H1 and it also is part of our responses er right from er you know the editor from *Utusan*  
 100 *Malaysia* saying that it will spark a whole lot of other things uh hh a lot of Malaysians  
 101 of mixed parentage are saying it's a great thing, because so now they don't have to  
 102 feel this ah sense of er being less Malaysian by ticking the *lain-lain* category right?  
 others  
 103 H2 =Absolutely there are tweets that've come up saying you know I don't see what's  
 104 wrong with identifying culturally I am very proud to be whatever it is I am  
 105 H1 Mhm  
 106 H2 = and why should we assimilate why should we be one Malaysian in the sense that it  
 107 being a zero sound game  
 108 H1 = Yah call us 0377019 thousand text us 0162109 thousand and you can tweet us at  
 109 BFM radio we're headed to the phone lines Arnold is on the line hi Arnold

Note: *Utusan Malaysia* refers to a Malay language newspaper

In this example, it is observed that after thanking '*Brian*' (the first caller in the episode), the lead host presents the context of the discussion again relating to the issue of '*removing the race box*' (lines 94-97), as well as giving a comment on the opinion given by the first caller '*this is interesting*'. He further develops his turn by quoting the '*editor from Utusan Malaysia*' who says that the issue will spark '*a whole lot of other things*' and '*a lot of Malaysians of mixed parentage are saying it's a great*



*thing*' (lines 99-109). This illustrates local knowledge of the issue in question, which relates to '*Malaysians of mixed parentage*' who have to tick the '*lain-lain*' (others) category to indicate their race in official forms, that is, other than the main ethnic groups of Malay, Chinese or Indian. In the next turn, the co-host (H2) agrees with the prior talk of H1 and further develops her turn by reading some twitter messages that are related to the topic of discussion. Notice the reference to the personal pronoun 'I' when H2 reads the twitter message, which reflects the actual message given: '*I don't see what's wrong with identifying culturally I am very proud to be whatever it is I am...and why should we assimilate why should we be one Malaysian in the sense that it being a zero sound game*' (lines 103-104, 106-107). Thus, the strategy of reading messages from Facebook senders and twitters are common occurrences in the follow-up turns of host-host before the next caller comes on air. In the following turn, the lead host assumes his role in introducing the numbers and ways to contact the programme before he announces the next caller '*Arnold*' into the programme (lines 108-109).

#### **4.3.3.1 Deviant cases of call-validation stage**

Deviant cases of call-validation stage and follow-up turns include cases of episodes which deviate from the norms of phone-in interactions. These involve requests from callers to speak on certain issues that may be sensitive or in another language which go against the normal procedures for the type of programme. In the following episode, the topic is introduced by H1 in the initial part of the interaction before the first caller gets his turn on air. The topic of discussion involves 'the role of women in the workplace' and listeners are asked: '*are we doing enough as a society and as the government to ensure that the women are given the opportunities they deserve*'. In this episode, the caller seeks the host's permission to speak and request

that the host does not terminate the call if the caller says something that would not be well-received by the host: *'but, before I carry on, will you promise me not to cut me off if I say something, which is not exactly to your liking?'* (lines 171-172). In Malaysian radio, sensitive issues or issues that touch on certain subjects or heads of offices or states, as well as the use of foul language, are not allowed to be broadcast on air due to the strict regulations stipulated by the government that the broadcasting industry has to adhere to. There have been cases of sudden termination of calls when the talk is on-going when callers bring up sensitive issues that touch on culture, race or religion.

Extract 32: BFM5

- 154 H1 That's right folks! It's Caroline and Umar with you Talkback Tuesday on the evening  
 155 addition the number to call 03-771 9 thousand, you can text us 016-2019 thousand  
 156 we're talking about the role of women in workplace is a major thrust in budget 2015↑ It  
 157 was number five of the seven that the prime minister had outlined, allocating a total of  
 →158 two point two six billion ringgit to the Women, Family and Community Development  
 159 Ministry to enhance contribution to women, our question for you today is **are we doing**  
 160 **enough as a society and as government to ensure that the women hmm I guess are**  
 161 **given the opportunities they deserve** and afforded all of that you know potentials  
 162 cause clearly we're losing out if we don't, we've got a call, we've got Peter on the line,  
 163 what's Peter have to say? Peter? (0.2) Hello (.) are we doing enough as a society Peter?  
 164 C1 Hello  
 165 H1 Hi Peter  
 166 C1 Hello Can you hear me?  
 167 H1 Yes, I can Peter. Are we doing enough?  
 168 C1 Okay, I don't think we have done very much up until now-  
 169 H1 Right  
 170 C1 **=But, before I carry on, will you promise me not to cut me off if I say something,**  
 →171 **which is not exactly to your liking?**  
 172 H2 **Oh, no. That's fine as long as you don't insult anyone @**  
 173 C1 **Wow it may sound like insult but, I'm trying to make it as diplomatic as possible-**  
 174 H1 **=Certainly. We also-**  
 →175 C1 **=With that in mind-**  
 176 H2 **=We also have a license to maintain. So, that's**  
 →178 H1 **@**  
 179 H2 **=You know [where we draw the line]**  
 →180 C1 = [I I would ] **not use foul language** at all okay?  
 181 H1 Okay, okay carry on Peter.  
 182 C1 If you notice, all this came about because WA was rejected as the *Menteri Besar* (State

183 Minister) and-  
 184 H1 Yes, that was err [some big issue that came up]  
 185 C1 [Yeah yeah yeah ] and some somehow other *UMNO* seems to  
 186 be have been involved (0.2) the implication was very very bad for them-  
 187 H1 **=If you could keep it to fact Peter.**  
 188 H2 **=Because that was a speculation Peter-**  
 189 C2 I'm just giving I'm just giving you a a background of my argument (0.2) okay.  
 190 H2 Carry on.  
 191 C1 Okay, so (0.2) realizing the factors, they had to do something about it because they  
 192 really offended a lot of women and this is their measure of appeasing the women-  
 193 H1 [So, you think it's a] political maneuver?  
 194 C1 [I'm not saying ] I think so, I think so, because if you, if you examine the history, N  
 195 himself was Minister of Women Affairs-  
 196 H1 That's right.  
 197 C1 For four time and he has every opportunity to do that but he did nothing okay? Now, the  
 198 NGO had always been clamoring for the government to help uh mothers uh uh -  
 199 H1 Single mothers, yes  
 200 C1 =So on and so forth to to get better maternity leave, uh uh incentives and things like that  
 201 and I don't think he was forth coming and for now they want to suddenly raise the  
 202 quota to 30 percent if I'm not mistaken (0.2) am I right?  
 203 H1 You're correct  
 204 C1 Am I?-  
 205 H1 Yes.  
 206 C1 =It seems to be a very desperate move-  
 207 H1 This 30 percent participation of women in decision-making positions is not a new↑  
 208 thing, it has been around for a couple of years  
 209 C1 Okay then, I'm wrong okay but, what I'm saying is is the timing and the background.  
 210 (0.2)  
 211 H1 Alright. Well now, thank you very much Peter-

Note: *UMNO* refers to the United Malay National Organization (the main political party of the government)

In line 173, H1 responds to the request by stating on the condition that '*that's fine as long as you don't insult anyone*' which is followed by laughter. C1 responds with an exclamation marker '*wow*' that shows understanding from his part and further goes on to admit that what he is going to say '*may sound like insult*' but he places himself in the position that he will try to be '*diplomatic as possible*' (line 174). Notice the instances of latching in by both hosts in response to the caller's statement. In a way, the hosts also agree that they too have to be diplomatic and go on to

emphasize on the institutional role of the programme. This is relayed further by H2 that they '*have a license to maintain*' and further adds that there is a need to draw the line (*you know where we draw the line*) (lines 178 and 180). This shows that hosts play a significant role in maintaining the institutional quality of the programme and that only discussions on certain issues are allowed to be broadcast on air. In the next turn, C1 further states that he will not use '*foul language*'. This receives an agreement token of '*okay*' by H1 who further requests the caller to 'go on' with his speech. In this episode, it is seen that both hosts and caller understand the need to comply with the rules and regulation when participating in radio talk programmes. In other words, the participants know the requirements of what are permissible or not permissible to be discussed on air in talk radio.

In lines 182-183, C1 goes on to state the fact that the issue came about because WA (the political leader of the Opposition party) was not chosen as the *Menteri Besar* (the Head of State) because she is a woman, and that there were UMNO members who were involved in the issue. At lines 188 and 189, H2 tries to request that the caller keeps '*to fact*' while H1 continues in the next turn to consider the issue as '*a speculation*'. C1 further develops his turn by stating that he is '*just giving a background*' of his argument, thus defending his position. He goes on further to say that the issue has '*offended a lot of women*' and the government has to do something about it. This brings H1 to question the caller on whether he thinks it is '*a political maneuver*'. It is observed that the caller denies the fact in his next turn, saying that it is not what he meant but thinks it is '*a political maneuver*'. The caller then proceeds by presenting some historical and political knowledge about the issue, referring to N (the present prime minister who was once the Minister of Women Affairs) and the fact that the NGO (non-governmental organization) has '*always been clamouring for the*

*government to help uh mothers'* (lines 195-199}. This shared knowledge about '*mothers*' is taken up by H1 who adds on with '*single mothers*' when the caller shows some hesitations in his speech.

This development of turns between host and caller reflect the shared knowledge between them. C1 further develops his turn by offering category-related predicates which are related to women at the workforce, such as '*better maternity leave*' and '*incentives*' and further questions the government's stand on the sudden raise in quota to 30 per cent for women in the workforce (lines 201-203). There is an agreement on H1's part (*you're correct*) in response to the caller's prior utterance, and evidence of an utterance of a confirmation on the caller's part of '*am I?*' (line 204), in which H1 repeats in the affirmative with 'yes'. The caller further continues his turn by referring to the issue as '*a desperate move*'. A quick response is seen from H1, who offers his knowledge of the issue and an implicit disagreement to the caller's view which is considered as '*a desperate move*'. This is evident in his speech: '*30 percent participation of women in decision-making positions is not a new↑ thing. It has been around for a couple of years*' (lines 208-209). It is evident here that the caller accepts the host's point of view and admits that he is wrong but goes on further to clarify his stand on '*the timing and the background*'. The evidence of the short pause after caller's talk indicates the termination of the call and a point of closure for caller's turn on air. The thanking sequence then ensues with the lead host thanking the caller: '*alright, well now, thank you very much Pete'r* (line 213).

In this particular episode, there is evidence to show that when a caller expresses his views and supports them with inaccurate information on the topic, the hosts will quickly respond by offering statements to correct the facts. Even though the hosts do not show direct agreement or disagreement to the caller's view, they will try

their best to respond quickly to the caller's statements. This supports Hutchby's (1999) argument that hosts have to take a neutral position to the issue of discussion. Thus, in cases in which callers present inaccurate facts, the hosts have an important role to correct the information or address the facts directly.

The following extract exemplifies another deviant case found in one of the episodes in BFM programmes. In this episode, the caller has requested to speak in Malay '*Bahasa Melayu*' (Malay language), which is against the norms of the programme. It is the expected norm of the radio station that all interactions are conducted in the English language. Malaysian speakers of English speak in many varieties of Malaysian English, which may intersperse with the local dialects or ethnic languages of the speakers, however, they rarely talk fully in the national language (Bahasa Melayu (BM)) in radio stations broadcast in English. Even though BM is the national language and is understood by all Malaysians, participants to English talk radio are encouraged to speak in English. Thus, this is one of the very rare cases to have occurred in the programme. In the episode that ensued, the speaker begins his turn by greeting in Malay or *Bahasa Melayu*: '*selamat petang*' (good evening), and the greeting sequence is followed by an overlapping response by both hosts in Malay. At line 542, it is seen that the caller asks the host whether he could speak in Malay: '*cakap bahasa Melayu boleh*' (can I speak in Malay language), which is responded to by both host in an overlapping speech: '*boleh*' ((you) can) (lines 543-544). This is the only evidence of the usage of BM in the hosts' speech in response to the caller's request to speak in BM in the entire episode. In the interactions that follow, the caller speaks fully in Malay to present his views on the topic on '*bangsa Malaysia*' (Malaysian race). This topic is related to the issue on '*removing the race box in official forms*'.

Extract 33: BFM1

- 539 H1 Ah we're going to move on to our next caller Shahrin hi Shahrin  
 → 540 C12 Hi *selamat petang*  
 Hi good evening  
 541 H1 *Selamat petang*  
 Good evening  
 → 542 C12 *Cakap Bahasa Malaysia boleh?*  
*Speak Malay language can?*  
 Can (I) speak in Malay language?  
 → 543 H2 *[Boleh]*  
 (you) can  
 → 544 H1 *[boleh]*  
 (you) can  
 → 545 C12 *@@@ okay ah pertama sekali bagaimana pun perbezaan kita dari segi bahasa dan bangsa dan agama↑*  
*@@@ okay ah first of all whatever differences we from aspects language and race and religion*  
*@@@ okay first of all whatever differences we have in aspects of languages, race and religion*  
 546 H1 Mm  
 → 547 C12 *Ah: kerajaan tidak boleh dan tidak..boleh ambil sama sekali identity mana mana*  
 Ah: government cannot and cannot take away any identity  
 Ah: the government should not take away any identity  
 548 *bangsa dan agama dengan dengan mudahnya meletakkan bangsa Malaysia*  
 race and religion that easily place race Malaysia  
 race and religion and replaced them with the Malaysian race  
 → 549 (0.2) *saya bangga dengan saya bangsa melayu terletak bangsa melayu dalam*  
 I happy with I race Malay placed race Malay in  
 I'm happy that I'm a Malay and Malay race is indicated on  
 550 *IC saya*  
 IC my  
 My IC  
 551 H1 Mhm  
 552 C12 *IC saya jadi kenapa kerajaan ini ingin mencadangkan dan mengambil..*  
 IC my why government this wish propose and take  
 My IC, why does the government wish to propose and take  
 553 *mengambil hak sesuatu bangsa dan ethnic itu terhadap identity bangsa mereka sendiri↑(0.2)*  
 take rights a race and ethnic that towards identity race they  
 away the rights of one's own race and ethnic identity  
 → 554 H1 That er Shahrin is it important to you (.) with regards to (.) your identity as a  
 555 Malaysian versus your identity as a Malay?  
 → 556 C12 *Er ye sebenarnya kalau saya katakan saya bangsa melayu saya bangga (.) pertama*  
 Er ye actually if I say I race Malay I proud first  
 Er ye I'm proud to say that I'm a Malay  
 557 *saya bangga bahasa melayu tetapi saya mengatakan ini tanah kita bersama tak kira*  
 I proud language Malay but I say this land we together doesn't matter  
 I'm proud of the Malay language but I say that this our land regardless of  
 558 *bangsa Cina atau bangsa india hh (.) kita miliki Malaysia sebagai satu bangsa tetapi*  
 race Chinese or race indian hh we belong Malaysia as one race but  
 whether we are Chinese or Indians we belong to Malaysia as one race regardless of  
 559 *kaumnya dari kaum Melayu kaum India apa salahnya mereka mengaku mereka kaum*  
 560 *India↑*  
 race from race Malay race Indian what is wrong they claim they race Indian

whether we are Malays or Indians, it is not wrong if the Indians claimed that they are Indians  
 561 (0.3)  
 562 H1 Okay thank you very much Shahrin for your (.) call now it's interesting because you  
 563 know this this quick lead when it comes to the this (.) Tan Sri Joseph Kurup the idea  
 564 of prop the proposition of removing the race category

Note: *IC* refers to the identity card of a Malaysian citizen

In the development of talk between host-caller, it is found that the host only provides minimal or back channel responses of '*mhm*' to acknowledge the caller's views on the topic. Even though the caller has provided very bold statements of his stand on the issue as seen in lines 548-550, the host only provides very minimal responses. The turn does develop with C12 questioning the issue on the government's proposal of '*bangsa Malaysia*' and providing a strong disagreement statement of '*taking away the rights of one's own race and ethnic identity*'. We only see H1 agreeing with the caller's stand on the issue at lines 554-555 and further questioning the caller on a more personal note with regards to his '*identity as a Malaysian*' versus his '*identity as a Malay*'. Thus, the AP pair of question followed by an answer develops, in which the caller is seen to be very firm on his stand by giving a personal view on the issue (*I am a Malay...I am proud to be a Malay*) and further extends his talk by elaborating on the social knowledge about ethnic identity (*this is our land...regardless of whether we are Chinese or Indians...we belong to Malaysia...whether we are Malays or Indians...so what is wrong if the Indians claimed that they are Indians*) (lines 556-560). The act of questioning in directing the caller to the topic of discussion is seen as a common strategy employed by hosts in the radio programmes. This is to avoid callers from digressing from the topic, as well as to focus the caller to the relevance of the discussion.



It is observed in this episode that even though the caller has spoken fully in BM (*bahasa Melayu/Malay language*) in his turns at talk, the host will still pose questions to the caller in English. This is in line with the institutional role of the host, that is, he needs to adhere to the norms of the radio programme, even though the host could converse in BM if he wishes to. The only evidence of BM in the host's speech occurs in the initial stages of the interaction, that is, when he returns the caller's greeting and when he responds to the caller's request to speak in Malay. A short pause indicates that the call has been terminated which is later pursued by the host's thanking the caller (line 561). A brief comment is provided in the closing sequence by host, in which he regards the caller's opinion as '*interesting*' and relates to the discussion on the proposal by the minister TSJK to remove the race category.

Therefore, in the stages of host-caller talk, several strategies are employed by hosts to validate calls as well as to develop the interactions of the callers in the on-going discussion. Both hosts work collaboratively with the callers to seek information and clarification on the callers' opinions. When opinions by callers are not clearly stated, the hosts have the task of asking for clarification. Counter-arguments are also observed which provide a challenge for the callers to justify their arguments, and there are also instances whereby one of the hosts will provide a personal view of the issue or social knowledge on the issue in question to challenge the callers' arguments. Series of interrogative statements are also offered by hosts to seek further clarification from the callers. Hosts will try to meet callers' requests but still abide by the rules and regulations of the broadcast industry and government policies. For instance, callers are aware that they are not allowed to discuss sensitive issues or use foul language on air. In LiteFM programmes, interrogative statements are more personally related to the callers' position or status, while in BFM programmes, the questions raised to

callers involve issues on local and social knowledge which are more in line with topics on national issues. This section has discussed how hosts validate callers' turn when callers come on-air to express their opinions, how turns are developed by the participants in the on-going interactions and the turn-taking procedures that are employed by hosts in the development of talk between host-caller. The design of turns by callers in the presentation of opinions will be discussed later in this chapter.

#### **4.3.4 Closing the calls**

Call closings are usually accomplished by the host as swiftly as possible in order to move on to the next call (Thornborrow, 2001). In a typical call closing turn observed by Thornborrow (2001), the host thanks the caller, then moves on with no gap into introducing the next caller. Occasionally when it involves a quest speaker, the guest also takes a turn in the closing sequence and thanks the caller.

Researches on call closings in radio phone-ins (Hutchby, 2006, Fitzgerald and Housley 2002; Ferencik 2007; Dori-Hacohen, 2014; Ames, 2013) have demonstrated similar findings in closings, in which hosts would either thank the caller, support callers' opinions or summarize callers opinions and move to the next caller. Sometimes there are no closing sequences (Dori-Hacohen, 2014; Hutchby, 1996), as the last turn of an interaction is that of the host, who ends the interaction.

In the closing sequences of the Malaysian phone-in data, these features of closing calls are also observed. Hosts will normally employ three strategies: thanking the caller; supporting caller's opinions; summarizing caller's opinions; and then move the next caller on. The next section will discuss the various closing sequences that are observed in the data.

#### 4.3.4.1 Thanking the caller

In the phone-in data, sometimes there is no ‘thank you’ sequence addressed to the previous caller and the host simply moves into getting the next caller on line. In the LiteFM phone-in data, ‘*thank you*’ sequences are not frequent occurrences. The host simply terminates the caller’s turn, and this is probably due to the fact that each caller is only allowed a certain time on air, so the host has to play a role in terminating calls when he feels that the opinion of the caller has been successfully established. There are only two evidences of ‘*thank you*’ sequences that are found in the data, that is, in LFM7 and LFM11. However, the ‘*thank you*’ expression only occurs after several turns of the hosts, and is not a direct expression that immediately precedes the termination of the caller’s turn. Another evidence shows a thanking sequence that occurs immediately after the termination of caller’s turn.

Extract 34: LFM7

- 312 C3: that'll be ↑wei:rd.  
313 H2: that's weird is it?  
314 H1: See:? See, it doesn't work both ways for guys  
315 C3: @@  
316 H2: This is interesting Zac.  
317 C3: yeah.  
318 H2: Hm:  
319 C3: yeah  
320 H2: Think, should give it a try  
321 H1: [@@@]  
322 H2: [@@@]  
323 H1: I will! One day, Okay okay.  
→ 324 H2: No thank you, I like the honest approach.  
325 H1: [@@@]  
326 H2: Thank you very much Dina, I don't think she was referring to you Zac [@@@]  
327 H1: [@@@]

In the above extract, the ‘*thank you*’ sequence of ‘*thank you very much Dina*’ (line 326) only appears after the call has been terminated and after 4 turn exchanges

between the hosts and a series of laughter. In other words, it is not an immediate response by the hosts in thanking the caller after the caller has presented his views on the topic of discussion or upon termination of the call. It is observed that after the thanking token, H2 immediately shifts the focus to the co-host as observed in line 326 *“I don’t think she was referring to you Zac”*, which is then followed by laughter.

The next example shows an immediate ‘thanking sequence’ after the termination of a call.

Extract 35: LFM11

- 190 C3: yea I’ve been in a relationship with this guy he’s 25 and it’s been  
191 going on for 2 years it’s going great  
192 H2: mm [ok well]  
193 H1: [@@@]  
→ 194 H2: good for er Miss X. thank you for that call you know it’s always great  
195 to get a call where somebody opens up and they’re honest and I you  
196 know I have to correct myself, I mentioned that age is not a factor for  
197 Miss X but it is a factor because she chooses men who are (0.7),  
[considerably younger]

Here, the host uses the discourse marker ‘*ok well*’ as a device to terminate the call and only offer the thanking device ‘thank you’ later in the turn (line194). Shifting the focus to the second host or the listening audience upon the termination of the caller’s turn is evident in these closing sequences. Even though the thanking token is directed to the caller themselves, whatever precedes them shows there is no direct relationship as in an adjacency pair of a thanking-thanking sequence. For instance, the host shifts the focus and directs the listening audience by referring to ‘*that call*’ and further addresses the listening audience by saying that ‘*it’s always great to get a call where somebody opens up and they’re honest*’ (lines 194-195). Here it shows how the host has positively acknowledged the caller on her contribution in the talk.

In contrast to LiteFM programmes, thanking sequences are mostly observed in BFM talk programmes. There are variations of ‘thank you’ sequences found in the data. In relation to the closing sequence, the host will monitor the interaction and when a position is explicitly or implicitly established or sufficient information is provided by the caller, the host will then terminate the caller’s turn. There is usually no evident of the first pair part of an adjacency pair of close-offer or close- accept. An instance of this is shown below:

Extract 36: BFM3

- 219 C4 [you are different] you’re different from the start so as long as we don’t  
 220 rule (.) these little bits of pieces out I think it would still be a problem  
 222 H2 Good point [thank you very much Manmeet]  
 223 H1 [Thank you very much Manmeet] remember the numbers to call  
 037719 thousand you can text us on 0162019 thousand you can tweet us at  
 BFM radio

Here, it is the second host (H2) who produces an accept-utterance type of the caller’s viewpoint ‘*good point*’ in line 222, which overlaps with H1’s thank-utterance (line 223). This pair part of the adjacency pair can be described as comment-accept-thank. In calls to a phone-in programme, the host may indicate when sufficient information has been obtained by a move to close. A close can also be co-produced in which both hosts will indicate a closing and this can be accomplished sequentially through the talk as actions of hosts.

Another example is illustrated in the following extract, in which only H1 produces the first turn of a pre-close sequence (line 262).

Extract 37: BFM3

- 262 C6: ..Um we can’t introduce English drastically um immediately because there will be  
 263 some children who are not able to communicate effectively in English especially in  
 264 the rural areas they might have problems  
 265 H1: Well ah thank you very much @@ Shireen

In this instance, host is in a position to assess or accept all information provided and in doing so informs the caller with the use of the discourse marker ‘*well*’ before moving to a close with ‘*thank you very much Shireen*’. Here again, the caller is not given a turn to accept the offer of a close but the call moves to the termination of C6’s turn. Most closing sequences found in the data are of this type. In this call we can see how the host performs the interaction to a close.

The variations of ‘thank you’ sequences can be illustrated in the following examples:

Example (i) BFM7

- 256 C5 these phones were originally banned from being brought to schools (.) in the first place  
 257 and yet because ah you don’t want this er authority in class (.) oh I have one and you don’t  
 258 (0.2)  
 259 H1 So who has this cellphone and who doesn’t **thank you very much Ahmad** we’ve just  
 260 gonna rush to our our next caller before the news, Terence is on the line Hi Terence

Example (ii) BFM7

- 309 C6 That’s my thoughts on this  
 310 H1 **Thank you very much [Ahmad]**

Example (iii) BFM7

- 351 H1 alright ah @@@ [ok victor]  
 352 C8 [as a form] of talking it through  
 353 H1 **Thank you very much for that Victor (.)** it’s Talkback Tuesday call us 037719 thousand  
 354 text us at 0122019 thousand (.) hh tweet us at BFM [radio]

There are three variations of ‘thank you’ sequences in the examples given. In example (i), the host summarizes the caller’s opinion ‘*so who has this cellphone and who doesn’t*’ (line 259) before thanking the caller and then proceeding onto the next caller. Example (ii) shows a very brief thanking token ‘*thank you very much Ahmad*’, while example (iii) indicates a thanking token ‘*thank you very much for that Victor*’, which is followed by an introduction to the programme and the numbers to call, to text and to tweet at ‘*BFM radio*’. These variations of ‘thanking sequences are

frequently observed in BFM phone-in programmes. Therefore, using simple thanking devices after the termination of callers' turns indicate the simplest turn-taking procedures in talk by host. This is probably due to time constraints, for instance, the host has to move on quickly to the next caller or to announce for a break for a commercial, news or song.

#### 4.3.4.2 Supporting caller's opinions

Supporting caller's opinions is another type of strategy that is frequently observed in closing sequences in the data. The host supports the caller's opinion and this serves as a cue for a closing or terminating the caller's turn on air. The extract below shows support for the caller's opinion on '*could we go back to the days without the internet*'.

Extract 38: LFM10

- 14 H2: So you think for sure there's no way we can go back to the old days without  
15 internet?  
16 C1: Yeah, no, no way  
17 H2: hmm okay well I agree with Sam because I don't think that well I think we could,  
18 but I think we don't want to because we're very spoilt now having the internet  
19 around I mean it's like taking a step backwards

The particle '*okay*' is a frequent discourse marker that is used by the hosts to terminate the caller's turn on air. At lines 14-15, the second host asks for confirmation on the caller's opinion that there is no way '*we can go back to the days without the internet*'. This is then followed by an affirmative response '*yeah*' in the caller's next turn, in which he provides a definite agreement '*no way*', thereby echoing the host's utterance of '*no way*'. There is evidence of self-repair here when the caller responds with the use of the negative particle '*no*' followed by '*no way*' (line 16). The host supports C1's statement with '*I agree with Sam*', thereby addresses the caller and further elaborates that we could go back to the days of the internet but provides a

contrastive opinion to what has been stated earlier that people are now spoilt with *'having the internet around'*. H2 further continues with her argument that to go back to the days without the internet would be considered *'like taking a step backwards'* (lines 17-19). Therefore, we find that the host not only supports the opinion of the caller but also presents their own perspective of the issue.

In most episodes of BFM programmes, the strategy of supporting caller's opinion is briefly employed by the hosts in closing sequences. The following example shows a brief closing employed by both hosts in the closing sequences on the topic *'banning mobile phones in schools'*.

Extract 39: BFM7

- 582 C12 Of course we can but then again we have different types of users different types of  
 583 people we ah have different society ah so we have different response so what's the  
 584 what's the population but study of the population of the poll we don't know  
 585 (0.2)  
 586 H2 Yes that's right we don't know or who is logging on to the Website  
 587 H1 Or read that website www.my.XX... that's the website

This example shows that both hosts are in agreement with C12's views on the recent polls conducted on banning mobile phones in schools that is, there is a need to carry out *'a study of the population of the polls'* to determine the types of population who responded to the polls (lines 582-584). In responding to the caller's suggestion, H2 uses the affirmative devices *'yes that's right'* to show agreement and continue to support the caller's argument that *'we don't know or who is logging on to the Website'* (line 586). This is further supported by H1 who adds in the next turn with *'or read that website www.my.XX.. that's the website'*. This shows instances of a brief employment of support for the caller's views by both hosts.



Another example illustrates how the host shows support in agreement with prior caller's views and relates them to what has been presented by earlier callers.

Extract 40: BFM7

- 634 C13 =well I suppose parenting philosophy is going to be little bit hard for us to determine,  
635 you know what was right and and er what's wrong, and I think to a degree parents have  
636 to respond slightly differently in er the the environment today, there are a lot more things  
637 to be dealing with  
638 (0.3)  
639 H1 =Absolutely I mean we've heard that a lot this evening well back in my days we don't  
640 have telephones or cellphones this kind of problem of cellphones

The extract above shows another example of the host's strategy in supporting opinions given by a caller that is evident in the host's utterance of '*absolutely*' (line 639). Opinions of earlier callers on the topic of discussion are also mentioned (*we've heard that a lot this evening*) (line 639) and the host further goes on to provide a personal perspective of the issue that during his days there were no telephones or cellphones and '*this kind of problem of cellphones*' do not occur (lines 639-640).

#### 4.3.4.3 Summarizing callers' opinions

Another strategy of a closing sequence by hosts, that is observed in the radio phone-in programme is summarizing caller's opinions. This is used by the host as a type of strategy to recap the caller's opinion on the topic of discussion. However, what is observed is that this strategy is only employed when the caller has been taken off air. Thus, in summarizing the caller's opinion we find that the direction of focus from the caller has then shifted to the co-host and the listening audience. This is illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 41: LFM10

- 323 C6: no because you see at the end of the day you know what will happen is you know  
324 you see you you become too obsessed with what you have, finally you forget the  
325 true meaning of relationship

326 H2: well there you go I think Gomez has made the most uh one of the the most valid  
 327 points that talks directly to me anyway, because you don't want, you know you  
 328 don't want your relationships to suffer even though you are on the internet a lot  
 329 or that we are using a lot and we are very obsessed with the internet these days.  
 330 um I wouldn't wanna go back to the days without the internet but I still wanna  
 331 keep that whole um you know, social interaction going and not get it like stagnant  
 332 or anything because I'm online all the time, so yes it is a very fine balance but  
 333 still at the end of the day I mean Richard, you got to go with the flow man, you  
 334 got to go on the internet and go!

In lines 323-325, C6 states that if a person is too obsessed with what they have, then they will *'forget the true meaning of relationship'*. This is supported by H2 in the next turn in which she agrees with Gomez (C6) and considers the caller's points as the *'most valid'* among all the earlier callers. She further elaborates on what the caller has mentioned earlier, that is, *'social interaction'* should be kept going even with the time spent on the internet and there should be a fine balance between the two. In offering these kinds of category devices related to social interaction and time spent on the internet, the host provides category-related actions which are morally ordered and accountable for such actions. Even though there is indication of supporting the caller's opinion in the initial utterance, the host still presents her view on the issue. This is observed in her utterance of *'at the end of the day'*, which she then addresses her co-host 'Richard' that she is still of the opinion that people should go with the flow, thus making reference to 'the internet' (lines 332-334). Thus, it is evident here that when H2 turns the focus to the co-host, her point of agreement with the prior caller has then shifted to a more personal perspective of the topic. In other words, in line with the host's task of supporting caller's opinion, the host is also seen to present her own perspective of the issue as illustrated in this episode.

In the next episode on *'whether marriage complements or hinders your career'*, H2 summarizes the caller's (C3) opinion once the caller's turn has been terminated, which is noticeable in the long pause between the exchanges of turns. The

discourse marker ‘okay’ indicates a turn termination of the caller, which H2 then proceeds with ‘*another interesting opinion*’ and acknowledges the caller’s name ‘*Stan*’. H2 further summarizes the caller’s views that it depends on how the person prioritizes the relationship in terms of work or marriage

Extract 42: LFM13

- 380 C3: honestly, no matter what you do, no matter what you try, if your  
381 marriage goes to you, no matter what counsel you go to, the fact  
382 of the matter is, it’s gonna creep into you  
383 H2: yeah  
384 C3: it’s definitely gonna creep, one way or the other so, you cannot really divide  
385 (0.5)  
386 H2: Ah, okay well there you go there you go another interesting  
387 opinion there from u:h from uh Stan what it sort of boil down to  
388 is the person, that’s the underlying theme, how the person in the  
389 relationship prioritizes, how they look at work, how they look at  
390 marriage

This episode shows how the host offers category-bound reasoning attributes in summarizing the caller’s opinion. In other words, the attributes refer to how it depends on the person which is ‘the underlying theme’: ‘*how the person in the relationship prioritizes, how they look at work, how they look at marriage*’ (lines 387-390). Therefore, this shows that the host has offered some kind of moral reasoning to summarize the caller’s view as a strategy in a closing sequence. The views of callers present the content for the host to recap and end the talk in the closing sequence. This is one of the striking features of the radio phone-in data in that the two radio hosts play a very important role as ‘active listeners’ to the views given by the radio callers. This is evident when the hosts are able to provide a summary or recap the caller’s position or the points mentioned on the topic under discussion. Even though a summary of caller’s opinion is presented, there are also instances where personal perspective of the host on the issue is evident. In most instances, the discourse particle ‘okay’ serves as an indication for a closing of the caller’s turn.

In BFM data, the host shows evidence of supporting caller's opinion and at the same time reformulates the caller's arguments. This is illustrated in the following example:

Extract 43: BFM3

- 137 C1 [we ] should change for a better but we are actually regressing that we become  
 138 more (.) more communal now people ah you know(.) we're identifying ourselves  
 139 (.) educating ourselves (.) choosing the type of (.) not just language education but  
 140 also schools (.) er causing to our er you know our religion and racial identity (.) so  
 141 It's not the right way *la* and then and when I discussed with my friends you know  
 142 we realised that er the (.) the source of the problem is very much because of the  
 143 different types of (.) schoo:ls (.) and er language of instructions you know  
 144 H1 Mmm well thank you very much for (.) you know Foo did raise some interesting  
 145 points in in saying that right (.) actually because a lot of people may have been  
 146 jaded↑(.) by both maybe the medium of instructions and even I guess public  
 147 schools they may be we may be forced to select our own schools right so we're  
 148 going private (.) we're going to (.) some madrasahs (.) we're going to (.) religious  
 149 schools (.) home schooling um and that may be is driving us apart (.)  
 150 H2 May be but I don't I I er I still think having options isn't necessarily [the worst]  
 151 H1 [ It's not]  
 152 not a bad thing I'm more for options

The topic of discussion concerns the proposal to have 'English as the medium of instruction in schools as key to national unity'. The caller (C10) expresses his view that people are becoming more communal because they are choosing the type of schools for their children. He further argues that people are segregated because of the different types of schools and languages of instruction (lines 142-143). This argument receives support from H1 and he extends on the caller's views that people are forced to select their own schools for the medium of instruction that they prefer and thereby become more segregated (lines 144-149). In response to H1's statement, H2 offers her opinion that '*having options isn't necessarily the worst*', which is mutually agreed upon by H1 that '*It's not not a bad thing*' upon which he is also of the opinion for '*options*' (lines 151-152).

In most episodes of BFM programmes the lead host (H1) always takes the task of closing the talk with a thanking device and moves on to the next caller. Closing the talk with a thanking device serves as an indication to the caller that he has to end his talk and also to avoid the caller from introducing other topics. Therefore, the hosts will have to monitor the interaction and observe that once the caller has established his opinion on the topic, the call will then be terminated.

There are also cases of closing sequences in which the host asks the caller on his/her opinion if the caller's stand on the issue has not been clearly established in the earlier part of the interaction. The following examples show evidences of such cases on '*bangsa Malaysia*' (the Malaysian race) before the host moves towards a closing.

#### Example (i): BFM1

- 249 H1: **So Hazli let me ask you this do you think by keeping this race hh category uh**  
 250 **you know in these forms do you think it actually supports and and the I guess**  
 251 **makes things easier to identify ah these problems?**  
 252 C4: (0.2) um I er I I don't but but I think be before we do that there are a lot of things  
 253 that have to be done first  
 254 H1: Alright alright thank you very much Hazli we're going to move on to our next caller  
 255 Budi is on the line [hi Budi]

#### Example (ii)

- 413 H1: **Hmm yeah now tell us very quickly do you think um you know when you**  
 414 **embrace this notion of Malaysian er citizenry does it come at a cost of our**  
 415 **cultural identity and characteristics? (.)**  
 416 C9: not at all er loyalty to your country and the whole nation does not have anything to  
 417 do with who I am and what I believe in  
 418 H1: Thank you very much for that Chris moving on to the next caller Cammy is on the  
 419 line hi Cammy

#### Example (iii)

- 554 H1: that er Shahrin is it important to you (.) **with regards to (.) your identity as a**  
 555 **Malaysian versus your identity as a Malay?**  
 556 C12: *er ye sebenarnya kalau saya katakan saya bangsa melayu saya bangga (.) pertama*  
 557 *saya bangga bahasa melayu tetapi saya mengatakan ini tanah kita bersama tak kira*  
 558 *bangsa Cina atau bangsa india hh (.) kita miliki Malaysia sebagai satu bangsa*  
 559 *tetapi kaumnya dari kaum Melayu kaum India apa salahnya mereka mengaku*

- 560            *mereka kaum India*↑  
 Er ye I'm proud to say that I'm a Malay (.) I'm proud of the Malay language but I  
 say that this our land regardless of whether we are Chinese or Indians we belong to  
 Malaysia as one race, but we may be Malays or Indians, what harm is there if the  
 Indians claimed they are Indians↑  
 (0.3)
- 561        H1        Okay thank you very much Shahrin for your (.) call now it's interesting because you  
 562            know this this quick lead when it comes to the this (.) Tan Sri Joseph Kurup the idea  
 563            of prop the proposition of removing the race category

The examples illustrate how the host will prompt the callers for their views before moving on to the next caller. There are various ways to seek the opinions of callers, however the forms of questions are specifically related to the topic of discussion:

*Hazli let me ask you this do you think by keeping this race hh category uh you know in these*  
 (example (i))

*tell us very quickly* do you think um you know when you embrace this notion of Malaysian er citizenry does it come at a cost of our cultural identity and characteristics? (example (ii))

*.. with regards to..your identity as a Malaysian versus your identity as a Malay?* (example (iii))

These evidences of questioning the caller on their opinions before call closings seem to indicate that the format of the programme is to get callers' opinions as much as possible on the topic. Therefore, if host finds that the opinion has not been clearly established by the caller during the duration of the interaction, the host has a role to seek for the caller's opinions or stand on the topic of discussion. It is shown that once the caller has stated or established their opinions clearly, the host thanks the caller and moves on to the next caller.

In the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes, the hosts apply different strategies for call closings, that is, from a simple thanking sequence to a summary of callers' opinions. In most of the data, the callers do not indicate that they are coming to a closing of their turn, but it is the hosts' role to identify or monitor that the callers are coming to the end of their turn or to acknowledge that the caller has

contributed substantially to the issue under discussion, thus the call can be terminated. There are various ways that the hosts employ in order to end the interactions with callers. The host will either thank the caller if the caller has given adequate viewpoints with regard to the topic or sought the caller's final say on the topic if none has been given before thanking the caller and moving on to the next caller. Sometimes, the host does not show any indication of agreeing or disagreeing with the callers' views or recapitulate the callers' views. The next section will examine the design of callers' turns in the presentation of opinions in the introductory stages of callers' talk. This section is discussed after the closing sequences to further illustrate callers' preferences of turn designs in the presentation of opinions.

#### **4.4 The design of callers' turns in the presentation of opinions**

Hutchby (1999) argues that institutions do not define the kind of talk produced within them; but it is the participants' ways of designing their talk that actually constructs the 'institutionality' of such settings. In other words, it is not the role of the institution to specifically establish how participants should design their turns in radio talks but it is the participants themselves who have preferences on how they wish to establish their opinions on topics of discussion in the initial stages of their talk. A number of studies on radio phone-in talk have looked at the significant role of the host in the stages of talk between host-caller (Hutchby, 1999; Thornborrow, 2001a, 2001b; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferencik, 2007; Ames, 2013), however few have examined the design of turns of callers in the initial stages of the presentation of opinions (Hutchby, 1999). Therefore, this section will discuss the turn design format that is observed in the presentation of opinions of callers to the phone-in programmes. It will specifically look into the ways in which callers design their initial speech in the presentation of opinions. Hutchby (2006) provides two basic

design types of the presentation of opinions: the progressional format and the recursive format, in radio phone-ins and television programmes. In the progressional format, a presentation of opinion goes from a relatively neutral situating component, through an account which is designed to lead up to an evaluative conclusion, and to a final assertion of the evaluation. While in the recursive format, a position is stated at the beginning, followed by a justificatory or supporting account, then the coda or closing stage involves a recapitulation of the initial position (Hutchby, 2006). A summary of the argument functions that are matched with their associated basic discourse components is represented in the following table.

