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One more time with feeling

Resemiotising boundary affects for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction for another next first time

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DOI (link to publication from Publisher):
10.54337/aau443832458

Publication date:
2020

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication from Aalborg University

Citation for published version (APA):
Back, T. B. (2020). *One more time with feeling: Resemiotising boundary affects for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction for another next first time*. Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

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ONE MORE TIME WITH FEELING

RESEMIOTISING BOUNDARY AFFECTS FOR DOING ‘EMOTIONAL TALK SHOW’ INTERACTION FOR ANOTHER NEXT FIRST TIME

BY
TOBIAS BOELT BACK

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2020



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

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AALBORG UNIVERSITY
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Dissertation submitted April 5 2020

Dissertation submitted: April 5th, 2020

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PhD Series: Faculty of Humanities, Aalborg University

ISSN (online): 2246-123X
ISBN (online): 978-87-7210-627-4

Published by:
Aalborg University Press
Langagervej 2
DK – 9220 Aalborg Ø
Phone: +45 99407140
aauf@forlag.aau.dk
forlag.aau.dk

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Printed in Denmark by Rosendahls, 2020

Til min familie
Ea, Tom og Lærke

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This dissertation investigates the joint process of co-creating semiotic ecologies for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction. The dissertation make methodological contributions to the growing body on ethnomethodological and conversation analytical literature on two major areas: First, the intertwined-ness of professional actors and 'their' work-relevant objects, and second, practice as embedded in time and space. I employ a synthesis of single case CA-informed studies with a strong emphasis on embodiment as elaborated by Charles Goodwin, and an enhanced focus on materiality and intersemiotic shifts. I further develop the concept of graphic transcriptions as a qualitative, experimental tool for doing visual analysis. A main finding is that by studying interaction as a multi-semiotic, processual ontology we can trace how slowly emerging action-relevant properties of objects are embedded within larger networks of mediated activities. That is, interactions are never absolutely local but rather, 'in themselves', somehow stretched moments of interaction. This observation has been made before–most often as a critique of the conversation analytical obsession with seeing the world in a locally situated grain of sand. However, I take this criticism as a point of departure in order to investigate on a (from an EMCA point-of-view) larger time-scale the continuous reassembling of a professional community. My study shows how actions set up the sequential space of possibilities for both immediate and remote future actions–often by displacing the actions of the unfolding present into exo-somatic objects. The joint, effortful work of making action-relevance visible across time and space by working up and continuously resemiotising specific institutional objects enables people to act at a distance and to constituting and maintaining a shared sense of progressivity.

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne afhandling undersøger, hvordan redaktionen på et dansk talkshow samskaber semiotiske økologier med det formål at kunne producere 'emotionelle talkshow' interaktioner. Afhandlingens formål er at præsentere metodologiske bidrag til to aktuelle områder indenfor den voksende etnometodologiske og konversationsanalytiske litteratur: 1) Forholdet mellem professionelle aktører og 'deres' arbejdsrelevante objekter og 2) måder hvorpå social praksis er indlejret i større sociale netværk på tværs af tid og rum. Jeg anvender en syntese af single-case EMCA med vægt på kroppen som foreslået af Charles Goodwin og et øget fokus på materialitet og intersemiotiske skift. I min analyse videreudvikler jeg 'grafisk transskription' som kvalitativt værktøj. Ved at studere interaktion som en multi-semiotisk, processuel ontologi, får vi adgang til at se, hvordan de langsomt fremspirende handlingsrelevante egenskaber ved objekter er indlejrede i større netværk af interaktioner. Med andre ord er interaktioner aldrig absolut lokale, men nærmere 'i sig selv' øjeblikke udspændt i et net af deltagere, objekter, idéer, interaktioner, etc. Denne observation er ikke ny, men er som oftest blevet præsenteret som en kritik af den konversationsanalytiske besættelse af at se hele verden i et enkelt sandkorn. I min afhandling tager jeg denne kritik til efterretning og lader den være mit afsæt for at udforske længere, uafbrudte kæder af professionelt arbejde.

Mit studie viser, hvordan handlinger afgrænser den sekventielle udvikling både på turtagningsniveau og på tværs af interaktioner–ofte ved at menneskelig handling relokaliseres i exo-somatiske objekter. Det fælles arbejde med at gøre handlingsrelevans synlig på tværs af tid og rum ved løbende at skabe og resemiotisere objekter gør det muligt for mennesker at 'handle over distance' og at konstituere en fælles, delt følelse af progression.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As with most tasks in life, writing a dissertation is no solitary act. During my time as a PhD student, I have encountered many people who in different ways live in the words of this dissertation. First of all, I want to thank my supervisor, professor Paul McIlvenny, for his exemplary guidance and enthusiasm. Paul, you and Pirkko are forces of nature and your warmth, dedication and intellectual generosity permeate this entire body of work. Thank you, everyone at InterDisc and C-DiT, for invaluable theoretical, methodological and analytical inputs. Thank you, Lotte Dam, my assistant supervisor. You were on the board that gave me the opportunity to do pursue this PhD in the first place. Thank you, Pentti Haddington and everyone at Oulu University, it was a great pleasure to visit your inspiring research environment and have the opportunity to discuss my work with all of you. Thank you, Eric Laurier, for introducing me to graphic transcription. You made transcribing fun again! Thank you, Laura, for your insightful comments at my pre-defence. I could not have hoped for a better opponent. Thank you, Charlotte, for your friendship and for teaching me how to ride sideways.

Thank you, Lærke, Ea and Tom for your love and patience.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Talk is transcribed according to the conventions originally developed by Gail Jefferson (2008). Bodily conduct and material resources are reanimated and represented in comic-style panels and strips, often with captions describing the unfolding interaction.

[	*A left bracket* indicates the point of overlap onset.
=	*Equal signs* indicate no break or gap.
(0.0)	*Numbers in parentheses* indicate elapsed time by tenths of seconds.
(.)	*A dot in parentheses* indicates a brief interval (less than a tenth of a second.
Emphasis	*Underscoring* indicates emphasis via volume.
:::	*Colons* indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The longer the colon row, the longer the prolongation.
↑↓	*Arrows* indicate a locally occurring rise or fall in pitch. Comic Life does not allow the use of arrows in text boxes, so, in my graphic transcripts, I use '^' for a locally occurring rise in intonation.
WORD	*Upper case* indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.
°word°	*Degree signs* indicate that the sounds are softer than the surrounding talk.
.hhh	*A dot-prefixed row of h's* indicates an in-breath. The more h's, the longer the in-breath.
hhh.	*A row of h's followed by a dot* indicates an out-breath. The more h's, the longer the out-breath. Audible outbreaths are often associated with laughter.
-	*A dash* indicates a cut-off.
><	*Right/left carats* bracketing an utterance or utterance part indicate that the bracketed material is speeded up compared to the surrounding talk.