Table 4.2: The basic design formats for Opinion Presentations (Hutchby, 2006:60)

Argument functions	Component types	
	Progressional format	Recursive format
Part 1: Situating the argument	Preface	Position statement
Part 2: Making a case	Accounts and justifications	Accounts and justifications
Part 3: Rounding off	Position statement	Recapitulation

The basic design format follows a three-stage pattern: the first involves the caller situating the argument, that is, the caller will preface the argument or provide his stance on the topic of discussion; the second stage involves the caller making a case by providing an account or a justification of the issue; and the final stage involves rounding off the argument. The final stage may involve the caller providing his position statement before the closing or recapitulate his position that has been stated earlier in the interaction. By applying Hutchby's (2006) turn-design format, the study examines the preference structure of callers' turns that are related to the presentation of opinions. This section will explore the variants of turn design in relation to the progressional or the recursive format and the most common types of variants of turn



design in the presentation of opinions of callers in the Malaysian phone-in programmes.

For this section, data that have opinion-generated questions will be analysed and discussed because it is observed that the three-stage format can be applied when the discussion in the talk shows requires callers to offer their views on topic-opinion related issues. This three-part pattern tends to be the one taken by the most successful response-generating opinion presentations in this kind of phone-in context. The following sections will discuss samples of extracts that show the variations of the design of callers' turns in relation to the three-stage format of the presentation of opinions.

#### 4.4.1 The recursive format

In the recursive pattern of the presentation of opinions, a position is stated by the caller at the beginning of the interaction when the caller gets his first turn at talk, and this is then followed by a justificatory or supporting account, which is then used to recapitulate the initial position (Hutchby, 2006). This format is evident in the following samples of data.

Extract 44: LFM11

- 90 H1: funky Friday and we're asking the question is age difference in a relationship a  
91 factor and who is it a bigger factor for, we'll talk to Steven  
→ 92 C2: no, age is not a factor  
93 H2: ooh okay [so we agree with that]  
94 H1: [@@@]  
95 C2: I I I don't mind people I mean uh ladies who is uh younger than me or older than  
→ 96 me, because older or younger if you get married with her, you as a man have t- have  
97 to take care of the family  
98 H2: okay so the age doesn't really matter too much then  
→ 99 C2: no no I don't I don't compare with age, as long as uh both can get together happily  
100 ever after, this is okay with me  
101 H2: okay but what about Richard's scenario with [you know]  
102 H1: [Yeah]  
103 H2: the the the the child the children and you know 'cause Richard's a lot older then  
104 he has to look for someone a bit younger and dadada

- 105 C2: you wouldn't know one day, that uh you know who will go off first,  
 106 [you know?]  
 107 H2: [uh exactly.] [@ ]  
 108 H1: [@ No]  
 109 C2: you wouldn't know one day because nowadays it's that [uh]  
 110 H1:: [Uhuh]
- 111 C2:: health that matters in in men or women and you know, they they they can't say we  
 112 can't say that  
 113 H1: right  
 114 C2: women will be will be even more uh uh uh long-lasting you know?  
 115 H2: yeah and plus she's younger so she's gonna live longer, it's not always the case  
 116 H1: [it's]  
 117 C2: [yea]  
 118 H1: it's just part of the reason but my main primary reason was that you know  
 119 I'm in my forties if I get uh girls um around my age you know what they say  
 120 about women, their body clock and you know when it comes to childbirth you  
 121 have a higher risk you know and things like that
- 122 C2: anyhow also if you get married older let's let's say for example if you get married  
 123 in the late forties  
 124 H2: Yup
- 125 C2: you're still enthusiastic to get children
- 126 H2: mm well interesting point there Richard so is age difference in a relationship a  
 127 factor and who is it a bigger factor for although Steven says no not all you never  
 128 know who can go first

Here, the caller (C2) provides a position statement to the topic of discussion in his initial turn, that *'age is not a factor'* (line 92) in a relationship. He then makes a case for his stance by offering a justificatory account marked as such by the use of the conjunction, *'because..'* to indicate that for a woman, age is not a factor in a relationship because it is the 'husband' who has responsibility over the family and the relationship (lines 96-97, lines 99-100). C2 further justifies his stand on the issue of health (lines 105, 106, 111, 112). An evaluative coda is then produced to mark the completion of his argument: *'if you get married older... let's let's say for example if you get married in the late forties'* (line 122-123); *'you'll still be enthusiastic to get children'* (line 125). Finally in line 126, we see an evaluative comment given by H2 on C2's 'interesting point', and the shift in focus to the co-host (Richard). H2 then produces the topic of discussion again and provides an evaluative summary of C2's (Steven) view that age is not a factor at all (lines 126-128). Here, it is observed that it

is the host who rounds off the position of the caller. In certain cases of the data, it is found that the caller does not recap or round off the position stated earlier but rather, the hosts play the role in rounding off the caller's position on the topic. This is related to the discussion on summarizing caller's opinion (section 4.3.4.3). This extract represents an example of the 'recursive' format, in which the three-stage format is evident, that is, a position statement is followed by a justification of the statement, and finally, a recapitulation of the caller's position by the host.

Another example of the recursive format in the data is illustrated below. This extract is taken from BFM programme on the topic: *English medium school is an answer to national unity*. Earlier on in the interaction, the hosts introduce the context of the discussion on the education system in Malaysia, in which several measures have been taken to improve the education system. There have been suggestions for policy decisions to make English language as the medium of instruction in order to unite Malaysia's polarised society. Thus there was a call to get opinions from the public with regard to the issue.

Extract 45: BFM3

- 203 C4: hey eh I well I don't think an English medium school is going to be an option I think for  
204 various reasons
- 205 H2: uhm
- 206 C4: for one thing I think it might work um in cities in ah suburbs places where you will find  
207 English speaking people and (.) er multicultural city like KL I grew up in *Kota Baru*
- 208 H2: mhm
- 209 C4: yes you had your non Malay students in the city schools but the moment you move out to  
210 *Kuala Krai* you're talking about (.) um a densely Malay populated area (.) no one speaks  
211 English or *bahasa Melayu* it really doesn't matter↑ um I think you're probably create a  
212 bigger divide with the rural and urban society if you have an English medium that that  
213 that's just one point (.) hh and I I think the root of the cause is a lot deeper and I think if  
214 we just (.) I don't know I think er if we are just more open and more understanding
- 215 I think we are just polarised I guess would be the matter you're you're always reminded  
216 that you are ah *semua pelajar*
- all students
- 217 *bukan islam sila ke* and you know you are always  
non-Muslims please go to

- 218 H2: you're always reminded that [you are different]  
 219 C4: [you are different] you're different from the start so as long  
 220 as we don't rule (.) these little bits of pieces out I think it would still be a problem

Note: *bahasa Melayu* – refers to the Malay language, which is the national language of Malaysia

In this episode, C4 first states her opinion by taking up a position in disagreement with the topic '*I don't think an English medium school is going to be an option I think for various reasons*' (lines 203-204). She then makes a case for her position by arguing that the implementation of English medium schools will only work in '*cities*' and '*suburb places*' where there are '*English-speaking people*' such as a multicultural city like '*KL*' (Kuala Lumpur) (lines 206-207). She offers a justificatory account by providing an account of her background that she comes from '*Kuala Krai*' (a rural town), '*a densely Malay populated area*' and '*no one speaks English or bahasa melayu*' which she feels will further create a bigger divide between the rural and urban society if the English medium is implemented (lines 209-213). The caller then continues with her turn by stating that the root cause of the problem is a lot deeper and suggests that people should be more open and understanding about the problem (lines 211-214). Further justification to her arguments on polarization is provided in lines 215-216. There is a collaborative turn of H1 in line 217 in support of the caller's statement, which is seen as an echo utterance of the caller's prior utterance '*you're always reminded that [you are different]*'. This turn shows a partial overlap of the occurrence of '*you are different*' between the host and the caller, which seems to show shared knowledge of the situation between the participants. The shared knowledge of '*you are different*' illustrates the normal occasion in Malaysian schools in which 'non-Muslim students' are requested to go to a different venue whenever there is a religious talk or ceremony going on at the school. Finally, C4 proceeds with her talk after the overlapping turn

with the host and produces an evaluative coda to mark the completion of her argument: *'as long as we don't rule.. these little bits of pieces out I think it would still be a problem'* (lines 218-219). The summary of the caller's position seems to suggest that if this racial segregation is not eradicated, the issue of disunity will still be a problem. This example illustrates the recursive format, in which the caller is able to round off an argument by using a summative assessment of the position statement that has been given earlier.

Further examples on the same topic on *'national unity'* to illustrate the recursive format in the presentation of opinions are presented in the following extracts.

Extract 46: BFM3

- 646 C16: er actually what I think is yeah er English would be er er (.) a better medium to
- 647 er for instruction for (.) er our children um (.)
- 648 H1: in terms of national unity?
- 649 C16: yeah
- 650 H2: would you like to elaborate?
- 651 C16 ah yeah e (.) essentially right now um a lot of um (.) a lot of people um these
- 652 days are (.) trying to insert their own individuality their own um (.) you know
- 653 interesting points about themselves (.)
- 654 H1: yes yes
- 655 C16: And of course uh the racial ethnics would be greater at some point and and
- 656 English in a in a way yeah is is pretty universal because of the the colonial history
- 657 that we we've had
- 658 H2: uhm
- 659 C16: and er I think er (.) in a way it does (.) promote the (.) national unity because it
- 660 (.) er revive those good old days the memories↑
- 661 H2: =but are we saying that indivi- individuality promotes racism to a degree?
- 662 C16: (.) It does

In this episode, C16 situates his stance in agreement with the topic that is *'English would be a better medium to er for instruction for..er our children'* (lines 646-647). When H1 further queries about the relation to *'national unity'*, C16 provides an affirmative response (line 649) to the question. A request for an

elaboration by H2 provides C16 with the opportunity to further elaborate on his arguments, that is, a lot of people nowadays are trying to insert their own individual ethnic identity (lines 651-653) and agrees that English as a universal language may unite people (lines 655-656). The caller's arguments sum up that English is a universal language and the use of the conjunctive device '*because*' further justifies his argument on the historical knowledge that Malaysia was once colonised by the British, and English was then the language of administration as well as for communication that had united the people (lines 659-660). C16 further continues his speech with a suggestion on reviving the memories. In seeking further clarification on C16's statement, H2 latches onto the interaction and questions caller on the idea whether individuality promotes racism (line 660), thus pursuing on the issue of '*individuality*' that was mentioned earlier by the caller. C16 then responds with a brief positive note after a slight pause with an affirmative stand '*it does*' (line 661). On this occasion, the caller does not provide a recapitulation of his arguments but it is the host who would pursue the caller on his earlier position and seek further clarification on the issue. In other words, the recursive pattern that is evident here is observed in the caller's position statement given in the initial turn and this is then followed by a justification of the position. However, in cases, where the justification of the opinion is not clearly stated, the host will seek further clarification on the caller's position. This example shows that the caller is in agreement with the host's reformulation of the caller's standpoint. Here, the host's attempts to seek confirmation on the caller's argument only receive a brief response from the caller (line 662). It is seen here that there is no attempt made by the caller to elaborate on the statement upon the request from the host.

These samples of extracts that have been discussed thus represent examples of the 'recursive format' in the presentation of opinions by radio callers. The three-part-sequence is observed, that is: a position statement is followed by an account and justification; and ends with a recapitulation or a summary of the argument presented earlier. It can be concluded in the discussion that in providing the recapitulation or a summary of the argument, it is not just the callers who would sum up their arguments, but the hosts will also take up the task in providing a summary of the callers' arguments.

#### **4.4.2 The progressional format**

By way of contrast, the three-stage format in the progressional pattern follows the following sequence: a preface; an account and justification; and a position statement. What is mostly observed in the data is that the caller will preface his talk before providing an account and justification on the topic and in most cases, the caller will state his position before he/she ends his talk. These statement positions are either implicitly or explicitly stated, however, there are also cases where a position statement is not evident in the later part of the interaction. As discussed earlier on variants of closings, when positions on the topic are not clearly stated, the hosts play a significant role in seeking the caller's opinions on the issue before they terminate the call. This section will discuss the variations of the progressional format that are observed in the data.

The following example shows a variation of the progressional format, in which the caller prefates her talk before proceeding with an account of her experience on the topic *'financial assistance to adult children'*.

Extract 47: LFM12

- 289 H1: Talk Tuesday and we're talking about financial assistance to adult  
 290 children when do you stop, Mrs. Wong?
- 291 C3: I want to talk about me: I don't want, I don't want to compare  
 292 myself with others
- 293 H2: okay, go ahead
- 294 C3: you see because some people their situation different from mine,  
 295 like as far as I'm concern, we went through, uh, in my younger  
 296 days my children were very small, we went through a lot of  
 297 difficulties, and working, both husband and wife working, our  
 298 salary was so small
- 299 H2: right
- 300 C3: we manage to make ends meet and then try to save as much as we  
 301 can, now, as life went on, with all the difficulties and life became  
 302 better in a sense, better job, you know
- 303 H2: uhum
- 304 C3: better, better pay and all that so, we manage to save quite a bit  
 305 both my hubby and I
- 306 H2: okay
- 307 C3: my children, I've got only two girls and they're lovely girls,  
 308 H2: right
- 309 C3: they know the hardship that we went through
- 310 H2: uhum
- 311 C3: and they will ne:ver ever like openly ask (0.4) if they want  
 312 something or if they need something
- 313 H2: right
- 314 C3: but we as parents, we see their movements, we know they need
- 315 H2: you know they're struggling or not, right?
- 316 C3: =yes, we know they're struggling and all that↑ so:↑ it is a bonus  
 317 when we offer them and as far as I am concern and my husband  
 318 concern, we gave all this without expecting anything bad, they are  
 319 our own flesh and blood
- 320 H2: yeah
- 321 C3: that's why I said I cannot compare others I'm talking about  
 322 [me ]
- 323 H2: [uhum]
- 324 C3: my (.) family (.) so there are many times even their first cars, their first  
 325 house, both of us have given but but, we want to see them happy
- 326 H2: the lessons that you've taught [them]
- 327 C3: [yes]
- 328 H2: in life
- 329 C3: value money, this is the root of all evil, be very very careful with  
 330 what you do
- 331 H1: [so yo-]
- 332 H2: [ a:h ] there you go so you see be very careful with what you do  
 333 when you get the money I think that's very important as well  
 334 when when when you, when, when parents give financial  
 335 assistance to adult children it's very important the money goes to  
 336 what it really needs to go to, not just because, oh, I want a new  
 337 car, what's wrong with your car, nothing it's just you know, it's



338           old (0.4) things like that you know I would never encourage  
 339           somebody is just about to, your son is just about to lose their  
 340           house, you know because they can't pay the mortgage and stuff  
 341           like that, then you might be able to step in  
 342    H1:     step in and and help  
 343    H2:     yeah, when does it stop Richard, I don't think it ever stops like  
 344           Mrs. Wong said, you're a parent, you're their own flesh and  
 345           blood, you wanna make sure that they are,

Here, instead of beginning her opinion presentation by stating a position, the caller (C3) uses a different kind of situating component – a preface: '*I want to talk about me, I don't want to compare myself with others*' (lines 291-292). An account of circumstances surrounding the caller's financial hardship is provided at the beginning of the caller's turn (lines 294-298) and reasons for financial assistance to her children (lines 316-319, 324-325) are then produced by the caller in the subsequent turns. It is observed that in the development of turns of the caller, only minimal responses are given by the host (H2) in response to the caller's account of her experience. The only evidence of a collaborative turn is noticeable in line 315, which shows H2 giving support and showing understanding on account of the caller's argument (*you know they're struggling or not, right?*). In a way this account of the caller's experience supports her eventual statement of a position even though it is not stated explicitly (*to value money as it is the root of all evil and to be very careful with what you do*) (lines 329-330). In the later stages of the interaction where there is a move to a closing, the host coordinates the talk by providing an evaluative or recapitulative summary of the caller's position. Here, there is evidence of an echo utterance, in which the host repeats the caller's actual statement as observed in lines 332-336, that is '*to be very careful with what you do when you get the money and when parents give financial assistance to children it is very important that the money goes to what it really needs to go to*'. This example illustrates the turn sequences that are reflective of the progressional format, in which a caller will provide a preface on the topic, which is

then followed by an account of the caller's experience and some justifications to support the caller's opinion. Even though, the caller's position on the topic is not explicitly stated, it shows that the caller is of the opinion that it is reasonable to provide financial assistance to adult children. The host's evaluative summary (lines 332-336) thus establishes the caller's view on the topic.

Another case of the progressional format can be seen in the next example on '*English as an answer to national unity*'.

Extract 48: BFM1

- 294 C7: I er think the the the most important thing now is to allow the students to actually mingle  
295 around especially students of different races I'm I'm sure both of you are from er sekolah  
296 kebangsaan one time?  
297 H2: yup  
298 H1: that's right
- 300 C7: yes and and being being from *sekolah kebangsaan* schools I believe ah ah we actually get  
301 to mingle around with ah ah students from different races (0.4) and then ah ah as as one  
302 caller was mentioning er during Christmas he actually visit his friend  
303 H1: yes
- 304 C7: but now but now we can actually see this *kebangsaan* schools there are more er there are  
305 less and less mixed races going into *kebangsaan* schools (.) is it possible if may be may  
306 be come up with some kind of programme, may be such as modules may be find students  
307 if they want to speak in um Chinese modules as well they can actually go (.) all of them  
308 can actually go into the same school but ah but ah they can be in different classes, but then  
309 we can still create an environment for them to mingle around let's say like ah
- 310 H1: =okay so so what is the answer then assuming is just the fact that you want everybody to  
311 gather around rather than using any particular (.) languages as the medium of instruction  
312 C7: =ye::s yes yes unlike ah er er especially nowadays a lot of the Chinese are always saying  
313 that ah ah it's very important for Chinese to go to Chinese schools but (.) I don't see a
- 314 problem going to *kebangsaan* schools ah but let's say they want to pick up Chinese maybe  
315 may may be the government can fix like some extra modules or split the modules into  
316 different modules for the students to take↑
- 317 H2: =right er I understand you raise a very good the point make a creative method of uh by er  
318 just keeping in trend keeping everyone happy right so you don't actually change the  
319 medium of instruction  
320 C7: yah  
321 H1: but you create this modular environment where everyone (.) can (.) do as they please and  
322 yet they are in the same environment but the problem of that would be a resource issue right?  
323 H2: mhm
- 324 C7: and that's the biggest problem the resource (.) limitations even if the government introduces  
325 English medium schools (.) how (.) can (.) that if the policy be implemented if the teachers  
326 are not proficient in English?
- 327 H1: yeah resources (.) being one thing but you know if we're talking about er (.) the vernacular  
328 schools being the problem (.) er what's the difference if you have different modules students

- 329 are separated anyway in your social circles, revolve around (.) say your class  
 → 330 C7: =But you still come [together ]  
 331 H2: [your friends ]  
 332 C7: but you still come together for things like BM..  
 333 H1: mhm  
 334 C7: and English  
 335 H1: mhm  
 → 336 C7: you still come together for.. the general subjects you see so you will only go away for say  
 337 (.) Chinese classes (.) or science and English classes and stuff like that

Note: *sekolah kebangsaan* refers to national-type schools  
*kebangsaan* refers to national

In this episode, the caller (C7) offers a suggestion that students should be allowed to ‘*mingle around especially students of different races*’ (lines 294-296). He continues by asking both hosts for confirmation that they were both educated at ‘*sekolah kebangsaan*’ (*national-type schools*) (lines 294-296), and this receives a firm agreement of ‘*yup*’ and ‘*that’s right*’ (lines 297-298) from both hosts respectively. This strategy of asking the hosts in relation to their education background shows shared knowledge of the experience of Malaysians who have attended national-type schools. Some justifications on his suggestion are further found in the caller’s next turn in which he establishes the fact that students from national-type schools are able ‘*to mingle around with students of other races*’ (lines 300-302). He also provides an account of the view of an earlier caller (caller 2) on ‘Christmas’ celebration in which children of other races visit friends (lines 300-302), thus justifies his prior statement. Further accounts on the issue of a ‘polarised society’ are provided by the caller on the decreasing number of children going to national-type schools (lines 304-305). The caller further develops his turn by giving suggestions on programmes or modules that students can go through which could create an environment for them to mingle around (lines 305-309). These arguments are presented by the caller to justify further that other language modules can be offered in national-type schools to encourage students of other races to enrol in these types of schools. At line 310, H1 latches in onto the

interaction to request the caller for some justification for his suggestion. In this interaction, the caller has applied local knowledge on the issue based on the fact that in the current situation, the Chinese see the importance of sending their children to '*Chinese schools*'. The caller further justifies his view on what has been presented earlier on the suggestion that the government should set up extra modules on languages for students to take (lines 312-316). The host gives a positive comment on the caller's view in the next turn and makes reference to the caller's earlier statement '*you don't actually change the medium of instruction*' (lines 317-319). However, in response to the caller's argument, the host further assures the caller to agree with him on '*resource issue*' (lines 321-322). In response to the host's statement, the caller agrees with the issue but further challenges the argument by bringing up another issue on teachers' proficiency in English (lines 322-324). Here, the caller has raised another angle of looking at the issue on having English medium schools to justify his opinions further. In line 327, the host (H1) further challenges the caller on having different modules and that students are separated in their '*social circles*'. It is observed that in response to the host's arguments, the caller thus remains firm on his stand and further justifies his arguments that even though students learn other '*language modules*' they still come together when they learn '*BM*' (Bahasa Melayu – Malay language) and English.

The caller's final say on the issue of discussion shows that he has implicitly stated his position which then leads to an evaluative summary and this is in response to H1's earlier argument on the '*different modules*' because students have thus been separated in their '*social circles*' (lines 325-327). The caller's final turn in the interaction shows an example of an evaluative summary to round off the opinion in support of retaining '*other vernacular languages*' in schools and at the same time

promoting '*national unity*' in schools (lines 336-337). Therefore, this example illustrates how the caller has prefaced the issue at the beginning of talk, followed by some justifications on account of his opinion, and then provided an opinion statement at the end of the interaction. Even though the position statement may not be explicitly stated by the caller, this may still account for an opinion in this type of discursive context.

The examples of interactions in the progressional format thus illustrate that in the development of turns, callers construct their talk from the initial stages by prefacing the issue before developing their arguments in support or non-support of the issue in question, and this is done by giving an account or justification on the issue in their subsequent turns. Speakers conclude their opinion presentations and use various rhetorical devices to indicate that their point has been made and their arguments are now complete. The examples of data presented show that the three-stage turn design of the progressional format are applied in the presentation of opinion by callers in the phone-in programmes. In this format, the caller will first situate the argument by providing a preface to the topic at hand; which is then followed by making a case with some accounts and justifications; and the final part involves rounding off the argument or giving an explicit or implicit position statement.

In the radio talk data, the recursive and progressional formats are observed when the discussions in the talk shows involve callers' views on topic-opinion related issues. In order to illustrate the types of turn design in the presentation of opinions, the data are tabulated based on the number of occurrences of the two formats in the corpus. A summary of the distribution of the recursive and progressional format in the presentation of opinions is presented in the table below:

Table 4.3: The distribution of the recursive and progressional formats in the presentation of opinions in the phone-in programmes

Programme	Recursive format	Progressional format	Total
BFM	77 (54.2%)	65 (45.8%)	142
LiteFM	75 (72.8%)	28 (27.2%)	103
Total	152 (62%)	93 (38%)	245

Out of 245 topic-opinion calls made by radio callers in the programmes, the data show a high percentage of 62% of the recursive format and only 38% of calls followed the progressional format. This shows that callers have preferences in stating their positions to topic-related issues before giving an account or justification of their views. For the progressional format, it is found that callers would relate their experiences or give a preface to the topic-related issues before justifying their opinions or stating their positions in the course of the interaction. One interesting feature that is worth highlighting is the high occurrence of 75 (72.8%) cases of the recursive format compared to only 28 (27.2%) occurrences of the progressional format found in LiteFM talk shows. In LiteFM programmes which concerned topics on relationship, family, current trends, as well as on moral and ethical issues, callers would state their positions explicitly or implicitly before providing an account or justification on their views. For BFM programmes, there are no major differences between these two types of design format in the presentation of opinions, even though the findings show a slightly higher percentage of the recursive format found in this programme.

#### 4.5 Summary

This chapter has revealed the sequential organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes of LiteFM and BFM. It is evident that in both programmes, host-host

talk reflects the nature of the programmes in relation to the target listeners, as well as, the topics of discussion. It is observed that in the co-text, both hosts work collectively and collaboratively and build on each conversational turn, which then finally builds a scenario for the setting of the topic for the day. The collective positions by the hosts act as an invitation for listeners to agree with the hosts or pose a different point of view, as well as, reinforce the role of hosts as being initially impartial to a debate (Fitzgerald, 1999; Hutchby, 1991). In other words, the interactions thus demonstrate how hosts take a position on a topic, but at the same time allow for some concerns to be established within that position before requesting calls from listeners. The interactions between host-host also allow callers to take a position that would align with at least one of the hosts' stated positions. Furthermore, personal experience plays an important role in host-host conversation that precedes host-caller interaction. It is found that positions or stance on the topics discussed are sometimes established by the hosts and hosts relate accounts of their own experiences on the topics, which reflect features of ordinary conversations (Sacks, 1996).

This analysis of data has also revealed that there are two phases of the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes: host-host talk and host-caller talk. The first phase, which involves the co-text of host-host talk that precedes host-caller talk provides a pre-requisite for further development of talk. In other words, it sets the stage for the development of talk between host-caller. Both hosts collaborate with one another on the topic under discussion before the lines are opened to radio callers. In this co-text, the hosts provide personal views and contexts of discussion as resources for further discussion by the callers on the topics. The second phase of the sequential organization of talk involves the introductory stage, the call-validation stage and the closing stage. It is clearly shown that in the introductory stages of the

radio phone-in data, there are various ways of developing the sequences of talk and these seem to depend on what the caller has to say on the issue of discussion when the caller is first introduced to the show. The caller will either develop a multi-sentence monologue without raising his stand on the issue or offer a direct opinion and receive some kind of feedback or responses from the hosts of the show. In the call validation stage, it is observed that both hosts work collaboratively with the callers in seeking information, clarification or confirmation on the caller's position. These are evident in the series of interrogative statements posed by either one of the hosts. There are also evidence of cases whereby the hosts need to clarify on certain issues that are related to information or facts which have not been accurately stated by the callers in their prior turns.

Another interesting feature of the data shows how the hosts affiliate with opinion presentations from the callers. The hosts prioritize the discourse of these callers who speak with relevance and authenticity on the topics discussed. An interesting feature in this type of media event is how ordinary speakers construct their talk so as to enable it to be responded by the hosts of the talk shows. In these shows, participants use their turns to take up positions, or justify their positions on the issue, and these may take a variety of forms, from single sentences, to extended account of personal experience or shared knowledge on the topics of discussion. However, whatever forms they take, the turns function as position-taking positions in the discussion on the topic. In other words, successfully presenting an opinion in this discursive context means more than simply stating what your opinion is.

The discussion further shows that in the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes, both hosts work collaboratively towards a call conclusion. The hosts apply different strategies for call closings, that is, from a simple thanking sequence to



a summary of callers' opinions. In most of the data, the callers do not indicate that they are coming to a closing of their turn, but it is the hosts' role to identify or monitor that the callers are coming to the end of their turn or to acknowledge that callers' opinions have been adequately established on the issue under discussion, thus the call is then terminated.

There are two types of turn-design formats in the presentation of opinions of callers observed in the phone-in data: the progressional format and the recursive format; in which each takes a three-part sequence. In the progressional pattern, the caller presents his/her opinion from a relatively neutral situating component, through an account which leads up to an evaluative conclusion, and to a final assertion of the evaluation or a position statement. While in the recursive pattern, a caller states his/her position at the beginning, followed by a justificatory or supporting account, then recapitulates the initial position. In some instances, the hosts will provide an evaluative summary of the caller's viewpoints or recap caller's position on the topic of discussion and these are sometimes observed in the closing sequences of host-caller talk. The turn design formats clearly describe how callers design their talk in the initial stages of their turns in the presentation of opinions. In this kind of interactional context, views from callers are the sources of entertainment value for radio listeners to the specific programmes. In other words, getting views from callers is the main purpose of the phone-in programmes and also for the discourse to run smoothly. Therefore, when opinions are not clearly stated by callers or callers tend to digress from the topics discussed, the hosts play an important role in seeking for callers' opinions or refocusing the callers to the topic of discussion before the closing for each episode.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE CATEGORICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RADIO PHONE-IN PROGRAMMES**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter will address the second research question with a focus on the categorical organization of sequences and action that are developed in the phone-in programmes of host-caller interactions. The types of categorical information that are relevant to topics of discussion in the phone-in programmes will also be discussed. The study will also include an examination of how participants negotiate their identity from their own perspective, that is, from the angle of their own management in the interaction. The analysis of data is based on the methodological approach of Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1995), and also taking into consideration previous works that have applied Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) as analytical frameworks in their examination on radio phone-in programmes (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Hutchby, 2006; Ferenčik, 2007; Stokoe, 2012; Ames, 2013).

#### **5.1 The membership categorization in the radio phone-ins**

Before moving on to further discussions on this chapter, the study will examine the types of membership categorization that are present in the radio phone-ins. Over the course of the interaction within radio phone-in programmes, participants' identities are progressively developed and this is demonstrated in the ways participants display their orientation to relevant membership categories. The relevance of membership categories arises from different aspects of the phone-in structure and at different stages of its progression. In other words, almost any feature

of participants' identities may be utilised for categorization and further, more than one category may be applied to a given person. Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) argue that newly emerging categories, do not replace the 'old' ones; rather that, layers of categorization are built up and developed within the interactional flow whereby participants' identities are progressively established. These emerging categories are located in particular contexts of their production and change on a turn-by-turn basis over the course of interaction (Watson, 1997; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Therefore, the procedures by which particular membership categories are selected thus form a substantial part of the participants' interactional activity.

This section will explore the set of analytical concepts generated by Sacks (1995) called membership categorization devices, membership categories and category-bound activities in relation to Malaysian radio phone-in interactions. Even though previous studies have explored the types of membership categories, membership categorization devices and category-bound activities in their investigation of phone-in programmes, it will be interesting to note whether there are cultural differences in features of such categories in the Malaysian context of such speech event. Fitzgerald (1999), Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) have noted that the membership categories of the participants in phone-in programmes are 'host' and 'caller', in which each category carries out certain activities and obligations related to their roles. The category of 'host' and 'caller' are viewed as membership categories of the membership categorization device (MCD) called 'parties to a phone-in programme'. However, 'parties to a phone-in programme' are not just inclusive of 'host' and 'caller', there are also other parties involved such as the 'production team' who manage the calls and the transition of callers to the programme. In addition, this category is complemented by the notion of category-bound activities (CBAs) which

attempt to describe how certain activities were common-sensically tied to specific categories and devices (Sacks, 1995). For instance in radio phone-in interactions, the activities of introducing the programme, setting the topic for the programme, inviting callers to participate, summoning and introducing the caller, are tied to the category 'host'; while the activities of responding to the question, offering and justifying opinions are tied to the category 'caller' (Fitzgerald, 1999, Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Sacks' (1995) initial ideas of categories or descriptions involved conceptualizing an array of 'collections' or a shared 'stock of common sense knowledge' which membership categorization devices (MCDs) were seen to enclose. Thus, such categorization and their devices formed part of the commonsensical framework of members' methods and recognisable capacities of practical sense making (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). In carrying out a categorization study, this section will explore the categorical sequences and actions that are developed in the ongoing interactions in the Malaysian phone-in programmes.

### **5.1.1 Layers of membership categories**

Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) introduced four types of membership categories that are related to relevant aspects of phone-in organization: programme-relevant, call-relevant, topic-relevant and topic-opinion categories. Programme-relevant category (PRC) includes categories which are directly related to the organizational aspect of phone-in interactions. These include membership categories of the 'host' and 'caller', which are taken together to form a membership categorization device (MCD) called 'parties to a phone-in'. They are considered as part of the 'participatory framework' and may be practically called upon at any time during the interaction, hence there are referred to as 'omni-relevant categories' (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Another concept that is introduced

in relation to phone-in programmes is call-relevant identities (CRI). These include the identification of the caller that is offered by the host, such as the name of the caller and location. They can also include some information in order to continue with the call where the caller can address the issue they wish to raise. Topic-relevant categories (TRC) and topic-opinion categories (TOC) are the other categories that are evident in the examination of radio phone-in programmes. The former include the experience of the caller to the topic under discussion, to show justification to the authenticity of their opinions; while the latter include the views or opinions of the caller with regard to agreement or disagreement to the topic under discussion.

The analysis of the on-going interactions in the phone-in data reveals that the conversationalists display orientation to these types of membership categories which relate to relevant aspects of phone-in organization in Malaysian phone-in programmes. This study offers an extension on research on types of membership categories in phone-in organization (Hutchby, 1999; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Ferencik, 2007, Ames, 2013). Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) argue that newly emerging categories, do not replace the 'old' ones; rather that, layers of categorization are built up and developed within the interactional flow whereby participants' identities are progressively established. This is further supported by Ferencik (2007) who illustrated that overarching the layers of phone-in organization is a 'supra-layer' of sequential categories with which membership categories are intertwined; that is, they are built into the interaction and change on the turn-by-turn basis. Additionally, of these 'layers' of identities, only one is seen as relevant at a particular moment of talk. For instance, the sequential categories may include topic-opinion, topic-relevant, call relevant and programme relevant categories, and anyone of these is seen as relevant within a particular moment of talk, which also describes

the categorical flow of the interactions in the phone-in programme. These layers of membership categories that are evident in the on-going interactions in Malaysian phone-in programmes will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

### **5.1.2 Sequential categories**

In establishing the membership categories in the phone-in data, it is also important to examine the sequential categories that are related to turns and sequences in the data. In the discussion on adjacency pairs (APs) which have been discussed in Chapter 4, an adjacency pair (AP) can also be explored both sequentially and categorically, as it is a minimal structural unit of conversational action. This section will discuss the various sequential categories that are found in the data. When conversing, speakers produce structurally bound slots of sequential order and carry out specific actions predicated to sequential categories associated with them. For example, in the question-answer (Q-A) AP speakers occupy mutually related positions of sequential categories of ‘questioner’ and ‘answerer’ to which the actions of asking question and answering questions are predicated respectively. Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) described them as ‘categories-in-action’, and these categories may include ‘summoner’ and ‘summoned’, ‘requester’ and ‘requested’, ‘introducer’ and ‘introduced’ and ‘informer’ and ‘informed’. As discussed earlier, the category-bound activities of ‘host’ and ‘caller’ refer to the activities that are commonsensically tied to specific categories and devices of these two MCDs. The table below shows the sequential categories and related category-bound activities in the phone-ins.

Table 5.1: Sequential categories and related category-bound activities in the phone-ins

Adjacency Pair	Sequential Category	Category-bound Activity
Summon Answer	Summoner Summoned	Summoning Answering summons
Question Answer	Questioner Answerer	Asking question (s) Answering question (s)
Introduction Answer	Introducer Introduced	Introducing Answering introduction
Inform Acknowledge	Informer Informed	Providing information Acknowledging the receipt of information

These sequential categories that are connected with membership categories of ‘host’ and ‘caller’ are omnipresent throughout the interaction. For example, ‘asking questions’ are actions predicated to the category ‘host’, whilst ‘answering questions’ are actions predicated to the category ‘caller’. Therefore, relating to the layers of categorization, the membership categories of ‘parties to a phone-in programme’ which involve the ‘host’ and ‘caller’ play relevant roles in the interaction. For instance, when the ‘caller’ is the ‘informer’ that is tied to the activity of ‘providing information’, the host is the ‘informed’ that is tied to the activity of ‘acknowledging or receiving the information’. That goes for other sequential categories such as ‘introducer-introduced’, ‘summoner-summoned’ as can be established in the phone-in data. These sequential categories and category-bound activities can be illustrated as follows:

Table 5.2: The sequential categories and category-bound activities of a radio phone-in

Content	Adjacency pair	Sequential category	Category-bound activity
1 H1 anyway it's a <i>funky Friday</i> we're asking the question have we become too materialistic with our gifts?			
2 H2 alright share your thoughts with us at 03954 double 3 double 3			
3 H1 Fiona, what do you have to say?	Host: summon/question	Summoner/questioner	Summoning/questioning
4 C1 yes, I think it really has	Caller: answer	Summoned	Answering summons
5 H1 really?	H: question	Questioner	Questioning
6 C1 it's just that, yeah because in my day we had one gift and we were so happy about getting that gift	C: inform	Informer	Informing
7 H2 oh they don't have one gift anymore?	H: Question	Questioner	Asking question
8 C1 but you know from my day you got something like a magnifying glass which kinda make you go outdoors be a bit adventurous I don't know just explore	C: Answer	Answerer	Answering question
9 H2 right	H: Acknowledge	Acknowledger	Acknowledging receipt of information
10 C1 and then nowadays.. I know an 11-year-old who's gonna be getting an I-Phone for Christmas?	C: Inform	Informer	Providing information

With regard to the data, four adjacency pairs have been identified (turn 3-4, 5-6, 7-8 and 9-10). For instance, in turn 3, the first caller (C1) is summoned by the lead host (H1) by the caller's name (*Fiona*) and this is then followed by questioning the caller's opinion (*what do you have to say*). The caller answers 'yes' which could be either acknowledging her name or agreeing to the topic under discussion that is '*people have become too materialistic with their gifts*'. This can be justified further when the caller develops her views in turns 6, 8 and 10. It is seen that different types of adjacency pairs that are related to the sequential categories and category bound activities occur in the development of talk.



## **5.2 Membership Categories in the organization of radio phone-ins**

The data reveals that the participants show orientation to the types of membership categories which are related to relevant aspects of phone-in organization in Malaysian phone-in interactions. The types of membership categories that are evident in the data are: programme-relevant; call-relevant; topic-relevant; topic-opinion; and topic-generated categories. The types of categorical information that are evident in the data will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

### **5.2.1 Programme-relevant categories**

As discussed earlier, 'programme-relevant categories' include categories which are directly related to the organizational aspect of phone-in interactions, that is, membership categories of the 'host' and 'caller'. These categories form a membership categorization device (MCD) called 'parties to a phone-in', and are referred to as omni-relevant categories as they can be practically called-upon at any time during the interaction and are considered as part of the 'participatory framework' in phone-in programmes (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). As discussed in Chapter 4, Goffman (1981) refers to the 'participatory framework' as the instantaneous view of any social gathering relative to the act of speaking at any one moment. This view supports media discourse as a participative event and introduces the notion of '*ratified*' and '*unratified*' hearers. A '*ratified*' hearer can be applied to anyone who listens to a radio programme, in which, they are considered as part of the discourse event and may join in if they choose. This framework allows us to promote the audience to official hearer status within the event. However, the audience is no longer an over-hearer of talk on radio and has a place within the participation framework when they take the role of 'caller'. Thus, there is a need for the researcher

to examine how talk is modified and guided by the participants (e.g. hosts and caller) to meet the demands of fully ratified hearers (the listening audience) who are not physically present but who are out there within the participation framework.

Thornborrow (2001b: 121) argues that the actions of the host in managing the programme (for example, opening calls, determining the length of calls, organizing the transition from one caller to the next) provide a generically recognizable, structured framework for the talk. This framework also results in a set of possibilities for participation in terms of who gets to do what within the space of a call. In the organization of such programmes, the process of selecting the callers and establishing the order of their calls has already taken place off the air (by the production team), as can be seen by the host's announcement of the callers' names as exemplified in the following extracts:

Extract 49: LFM5

- H1      so what's happening on this *Funky Friday*? Well we're asking do some women cry:  
          to gain advantage, hoo: we have a call from Deborah  
C1      no, not at all, I think that's really wrong for women to do

Extract 50: LFM5

- H1      so on this *Funky Friday*, we're asking the question do some women cry to gain  
          advantage (.) A1  
C2      woma::n they will not cry: to gain anything

In these two extracts, it is seen that the host follows a pre-determined order of calls and topics, where the callers have already been allocated a particular topic slot for them to give their views. As discussed earlier, the activities of introducing the programme, setting the topic for the programme, inviting callers to participate, summoning and introducing the caller are tied to the category 'host'; while the activities of responding to the question, offering and justifying opinions are tied to

the category ‘caller’. The programme-relevant categories of ‘host’ and ‘caller’ can be associated with the following related category-bound activities as evident in the data:

Table 5.3: Programme-relevant categories and the related category-bound activities

Programme-relevant categories	Programme-relevant co-categorical memberships	Category-bound activities
Host	Summoner Introducer Inviter Greeter Questioner	Summoning the caller, bringing participants into the ‘participatory framework’, introducing the programme, providing access phone numbers, setting the topic for the programme, introducing the caller, greeting the caller, producing callers’ identities for their time on-air, inviting the caller to participate, questioning the caller, reformulating caller’s statements, refocusing caller to the topic of discussion
Caller	Summoned Introduced Invited Greeter/Greeted Questioned/Questioner	Answering the summons, greeting the host(s), accepting the invitation, presenting an opinion, relating an experience, answering question(s)

The category-bound activities are the activities that are tied to the membership categories of ‘host’ and ‘caller’ that are present in the data for both LiteFM and BFM programmes. Additionally, what needs to be mentioned is that the caller is oriented to by the host as belonging to the position of related categories or turn-generated categories in the sequential development of the programmes. As discussed earlier (section 5.1.2), the relevant categories that may be called-upon include: summoner-summoned, inviter-invited and questioner-questioned. In this way, the programme-relevant categories are sequentially established and a layered categorical texture of talk is produced.

These sequential categories are connected with membership categories and are omni-present throughout the interaction in the programmes. They both operate at immediate and organizational level. At the organizational level, the category ‘host’

performs certain category-specific actions or CBDs (category-bound activities). In accomplishing some of these tasks, the host uses various sequential procedures, as in asking questions at organizationally relevant times or summarizing caller's opinions after the caller has presented his/her opinions, and these are done as a predicate of his category 'host'. A more detailed discussion on the organizational and intermediate level and other CBDs involved will be presented later in the section.