<>	*Left/right carats* bracketing an utterance or utterance part indicate that the bracketed material is slowed down compared to the surrounding talk.
wo(h)rd	*An 'h' in parentheses* mid-word indicates laughter.
◡word◡	*Arches* indicate 'smile voice'. Comic Life does not allow the use of arrows in speech bubbles, so, in my graphic transcripts, I use '€' to indicate 'smile voice'.
♪words♪	*Music notes* indicate singing.

My data is translated from Danish into idiomatic English and often this type of intersemiotic shift causes problems. Therefore, in some excerpts, I have added an extra line to provide non-native Danish speakers with a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss of the original Danish talk.[1]

[1] See Hepburn and Bolden (2017) on how to present non-English data to an English-speaking audience.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. RESEARCH TOPIC: ASSEMBLAGES OF AFFECT

The starting point for my interest in television production lies in one specific kind of interactional moment. In 2003, the American production company *Endemol* started producing a reality show named 'Extreme Makeover: Home Edition'. The setup is quite simple: Every week, a design team led by the flamboyant programme host, Ty Pennington, travels by bus to the outskirts of USA to help a family who has been the victim of some tragic event, for example, a devastating storm, physical injuries, sudden poverty, and so forth. The family, who has been chosen from several applicants, is then sent off on a one-week vacation to Disneyland while the design team, alongside a group of helpful neighbours and professional craftspeople, give the family's home a makeover. After a week, the family returns, but they are not at first allowed to see their new and improved home as the Extreme Makeover: Home Edition bus is parked in front of the house. At some point, the host encourages the crowd of helpers and neighbours to yell, 'Bus driver, move that bus!' The bus moves, and the family see its new home for the first time, which causes a moment of what might be best described as cheerful mass hysteria.

Everything in the show so far has led up to this particular moment: the family background story, the days of hard work on refurbishing the house, the close-up of the family waiting impatiently to see their new home. This is a first-class example of how emotional moments are skilfully put together for the mass media. As Charles Goodwin (2018) reminds us, 'Human beings can build social actions by joining together meaning-making resources, (…) into configurations where each mutually elaborates the other(s) to create a whole not found in any of the parts in isolation' (p. 120). The reoccurring phrase 'Move that bus!', the bus itself, the affective stances of the family, the cheering crowd, and so forth are all resources that are joined together through steps of pre- and postproduction to create a whole; an emotional scenery built to convey to the viewers a recognisable moment of joy. This task of stirring up emotional outbursts with the families is accomplished week after week for another next first time (Garfinkel, 2002). Every single episode of the programme is a one-hour emotional crescendo building up to a tearful moment of pure ecstasy.

For years, I have been intrigued and puzzled by these moments. Intrigued by the weekly money shot of heartfelt reactions of the families and bystanders. Puzzled by the arrangement of people, objects, and actions skilfully put together to arouse these feelings and somehow make them sufficiently abstract for the viewers to care—and even feel with the family. Most parameters change from week to week: a new family with different problems as a result of discrimination, poverty, or tragedy is built a new home somewhere across the US. Yet, despite these changes, the moment of emotional outburst is somehow established in every single episode. So, the million-dollar question is: How is this done in practice? What kinds of collaborative work go into planning over time and promoting in situ these moments? Regarding this show, we will never know. Extreme Makeover: Home Edition was cancelled in 2012, and to the best of this author's knowledge, no behind-the-scenes study of the show was ever made. Yet, plenty of other television productions overflow with emotional (inter)actions.

Several discourse studies on television programmes have articulated a relationship between different steps of pre- and post-production and the final, public, on-screen product. In his analysis of reality parenting programmes, Paul McIlvenny (2011) notes how the 'spectacle of "reality" or "everyday life"' presented in reality TV is 'staged, produced, hosted, and edited from several simultaneous feeds or recordings for a public audience of television viewers, with edited sequences, dramatic use of music/sound, and a voice-over narrative' (pp. 261-262). Thus, reality TV is largely designed in different stages of post-production; each part carefully selected, edited, and put together into the final aired show.

Cynthia Gordon (2011) makes a similar observation in her study on 'emotion in parental accounts' in the intervention-based parenting programme 'Honey We're Killing the Kids'. Here, experts harshly and publicly criticise parents for not serving their children proper food and, thus, promoting their premature deaths. Gordon finds that even though the parents are, to some extent, in control of their own impression management, the televised representation is a collaborative endeavour, implicating not only the host and the parents but also the people in post-production who make editorial choices that 'may shape what viewers ultimately witness' (p. 3555). Similar to what we see in the Extreme Makeover: Home Edition programmes, in Gordon's case, a specific emotional moment reoccurs in every episode: The parents are brought into a studio with a large rear wall screen. On this screen, the parents are

first shown how their kids look now, after which an animation of their children is revealed to show how they will look when they get older if the family does not change their lifestyle. Music in minor chords is put in the mix to enhance the televised moment when the parents break down and cry. Despite the widely acknowledged fact that what we see on TV is heavily affected by choices in different stages of production, surprisingly few people have taken a look behind-the-scenes to explore the editorial work that goes into assembling moments of affective mass media interaction.[2]

AFFECT AND THE MASS MEDIA

The title of this dissertation is taken from Nick Cave's song *Magneto* from *Skeleton Tree* (2016). Besides being one of the essential songs on my 'shut-up-and-write-your-dissertation'-playlist on Spotify, especially this one line keeps echoing through my mind: 'And one more time with feeling'. There is a 'for another next first time' (Garfinkel, 2002) ring to this particular line, which is commonly used in music lessons and play rehearsals to encourage someone to put more life and effort into his or her performance. This wish to evoke affectivity is widely equivalent to the work of stirring up emotions on live TV. Harvey Sacks (1992) observes how sometimes distressing experiences are 'successfully transformed into a general thing while preserving the power of its feeling in each family', and that this kind of transformation is 'rare, and enormously powerful when it works' ([fall 1968], p. 245). As we shall see in this dissertation, a main concern in mass media production is to create such 'rare and powerful' moments on-screen. Since early 2000, studies on affect have effectively made their way into the fields of the humanities and social sciences (Clough & Halley, 2007). Yet, due to the plentiful individual contributions of quite diverse fields, no stable definition of affect exists (Thrift, 2008). In his introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, Brian Massumi (2004, p. xvii) defines 'affect' as 'a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity of act'. With Deleuze and Guattari, affect is thus a spontaneous, intense, embodied change of state. This definition of affect resonates

[2] I use the term 'pre-production' to describe the steps of production that precede the live broadcast.

with the social phenomena explored in EMCA-informed studies on affective stances. However, whereas the Deleuzean concepts of affective experiences have been criticised for not analysing affect 'in accountable ways' (Wetherell, 2015 in Raudaskoski & Klemmensen, 2019) EMCA focus strictly on how affective stances are demonstrably visible in the sequential organisation of interaction.

EMCA scholars have extensively shown how public displays of emotion are observable in the locally situated affective stances of participants (Cekaite and Holm 2017; M.H. M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Goodwin, Cekaite, Goodwin and Tulbert, 2012). Practices of prefiguring affective responses from others, however, remains under-researched and under-theorised. Yet, it is an essential social skill and a pervasive part of everyday life in (Western) societies to be able to anticipate and project potential future reactions of others to what we are planning and creating in some momentary now (e.g. a birthday party, a public speech or a family vacation). A basic premise for this dissertation is that people generally care about how others will respond to what they do. We inhabit a world where 'it is almost everybody's business to be occupationally ordinary' (Sacks 1984b, p. 419). This assertion entails continuous attention to what it is to do 'being ordinary'. Human beings are intrinsically social, and everything we do is done with others in mind (cf. Garfinkel 1967; Goffman 1959, Sacks, 1992).

According to Goodwin, Cekaite, Goodwin and Tulbert (2012) 'the display of emotion is a situated practice entailed in a speaker's performance of affective stance through intonation, gesture, and body posture' (p. 16). EMCA thus treats affect as a practical matter and investigates the phenomenon either as overtly displayed affective stances or as intersubjectively felt (Goodwin 2015; Goodwin, Cekaite, Goodwin & Tulbert 2012; Melander 2019; Ruusuvuori 2013). This, since EMCA-informed scholars are interested in 'what is prompted by, made relevant by, and grounded in the parties' conduct in each case' (Schegloff 1998, p. 414), it is the participants' observable displays of emotion and especially the manifold ways in which these displays are part of the sequential organisation of the locally situated interaction that is of interest. Displays of emotion are found in *gestalts* of several simultaneous or serial multimodalities (Ruusuvuori 2013, p. 331). As Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012) observes, if we are to explore the social life of human beings, 'emotion, affect and the rest must be in the mix' (p. 433). What Du Bois and Kärkkäinen show is the extent to which emotion and affect should be regarded as

remarkably depending on public display in social interaction (2012, p. 435). EMCA-informed studies on affect concerns various types of affectivity such as touch (Cekaite 2010; M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite 2013, 2018), laughter and laughables (Glenn 2003; Holt 2011, 2016; Jefferson 2004; M.H. Goodwin 2008), and prosody (Goodwin, 2004). What these quite different types of studies have in common is that they all show how displays of affect are lodged within local sequentially ordered organisations of interaction. As an initial example, Excerpt 1 illustrates the affective potentials of this type of 'local' ordering. The host (H1A) has just skilfully accumulated a range of semiotic resources in order to promote an affective stance with the guests.

Excerpt 1. How bad is it?





The interview's two guests are former contestants in the Eurovision Song Contest, and H1A asks one of the guests (G1A) how 'bad' it feels to stand behind the scene, waiting to go on stage for the contest finals. The joint effort of unpacking the question as a laughable matter is an example of how pre-produced structures can come to mediate affective interaction on live TV. Yet, by watching only the on-screen product, we do not have access to the processes through which the semiotic ecology of the talk show interaction has been cultivated to successfully source this particular affective stance. The professional practices through which what we see in this excerpt has been made possible and sequentiable relevant remains invisible: When seeing only the live show, the process of co-creating an ecology of action-relevant objects through which affectivity is rendered a sequentiable matter is lost.

In their famous ethnomethodological study on the discovery of the optic pulsar, Garfinkel, Lynch, and Livingstone (1981, p. 133) observe how 'studies *about* scientists' work are commonplace; studies *of* their work are rare'. The same observation applies to media production studies. To the best of this author's knowledge, no studies have been made on the daylong editorial task of pre-producing semiotic resources for doing live, televised, 'emotional talk show' interaction.[3] This shortcoming of qualitative, emic studies leaves the editorial office a somewhat 'invisible realm' secluded from the public sphere and perhaps best described in the ethnographer's participant observations (see Cottle 2007). Yet, ethnographic field notes make the actions of actors available only as descriptions of what played out, as reports of personal experience inacces-

[3] The general lack of CA-informed studies of mass media production may well be a consequence of difficulties involved with getting permission for video recording editorial offices and television studios.

sible for others to replay and review (Deppermann & Streeck 2018, p. 13; Hindmarsh & Heath 2000). My dissertation, on the other hand, offers a rare glimpse into the 'black-boxing' (Latour 1994) of producing a live televised talk show. Rather than providing ethnographic descriptions of the process of building a talk show interview, I employ video-enhanced ethnomethodological conversation analysis (EMCA) to see how meaning-making in flux is grounded in the evident orderliness of human interaction (cf. Sacks 1984a).

EMCA AND THE MEDIA INTERVIEW

Most media studies informed by EMCA have explored different types of on-screen interactions. Especially the televised media interview holds a prominent place in CA literature (cf. Bell, 1991; Clayman, 2002; Clayman, Elliott, Heritage, and Beckett, 2010; Ekström and Lundell, 2011; Ekström, Kroon, and Nylund, 2007; Heritage and Clayman, 2002; Heritage, Clayman, and Zimmerman, 1988; Hutchby, 2005; Montgomery, 2008; Nielsen, 2001; Tolson 2006). In fact, the news interview was one of the first institutional settings to be thoroughly investigated by CA scholars (Clayman, 1988; Greatbatch, 1988; Schegloff, 1988/89). Back then, the focus was primarily on the institutional features that distinguished the news interview from 'mundane' everyday conversations. Later studies have focused on different interview genres, and the reflexive, contextually contingent practices, which constitute and maintain these institutional settings (Clayman, 2007, 2015; Clayman & Fox, 2017; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekstrøm et al. 2006; Luginbühl, 2007; Lauerbach, 2007; Loeb, 2015, 2017). These studies focus mainly on how interviewer and interviewee do 'interview talk' by orienting to a specific turn-type pre-allocation (Atkinson & Drew, 1979). This allocation of turns prescribes a system in which the interviewer produces questions to which the interviewee provides answers. As Clayman and Heritage (2002) note, when this predefined distribution of actions is set aside, the interview participants risk becoming less recognisable as interviewer and interviewee, and 'increasingly visible as simply "arguing among themselves"' (p. 126). Hence, the interviewer should, at best, treat the audience as 'ratified overhearers' (Goffman 1981, in Clayman 2013, p. 636)

and, essentially, the primary addressees of the interviewee's talk (Greatbatch 1992, p. 269).[4]

Famously, Heritage, Clayman, and Zimmerman (1988, pp. 79-80) observe how:

> it has become increasingly unrealistic to analyse the structure and content of news messages independent of the interactional medium within which they are generated. For, although the medium may not be the message, the interactional structures through which broadcast news is conveyed must necessarily contribute to the content and appearance of news messages.