So, within a phone-in programme, the involvement of these two categories of 'host' and 'caller' organise the programme. These categories are not only made relevant at turn level, such as when the 'host' introduces the 'caller', but also describe the organization of the whole speech event, that is, the institutional category of phone-in programme or membership category of a phone-in programme. Therefore, these categories are inherent in the two phone-in programmes that have been analysed. The following extracts selected show how the organizational or institutional categories are evident in the host's introduction to the show.

#### Extract 51: LFM11

- |   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | H1 | <i>Funky Friday</i> and we're asking the question is age difference in a relationship a factor and who is it a bigger factor for, we'll talk to Steven |
| 2 | C2 | no, age is not a factor  |

It can be observed that the title of the show (*Funky Friday*) anticipates the relevant actions that participants to this event can do and will be doing. For instance, the *Funky Friday show* is the programme that listeners are invited to call in and the person to whom the listeners are invited to call, occupies the category of 'host'. The programme-relevant categories of 'callers' and 'hosts' inform who will be doing what throughout the show. For instance, the category of 'caller' is evident when the caller's name '*Steven*' is summoned by the 'host' and thus the caller provides his opinion in

the next turn. These are considered as ‘omni-relevant’ as they operate at the organizational and immediate level.

Therefore, what makes the phone-in programme relevant is the way the host(s) introduce the topic to encourage listeners to call-in to air their views on the issue. The organizational tasks of the host are also sequentially ordered, which is seen through the host having the first turn at talk, in introducing the first or next caller, and the initial invitation to the caller to offer his/her opinion on the topic. In this way, the host occupies a first sequential position at the onset of the call, which then allows the host to hear the caller’s opinion before developing further topical discussion. The host has membership and sequential predicates that are attributed to host, because the host is the one who the listeners call, and sets the topic for the programme. Sequentially, it is the host who introduces the caller and who invites the caller to offer his/her opinion on the topic in the following turn.

#### 5.2.1.1 The sequential categories of hosts

In the phone-in programmes selected for the study, there are 2 hosts involved, therefore, the category ‘hosts’ occupy different positions and perform category-specific actions as illustrated in the following extracts:

##### Extract 52: LFM10

- 199 H1: it’s a Funky Friday we’re asking the question could we go back to the days without the internet. So  
200 let’s find out from Gomez  
201 C6: invention is good but it is human who do not know how to manage time  
202 H2: you’re very right, yes  
203 C6: You know so we we spend too much time on the net browsing there browsing here, you know  
204 sometimes you know we are just wasting time sitting there you know and then get excited a little bit  
205 here and there like like going into some sites

Here, the first host takes the role of introducing the programme ‘*Funky Friday*’ that makes it programme-relevant, which is followed by introducing the topic

of discussion (*could we go back to the days without the internet*) and summoning caller 6 ‘Gomez’ (lines 199-200). The second host (H2) takes the task of ‘host’ by agreeing with the caller ‘*you’re right, yes*’ (line 202). Therefore, the CBAs of hosts in this particular episode can be summarised as follows:

- H1      introducing the programme and the topic of discussion, summoning the caller  
H2      agreeing with the caller’s views

The different task-related or CBAs are also evident in 2-hosts BFM programmes. These activities can be presented in the following table.

Table 5.4: The category-bound activities of hosts-caller in BFM

Lines	Category	Content	Category-bound activities/Turn-generated categories
113 114 115	H1	= yah call us 0377019 thousand text us 0162109 thousand and you can tweet us at BFM radio we’re headed to the phone lines Arnold is on the line hi Arnold	H1: Announcing ways to contact the programme; encouraging caller participation; summoning caller; summoner
116	H2	Hi Arnold	H2: greeting; greeter
117	C2	Hi good afternoon	C2: greeting response; greeter/greeted
118	H1	Good afternoon tell us what you think about this	H1: greeting response; requesting opinion; questioner
119	C2	I think race religion er cultural heritage are just as important	C2: presenting opinion; questioned
120	H1	[Okay]	H1: acknowledging caller, agreement/acceptance token; acknowledger
121 122	C2	[important].(.) we need to maintain some of our ah cultural inheritance that we all need to stay in line (0.2)	C2: elaborating on opinion
123	H2	For example? (.)	H2: requesting for an example to illustrate caller’s opinion; questioner
124 125 126 127	C2	what I mean is <b>being an Indian</b> ah having some traditional beliefs and practices it gives you an identity that’s important but it must not interfere with political administration of the country	C2: justifying opinion by categorizing cultural identity; informer

128	H2	Right	H2: acknowledging caller's opinion; acknowledger

The above extract shows the different positions with regard to the turn-taking procedures between the two hosts and the types of turn-generated activities. These sequences of activities of the hosts and caller can be summarized as follows:

- H1 introducing the programme and announcing ways to contact the programme; summoning and acknowledging caller, questioning the caller, acknowledging caller's opinion
- H2 greeting caller; requesting elaboration of opinion; acknowledging caller's opinion
- C greeting hosts; presenting opinion; justifying opinion

The different related tasks or CBAs of the categories 'host' and 'caller' are observed in most of the data that have been analysed. This shows that the turn-generated categories are sequentially ordered, in which each host takes a turn in the development of talk with the caller. The sequential development of turn is also observed in certain trailers to the episodes or in host-host talk as shown in the next table.

Table 5.5: The category-bound activities of host-host in BFM

Lines	Category	Content	Category-bound activities/Turn-generated categories
1 2 3 4 5 6	H1     H2	Good evening I'm EZ and alongside me is CO and of course it's <i>Talkback Thursday</i> 27 of February and of course we have a great topic here I think it's a bit of er uh uh a favourite among er er as a topic amongst many Malaysians Yes	H1: introducing the hosts and programme, and date of episode; providing a trailer on topic that is coming H2: acknowledging H1 with acceptance token
7 8	H1	On Saturday <i>TSJK</i> the minister in charge of national unity urged <i>Putrajaya</i> to remove hh the race category	H1: introducing the context for the ensuing

9		from official forms to help form hh a unified nation(0.3)	discussion
10		now TSJK said that it was sad to see Malaysians so	
11		divided by racial and religious identities (.) after 50	
12		years of independence and that Malaysians should start	
13		seeing ourselves as Malaysians rather than using racial	
14		and religious identifiers	
15	H2	=Now of course er using racial and religious identifiers	H2: developing the
16		is something that is so integral ah to our society you	context; providing the
17		know it goes it goes way back and a lot of times we	context of discussion
18		don't think about it in fact until hh and unless something	
19		happens something like this statement that comes out in	
20		[the press]	
....		..... (some lines have been removed).....	
48	H1	=tell us what you: think about this statement by <i>TSJK</i>	H1: encouraging
49		the minister in charge of national unity er does being	listeners to call in;
50		bang bangsa Malaysia connect come at the cost of our	introducing the topic
51		individual cultural identities call us at 0377109 thousand	of discussion;
52		hh you can text us at 0162019 thousand and you can	announcing ways to
53		tweet us (.) at BFM radio ....	contact the programme

These sequences of activities of the hosts can be summarized as follows:

- H1 introducing the hosts and programme, and date of episode; providing a trailer on topic that will be introduced; introducing the context for the ensuing discussion; encouraging listeners to call in; introducing the topic of discussion; announcing ways to contact the programme
- H2 acknowledging H1's prior talk; developing the context of discussion

Clearly, this shows that the hosts have certain related tasks that need to be accomplished in the management of the show before callers are invited to participate in the discussion. When H1 introduces the radio programme in the first turn, H2 takes the second task in providing a scenario on the topic that will ensue. Again, it is seen that there are category-specific activities related to the category 'host'. Even though, the hosts has a turn each in the opening stage of the episode, with each carrying different activities, they are all confined under the category 'host'. The above extract shows the different positions with regard to the turn-taking procedures between the two hosts and the types of turn-generated activities. Even though, the positions differ from earlier extracts given, the category-bound activities are task-related to the category of 'hosts', that is, introducing the programme and the radio hosts '*EZ and*



CO', introducing the topic, providing a scenario related to the topic, and announcing ways to contact or participate in the discussion.

#### **5.2.1.2 The sequential categories of caller**

The other related programme-relevant category in a radio phone-in is the category 'caller'. As mentioned earlier, this category together with the category 'host' operates within a relational pair within the membership categorization device 'parties to a radio phone-in'. Other categories that belong to this MCD could also include 'listeners' and 'the production team'. Even though, the presence of these categories is not evident in the data, they do play significant roles in the radio phone-in programmes. For instance, the 'listeners' belong to the category of 'people' or the 'general public' in which the host directs the topic of discussion to and who are encouraged to call-in. When one of the listeners is involved in the participation framework or given air-space, he/she is no longer categorised as 'listeners' but categorised under the category 'caller'.

#### **The category-bound activities of caller**

In a two-host programme, there are two different persons occupying the category 'host'. It may be the first host or the second host that occupies the position of introducing the caller during the time on-air, whereas the category 'caller' is occupied by a succession of members of that category. Therefore, even though the category 'caller' is omni-relevant, the particular member only occupies that category during their time on-air. As mentioned earlier, the CBAs related to the programme category of 'caller' may include any of these activities in the interaction between 'host' and 'caller': answering the summons, greeting the host(s), accepting the invitation, presenting an opinion, relating an experience or answering question(s).

The following examples show the different positions and CBAs performed by the ‘callers’ in the phone-in programmes:

(i) LFM13

Lines	Category	Content	CBAs/Turn-generated categories
230 231 232	H1:	Talk Tuesday and we’re discussing does marriage complement or hinder your career, (0.4) and we’re coming in with Andy.	H1: Introducing the programme and the topic; summoning caller
233 234 235	C2:	In my case I would say, it it did hinder my marriage because I am in the entertainment line and in uh media industry	C2: providing opinion; justifying opinion

(ii) LFM10

Lines	Category	Content	CBAs/Turn-generated categories
200 201 202	H1:	it’s a Funky Friday we’re asking the question could we go back to the days without the internet. So let’s find out from Gomez	H1: Introducing the programme and the topic; summoning the caller
203 204	C6:	invention is good but it is human who <u>do</u> not know how to manage time	C6: Giving opinion

(iii) BFM7

Lines	Category	Content	CBAs/Turn-generated categories
234 235 236 237	H1:	...tell us what you think 037719 thousand is the number to call should cellphones be banned in schools as a means to curb bullying what do you think about it ah Ahmad is on the line hi Ahmad	H1: introducing the number to call and the topic; summoning and greeting caller
238	C5:	Hi how are you both?	C5: greeting the hosts
239 240	H2: H1:	[Fine] [Fine] thank you, your thoughts?	H2: greeting response H1: greeting response; requesting caller’s opinion
241 242 243 244 245	C5:	Um yeah ok its (.) I think that the issue here is one (.) to ban cellphones I think the reason that this NUTP president came up with is (.) just ridiculous hh it comes to it why cellphones should be banned in the first place I think	C5: acknowledging response; giving opinion

Here, the examples illustrate that the callers' CBAs and turn-generated categories depend on the prior turns of the hosts. For instance, in examples 1 and 2, the callers take the task of responding to the topic as announced by the host; whilst in example 3, the caller takes the task of providing a greeting response followed by greeting both hosts. In the caller's next turn-generated category (example 3, line 241), the caller initially acknowledges the caller's request (*yeah ok*) and presents his opinion. Therefore, the CBAs of 'caller' include responding to the hosts' greetings; greeting both hosts; and presenting opinions. It is observed that in most CBAs and turn-generated categories of 'caller', these categories depend on the prior talk of the hosts.

It is evident that under the programme-relevant category of 'caller', various specific activities are observed, and these include answering a question, offering an opinion or relating an experience, and these are CBAs that are expected of the role of 'caller' when they call-in to the phone-in programme. Even though, these CBAs are noticeable from the opening sequences of each episode, there are other activities involved as 'callers' develop their turns in the on-going discussion. These activities will be discussed under 'topic-relevant' and 'topic-opinion' categories in the later sections of this chapter.

### **5.2.2 Call-relevant categories**

Call-relevant categories involve call openings when calls are opened to the listening audience, and in which turns are generated at the beginning of the call by callers. Therefore, callers have the air-space for them to begin their turn at talk. Call openings are places where the procedures of displaying institutionally-relevant identities are covered by those members of the public who are waiting to call in the programme. The host will introduce the category 'caller' by a set of specific

identification indicators. These set of indicators move the person who occupies the category of ‘next caller’ from ‘anonymous caller waiting’, to what is described as ‘call-relevant identity’ (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Thus, call-relevant identities (CRI) may include the identification of the caller offered by the host, such as the name of the caller and location or it may also include some information in order to proceed with the call where the caller can address the issue they wish to raise (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). It is also argued that the purpose of this initial category work is to establish the ‘participation framework’ in order to bring callers to the main point of the call. In other words, this category work brings callers to the place where they can begin topical talk and show further layers of categorical relevance, such ‘topic-relevant category’ (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Two types of call openings are observed in the data: introductions and greeting-initiated calls.

#### 5.2.2.1 Introduction category

The example below shows a ‘call-relevant identity’ for the caller with regard to introductions.

Extract 53: LFM15

- 246 H1: All right Talk Tuesday asking you, is money the biggest motivator  
247 when looking for a job, let’s see what Edward has to say  
248 C3: Ya actually money is the most important factor in getting a job

The acknowledgement of the caller offered by the host (line 247), then produces a ‘call-relevant identity’ for the caller: ‘*let’s see what Edward has to say*’. In this particular instance, the host introduces the caller. In most instances of the phone-in data, the host will only acknowledge the name of the caller and not the location. The acknowledgment of the name of the caller thus provides the ‘call-relevant

identity' of caller. This is the identity given irrespective of topic. Thus, this suggests that there is a layer of identity membership that is topic-oriented, in which the host request the caller to give his opinion on the topic.

In the next instance, the identification of the caller as 'a taxi driver' projects that the opinion is relevant as a 'taxi driver' for the topic on 'transportation hike'. The host provides some information about the caller so that the caller can proceed with the call. Thus, this leads to a point where the caller can begin to address the issue he/she wishes to raise or answer the question. The information given is seen to be oriented to some amount of identity information before the caller begins to talk on the topic of discussion as in the extract below.

Extract 54: BFM6

- 298 H1 Now we're going to move on to our next caller Patchi is on the line  
299 the producer tells me **he's a taxi driver (.)** hi Patchi  
300 C3 Hi  
301 H2 Hi  
302 H1 Tell us what you think about er um this public transport charges and  
303 its price hike **what do you think as er a taxi driver (.)**  
304 C3 The main problem is it's not the high increase er actually I'm for  
305 myself I earn 3 dollar a day

Here, the information about the caller would seem to be invoked as a topic-relevant category: '*the producer tells me he's a taxi driver*'; '*what do you think as er a taxi driver*' (line 299 and 302). The inclusion of 'the producer' after the host's introduction of caller offers this category as a member of the PRC of 'parties to a phone-in programme'.

Another instance of how the host brings the caller to the position of topic-relevant category is seen in the following extract:

Extract 55: LFM11

- 296 H1: It's a funky Friday and uh we're asking you the question is age difference in a  
297 relationship a factor and who is it a bigger factor for, we're gonna talk to Double  
298 M, so Double M, what's the age gap between you and your boyfriend?  
299 C5: He's 7 years my senior but he drives me a little bit *pengsan* @ yes  
crazy

Here, the host provides some prior knowledge about the caller to the listening audience as seen in: '*what's the age gap between you and your boyfriend?*' (line 3), before the caller's initial turn. This shows that information about the caller has been provided by the 'producer' to the host earlier, even though this is not evident in the host's speech compared to extract 56. The information provided by the host about the caller makes it relevant for the caller to develop her talk on the topic under discussion.

Thus, it indicates that within radio phone-ins, there is an amount of information that is routinely used when carrying out the action of introducing the caller, when it is deemed necessary for the topic under discussion. As the examples show, in all calls to the phone-in programmes, callers are introduced to the show by their names and when some amount of information about the caller is relevant to the topic, the host provides this information to the listening audience.

It is found that the tasks of addressing the listening audience and caller to single orientation of caller, is managed by the host, which is observed by the host's building the introduction of the caller to the listening audience and of readying the caller for being on-air around the question about the topic. As evident in the earlier extracts discussed, sometimes this is done without the use of greeting utterances or greeting turns made as sequentially relevant. However, when greetings do occur, the category flow of the introduction may take a different direction, and this is seen in the next section.

### 5.2.2.2 Greeting initiated category

A 'greeting initiated category' indicates the first part of the sequential pair (greeting-greeting) by host (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). In most data with greeting sequences, it is the host who will initiate the greeting and the caller may not automatically begin topic talk until the host produces the first part of an adjacency paired sequential action, that is, an invitation to speak. The following examples illustrate that callers will only present their views on the topic after the greeting initiated category.

#### Extract 56: BFM6

- 123 H1 you're with Caroline and Ezra on talkback Tuesday (.) SPAD has proposed an increase in  
124 public transportation charges nationwide we're asking you what you think about this.. is  
125 this price hike justifiable will we see commuter experience a (.) little bit better and will it  
126 be better for public transport in general 037719 thousand is the number to call **our first**  
127 **caller for the day hi Ewan**  
128 H2 **hi**  
129 C1 **hi good good afternoon**  
130 H1 **[good afternoon]**  
131 H2 **[good afternoon]**  
132 H1 ten points for you for being our first caller what do you have to say  
133 C1 ah:: the price increase for public transport (.) doesn't really answer the real problem the

#### Extract 57: BFM7

- 71 H1 = and what do you think about the NUTP president stand that a stop must be put to cell  
72 phones um being used as recording device to record bullying incidents do you agree with  
73 that call us at 037719 thousand you can text us at 0162019 thousand tweet us at BFM radio  
74 **our first caller of the day is Leonard**  
75 H2 **hello Leonard**  
76 C1 **good evening how are you**  
77 H1 **[good evening]**  
78 H2 **[good evening] you're on the line**  
79 C1 It's just a mind boggling way how this ridiculous can come up with this statement er I was I

#### Extract 58: BFM7

- 234 H1 ...tell us what you think 037719 thousand is the number to call should cellphones be  
235 banned in schools as a means to curb bullying, what do you think about it ah **Ahmad is**  
236 **on the line hi Ahmad**  
237 C5 **Hi how are you both?**  
238 H2 **[Fine]**

- 239 H1 **[Fine] thank you, your thoughts?**  
240 C5 Um yeah ok it's (.) I think that the issue here is one (.) to ban cellphones I think the

Here, it is shown that callers will only present their views after the greeting initiated category. In a two-host talk show, the first host will play a role in introducing the topic and initiate the greeting before the caller's turn to speak. There is also evidence to show that the second host will take the second turn in a greeting initiated category before the caller's initial turn. However, in the related AP of greeting-greeting, as in the examples given, the greeting sequences of hosts to caller-greeting sequence result in overlapping turns between the two hosts. In these instances, it is also observed that either one of the hosts will continue his/her turn by inviting the caller to speak in the next turn, as evident in: *'what do you have to say'* (extract 56: line 132), *'you're on the line'* (extract 57: line 78) and *'your thoughts'* (extract 58: line 239). Therefore, the caller only proceeds with topical talk in the fifth to sixth turn exchanges, after either one of the host poses the question. In the data, it is found that these greeting sequences only occur after the initial utterance by the lead host that contains a request for an opinion. This is mostly observed in BFM programmes.

In the examples given, the caller's second action after the call-initiated greeting is to offer an answer to the host's question. Thus, the sequential action of 'answerer' is a predicate of 'caller', in the same way as 'introducer' is a predicate of 'host'. These actions are sequentially and categorically tied to the caller, that is, after being questioned, he/she not only occupies the sequential position of 'next speaker', but also displays a predicate of caller, that is 'opinion-giver' as the next action (extract 56, line 133; extract 57, line 79; extract 58, line 240). 'Opinion-giver' is an expected predicate of 'callers' to the programme, and so the turn is to be filled by 'topical talk' on the expected issue. Therefore, the caller also occupies not only a sequential category, but also a category membership that is related to the



organizational relevance of the programme, that is, 'caller'. The caller also occupies a 'programme-relevant category', in which in this instance, the host during his initial turn, only occupies the sequential category of 'greeter/introducer' and does not produce a topical invitation for the caller to speak. Therefore, at this point the caller only offers a greeting but only moves into topical talk with the category of 'opinion-giver', after the invitation to speak by either one of the hosts.

The data reveals that if the host does not produce the first pair part of an adjacency paired sequential action (an invitation to speak), the caller may not automatically commence upon topical talk. Instead, 'a greeting insertion sequence' occurs before the caller is allowed or invited to speak on the issue (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). In most of the data, it is found that the greeting sequence only occurs when the initial utterance by the host does not contain a question for the caller to answer. The host's question only occurs after the host returns the greeting. Thus, the greeting sequences as evident in the above examples are inserted in what is routinely called the host's continuous category flow from 'introducer' to 'questioner'. However, even when a greeting is inserted in the opening category flow of the call, the main point of the call, that is, to speak on the topic is always taken up by the caller at the next opportunity, or when the host questions the caller. This illustrates that there is a sequential and categorical flow in the development of talk.

In the BFM data, there are several ways how hosts initiate greetings in the episodes. This can be exemplified as follows:

(i)

H1: ....BFM radio Brian is on the line hi Brian

C1: hi hi how are you?

H1: Hi good thank you what do you think about eh this er particular er question about er when the minister in charge of national unity said that you know we should remove the race category?

(ii)  
H2: Hi Arnold  
C2: Hi good afternoon  
H1: Good afternoon tell us what you think about this

(iii)  
H1: ....Budi is on the line [hi Budi]  
H2: [Hi Budi]  
C5: Hi good evening guys  
H1: [Good evening] tell us what you think?

There are several ways how the hosts initiate greetings in the phone-in episodes. The lead host will always initiate a greeting with '*hi*' in most of the episodes and this is then acknowledged by the callers as exemplified in the above extracts. However, callers have different ways of initiating greetings once they are on-air. What is observed is that in initiated greetings of '*hi*' the callers will continue with '*good afternoon*' or '*good evening*' which is then taken up by the host as a greeting exchange. This supports Schegloff's (1972, 1979) description of the opening sequence of a telephone call as a set of adjacency pairs (APs), that is, a greeting is followed by a greeting sequence.

In LiteFM programmes, in which greeting sequences are not evident, the callers can be categorized as 'caller-in waiting' or 'caller-in-line' and when the caller has been given air-space or his turn on-air, the following sequence is observed:

Host: introduce the programme + question/topic + acknowledge/summon the caller to speak  
Caller: answer the question

Thus, without greeting sequences, the lead host will introduce the topic with a question and summon the caller to proceed with the topic. This sequence is observed in most of the LiteFM data even if it involves three to six callers per episode. Therefore, each caller in waiting will have to wait until he/she gets the opportunity to speak on air. 'Greeting-insertion sequences' are mostly evident in radio phone-ins

(Thornborrow, 2001, Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housely, 2002), however, for Malaysian phone-in programmes, the greeting-insertion sequence depends on the format of the programme. The examples below illustrate that the callers will present their opinions immediately after the host's initial introduction to the show and when they are summoned to have their turns on-air.

(i)

- 1 H1: *Funky Friday* and we're asking the question is age difference in a relationship a factor and who is it a bigger factor for, we'll talk to Steven
- 2 C2: no, age is not a factor

(ii)

- 1 H1: it's a *Funky Friday* we're asking the question could we go back to the days without the internet, so let's find out from Gomez
- 2 C6: invention is good but it is human who do not know how to manage time

These examples taken from '*Funky Friday*' episodes, show similar patterns in opening sequences, that is, the lead host introduces the programme '*Funky Friday*', which is then followed by the question for the show and identification or nomination of caller. This can be seen from tying the question to the next speaker, introducing the next speaker or simply naming the next speaker. The caller thus identifies himself as being 'call-relevant', accepts the acknowledgement by 'host' and thereby, offers their view on the topic that has been initially posed by the host. There is no evidence of a greeting sequence in these examples, thus showing that the format of LiteFM phone-in programme is to seek caller's opinion as quickly as possible.

Thus, in the development of the radio phone-ins, a number of category and sequential developments are evident. First, the 'listener' becomes a 'caller' by calling the show and that they are 'listening' (ratified hearers) to the programme can be derived from both the invitation to the call which is placed in the introduction stage

and also from the examples of transcripts of reference to ‘listening’ to the programme prior to being on-air is made. When a caller refers to earlier callers, this shows evidence that during the duration of the episode, callers are actually doing the activity of ‘listening’ to the show to establish their positions on the topic under discussion. Examples of the activities of ‘doing listening’ to the show are illustrated below.

Extract 59: BFM1

- 400 C7: So um we can’t have this race **I agree with some of the earlier callers** we have to  
 401 remove the box  
 402 H1: Mhm  
 403 C7: **I disagree with the doctor** er in er certain things require documentation

Extract 60: BFM3

- 375 H1: Miss Ng what say you  
 376 H2: Hi Miss Ng  
 377 C9: Hi um I think there are two issues here  
 378 H2: Mhm  
 379 C9: In the school (.) ah (.) **basically like Farouk (.) just like the earlier** who says  
 380 *kebangsaan schools* are basically only (.) you only see the Malays there (.) I send  
 381 my children to the *kebangsaan school* initially ↑

Note: *kebangsaan* schools refer to national-type schools

In extract 59, C7 shows agreement with ‘*some of the earlier callers*’ that the race box should be removed and continues in his next turn with a disagreement by referring to ‘*the doctor*’ who has earlier called into the programme (lines 400, 403). In the next example (extract 60), the name of an earlier caller ‘*Farouk*’ is mentioned by the caller (C9), in which she further quotes the earlier caller’s speech: ‘*you only see the Malays there*’ (lines 379-381); the indexical expression ‘there’ refers to ‘*kebangsaan schools*’ (national-type schools). Therefore, from the transcript examples shown, it is evident that listeners who listen to the programme are categorized as ‘ratified hearers’ and when these listeners later call-in to the programme, they are then categorized as ‘callers’ or ‘ratified speakers’ and fall under

the CBA of caller which then allow them to express their views on the topic under discussion. This further shows that when a caller is successful in getting through, the 'caller' waits off air until the host initiates an introduction sequence, in the course of which he occupies various sequential categories. Therefore, during this sequence, the caller is moved from one of anonymous caller to known caller and the programme-relevant category of 'caller' is made specific to this particular call.

This shows that in the sequential development of talk, relevant categories and identities are built. The category of 'listener' can move into the category of 'caller' once they have been given air-space and moved into the position, in which the caller can then begin topical talk. The caller either moves into the position of offering his opinion on the topic or refers to 'earlier callers' to express agreement or disagreement to the topics discussed. In this way, it becomes reasonable and useful to conceive that the flow of the interaction within the introductory stage of caller can be considered as one which involves a reflexive combination of categorical and sequential methods through which levels or layers of background context are built (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). As evident in the examples given, layers of background context are built when callers refer to specific contexts that have been mentioned by earlier participants into the programmes. This process continues throughout the interaction with subsequent callers, as can be seen when callers develop on topics that have been brought up by earlier callers (this will be discussed further under topic-generated categories in the later sections). Therefore, the study further demonstrates how categorization work of 'host' and 'caller' can initiate or constitute to the sequential organization of a given stretch of talk in the radio phone-ins.

### 5.3 Topical categories

This section will explore the categorial organization of sequences and action that are developed under topical categories in Malaysian phone-in programmes. Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) describe two types of topical categories that are relevant to phone-in programmes: topic-relevant categories and topic-opinion categories. These types of categories will further show how talk is developed in the on-going discussion and how categories are built and the types of categorial information that are evident in the phone-in programmes. The study will include an examination of how the participants negotiate the discussion on topics from their own perspective, and how they manage their participation in the on-going interactions.

In the present data, three types of topical categories are built in the development of talk: topic-relevant categories; topic-opinion categories; and topic-generated categories. Topic-relevant categories (TRC) include callers' experience to the topic under discussion, which indicate how callers show some justification to the authenticity of their opinions; while topic-opinion categories (TOC) include the views or opinions of the caller with regard to support or non-support of the topic under discussion (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). Another category that is evident in the data is topic-generated categories (TGC), which include an aspect of the topic that the caller wishes to address or other topics that are generated in the on-going discussion among the participants. These may include a whole new set of categories that can be made relevant to the topic of discussion. These categories may become relevant within the topic of the programme or the particular aspect of the topic that the caller wishes to address, and do not necessarily replace other categories.

### 5.3.1 Topic-relevant categories

Topic-relevant categories involve the caller presenting their opinions based on relevant experience which is then justified by authenticating their talk to real-life experience. One aspect of topic relevant includes topic-relevant identities (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002), which include instances in which ‘prior category knowledge’ of the caller, or given by the caller before getting on air, is used during the initial stages of the call. This categorization of ‘prior knowledge’ shows a further elaboration of topical category within the programme, which can be used by the host to achieve certain interactional tasks such as to focus on the call or to move the caller on (see section 5.2.2).

Within the radio phone-ins, these topic-relevant categories of the ‘callers’ are not available to the listeners before the show gets on-air. For example, even though, some identity and topical information have been gathered about the caller by the production team before the caller gets on-air, and is made available to the host, the caller only enters the public forum as what Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) categorized as a ‘topically empty category’. In other words, the particular position of the caller is not made known before the caller gets on-air. It is only at the time of the call on-air that information about the caller is given, and the caller has to provide information that he/she wants to give to the listening audience. For instance, as illustrated in the following extracts, the opinions of the callers are only evident when the callers get on air after the host has posed the topic.

#### (i) LFM11

- |   |     |  |
|---|-----|--|
| 1 | H1; | <i>Funky Friday</i> and we’re asking the question is age difference in a relationship a factor and who is it a bigger factor for, we’ll talk to Steven |
| 2 | C2; | no, age is not a factor  |

(ii) LFM10

- 1 H1: it's a funky Friday we're asking the question could we go back to the days without the internet. So let's find out from Gomez
- 2 C6: invention is good but it is human who do not know how to manage time

In the above examples given, the callers only give their views when they are on-air. Example (i) shows an immediate response of a disagreement with the view that '*age is not a factor*' (turn 2), while example (ii) shows the caller's position in agreement that '*invention is good*' but provides a contrastive viewpoint in the later part of his speech about '*human who do not know how to manage time*' (turn 2). It is seen that the elaboration on the topic by callers is only provided in the later sequences of the talk. This shows that when the caller enters the programme, the category of caller is a 'topically empty category', in which the position or stance is not yet known until the caller gets his turn on-air.

#### **5.3.1.1 Topic-relevant identities**

There are also instances in which prior category knowledge of the caller, or given by the caller before getting on air, is used during the initial stages of the call. This use of 'prior knowledge' shows a further elaboration of topical categorization within the programme and is used by host to focus on the call or to move the caller on. Sometimes the host will confirm or introduce the caller's status prior to the caller's initial turn. This further shows topic-relevant identity of the caller, which further describes the relevance of their contributions to the programme. On this occasion, the categorization of this information seems to depend on the use of that identity within a sequential structure, so as to focus on a particular stand the caller is taking. For instance, the purpose of using such categorial information within a sequential turn is to show the relevance of the caller's status to the topic under



discussion. These sets of conversational methods serve to further illustrate the combined use of category and sequence so that the host can achieve a conversational action.

As discussed earlier in section 5.2.2.1 at the introductory stage of host-caller, some prior category knowledge of caller is given by the host. The following discussion will further extend on the topic-relevant category of caller.

Extract 61: LFM11

- 1 H1: It's a funky Friday and uh we're asking you the question is age difference in a relationship a factor and who is it a bigger factor for, we're gonna talk to Double M, so Double M, what's the age gap between you and your boyfriend?
- 2 C5: He's 7 years my senior but he drives me a little bit *pengsan* @ yes

Note: *pengsan* is a Malay word which literally means 'faint'. However, in this context, it means driving someone crazy.

As discussed earlier, there is an instance of categorial information of the caller that is evident in the introduction stage of host before the caller is invited to have a turn at talk. The categorial information in '*what's the age gap between you and your boyfriend*' (turn 1), thus shows a topic-relevant identity of the caller, that is, the caller has 'a boyfriend' with 'an age-gap difference'. In questioning the caller this way, it then provides some relevance to the initial topic introduced by the host, which is, '*is age difference in a relationship a factor*'. It is noticeable that in a lot of episodes in the phone-in data, which specifically deal with relationship or moral issues, Malaysian callers have a tendency of not disclosing personal information like names or background as evident in this episode. In the example given, the caller is introduced by the name of '*double M*'. For the caller to be calling in with some relevance to the topic shows that the call can be categorized as being 'topic-relevant' and places the caller under topic-relevant identity.

Another example of topic-relevant identity category as discussed earlier in section 5.2.2.1 shows information about the caller's occupational category as evident in '*the producer tells me he is a taxi driver*' (line 299).

Extract 62: BFM6

	Lines	Category	Content	Call-relevant identity and topic-relevant category
→	298 299 300 301 302	H1:  C3: H2:	Now we're going to move on to our next caller Patchi is on the line the producer tells me <b>he's a taxi driver (.)</b> hi Patchi Hi Hi	Call-relevant identity: <i>a taxi driver</i>
→	303 304 305 306 307	H1:  C3:	Tell us what you think about er um this public transport charges and its price hike what do you think <b>as er a taxi driver (.)</b> The main problem is it's not the high increase er actually I'm for myself I earn three dollar a day	Call-relevant identity: <i>as a taxi driver</i> (an occupational category)
→	308 309 310 311 312 313	H1: C3:	Ok Ok three dollar a day (0.3) and I'm driving to <i>Shah Alam</i> and the reason here (.) I had an accident a motorbike banged me (.) and I had to take to er the company and they did for me but I've got to pay them XX first and I actually subsume one dollar....	Topic relevant: relating experience as a taxi driver; Category-related actions: elaboration of topical category

As explained earlier, the topic-relevant identity is given by the host in the initial turn when the host introduces the caller (line 299). After the exchanges of greetings between the second host and caller, the lead host proceeds with questioning the caller on his opinion as '*a taxi driver*' (lines 304-305). This presents a call-relevant identity for the caller to allow him to express his opinion based on his occupational category. The category-bound predicates are revealed in his talk when the caller gives an account of his daily earnings and the incident that happened to him (lines 309-313). By relating the experience as a taxi-driver, the caller thus establishes topic-relevance to the topic on 'transportation hike'. In other words, the category-

related actions as evident in the caller's talk show an elaboration of the topical category.

Topic-relevant categories are used to show the relationship between the caller and the topic on a more personal level (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002) and this is further supported by Thornborrow (2001b) who views that callers can then claim a valid and experiential connection to the topic, which can therefore strengthen or ground their topic-opinion category. Hutchby (2006: 83) describes them as 'witnessing' moves, and they are closely involved in justifying a caller's claim to authentic speakership in the public discourse arena of radio talk shows. These 'witnessing' moves may describe a range of actions which are associated with making claims in respect of an event or topic under discussion. Two broad categories of 'witnessing' devices are offered by Hutchby (2006: 83): first-hand knowledge; and the mobilization of collective experience or knowledge.

In the 29 episodes of phone-in data, there are at least 31 (13%) examples of 'witnessing' devices found in callers' speech. The categories of first-hand knowledge that are present in the data include claims of having been physically present in a scene; claims of having had personal experience of the issue or claims of having had personal experience of a complained-about event; and claims of direct perceptual access, that is having seen or heard an event. The second category involves the callers' mobilization of collective experience or knowledge, which shows that callers claim collective membership of a topic-relevant category in their own right (for instance, as parents, Malaysians, taxi-drivers or youths). The next sections will discuss these two categories of 'witnessing devices' used, that is, first-hand knowledge of the topic under discussion, and callers' claims of membership of a topic-relevant category based on collective experience or knowledge.

### 5.3.1.2 Topic-relevance of first-hand knowledge

Topic-relevant of first-hand experience or knowledge is evident in callers' claims that they have been physically present at a scene, or have had personal experience of the issue or of a complained-about event; or claims of having direct perceptual access, that is, they have seen or heard an event, in relation to the topic of discussion. The range of actions involved can be illustrated in the following selection of examples. For illustrative convenience, the examples are taken out of their sequential contexts in which they were produced, though many will reappear subsequently in their sequential contexts, when a closer examination of the interactional management of witnessing devices are discussed in the later sections.

The following extracts show callers using one form or another of witnessing devices to authenticate their talk by linking their personal experience to the relevance of the topic under discussion. These are taken from contexts where the callers offer a justification of the relevance of their contribution to show the authenticity of their opinions:

(1) Topic: Age difference in a relationship

***He's seven years my senior...he's a bit old-fashioned..**(claims of having had personal experience)*

***It's not a factor at all cause I've dated a man who's 20 years older than me** (claims of having had personal experience)*

(2)Topic: Have we become too materialistic with our gifts?

***I think it really has...I know an 11 year-old who's gonna be getting an iPhone for Christmas** (claims of having seen an event)*

***Well of course...last month my son got 5As on a UPSR....and then he wanted what? An iPad I mean not an iPad1 an iPad2** (claims of having had personal experience)*

***Yes we have...my first year anniversary, I bought my wife a picture frame with a picture of both of us...but then she looked at it and said...I would've preferred the iPad** (claims of having had personal experience)*

(3)Topic: Transportation hike

*And and even the **the conditions of the coaches are so: poor..first class eh...torn ..the the curtains are torn.. the toilets aren't washed well..** and you can go complaining and six years down the road yah I think it will have another topic on price increase again and I'll be calling again and we'll be talking and so on.. (claims of direct perceptual access)*

*Okay yeah and um **I want to kind of relate to a personal experience** and so on.. first one I was trying to I took a cab from to RHB HQ to JW Marriot and the taxi driver cost was 30 ringgit it cost less than 10 ringgit and so on (claims of having had personal experience of a complained-about event)*

The linguistic devices are highlighted to show the relevance of the callers' speech according to the topic under discussion. Callers begin their talk on the topic by offering their opinions and further justify their opinions by relating their personal experience and first-hand knowledge on the issue in question. Example 1 illustrates the callers' personal experiences related to the topic on 'age difference in a relationship' and these are evident in the callers' speech when they described their relationship with their partners who are much older than them. In example 2, callers relate their experiences and first-hand knowledge about people who have become too materialistic with gifts, while example 3 illustrates callers' direct access to places and have witnessed events which are related to their opinions on 'transportation hike'. For instance, the callers describe direct perceptual access of public transport (coaches on trains) and their conditions and the increase in taxi fares in view of their opinions on transportation hike. Thus, these witnessing moves show that callers relate their first-hand knowledge and personal experience on the issue in question. These uses of witnessing devices of various sorts show how callers can legitimate their talk to claim the relevance and experiential connection to the topic, which can therefore strengthen their topic-opinion category.

The discussions have so far looked at utterances in isolation from their interactional contexts. The following discussion will illustrate further examples that

show the occurrences of topic-relevant categories of experience as topic-relevant knowledge in the data in their sequential contexts. The example below shows the caller upon getting on-air offers topic-relevant categories of experience as topic-relevant knowledge on *'age gap difference in a relationship'*. It illustrates further development of topic-relevant categories of first-hand experience or knowledge as shown in example 1.

Extract 63: LFM11

- 296 H1: It's a funky Friday and uh we're asking you the question is age difference in a  
 297 relationship a factor and who is it a bigger factor for. We're gonna talk to Double M.  
 298 So Double M, what's the age gap between you and your boyfriend?  
 299 C5: He's 7 years my senior but he drives me a little bit *pengsan* @ yes  
 300 H1: @  
 301 C5: he's a bit old-fashioned  
 302 H2: so  
 303 C5: so I have to accommodate him if I I I have to date him I have to accommodate him  
 304 and respect his decisions but it's difficult because for the few years that we've been  
 305 together as someone that we love each other  
 306 H2: right  
 307 C5: we we we I I I have to respect him because he's someone that I love and over the  
 308 past year past two years I'm stressed out you know  
 309 H2: okay  
 310 C5: no no no um no tight tight and dangling earrings just an X I can dangle dangle.  
 311 Somehow he doesn't like so no more dangling, and he doesn't like coloured hair but  
 312 then I will just make a shade a brown shade that is not so obvious  
 313 H2: you've had to accommodate him  
 314 C5: because I love him  
 315 H2: because you love him. Age is not the factor [so you just have to sort of change]  
 316 C5: [ because he's 7 years older] it's it's  
 317 there's a generation gap already  
 318 H2: right it is but you love him enough to to to bridge that gap  
 319 C5: not not many people can

*Pengsan* – is a Malay word which literally means 'faint', however in this context it means driving someone crazy.

As evident in lines 296-298, the first host (H1) questions the caller based on prior knowledge about the caller: *'what's the age gap between you and your boyfriend?'*. In the first few turns of talk, the caller (C5) offers a topic-relevant category of *'age-gap difference'* in which she offers some information about her

'boyfriend': *'He's 7 years my senior but he drives me a little bit pengan (crazy)'* (line 299). The caller further provides some category-related predicates of an older boyfriend: *'a bit old-fashioned': so I have to accommodate him .....and respect his decisions but it's difficult'* (lines 303-305). Even though there are lot of repetitions and hesitations in the caller's speech, the content of talk provides information about the *'boyfriend'* and the problems faced by the caller in the relationship. The caller further explains that even though she respects her *'boyfriend'*, she describes the relationship as stressful for the *'past two years'* (lines 307-308). The caller admits that even though there is a *'generation gap'* between them, she further offers justification that not many people can cope with this sort of relationship (lines 316-317, 219).