However, after decades of exploring these social structures of the 'interactional medium', I believe it is time to look further into the so far invisible co-operative editorial work of anticipating and pre-producing these 'interactional structures'. Mathias Broth (2004, 2008a, 2008b 2009), extensively examines the collaborative interactional work of coordinating live television production.[5] Also, Perry, Broth, Engström, and Juhlin (2019) have investigated narrative practices of segueing instant replay from multiple cameras into a live sports broadcast. Their data shows how the production team works together to create visual accounts for what has just happened by recording and replaying instances of importance to the game, and thus to the viewers. Perry et al. note how what is shown on live TV manifests an audience expectation anticipated by the production crew (p. 24).

While EMCA studies have predominantly been preoccupied with investigating interviewers and interviewees as antagonists, less attention has been given to 'soft news' and 'infotainment', such as different types of talk shows (see Otto, Glogger & Boukes, 2017). Working on data from the US and the UK, Ian Hutchby (2006) focuses on the confrontation as spectacle in talk shows such as *Ricky Lake* (US), *Jerry Springer* (US), *Vanessa* (UK) and *Trisha* (UK). Common to these shows is the public

[4] According to Charles Goodwin (1986), referring to an *audience* or, as in this case, the *viewers*, is a gross underestimation of the differentiation within any group of spectators. Even when a group of people witnesses the exact same event, they might have inconsistent interpretations of what is going on. However, the focus of this dissertation is not on the perception of the viewers, but rather on the editorial practices that goes into pre-producing a specific type of live in-studio interaction.

[5] I will return to Broth's studies in Chapter 6 as we move from the editorial office and into the live talk show studio.

display of disputes between, for example, family members, neighbours, and so forth in front of a live audience that is loudly making its opinion known (p. 65). According to Hutchby, a main part of the host's job is to draw attention to 'particularly 'complainable' matters (p. 69). Hutchby shows several examples of audience affiliation in cases where the talk show host picks up on points of controversy 'in order to further the audience's opportunities to take sides in the dispute being played out on stage' (p. 74). A typical way for the host to achieve a specific audience reaction is by mixing 'private' and 'public' talk and, thus, make it less transparent if the talk addresses the co-present guests or the audience. By exhibiting this sort of ambivalence, the host potentially cultivates the confrontations between the guests by 1) making them talk to each other about certain points of contention and 2) explicitly assessing their ongoing talk (pp. 73-77). In this manner, the talk show host can elicit controversies by continuously picking up on the guests' disagreements—to the amusement of the live audience.

A more subdued talk show genre is the celebrity talk show such as *Ellen DeGeneres* (US) and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* (US). Here, the interviewer prototypically seeks to underpin the credibility of the guests. Laura Loeb (2015, p. 28) finds that in modern American talk shows 'congeniality' and 'personal engagement' characterise the interviewer as opposed to the news interviewer's adversarial questions and neutral stance. Furthermore, Loeb (2017) suggests that the talk show interview has less formal and more dynamic conversational structures than the news interview. This observation resonates with Marcel Burger's (2006) analysis of the discursive construction of the public and the social spheres in the media in French talk show debates. Burger identifies three major domains encompassing how the media address their audiences: advertisement, leisure, and information (p. 48). While the classic news interview primarily promotes information of relevance to the public, the talk show debate is a playful mix of leisure and information (and sometimes advertisement) blurring the line between the public and private sphere as celebrities, politicians, and laypeople make their opinions publicly known concerning social domains with which they are not professionally affiliated.

The talk show formats mentioned above share the common interest of conveying to their viewers some sense of emotionality; be it through the (staged) on-stage outbursts of rage on Jerry Springer, when a guest

realises that his girlfriend is having a baby with a transsexual person,[6] or through tearful moments on Ellen DeGeneres when guests share their personal stories. In a recent paper, Hutchby (2019) investigates the dramatisation of narrative on a televised talk show. He starts from Goffman's (1974) observation that 'often, what talkers undertake to do is not to provide information to a recipient but to present dramas to an audience' (in Hutchby, 2019, p. 1). Hutchby specifically investigate how a specific talk show guest performs a dramatic narrative by producing exaggerated reported speech. Hutchby finds that the guest takes up affective stances in order to increase the emotional intensity of her unfolding narrative. In occasions of self-enactment, the guest produces exaggeration by combining different prosodic and embodied resources. Hutchby's analytical interest resonates with a main area of interest in this dissertation, namely that of how moments of affectivity are promoted during a live interview through the deployment of different embodied, semiotic resources.

Interestingly, in all the shows mentioned here, the host plays a leading role in promoting the arousal of feelings with their guest (and the audience). Often, the title of the show is simply the name of the host, framing him/her as a one (wo)man army. However, as French sociologist Bruno Latour (1988) reminds us, the 'self-made' man is a modern society myth. Through the framing of the host as the sole representative of the show, the 'relation of forces' (p. 7), which constitute the ecology of the talk show interview that have been co-created over time by a wide range of professionals, are lost in the live transformation. Talk shows have producers, writers, camera operators, stylists, post-production editors, production assistants, stage coordinators, researchers, stagehands, sound engineers, stage managers, lighting designers, and so forth, to name just a few. Although these people remain 'invisible' during the live show, their professional work heavily effects what we see and hear on-screen.

SEMIOTIC ECOLOGIES

Even though the content and appearances of the mass media may be partly generated within an interactional medium, what we see on TV is

[6] This was, in fact, a reoccurring theme on Jerry Springer from 1997 to 2000.

but the tip of the iceberg. A swift glimpse into the secluded world of television production reveals a massive amount of editorial work, which goes into co-creating mass media interaction. The different resources of the semiotic ecology of a live talk show interview is by no means coincidental or ahistorical. Rather, they have each been produced and reworked in order to create configurations, which, once assembled during the live show will, hopefully, promote a specific sequential outcome.