These linguistic descriptions are used in order to authenticate the speaker's claims as a legitimate speaker on the subject in question. Interestingly, the caller categorizes herself as belonging to a collective category of people with an age-gap difference in a relationship as observed in: *'not many people can cope with this sort of relationship'* (line 319). Thus, this allows the caller to be categorized under the group of people who can cope in a relationship with an *'age-gap difference'*. In other words, these opinions are offered in such a way that experience or knowledge of the topic is predicated to the membership category of those members with *'age-gap difference'*. Therefore, the data shows that members not only offer a personal view based on first-hand knowledge or experience but also offer collective knowledge predicated to those members with *'age-gap difference in a relationship'*. In other words, the caller offers her opinion as topic-relevant in view of her relationship with her boyfriend with an age-gap difference and further provides category-related predicates of an *'older boyfriend'* and category-related actions (lines 303-305) in respect of the category of an older partner. These descriptions are given by the caller before an opinion is

offered on the topic on *'age difference in a relationship'*. However, what is observed in the data is that it is the second host (H2) who reformulates the caller's opinion as in *'age is not the factor [so you just have to sort of change]'* (lines 315), thus summarizing what the caller has presented earlier. This instance shows evidence whereby the caller does not explicitly address the topic as to whether she agrees or disagrees with the topic, but provide some categorical descriptions to show the relevance to the topic of discussion. These categorial descriptions are offered in such a way that experience or knowledge of the topic is predicated to the membership category of people with *'age-gap difference'*.

In another related case, a caller offers an opinion on the topic before supporting them with his/her experience. This is another example in which the caller does not reveal her real name but instead acknowledges herself as *'Miss X'*. As mentioned earlier, it is found that Malaysian callers do not reveal their names when they call-in on issues which are on a more personal level or which concerned topics on relationship issues. As the earlier extract shows, caller 5 (C5) is referred to as *'Double M'* while in the extract below, the caller is referred to as *'Miss X'*. In this particular episode, the caller offers an opinion on the topic on *'age-gap difference'* before supporting them with her experience on the issue.

Extract 64: LFM11

- 146 H1: it's a funky Friday and we're asking the question is age difference in a relationship  
 147 a factor and who is it a bigger factor for, let's talk to Miss X  
 148 C3: I don't think age is a factor in a ↑relationship  
 149 H2: how old are you first of all  
 150 C3: um I'm in my late thirties  
 151 H2: aah I like that a woman never never [gives away her age]  
 152 H1: [aha @ ]  
 153 C3: [ @@ ]  
 154 H2: Okay you're late thirties Miss X and you date you choose to date men who are



155 older or younger?  
 156 C3: well personally I like to date (.) I'd like to go for the younger guys, you know?  
 157 H2: oh?  
 158 H1: wow  
 159 C3: @  
 160 H2: how how younger are we talking so if you're in your late thirties  
 161 C3: maybe their late twenties, a lot of them are ten years different, not too young you  
 162 know?  
 163 H2: okay so age difference really  
 164 C3: yeah  
 165 H2: is not a very big factor for you, why do you choose to date people who are well (.)  
 166 guys who are like considerably younger?  
 167 C3: uh because there there's so much life in them you know and it  
 168 H2: [@]  
 169 H1: [@]  
 170 C3: it's like an adventure with when you're with a younger guy it's like an adventure  
 171 they are always up to something you know?  
 172 H2: Have you tried dating guys who are your own age or a little bit older?  
 173 C3: well in the past yeah: I I did  
 174 H2: you don't find them exciting or you know, interesting?  
 175 C3: @ uh to be honest they're well it's kind it gets kind of boring you know that's why  
 176 I decided to date younger guys, kind of like a  
 177 H1: uhuh  
 178 C3: Demi Moore and Ashton Kutcher kind of thing  
 179 H2: [I see,]  
 180 H1: [aha @]  
 181 she's your role model [@]  
 182 C3: [@]  
 183 H1: I've got a question for you, aren't you afraid that you know, younger guys may  
 184 may change their mind very easily and decided oh I think I'm gonna change my  
 185 girlfriend  
 186 C3: that's why you have to be young at heart  
 187 H1: [oh ha]  
 188 H2: [A:h] I like the way you think I think I might adopt this way of thinking this is very  
 189 interesting. Can I ask Miss X, are you in a relationship at the moment?  
 190 C3: yeah I've been in a relationship with this guy he's twenty-five and it's been going  
 191 on for two years it's going great

It is evident that during the interaction, the second host (H2) plays an important role as a category of host in seeking some background information about the caller by prompting the caller with questions on her age (lines 149), as well as the caller's choice on dating the category of men who are '*older or younger*' (lines 154-155), and the reasons why she dates this category of '*younger guys*' (lines 165-166).

This turn-taking procedure of getting callers to reveal a little bit of information, is considered as one strategy of hosts to get callers to authenticate their talk in relation to the topic being discussed. The attempt by H2 to ask the caller's age is responded to with some hesitations of *'um'*, and which the caller reveals later that she is in her *'late thirties'* (line 150). This is followed by laughter when H2 utters *'I like that..a woman never never gives away her age'* (line 151). This provides the gender category of *'women'* and predicated to that category is that *'a woman'* is one who *'never gives away her age'*. It is observed that occurrences of these types of membership categories (MCs), such as *'women'*, *'men'*; membership categorization devices (MCDs) and category-bound activities (CBAs) related to gender categories make them *'topic relevant'* as evident in most of the phone-in data.

The CBAs or categories of descriptions of *'younger guys'* are further evident in the caller's speech to further justify her opinions that *'age is not a factor'* (lines 167, 170-171). These descriptions that are tied to the category-tied predicates of *'younger guys'* (lines 170-171) show the association bound to the membership category of *'younger men'*. In other words, the caller implies that being young is associated with being adventurous. Thus, the category-tied predicates and CBAs as evident in the caller's utterances support the caller's earlier position statement that *'age is not a factor in a relationship'* and show the authenticity of the caller's talk.

In most of the data, the CBAs or descriptions that are provided by the callers which are associated with the topic discussed, may thus authenticate their talk as being relevant, and show the justification of their opinions on the topic. Therefore, it is evident that topic-relevant categories also offer a bridge between the caller's experiential background and the topic under discussion. The placement of callers to a topic-relevant category shows a justification of the relevance of their contribution to

the programme and emphasizes the authenticity of their opinion which is then developed in the subsequent talk.

It is evident that certain pre-selected topics given in the programme target specific radio audiences such as those members that belong to a certain membership category, such as, '*parents with adult children*', '*people who are married*', '*people who are working*' or '*in a relationship*'. The following extract shows a caller offering his opinions on the topic '*marriage hinders or complements a career*'.

Extract 65 LFM16

- 153 H1: All right Talk Tuesday, does marriage complement and hinder  
154 your career, that's what we're talking about this morning, (0.2)  
155 what do you think Arif?  
→ 156 C1: I think it complements  
157 H2: =you think, you don't sound very[ convinced though]  
158 H1: [@@@@]  
→ 159 C1: No, no I had a streak with career, I was working with people for  
160 17 over years  
161 H2: Okay  
162 C1: and u:h beginning this year I decided to close all the doors and start  
163 something of my own and uh, obviously when you start something new, you're  
164 new in this line and  
165 H2: bit nerve-wrecking, yeah  
→ 166 C1: Yes, but I tell you frankly, my wife is is the person who really  
167 backs me up  
168 H2: A::h  
→ 169 C1: kept on pushing me, she said go ahead, go ahead, I know you can  
170 do it, this that you know and a- a- she really took care of my  
171 account (0.3) [she takes] care  
172 H2: [wow!] (0.2)  
173 C1: and she she really like tells me, you need to buy this, you need to  
174 get this , you need to get this, you know? All this you know it's  
175 it's amazing *la* you know  
→ 176 H2: =You know i- i- it's, your story just made me realize one thing, yes  
177 you know for marriage, it's you know career complements and hinders  
178 marriage all the time but it's the people involve in the marriage  
179 that's  
180 C1: [correct, you know we we have] to understand your partner  
181 H2: [we'll decide which way it goes,] =yes  
182 C1: You know, I can be very egoistic and say who are you to tell me  
183 about my business  
184 H2: Ya

185 C1: but it doesn't go that way. now now she's like she finish her work,  
 186 she comes back at about seven o'clock all right, and and and she  
 187 sits with me and she tells me this is the next step, this is what you need to, and  
 188 I feel proud *la*<L1> this person is not only sharing her life with  
 189 me  
 190 H2: Yeah  
 191 C1: she's not only happy to be with me but then she's now becoming  
 192 an an enhancement factor [what I want] to be next  
 193 H2: [wow that's]  
 194 H1: Arif, I only have one thing to say to you *la*<L1> in e:very  
 195 successful man there is a woman,

Here, C1 offers descriptions as someone who had a '*streak with career*' for '*over 17 years*' and presently working on his own (lines 159-160, 163). A relational-paired category of '*wife*' is then provided which the caller then provides the CBAs and predicates related to this category: '*kept pushing him*', '*took care of his accounts*' and '*an enhancement factor*' (lines 166-167, 169-171, 191-192). In lines 176-179, a collaborative turn is observed when the second host (H2) provides her own personal view '*You know i- i- it's, your story just made me realize one thing*' and further reformulates the justifications provided by the caller in his prior turns: *you know for marriage, you know career complements and hinders marriage all the time but it's the people involve in the marriage*'. Further in the development of talk when the caller regards his wife as '*an enhancement factor*' (line 192), the second host provides an exclamation remark 'wow' but is not able to complete her talk as the first host interrupts by latching in with an idiomatic phrase '*in every successful man there is a woman*' (lines 194-195). This shows an instance of a recapitulation of the caller's earlier arguments by host on the topic which then brings the interactions between host-caller to a closing. So in this example, it is seen that the caller offers various justifications related to his experience in support of his earlier position statement in line 156 that marriage complements his career. This is exemplified by the following MC categories of 'people who are married' that are topic-specific and the CBAs

involved in relation to the topic *‘marriage complements of hinders a career’*. An interesting feature described here is how the caller attributes the success of his career not only to the set of CBAs predicated to the *‘wife’* but that marriage is one predicated feature of the success of a partnership. The MCDs and category-related predicates can be summarized in the following table:

Table 5.6: The MCDs and category-related predicates of a topic-category

Topic category	Membership category devices (MCDs)/ Relational category	Category-related predicates
Marriage complements or hinders a career	Husband	has a streak with career, working with people for 17 years, starting on his own, understanding partner
	Wife, partner	supporting husband, backing him up, pushing him, taking care of accounts, having a career, sharing life, an enhancement factor

Therefore, in showing support of a particular view, callers will provide a range of descriptions in their speech to show their experience as being ‘topic-relevant’. The range of callers who called in have relevance to the topics that are specific to particular category of callers, and these are made relevant when they relay their experiences in the course of their talk.

Thus, in establishing a position of one’s view, speakers will display ‘witnessing moves’ and use certain ‘witnessing devices’ to show the authenticity of their contributions to opinion-giving. Speakers refer to a range of category-related actions that are associated with making claims to personal knowledge or personal experience, having direct perceptual access or categorical membership in respect of a topic under discussion.

As discussed earlier, having first-hand knowledge or experience of the topic provides the caller with some relevance to the topic of discussion. However, first-hand knowledge can also include claims of direct perceptual access, that is, speakers

have seen or heard an event that is related to the topic (Hutchby, 2006). This would involve callers' witnessing an event and not necessarily having first-hand experience of the topic. The following example illustrates the occurrence of this type of topic-relevant category. The following extract is taken from the topic '*Have we become too materialistic with our gifts?*.' The caller (C1) displays the MCD of those who have witnessed that people have become too materialistic with their gifts. This is displayed in her speech in the use of 'witnessing devices' as evident in the lexical features: *I know an 11-year-old who's gonna be getting an iPhone for Christmas?* (lines 13-14). Thus, this authenticates her talk and places the caller in the position of 'call-relevant' and having 'topic-relevant' identity.

Extract 66: LFM9

- 1 H1: anyway it's a funky Friday we're asking the question have we become too  
2 materialistic with our gifts?  
3 H2: alright share your thoughts with us at 039543333  
4 H1: Fiona what do you have to say  
5 C1: yes I think it really has  
6 H1: [↑really?]  
7 C1: [it's just] that, yeah because in my day we had one gift and we were so happy  
8 about getting that gift  
→ 9 H2: [oh they don't] have one gift anymore  
→ 10 C1: [but you know] from my day you got something like a magnifying glass which  
11 kinda make you go outdoors be a bit adventurous, I don't know just explore  
12 H2: Right  
13 C1: and then nowadays I I know an 11-year-old who's gonna be getting an iPhone  
14 for Christmas?  
18 H2: @@[@@@]  
19 H1: [I think it's not so much as] making the calls it's more like, you know  
20 playing with the ga:mes and stuff  
21 C1: yeha which would which in that case as well you play with the games you'll be  
22 inside the house you're not going out and and being active and just being an  
23 11-year-old kid  
24 H1: this is what toys are these days I mean they they kinda like you know video  
25 ga:mes, interactive it's less uh physical it's more intellectual  
26 H2: I think that's what the kids expect though you know they haven't sat down  
27 with it like we used to do in the old days and play like Scrabble or Jenga or  
28 something like that. Do you think adults, are now more materialistic  
29 in terms of presents?  
30 C1: they kind of I mean I guess that really depends like adults in in sort of maybe  
31 our time you you still expect the same thing you know um maybe a little bit  
32 extravagant 'cause you can, but I think we've earned it. @  
33 H2: [@@@]  
34 H1: [@@ ]

35 C1: like you don't really expect five gifts that's just you know taking it to a whole  
36 new level. You can get one nice gift

Here, the caller's opinion on a topic (line 5), places it within a further layer of categorical work in which the caller claims membership of a topical category in the development of talk, which the caller claims as having seen or heard an event. The category of knowing someone which is drawn from the caller's experience of the topic can be offered as a topic-relevant category which informs the caller's opinion. In other words, an opinion on a topic does not necessarily entail any categorial connection to the topic by the caller but 'topic-relevant' categories can be used in order to claim a relationship between the caller and the topic on a more personal level (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). This would include some personal views of the caller in relation to the topic of discussion. In this particular extract, the caller (C5) relates her experience in the past and the present to support her opinion that people '*have become too materialistic with their gifts*'. C5 relates that in the past having one gift is enough to make one happy and when H2 reiterates that C5 doesn't get '*one gift*' anymore, C5 further justifies that in the past getting one gift such as '*a magnifying glass*' will make a person become more adventurous and inquisitive (lines 10 and 11). In the next turn after receiving an acknowledgement of support from H2 (line 12), the caller further relates the present knowledge about '*an 11-year-old who's gonna be getting an iPhone for Christmas?*'. This example shows an evidence of witnessing claim by a caller to show the relevance of her justification of her own personal view on the topic. In other words, it shows that the caller belongs to the MC of those who have witnessed the event that is related to the topic on '*being materialistic with our gifts*'. A collaborative turn is evident in lines 19-20 in which H1 supports the caller's statement that it is not '*the calls*' that shows the interest for the iPhone but the features

that attract children to own an iPhone. This further receives an extension of the host's prior talk by the caller in categorizing '*just being an 11 year old kid*' in relation to what the caller has pointed out earlier. In the sequential turns that develop, it is not the caller that provides some justification to the earlier opinion statement but both hosts seem to offer some kind of justification about toys nowadays and their attributes (lines 24-25). In the next turn, the second host offers some kind of shared and past knowledge on 'kids' activities in the past to show the relevance to the discussion. This is pursued further when H2 shows an attempt to refocus the caller to the topic of discussion: '*Do you think adults, are now more materialistic in terms of presents?*' (lines 28-29). This line of questioning thus allows the caller to provide an opinion in the next turn, in which she refers to the kinds of expectations during her time (lines 30-32).

Therefore, as discussed earlier, membership categorization devices (MCDs) can also include descriptions that are related to the topic of discussion. They may include evidences or claims made by callers to show that they have witnessed certain events or situations to show the relevance of their call to the programme. Though, this may not necessarily include first-hand experience of the event, the claims made in talk such as having heard or seen the event may provide grounds for their rights to speak on the issue. By applying Sacks (1995) 'hearer's maxims' to this kind of context, it can be established that if '*being materialistic with gifts*' is category-bound for one of these devices, hear that category as being bound to the device for which such category-bound activity holds. That means, in saying 'I know an '*an 11-year-old who's gonna be getting an iPhone for Christmas*' thus provides a predicate to knowledge about someone who is bound to that category of people who are 'materialistic with gifts'. Further discussion on topic-relevant category will be



discussed in the subsequent sections. The following sections will discuss how Malaysian callers to the radio phone-in programmes display collective categories of experience and knowledge to show the relevance of their opinion to topics of discussion.

### **5.3.1.3 Topic-relevance of collective experience and knowledge**

This section will discuss the second broad category of ‘witnessing’, which involves descriptions of callers’ categorization of collective experience or knowledge. In most of the data, callers mobilize their collective experience or knowledge by linking their personal experience in with other members of a particular category such as ‘*parents*’, ‘*youths*’, ‘*teachers*’, or ‘*students*’ or to suggest that their point is applicable to a wider constituency than merely their own personal experience, such as referring to ‘*Malaysians*’ or the ‘*Malaysian society*’. There are also evidences of certain collective ethnic categories such as ‘*Malays*’, ‘*Chinese*’ or ‘*Indians*’ that are evident in talk when callers describe their own ethnic identity that are relevant to the topic of discussion. Thus, these MCDs of social and cultural knowledge are used by callers as a collective category in order to authenticate themselves as legitimate speakers on the subject in question and to reinforce their positions.

### **Collective witnessing**

This section will illustrate how witnessing devices are brought into play in the context of interactions between hosts and caller. The examples below show how callers assert membership of a topic-relevant category in their own right based on collective experience or knowledge. As mentioned earlier, topic-relevant categories offer a bridge between the caller’s experiential background and the topic under discussion. Therefore, the placement of callers to a topic-relevant category justifies

the relevance of their contribution to the programme and highlights the authenticity of their opinion which is expected to be developed in the subsequent talk.

In the data it is found that there are a number of topics in the phone-in programme which concerned the Malaysian society in general. This is in contrast to the more personal topics which target certain categories of people such as, *'does marriage complement or hinder your marriage'*, *'is money the biggest motivator in your job'* or *'what makes a relationship successful'*. Topics which concerned the Malaysian society take the form of the use of the first person plural pronoun *'we'* to show the connection to the Malaysian society in general. This is to encourage Malaysians as a whole to present their views on whether they would agree or disagree with the topic under discussion. Some of the topics include: *'Should we remove the race-box?'*, *'Should we spoil our parents?'*, *'Should we migrate?'* or *'Are we doing enough as a society to ensure that women are given opportunities they deserve?'*

It is found that callers who called in with their views on the topics concerned do not only relate their personal experiences but also offer collective opinions based on their own observations or views of the Malaysian society. One of the ways that callers establish their collective membership category as Malaysians is by displaying their national or ethnic identities in their talk. This will be discussed in the next sections.

### **The construction of national identity as a collective membership category**

Research has shown that identities are communicated in different ways. They may be openly discussed and focussed upon, or indirectly and symbolically conveyed.

For instance, when a person claims to be a ‘Malaysian’ or a ‘Malay’ or a ‘Chinese’, that person is openly embracing an identity. Van Dijk (1997) views that a great deal of identity work is done indirectly through meaning associations, and that sounds, words, expressions of a language and styles are continuously associated with qualities, ideas, situations, social representations, and entire ideological systems. These, in turn are related to social groups and categories that can be seen as shared or representative of a process of the creation of meaning that rests upon accepted social meanings while continuously modifying them (Van Dijk, 1997). This process called ‘indexicality’, is based on the idea that symbols (and not only linguistic ones) will ‘index’ or point to elements of the social context (Silverstein, 1976). In conversation analysis, the principle of ‘local occasioning’ has been used as a way to attend to these local understandings (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). They argue that ‘for a person to “have an identity” is to cast into a category with associated characteristics or features’ (1998: 3) and that such casting is indexical and locally occasioned. The concept of local occasioning concerns the idea that the way people present their identity or attribute identities to others not only crucially depends on the context that the discourse is taking place but also shapes that context, which thus make identities relevant and consequential for subsequent talk. Thus, social roles and identities which are associated with them may be relevant in these social occasions and practices.

In this section, the discursive strategies used in discussing the topic on ‘national unity’ in a Malaysian context between host-caller will be discussed. More specifically, the focus will be on the linguistic realization of the use of personal deictic forms such as ‘we’, ‘us’ or ‘our’, as well as the concept of ‘local occasioning’ on how people present their identities as Malaysians or ascribe identities to others as

belonging to the membership category of Malaysians. These are consequential for subsequent talk, and help to display the topic-relevance to the topic of discussion. .

The data consists of a single-case episode of an hour-long phone-in programme from BFM radio and the controversial issue on ‘polarization along racial and religious lines’ was discussed. So, the programme was presented under the heading “*Are English medium schools the answer to national unity?*”. In the introductory stage of host-host talk or co-text, both hosts (re)produce topics on the discourse of national unity. They contextualize the theme by referring to the current situation in Malaysia whether introducing English language as a medium in public schools is the key to national unity. This is exemplified in the following extract before the introduction to the first caller.

Extract 67: BFM3

- 8 H1: Er no matter what the topic is it can always be tracked back (.) to the education [system]
- 9 H2: [always]
- 10 always
- 11 H1: Right and it comes up irrespective (.) of whether you’re talking about hawker food
- 12 H2: Mhm
- 13 H1: Or national unity
- 14 H2: Anything (.) and every[thing]
- 15 H1: [ and] uh and uh with good reasons right because the public schools
- 16 ah as we know um can either be a firm foundation for unity↑ or you know it can spread
- 17 the see:ds of disunity
- 18 H2: [Mhm]
- 19 H1: [that’s] something that a lot callers of have brought up um throughout the years now
- 20 for the longest time the public institutions have to bear the weight of this national project
- 21 of ours with this idea of Malaysia and the (.) with the Malaysian population seemly
- 22 becoming more polarised down the racial and religious lines (.) **today we’re asking you**
- 23 **will the English medium schools be the key to national unity**
- 24 H2: =And English to be the useful language to bring us together (.) uh (.) that’s what we’re going for
- 25 H1: =That essentially what we’re asking
- 26 H2: Yeah
- 27 H1: =and we’re giving you these numbers we know you’re going to call 0377109 thousand to call
- 28 you can text us on 0162019 thousand you can tweet us (.) at BFM radio

In line 8, H1 introduces the general category of the '*education system*' which serves as a topic that is often discussed '*no matter what the topic is*' and further introduces other topics that are often '*tracked back*' to the '*education system*' such as '*hawker food*' or '*national unity*' (lines 11-13). This seems to illustrate as evident in the hosts' speech that the topic on 'education' is a popular topic of discussion in the programme and this is also reflected in the second host's utterance of '*anything and everything*' (line 14). The first host (H1) then develops his talk further by introducing the location category of '*public schools*', which places this category under the MC of '*education system*' and elaborates in his talk that they '*can either be a firm foundation for unity*' or they '*can spread the seeds of disunity*' (lines 15-17). It is seen that at this point, the host provides two contrastive views to encourage further discussions, that is, either public schools can serve as a strong foundation for unity or spread the influence of disunity. This further shows that the host provides the context for further discussion even before the topic is introduced in the subsequent turns. In lines 19-20, H1 provides a reference to '*past callers*' who have brought up the issue over the years and further provides another contextual reference that is '*public institutions*', another predicate of the '*education system*', which '*have to bear the weight of this national project*'. The '*national project*' refers to the idea of eradicating a 'polarised society' in Malaysia, which is most often observed in public universities. This shows that both hosts provide some local knowledge as a contextual resource to the listening audience before the main topic of discussion is introduced. It is observed here that both hosts argue that there is a good reason for a debate as evident in H1's turn '*a lot callers have brought up ..throughout the years ..for the longest time*' (lines 19-20), which is further developed by H2 in the subsequent turn after the introduction of topic for the day: '*and English to be the useful language to bring us together (.) uh (.)*

*that's what we're going for'* (line 24). Thus, it is noticeable that in the sequential development of talk that leads to the topic, the current scenario about the Malaysian society that has become more polarised down the racial and religious lines provides the grounds for further discussion from the listeners. This then leads to the introduction of the topic by H1: *'today we're asking you will the English medium schools be the key to national unity'* (lines 22-23).

As evident in the discussion in Chapter Four, it is observed that in the phone-in programmes, the co-text or host-host talk serves as a pre-requisite for further development of talk as well as provides a contextual resource to further encourage the listening audience to call in. Therefore the contextual reference or the theme which leads to the topic of discussion is a significant strategy used by the hosts in the first few turns of talk between the radio hosts to attract the listening audience to call-in. The debate then follows a regular pattern where each caller is very briefly greeted by the host, who immediately hands over the turn at talk.

In this particular single-case episode, twenty-seven people came on the programme, with different lengths of turn duration, ranging from 1 to 5-minute calls. This episode has the most number of callers compared to other episodes in the data. One feature that makes this data particularly interesting is the fact that talk from ordinary members of the public is included, in which lay participants publicly share their authentic opinions and experiences on *'national unity'*.

### **The use of personal-deictic forms to show collective membership on the topic on national unity**

This section will explore the different roles lay participants play in the programme and how their discursive strategies differ when discussing the topic on

national identity. De Cilia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) explored personal deixis in the discourses of European identities, and looked at various personal-deictic forms such as ‘we’ (us, our, etc.) or ‘they’ (them, their) and/or the switching between individual (I, my) and plural deixis (we, they), to discover the participants’ allegiance and non-allegiance to certain groups. They also observed how a speaker constructs his/her own identity in the actions accounted for in the discourse by using ‘I’, or generalising those actions as a collective membership category by using ‘we’ or ‘us’. One of the most striking observations between the participants is how they relate to patterns that indicate participants’ footing in these constant shifts of referent. Goffman (1981: 128) refers to footing as instances of talk where participants’ alignment, set, stance, posture or projected self is somehow activated.

The following table shows the callers’ use of first person plural pronouns with their potential meanings in the discursive construction of national identities of ‘Malaysians’ to display their collective membership category on the topic of ‘national unity’ and the ‘Malaysian race.’ The examples have been taken out of their sequential contexts to illustrate the different shifts in referents that are evident in the callers’ utterances. Only callers who have indicated some deictic references in their talk have been included in the table.

Table 5.7: The use of personal deictic forms as collective membership categories on the topic on ‘national unity’

Callers	Content	Deictic reference and potential meaning
C1	<b>we</b> have just.. found the right recipe for national unity <b>we</b> can’t really compa:re with the past so much <b>we</b> should change for a better but we are actually regressing that <b>we</b> become more..more communal <b>we’re</b> identifying ourselves.. educating ourselves	We- The Malaysians (speaker inclusive)
C2	it needs the rhythm <b>we</b> know that for a fact ..but you are thinking that the English medium is going to	We- The Malaysians (speaker inclusive)

	<p>change national unity</p> <p>I grew up in going to Christian's house .....some of <b>us</b> were muslims</p> <p>what does that tell you if <b>we're</b> going to have the English medium</p>	<p>Us- The speaker's school friends</p> <p>We- the Malaysians (speaker inclusive)</p>
C4	<p>if <b>we</b> are just more open and more understanding I think <b>we</b> are just polarised I guess would be the matter you're you're always reminded that you are ah <i>semua pelajar bukan islam</i> (all non-Muslim students)</p>	<p>We – The Malaysians (speaker inclusive)</p>
C5	<p><b>we</b> should have er <i>bahasa Malaysia</i> (Malay language) for national unity</p> <p>schools <b>we</b> have three mediums</p> <p>If <b>we</b> have a single stream of school let's say <i>bahasa melayu</i> (Malay language).. then at least everyone speaks the same language</p> <p><b>we</b> inculcate a sense of belonging. .. <b>we</b> can have unity in the English language</p>	<p>We- The Malaysians (speaker inclusive)</p>
C6	<p><b>we</b> shouldn't like give er <b>we</b> should give options .. like the previous education system they allow us to choose er they have <i>dwibahasa</i> (dual languages) they have Malay with English especially for the technical lessons like science and maths they can choose to.. use English</p> <p>..Um <b>we</b> can't introduce English drastically um immediately because there will be some children who are not able to communicate effectively in English especially in the rural areas they might have problems</p>	<p>We- The Malaysians (speaker inclusive); implicit reference to the education system</p>
C7	<p>being from <i>sekolah kebangsaan</i> (national schools) schools I believe ar ar <b>we</b> actually get to mingle around with ah ah students from different races <b>we</b> can actually see this <i>kebangsaan</i> (national) schools there are more ar there are less and less mixed races going into <i>kebangsaan</i> (national) schools come up with some kind of programme may be such as modules may be find students if they want to speak in um Chinese modules as well they can actually go ..all of them can actually go into the same school but ah but ah they can be in different classes but then <b>we</b> can still create an environment for them to mingle around..</p>	<p>We- People from national schools; Malaysians (speaker inclusive);</p> <p>We- the school authorities</p>
C8	<p>if its Malay medium you have to ensure that the English taught as the quality and standard it needs to be ..so <b>we</b> produce in the end ..either way you produce ..students who can go out you can teach and work and use this competency in the workplace Malaysians in an environment where.. <b>we're</b> not judgemental of each other but accepting</p>	<p>We- people who are involved in education ; people who want to be part of the national schools</p> <p>We – Malaysians (speaker inclusive)</p>
C11	<p>I think language enable <b>us</b> to communicate and.. to relate to one another based on similar ideas</p> <p>I think <b>we</b> are able to relate in terms of.. I think what we're looking for is cohesion.</p> <p>I think right what <b>we</b> can all agree upon its er I think English language is universal?</p>	<p>Us- the Malaysians (speaker inclusive)</p> <p>We- the Malaysians (speaker inclusive)</p>



C12	Referring to the previous caller ..I was in a national school ar which was not that long ago about 8 years ago.. there wasn't these 45 kids who were who were Malays and 2 kids were non-Malays.. it was actually quite quite ar well.. inclined with the with the population then <b>we</b> would have like maybe er er 20	We- people or the school authorities who are involved back then (speaker inclusive)
C14	.. <b>we</b> can have bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction in the school.. it has worked before what I'm more worried is that er if <b>we</b> have one system.. rather than having too many Tamil schools Chinese schools and Islamic schools and all these things	We- the education authorities (speaker inclusive)
C15	having different languages or being brought up with er er different languages means that <b>we</b> cannot unite	We – Malaysians (speaker inclusive)
C16	English in a in a way yeah is is pretty universal because of the the colonial history that <b>we we've</b> had	We- Malaysians (speaker inclusive)
C17	No because because here <b>we're</b> talking even the kids in national schools they come up.. after form five and they can't speak BM all they know is that they can write a <i>karangan</i> (essay) and they know they're going to get A or a C3 or er whatever but .. they can't <u>speak</u> the [language] How how can <b>we</b> call ourselves a Malaysian because I've come across a Malaysian who doesn't know how to <u>respond</u> in Malay at all and..	We- addressee and speaker inclusive  We- Malaysians (speaker inclusive)
C18	actually Hishamuddin when he was education minster <b>we</b> got science taught in English but it saddens the hearts of the parents when they reverted it to Malay and so many of the parents pull their children out to international schools.	We- students in the English stream of education (speaker inclusive)
C20	Instead yes seriously instead <b>we</b> should promote multilingualism and then <b>we</b> have much more effective people in the ministry of foreign affairs for example hh er another thing is that actually it is <u>what</u> is taught and <u>how</u> it is taught.. I think that is really important hh if if <b>we</b> are taught to focus on our differences and how <b>we</b> enrich each other then I think that's that's sounds all for the better of our country.. on the other hand.. if I think <b>we</b> include in history.. elements that that raise the differences and and and raise the level of suspicions between why <b>we</b> are all here ..going to result in difficulties later hh <b>we we</b> fo:cus on Bahasa Malaysia because it is Bahasa Malay:sia that is one thing that belongs to all Malaysians not just to anyone	We- Malaysians; (speaker inclusive);  We- the education authorities or the education ministry
C22	<b>we</b> learn <b>we</b> learn <i>baha bahasa</i> (language) okay <i>bahasa</i> Malaysia (Malay language).. <b>we we</b> can speak .. <b>we</b> can communicate <b>we</b> can write.. and <b>we</b> can.. <i>tulis karangan</i> (write essays) with such a good <i>bahasa malay</i> (Malay language)..	We- Malaysians; students (speaker inclusive)
C25	Now I agree that it's very important that er <b>we</b> have a language to uni unify <b>us</b> I think <b>we</b> should have one type of school ..and the the problem with Malaysia is everything is	We – The Malaysians (speaker inclusive) Us- the Malaysians like myself

	<p>politici:sed.. so: I think one of the wa:ys.. where English can help <b>us</b> is <b>we</b> can say that English is not ..the mother tongue of ..er any one of the races here except er I suppose if you are Caucasians living here.... so: there's no dispute that the er English is definitely more important when <b>we</b> start working or in further education...</p> <p>but it's not <u>really</u> necessary that English be <u>the</u> most important thing about..er unifying <b>us</b> in a school The most important thing is I think all of <b>us</b> have to be in the sa:me school but still a lot of people argue about ..you know either having Malay as the most important language ..or another language being more important first ..so one of the things that can unite us unite us .. by having an English schoo:l↑.. it's an English language that er is going to.. be the main cause of er..<u>main</u> medium of instruction in schools and therefore <b>we</b> can get a:ll the kids together in one school</p>	
C26	<p>It has united <b>us</b>.. in parts of I mean talking from my point of view it has united me with the Mala:ys.. Chinese and Indians <b>I'm a Chine:se</b> yet I don't speak I don't really speak Chine:se well but with Malay.. it gets me around.. a lot so I don't see a problem why ..why Malay why <b>we</b> should teach English in schools I did learn English in school but I like English outside schools ..</p>	<p>Us- the Malaysians like myself</p> <p>We- Malaysians (speaker inclusive); the teachers or school authorities</p>
C27	<p>The the thing is that .. my parents ah.. <b>we</b> were exposed to er a lot of er different cultures when <b>we</b> were small</p> <p>me and my my siblings and I so <b>we</b> would end up watching the 7 o'clock English news <i>Yahya Long Chik</i> and then 8 o'clock <b>we</b> would tune in into <i>Mahadhir Lokman</i></p>	<p>We- the speaker and parents (speaker inclusive); the speaker and siblings when they were young</p> <p>We – the speaker's siblings and speaker inclusive</p>
C28	<p>I don't think so it's the way forward but <b>we</b> should ah:: mm emphasize on the English lan:guage and the also ah:: enforce the usage of English as much as <b>we</b> can in schools...</p>	<p>We- Malaysians (speaker inclusive); the teachers or the school authorities</p>

The table shows a representation of the use of deictic referents in callers' speech to indicate collective membership categories. Out of 27 callers, 7 callers do not include deictic referents in their talk. The data show a lot of references to the pronoun 'we' to show the exclusive connection to '*Malaysians*', or in other words, participants use the first person plural pronoun, 'we' to establish their positions as belonging to this 'in-group' when expressing their opinions on 'national unity'. This

shows that the speakers (MCDs) belong to the membership device ‘Malaysians’ thus seem to suggest that there is a homogenous ‘we-group’ with a shared mentality-imagined community’ (Ribeiro, 2008: 91). In other words, the device ‘Malaysians’ is invoked, appealed to and used by the callers and is then locally organized through further work. For instance, there are categories of types of Malaysians as seen in the data, such as those that do and those who don’t speak BM (callers C17), those who think highly of BM as the national language (callers C5, C14, C17, C22, C26) or those who regard English as the language for national unity (C1, C11, C16, C28).

One interesting finding in the data is that the deictic reference ‘we’ occurs at the initial stages of talk. In other words, there is no explicit reference such as, “as Malaysians”, rather most of the participants make abundant use of ‘we’ as a reference to the whole-inclusive Malaysian people. Therefore, there is the assumption that the speakers are speaking on behalf of Malaysians, that is inclusive of speaker, with direct references to the current situations in schools or the education system as evident in C14, C17, C18, C28. There are also indications of a shift of the deictic reference ‘we’ in callers’ speech. For instance, C28 initially use ‘we’ to show speaker inclusive of Malaysians, but uses the second referent ‘we’ to indicate a reference to ‘schools’: *‘enforce the usage of English as much as we can in schools’*. Another example is evident in C8’s reference to the deictic reference ‘we’ as speaker inclusive of the product of the school system if Malay is the medium of instruction and English is taught at a certain standard, while the second part of his speech indicates reference to ‘we’ as inclusive of Malaysians: *‘Malaysians in an environment where.. **we’re** not judgemental of each other but accepting’*. These shifts in deictic referents seem to be a common occurrence in callers’ talk. Even though, callers have a tendency to shift the references in the on-going interactions, they somehow show their associations

with a collective membership category, that is, as ‘Malaysians’, ‘parents’, ‘siblings’ or ‘the education system’ rather than situating themselves in their own personal categories. Thus, the device ‘we’ or the collective category ‘Malaysians’ is then able to be configured through their local in situ work of categories of Malaysians, via ethnic or languages with various predicated features, such that their membership category of Malaysians includes other Malaysians they categorize as like them (*Bahasa Malaysia belongs to all Malaysians*) (C5, C14, C20, C22, C26), but excludes Malaysians not like them, or different from or deficient in certain predicates (not able to speak BM for example) (C17). In other words, speakers speak with relevance as a collective identity of Malaysians by including shared and local knowledge about the present situation in Malaysia.

The only evidence of an individual cultural identity that is present in talk is found in C26: *I’m a Chine:se yet I don’t speak I don’t really speak Chine:se well but with Malay.. it gets me around.. a lot so I don’t see a problem why ..why Malay why we should teach English in schools I did learn English in school but I like English outside schools*. Here, the caller indicates clearly his cultural identity (*I’m a Chinese*) but further provides arguments that even though he is Chinese he does not speak Chinese and is more comfortable speaking in Malay. He further questions why English should be taught in schools and indicates a shift in reference of ‘we’ to include ‘teachers’ or the ‘school authorities’. This shows how the caller has ascribed to his own ethnic identity category (*I’m a Chinese*) but later positioned himself with others who are members of the same device ‘Malaysian’. This point is made relevant by the caller in that he identifies himself as an ethnic Chinese who does not speak Chinese, but identifies himself as a Malaysian who speaks Malay. This further illustrates how Malaysians do category work as a member of the collective category

‘Malaysian’ in presenting opinions, as well as, based them upon their own ethnic membership category. The ethnic identity of the speaker shows some justifications for his views that is, he is speaking with relevance to both his own ethnic identity and as a Malaysian. It is assumed as part of the phone-in that callers are Malaysians, that is, a member of the category and therefore, anyone who is a Malaysian can have an opinion. Therefore, it is seen that callers frequently change their focus of references to personal deictic expressions according to the contextual reference of their talk. They use one form or another of collective construction to link their personal experience in or ethnic identity with other members of a particular category or to suggest that their point is applicable to a wider constituency than merely their own personal experience.

In this section, the discursive strategies used in discussing the topic on national unity with regard to the English language medium in schools have been discussed. More specifically, the focus has been on the linguistic realization of the use of personal deictic forms such as ‘we’, ‘us’ or ‘our’, as well as the concept of ‘local occasioning’ on how people present their identities as Malaysians or attribute identities to others as belonging to the membership category of Malaysians that is consequential for subsequent talk. In other words, the occurrence of the deictic referent ‘we’ shows a collective membership category of ‘being Malaysians’ whereby speakers present their opinions of ‘for’ or ‘against’ on the topic on national unity not from their own personal stance about the issue but rather build their opinions on collective knowledge and experience or shared knowledge about the current situation in the Malaysian context.

The following discussion will explore the use of collective membership category by callers in their sequential contexts under topic relevance category on the

topic of discussion on ‘English medium as key to national unity’. The example shows the caller’s use of the collective membership category (*I’m representing the youths*) and evidence of collective experience in her talk on account of what she had gone through during her education and the shift from BM (Bahasa Melayu/Malay language) to English as the medium of instruction and back ‘to BM’ (lines 737-738, 740). This shows evidence of the caller’s shared knowledge and experience to show the authenticity of her contributions about the education system in Malaysia, which has undergone a <sup>1</sup>period of transition.

Extract 68: BFM3

- 735 H1: Hi Lena what [say you]  
 736 H2: [I’ve terrible] handwriting  
 → 737 C19 So actually I want to say that **I’m representing the youths** today so I’ve gone  
 738 through the phase where I mean the mod (.) er the syllabus  
 739 H1: Oh good  
 → 740 C19 were in BM then revert to English and now it’s sort of going back to BM (.)  
 741 H1: =what was that like for you?  
 742 C19 So um what can I say is that is that I think it’s the implementation time apart from  
 743 all those Chinese schools the Tamil schools and the *kebangsaan* schools I think the  
 744 problem is not exactly about the uh the language BM or English↑ (.) it’s mainly the  
 745 time I think they take to implement it they change too fast  
 → 746 H2: =so they implemented uh the implementation time would make a difference to (.)  
 747 national [unity?]  
 → 748 C19 [I I think] so I mean in the sense that okay you see in order to change  
 749 something and then you need time to actually implement it and improve on it (.) so  
 750 if they change and one thing doesn’t er doesn’t work out I mean and then you try to  
 751 change into another and it’s a learning a whole new learning type all over again so  
 752 what can I see is that with that the quality has dropped and with the drop of quality  
 753 because there’s no one ah one syllabus that you can actually work one good quality  
 754 syllabus that you can actually work on it and build on it and improve on it and  
 755 make it better so ah when there’s no quality in that so (.) that’s why I think (.) the  
 756 non-Malays like some of the earlier callers were saying in that the non non  
 757 Muslims or non-Malays  
 758 H2: Mmm  
 759 C19 =Are not going to national schools  
 760 (0.3)  
 761 H1: Yes yeah I mean that’s a very interesting point so for Lena it’s a question of quality  
 of education rather than the language it’s talking

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<sup>1</sup> Footnote: Bahasa Melayu is the primary language of instruction in Malaysian public schools. In 2003, the government introduced a policy of using English as the language of instruction for science

The question by H1 (*what was that like for you*) further allows the caller to share her experience about the system. The caller (C19) then relates her disagreement with the education system in which she considers the time that the education system takes to implement the policy whether it was in 'BM' or 'English' changed too fast (lines 742-745). In line 746, it is noticeable that the second host (H2) refocuses the caller on her prior contribution of talk about the implementation stage of the 'language' to '*national unity*'. In response to H2's question, the caller offers a lengthy monologue by providing category-related actions on the implementation of the policy: time needed to implement and improve the policy, the drop in the quality and to work on '*one good quality syllabus*' which can be further built upon and improved, and further focuses on what '*earlier callers*' had mentioned, that is, the reasons why '*non Muslims*' or '*non-Malays*' do not go to '*national schools*' (lines 748-759). Here, the caller has provided further social categories of '*non-Muslims*' and '*non-Malays*' which belong to the same related membership category, which means that a person who is not a Muslim belongs to the category of 'non-Malays', and vice-versa. This further shows that a caller may expand on prior talk of earlier callers and may provide further category-related actions to authenticate their talk based on social and past knowledge on the topic of discussion. This supports the notion that talk in phone-in programmes are sequentially and categorically related and this is made possible by the callers' contributions to the contexts of discussion.

Another example of how a caller's contribution can be made relevant based on collective knowledge and experience is observed in the following example.

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and mathematics; however, this policy was discontinued in 2011. English is taught as a second language in both primary and secondary schools. In Chinese and Tamil national-type primary schools, *Bahasa Melayu* is taught as a second language and English is taught as a third language. Ref: [wenr.wes.org](http://wenr.wes.org) > Asia Pacific (Dec 2, 2014)

Extract 69: BFM3

- 606 C15: Okay first of all I agree with the previous few callers (.) er about language as a  
 607 tool for communication (.) and it's not the end (.) thinking that (.) having different  
 608 languages or being brought up with er er different languages means that **we** cannot  
 609 unite (.) means that the I cannot have friends from overseas (.) but I do have  
 610 friends from overseas so it all ends up bringing down quality the er achieve or or  
 611 the actual awareness or the racial based kind of policy (.) that actually makes the  
 612 children growing up.. to become more ra racialistic (.) and I believe that most ur ur  
 613 ur ur minority races (.) for example  
 614 H2: Uhm  
 615 C15: They grow up to become more and more protective of their own culture their own  
 616 languages (.) because of the fe:ar and because of ur ur ur a kind of protection  
 617 against (.) the unfairness that the government is er er (.) government policy is  
 618 heading  
 619 (0.2)  
 620 H2: Right well thank you very much for your call Lee we're asking you today whether  
 621 English medium schools need to be revived↑

In offering the deictic expression of 'we' in line 608, thus places the caller in the relevant collective membership device of 'Malaysians' (speaker inclusive), in which he agrees with the '*earlier callers*' that having '*different languages*' or '*being brought up by different languages*' means that people '*cannot unite*' (lines 607-609). Here, it shows how the caller moves from giving a personal opinion of agreement '*I agree*' to a more collective opinion by using the membership device 'we' to show agreement with earlier callers on the issue on '*unity*' (lines 606-609). This example shows how a caller from speaking with relevance as a member of the category of 'Malaysians' moves to an individual category as a speaker when he presents his personal opinion on the issue, in relation to his prior talk on '*having different languages*' and not able to have '*friends from overseas*' due to the language factor (lines 609-610). Later in his turn another collective category is brought up which relates to '*minority races*' and the category-related predicates associated with them: '*They grow up to become more and more protective of their own culture their own languages (.) because of the fe:ar and because of ur ur ur a kind of protection against (.) the unfairness that the government*' (lines 615-617) to emphasize the fact on where '*the government policy is heading*'. This example reflects how the collective



membership of social knowledge about certain groups of society is being projected in talk by a caller in order to justify his opinions on the issue.

In the phone-in programmes, there is evidence to show that newly-emerging topics are picked up and expanded upon to show the relevance of how Malaysian speakers speak as ‘members of a society’. In other words, callers regard themselves as speaking with relevance as members of the MCD ‘the Malaysian society’ or as ‘Malaysians’ in general. These newly-emerging topics will be further discussed in subsequent sections. The following extracts show how a caller’s account of his experience has a personal impact on a subsequent caller’s view on the topic. Notice the relation of C22’s talk to C17’s earlier talk.

Extract 70: BFM3

- 669 C17 I hhh understand for once that a lot of Malaysians don’t know how to speak Bahasa  
670 Malaysia  
671 H2: Mhm  
672 C17 I’m sa:d because my daughter do not have any more non-malay friends ↑  
672 H2: Uhm  
673 C17 Not any recent ones .  
674 H2: Mmm  
675 C17 but  
→ 676 H1: Mahadir just a quick question for you about that note on bahasa Malaysia (.) um (.)  
677 do you think that’s a part of the failure of the education system because we go  
678 through twelve years of medium of instruction in BM (.) how can we not speak the  
679 language after twelve years ↑ right? (0.2)  
→ 680 C17 Because there are vernacular schools↑  
681 H2: No but then you’re being that’s got nothing to do with vernacular schools though  
682 why not?  
683 H1: No because because here we’re talking even the kids in national schools they come  
684 up (.) after form five and they can’t speak BM all they know is that they can write  
685 a *karangan* (composition) (.) and they know they’re going to get A or a C3 or er  
686 whatever but (.) they can’t speak the [language]  
687 C17 [Oh you see] these things and it warms my  
688 heart when a Malaysian (.) responded to an interview (.)  
689 H2: Mhm  
690 C17 in Malay speak Malay even though it’s not a well (.) Malay is still okay (.) because  
691 he is still upholding the national language↑  
692 H2: mhm  
693 C17 [you see]  
694 H2: [mhm]  
695 C17 okay so that’s my point so the point that’s making me sa:d (.) is that our  
696 government a government of a multi racial cum country (0.2)

697 H2: uhm  
 698 C17: alright (.) have a public government run the vernacular schools (.) I'm I'm just  
 699 saying it's really wrong to have er vernacular schools and I think I guess a lot of  
 700 people might have said that (.) alright  
 701 H2: but you are certainly entitled to your thoughts  
 702 H1: yeah but what do you think about English medium schools (.) then do you think  
 703 English medium shouldn't be reintroduced at all?  
 → 704 C17: (.) No I have answered before (.) *bahasa Malaysia* is already eh spoken by a  
 705 majority of Malaysians (.) *bahasa Malaysia* is the (.) er original language of the  
 706 land (.) I cannot help to see that a lot of Malaysians do not feel highly about the  
 707 H1: [language]  
 708 =[But would] you would you agree er to a degree Mahadhir that it's ah that's a  
 709 rather a sentimental way of looking at it I mean [we've talked about]  
 710 C17: [I am sentimental about it ]  
 711 H1: @@@@  
 712 H2: Competitive on a global scale no you're entitled eh to it  
 713 C17: The thing is, I'm very sentimental about it (.)  
 714 H2: Mhm  
 715 C17: How how can we call ourselves a Malaysian because I've come across a Malaysian  
 716 who doesn't know how to respond in Malay at all and (.) I don't understand that  
 717 does not make any sense to me  
 718 H1: Uhuh well thank you very much Mahadhir for your call Mahadhir is very sad

Here, C17 has expressed his sadness that a lot of Malaysians do not know 'how to speak *Bahasa Melayu*' (Malay language), thus showing his social knowledge on the present situation in Malaysia (line 669). He further continues in the next turn by providing an account of his daughter not having any more '*non-Malay friends*'. This receives a call for clarification from H1 who further queries the caller on his earlier statement that '*a lot of Malaysians do not know how to speak BM*' and questions whether the education system was partly blamed for the failure (lines 676-679). The indexical expression 'we' thus places the host on a collective membership category of Malaysians (speaker inclusive) who had gone through '*twelve years of education in BM*', in which he further expresses his amazement of the fact that Malaysians cannot speak the language. In response to H1's arguments, the caller affirms that it is due to '*vernacular schools*'. Earlier discussions in this chapter has pointed out that many non-Malays have opted for 'vernacular schools' and 'private schools' as their preferred choice of education since the government implemented the

policy of having *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay language) as the main medium of instruction. Therefore, it is evident in the caller's account of his personal experience of the problem, that is, there are not many non-Malay students in national schools, and also of the fact that not many Malaysians can speak in BM. In line 715, the caller questions how people can call themselves 'Malaysians' if they do not know how 'to respond in Malay' further shows how a caller ascribes the descriptors of the membership category 'Malaysian' as those members who are able to speak in the Malay language. Here again, it is seen how a caller relates to the membership category of 'Malaysians' by including 'other Malaysians' like them (speaker inclusive) but exclude Malaysians not like them or different from or deficient in certain predicates (not being able to speak BM).

The following extract shows a response from C22 to C17's earlier talk on his disappointment that many Malaysians are not able to speak the national language 'Bahasa Melayu' well. This again shows another example how a caller ascribes identities of 'Malaysians'.

Extract 71: BFM3

- 836 C22 ah: actually I call in because I feel sad when someone is sad because Mahadir is  
837 very sad (.)  
838 H2: owh  
→ 839 C22 so I call in to console him (.)  
839 H2: owh  
840 H1: that's so nice of you Paul so how are going to console him?  
841 H2: its group therapy on talk back Thursday..  
→ 842 C22 okay first of all I was from (0.3) ah *sekolah kebangsaan jenis jenis kebangsaan*  
national-type schools  
843 those ah verna vernacular schools  
844 H1: =right  
845 C22 or from primary (.) until secondary↑  
846 H1: okay  
847 C22 okay ah: first of all we learn we learn *baha bahasa* okay *bahasa Malaysia* (.) we  
848 language Malay language  
849 we can speak (.) we can communicate we can write (.) and we can (.)  
850 *tulis karangan* with such a good *bahasa Malay* (.) but I am not agreeable that er  
write compositions Malay language

→ 851 the *bahasa Malaysia* should be the main stream because (.) when it comes to  
 852 technical (.) knowledge (.) it is very important to learn in in English (.) that's  
 853 where we lost our competitiveness

Here, C22 expresses his personal feelings on the earlier caller's (C17) disappointment on the issue of Bahasa Malaysia, and states the reason for his call: '*so I call in to console him*' (line 839). This receives a response from H1 who commends him and further questions how he is going to console the caller (line 840). A collaborative turn by the second host is observed in the next turn before the caller is able to respond to H1's question. In line 841, H2 describes this act of consoling the earlier caller as '*group therapy on Talkback Thursday*'. In the next turn (line 842-843), the caller ignores the hosts' request and suggestion, in which he thereby offers a personal account of his background, and that he was from '*sekolah kebangsaan*' (national-type schools). He develops his turn further and this receives affirmative tokens from the host (H1). The caller elaborates and provides a lengthy monologue about the status of learning *bahasa Melayu* (Malay language) in communication, but then provides a position statement of disagreement that '*bahasa Malaysia should be the main stream*', and further justifies his opinion on the importance of learning in English (lines 847-853).

The examples thus illustrate that Malaysian speakers speak with relevance based on the collective category of 'being Malaysians'. The expressions with the associated traits and activities as evident in their talk may be seen as typical social identities to describe how one sees themselves as 'Malaysians' for them to express their opinions on certain issues that affect the Malaysian society in general. These associations of the membership category of 'Malaysians' are continuously called upon as seen by how subsequent callers picked up and elaborated on these socially shared representation of the category. This supports Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) on the

concept of ‘local occasioning’, in which the way people present their identity or attribute identities to others not only depends on the context in which the discourse takes place but also shapes that context, which thus makes identities relevant and consequential for subsequent talk. As seen in the samples given, callers present their identities as Malaysians and ascribe identities to others as Malaysians in the context of discussions which are related to local controversial issues such as ‘national unity’ and the ‘Malaysian race’. Speakers show shared understanding and knowledge of the local situation. Therefore, while categories and roles may be context-dependant, the indexical meanings may vary depending on circumstances and participants. For instance, speakers use the deictic expression ‘I’ in offering a personal opinion of the issue and then shifts to the plural deictic referent ‘we’ to indicate speaker inclusivity of the membership category of ‘Malaysians’.

In the next section, the category of ‘topic-opinion’ will be discussed. This will involve examining the types of topic-opinion categories to show support or non-support of the topic of discussion as well as, exploring ‘topic-generated’ category development by subsequent callers to show the sequential and categorical sequences and actions that are related.

### **5.3.2 Topic-opinion categories**

Another layer of categorization in phone-in programmes is ‘topic-opinion category’, which involves the position of the caller on the current topic of discussion (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002). In the analysed talk programme, it is one of the predicated tasks of the category of ‘caller’ to have an opinion on the topic which makes the occupancy of this category acceptable. Thus, this positions callers as being either ‘for’ or ‘against’ the issue under discussion (Fitzgerald, 1999;

Fitzgerald and Housley 2002). It is evident that within any particular call to the radio phone-in programmes, the opinion raised by the caller will indicate implicitly or explicitly the position of the caller on the topic under discussion. This categorizes the callers in relation to the topic, as being in agreement with or disagreement with the topic under discussion. By offering such a position the caller moves into and personally occupies a 'topic-opinion' category in which his/her opinion can determine which side of the debate the caller is on.

The relation between categorisation of opinions is based on topic-experience and topic-opinion and the strategies used in expressing opinions. The topic-opinion categories which shape the phone-in interactions can be explored from two directions. The first is 'topic-opinion category of experience' which offers a bridge between the caller's experiential background and the topic under discussion. The placement of callers to this topic-relevant category justifies the relevance of their contribution to the programme and highlights the authenticity of their opinion which is expected to be developed in the subsequent talk. The other direction is 'topic-relevant category of opinion'. This category includes callers who do not relate first-hand knowledge or experience but merely offer opinions from their own perspectives. These may include strategies of expressing topic-opinion categories, which are either 'for' or 'against' the issue under discussion. These strategies will encompass whether callers use direct or indirect strategies of expressing agreement or disagreement to the topic under discussion. The following sections will discuss these two levels of categorization: topic-opinion category of experience and topic-relevant category of opinion.

### 5.3.2.1 Topic-opinion category of first-hand knowledge of experience

In order to justify opinions which involved support or non-support of the issue of discussion, callers would reinforce their opinions by providing first-hand knowledge or experience.

The following extract illustrates the evidence of relevant experience found in callers' expressions of opinions on the topic '*materialistic with our gifts*'. In this episode, the caller expresses his opinion based on his own experience from a '*parent*' standpoint.

Extract 72: LFM9

- 82 H1: what do you think Mr Lim?  
→ 83 C2: uh I don't think we should say, materialistic because you know you have to:  
84 understand like the things that we get today and things we get last time definitely is  
85 different but [that's because]  
86 H1: [ Right]  
87 C2: uh you know um we we have to rule the times *la*  
88 H1: ah [of course]  
89 C2: [like u:h] like for example my my kid that day was asking me he say he wants a  
90 he wants a PSP for Christmas and and I was thinking to myself wah uh-uh hh you  
91 know back in my days back in our days you know PSP doesn't exist and  
92 H2: @  
→ 93 C2: and at the most also they get a rubber band to to tie [into our skipping rope]  
94 H2: [@@@]  
95 H1: Right  
96 H2: I remember those, yeah  
97 C2: yeah you know but the thing is I mean if there was PSP back then I would  
98 probably be asking for the same as well you know?  
99 H2: ah right  
→ 100 C2: so I don't think you should look at it as being materialistic I think it's more of uh  
101 what is available in uh today's time you know?  
102 H2: Mr Lim are you going to be getting your son a PSP?  
103 C2: he's getting it himself *la* I think because uh no I probably would *la*  
104 it's it's Christmas anyway so you know it's it's it's a it's a giving time

Here, the caller is addressed as Mr Lim. According to the production team of the radio programme, callers are addressed in the same manner as how they wished to be addressed in the programme. For instance, the terms of address of 'Mr or 'Mrs' are used for more elderly callers. However, on most occasions callers are addressed by

their first names. In the example given, the caller (C2) authenticates his opinion on 'materialistic with gifts' by providing an account of his son wanting '*a PSP for Christmas*' (line 89-90). The caller then relates his past experience and provides an account of this by relating that the only gift back then was '*a rubber band to tie into our skipping rope*' (line 93), as category-related predicates associated with gifts in the past. However, he further elaborates on his opinion that he '*would probably be asking for the same as well*' and provides another angle of the discussion, that is, not to '*look at it as being materialistic*' but more of '*what is available in today's time*' (line 100-101). The account of his experience does illustrate topic-opinion with topic-relevance to the issue discussed.

Hence, when the caller is in a position to offer an opinion on the topic, a whole new set of categories can be made relevant. These categories do not necessarily replace other categories, but may become relevant within the topic of the programme or the particular aspect of the topic that the caller wishes to address. Sometimes, the topic of the programme and the topic of the particular call may not necessarily be the same. For instance, the programme topic may be quite general, such as, 'English as key to national unity', 'the Malaysian race', 'does generosity matter' or a point of reference from a recent event which makes the discussion or is in the news that week, for instance, 'transportation hike' or 'fuel hike'. Thus, the topic of any particular call may consist of the caller's opinion about an aspect of the programme topic. This may be tied to the recent event that makes the programme relevant or a particular opinion about the general topic. Therefore, sometimes any topic which is raised by a caller is not determined by the specific topical reason for the programme, yet a predicate of 'caller' is that their talk will be made relevant to an aspect of the topic. For example, the stated topic on 'transportation hike' is in view of the current issue of the week,



that is, the rise in fuel prices. It is observed that during the course of the programme many different aspects of the topic such as ‘*better public transportation service*’, ‘*the conditions of public transport*’ and ‘*taxi drivers woes*’ are introduced and explored by the participants. This brings us to the categories of opinions or MCDs which make them relevant to the topic of discussion, that is, in addressing the issue of ‘*transportation hike*’. Although some of the calls may address this topic directly, others may address the topic in terms of why they are ‘for’ or ‘against’ the issue.

The following extracts show topic-opinion categories of callers on the topic ‘removing the race box’ and ‘*bangsa Malaysia*’ (the Malaysian race).

Extract 73: BFM1

- 117 H1: Good afternoon tell us what you think about this  
 118 C2: I think race religion er cultural heritage are just as important  
 119 H1: [Okay]  
 120 C2: [important] (.).we need to maintain some of our ah cultural inheritance that  
 121 we all need to stay in line (.)  
 → 122 H2: For example?  
 123 (0.3)  
 → 124 C2: what I mean is being an Indian ah having some traditional beliefs and  
 125 practices it gives you an identity that’s important but it must not interfere  
 126 with political administration of the country  
 127 H2: Right  
 → 128 C2: I do not believe that we need to put our race religion in official forms  
 129 H2: Mhm  
 → 130 C2: It only allows the government to categorise us to put us in compartments and  
 131 to treat us differently  
 132 H2: Mhm  
 133 C2: That is totally wrong totally wrong and it can never achieve one Malaysia if  
 134 this continues  
 → 135 H1: =Let me ask you this you mentioned about the importance of having that  
 136 cultural identity and of course you mention being an Indian and what it  
 137 means to you do you think it comes into conflict when it comes to having: a  
 138 national identity?  
 139 C2: Oh I don’t think so personally I do not think so because let’s say we have ah  
 140 this *Divali* celebrations  
 141 H1: Right  
 142 C2: There are times when all my Malay friends come to my house (.) you know  
 143 H1: Sure  
 144 C2: Together (.) celebrating  
 145 H1: Yes  
 146 C2: there’s no talk about halal food you know we know they do not eat the er  
 147 anything er containing er.you know er (.) bacon

Note: *Divali* – refers to a festive celebration of the Indians

In this example, the caller (C2) starts his turn (line 118) by expressing his view that *'race religion er cultural heritage are just as important'* on the issue on *'bangsa Malaysia'*, although it is not clearly stated in this initial turn whether he is 'for' or 'against' the issue. However, further justification on the issue is seen in the next few turns. The indexical expression 'we' thus indicates the caller speaking from a collective category as 'Malaysians' which is evident in: *'we need to maintain some of our ah cultural inheritance that we all need to stay in line'* (lines 120-121). Thus, this provides his standpoint as speaking as a Malaysian. A question by the second host (H2) in the next turn in seeking an *'example'* then shows how the caller pursues the discussion based on his own cultural identity. For instance, the caller describes the social category of *'being an Indian'* and the *'traditional beliefs and practices'* that ascribes someone *'an identity'* that is important for that social category (lines 123-125). His view is further justified on maintaining his cultural identity, as long as it does not *'interfere with political administration of the country'*. The caller then develops his turn by providing a position statement on the issue: *'I do not believe that we need to put our race religion in official forms'* and further justifies his arguments: *'It only allows the government to categorise us to put us in compartments and to treat us differently'* (lines 130-131). The caller then concludes his arguments by providing a strong stand on the issue: *'That is totally wrong totally wrong and it can never achieve one Malaysia if this continues'*. In lines 134-135, the host (H1) latches in by questioning the caller on his social identity of *'being an Indian'*, that has been brought up earlier by the caller and the *'conflict when it comes to having: a national identity'*, thus pursuing the topic of discussion further. In response to the host's lines of questions, the caller further provides a scenario that reflects his cultural identity and

social knowledge about another cultural group: *'this Divali celebration..there are times when all my Malay friends come to my house...you know...together..celebrating...there's no talk about halal food you know we know they do not eat the er anything er containing er..bacon'* (lines 138-139, 141, 143, 145-146). The focus of the caller's talk here is in response to the host's issue on 'conflict', which the caller further justifies his view by providing some social knowledge about another cultural membership category that of '*Malays*', and the category-related predicates about '*halal food*' that is associated with this cultural membership category. In this particular example, it can be established that the caller has personalised his opinion with reference to cultural knowledge about a membership category, or in other words, knowledge about 'other Malaysians'. This example describes how a caller may present an opinion which is then supported by some relevance to the topic of discussion. It also shows how a caller moves from presenting a general opinion to a more personal one. In other words, in the presentation of opinions, the caller moves from a collective membership category of 'Malaysians' to provide a position statement on the issue of '*bangsa Malaysia*' and '*removing the race box*' and then develops his arguments in the subsequent turns to a more specific cultural category when he presents his own opinion on the issue.

What is noticeable in most of the data is that Malaysian speakers will make an earlier reference to the indexical referent 'we' that illustrates that they are speaking as Malaysians, but frequently shift focus of reference in the development of talk with the radio hosts. For instance, they may provide a general opinion about the issue but changes the focus of discussion to a more personal level, either on elements that may affect them personally or as members of a certain cultural group. However, whatever the focus of discussion is, this does not disrupt the flow of interaction among the

speakers. Therefore, within any particular call, the opinion raised indicates implicitly or explicitly the position of the caller on the topic under discussion. This positioning categorizes the callers in relation to the topic, as being 'for' or 'against'. Thus, by offering such a position the caller personally occupies a 'topic-opinion' category in which his/her opinion can indicate on which side of the debate the caller is on. Therefore, as evident in the earlier extract, the caller does not indicate explicitly in his initial turn when air-space is given, that he agrees that the 'race box' should be removed, rather he emphasizes that 'race religion' and 'cultural heritage are just as important'. His position statement is only stated clearly in line 128: *'I do not believe that we need to put our race religion in official forms'*. The caller further justifies his position by stating that the 'race box' will only allow the government to categorise people 'in compartments' and treat them differently, thus justifying his argument further to bolster his opinions. It is noticeable that once the caller has made the opinion clear, the host is then in a position to question the caller further on his arguments and this is seen in lines 135-137. This proves to show that the host is challenging the caller on the notion of 'cultural identity' with reference to his prior utterance, that is, whether it will be in conflict with 'national identity'. Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) consider the host in doing this as making a 'relational category pair', which is organised in response to the particular caller's topic opinion category. Thus, the opinion given by the caller is an opinion that is heard as a predicate of their cultural identity '*being an Indian*', that is, not only is giving an opinion a predicated action of 'caller' but it is also a predicate of the position of 'caller' as belonging to a certain cultural membership category.

In other phone-ins research (Dori-Hacohen, 2012; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002, Thornborrow, 2001), it has been found that the host may shift position

according to the caller's position, and in that sense this position can be framed in terms of a predicated action of the category 'host'. In the Malaysian data, the host usually does not have a fixed position on the topic because to be seen as having a personal opinion upon the topic may undermine their category as host. Therefore, the host has to maintain neutrality on the topic (Hutchby, 1996a). As seen in the earlier extract, the two hosts do not take positions such as supporting or non-supporting the caller's views but only offer minimal responses such as '*mmh*', '*right*', '*sure*', '*yes*' to the caller's opinion. Even though questions are asked by the host as a challenge for further justification from the caller in other episodes, this act of questioning only occurs in one instance of the host's turn. This shows that in the sequential aspects of host-caller interaction, the turn-taking procedures are rather smooth-going. This further proves to show that the aim of the phone-ins is to allow callers to state their positions on topics of discussion and the primary goal is as a means for callers to express themselves on these issues on-air.

However, there are also instances in the data in which the host offers a 'topic-opinion' category. Here the host is seen to be opposite to the opinion offered by the caller. Since the phone-in programmes involve two hosts, it is either one or the other host who takes up the opposite position. In the data, it is found that the host will often attempt to identify the topic-opinion category for the caller on-air in order for him to occupy his topic-opinion category. This can be exemplified in the following extract.

Extract 74: BFM1

160	H1:	we're going to go straight to the phones Michael is on the line hi Michael
161	H2:	Hi
162	C3:	Hi um I ya I have actually one opinion regarding this issue
163	H1:	Mhm
164	C3:	um um in fact seeing it in a negative way that if we put our race culture or
165		religion on the form okay being used as a tool to actually divide us actually
166		well a lot of times when we collect all these data its actually more for
167		statistical purpose↑

- 168 H2: Right
- 169 C3: Like for example I'm I'm a doctor
- 170 H1: Mhm
- 171 C3: So a lot of times this gives us you know prevalence uh um a lot of things
- 172 that's actually they go by ethnicities and or your roots
- 173 H1: Sure
- 174 H2: Right yeah
- 175 C3: So sometimes it is still very essential for us er to er collect the data regarding
- 176 um races and culture and religion
- 177 H1: But er er Michael I mean in the context of what you've just mentioned er like
- 178 your profession it certainly does sound like it make sense if you were a bank
- 179 manager or if you were somebody at the driver's school or something
- 180 =Applying for a phone line for example
- 181 H2: How do you think er that applies you know apply is that appropriate?
- 182 H1: (0.2)
- 183 C3: ya in that in that that line of er operation itself ah still there is no which target
- 184 er which er race they are lack or whether they are um not targeting er the right
- 185 group of people
- 186 H1: Mhm
- 187 C3: And it just helps in the business development yah um and um it isn't
- 188 successful I don't think that er putting my race or religion in the form make
- 189 me less of a Malaysian
- 190 H2: =But do you feel confident that by applying or er by supplying this kind of
- 191 information to say ah vendors er like you mention a little earlier that it will not
- 192 be abused↑
- 193 C3: Oh course whoever gets their hand on the information (.) they can use it for
- 194 against or for their own benefits
- 195 H2: Mhm
- 196 C3: So er we can't control them um but of course um without even putting down
- 197 your race and religion how sure that people are not abusing your data↑
- 198 H2: [alri:ght}
- 199 H1: [Thank] you very much Michael you know on that front eh I still think about
- 200 let's say he mentions that there are (.) some purposes towards using this [data]

Here, the caller after being summoned to offer an opinion concerning the topic (line 160), places him in a topic-opinion category. In the subsequent turns, the caller is allowed by the hosts to justify his opinion in which he is of the view that by putting '*race culture or religion on the form*' will actually segregate the society. He goes on to justify that the collection of information is '*for statistical purpose*' (lines 164-167). The caller further illustrates the relevance of his opinion by offering his occupational category '*I'm a doctor*' to justify the fact that the information is essential for this particular occupational category, that is, to collect 'data' based on '*races and culture and religion*' (lines 169, 171-172, 175-176). This example illustrates how a topic-

opinion category can move to a topic-relevant category for the caller to establish his opinions in order to authenticate or legitimize his position. However, the challenge to the caller's position with regard to his prior statement as observed in the first host utterance, seems to provide the caller to take on another perspective, that is, in the context of other '*professions*', which is further expanded by the second host as in '*applying for a phone line*' (lines 177-180, 181). This shows further occupational categories that are brought up by the hosts in view of the caller's opinions. However, in the subsequent turns in response to the hosts' perspective, the caller is seen to stand firm on his opinion by stating that these occupational categories do not target specific groups of people but supports the '*business development*' and goes on to establish his position relating to the issue of discussion that putting his '*race or religion in the form*' does not make him '*less of a Malaysian*' (188-190).

In the next turn, the second host questions the caller's confidence further by shifting the line of arguments to the issue of whether the '*kind of information*' supplied by '*vendors*' might be '*abused*' (lines 194-195) with reference to the caller's earlier utterance that the data might be abused. In respond to the host's question, the caller does not take this as a challenge, rather he provides a concluding statement of his arguments: '*whoever gets their hand on the information (.) they can use it for against or for their own benefits*', and further brings up the issue of '*without even putting down your race and religion how sure that people are not abusing your data*' (lines 194-195, 197-198). Notice the rise in intonation on the lexical item '*data*', which thus shows reference to quite a few of these instances of '*data*' that are evident in the caller's earlier utterances. The affirmative token '*alright*' seems to suggest that the host accepts the caller's justification of his arguments. This then brings the call to a close with H1's thanking device, followed by an agreement and a

reformulation statement to support the caller's arguments: '*he mentions that there are...some purposes towards using this [data]*' (lines 200-201). Again, the reference to 'data' is possibly seen here as being relevant to the caller's occupational category in support of the caller's arguments. In this example, it thus demonstrates that even though there are some challenging statements given by both hosts in view of the caller's prior statements, the caller still remains firm on his stand in offering his topic-opinion category.

Therefore, in this particular interaction, the topic opinion category is one of being in favour of '*the race box*' in view of the topic-relevant category of caller. After this opinion has been offered, the host produces statements that directly challenge the caller's opinion. In this way the position or opinion of the caller can be seen to inform the host's response, within which both hosts takes the opposite stance to that of the caller by offering other relevant categories in view of the caller's position on '*statistical purposes*' based on his occupational membership category of '*a doctor*'. However there is an attempt by both hosts to challenge the caller's topic-opinion category, however, this strategy does not seem to be successful in view of the caller's further justifications on the issue. Thus, the attempts by both hosts end up by them being compliant to the caller's views as evident in the affirmative responses given in the subsequent turns of both hosts.

### **5.3.2.2 Topic-opinion category from callers' own perspectives**

As discussed in the earlier sections, the category pair of 'for/against' in terms of an opinion on a topic are recurrent categories which are oriented to within the programmes, and these are evident when the topics require callers to give their viewpoints. In the data analysed, instances of topic-opinion categories are either



evident in the presentation of opinions only or category of topic-opinions which is preceded by topic-relevant category or vice versa. Opinions from callers' own perspectives without relating to relevant experiences are illustrated in the following examples. Extracts 81 and 82 are taken from the topic on 'English as key to national unity'.

Extract 75: BFM3

- 646 Er Actually what I think is yeah er English would be er er (.) a a better medium to  
647 er for instruction for (.) er our children um (.)  
648 H1: In terms of national unity?  
649 C16 Yeah  
→ 650 H2: Would you like to elaborate?  
→ 651 C16 Ah yeah eh (.) essentially right now um a lot of um (.) a lot of people um these  
652 days are (.) trying to insert their own individuality their own um (.) you know  
653 interesting points about themse:lves (.)  
654 H1: Yes yes  
655 C16 And of course uh the racial ethnics would be greater at some point and and  
656 English in a in a way yeah is is pretty universal because of the the colonial history  
657 that we we've had  
658 H2: Uhm  
659 C16 And er I think er (.) in a way it doe:s (.) promote the (.) national unity because it  
660 (.) er revive those good old days the memories  
661 (0.2)  
→ 662 H1: =But are we saying that indivi (.) individuality promotes racism to a degree?  
663 C16 (.) it does  
664 H1: @@ well then thank you very much @ we've got Mahadhir on the line hi  
665 Mahadhir

Here, it is shown that the caller places himself to a topic-opinion category of agreeing that English would be a better medium for instruction for the '*children*' but his hesitation in developing his statement further allows H1 to question him in relation to '*national unity*' (lines 646-648). The brief affirmative token 'yeah' in response to the first host's question by the caller provides an opportunity for the second host to ask for an elaboration: '*would you like to elaborate?*' (line 650). The caller then proceeds with an elaboration on his opinion by referring to the category of people who '*are (.) trying to insert their own individuality their own um (.) you know interesting points about themse:lves (.)*' and further adds that English is universal and

brings in some historical knowledge and memories about the times during ‘*the colonial*’ period and how it had promoted national unity (lines 651-653; 655-657). A pause after the caller’s turn then allows the first host (H1) to challenge the caller further by asking whether individuality promotes racism to a degree (line 662). Even though the caller only gives a brief response of ‘*it does*’ to the question, the host does not develop the interactions further. The next turn of host shows indication that the call has come to a close as evident in the discourse marker ‘*well*’ followed by the thanking device ‘*thank you very much*’, which the host then continues with his turn by introducing the next caller ‘*we’ve got Mahadhir on the line*’ (lines 664-665). Thus this example seems to illustrate that once a caller has established his/her opinion on the topic of discussion, the hosts consider that no further interactions are necessary as long as the caller has stated his position and justified his opinions.

However, there are also evidences to show that when a topic-opinion category is not clearly stated in the caller’s initial turn or in the middle of the interaction, the hosts will resort to questioning the caller on his topic-opinion category. This can be illustrated in the following example.

#### Extract 76: BFM1

- 219 H1: ...we have Budi on the line hi Budi oopps we have Hazli on the line hi Hazli  
 220 H2: Hi Hazli  
 221 C4: Hi↑  
 222 H1: Hi-  
 → 223 C4: Yes er first of all I want to say that I have nothing against national unity  
 224 (0.2)  
 225 H2: Uhum  
 226 C4: But at the suggestion to abolish it the race from (.) er all forms  
 227 H1: Uhuh  
 → 228 C4: There are a lot of things that has to be done first for example eh  
 229 H1: Yup  
 → 230 C4: Er okay when when you want to join er for example a: race-based political party  
 231 you have to be from one race right? and there are er for example if you want to  
 232 buy a house and there must be there are a seven per cent *bumiputera* discount and  
 233 so on right?  
 234 H1: Correct

- 235 C4: So there must be some kind of a reference whether you are eligible for that or not  
 236 hh and then er even for if you want to  
 237 (0.2)
- 238 H1: Now Ah Hazli just to to stop you right there I mean you say I mean I understand  
 239 with regards to the purchase of property those er considerations involved but if  
 240 you want to join hh a a political party, I don't think er it is necessary I mean it is  
 241 your prerogative whether you want to join a race-based party or hh or a party that  
 242 has no (.) ah I guess ah no focus on race  
 243 (0.2).
- 244 C4: Okay okay okay and then er for example ya er we have religious er regulations  
 245 right? some muslims cannot enter: in er: some kind of er for example casino and  
 246 then they cannot er: buy er er er this what they call beer and so on right? so if  
 247 how how are they going to er: enforce↑ if let's say somebody caught and then the  
 248 er
- 249 H1: =How do feel about individual accountability and responsibility?
- 250 C4: Ya I know I know is this is bad why I say this before we can do that before we  
 251 can accomplish all of this a lot of things have to be done have to have to we have  
 252 to look into↑
- 253 H2: So hazli let me ask you this do you think by keeping this race hh category uh you  
 254 know in these forms do you think it actually supports and and the I guess makes  
 255 things easier to identify ah these problems?  
 256 (0.2)
- 257 C4: um I er I I don't but but it think be before we do that there are a lot of things that  
 258 have to be done first
- 259 H1: Alright alright thank you very much Hazli we're going to move on to our next  
 260 caller Budi is on the line [hi Budi]

Note: *Bumiputera* is a Malaysian term to describe the Malay race and other indigenous peoples of Malaysia, such as the Ibans, Dayaks etc.

In this particular example, the caller does not indicate explicitly his topic-opinion category on the issue of '*removing the race box*' even though in his initial turn he does state that he has '*nothing against national unity*' (line 223). He develops his turn further by not suggesting to abolish the race box, but provides his view that there are a lot of things that has to be done first. In support of his arguments, he further provides category-related predicates on the issue of '*race*' such as '*race-based political party*', '*seven per cent bumiputera discount*' when buying a house and the issue of '*eligibility*' (lines 230-233, 335). The affirmative token '*correct*' does seem to illustrate that the host also has shared local knowledge of the examples given by the caller. A '*bumiputera*' is a Malaysian term to describe the Malay race and other indigenous peoples in Malaysia. For instance, all *Bumiputeras*, regardless of their

financial standings, are entitled to seven percent discount on houses or property, and other preferential policies which include quotas for the following: admission to government educational institutions, qualification for public scholarships, positions in government sectors, and ownership of businesses. Therefore, the caller emphasizes on the reference of '*bumiputera*' as a form of eligibility in applying for certain concessions related to these. In the next turn, the first host (H1) shows an attempt to stop the caller from pursuing the subject '*just to stop you right there*', and the evidence of the host disagreeing with the prior statement of caller on the issue that is reflected in his utterance: '*but if you want to join hh a a political party...I mean it is your prerogative whether you want to join a race-based party or ...a party that has ...no focus on race*' (lines 238-242).

Here, it shows that the host disagrees on the idea brought up by the caller of being from one 'race' if a person wishes to join a '*race-based political party*', and thereby affirms the fact that it is '*one's prerogative*' to join the party. In response to the host's statement, the caller accepts the host's viewpoint with the affirmative device 'okay' which occurs three times, thus showing that the caller has accepted the rationale given by the host on the issue. However, there is no evidence to show that he will correct his earlier statement. The caller then continues his talk by bringing up the aspect of '*religious regulations*', and further elaborates on the membership social category of 'Muslims' and the predicates associated with the category (lines 244-247). This opinion is related to the topic-opinion category on 'removing the race box'. Even though the caller does not explicitly indicate in his prior turns that he disagrees with the topic, the category-related predicates that he has offered does seem to lead to the opinion that he disagrees with the proposal. In line 249, the host has shifted the focus to asking the caller on his opinion on '*individual accountability and responsibility*'.

The caller's response to the host's question does seem to reflect what he has stated earlier in line 228, as well as in his response to the host's question: *'before we can accomplish all of this a lot of things have to be done..'* (lines 250-252). There is an occurrence of another questioning act from the host, in which the host addresses the caller's name, and tries to refocus the caller on the topic of discussion: *'so Hazli let me ask you this do you think by keeping this race hh category uh you know in these forms do you think it actually supports and and the I guess makes things easier to identify ah these problems?'* (lines 253-255). Schegloff (1987) described utterances such as 'let me ask you this' or 'let me ask you a question' as pre-questions, pre-pres's or pre-delicates. Here, the host uses pre-questions to seek further clarification from the caller on his views. In some episodes of talk, as discussed earlier, these pre-questions occur towards the end of the interactions between host-caller before calls are terminated. In reference to *'these problems'* as evident in the host's utterance, it shows that the host is trying to relate to what the caller has mentioned earlier and seem to regard them as category-related issues. However, in the next turn, there is no indication in the caller's utterance that the caller has answered the host's question, rather the response to that is similar to the caller's prior utterances (lines 228, 251-252). The hesitations in the speech as evident *'um I er I I don't but but I think be before'* seem to reflect the inability of the caller to provide an appropriate answer to the host's question, rather he has echoed his previous utterances: *'before we do that there are a lot of things that have to be done first'* (lines 257-258). Thus, what is seen is that the call is then terminated with a thanking device and the host's indication that he is moving on to the next caller.

The example given illustrates that in the sequential and categorical organization of the interactions, the host will ask questions, clarify certain issues and

develop the talk based on the opinions given by the caller. The caller, as predicated to the category caller will answer the questions posed by the host and develop his arguments based on category-related predicates to support his opinions. If a caller has not clearly stated his position on the topic, the host tries as best as possible to question the caller by refocusing on the topic of discussion. Thus, this seem to show that in the context of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes, presenting opinions which is the category-bound activity of caller seems to be the focus and the primary goal of the programme. When opinions are not clearly stated, it is the category-bound activity of the host to question the caller further on his/her opinions. These questioning acts will keep on recurring until the caller has adequately presented his/her opinions. In cases in which the caller is not able to response adequately to the host's question, the host sees this as a cue to terminate the call.

The next example shows how the host has to refocus the caller as the predicated task of the host, when the caller has not clearly stated his line of arguments.

Extract 77: BFM1

- 383 H1: ....we've got Chris on the line hi Chris
- 384 (0.2)
- 385 C8: Hi good evening
- 386 H2: [Good evening]
- 387 H1: [Good evening] what does *bangsa Malaysia* mean to you?
- 388 C8: Ah well first of all correct me if I'm wrong *bangsa* means race right?
- 389 H1: *Bangsa* does mean race yeah
- 390 C8: Okay so you can't say it's the *bangsa* Malaysia because Malaysia is a country
- 391 and race is er is a genetic based on your DNA
- 392 H1: Right
- 393 C8: So this whole thing about bringing up *bangsa* Malaysia is falling back to our
- 394 conscience again and we are still thinking about race↑
- 395 H1: Hh well semantics aside what does what does it mean to you to be Malaysian if
- 396 you don't want to use the term *bangsa* Malaysia
- 397 C8: Exactly we want to become one country we have to be a citizenry a *rakyat* as er
- 398 what our politicians call it

- 399 H1: Mm
- 400 C8: So um we can't have this race I agree with some of the earlier callers we have to  
401 remove the box
- 402 H1: Mhm
- 403 C8: I disagree with the doctor er in er certain things require documentation
- 404 H1: Uhuh
- 405 C8: We can collect race data but it shouldn't be on a form where a name is attached  
406 to the race↑
- 407 H2: Uhm
- 408 C8: So er as far as er: public forms go especially my biggest grouses are in schools
- 409 H2: Right
- 410 C8: Let's say a a child so they are actually being em segregated and um differentiated  
411 from the day they join school at the age of seven and what is that teaching our  
412 children?
- 413 H1: Hmm yea now tell us very quickly do you think um you know when you embrace  
414 this notion of Malaysian er citizenry does it come at a cost of our cultural identity  
415 and characteristics?
- 416 C8: .(.) not at all er loyalty to your country and the whole nation does not have  
417 anything to do with who I am and what I believe in
- 418 H1: Thank you very much for that Chris moving on to the next caller

Note: *rakyat* is a Malay term for citizens of the country and is a common term that is used to indicate the citizens of Malaysia. It is most often used in English conversations and formal discussions.