During the live broadcast, several different structures make up the semiotic ecology of a talk show. Figure 1 depicts some of these: the table decorations (1), the guests (2), the rear wall screen (3), the host (4), and the cue cards (5).



Figure 1 The semiotic ecology on the live talk show interview.

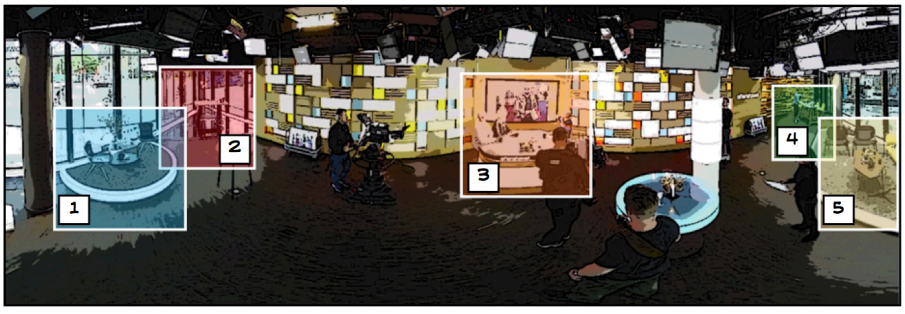


Figure 2 The five interview settings of the live studio.

Also, the spatial properties of the studio setting are part of the configuration, for example, the lightning, the scenography, the setting of this particular interview from a variety of possible settings in the live studio (Figure 2).

All of these materialities come to be only locally situated, meaningful resources through the constitutive practices of different editorial staff members (and, in part, the guests) in a series of work-relevant activities. Every part of the on-screen show (including actions, bodily conduct, objects, non-live video footage, written texts, etc.) has its own temporal horizon; they each represent a trajectory of events, through which they have been enabled to be momentarily fix into a nexus of sequentially relevant accumulated actions during the live interview. Before the seemingly uncomplicated and well-produced on-screen show lie days of preparation, including editorial meetings, research interviews, and editing of visual materials.

As another initial example, during a live talk show interview, non-live video footage from an eighties Eurovision Song Contest performance (Figure 3 below) is shown on the in-studio rear-wall screen. During a live talk show interview, this video footage becomes part of an 'environmentally coupled' (Goodwin, 2007) accumulative action which promotes an affective stance with a guest.

Thus, during the unfolding interview the video footage is transformed into a relevant semiotic resource, which comes to source and restrict the sequential outcome of the talk show interaction.

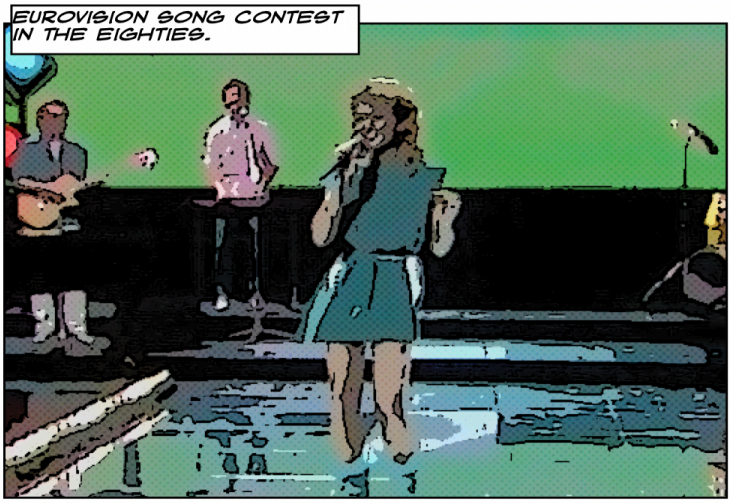
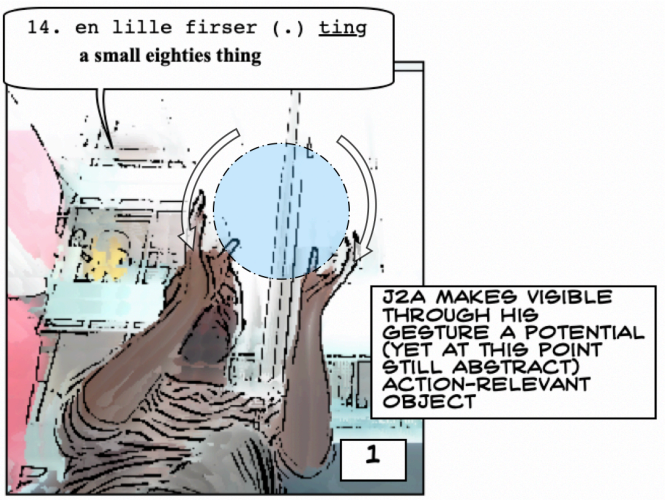


Figure 3 Non-live video footage from the eighties.

Yet, what remains invisible from the live broadcast are the kinds of professional interactions, which made the non-live video montage from the eighties sequentiable in the first place. If we go back two days, we see that a journalists (J2A) first introduced the idea at an editorial office morning meeting (Excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2. Setting the mood.

13 J2A: man ku godt lave sådan e-
you could make such a-



15 (0.4)
16 med G1A
with G1A
17 J2A: [altså me-
you know
18 EDA: [ja
yes
19 J2A: for ligesom
to sort of
20 at sætte stemningen for
set the mood for
21 [hva- hvad firserne egentlig ↑var for noget
what the eighties were actually like

In this excerpt, J2A suggests that they make 'sådan en lille firserting for ligesom at sætte stemningen for hvad firser egentlig var for noget' ('some kind of small eighties thing to set the mood for what the eighties were actually like'). At this point, we get some idea of how and when this par-

ticular structure of the live broadcast was first introduced by a member of the editorial office. J2A's suggestion is, however, at this point still a volatile idea among many ideas discussed at a morning meeting. The case-by-case process through which this initial idea is gradually transformed from talk and gesture into the atemporalised audiovisual resource of the video clip remains to be explored: How did the editorial staff choose this particular 'eighties thing' from several possible candidates? What interactions brought this clip into the final live broadcast? Which members' practices were involved in the work of remediating the 'eighties thing' from elusive talk into a pre-recorded video clip? And how are these and later actions affected by material displacements of agency? These reflections further provoke the question of continuity as a members' phenomenon: How can we claim a 'proof procedure' for non-sequential interactional structures distributed in time and space? Nothing in our world is ahistorical, yet how can we, from an EMCA perspective, claim that things are connected if they are not adjacently organised in a single sequence of interaction?