Here, after the exchanges of greetings between the hosts and caller (lines 383-386), the host begins by asking the question: '*what does bangsa Malaysia mean to you*'. This takes a different line of questioning, compared to earlier episodes, in which the host's talk will always precede with '*what do you think?*' before the caller is summoned to present his opinions. However, rather than responding to the question, the caller tries to clarify whether '*bangsa*' means '*race*' (line 288), which is then confirmed by the host that '*bangsa does mean race yeah*' (line 289). The caller then presents category-related predicates on '*bangsa Malaysia*' and race as evident in lines 390-391. It is seen that when the issue centres on '*race*', the host quickly asks for the caller's personal opinion on what it means to him '*to be Malaysian if you don't want to use the term bangsa Malaysia*' (lines 395-396). This is in view of the caller's earlier opinion on the distinction between '*bangsa Malaysia*' and '*race*' and his disagreement on the term '*bangsa Malaysia*'. He further provides a statement that he

agrees with what politicians have referred to, that is, *'we want to become one country we have to be a citizenry a rakyat as er what our politicians call it'* (lines 397-398). In the caller's subsequent turns, the caller makes references to earlier callers' opinions and shows his agreement and disagreement: *'I agree with some of the earlier callers we have to remove the box'* and *'I disagree with the doctor er in er certain things require documentation...we can collect race data but it shouldn't be on a form where a name is attached to the race'* (lines 400-401, 403, 405-406). This indicates the category-related predicates of topic-opinion category of 'for' and 'against' to show the sequential and categorical development of earlier talks on the same topic of discussion. However, his elaboration on issues relating to schools *'my biggest grouses are in schools'* and the idea of segregation of young children in schools and what is taught to them does not seem to receive a response from the host (H1). Rather, the host refocuses the caller on the topic of discussion: *'tell us very quickly do you think um you know when you embrace this notion of Malaysian er citizenry does it come at a cost of our cultural identity and characteristics?'* (lines 413-415). Instances of this type of pre-questions, as exemplified earlier, are frequent occurrences when callers deviate from the topic of discussion in the development of talk. Utterances such as 'tell us very quickly' are observed in the final stages of talk between host-caller as means to get the caller to state his position just before the calls are terminated. The concluding statement provided by the caller in the next turn seems to recap his overall view on the topic, that is, *'loyalty to your country and the whole nation does not have anything to do with who I am and what I believe in'* (lines 416-417), thus again making reference to his earlier statement on the perspective of *'being a rakyat'*. This is an example of the progressional format in which the caller will offer a



recapitulation of his position that he has stated earlier (as discussed in Chapter four on the turn design format in the presentation of opinions).

As discussed earlier, it is found that Malaysian speakers include aspects of cultural and social features in their topic-opinion category to support or non-support the topics of discussion, in order to justify their opinions. For instance, callers include aspects of their own cultural identities, social identities and religious identities, as well as knowledge of others' cultural identities in their talk to indicate their views on the issue. These themes are further supported by category-bound predicates as evident in their elaboration and justification of opinions. The knowledge of other cultures and religions show shared understanding to speak as a member of the membership category (MC) of Malaysians rather than showing their own individual stand on the issue of discussion. In other words, callers display categorical aspects of culture in their utterances in their presentation of opinions which may affect their own individual culture or relating to others. It is also found that callers may move from a personal opinion to a more general opinion to indicate their shared knowledge of the Malaysian society, and vice versa. These are evident when topics involved more controversial issues such as, on 'national unity' and 'the Malaysian race' which might relate to the callers' own cultural and religious identities, rather than topics which target more specific listening audiences such as, 'materialistic with gifts' or 'age difference in a relationship'.

The examples given have highlighted that the display and use of an opinion category on a particular topic is important for the flow of calls to the radio phone-in programme. Although such categories are routinely made available to the host by callers, when these categories are absent, the flow of the call may be disrupted or suspended. However, when topic-opinion categories of callers are not identifiable in

the on-going interactions, the hosts play a role in refocusing the callers to the topics of discussion. Strategies that are employed by hosts include stopping the callers' talk when the callers are seen to have deviated from the topics or questioning and seeking the callers' opinion on the specific topics. These discourse strategies employed by hosts such as asking for opinions before closings if opinions are not evident or refocusing the caller to the topic of discussion, allow smooth interactions in the programme (Ezra Zaid, 2016; de Angelo, 2013). Thus, these acts of displaying and using topic-opinion opinion categories can be considered as an integral part of this type of programme and inform and influence the organizational flow of the programme.

Callers may sometimes move from discussing a more general category of opinions to a more personal or specific category relating to them, when they wish to show the relevance of their contributions to the topics concerned. In other words, callers associate themselves with a certain membership category or consider them as topic-relevant as reasons for them to call-in to offer their opinions. The collective category of being a '*Malaysian*' justifies the callers' claims on their observations of events happening in the Malaysian society

Therefore, in the data analysed, most callers either display an opinion of support or non-support of the issues raised. It is found that most callers to the programmes express their agreement implicitly rather than presenting a direct agreement to the notion of '*bangsa Malaysia*' (Malaysian race). Likewise, callers have preferences for expressing more implicit disagreements to the topic under discussion than direct disagreements. This may be evident in the initial turns of callers' talk when air-space is given to them or the middle part of their talk or towards the end of their talk. That is, the category of caller has as a predicate an opinion upon the topic,

and the opinion is either going to be 'for' or 'against' the issue under discussion. This orientation towards the predicate of 'caller' of 'for' or 'against', is a set of predication that is not only expected but also employed within this type of programme. In the data, it is found that the position of the caller's opinion is in relation to the hosts' neutrality. That is, the host has to take a neutral position to the topic in general, so that host is not regarded as biased, but is equally expected to debate with the caller on the topics given. There are also instances when the hosts need to challenge the callers when they are disagreeable with the callers' perspective on certain issues, as well as to keep the callers on track so as not to deviate from the actual discussion. However, these are very few occasions found in the data. The occasions when hosts engage with the callers in terms of agreement or disagreement with the callers' opinions will be discussed in chapter six. These instances will reflect the forms of interactions in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes.

### **5.3.3 Topic-generated categories**

Topic-generated categories include topic categories that develop in the course of opinion-giving by callers. They may be a whole new set of categories that can be made relevant to the topic of discussion. These categories do not necessarily replace other categories, but may become relevant within the topic of the programme or the particular aspect of the topic that the caller wishes to address. It is found in the data that the topic of any particular call may consist of the caller's opinion about an aspect of the programme topic or may be a particular opinion about the general topic. For example, on the stated topic on 'English as the answer to national unity', it is observed that during the course of the programme many different aspects of the topic such as 'vernacular schools, the English proficiency of teachers, the education report, and the national language' are introduced and explored by the participants. This

brings us to the categories of opinions or MCDs which make them relevant to the topics of discussion, that is, in addressing the general issue of '*national unity*'. Although some of the calls may address this topic directly, others may address the topic in terms of why they are 'for' or 'against' the issue. Speakers not only present their opinions to the topic given but also build further related topical categories and these are then further developed by subsequent speakers, even though the speakers are not having a dialogue between them.

Thus, topic-generated category is another layer of categorical information that is evident in the phone-in data. This involves how callers generate other topics that are related to the topical categories of topic-relevance and topic-opinion, and how these topics are pursued by other callers in the episodes. For instance, other topic-generated categories are built in the ongoing discussion on the topic-opinion category of '*bangsa Malaysia*' (Malaysian race). As mentioned earlier these topics or the focus of discussion do not replace the topic categories but show evidence of some aspects of the topic under discussion. The following examples of extracts show some of the topics that are developed by callers in the sequential organization of topic-generated categories:

- (1) *having one national identity that is bangsa Malaysia (Malaysian race) and bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian language) with reference to the national identity of bangsa Indonesia (Indonesian race) and bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) (C1, C5).*
- (2) *collecting data with regard to race and gender for statistical purposes in the medical line (C3)*
- (3) *maintaining cultural inheritance; protecting own culture as bangsa Malaysia (Malaysian race) regardless of cultural background (C21, C20)*
- (4) *practising inequality with regards to community rights; abolishing rights of certain communities; having one school system to create national unity (C10, C13)*
- (5) *having separate school system allows cultural preservation (C17)*
- (6) *protecting the Malaysian identity that has been passed down for generations (C22)*
- (7) *having the national language; uphold the national language (C9, C19)*
- (8) *becoming a citizen of the country; achieving nationhood; the need to evolve into a new society; different cultural identity might be stronger (C8, C11, C13, C16)*

(9) *deeper problem of integration might arise* (C18)

Thus, the examples above revealed features that other topic-generated categories have been developed by callers from the topic discussed and these categories include aspects such as, occupational lines; cultural inheritance; cultural privileges; the education system; the national language and upholding nationhood. The use of the 'national identity' or '*bangsa Malaysia*' is a way of generalizing a device from which other categories are invoked as well as a form of an 'omni-relevant' device (Fitzgerald, 2014) that allows in some way that connects any topic to a discussion of national identity being Malaysian. In other words, the work of 'national identity' as an omni-relevant device is described as a membership of a topic-relevant category that is treated as omni-relevant. This supports Fitzgerald and Thornborrow' (2017) work on the UK general election of 2015 which examined national identity as an omni-relevant device. Their analysis highlighted the way the use of indexical category organization 'we', 'our', 'your' etc. worked as categories membership in relation to the topical device. This intersects nicely with the work of callers who configure the device around themselves, that is, where previous work has shown how a caller can configure a device and membership in relation to a topic. Thus, the topic of 'language' is situated in the device 'national unity' as an omni-relevant device. Furthermore, for this topic, anyone can have an opinion, that is, the opinion is based on the nationality 'Malaysian' so the fact that someone is calling then they are a member of this topic-relevant category. In other words, the fact that 'Malaysians' belong to this category show they do not have to claim explicit category memberships in relation to the topic and their opinion. However, when they do claim explicit membership categories, this is found when they based their opinions on their own ethnic identities, such as 'Malay', 'Chinese' or 'Indian' (as discussed in 5.3.1.3).

It is also observed that when initial callers brought up any particular topic category, other subsequent speakers might expand on the topics from various angles, thus developing their talk on the topic under discussion. Thus, a programme where a given topic is presented for open-line discussion offers real public opinion of what is being talked about. This supports Wodak and Koller's (2008: 6) view that speakers not only present their opinions to the topic given but also build further related topical categories and these are then further developed by subsequent speakers, even though the speakers are not having a dialogue between them.

#### **5.3.3.1 The generation of other topical categories**

The discussion on how topics are generated will be divided into two parts. The data selected is a single-case analysis on the topic on 'English as key to national unity' since the episode consists of one of the most number of topic-generated categories found in the data. The first part of the discussion looks at the semantic relations of topics that are linked to 'national unity'; while the second part will examine the development of topics in their sequential contexts. According to Hutchby, the "differential distributions of discursive resources [...] enable certain participants to achieve interactional effects that are not available or are differentially available to others in the setting" (2006: 33). These features have an impact on the discourses produced on national unity, and show how participants claim various 'truths' or knowledge about the nation (Malaysia) and its people. The analysis of data shows that national unity is dealt with in relation to two themes. The first is the link to past historical events and experiences, while the second, involves the constant reference to the cultural and ethnic differences and the political situation in Malaysia. There are also two important semantic dimensions that are recurrent in the discourse:

one is the semantic relation between national unity, language and race; and the second is the semantic relation which links national unity to government policies. This means that there are several instances in which the topic on national unity becomes discursively linked to vernacular languages and racial issues as well as to issues of government policies.

The following examples are taken out of their sequential contexts to illustrate the specific content of the participants' utterances in relation to these instances.

Semantic relation linking national unity to racial issues:

- (1) C1: [*we*] *should change for a better but we are actually regressing that we become more..more communal now people ah you know ..we're identifying ourselves.. educating ourselves.. choosing the type of.. not just language education but also schools.. er causing to our er you know our religion and racial identity.. so it's not the right way la and then and when I discussed with my friends you know we realised that er the..the source of the problem is very much because of the different types of.. schoo:ls.. and er language of instructions you know*

Here, the caller (C1) by using the indexical expressions 'we', 'people' and 'our' shows a collective membership category of 'Malaysians' and argues that Malaysians have become more 'communal', that is, they are identifying and educating themselves not just by choosing the language of education but also the schools according to their race and religion. He continues his speech by offering another collective category of 'my friends' to further justifies his opinion as an effect of the discussion that the source of the problem in achieving 'national unity' is 'the different types of schools' in Malaysia that offer different mediums of instructions.

- (2) C4: *Yes you had your non Malay students in the city schools but the moment you move out to Kuala Krai you're talking about .. um a densely Malay populated area.. no one speaks English or Bahasa Melayu (Malay language) it really doesn't matter↑ um I think you're probably create a bigger divi:de with the rural and urban society if you have an English medium that that that's just one point.. hh and I I think the root of the cause is a lot deeper and I think if we just.. I don't know I think er if we are just more open and more understanding I think we are just polarised... I guess would*

*be the matter you're you're always reminded that you are ah semua pelajar bukan islam sila ke (all non-Muslim students please go to) and you know you are always....*

This is another instance of a caller arguing that having English as the medium of instruction will create a bigger divide between the rural and urban society and consequently the Malaysian society will become more polarised. Later in her speech, the caller provides a collective category of '*pelajar bukan Islam*' (non-Muslim students) which categorises the caller in the social category of 'non-Muslims'. The caller's ethnic background is Indian. The caller further justifies the idea of polarization in schools with reference to them as non-Muslims, and that they are always reminded as: '*non-Muslims*'. The reference to this common event which is evident in national schools refers to school announcements that are often given for 'non-Muslims', that is, non-Muslims need to go to different venues when Muslim students have their religious classes or activities. This provides some justification for the caller's opinion that even in schools the idea of segregation according to religion is observed. This is given in support of an earlier part of the caller's speech in which she provides a location category that she is from *Kuala Krai*, a rural town, which is a '*densely Malay populated area*' and that '*no one speaks English or Bahasa Melayu*' (Malay language). The Malay language referred to here is the standard Malay language. What the caller seems to imply is that people may speak different varieties or dialects of the Malay language but not necessarily speak in the standard language. Therefore, this further implies that in an area where a majority of the population are Malays, it is impossible to use English as a form of communication.

Another instance of racial issue is observed in the following example:

- (3) C5: *yeah nowadays schools we have three mediums so because ur people ur students are in these three mediums while in school they're in Chinese Chinese school Tamil Tamil schools and when they go back home it's one language..you see you get separated there as well*



Here, some local knowledge is provided by the caller (C5) about schools in Malaysia. The collective membership category ‘we’ provided here refers to the category of the ‘education system in Malaysia’ in which there are ‘three mediums’: ‘Chinese’, ‘Tamil’ and ‘Malay’ (even though ‘Malay’ is not evident in the caller’s utterances). Local knowledge presented here by the caller seems to assume that Malaysians are aware of the reference to the ‘three mediums’ of instructions in schools, even though the three mediums are not evident in the caller’s speech. In other words, what the caller is trying to justify is that students go to schools with different mediums of instructions. Thus, the caller implies that the ‘segregation of races’ occur when these students go back to their respective homes and talk in their mother tongues: *‘when they go back home it’s one language..you see you get separated there as well’*.

The examples demonstrate that callers speak as members of the collective MCD as Malaysians and the topic on national unity which has been discursively linked to vernacular languages and racial issues are evident in their justification of opinions. The following examples show how callers link the topic on ‘national unity’ to government policies.

Semantic relations linking national unity to government policies:

- (1) *C10: because at home you’re still exposed to your own language no matter what no matter what you go to the restaurants you go to your this and that you’re only exposed to the local language but the thing about English language.. especially also for national unity is ah ah absolutely of utmost importance but then **is the government going to do enough is the question here is the government going to do enough is part of a play the global play the international play** alright as as let’s put it up teaching boys and girls in the language*
- (2) *C15: Okay first of all I agree with the previous few callers ..er about language as a tool for communication.. and it’s not the end.. thinking that.. having different*

*languages or being brought up with er er different languages means that we cannot unite.. ....*

*all ends up being the down quality the er achieve or or the actual awareness or the racial based kind of policy.. that actually makes the children growing up.. to become more racialistic....They grow up to become more and more protective of their own culture their own languages.. because of the fe:ar and because of ur ur ur a kind of protection against..the unfairness that the government is ere r ..government policy is heading..*

- (3) C17: *okay so that's my point so the point that's making me sad.. is that **our government a government of a multi racial cum country.....alright.. have a public government run the vernacular schools..** I'm I'm just saying it's really wron:g to have er vernacular schools and I think I guess **a lot of people** might might have said that.. alright*

The examples thus demonstrate that the topic on 'government policies' are brought up into the discussion by three callers. For instance, C10 is of the view that English language is part of the '*global and international play*' and questions whether the government is going to do enough to implement the language in schools. In another instance, C15 and C17 blame the government for implementing '*a racial-based kind of policy*' by having different mediums of instructions. C17's statements in reference to '*the children growing up*' and the elaboration on '*they grow up to become more and more protective of their own culture their own languages*' provide some justification to his opinion on 'racial-based' government policies. The examples demonstrate that callers display their local knowledge on the issue of 'national unity' by linking them with government policies. This seems to suggest that the occurrences of the indexical expression 'we' found in the callers' utterances show that these callers speak with relevance based on collective knowledge as Malaysians, as well as their knowledge of the present situation in Malaysia.

In the development of talk between host-caller, callers not only speak with relevance to authenticate their talk and to show support or non-support of the topic under discussion, but also generate other topics in their sequential development of

talk. The generation of topics are not new topics that are brought up, rather the topics show some relation to some aspects of the topic of discussion. For instance, in the discussion between host-caller on the topic on ‘national unity’, two themes emerged from the discussion: past historical events and experiences; and cultural and ethnic differences. The following examples are taken out of their sequential contexts to illustrate the emergence of these themes in the discourse which is related to ‘national unity’.

Themes relating national unity to past historical events and experiences:

- (1) C2: *to make this happen.. the education system in Malaysia right now is based on Laporan Rahman Talib’s (The Rahman Talib Report) back in 19.. 70s right after the 13 May..ah they were based on that ar it was like ah 40 over years↑ 40 over years now it needs the rhythm we know that for a fact (.) but **you are thinking that the English medium is going to change national unity (.) NO (.).. reason being I myself was brought up in a multicultural ah area somewhere er in a suburb in KL(Kuala Lumpur)***
- (2) C21: *Hi um okay I I agree with the um er er English uh language to be introduced as medium in schools because I believe that um er English is the one that.. connects everyone together uh thi:s er bahasa Malaysia as er the national language.. but as communication language.. English is still more important compared to national language....simple example is like.. happen to me back when I was still studying.. I was in a I was in a college back then.. er they were teach:ing er I took I took IT course but the er they were teaching there all the codings back in Malay.. so I had trouble uh translating back er translating back to English.. and er all the way I I end up slopping the entire exam just because @ I was not able to translate.. those codings back to [English]*
- (3) H1: *[Ri:ght] but but why do you say that.. do you think um that somehow hh things in the past when the language the medium of instruction was in English were better?*  
 C2: *Ya yah I mean er.. we can’t really compa:re with the past so much there’s er they are really er ..of course we can see that er ah people of different races who a:re in their 60s or 70s.. they..they they seem to have um better access to what Malaysians is about compared to now?*

The examples illustrate how the callers express their support or non-support of the issue that ‘English as the medium for national unity’ and how their opinions are supported by past knowledge about the education system and relevant experiences. For instance, C2 relates about the education system in Malaysia by linking to the

*'Laporan Rahman Talib'* (The Rahman Talib Report), which was a report on the education policy in Malaysia that was implemented in 1970, in which the main goal was to make the national language as the medium of instruction in all schools. This demonstrates that the caller has related the historical knowledge about the education system in Malaysia as predicated categories on the topic discussed. He thereby expresses a strong disagreement in his talk: *'you are thinking that the English medium is going to change national unity (.) NO'*; and further extends his talk by relating his personal experience that he was brought up in a multicultural area in KL (Kuala Lumpur). In example 2, C21 shows agreement that English should be the main medium of instruction and also relates his past experiences on the difficulties that he faced when he took an IT (Information Technology) course in which all technical codings were given in Malay, and as a result he had failed the exam. The last example (3) shows that when the host asks the caller whether *'things in the past when the language the medium of instruction was in English were better?*, the caller responds by demonstrating his past knowledge that when English was the medium of instruction in the past, people had better access as compared to the present. This is shown when he disagrees that it is not possible to compare with the past, which he then relates this to the category of people *'people of different races who a:re in their 60s or 70'*, and that he is of the opinion that people of those category have better *'access to what Malaysians'* have compared to the present. These examples illustrate how callers develop other aspects of the topic on 'national unity' by including other predicated categories such as past knowledge and personal experiences to show the relevance of their contributions to the topic of discussion.

The second theme concerns the constant reference to cultural and ethnic differences on the topic of national unity. This can be seen in the following examples:

Themes relating national unity to cultural and ethnic differences:

- (1) C7: *Yes and **being being from sekolah kebangsaan schools I believe ar ar we actually get to mingle around with ah ah students from different races..** and then ar ar as as one caller was mentioning er during Christmas he actually visit his friend..But now but now we can actually see this kebangsaan schools there are more ar there are less and less mixed races going into kebangsaan schools.. is it possible if may be may be come up with some kind of programme may be such as modules may be find students if they want to speak in um Chinese modules as well they can actually go ..all of them can actually go into the same school but ah but ah they can be in different classes but then we can still create an environment for them to mingle around let's say like ah*
- (2) C9: *In the school.. ar „basically like Farouk ..just like the earlier who says kebangsaan schools are basically only.. you only see the Malays there ..**I send my children to the kebangsaan school initially..**And the whole class is only.. two non-malays.. one Indian and one Chinese and the rest are all Malays... so why do the parents of the non-malays don't want to send their children to national schools.. I think the er the issue of the er standard I think the there's the quality of the public schools hh is not there so they would rather send their children to other types of to other types of [schools].....Yes for the urban schools ..but not for the rural schools because the rural schools is not going to help hh I mean the children are not to practice speaking in English so they.. don't see the need to ..to speak in English rather than in the English schools so it has to be only in the urban schools but then **then it would be the segregation between the urban and the rural***
- (3) C12: ***segre segregating children as that young of an ag.. is then only exposing them to people of their own race well a vast majority of people of their own race..** wouldn't you think that that would that would also create..a.. a mindset that I don't really know this other race very well I don't really speak their language.. therefore I I think that you know they're are probably not they're not*

The first example shows C7 providing some educational background information about himself that that he was from 'sekolah kebangsaan school' (national-type schools) and further extends his talk by elaborating on the fewer number of students of other races going to national-type schools. He thereby offers a suggestion to have modules in other languages like Chinese language to be introduced to create an environment for children to mingle with one another. This shows the caller's local knowledge, which is predicated to the present education system in Malaysia. The next example (2) shows the caller relating her experience of initially sending her children to national-type schools, which seems to presuppose that she no longer sends her children to these types of schools. The caller then provides cultural

membership categories of '*non-Malays*', '*Indian*', '*Chinese*', and '*Malays*' to show the representation of these groups of people in the present national schools and the quality of education. The caller further extends her talk by providing an opinion in support of the proposal to have English medium schools in '*urban schools*' rather than '*rural schools*' because children in these schools do not practice speaking in English. Her talk ends on a note that there will be '*segregation between the urban and the rural*' as a result of the problems as mentioned in her prior utterances.

In the last example, C12 offers an opinion in relation to the caller's prior utterance on '*vernacular schools*'. The caller justifies her talk with the opinion that '*vernacular schools*' will segregate children at a young age and thus give exposure to children of their own race, thereby create mindsets that children do not know other races and only speak their own languages. These examples clearly demonstrate that callers generate other topics based on prior local and cultural knowledge to bolster their opinions on the topic '*English as key to national unity*.' The opinions provided by caller in support or non-support of the issue in question are not only related to personal experiences as evident in their talk but also show collective membership knowledge as Malaysians on the current situation in Malaysia.

Callers have a tendency to generalize their opinions to the Malaysian society as a whole before moving on to a more personal topic-opinion category that relates to the relevance of their contributions to the topics concerned. In other words, callers associate themselves with a social or cultural membership category or consider them as topic-relevant as reasons for them to call-in to offer their opinions. The collective MC of '*Malaysians*' shows the justification of callers' claims as speaking as '*Malaysians*' based on collective experience and knowledge on their observations of

events that are happening in the Malaysian society and those that are related to the Malaysian education system. The following table shows a summary of some of the topic-generated categories or category-tied predicates that emerge in the development of talk in the data.

Table 5.8: Summary of topic-generated categories

Topic category	Membership category	Category-tied predicates
English as key to national unity	Malaysians, parents, teachers	Historical knowledge, segregation in schools, vernacular schools, racial imbalance in schools, quality of education, government policies
Malaysian race	Malaysians, Indians, Chinese, Malays, doctors, politicians	Statistical purposes, cultural inheritance, the education system, national language, race-based political parties
Transportation hike	Taxi-drivers, students, commuters	Transportation service, taxi-drivers' woes, the GST, taxi operators
Migration	Occupational categories, retirees	Public security, the race card, education, the brain drain
Fuel hike	Occupational categories, taxi drivers	Food prices, public transport service, oil subsidies, politics, car-pooling

The second part of the discussion on topic-generated categories will include the topics that emerged in the development of their sequential contexts, and how subsequent callers develop their arguments based on opinions raised by earlier callers. The following example shows how caller (C7) makes his contributions to talk by relating them to caller 2's prior talk.

Extract 78: BFM3

- 300 C7: Yes and and being being from *sekolah kebangsaan* schools I believe ar ar we  
national schools
- 301 actually get to mingle around with ah ah students from different races (.) and then  
302 ar ar as as **one caller was mentioning er during Christmas** he actually visit his  
303 friend
- 304 H1: Yes
- 305 C7: But now but now we can actually see this *kebangsaan* schools there are more ar  
national
- 306 there are less and less mixed races going into kebangsaan schools (.) is it possible

national

307 if may be may be come up with some kind of programme, may be such as modules  
 308 may be find students if they want to speak in um Chinese modules as well they can  
 309 actually go (.) all of them can actually go into the same school but ah but ah they  
 310 can be in different classes but then, we can still create an environment for them to  
 mingle around let's say like ah....

This example illustrates how C7 develops the topic on the earlier caller's (C2) experience of the visit to his friend for Christmas to illustrate the idea that people were able to mingle with other races, even though they come from different cultural and religious backgrounds, as well as C2's statement on the racial imbalance in national-type schools. Earlier on, C7 describes his educational background, that is, he was from '*national schools*' and that allows him to '*mingle around with...students from different races*' (line 301). This statement also shows an extension of C2's earlier statement that C2 stays in a multicultural area in a suburb in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. In understanding participants talk, there is a need to understand the cultural and local aspects of the context in the discussion. For instance, when callers describe that they have had their education in '*national schools*', it implies that they had the experience of mingling with other races. National schools in Malaysia have students from multi-cultural backgrounds, while '*vernacular schools*' (Chinese and Tamil schools) have the majority of students from these two cultural groups. It is also observed how C7 (lines 305-307) picked up on C2's (lines 191-182) (refer to Appendix C) earlier opinion on the reduction in the numbers of '*non-Malays*' entering national schools and the '*racial imbalance*' that have been observed in these types of schools.

Another example of the issue that is developed by subsequent callers is observed in C9's talk. Here, the caller makes reference to the earlier caller's name



‘Farouk’ (C2) and the issue raised by C2 earlier on: ‘*you only see the Malays there*’, as seen in the following extract.

Extract 79: BFM3

- 379 C9: In the school (.) ar (.) basically like Farouk (.) just like the earlier who says  
380 *kebangsaan* schools are basically only (.) you only see the Malays there (.) I send  
381 my children to the kebangsaan school initially↑  
382 H2: Mhm  
383 C9: And the whole class is only (.) two non-Malays (.) one Indian and one Chinese and  
384 the rest are all Malays  
385 H1: Right  
386 C9: so why do the parents of the non-Malays don’t want to send their children to  
387 national schools (.) I think the er the issue of the er standard I think the there’s the  
388 quality of the public schools hh is not there so they would rather send their children  
389 to other types of  
399 H1: to other types of [schools]

The caller goes on further by elaborating on her experience in sending her ‘*children to the kebangsaan school initially*’ and offering the predicated categories on ‘racial imbalance’: ‘*the whole class is only (.) two non-Malays (.) one Indian and one Chinese and the rest are all Malays*’ (lines 379-381, 383-384). C9 further presents her opinion on the reasons why ‘*parents of non-Malays do not send their children to national schools*’ by including category-related aspects of ‘*the standard*’ and the ‘quality’ of ‘public schools’.

However in C12’s utterances (extract 88), the caller makes reference to ‘*the previous caller*’ and his expressions of amazement on the dwindling numbers of ‘non-Malays’ in national schools compared to the times when he was ‘in a national school’: ‘*the population then we would have like maybe...twenty*’ (lines 536-539, 541-543). These examples somehow illustrate how three callers have developed aspects of the topic based on prior caller’s talk, and which they thereby expanded upon and developed further on the issue of discussion based on the ‘integration of different

cultures' in the past and the issue on 'racial imbalance' in the present in national schools.

Extract 80: BFM3

- 536C12: Referring to the previous caller (.) I was in a national school ar which was not that  
537 long ago about eight years ago (.) there wasn't these forty-five kids who were who  
538 were Malays and two kids were non-Malays (.) it was actually quite quite ar well  
539 (.) inclined with the with the population then we would have like maybe er er 20  
540 H1: 60 30 10 yeah @@@  
541C12: Yeah exactly I mean and and and to hear those facts that you know a vast majority  
542 of them (.) ah ah: the students now ah the students now are (.) Malays and you only  
543 got two non-Malays that's shocking really

The next few extracts show how new topics emerged in the development of talk on 'national unity' such as, 'government policies', 'upholding the national language' and 'vernacular schools by participants. Here, six callers have generated topics on these aspects of the discussion.

Extract 81: BFM3

- 250 C6: okay like the previous education system they allow us to choose er they have  
251 *dwibahasa* they have Malay with English especially for the technical lessons like  
252 science and maths they can choose to (.) use English  
253 H1: right  
254 H2: and the ones in *Bahasa*  
255 H1: uhm  
256 C6: But they can use *bahasa* the same goes for the teachers as well  
257 H1: =But in reference to national unity Shireen?  
→ 258 C6: Yah national unity (.) **they shouldn't have different schools like Chinese ur**  
259 **Tamil separately but they should have one school and give these kids the**  
260 **option ah to choose**  
261 H1: But in that one school do you think the medium of instruction should be in English  
262 or it should be in *bahasa Malaysia*?  
→ 263 C6: (.) um we can't introduce English drastically um immediately because there will be  
264 some children who are not able to communicate effectively in English especially in  
265 the rural areas they might have problems  
266 H1: Well ah thank you very much @@ Shireen we've got Samson on the line

Note: 1. *dwibahasa* refers to two languages. In this context, it refers to the instructions of using both English and Malay in the teaching of school subjects.  
2. *bahasa* refers to the Malay language.

In the above example, C6 begins her turn at talk by relating past knowledge about the education system. The term '*dwibahasa*' refers to both English and Malay languages which have been used in '*the previous education system*' as mediums of instructions in the teaching of '*technical subject's*' such as 'science and maths', and students are allowed to choose their preferred language (lines 250-252). In line 257, H1 refocuses the caller on the issue of discussion in relation to 'national unity', in which C6 responds initially with a disagreement '*shouldn't have different schools like Chinese ur Tamil separately*' and then offers a suggestion that there should be '*one school*' and the option to choose (lines 258-260). In the next turn, it is observed that the lead host still pursues on the caller's opinion on the topic, as seen in the host's attempts to relate to the caller's prior utterance of 'that one school' and thereby asks for the caller's opinion: '*do you think the medium of instruction should be in English or it should be in bahasa Malaysia?*' (lines 261-262). This shows evidence that when the host notices that a response has not been satisfactorily given, it is the predicated task of the host to question the caller further in which he does in the next turn. Notice that as evident in earlier discussions, when the caller's answer to the question given by host has been satisfactorily given, the host sees this as point for closure of the caller's turn, thus thanks the caller (line 266). Notice the caller's response to the question, in which the issue of the problem in introducing English in schools in rural areas has been brought up, as observed in earlier callers' talk.

In the example below, C8 raises issues such as the 'quality of English' taught and students who would join the workforce and their competency in the language.

Extract 82: BFM3

- 348 C8: You know education system is about quality (.) and standard (.) and that's a fact  
 349 I'm not really sure whether whether er Malay ar medium or an English medium if  
 350 its English medium (.) if its Malay medium you have to ensure that the English

- 351 taught as the quality and standard it needs to be (.) so we produce in the end (.)  
 352 either way you produce (.) students who can go out you can teach and work and  
 353 use this competency in the workplace  
 354 H2: Uhm  
 355 C8: You need to come to so many other criteria that need to look at and it has all to be  
 356 working towards (.) it's not just policy but how it is implemented and and the  
 357 approach and everyone accept the need for it and schools coming to stay that way  
 358 by ensuring that (.) the standards are such that if you want to be part of the  
 → 359 *kebangsaan* schools (.) you know you know I would opt (.) to go to *kebangsaan*  
 360 schools because I know the quality of teaching is there standard is there and when  
 361 you come out  
 362 H2: Mhm

The caller further suggests that there is a need to consider 'other criteria' and work towards not just the policy but the implementation and 'approach' by ensuring that the standards of teaching is achieved (lines 355-358). In providing a general opinion to the topic of discussion in his prior talk, the caller then moves to the next part of the discussion by presenting his own perspective on the topic, in that he would opt for national schools because of the quality and the standard of teaching (lines 359-361), thus highlighting the quality and standard of these category of schools. Earlier callers have offered a different perspective of opting for private schools than national schools by offering categories that are predicated to the topic-opinion category which include the 'quality and standard of education' and the 'racial imbalance in national schools'. So there is a different perspective offered by the caller on this topic-opinion category.

In the extract below, it is seen that the caller (C10) is in agreement with '*a few earlier callers*' who have raised issues on 'government policies' and 'the quality of education' in their talks

Extract 83: BFM3

- 440C10: Hi hi guys um you know ah like a few earlier caller have mentioned ah I only  
 441 agree when they say ah it's more or less the government and also er the quality the  
 442 thing is is is not education for national unity (.) it's education as in the progress of  
 443 uh one's mind (.) you know I mean so uh it's um really vague but again it's a part  
 444 of a bigger picture and it's what the government does and I did not hear anyone (.)  
 445 ah talk about protectionism I mean (.) Malaysia you know being a very young

446 country only fifty fifty-five years old or  
 447 H1: That's right

However, the caller shifts the focus to another aspect of the topic, that is, the issue on 'protectionism'. This aspect of the topic offers category-tied predicates to the topic-opinion category of 'English as key to national unity'. The caller offers some historical knowledge about the country by making reference to Malaysia as '*a very young country*' which has only achieved '*55 years of independence*' (lines 445-446).

In the next example, the caller (C14) offers a topic-opinion category on the suggestion of having '*bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction in the school*' and then relates this to the past that '*it has worked before*' (lines 577-578).

Extract 84: BFM3

- 577C14: now get to the point anyway what we say is (.) we can have *bahasa* Malaysia as the  
 578 medium of instruction in the school (.) it has worked before
- 579 H2: uhm
- 580C14: you can enrich English to emphasize more (.) for what I'm more worried is that er  
 581 if we have one system (.) rather than having too many Tamil schools Chinese  
 582 schools and Islamic schools and all these things
- 583 H2: uhm
- 584C14: having one system is a start um
- 585 H2: =you're worried about having one system?
- 586C14: No no no its good to have one system
- 587 H2: Oh sorry

This shows that in justifying his opinions, the caller has included category-related predicates of past events, that is, *bahasa* Malaysia has been the medium of instruction in the past but English was later introduced as the medium of instruction for technical subjects. He goes on further by offering a suggestion that English can be enriched by giving more emphasis on the subject (line 580), and personally expresses his worry about '*having too many Tamil schools Chinese schools and Islamic schools*' (lines 580-582). This shows the category of local knowledge about the many

‘vernacular schools’ that have been discussed by earlier callers in relation to the topic of discussion. However, in line 585, H2 seeks further clarification on the caller’s earlier utterance of ‘having one system’, in which the host questions the caller on his worry about ‘*having one system?*’. In the next turn, the caller defends his position by negating it, which is evident in the occurrences of ‘*no*’ in his speech and thereby supports his opinion with ‘*it’s good to have one system*’. This receives an apologetic response of ‘*oh sorry*’ by the second host in the next turn, for her misunderstanding of the caller’s views.

Another topic-opinion category of agreement with earlier callers’ views is seen in extract 85.

Extract 85: BFM3

- 606 C15: Okay first of all I agree with the previous few callers (.) er about language as a
- 607 tool for communication (.) and it’s not the end (.) thinking that (.) having
- 608 different languages or being brought up whether er different languages means
- 609 that we cannot unite (.) means that the I cannot have friends from overseas (.) but
- 610 I do have friends from overseas so it all ends up being the down quality the er
- 611 achieve or or the actual awareness or the racial based kind of policy.(.) that
- 612 actually makes the children growing up (.) to become more ra- racialistic (.) and I
- 613 believe that most ur ur ur ur minority races (.) for example
- 614 H2: Uhm
- 615 C15: They grow up to become more and more protective of their own culture their own
- 616 languages (.) because of the fe:ar and because of ur ur ur a kind of protection
- 617 against (.) the unfairness that the government is er er (.) government policy is
- 618 heading..

Here, the caller (C15) places his topic-opinion category by agreeing with earlier callers about about language as a tool for communication and the idea that having different languages may not unite the society (lines 606-613). This is in reference to earlier callers’ topic-opinion categories, who have offered category-tied predicates to the topic of discussion, which include, ‘*English used as a tool of communication*’, ‘*having different languages*’ in schools and ‘*being brought up with different languages*’ which are tied to the problem of ‘unity’ (lines 606-608). This

indicates how a caller in his topic-opinion category discursively links topics that have been generated by earlier callers. This also shows evidence on how a 'ratified' listening audience becomes a ratified speaker when he is given air-space in the programme. It also proves to show that people are 'doing listening' and are able to pick up and develop on issues that are deemed relevant to place them in a topic-opinion category to reinforce their opinions. Further evidence of other category-tied predicates related to categories offered by earlier callers that are brought into the discussion, are also reflected in caller 15's speech as seen below. For instance, the caller brings up issues on '*racial based kind of policy*' and issues on race '*children growing up (.) to become more ra racialistic*' (lines 611-613) in view of the topic-generated category on 'vernacular schools and languages'. The association with the issue on 'race' is further expanded upon by the caller when he relates them to being protective of '*their own culture their own languages*' and the unfairness of '*the government*' and government policies (lines 615-618). This shows another evidence of a caller who has related the issue on 'national unity' to 'government policies as discussed earlier in this section. It also shows the recurrence of topic-related issues of prior callers' talk, which are tied to the caller's (C15) talk. What is seen here is that callers seem to have a debate on the topic of discussion among them, though they do not interact verbally with one another. When callers associate the topic with certain aspects of the topic such as 'race' and 'government policies', it is found that these aspects are further expanded upon by subsequent callers in the episode. Thus, what is seen is that callers show further associations with the topic and offer further elaborations on the topic to justify their opinions, which then places them in a topic-category opinion of 'for' or 'against' the issue under discussion.

The last example illustrates C17's talk and the category-tied predicates of '*the government*', '*a government of a multi-racial country*' and '*a public government run the vernacular schools*' which are seen to be linked to what earlier callers have mentioned in the discussion on the topic on 'national unity'.

Extract 86: BFM3

- 696 C17: okay so that's my point so the point that's making me sad (.) is that our
- 697 government a government of a multi racial cum country
- 698 (0.2)
- 699 H2: uhm
- 700 C16: alright (.) have a public government run the vernacular schools. (.) I'm I'm just
- 701 saying it's really wrong to have er vernacular schools and I think I guess a lot of
- 702 people might might have said that.(.) alright?
- 703 H1: but you are certainly entitled to your thoughts
- 704 H2: yeah but what do you think about English medium schools (.) then do you think
- 705 English medium shouldn't be reintroduced at all?
- 706 (0.2)
- 707 C17: No I have answered before (.) *bahasa* Malaysia is already eh spoken by a
- 708 majority of Malaysians (.) *bahasa* Malaysia is the (.) er original language of the
- 709 land (.) I cannot help to see that a lot of Malaysians do not feel highly about the
- 710 [language]

Here, a strong opinion statement is offered by the caller and also his reference to prior callers' opinions: '*I'm I'm just saying it's really wrong to have er vernacular schools and I think I guess a lot of people might might have said that*' (lines 700-702). Thus, this indicates the caller's stand on the issue as well as, shows support of earlier callers' position statements with regard to the issue on '*vernacular schools*' that has been raised in the discussion on 'national unity'. This strong opinion statement is supported by the first host (H1) in the next turn, even though the contrastive discourse marker 'but' that occurs in his initial utterance does not seem to indicate that he is in favour of the opinion. In other words, in support of the notion of 'neutrality' of hosts in talk-in interactions (Hutchby, 1996), it is observed that the host does not debate or argue with the caller but seems to be in favour of the caller



presenting his views, as evident in *'but you are certainly entitled to your thoughts'* (line 703). However, in the next turn (line 704-705) the predicated task of host is evident, in which the second host (H2) who at first agrees with the caller with the affirmative token 'yeah', later redirects the caller and seeks the caller's opinion on the real issue of discussion: *'then do you think English medium shouldn't be reintroduced at all?'*. This again shows evidence that it is the predicated task of either one of the hosts of the programmes to seek the caller's stand on the issue if no indication of a clear stand is given by the caller in the on-going interactions. In other words, callers may elaborate on certain issues related to the topic of discussion or may have deviated from the topic of discussion, thus the hosts need to play the role in monitoring the talk and seek the best turn-allocation point, when given the opportunity to do so in dealing with such cases. However, what is noticeable is that the caller provides a negative *'No I have answered before'* in response to the host's request, showing indication that he does not wish to elaborate on them, as his stand on the issue has already been established in his prior utterances. He further extends his talk by emphasizing on the importance of the 'national language' and his personal view on it (lines 707-710). This indicates his stand on the importance of the 'national language' as well as his observations of the Malaysian society on the use of the national language. Even though, the caller has not indicated his stand clearly on the issue on 'English medium schools', it does seem to conclude that his opinion is in favour of the 'national language' (*bahasa Malaysia*).

Therefore, based on the six examples of callers given, it can be established that callers do not only offer their own perspectives of the issue, but also develop on other callers' opinions. These are done by further elaborating upon them by offering other category-tied predicates to the topic of discussion. For instance, new topics that

emerged in the discussion on ‘English as key to national unity’ such as ‘government policies’, ‘the national language’ and ‘vernacular schools’ among the participants in the development of their talk, thus seemed to illustrate that these exchanges of opinions are seen as a form of debate on the phone-in programme. Participants could only listen to other callers’ views when they are presented on air, and could only raise their opinions when they are given the air-space to do so. In other words, participants could agree or disagree with other callers based on issues that have been raised in the discussion to establish their topic-opinion category. What is evident here is that the points of arguments to establish their positions are based on shared local or past knowledge on the topic, thus indicating that callers speak as members of the MC ‘Malaysians’ or as a collective membership category of Malaysians. For them to be able to generate other topics in relation to the controversial local issue on ‘national unity’ thereby show collective knowledge as ‘Malaysians’ to enable them to present their views and to further justify and bolster their opinions based on the topics of discussion.

#### **5.4 Summary**

This chapter has discussed that there are layers of the sequential and categorial development of talk in the radio phone-in programmes. The sequential development of talk is seen in the participants’ turn-generated categories as observed in the predicated tasks of hosts and callers. As a member of the category ‘host’, the host questions the caller, and as a member of the category ‘caller’, the caller needs to provide a response to the question or elaborate on his/her opinion on the topic. Thus, these categorial membership activities show how turns are generated. In the development of categorial information, the categories of ‘topic-relevance’, ‘topic-opinion’ and ‘topic-generation’ are illustrated by the category-tied predicates to the

issue of discussion as well as in the category-related actions that are evident in the development of talk by the participants.

Even though opinion categories are seen as integral to the on-going flow of interaction within this type of programme, further levels of categorisation are also displayed and used by the host and callers to develop the flow of a call. As discussed earlier, topic-relevant category is also apparent within this event, in that a particular categorical identity of caller is offered in order to legitimate or authenticate a claim to topical or first-hand knowledge or experience. This layer of categorization does not replace the previous category but serves to further elaborate on topic-opinion category and related categories that the caller occupies during the course of the call. Therefore, it can be argued that once the caller is on-air and begins topical talk and discussion, it is at these two levels of categorization, that of 'topic-opinion' and 'topic-relevance', that much of the work of the radio phone-in is carried out. Callers also demonstrate shared local and experiential knowledge on the topics of discussion, and these are seen when callers extended on views that are given by earlier callers, as well as in the generation of other topical categories. In this sense, the flow of interaction within the radio phone-ins, and of making calls entertaining, relies upon the display of membership categories and the reflexive organization of predicated opinions in the development of talk.

## CHAPTER SIX

### TYPES OF INTERACTIONS IN THE RADIO PHONE-IN PROGRAMMES

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter will explore the types of interaction that are evident in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes, which addresses the third research question. Based on the presentation of opinions by participants in the programmes, the chapter examines the forms of interactions between host-caller which relates to three aspects of interactions, that is, the agreement and the disagreement-type and the neutral-type of interactions. Research on forms of interactions has been conducted on traditional radio phone-in programmes, which involve one host and a caller. For instance, Dori-Hacohen (2012) identified five types of interaction on Israeli political radio phone-in programmes, which include: the one-sided agreement and two-sided agreement-types; the one-sided disagreement and two-sided disagreement types; the neutral interactions; and the 'dialogue of the deaf'. These categories of types of interactions are related to two aspects in observing the types of interaction, that is, whether the interaction is based on agreement or disagreement and whether the participants engage each other in the interaction. The categories of interactions that are identified in the data are: one-sided agreement; two-sided agreement; two-sided disagreement; and neutral interactions. Each type of interaction will be discussed in the following sections.

As with any interactions, the phone-in programmes have opening stages and closing segments (Schegloff, 1986), however this is not discussed in the following sections. The analysis of data on the categories of interactions is only conducted on the initial sequences of interactions between the hosts and callers and also in the

development of exchanges of viewpoints during the interactions. Therefore, an interaction can move on the spectrum of the dimensions of engagement, agreement and disagreement. This chapter will discuss the different types of interactions in relation to topic-opinion categories and illustrate them with relevant examples for each type of interaction.

## **6.1 The categories of interactions in the phone-in programmes**

The categories of types of interactions that are evident in the data include: the one-sided agreement and two-sided agreement types; the two-sided disagreement types; and the neutral type of interactions. One-sided agreement interactions involve the caller doing most of the talking, the host agrees with the caller but does not elaborate on the agreement nor engage with the caller. The two-sided agreement interactions involve the caller presenting his/her opinion, in which the host agrees with the caller, extends on or adds to the topic and engages with the caller. The two-sided disagreement interactions involve the caller presenting his opinion, in which the host would disagree with him/her, which then lead to an engaged discussion about the caller's and the host's opinions. For the neutral-types of interactions, the host avoids expressing any opinion and let the caller presents his/her opinion. The different types of interactions in relation to topic-opinion categories will be discussed and illustrated with relevant examples in the following sections.

## **6.2 The agreement-types of interactions**

According to Sacks (1987), agreement in conversational exchanges is a preferred strategy, unless the preceding turn involves some sort of disapproving statement. It is an option which is available when a speaker wishes to express his/her intentions. Agreement is understood in a wide sense to include various forms of

positive orientation to the propositional content of a previous speaker's utterance. The form of linguistic agreement is related to the discourse meaning, for instance in expressing direct forms of agreement, a speaker might initially say 'yes' with a reply or acknowledgement with speaker utterance.

The agreement-types of interaction between host-caller demonstrate that the hosts do not usually create an argumentative public sphere but the goal of the interaction is to create a content for talk for the public sphere. The hosts can agree in two ways, that is, they can either state their agreement without elaborating, thus creating a one-sided agreement interaction or they can elaborate on the agreement and create a two-sided agreement. There are two dimensions of the agreement types of interactions: in the one-sided agreement, the caller does most of the talking, the host agrees with him and does not elaborate on the agreement nor engage the caller; while in the two-sided agreement, the caller presents his opinion, the host agrees with him, adds to the topic and engages in the interaction with the caller.

### 6.2.1 One-sided agreement interaction

In a one-sided agreement interaction, it is observed that the caller does most of the talking, the host agrees with the caller's opinions but does not elaborate on the agreement nor engage in the discussion with the caller. This can be illustrated in the following extracts on the topic '*English medium schools as key for national unity*'.

Extract 87: BFM3

- 948 C27: Right well I feel that er it's not much the fault of the school ah but what is  
949 being taught in the schools how things are being done in schools per say I feel  
950 that er culture and also the mentality er of the parents and whoever are taking  
951 care of the kids as they are growing up is also very important  
952 H2: Mmm  
953 C27: Now the reason I'm saying this is because (.) okay I'm the result of the  
954 *sekolah kebangsaan* kind of thing  
national school

- 955 H1: Right  
 956 C27: And I came from er you know ah twelve years or most of er Mala:y subjects  
 957 and all  
 → 958 H1: Yeah  
 959 C27: Everything was was taught taught in Malay↑ but er  
 960 *bahasa melayu saya boleh pakai la*  
 I can use the Malay language  
 961 H1: @@@  
 962 C27: so the thing is that I also come from a very very typical Chinese er (.)  
 963 background  
 964 H2: [mmm]  
 965 H1: [right]  
 966 C27: very very typical Chinese family my (.) parents were both Chinese bred.(.) but  
 967 er still a lot of people ah marvel at my command of English you know hehe  
 → 968 H2: @@@@ bless you  
 → 969 H1: @@@@ well done sir you speak very well

Extract 88: BFM3

- 992 C28: I'm a product of a vernacular school um I started out in a Tamil school  
 993 H2: Right  
 994 C28: Very remote and I completed in a: national school  
 → 995 H1: =There you go  
 996 C28: And er (.) I don't. (.) see a reason why language has to be a hindrance. (.) for  
 997 unity and I think it's already high time right now for national schools to adopt  
 998 a third language and make it compulsory  
 → 999 H1: =Hear hear  
 1000 C28: =It's a privilege for each and everyone who could speak his fellow  
 1001 Malaysian's language, I mean let's look at this ah or recall this advertisement  
 1002 by *Petronas* that was once um um an Indian guy can speak Mandarin and er a  
 1003 Chinese guy can speak ar ar Tamil  
 → 1004 H1: Yes that's the Malaysia we want right yeah  
 1005 C28: =Ya that's right that's what the new generation is looking forward  
 1006 H1: =so do you think  
 1007 C28: [Giving it]  
 1008 H1: [So with] that in mind do you think English medium schools are the way  
 1009 forward?  
 1010 (0.2)  
 1011 C28: Well (.) I don't think so it's the way forward but we should ah::: mm  
 1012 emphasize on the English language and the also ah::: enforce the usage of  
 1013 English as much as we can in schools...

Note: *Petronas* refers to a Malaysian oil and gas company that is wholly owned by the Government of Malaysia.

Affirmative tokens such as 'yeah', 'right' or 'yes' show that participants are in agreement with the interlocutors' prior statements or to yes/no questions (Sacks, 1987). For instance, in extract 95, the hosts agree with the caller's (C27) statements with affirmative tokens such as 'yeah', 'right' when the caller relates some educational and social background about himself (lines 956, 959, 962). The use of

affirmative tokens such as, *'yeah'* and *'right'* in showing agreement with caller's prior talk, also indicates shared knowledge of the host with the caller, that is, about the education system in Malaysia, in which students have to go through 12 years of education in the national language 'Malay', thus relating to the particular system within that particular period. The host (H1) finally ends the interaction with acknowledgement tokens of agreement such as *'bless you'* and *'well done sir you speak very well'* (lines 968-969). In a way the host is agreeing that despite the caller coming from a *'typical Chinese family'* and being *'Chinese-bred'* and had a fully Malay education background, the host agrees that C27 could speak English well (line 969).

In another related case (extract 88), the host agrees by uttering *'hear hear'* to C28's earlier argument that a third language should be incorporated into the school system and further allows the caller to elaborate on his opinion (line 999). The host further agrees with the caller's account on the advertisement by Petronas that depicts Malaysians talking in languages other than their own: *'an Indian guy can speak mandarin and er a Chinese guy can speak ar ar Tamil'* (lines 1000-1003). This is evident in the host's utterance: *'yes that's the Malaysia we want right'* (line 1004), thereby showing agreement to the caller's prior utterance of *'everyone who could speak his fellow Malaysian's language'* and also to the *'advertisement'* as described by the caller. Here, even though the caller has expressed his opinions earlier on the topic of discussion, the host will still bring the talk to the real issue of discussion and ask the caller's opinion explicitly: *'So with/ that in mind do you think English medium schools are the way forward?'* (lines 1008-1009). Therefore, with reference to the caller's earlier discussion, C28 is able to justify his opinion by disagreeing that



English medium schools is not the way forward but further emphasizes that schools should enforce the usage of English as much as possible (lines 1011-1012).

Thus, in the one-sided agreement-type of interactions, the host only provides some affirmative tokens to indicate his agreement in response to callers' prior statements but does not elaborate on the agreement.

### 6.2.2 Two-sided agreement interaction

In a two-sided agreement interaction, the caller presents his opinion, the host agrees with him, adds to the topic and engages in the interaction with the caller. Samples of these types of interactions are illustrated on the topic on '*Women in decision-making*'.

Extract 89: BFM5

- 234 H1: I see that you are @ we've got Koldit on the line. Hi koldit, what do you say?  
235 C2: Hi (.) I thought I should answer the lack of the statistic of women responded-  
236 H1: [Weyhey ]  
237 H2: [Yay, thank you!]  
238 H1: Thank you, yes. So what do you think, is he (.) do you think enough has been done I  
239 guess on a societal level as well as the governmental level?  
240 C2: (.) I suppose there are number of initiatives that people can use as a resource if they  
241 want to get ahead but (.) critical thing is women have got to want it.  
242 H2: Uh-huh  
→ 243 C2: And they've got to push the envelope a little harder than they have in the past. See I  
244 I I as a teacher educator (.) I get people coming to me (.) women mainly having and  
245 saying I want to be a teacher because it is a suitable job for a woman.-  
246 H2: Uh-huh  
247 C2: And er::  
248 H1: =And I guess that level of indoctrination still happens on a parental level (.) right?  
249 C2: Well, perhaps the issue then is parenting that I was going to talk about hmm we had  
250 a conversation amongst academics a few days ago and we talked about what is it that  
251 you can tell your children that would uh help them grow and and realize their  
252 potential? Er:: and I think one of the things that we have to stop say to the girls child  
253 (.) you cannot because you're a girl-  
254 H1: Right-  
255 C2: =And and that's the root of it. It's it is a mental framework (.) it's a worldview that  
256 we are fighting. And as long as that full indoctrination as you put it continues (.)  
257 then we not going to have women wanting it and err recently I read a book called

258 H1: Lean In-  
 259 C2: Yeah  
 260 =I'm sure many Malaysians are familiar with that and er: you know they it also talks  
 261 a lot about women hmm sort of leaning in to the workplace moving forward (.) take  
 262 opportunities working through (.) So, you know the government can do a lot that can  
 263 be a lot of women groups but women themselves have got to want it (.) they got to  
 → 264 H1: want to climb the ladder (.) they've got-  
 265 H2: [Absolutely right]-  
 266 [Now, if I were ] were to ask you to put a percentage to how many women you  
 267 think want it and how many percentage of women do not want it? You you can just  
 268 C2: use your circle of friends as an example or just the people that you know  
 269 H2: I think I put it at 30 percent-  
 270 C2: =So-  
 271 And that's a very liberal xxx I'd say in actual fact I know 20 to 25 percent of women  
 272 who really really want it and then maybe another 10 to 15 percent who would say  
 273 H2: well (.) if it's there I would give it a shot-  
 274 Err a very quickly (.) for the women who really want it (.) are the opportunities there  
 275 C2: for them you think?  
 276 H2: Well, yes (.) In the same way they are there for the [men so]-  
 277 [So, when it] comes to the  
 278 C2: corporate world (.) to the working world (.) you think it's a level playing field?  
 279 Hmm not in terms of the prospection that a lot of people have about women's in  
 280 faculty in number of different areas er: but definitely in terms of what exists for them  
 281 H2: to take advantage of.  
 Alright.

In line 243, C2 acknowledges that he is a '*teacher educator*', thus indicating an occupational category, and relates an account of the gender category of '*women*' who come to him '*saying that they want to be a teacher because it is a suitable job for a woman*' (lines 243-245). This is followed by H1's support of agreement to C2's view '*that level of indoctrination still happens on a parental level*' and thereby allows the caller to further pursue his opinion. The use of '*right*' as a discourse marker indicates the host's agreement to the caller's prior talk. This receives an agreement from C2 who further elaborates the discussion on the issue. In line with the issue of parenting, C2 further goes on to say that parents should help their children '*to grow*' and '*to realize their potential*' and parents should stop saying to '*their girls*' that they can't do certain things because they are girls (lines 249-253). Here, it is observed that the host would develop further discussion in agreement with the caller. Further

discussion ensues in the episode in which the caller goes on to suggest that the government can do a lot to this specific gender group (lines 259-263). An overlap from both hosts occur in lines 264-265, in which one of the hosts provides an affirmative agreement and which the other host questions the caller further *'if I were were to ask you to put a percentage to how many women you think want it and how many percentage of women do not want it'* in relation the caller's prior talk on *'to climb the ladder'*. The caller responds to the host's question and further justifies his statement by providing some statistics to indicate his local knowledge of the issue based on indication of *'actual facts'* (lines 270-272). This segment shows that in engaging the caller and thereby agreeing with the caller's arguments, the host will further put forward questions to seek further clarification from the caller on his viewpoints. In other words, in agreeing with the caller's viewpoints and developing them, the hosts engage with the caller and encourage the caller to further provide justifications for his opinion.

Another related case of a two-sided agreement is seen in the following segment.

Extract 90: BFM5

- 382 C5: To answer the topic today, I just like to say that no (.) we're not doing enough for  
 383 women in the workforce-  
 384 H1: Uh-hh  
 385 C5: And by we (.) I mean not just the government, employers, or company but also  
 386 spouses and family institution.  
 387 H1: Alright-  
 388 H2: Would you care to elaborate?  
 389 C5: Yea, you see one of the main reasons why generally women tend to leave workplace  
 390 because the (.)of the family is so strong-  
 → 391 H2: Yeah-  
 392 C5: It is somehow conventionally expected of women to take care of the children, to do  
 393 the house chores, to cook, to clean-  
 → 394 H1: Right-  
 395 H2: Uh-huh

- 396 C5: Can you imagine a person who has to work for 12 hours a day to come-  
→ 397 H1: Having to come home and yeah-  
→ 398 C5: =Exactly. So think that one of the reasons sorry one of the ways that women can be  
399 encouraged to err sorry to spend more time in work is by having spouses and family  
400 institution to not have the expectation that women should do everything at home  
401 H1: And is that, do you think that's these kind of I guess cultural shackles we need to  
402 break? Or do you think that it happens well, even in the West?  
403 C5: Well, I do believe that it happens worldwide not just here in the country and I  
404 recognize that it will take time this kind of mindset to change, but I think that that is  
405 also one of the reasons that we need to focus on not just to put the entire-  
→ 406 H2: Burden  
407 C5: =Entire blame to the government or to the employers

Other than the routine acknowledgement of caller's talk of 'yeah' and 'right' (lines 391, 394), the host offers a brief continuation of C5's talk with '*having to come and yeah*' in agreement with C5's account of a woman having to come home after a 12-hour day at work and also to caller's prior talk on the expectations of the role of the gender category of 'women' (lines 392-393). Earlier discussions on membership categories have focussed on ethnic and social categories and the category-related predicates associated with them (section 5.3.1.3). The example here shows how a caller ascribes category-related predicates to a specific gender category with relevance to the topic of discussion. An affirmative agreement of 'exactly' from C5 shows agreement with host's prior talk in which the caller further elaborates on her argument on the expectations that '*women should do everything at home*' (lines 398-400). It is noticeable that there are a lot of occurrences of repairs in C5's utterances in which she provides '*one of the reasons*' and later utters an apologetic statement followed by '*one of the ways*'. The caller again provides an apologetic token 'sorry' to her earlier statement of '*can be encouraged*' and corrects her statement to that women can spend more time at work by providing the MC of '*spouses*' and the '*family institution*' and the expectations that '*women should do everything at home*'. On this note, the host further questions the caller on whether these kinds of '*cultural shackles*' need to be broken and whether it only happens in the '*West*'. The question posed by host (H1)

shows indication that the host is in agreement with the caller's view, which he regards them as '*cultural shackles*'. Thus, it is found that an agreement with the caller's position will develop further engagement of talk to seek further justification of the caller's viewpoint as seen in lines 403-405. In line 406, the host's (H2) offer of the lexical item '*burden*' to complete the caller's prior statement is quickly rejected by the caller, which is seen when the caller latches in and considers it as '*entire claim*'. This shows evidence that when hosts show agreement with caller's views, the hosts will further engage in the discussion with the caller in pursuing the same line of argument on the topic of discussion.

Another example of a two-sided agreement is shown below in which the topic concerns 'table manners'.

Extract 91: LFM1

- 260 C4: Well I grew up like uh having proper table manners, you know my  
 261 mom was very particular when it comes to uh table ↑manners  
 262 H2: =[Yeah]  
 263 H1: =[O:kay]  
 264 C4: So uh sh- she you know, no reaching across, say please and thank  
 265 you when you're passing the meals you know, when I came back  
 266 to Malaysia (.) uh living overseas for (.) a couple of years (.) all of a  
 267 sudden, table manners just went off, you know what they say, do  
 268 as the Romans do  
 269 H2: [↑What?]  
 270 C4: [I mean I feel,] yeah, I feel Malaysians they're eating with their  
 271 hands right? For example you go to an Indian restaurant and they  
 272 have Indian food, everyone's eating with their hands, you know,  
 273 enjoying their meal  
 → 274 H2: ↓right  
 275 C4: you can't sit there with the fork and knife  
 276 H2: [@@@]  
 277 H1: [@@@]  
 278 C4: I'm sure you understand, having having fried chicken with fork  
 279 and spoon is impossible [isn't it]  
 280 H2: [@@@]  
 → 281 H1: You can never get the good pieces [@@@]  
 282 C4: [Exactly, you know]  
 → 283 H2: So you sort of sort of just follow suit *la*, you came back to  
 284 Malaysia, you thought okay, I don't really need to have (.) this table  
 285 [manners °all the time°]  
 286 C4: [Yes exactly,] I realize that I don't have to put on a fake show you

In the caller's (C4) initial turns, the caller provides an account of her background in which 'table manners' is adhered to closely in her family, which the caller thereby provides category-tied predicates to table manners: '*no reaching across*', '*say please and thank you when you're passing the meals*' (lines 264-266). She develops her turn further by providing an account that she has been '*living overseas for a couple of years*' and goes on to elaborate how '*table manners just went off*' when she comes back to her home country. This seems to imply that the caller observed 'table manners' when she was 'living overseas', which is the expectation of the society there, but back in her home country 'table manners' is not necessarily an expectation, as the caller elaborates in her speech: '*do as the Romans do*' (lines 264-268). This receives an acknowledgement of surprise by H2 as evident in H2's utterance of '*what*' to show disbelief in the caller's earlier statement that '*table manners just went off*'. In further justifying her account, the caller provides shared knowledge that '*Malaysians are eating with their hands*' and that it is normal for Malaysians to eat with their hands in Indian restaurants to enjoy their meal (lines 270-273). In line 274, the affirmative token '*right*' thus shows H1 is in agreement with the caller. After receiving some laughter from both hosts on the caller's argument on '*you can't sit there with the fork and knife*' in an Indian restaurant, the caller further elaborates on her point of argument, that is, it is impossible to eat '*fried chicken with fork and spoon*'. This statement is supported by H1 which is evident in the host's utterance of '*you can never get the good pieces*' (line 281). In the caller's next turn, it is observed that the caller agrees with the host with '*exactly you know*'. Following this agreement token, the host somehow adds on to the caller's argument that has been presented earlier, that is, '*to follow suit*' and agree with the caller's opinion that table

manners do not have to be observed all the time (lines 283-285). This further receives an agreement of '*yes exactly*' from the caller, in which the caller goes on to provide her own personal perspective on the issue: '*I realize that I don't have to put on a fake show*' (line 286-287).

Though agreements are not explicitly stated in the examples of interactions given, the hosts can create a two-sided agreement interaction. In these interactions, the hosts agree with the callers and indicate that the topics or opinions raised are important and worthwhile in the development of talk. It is observed that after listening to the callers' opinions, the hosts agree with them on the issues raised and expand on the topic, thus further allow the caller to develop the interaction. In a two-sided agreement interaction, hosts accept and agree with the callers' claims on certain issues, for instance on 'gender issues related to women' or on 'table manners', as discussed in the earlier extracts. On top of this agreement, hosts may expand on the topic and provide their own perspectives of the issue at hand. Thus, the agreement may be based on the mutual engagement of both participants with the topic at hand. Thus, a dialogue between host-caller evolves around the caller's issues and this dialogue is based upon agreement between the two participants.

One-sided and two-sided agreement interactions share some benefits of radio-phone-ins. For instance, agreements in interactions lead to smoother interactions, and therefore these interactions are easier for the hosts to manage. The agreement-type of interactions in the phone-in programmes also seem to indicate that Malaysian callers are not argumentative. Therefore, these agreements show that hosts do not feel obligated to create disagreement with radio callers for entertainment reasons. Unlike research on radio phone-in interactions (Goldberg, 1998; Blondheim and Dori-Hacohen, 2002; Dori-Hacohen, 2011), in which the entertaining goal of the

programme is argumentative, the entertaining goal in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes is primary to the conversational goal. The argumentative goal plays a secondary role or position in Malaysian radio phone-in interactions. These agreement interactions also show that the institutional setting influences the interaction.

### **6.3 The disagreement-types of interactions**

Another way a speaker has for expressing his/her intentions is through a disagreement. Disagreement is considered a dispreferred “second action” (Sacks, 1987; Pomerantz, 1984) and in most cases involve expressions of a different viewpoint with respect to a speaker’s preceding utterance (Auer, 1984; Maschler 1994). In contrast with the strategies of agreement, disagreement is preferably expressed indirectly where a variety of different linguistic resources may be used to mitigate or reduce the threat of a negative reply (Brown and Levinson, 1987). While a hearer’s disagreeing orientation to the preceding utterance can be observed in the content of his/her reply, one must also look at the language choice for negotiating this meaning. Pomerantz (1984) views a disagreement as a dispreferred move, and when a dispreferred move occurs, it is marked in a linguistic sense in some way. For example, agreements can occur quickly, but disagreements are often delayed within a turn. In interactions, disagreements can be explored in two dimensions, that is, whether it is a one-sided disagreement or a two-sided disagreement. In one-sided disagreement interaction, the host does not have the opportunity to express his disagreement with the caller because the caller does not allow him to talk; whilst in a two-sided disagreement, the caller presents his opinion and the host challenges the caller (Dori-Hacohen, 2011). However, the one-sided disagreement-type is not present in the Malaysian phone-in data. This goes to show that callers understand that the hosts have an institutional position and thus are of the view that the interactions have to be a two-



sided dialogue. This shows that in a talk show, a two-sided interaction is preferred or required and if the demand is not met, the host has a role to terminate the interaction. The host's inability to create a two-sided interaction illustrates that even though he is the host he does not have the ability to control the interaction. Therefore, the only additional power that the host has is to disconnect the caller. It also suggests that in cases such as these, the caller has violated the norms of the interactions, and that the host should take action if they occur. This highlights the norms of the programmes, that is, callers should answer hosts' questions and create two-sided interactions. In one-sided disagreement interactions, callers will get on the programme in order to express their opinions, but do not give the opportunity for the host to challenge them. Even when the host challenges them, these callers will dismiss the challenge as irrelevant or disregard them (Dori-Hacohen, 2011). Callers who talk and create one-sided disagreement interactions consider their opinions as correct, and thus would not allow their opinions to be discredited. Therefore, the absence of this type of one-sided interaction in the Malaysian phone-in programmes shows that callers understand the norms of the programmes, in which callers need to interact with the hosts, and create two-sided interactions.

### **6.3.1 Two-sided disagreement interactions**

The two-sided disagreement interactions that are present in the data consist of interactions in which a caller presents his opinion and the host challenges the caller. In this type of interaction, the challenge is met by the caller, who can stand by his opinion, cooperatively challenge the host, or at times accept the point. The disagreement may be based on the host's opinion and knowledge of local issues or facts as he rejects the caller's position.

The following interaction illustrates a two-way disagreement interaction about the removal of the race box in official forms so that all Malaysians could be categorized as '*bangsa Malaysia*' or 'Malaysian race' rather than being categorized under the different ethnic groups. Earlier discussions have shown the two-way disagreement interactions (Section 5.3.2, extract 81, 83) found in the data.

The following example shows how the host challenges the caller on the issue of joining a race-based political party.

Extract 92: BFM1

- 230 C4: Er okay when when you want to join er for example a: race-based political party  
 231 you have to be from one race right? and there are er for example if you want to  
 232 buy a house and there must be there are a 7 per cent *bumiputera* discount and so  
 233 on right?  
 234 H1: Correct  
 235 C4: So there must be some kind of a reference whether you are eligible for that or not  
 236 hh and then er even for if you want to  
 237 (0.2)  
 → 238 H1: Now Ah Hazli just to to stop you right there I mean you say I mean I understand  
 239 with regards to the purchase of property those er considerations involved but if  
 240 you want to join hh a a political party I don't think er it is necessary I mean it is  
 241 your prerogative whether you want to join a race-based party or hh or a party that  
 242 has no..ah I guess ah no focus on race  
 243 (0.2).  
 → 244 C4: Okay okay okay and then er for example ya er we have religious er regulations  
 245 right? some muslims cannot enter: in er: some kind of er for example casino and  
 246 then they cannot er: buy er er er this what they call beer and so on right? so if  
 247 how how are they going to er: enforce↑ if let's say somebody caught and then the  
 248 er  
 249 H1: =How do feel about individual accountability and responsibility?  
 250 C4: Ya I know I know is this is bad why I say this before we can do that before we  
 251 can accomplish all of this a lot of things have to be done have to have to we have  
 252 to look into↑  
 → 253 H2: So Hazli let me ask you this do you think by keeping this race hh category uh you  
 254 know in these forms do you think it actually supports and and the I guess makes  
 255 things easier to identify ah these problems?  
 256 (0.2)  
 257 C4: um I er I I don't but but it think be before we do that there are a lot of things that  
 258 have to be done first  
 259 H1: Alright alright thank you very much Hazli we're going to move on to our next  
 caller Budi is on the line [hi Budi]

The challenge by the lead host (H1) to the caller's (C4) earlier statements begins in line 238, when the host stops the caller from continuing his talk *'Now ah Hazli just to to stop you right there'* and expresses his disagreement *'I don't think er it is necessary'* to the caller's view on joining *'a race-based political party'* and the issue of one's *'prerogative'* whether to join such *'a party'* (lines 238-242). After a short pause, the caller accepts the argument with tokens of *'okay'*. However, the caller remains firm in his argument and continues his talk by providing another example of *'religious regulations'* by offering category-related predicates to the social category of *'Muslims'* and how the regulations are going to be enforced if someone gets caught (lines 244-247). It is observed that the co-host (H2) is only able to have a turn at talk after a series of turns between C4 and H1 and questions the caller on his opinion on the individual's *'accountability and responsibility'* (line 249). In response to H2's statement, the caller admits that *'this is bad'* referring to this type of regulation but again emphasizes on the fact that a lot of things have to be looked into before such things could be accomplished (lines 250-252). Following this argument, the host further asks the caller's opinion on whether it will support and *'make things easier to identify these problems'* in *'keeping this race category'*, thus relating to the topic of discussion on *'removing the race category'*. Even though there is a lot of hesitations on the caller's part in responding to the host, the caller remains firm in his argument that *'there are a lot of things that have to be done first'* (lines 256-257), which shows a repetition of his earlier statement.

In this segment, even though the host poses questions and arguments about the *'race category'* in disagreeing with the caller's views, the caller keeps his ground and bases his opinion on issues that need to be considered before something could be implemented. The caller does not explicitly state his opinion on the issue nor

challenge the host but remains firm on his arguments. Therefore, in a two-sided disagreement that is observed in this episode, the disagreements come from both the host's and caller's perspectives, even though the opinions are not implicitly stated in their talk. It is found that (as discussed in Chapter five), when hosts sense that the caller is not developing the talk further on the issue of discussion, the hosts see this as an indication for a point of closure, thus the call is terminated.

The following interaction focuses on the same topic of discussion and there is evidence to show the occurrence of a two-sided disagreement between the host and caller. The two-sided disagreement shows how the host tries to get the caller to be clearer in his arguments by challenging the caller.

Extract 93: BFM1

- 469 C10: Why (.) are we so worried about ticking er the race column you have already  
 470 separated us from our childhood we go to separate schools systems (.) for eleven  
 471 years. (.) from standard one to form five  
 → 472 H1: =So sorry when you say separated meaning er that everyone is going to their own  
 473 respective vernacular [schools?]  
 474 C10: [for myself] is that we are the only country on earth that have  
 475 a separate schools system and when we are separated from schools (.) separated  
 476 literally speaking  
 477 H1: Mhm  
 478 C10: I mean that we do not know the Malay do not know the Chinese and the Chinese  
 479 also do not know them the Malays or the Indians, likewise the Indians also we  
 480 don't have the idea about the Malays or the Chinese (.) we are separated from  
 481 schools why honest we are, so what idea is this that we have to er remove the race  
 → 482 H1: column↑  
 483 sorry ah ah I I'm a bit confused I understand the fact that you're saying we're  
 484 separated anyway so your point is that if we remove the race column that it doesn't  
 485 matter anyway?  
 486 C10: (0.2)  
 487 H2: We're missing the bigger picture that is just the er  
 488 C10: =Window dressing  
 489 official column that is not a window dressing all other countries they have like in  
 → 490 H1: America they have Latino, Asians, Americans hh ah of course there'll [be ways]  
 491 [I think the]  
 492 C10: issue is how it is use:d Shamsul  
 493 Er the issue is our prejudice because actually there's the truth about that from what  
 494 I see is that is not the (.) you see er here it all comes in a package if for example we  
 495 said oh why not we just remove the race column (.) other communities may not like  
 496 it because they see this just like er: an attempt from from their perspectives (0.2) to  
 497 like for example to abolish their rights I'm I'm talking about the Malay

498 H2: communi[ty]  
 500 [I ] understand where you're coming from so Shamsul, what would you  
 501 C10: like to see what do you think would be a useful solution there  
 502 Okay the useful solution is that we have to be honest with ourselves (.) that one of  
 503 the key problems is that we: we live separately because we go to the separate  
 504 school system and because we go to separate school system (.) we do not know  
 505 H2: each other anymore [like]  
 506 C10: [But]  
 → 507 H1: Thirty years ago  
 508 But based on that theory everyone went to national schools in the past couple of  
 509 generations then wouldn't have this problem  
 510 C10: (0.2)  
 511 No we wouldn't have this problem in because thirty years ago I have a Chinese  
 512 H1: friend a Malay friend um an Indian [friend]  
 513 [But] Shamsul I have Malay Chinese and  
 514 Indian friends you know does it really reflect which school I went to?  
 515 C10: (0.2)  
 516 My point is that when we go to separate school separate school system↑ we we  
 517 seldom mix with other races and the main thing when we seldom mix with other  
 518 H1: races↑ we do not know the:m↑  
 519 =I don't I don't disagree with you on that point Shamsul look now this the second  
 520 caller now that we've had with regards to putting really the focus on a lot of folks  
 521 going to vernacular schools and that everybody attending a single school system of  
*sekolah kebangsaan* so to speak  
 national school

In the caller's initial turn, the caller expresses his disagreement with his concern about '*ticking the race column*'. The caller associates his worry by using the indexical expression 'we' to show 'speaker inclusive' and those who are undergoing the same problem on the '*separate school system*' and the experience (lines 469-471). There is an occurrence of an interruptive turn by H1 who queries the caller's use of '*separated*' and asking for clarification '*when you say separated meaning er that everyone is going to their own respective vernacular [schools]*' (lines 472-473). This brings the topic on '*vernacular schools*' into the discussion even though the caller does not specify on the issue in his prior talk. Even though it is observed that the caller does not actually respond to the host's query but presents his own opinion (*for myself*), and further continues his argument based on world knowledge that Malaysia is '*the only country on earth that have a separate schools system*' (lines 474-476). The caller further clarifies that he meant that people are literally separated. This is

further seen in his arguments when he offers the different ethnic categories (*Chinese, Indians and Malays*) as being '*separated from schools*' and thus expresses his disapproval by questioning the idea of removing the race column: '*what idea is this that we have to er remove the race column*' (lines 478-481). In the next turn, H1 again uses the apologetic token '*sorry*' and admits his confusion by further seeking clarification on the caller's argument: '*sorry ah ah I I'm a bit confused I understand the fact that you're saying we're separated anyway so your point is that if we remove the race column that it doesn't matter anyway?*' (lines 482-484). This shows that the host is trying to seek the point of argument of the caller, thus implying the caller's argument that it would not make a difference if the 'race column' is removed. In response to the host's query, the caller assumes that the host does not understand his line of argument (*we are missing the bigger picture*) but his hesitations in continuing with his talk calls for an opinion from H2 as evident in her statement of '*window dressing*' (line 486). However, the caller rejects H2's offer of an opinion and stands by his argument that it is an '*official column that is not a window dressing*' and further provides justifications on the issue of 'race' in official columns by associating this with other countries like in 'America' (lines 488-489). There is an occurrence of overlapping turns between the caller and H1 which H1 then expresses his disagreement to the caller's prior statements, and clarifies his perspective on the issue on '*how it is used*' (lines 489-490). In addressing the caller's name '*Shamsul*', it is shown that the host is quite firm with his stand. It is observed further how the caller stands by his opinion by shifting the focus to the issue of '*prejudice*' and thereby offers category-related predicates on the '*Malay community*' with reference to the '*rights*' of this particular category (lines 491-496).

Another point of disagreement is seen in lines 507-508, when H1 challenges the caller by making reference to the caller's *'theory'* that people who have gone through different school system do not know one another. The host questions the caller on whether people who had gone *'to national schools in the past couple of generations then wouldn't have this problem'*. In response to the host's statement, the caller indicates his agreement that problems did not occur but further offers his own personal experience to support his opinions (lines 510-511). An interruptive turn ensues next in which H1 offers a personal perspective to the caller's earlier arguments. The use of the contrastive device *'but'* and in addressing the caller's name *'Shamsul'* further illustrate that the host does not quite accept the caller's arguments. This is further seen in his defence of his arguments: *'Shamsul I have Malay Chinese and Indian friends you know does it really reflect which school I went to'* (lines 512-513). Following this challenge, the caller pursues his argument further thus defending his earlier arguments on *'separate school system'* and the issue of not mingling with other races (lines 515-517). This reflects how a caller will still pursue on his position even though the host challenges or questions him with reference to his earlier statements.

This episode shows an example on how the topic of discussion on *'removing the race box'* may develop into another angle of discussion on *'vernacular schools'* as discussed in chapter five. It is shown that upon termination of the call as evident in lines 518-521, the host states his opinion as *'I don't disagree'*. Here, it does not clearly specify the host's opinion to the caller's views, but somehow implies that he agrees with the caller. However, the shift in focus as seen in the use of the device *'now'* which he then addresses the radio audience and the second host, and the reformulation of the caller's view clearly demonstrates his agreement that the issue of

the removal of the '*race column*' can be somehow related to '*vernacular schools*' and the '*separate school system*' (lines 515-518). As earlier discussions have shown, the host only indicates his agreement or disagreement to the caller's view upon the termination of the call. However, this segment has shown how a host may use his own opinion to challenge the caller's views, as well as, how a caller can remain firm in his arguments, thus create a two-sided disagreement that is based on the participants' opinions.

What is evident in the data is that, there are no major disagreements in the interactions between the hosts and callers on topics and opinions. The hosts play the institutional role in clarifying certain issues or challenging the callers when callers are not clear in their statements. However, the hosts try to stop callers from pursuing their arguments further when the callers attempt to speak on certain issues that may be sensitive, for instance, when callers talk about the rights of a certain community. This is seen by the quick attempt by host to not pursue the issue further, that is, by refocussing the caller to the topic of discussion or asking the caller on the solution to the problem.

#### **6.4 The neutral interaction**

Hutchby (1996) demonstrates that in radio phone-in programmes in England, hosts follow the journalistic ethos and try to avoid expressing their opinions. The journalistic ethos establishes that journalists should not express their opinion, as manifested in the neutrality presented in journalistic interviews (Clayman 1989; Clayman and Heritage, 2002). Thus, the hosts only respond to any opinion that the caller presents without expressing their opinions. In a lot of cases in the data, the hosts present neutrality by using phrases that put the caller's opinion at the centre of



the interaction. For instance, when the caller presents his opinion, the hosts accept answers with continuers or affirmative markers (Schegloff 1982) and does not engage or show any substantive reaction to that answer. In some cases, they use several footing measures to distance themselves from an opinion or a view (Clayman 1988; Clayman and Heritage, 2002). The following episodes show the hosts' use of continuers or affirmative markers when accepting answers from callers. The topic revolves on 'English as the medium of instruction'.