Whereas Schegloff (1971) famously investigates the first five seconds of conversations, I am interested in the first two days of a live televised interaction and, especially, in seeing how the understandings and decisions of the editorial staff are continuously negotiated in order to (re)assemble a semiotic ecology for doing live televised 'emotional talk show' interaction. Over the following some hundred pages, I address the question of how objects, actions, participants and discourses are co-created and continuously reworked in order for the live interview interaction to include both the intimacy of 'talk' and the public spectacle of putting on a 'show'. Specifically, I am interested in studying the sequentiability of affect. That is, how certain semiotic resources can come to source and restrict a sequential outcome in order to promote affective stances with the talk show participants.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How is the joint accomplishment of resemiotising semiotic ecologies for doing 'affective talk show' interaction sequentially organised and materially structured across series of work-relevant activities?

- What emanates from these resemiotisations that set up the relevance for certain immediate and remote future (inter)actions?
- How are these semiotic resources reworked in order to render displays of affect intelligible as sequentiably relevant nexts on different time-scales?
- How can we claim an adjacent relationship between non-contiguous (inter)actions separated in time and space?

1.3. MY CONTRIBUTION

My contribution is largely methodological. I present a doctoral study that is based primarily on 360-degree video recordings. Thus, my dissertation provides new types of data and thus new types of analytical insights into how work-relevant objects can be semiotically charged in order to prefigure and prearrange the interactional space of possibilities for doing talk show interaction for 'another next first time'. The study challenges the atemporalised character of most production studies by showing how semiotic ecologies for doing 'emotional talk show' talk progressively emerge through practices of resemiotisation across modes, activities, and participants. I seek to unpack the 'black box' (Latour, 1999) of mass media production in order to explore the trajectories of people, objects, actions and discourses in the processual co-operative task of preproducing the interactional structures for a live talk show. Additionally, I contribute to the small but growing literature on graphic transcription by further developing the comic-inspired transcript as a medium for exploring multitemporal aspects of multi-semiotic, social phenomena. My collection of data enable me to recreate 'the event' from multiple feeds and, thus, to represent in new ways the entanglements of professional practices and the work-relevant semiotic resources, which constitute and are constituted through these practices.

1.4. DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

In this first chapter, I have introduced affective assemblages in the mass media as my research topic and presented a line of prior EMCA-informed studies, which deal with the production of affectivity on TV. I

have briefly touched upon a range of issues, which I will further unfold in the following chapters 2 and 3.

In Chapter 2, I review the main concepts presented in the theoretical framework of this dissertation including the ontological and epistemological assumptions that these concepts entail. First, I turn my attention to prior studies on the intertwined-ness between agency and structure in institutional settings. Then, I review different takes on the matter of *continuity* found in EMCA-informed studies and juxtapose these approaches with those presented by, for example, mediated discourse analysis and nexus analysis. I do so in order to suggest how the analytical approach of EMCA can be pushed further to encompass a proof procedure for actions distributed across non-contiguous work-relevant activities. Finally, I review the notion of *resemiotisation* in order to demonstrate what I adopt from others and, importantly, how and why my utilisation of the concept differs from these prior deployments, including how it relates to my study on affect in the mass media.

In Chapter 3, I present my empirical data and my analytical approach. I examine and discuss different steps of collecting and analysing data, including the methodological assumptions reflected in my choice of data and research method.

Chapter 4, 5 and 6 are my analytical chapters. Here, I demonstrate how semiotic ecologies for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction begin to emerge through ongoing practices of resemiotisation.

In Chapter 7, I present my findings and relate them to the gaps in the literature that I outline in Chapter 2. I further discuss the epistemological and methodological implications of these findings.

In Chapter 8, I summarise my work and my findings, including the implications and significance of my research. I provide answers to my research questions and present questions for further research on the subject of resemiotisation.

CHAPTER 2. POINTS OF DEPARTURE: LITERATURE REVIEWS AND THEORETICAL POSITIONING OF THE STUDY

Numerous EMCA-informed studies show how the co-construction of meaning is inextricably intertwined with the making of the material world (Day and Wagner, 2019; Deppermann & Streeck, 2018; Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000a, 2000b; Heath, Hindmarsh & Luff, 2000; Goodwin, 1994, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2013; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996; McIlvenny, 2012; McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington, 2009; Murphy, 2012; Nevile, Haddington, Heinemann and Rauniomaa, 2014; Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron, 2011). Still, some aspects of this intertwined-ness of action and materiality remain under-researched and under-theorised. With a few exceptions (e.g., Streeck and Kallmeyer 2001), the process of co-creating a semiotic ecology for a future interaction has been disregarded by the EMCA community. Material resources have been studied almost exclusively as objects, which are structured, manipulated, modified, and so forth in locally situated multimodal interaction. Yet, the preceding activities through which these objects have been rendered structure-able, manipulatable, and modifiable have, if mentioned at all, been left to speculation. This is because EMCA is primarily interested in materialities (and all other semiotic resources) insofar as they are demonstrably relevant to the locally situated, sequential organisation of interaction. This emic approach is an important part of the EMCA endeavour of analysing interaction from a members' perspective.[7] Thus, the ways in which some objects anticipate specific actions have not been investigated in-depth.

In the edited volume *Structures of Social Action*, Atkinson and Heritage (1984) present a collection of conversation analytical studies from some

[7] I refer to 'the framework of EMCA' as if there is one definite version accepted by the entire EMCA community. Rather, most often it feels as if there are as many definitions of EMCA as there are people who claim to do these types of studies. I will get back to 'my' definition of EMCA in Chapter 3.

of the most prominent EMCA scholars of the past 50 years. The volume introduces a range of 'classic' CA concepts: sequentiality, topicalisation, repair, preference, turn-taking, laughter, and so forth. The reason for mentioning this volume here is two-fold. First, years ago, it was my first introduction to the wondrous world of EMCA. I found all the technical stuff both fascinating and alluring, yet it was Sacks's *On doing "being ordinary"* (pp. 413-429) that caught my attention and pulled me down this methodological rabbit hole. Second, and more importantly at this point, what I wish to do in this dissertation is somehow closely related to the 'structures' of social action addressed in the edited volume. However, the structures that I am interested in are those that are created and reworked as a joint professional effort in order to restrict variety in a future institutional interaction. I am specifically interested in how decisions made in the present can be prolonged into future activities in order to promote certain sequential outcomes. In other words, I am interested in the structures *of* social action insofar as these are part of the co-operative work of creating (material) structures *for* social action.