Extract 94: BFM3

- 118 C1: Well uh a single language as the medium not so many of er varieties of national-type  
119 schools  
→ 120 H2: Mhm  
121 C1: Unfortunately (.) I don't quite see (.) I'm not optimistic that we're going to.(.) use  
122 this recipe though although everyone knows that this a problem and er the solutions  
123 for it  
124 (0.4)  
→ 125 H2: [Ri:ght]  
126 H1: [Ri:ght] but but why do you say that (.) do you think um that somehow hh things in  
127 the past when the language the medium of instruction was in English were better?  
128 (0.2)  
129 C1: Ya yah I mean er (.) we can't really compa:re with the past so much there's er they  
130 are really er (.) of course we can see that er ah people of different races who a:re in  
131 their 60s or 70s (.) they (.) they they seem to have um better access to what  
132 Malaysians is about compared to now?  
→ 133 H1: Hh yes  
→ 134 H2: [and? ]  
135 C1: =[but] but I mean I don't know whether it's fair at the same time to compare you  
136 know we did talk about this comparison to the 60s and the 70s and you know eh er  
137 times have cha:nged there are different environ (.) mental factors at play aren't  
138 there?  
→ 139 H1: [Yeah]  
140 C1: [we ] should change for a better but we are actually regressing that we become more  
141 (.) more communal now people ah you know (.) we're identifying ourselves (.)  
142 educating ourselves (.) choosing the type of (.) not just language education but also  
143 schools. (.) er causing to our er you know our religion and racial identity (.) so it's  
144 not the right way *la* and then and when I discussed with my friends you know we  
145 realised that er the (.) the source of the problem is very much because of the  
146 different types of (.) schoo:ls (.) and er language of instructions you know

In this interaction, the caller does not feel optimistic about having a single language that is, English as a medium of instruction in national-type schools, referring to this as '*this recipe*' and further argues that everyone (with reference to Malaysians)

knows that this is a problem and the need to find '*solutions for it*' (lines 118-119, 121-123). The host initially challenges the caller by questioning his opinion (*why do you say that*) and then shifts the topic to asking the caller's opinion on whether things were better in the past '*when the language the medium of instruction was in English were better*' (lines 126-127). In responding to the host's question the caller admits that it is difficult to compare with the past because '*people of different races who a:re in their 60s or 70*' *seem to have better access to what Malaysian have now* (lines 129-132). H1 gives an affirmative '*yeah*' in response to the caller's argument but H2 offers a continuer '*and*' to allow the caller to continue with his speech (lines 134 & 135). With a lot of hesitations in his speech, the caller claims that it is difficult to make comparisons to the 60s and 70s because there are different environmental factors to consider and thereby ends his speech by seeking agreement from the hosts with '*aren't there?*' (lines 135-138). The use of the affirmative device '*yeah*' by H1 thus shows agreement to the caller's views. This then allows the caller to continue with his opinion in that he feels that people should change for the better and further provides the category of people becoming '*more communal*'. The caller offers category-related predicates to the category of people that have become more communal, such as '*identifying ourselves*', '*educating ourselves*', '*the type of language education and schools*' and '*religion and racial identity*' to elaborate on this membership category. The caller then presents his final argument in his turn at talk by presenting a more personal approach, by relating that '*his friends*' were also of the opinion that the '*source of the problem is very much because of the different types of.. schoo:ls.. and language of instructions*' (lines 144-146), thus placing this category of people who are of the same opinion as his. Therefore, in this sample the host accepts the caller's answers with affirmative devices and continuers and does not engage or

show any substantive reaction to that answer. In avoiding any kind of opinions, the host only questions the caller so as to enable the caller to elaborate on his arguments.

Another example of the neutral-type of interaction is seen in the following example. The topic of discussion also centres on having English as the medium of instruction in national-type schools.

Extract 95: BFM3

- 244 H1: Well we've got Shireen on the line  
 245 H2: Hi Shireen  
 246 H1: Hi Shireen  
 247 C6: Hi um (0.5) this is about being ah I'm going for the English medium schools because  
 248 er actually we shouldn't like give er we should give options (.)  
 249 H2: Mhm  
 250 C6: okay like the previous education system they allow us to choose er they have  
 251 *dwibahasa*  
 dual languages  
 252 they have Malay with English especially for the technical lessons like science and  
 253 maths they can choose to (.) use English  
 → 254 H1: right  
 255 H2: and the ones in *Bahasa* (Malay)  
 → 256 H1: Uhm  
 257 C6: But they can use *bahasa* (Malay) the same goes for the teachers as well  
 → 258 H2: =But in reference to national unity Shireen ↑  
 259 C6: Yah national unity (.) they shouldn't have different schools like Chinese ur Tamil  
 260 separately but they should have one school and give these kids the option ah to  
 261 choose  
 → 262 H1: But in that one school do you think the medium of instruction should be in English  
 263 or it should be in *bahasa Malaysia*?  
 264 C6: (.) Um we can't introduce English drastically um immediately because there will be  
 265 some children who are not able to communicate effectively in English especially in  
 266 the rural areas they might have problems  
 267 H1: Well ah thank you very much @@ Shireen we've got Samson on the line

In the initial caller's turn, the caller states her opinion that she agrees with having English medium schools and suggests that options should be given. The caller elaborates further by making reference to the previous education system which allow dual languages (*dwibahasa*) to be used in the system, specifically for '*technical lessons like science and maths*' (lines 252-253). In line 254, H2 queries the caller about lessons in Malay (*bahasa*), in which the caller responds to the query and elaborates that teachers also have the options of teaching subjects in whichever

languages they prefer. In line 258, there is an attempt by the host to bring the caller to the focus of the discussion, that is, by questioning the caller on the topic on 'national unity'. This brings the caller to disagree with having vernacular schools (different schools like Chinese and Tamil) and offers her opinion that there should only be one school and students should be given the option to choose (lines 259-261). In lines 262-263, the host again directs the caller to the topic of discussion by questioning and seeking further clarification on the caller's opinion on whether the medium of instruction should be in Malay or English in the '*one school*' as mentioned earlier by the caller. This turns the focus to another aspect of the topic in which the caller does not provide a direct answer to the host's question. With some hesitations in the caller's answer, the caller affirms that English cannot be introduced drastically because they may be problems, thus providing reference to '*rural areas*' where children will not be able to communicate effectively in English (lines 264-266). Therefore, this interaction shows that the hosts do not engage in any substantive reaction to the caller's opinion but there is evidence to show how the two hosts take turns to direct the caller to the focus of the topic. In cases where the caller does not directly provide an opinion to the topic, questions are posed to target the caller's views on the topic. This is evident when H2 questions the caller on the issue of '*national unity*' (line 258) and the second act of questioning is evident when H1 questions the caller on the '*one school*' in relation to the caller's prior talk (lines 262-263). Therefore, once the opinion is successfully justified, the caller's turn is terminated and this is evident in the thanking sequence of H1's next turn and when H1 announces the name of the next caller (line 267).

Interactions of this type are common in the Malaysian phone-in programmes. Although these interactions are considered normal in the programmes, they do not

follow the view that the interactions in the public sphere are argumentative, open and equal (Huthby, 1999; Dori-Hacohen, 2011). The following example shows the neutral-type of interaction in which the caller provides very strong arguments on the issue of education and national unity.

Extract 96: BFM3

- 345 H1: Let's hope someone's listening.(.) uh Sujatha is on the line hi Sujatha what say you  
 346 C8: Hi:: I think there are two different issues here  
 → 347 H1: Ya  
 348 C8: You know education system is about quality (.) and standard (.) and that's a fact I'm  
 349 not really sure whether whether er Malay ar medium or an English medium if its  
 350 English medium (.) if its Malay medium you have to ensure that the English taught  
 351 as the quality and standard it needs to be (.) so we produce in the end (.) either way  
 352 you produce (.) students who can go out you can teach and work and use this  
 353 competency in the workplace  
 → 354 H2: Uhm  
 355 C8: You need to come to so many other criteria that need to look at and it has all to be  
 356 working towards (.) it's not just policy but how it is implemented and and the  
 357 approach and everyone accept the need for it and schools coming to stay that way by  
 358 ensuring that (.) the standards are such that if you want to be part of the *kebangsaan*  
 359 (national) schools (.) you know you know I would opt (.) to go to *kebangsaan*  
 360 (national) schools because I know the quality of teaching is there standard is there  
 361 and when you come out  
 → 362 Mhm  
 363 and I can actually (.) compete in the market and in the meantime unity comes from  
 364 mixing with the fellow (.) er (.) Malaysians in an environment where (.) we're not  
 365 judgemental of each other but accepting  
 366 (0.2)  
 367 H1: Thank you very much  
 → 368 H2: for that distinction there once again between education and national unity

At the beginning of the caller's turn, the caller does not explicitly state whether she agrees or disagrees with the proposal for the 'English medium schools', but states that '*there are two different issues*' on the subject of discussion. In the subsequent turns, the caller expresses her doubt (*I'm not really sure*) on the medium of instruction and stresses on the quality and standard of teaching in English, as well as '*the implementation and approach*' towards them (lines 355-360). The caller's offer of an opinion on the perspective of 'national unity' is seen in the caller's elaboration of talk in lines 262-264. This shows how the caller has summed up her view on 'national unity' in order to express her opinion. Even though it is observed

that the caller has presented a general perspective of the issue, there is evidence of the caller presenting her own personal opinion of the preferred type of school as seen in lines 359-360: *'I would opt (.) to go to kebangsaan schools because I know the quality of teaching is there standard is there'*. In this type of interaction, what is noticeable is that, both hosts only offer affirmative markers (*ya*) and minimal responses (*uhm, mhm*) when the caller expresses a lengthy monologue of her views on the topic at hand (line 347, 354, 362). Both hosts do not question or engage with the caller on her views, but allow the caller to express her opinion. The call is terminated when both hosts feel that the caller has presented adequately on the issue. Even though, there is no substantive reaction to the caller's view from the hosts' side in the on-going interaction, there is an attempt by the second host (H2) to provide an evaluative summary of the caller's views, which immediately precedes the first host's thanking sequence as seen in line 367: *'for that distinction there once again between education and national unity'*.

In a lot of interactions of this type, the host will turn the focus to the co-host to request for an opinion related to the callers' prior talk, after the calls have been terminated. Thus, exchanges of views will then focus on the interactions between the two hosts before the call is opened to the subsequent caller. As the entertainment goal of this type of radio programme is highly valued in which it offers a medium for ordinary speakers to call in to state their opinions on certain issues, argumentative exchanges of opinions between the host and caller are rare occurrences. Therefore, it is noted that the hosts observe the journalistic values in which in their institutional roles as hosts of the programme, they have to maintain neutrality on the subjects of discussion or to the callers' views. Furthermore, as professionals, they need to present an objective and factual world view rather than be on one side of the debate or the

other (Hutchby, 1999; Dori-Hacohen, 2011). Thus, in the neutral interaction, hosts display these values and norms and do not lead to an open exchanges of opinions. The neutral-type of interaction differs from the two-sided disagreement-type of interactions, which follow the view of the public sphere as being argumentative, open and equal. Although hosts take these interactions as normal, as the examples have shown, there are no occurrences of the caller asking for host's opinion or the caller requesting for further feedback on account of the neutral interaction. Thus, this illustrates that callers are aware that hosts need to show their neutrality to the callers' positions and do not refute or argue against their views on the topics of discussion.

## **6.5 The distribution of the different categories of interactions in the phone-in programmes**

The categories of types of interactions that are evident in the data include: the one- sided agreement type; the two-sided agreement and disagreement types; and the neutral type of interactions. In one-sided agreement interactions, it is seen that the caller will do most of the talking, the host will agree with the caller and will not elaborate on the agreement nor engage with the caller. In two-sided agreement interactions, the caller presents his/her opinion, the host agrees with the caller, adds to the topic and interacts or engages with the caller. In two-sided disagreement interactions, the caller presents his opinion, the host disagrees with him/her, which then leads to an engaged discussion between the caller and host, while in the neutral-type of interaction, it is observed that the host refrains from expressing any opinion and allows the caller to present his/her opinion.

The table below shows the distribution of the occurrences of the different categories of interactions in LiteFM and BFM programmes.

Table 6.1: The distribution of different categories of interactions

Forms of Interactions Programmes	Agreement		Disagreement		Neutral	TOTAL
	One-sided	Two-sided	One-sided	Two-sided		
LFM	3 (3%)	57 (55%)	0 (0%)	29 (28%)	15 (14%)	104 (100%)
BFM	7 (5%)	66 (46%)	0 (0%)	7 (5%)	63 (44%)	143 (100%)
Total	10 (4%)	123 (49%)	0 (0%)	36 (15%)	78 (32%)	247 (100%)

The analysis of data on types of interactions in the phone-in programmes is only conducted on the initial sequences of interactions between the hosts and callers and also in the development of exchanges of viewpoints during the interactions. Therefore, an interaction can move on the spectrum of the dimensions of engagement, agreement and disagreement. As can be seen from the table above, most interactions were of the agreement and neutral-type, with 49% and 32% respectively, of types of interactions. The one-sided agreement-type shows that the hosts will agree with the caller and refrain from expressing any opinions and allow the caller to present his/her opinions; while the two-sided type shows that the hosts will agree with the caller's views, add on to the topic and engage with the caller on the discussion. Thus, this shows that the most frequent type of interactions found in the data is the agreement types of interactions. The second type that is also frequently observed in the interactions between host-caller is the neutral-types of interactions. This indicates that the hosts would allow callers to present their perspectives on the issues without the hosts' presenting their opinions on the topic of discussion. The occurrences of the neutral types of interactions of 32% seem to illustrate that the flow of the interaction is more important than its content. Therefore, this allows smooth interaction between



the participants in the on-going interactions. Thus, as the distribution of this category of the neutral-type shows the second highest occurrence in the data, interactions of this type may reflect the norms in the sequential organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. However, what is evident is that, there is a marked difference on the distribution of the neutral-type of interactions between the two types of programmes. For instance, LFM shows 14% of occurrences of this type of interaction; while BFM shows 44% of occurrences of this type. This clearly again illustrates that the topics of discussion in the programmes may influence the interactions between host-caller. For instance, in BFM shows which focus on current, local and national issues, the hosts are found to be more neutral in their positions, compared to fewer neutral interactions as observed in the LFM data which concerned topics on relationship, moral and ethical issues.

In terms of the two-sided agreement and disagreement types, the most frequent type was the two-sided agreement which accounts for 49% of occurrences; while the two-sided disagreement-type only accounts for 15% of occurrences. There are also marked differences in the distribution of the two-sided disagreement types of interactions between the two programmes, with 28% occurrences of this type in LFM programmes compared to only 7% of occurrences in BFM programmes. It can be concluded that topics of discussion which are more light-hearted such as relationship, family, moral and ethical issues allow more engagement on the presentation of opinions between the hosts and callers, rather than on more serious topics on local or national issues such as transportation and fuel hike, national unity or veteran politicians. In contrast to Dori-Hacohen's (2012) findings in which the most frequent type was the two-sided disagreement interaction, the Malaysian data show the agreement-type as the most frequent type of interactions. Thus, this illustrates that the

hosts would allow callers to present their perspectives on the issues, in which the host would agree or add on to the callers' opinion for the interaction to run smoothly. However, as mentioned earlier, topics of discussion may influence the nature of interactions in radio phone-in programmes. Political issues may engage more discussions of agreement or disagreement types (Dori-Hacohen, 2012); while the topics in the Malaysian data are more concerned with relationship, family, local and current issues. Political issues may require more debates with participants on the programmes, while moral or ethical issues are more concerned with the exchanges of views and experiences in a more light-hearted manner among the participants, thus showing more agreements than disagreements. In cases of the two-sided disagreement types, it is observed that hosts will challenge the callers when information is not accurately given by the callers or when statements are vague or confusing. Thus, the hosts may need to seek further clarifications from the callers on their statements, as well as, stop callers from pursuing their arguments and refocus callers to the topics of discussion.

## **6.6 Summary**

This section has presented the forms of interactions in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. The types of interactions are related to how the radio programmes are organised and the sequential patterns that develop within each episode of interactions between host-caller. It shows how the hosts develop the patterns of interactions between the hosts and callers, in respond to the callers' position on the issue under discussion. The largest category observed is the agreement-type of interactions for both programmes. Agreement interactions occur when the hosts agree with the caller, and it is found that when agreeing with the callers' opinions, the hosts have an easier time to manage the programmes.

Agreements also validate the discussions as ones that are based on the hosts' beliefs and opinions. In a two-sided agreement interaction, hosts accept and agree with the caller's claims and views on the topic of discussion. On top of this agreement, hosts may support the caller's arguments and engage in the discussion with the caller. In other words, this agreement is based on the mutual engagement of both participants with the topic at hand. Thus, a dialogue evolves around the caller's issues and this dialogue is based upon agreement between host-caller. One-sided and two-sided agreement interactions have advantages to radio-phone-in, since agreements in interactions lead to a smoother interaction, and are therefore easier for the hosts to manage. It also shows that in agreement interactions, the hosts do not feel obligated to create disagreement for entertainment reasons. This seems to illustrate that the entertaining goal in these Malaysian programmes is primary to the conversational goal. The argumentative goal does not seem to play an important role or position in Malaysian radio phone-in interactions. It can also be established that Malaysian radio phone-in programmes need to adhere to certain restrictions on what issues can be raised or otherwise, which may influence the interaction.

The neutral-type of interaction shows evidence that in Malaysian phone-in programmes, the hosts follow the journalistic norms where they avoid expressing their opinions. Based on their institutional position, the hosts limit the open and free discussion in the programmes. There is also evidence to show that the hosts do not openly express their opinions in the on-going interaction between host-caller but only turns the focus of the argument upon the termination of the call and/or seeks the opinion of the co-host. Therefore, interactions of this type show that when a caller is placed on air and gets his/her turn at talk, the host will allow the caller to express their opinions openly and freely and only provide continuers, minimal responses and

affirmative devices. In these sequences of exchanges between the host and caller, the second host always remains in second position, where the responses are quite minimal and it is the lead host (H1) who always play a main role in the exchanges of talk between host-caller.

The least frequent type of interaction is the two-sided type of disagreement interactions, which seems to illustrate that this type of interaction is not the preferred type in the Malaysian programmes, even though there is a high occurrence of this type found in the LFM compared to BFM programmes. It also shows that it is the host's decision on his role and institutional position of the need to challenge or not to challenge the callers' position on the topic.

The variation of the types of interaction in the Malaysian programmes may differ from other phone-ins and talk-back radio which promotes a public sphere (Habermas 1989, 2006; Hutchby 1996; Dori-Hacohen; 2011), in which callers are more argumentative with hosts, and they are free to present their opinions freely and openly. Even though callers to the radio programmes in Malaysia are allowed to freely and openly express their opinions, the hosts still play an important institutional role in terminating the call or allowing the caller to continue with his arguments when certain sensitive issues such as race, culture or religion are raised in the discussion.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

#### 7.0 Introduction

The aim of the research has been to explore the sequential and categorical organization of Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. The research examines the ways in which participants manage their interactions in the production and organization of such an event. The focus on participants, namely hosts and callers brings to the success of the programme, in terms of how the hosts manage the interaction with callers and how callers interact with hosts in order to present their views on the topic of discussion. Within this, there was also an attempt to capture how participants use various resources to position themselves to a topic of discussion, and also the various resources used in an attempt to focus on the topic of discussion. The callers of the programme are drawn from members of the listening audience, i.e. ordinary members of the public; whilst the hosts represent the institution, i.e. the radio programmes.

The research has examined the way the participants develop their interactions through category and sequential resources. An attempt has also been made to investigate how categories are displayed, oriented to, developed and used within a sequential environment in the genre of radio phone-in programmes in Malaysia. In exploring this, it is argued that there is a flow in members' category work through interaction, which are developed from and built upon categories that are made available by participants. It has also been argued that categories are not singularly oriented to, but are found to be multi-layered, in which more than one category may be oriented to simultaneously, for instance, a topic-opinion category may move to a

topic-relevant category and vice versa. The methodology of the research has drawn upon the field of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA). Conversation analysis (CA) has been applied to the analysis of data in investigating the sequential organization from opening, call validation, follow-up turns to closing stages of the programme. The management of participants, the turn-taking procedures and turn design format that developed in the interactions are also explored using CA as the methodology. In investigating the categorical organization of the phone-in programmes, membership categorization analysis (MCA) has been applied to the analysis of data. MCA is applied to investigate membership categorization devices, category-related predicates and category-bound activities that developed in the interactions that focused upon the topics of discussion. It has also been shown that three category devices emerge in the development of talk among the participants, which are related to turn-generated categories and they are: topic-relevant, topic-opinion and topic-generated categories. The following section will summarize the findings of the objectives of the research study which were to: 1) examine how participants to a radio phone-in programme develop their participation in the sequential organization of talk; 2) identify the types of categorical information that are evident in the organization of sequences and actions in the phone-in programmes; and 3) determine the types of interactions in the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes.

## **7.1 Summary of findings and Significance**

In addressing the first research objective, the study examines the sequential organization of the Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. In the analysis of the radio phone-in data, it is found that the sequential organization of the programmes are similar to other phone-in format as revealed in studies done in the USA, the United

Kingdom, Australia and Europe (Dori-Hacohen, 2014; Hutchby, 1999, 2006; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2001; Ames, 2012; Ferenčík, 2007), in that there are three stages of talk involved: the opening stage, the call-validation stage and the closing stage. Even though there are three stages involved, the sequences of these stages in relation to the programmes may differ. For instance, the number of hosts in the programmes may have an effect on how turns are developed in the on-going interactions. The issue of power symmetry may be considered here, in which each host is given equal opportunity to interact with the callers. For instance, when the lead host develops the topic, the second host will expand on the context or seeks clarification on the issue raised. This goes with the key concern in CA in which participants in conversation create sequences of talk by taking turns at speaking. Turns are constructed by the participants orientating to implicit knowledge about how turns operate. As proposed by Sacks (1992), participants adhere to the basic maxims and conversational mechanisms to 'read' contexts, conversational participants and interactional 'intentions'. Therefore, the ways in which participants organize their talk will explain their roles in that setting, their expectations of other people's roles in that setting, their intentions for what the setting should accomplished, and so on (Sacks, 1992). Most studies have conducted research on traditional single-host scenarios (Dori-Hacohen, 2014; Hutchby, 1999, 2006; Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2001; Ferenčík, 2007) in which the host plays a significant role on the development of talk between host-caller. In dual host scenarios (Ames, 2012, 2013) the turn sequences between the participants may vary, in which the introduction stage of the programme may involve host-host talk which precedes host-caller introductory stage. As found in the data, it is the lead host who will introduce the caller as well as close the call. However, both lead host and co-host carry the tasks of validating the

calls and developing the interaction between host-caller, such as asking questions or requesting for clarification of the callers' views with regard to the topic of discussion.

It is evident that in these radio phone-in programmes, host-host talk reflects the nature of the programmes. For instance, in LiteFM programmes in which lighter or less serious issues are discussed, the hosts take a position on the issues at hand before the lines are opened to radio callers. The positions may be related to their own personal experiences or their own personal perspectives on the topic. However, in BFM programmes, in which more serious topics are discussed, the hosts rarely relate their experiences or offer a personal view of the topics in the introductory stage of host-host talk. What is evident in the introductory stage is that hosts will provide content for talk in that callers will build upon and further extend on the content as revealed in the content of callers' talk that precedes host-host talk. Thus, the views or the content of talk from the hosts are significant because they help to define the topic under discussion. It is observed that in the introductory stage of host-host talk, both hosts work collectively and collaboratively in which each conversational turn builds on what has been previously discussed, which eventually builds a scenario for the setting of the topic for the day. These collective positions by the hosts act as an invitation for listeners to pose a different point of view, or to reinforce the hosts' positions or statements. The interactions thus demonstrate how hosts take a position on a topic, but at the same time allow for some doubt to be established within that position prior to requesting calls from listeners. This then allow callers to take a position that would align with at least one of the hosts' stated positions. The interaction also demonstrates that personal experience can play an important role in host-host conversation that precedes host-caller interaction to establish the right to speak. For instance, in LiteFM programmes, in which topics discussed are more light-



hearted, the interactions between host-host and host-caller are more personal and interactive. This is similar to an informal conversation among participants, as the main purpose of the programme is to entertain the listeners. Laughter and jokes are also common occurrences among the hosts. These reflect features of ordinary conversations (Sacks, 1996) in that, positions or stance on the topics discussed are not commonly established by the hosts. In BFM programmes, in which more serious topics on current issues are discussed, it is found that the interactions among the participants are less interactive. This is observed in the fewer number of turn-taking that occur among the participants and the occurrences of more monologues from the callers' position.

In the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes there are two phases involved: host-host talk and host-caller talk. The first phase, which involves the co-text of host-host talk that precedes host-caller talk provides a pre-requisite for further development of talk. In other words, it sets the stage for the development of talk between host-caller. It is seen that both hosts collaborate with one another on the topic under discussion before the lines are opened to radio callers. In this co-text, the hosts provide personal views and contexts of discussion as resources for further discussion by the callers on the topics. The second phase of the sequential organization of talk involves the introductory stage, the call-validation stage and the closing stage of host-caller. It is clearly shown that in the introductory stages of the radio phone-in data, there are various ways of developing the sequences of talk and these seem to depend on what the caller has to say on the issue of discussion when the caller is first introduced to the show. The caller will either develop a multi-sentence monologue without raising his stand on the issue or offers a direct opinion and receives some kind of feedback or responses from the hosts of the show. There is also evidence to show

that the hosts on the programmes orient towards concurring with or affirming the caller's view as a priority on the interactions on the topic. In the call validation stage, both hosts work collaboratively with the callers in seeking information, clarification or confirmation on the caller's position or status. These are evident in the series of interrogative statements posed by either one of the hosts. There is also a tendency for compliance and affirmation between host and caller. However, when relevant information is not evident, either one of the hosts will need to employ a series of interrogative statements to seek further clarification and confirmation on the status or position of the caller. These are evident in the cases of the hosts' 'yes/no' questions put to the callers, which are oriented to as actually requiring somewhat more than a 'yes' or 'no' response. These opinion generating questions are typically oriented to as requiring more than a simple statement of a viewpoint. There is also evidence of the hosts clarifying certain issues related to statements which are not accurately stated by the callers in their prior turns.

Another interesting feature of the data that is noticeable is how the hosts closely connect with opinion presentations from callers. The hosts tend to prioritize the discourse of these lay participants who are treated as speaking with relevance and authenticity. An interesting feature in media talk is how lay participants construct their talk so as to enable it to be responded by the hosts of the talk shows. In these shows, participants use their turns to take up positions, or argue with prior callers' positions on the issue. These may take a variety of forms, from single sentences to extended account of personal experience or shared knowledge or experience on the topics of discussion. However, whatever forms they take, the turns function as position-taking positions in the discussion on the topic. Thus, there are also accounts or sets of events being relayed upon by the callers, in which callers do not openly

make a point, but which can be treated by the hosts as implicating a point and situating the callers in relation to the issue under discussion. In other words, the success of presenting an opinion in this discursive context means more than simply stating what your opinion is. The analysis further shows that in the sequential organization of the phone-in programmes, both hosts work collaboratively towards a call conclusion. The hosts apply different strategies for call closings, that is, from a simple thanking sequence to a summary of callers' opinions. In most of the data, the callers do not indicate that they are coming to a closing of their turn, but it is the hosts' role to identify or monitor that the callers are coming to the end of their turn or to acknowledge that callers' opinions have been adequately established on the issue under discussion, thus the call is then terminated.

It is also observed in the radio phone-in data that there are two design formats in the presentation of opinions that occur. These design formats consist of two variants: the progressional format and the recursive format; in which each takes a three-part sequence. In the progressional pattern, a presentation of opinion goes from a relatively neutral situating component, through an account designed to lead up to an evaluative conclusion, and to a final assertion of the evaluation or a position statement. While in the recursive pattern, a position is stated at the beginning, followed by a justificatory or supporting account, then a recapitulation of the initial position. The three-part format tends to be the one taken by the most successful response-generating opinion presentations in this kind of context. In this kind of interactional context, views from callers are the sources of entertainment value for radio listeners to the specific programmes. Therefore, when opinions are not clearly stated by callers or callers tend to digress from the topics, the hosts play an important role in seeking for callers' opinions or refocusing the callers to the topics of

discussion before the closing for each episode. The data show a high percentage of 62% of the recursive format and only 38% of calls following the progressional format. This shows that callers have preferences in stating their positions to topic-related issues before giving an account or justification for their views. For the progressional format, it is found that callers would relate their experiences or give a preface to the topic-related issues before justifying their opinions or stating their positions in the course of the interaction. One interesting feature that is worth highlighting is the high occurrence of cases of the recursive format compared to only few occurrences of the progressional format found in LiteFM talk shows. In LiteFM programmes topics concerned relationship, family, current trends, as well as on moral and ethical issues, and callers have preferences in stating their positions explicitly or implicitly before providing an account or justification for their views. For BFM programmes, there is no major difference between these two types of design format in the presentation of opinions, even though the findings show a slightly higher percentage of the recursive format. Whatever format is evident in the data, it clearly shows that when callers are invited to come on air into the programme, they are aware that they have a purpose in presenting their opinions on the topics of discussion. Thus, in presenting opinions, callers have a preference for either stating their positions in their initial turns and developing their arguments or prefacing the issue and providing a position statement towards the end of the interactions between host-caller.

In discussing the categorical organization of sequences and action that are developed in the phone-in programmes of host-caller interactions, three types of categorical work are established: topic-relevant, topic-opinion and topic-generated categories. These types of categorical information are evident in the phone-in programmes and show how participants carry out category work that is related to the

categorical activities in the programme. The study illustrates that there are layers of the sequential and categorical development in talk in radio phone-in programmes. The sequential development of talk is seen in the participants' turn-generated categories as observed in the predicated tasks of hosts and callers. For instance, as a member of the category 'host', the host questions the caller, and likewise as a member of the category 'caller', the caller provides a response to the question or elaborates on his/her opinion on the topic. Thus, this shows how turns are generated. Turn-generated categories of callers also include responses to earlier callers' opinions, in which further topic-opinion categories and topic-generated categories are built and expanded upon. In the development of categorical information, it is found that the categories of 'topic-relevant', 'topic-opinion' and 'topic-generation' are bound by category-tied predicates of the issue of discussion, as well as in the category-related actions that are evident in the development of talk. Psathas (1991) views that by acting in ways that are "predicatively-bound" (i.e. predicates of action, rights, obligations, etc.), inferences can be made by each of the parties about the other based on these actions, so as to accept/confirm/validate the other's self-categorization and to produce, through one's own actions, activities that conform with the other's self-categorization. For instance, in self-categorizing oneself as a 'Malaysian', a speaker speaks by associating relevance to certain rights or obligations or describes features that depict Malaysians in terms of language, social or cultural knowledge.

It is found that the sequences and actions or activities in the phone-in programmes are category relevant and category generated. For instance, a standard relational pair of category memberships in the phone-in programme may be co-produced e.g. host-caller, summoned-summoner, introducer-introduced, questioner-answerer, inquirer-responder. These relational pair of category memberships

developed in the ongoing interactions between hosts and caller; in which the hosts position themselves in the first part in the pair; while the caller always displays the second part of the pair. These sequentially organized interactions between the two categorical parties enable the work of the institutional organization to be accomplished. In other words, the category work or “the work of the organization” (BFM and LiteFM radio phone-in programmes), is being accomplished in and through the talk and interaction of the parties. Such an analysis shows that it is possible to discover, describe and analyze “the organization” in and through the actions or interactions of the parties which would describe the nature of the phone-in programmes. This supports Psathas’s (1991) view that membership categorization is shown to be a process that is on-goingly produced and oriented to by the parties and not necessarily an explicit naming or describing of oneself, or the other, with the name of the category from some collection (Psathas:156).

The study has also shown how the identity of the speaker is made relevant in authenticating talk. This supports Sack’s (1992:360-66) discussion of turn-generated category with regard to “caller-called” in which “...some part of a sequential organization of a conversation has to do with identities that the conversation itself makes relevant, such that, for at least those facets of the conversation one needn’t make reference to other sorts of identities that parties have which are, so to speak, exterior to not simply the conversation, but to its sequential organization....One way to determine that conversation is independently organized - ....is to find, e.g. that it has a sequential organization which employs identities that it determines, and that it does proceed to some extent in terms of its identities.” For instance, speakers build identities by using category-tied predicates that are associated with occupational, social and cultural categories to authenticate talk and to show support or non-support

of the topics of discussion. These types of categorical memberships may range from being associated with the occupational membership categories of doctors, taxi-drivers, or teachers to cultural membership categories of Indians, Chinese or Malays. Members will thus speak with relevance by extending upon the category-bound activities or category-tied predicates which are related to their topic-opinion category. There is also evidence to show that Malaysian speakers speak as members of the Malaysian community and this is demonstrated in the categorical information such as shared knowledge of the beliefs, values and cultures of each others cultural ethnicities and historical and social knowledge when discussing national issues.

The study also demonstrates that these types of categorical information are related to sequences and actions in the development of talk. For instance, there is a relation between the categorisation of opinions based on topic-relevance and topic opinion and the strategies used in expressing opinions. For instance, the topic-relevant category of experience offers a bridge between the caller's experiential background and the topic under discussion. The placement of callers to this topic-relevant category indicates a justification of the relevance of their contribution to the programme and underlines the authenticity of their opinion which is expected to be developed in the subsequent talk. Callers may use certain witnessing devices such as having first-hand knowledge of the experience, having direct access to the event or having collective knowledge and experience of the talk-about issue. Another category that is evident in the presentation of opinions is topic-opinion category, which includes callers who do not relate first-hand knowledge or experience but merely offer opinions from their own perspectives. These may include strategies of expressing topic-opinion categories, which are either 'for' or 'against' the issue under discussion. These strategies will encompass whether callers use direct or indirect strategies of

expressing agreement or disagreement to the topic at hand. It is also shown that callers not only present their opinions to the topic given but also build further related topical categories and these are then further developed by subsequent callers. Thus, this seems to illustrate that even though the speakers are not having a dialogue between them, the topic-generated categories can provide further content for talk.

In addressing the third research question, which is to identify the types of interactions in the radio phone-in programmes, it is shown that the types of interaction are related to how the radio programmes are organised and the sequential patterns that develop within each episode of interactions between host-caller. It shows how the hosts develop the patterns of interactions between host-caller, in response to the callers' position on the issue under discussion. The most frequent type of interactions is the agreement types, which are found to have the highest number of occurrences in both LiteFM and BFM programmes. Agreement interactions occur when the host agrees with the caller. When agreeing, the host has an easier time to manage the programmes. Agreements also validate the discussions as ones that are based on the hosts' beliefs and opinions. In a two-sided agreement interaction, hosts accept and agree with the caller's claims. Thus, this agreement is based on the mutual engagement of both participants with the topic at hand. Thus, a dialogue revolves around the caller's issues and this dialogue is based upon agreement between the two participants. It is found that one-sided and two-sided agreement interactions have some advantages to radio-phone-ins, in which these types of interactions lead to smoother interactions, and therefore are easier for the hosts to manage. Moreover, these types of interactions have benefits to the public sphere, and also seem to illustrate that Malaysian speakers are not argumentative in their presentation of opinions. The agreement types of interaction also illustrate that hosts do not feel



obligated to create disagreement for entertainment reasons, as the entertaining goal in these Malaysian programmes is primary to the conversational goal. Thus, the argumentative goal plays a secondary role in Malaysian radio phone-in interactions, which supports that the institutional setting has to adhere to certain restrictions or regulations on what is permitted to be discussed on-air.

It is found that the second largest category of interactions observed is the neutral-type, which shows evidence that in Malaysian radio programmes, the hosts follow the journalistic norms and maintain neutrality, where they avoid expressing their opinions. Based on their institutional position, the hosts limit the open and free discussion in the programmes. There is evidence to show that the host does not openly express their opinions in the on-going interaction between host-caller but will state their agreement or disagreement to the caller's view only after the call has been terminated, in which they then shift the focus to their co-host and the listening audience. Therefore, interactions of this type show that when a caller is placed on air and gets his turn at talk, the host will allow the caller to express his opinions openly and freely and only provide continuers, minimal responses and affirmative devices. The only obvious occasion when there is a need to interrupt at some point is when the host provide some interrogative statements to the arguments presented by the caller. These can take the form of reformulations where questions are repeated to seek further clarification on the content or arguments of caller's prior talk. In these sequences of exchanges between the host and caller, the second host or co-host always remains in second position where the responses are quite minimal and it is the lead host who always plays a main role in the sequences of exchanges of talk between host-caller. However, there are some slight variations in the two programmes that have been analysed with regard to the topics of discussion. For instance, there are

more sequences of interactions on light-hearted issues (LiteFM) than there are for more serious-related issues (BFM).

This further justifies the findings in which it is seen that the least frequent type of interaction is the two-sided types of disagreement interactions. This shows evidence that the two-sided disagreement interactions are not the preferred type in host-caller interactions, in which this type of interaction requires more critical exchanges of opinions on the topic of discussion among the participants. Therefore, this shows that this type of interaction does not meet the public sphere which other studies (Habermas, 1989, 2006; Dori-Hacohen, 2011) claim to contribute to a vibrant democracy. In other words, prior research has shown the benefits of disagreement to political knowledge of its audience (Hutchby, 1999; Dori-Hacohen, 2011). Even though the topics of discussion in the Malaysian programmes are centred on moral, ethics, relationship, and government policies in contrast to prior studies on radio phone-in programmes which focused on political issues, it is the host's decision on his role and institutional position of the need to challenge or not to challenge the callers' position on the topic.

Therefore, the study has shown that the variation of the types of interaction in the Malaysian programmes is different from other radio phone-ins elsewhere which promote a public sphere (Habermas 1989, 2006; Hutchby 1996; Dori-Hacohen 2011) and in which callers are more argumentative with hosts and they are free to present their opinions freely and openly. Even though callers to the radio programmes in Malaysia are allowed to freely and openly express their opinions, the hosts still play an important institutional role in terminating the call or not allowing the caller to continue with his arguments when the callers touch on certain sensitive issues associated with race, culture or religion in the discussion. It is also found that in light-

hearted programmes such as LiteFM, the hosts will present their own personal views on the issue but on more serious current issues such as in BFM programmes, the hosts prefer to remain neutral in the interactions with the callers. The preference for neutral interactions are closely associated with the Malaysian society in which issues against government policies have to go through the relevant and proper channels rather than being allowed to be discussed openly in the public sphere. Therefore, this proves to show that even though callers are allowed to express their agreements or disagreements on the implementation of certain government policies openly in the public sphere, their voices are only heard on the radio and the possibility of their voices reaching the relevant authorities has yet to be determined. In addition, the preference for a neutral interaction leads to a discussion that is not critical, and thus does not fully contribute to a vibrant democracy in the Malaysian society.

Finally, this study has demonstrated that the way participants develop their participation in talk and the categorical sequences and actions that are employed by participants in the development of talk, clearly illustrate the discursive organization or the types of interactions that are evident in Malaysian radio phone-in programmes. It is also revealed that members associate themselves within a particular individual or a collective membership category to show the relevance of their contributions in talk. For instance, topics which concern more personal experience of the issue in question allow callers to provide an account of their experience that is relevant to the topic, while topics which concern the Malaysian society in general allow callers to speak with relevance to their own identity as well as, in their understanding and knowledge of others' identities, cultural values and beliefs.

## **7.2 Limitations and future research**

There are a number of limitations that need to be considered in the final review of the study. First, the study provides evidence of how specifically and locally, the participants of the radio phone-in programmes interact and orient to a range of topics, from more personal issues to issues that concern the Malaysian society as a whole. Thus, the selection of data and the findings of the study are considered as a study in isolation, and cannot be generalized to all radio phone-in programmes in Malaysia. However, the study has provided a description of media practice in Malaysia and may help to fill in the research gap within which other media practices worldwide could be explored. The study has demonstrated a very detailed analysis of media content in Malaysia and what goes on in the content of talk in which few research have dealt with. Most research on radio phone-in programmes have included the stages of talk relating to the openings, call-validation and closings in single-host scenarios (Fitzgerald, 1999; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2002; Thornborrow, 2001, Hutchby, 1999, 2006; Ferenčik, 2007,; Dori-Hacohen, 2011, 2014), and the only study that has explored the stages of calls in dual-host scenarios is Ames (2012). Thus, this study can be considered as an addition to the literature on studies related to this type of media event from an Asian perspective. The study may also be considered as a starting point for the consideration of other phenomena and patterns of interactions that could be considered in studies of other institutional settings in other cultures. Another limitation of the study is that participants' backgrounds are not taken into consideration in the study, apart from what is revealed as their identity in talk. Thus, future research could explore the differences in the way these participants who have different first languages and belong to different cultural groups, present their opinions in such talk shows.

The methodological approaches of CA and MCA which have been used as the main framework of analysis, have looked upon the sequential and categorizational aspects of interactions and what develop in talk. CA has made a significant contribution to studies of how language can be used to produce formulations of events and opinions, both in the context of everyday discourse, as well as in the production of controversial and contested accounts. The methodological approaches of CA and MCA could open up new avenues by adopting some analytical tools that go beyond the surface levels of organization and delve into the cultural underpinnings of the data. For instance, the notion of cultural category in Cultural Linguistics could be a very useful addition to the analytical frameworks of both CA and MCA.

Other methodological approaches could also be adopted to explore media talk, for instance, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or Corpus-based approach might offer a different perspective and sets of approaches in studying media talk in Malaysia. Corpus-based approach may be a useful methodology in the analysis of language in the media to look at the quantification of recurring linguistic features in English as a second language to substantiate qualitative observations and vice versa. Critical Discourse Analysis may also be adopted to investigate how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use in the Malaysian context. Apart from these approaches, future research could also conduct a comparative study in investigating linguistic features of media talk in the Asian contexts with those in the Western contexts on somewhat similar issues of discussion.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

This research has opened a new perspective in exploring spoken interactions in the media among Malaysian speakers of English and has provided an overview on

the sequential and categorical organization of radio phone-in programmes in the Malaysian context. The study has also provided a glimpse of the scenario in Malaysia on how Malaysians feel and think about certain issues that may affect them as Malaysians as a whole.

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#### Interviews:

Steve D'Angelo (12/9/2013): LFM Production Manager and Radio Presenter, All Asia Broadcast Centre, Technology Park Malaysia, Bukit Jalil, 57000 Kuala Lumpur

Yee Wei Keat (23/11/2015): BFM Production Manager, BFM Radio, Lebuhraya Bandar Utama, 47800 Petaling Jaya, Selangor.

Mohd Ezra Mohd Zaid (21/1/2016): Radio Presenter, BFM Radio, Lebuhraya Bandar Utama, 47800 Petaling Jaya, Selangor.