2.1. MATERIAL WORLDS

For ethnomethodologists, the distinction between agency and structure as proposed by the social sciences is considered a false dichotomy (Schneider, 2002). Rather than ascribing influence to some elusive macro-level power of social facts, EMCA seeks to demonstrate how the constitution of social, and institutional, order is a locally situated and sequentially organised ongoing joint members' accomplishment. In the edited volume *Ethnomethodology at Work* (2016, p. xviii), Rouncefield and Tolmie note how, from an ethnomethodological perspective, activities involving 'work' are (often seen but-unnoticed) 'effortful accomplishments'. According to Rouncefield and Tolmie, the observable everyday social task of 'doing work' is found in the 'routine, trivial, practical accomplishment of work', which demonstrably is constituted by the practices of competent members (p. xix). Of course, in the eyes of ethnomethodologists, all activities involve some sort of work. However, the 'work' of interest in this dissertation is the kind that is observably restricted by the institutional settings in which it unfolds through the practices of professional members (Drew & Heritage, 1992). This restrictedness is, in part, defined by the sequential environment and its semiotic ecologies of work-

relevant objects. Co-orienting to this type of objects 'knit together' different institutional tasks (Hindmarsh and Heath, 2000c).

The first CA studies were concerned with institutional interaction, namely that of suicide calls and group therapy settings (see Silverman, 1998), yet Sacks, Jefferson, and Schegloff gradually turned their attention towards non-institutional talk—allegedly because mundane conversations provided 'purer' data of conversational devices (Have, 2007). Studies of 'institutional interaction' however began to re-emerge in the late 1970s and have since advanced to a prominent place in the field of EMCA. The term 'institutional' is used mainly to juxtapose institutionally restricted work-relevant activities with mundane conversation and thus to distinguish between the work-life and the everyday mundane interactions of a society's members. Heritage (1998) notes how 'institutional' settings are often defined as social events that are 'not ordinary'. He further defines 'institutional conversation' as generally involving

> a reduction in the range of interactional practices deployed by the participants, restrictions in the contexts they can be deployed in, and [frequently] some specialisation and respecification of the interactional relevance of the practices that remain. (p. 3)

The majority of EMCA-informed workplace studies evolves around the discursive practices of how organisations and professional identities are 'talked into being' (Coreen, 2015; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Svennevig, 2012). For a long time, EMCA has had a growing interest in workplace meeting interaction (see, e.g., Asmuß 2008; Deppermann, Schmitt & Mondada 2010; Drew & Heritage 1992; Pomerantz & Denvir 2007). Svennevig (2012) claims that this interest is motivated by the pervasiveness of meetings in the workplace. He observes how, particularly in white-collar organisations, meetings 'represent one of the main areas where organisational knowledge and culture are created, negotiated and disseminated' (p. 3). However, occasions where intra-organisational 'culture' is constituted and maintained through work-relevant tasks other than meetings, such as small talk by the coffee machine or brief encounters between co-workers, is grossly overlooked in most of the CA-informed workplace studies. Therefore, in the analysis of this dissertation, 'work' is defined as any social occasion where professionals demonstrably orient to work-relevant tasks. I do not define work-relevant small-talk as something that 'happens between meetings' or, for that

matter, meetings as something that 'happens between small-talks'. So, when meetings take up a lot of space in this dissertation, it is because of their length and topical density. Although there are 'intervals of lesser activity' (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 167), as we shall see, even swift comment made across the floor in an open space office can greatly influence the possibilities for future actions in subsequent work-related activities. In practice it quickly becomes increasingly difficult to determine whether interactions contribute to developing specific semiotic resources or not. The EMCA solution to this issue is to focus solely on those features of interaction, which are demonstrably made relevant by participants through their reflexive, ongoing, joint constitution of meaning. This conversation analytical solution to 'the problem of relevance' (Schegloff 1992 in Hindmarsh and Llewellyn, 2018) is obscured when we start tracing (inter)action over time. Suddenly, the sequentially organised relatedness between some adjacent pairs of actions come across as less straightforward. Although we can successfully demonstrate the turn-by-turn organisation of actions as a local accomplishment, the multi-temporal dimensions of these 'local' contributions start to infer with the analysis. In EMCA literature on the media interview, an 'answer' has commonly been treated as a second pair part, which (more or less adequately) deals with the specific first pair part of a 'question' (see Heritage and Clayman, 2002). Though, as it turns out, this type of first pair part emerges across interactions, modes and discourses on a time scale that spans well beyond the local interaction of the media interview. Interaction is never absolutely local (Latour, 1994) and by producing an appropriate response as a relevant second pair part to the specific turn construction unit of a question, the interviewee actively becomes part of a greater semiotic cycle with multiple temporal and semiotic entanglements. From this perspective, answering an interview question is a locally situated practical achievement embedded in and sourced and restricted by the preceding (and possible future) interactions that have anticipated and rendered this particular action relevant at this particular point in time and space. Anticipating and co-creating a semiotic ecology for a live interview is thus essentially about continuously providing the interviewees with a sufficiently transparent answer to the locally situated, indexical member's question of 'why that now?' (Schegloff, 1998). In other words, promoting specific types of talk is effectively about anticipating and creating first pair parts in ways that make them suitable for eliciting particular second pair parts. As suggested in Chapter 1, in media production

this task is a multi-semiotic, joint, productional achievement, which involves a range of different semiotic resources.

The emergent interest in the inextricable relationship between participants and 'their' materialities has stimulated a range of EMCA-informed papers and monographs concerned with work and work-relevant objects (e.g., Day and Wagner, 2019; Goodwin 1994, 2003; Heath and Luff, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c; Hindmarsh and Llewellyn, 2010; Nevile et al. 2014; Streeck, 2017; Engeström and Middleton, 1996). These works draw into attention the ecologies of objects involved in different types of professional work. In Nevile's (2019) words, EMCA-informed work studies demonstrate how 'in and for accomplishing social interaction, participants experience and understand objects as handled, discussed, seen, imagined, planned, transformed, shared, assessed, appreciated, and much more. In life, and living with others, materiality matters' (pp. 32). As stated in my introduction, I am interested in the specific properties of objects, which enable participants to prolong decisions made in the past into the present and thus help both to source and restrict the sequential outcome of an unfolding interaction. Streeck and Deppermann (2018, p. 8) find that 'an object can keep meaning available until further notice, that is, until the object and its situated meaning are modified by action'. This idea that objects can be reworked in order to sustain meaning over time–and thus come to influence subsequent contextual configurations has been noted by several scholars (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992; Garfinkel, Lynch, and Livingstone, 1981; Goodwin, 2003, 2010; Latour, 2005; Middleton and Brown, 2012). Noticeably, Goodwin (1994) observes how

> central to the social and cognitive organization of a profession is its ability to shape events in the world it is focusing its attention upon into the phenomenal objects around which the discourse of the profession is organized. (p. 626)

Thus, getting acquainted with the work-relevant objects of a particular profession is a key part of becoming a competent practitioner in that community of practice—in part because these objects make possible and promote specific institutional activities. Doing 'being professional' is highly about being able to constitute and rework the shared objects of that particular profession continuously. Certain objects have certain historical sedimentations, yet the same object can be used for quite different purposes by people from different communities of practice (Goodwin,

1994, 2013). This means that when an object is transferred from one social activity, or setting, to another, its properties can change due to the needs of the local participants and the specific world they currently co-inhabit (Goodwin 2018, p. 207).

HISTORICALLY SHAPED OBJECTS

A key example of a historically shaped object is the Munsell colour chart. In a dissertation in which the creation of action-relevant objects plays a major role, the colour system beautifully exemplifies some of the advantages and obstacles that go into the work of sustaining meaning in objects over time. The Munsell system is used for colour notation in different fields by, for example, painters and archaeologists as a common scale for the hue, value, and chroma of specific colours (Goodwin 2000, p. 23). Every colour on the chart corresponds to a decimal notation, which specifies hue, value, and chroma of the particular colour. This means that the user of the chart can potentially register any possible colour using a line of numbers and letters. In a paper on archaeological work, Goodwin (2002) shows how archaeologists report a past while projecting future actions in the unfolding 'now' (2002, p. 20), and notes how the archaeologists 'use tools created in the past to construct records for future analysis' (p. 19). Thus, in the archaeologists' work on classifying the colour of dirt the Munsell chart sources 'co-operative action with absent predecessors' (Goodwin 2018, p. 251), which brings the past into the present. In other words, the Munsell chart has an authoritarian final 'saying'. It is a semiotic resource with which the archaeologists account for their professional arguments. Thus, the chart is a 'historically shaped field' (p. 195), a durable, iconic semiotisation of dirt based on decades of fieldwork, which makes it increasingly difficult to renegotiate its validity.

Over years of professional use, the colour chart has been adopted by archaeologists who have taken on the co-operative task of ordering their work on notating soil on the basis of the information sustained in this particular object. In *Pandora's Hope* (1999), Latour describes certain situations in which 'reference' is 'our way of keeping something *constant* through a series of transformations' (p. 58). Similarly, Latour observes how the Munsell chart is a historically shaped 'decisive advantage' for researchers sampling the soil in the Amazon forest (p. 59). According to Latour, the colour chart represents a universal memory of colour and

thus allows the persisting thresholds of local and global to be simultaneously crossed. Yet, even with the colour system at hand, categorising the colour of dirt is an effortful joint task. Goodwin (1994) observes how 'the colour patches of the chart are glossy, while the dirt never is' and that the archeology students, therefore, sometimes disagree with the colour categorisation. However, as Goodwin further notes 'the definitiveness provided by a coding scheme typically erases from subsequent documentation the cognitive and perceptual uncertainties that these students are grappling with, as well as the work practices within which they are embedded' (p. 609). Consequently, non-consensus and ambiguities among the co-participants who document the findings are invisible for later readers of the documentation.

In both Goodwin and Latour's writings on the locally situated use of the Munsell colour system in archaeological work, the chart is an object created to sustain the understandings and decisions of predecessors. Munsell's system was originally made with the intent of creating a 'rational way of describing colour' (Cassidy and Goswani 2018, p. 327). It thus reproduces what its creator, Albert H. Munsell, found to be a 'rational' way of doing colour classification. As such, using the system for archaeological or other types of work entails employing not just the chart as a physical object, but also certain methodological assumptions about how colours can and should be classified. This observation is crucial in the scope of this dissertation because it reminds us that even though objects do not themselves have agency (in the rather ethnocentric sense of 'agency', where human agency is the yardstick of agency in general) neither are they mere props in our everyday activities. As such, the agency, which some post-humanists claim to be able to locate in objects (e.g. Hua, Otsuji and Pennycook 2017; Kell 2015), is perhaps best considered as action-relevant potentials (Garfinkel 2008; Goodwin 2018). When Kell (2015) claims that "things make people happen" (p. 442), I believe there is an important aspect of (inter)action missing. Rather, in this dissertation I aim to show how people make things that make people, or (inter)actions, happen–and how these people and (inter)actions then further (re)shape the things that made them happen, etc.

I define various things as 'objects': physical artefacts such as digital manuscripts and cue cards, but also experiences, ideas, bodies, etc.—in other words, abstract and physical things that are considered and treated as objects by the members of some particular community of practice. Goodwin (2018) reminds us that particular objects 'animate the dis-

course of a community' (p. 222). To become a member of some community of practice is very much a matter of becoming acquainted with the already socialised members' use of certain objects. Yet, these 'member objects' need to be located within larger, dynamic semiotic ecologies. Rather than looking for meaning in orthographic re-presentations and field notes, the present study employs the analytical mentality of EMCA to explore the granularity of social life in situ. It has not been common for conversation analysis to study changes through time. Therefore, the notion of resemiotisation is (re)introduced as a means of explaining the inter-semiotic shifts that take place when objects are worked on by different people distributed in time and across social worlds. In this dissertation, the prototypical distinction between micro- and macro-analysis widely accepted across fields of humanities and social sciences is set aside in an attempt to reveal how tracing the trajectories of meaning-making *over* time can be done by tracking flows of members' objects *through* time. In order to do so, I draw on Goodwin's notion of 'competent actors' and their 'co-operation(s)' (1994, 2018). The idea is to see that there is indeed an alternative to the classic linguistic analysis of language structures as isolated entities. Participants actively co-produce meaning, that is, through verbal and embodied minimal responses, affiliation, relevant second pair parts, and so forth, thereby continuously demonstrating that 'my mind is with you' (Sacks, 1992, pp. 166-167). A main difference between Goodwin and most other contemporary EMCA scholars is his attention to the semiotic ecologies of interaction, including how specific objects are created, perceived, and used in the unfolding present to perform complex environmentally coupled gestures.

ACTION-RELEVANT PROPERTIES

Goodwin's work evolves around the use of objects and specifically how these come to be lodged within accumulative semiosis of action. Garfinkel's ethnomethodology echoes in the framework of Goodwin. However, according to Goodwin, the inspiration from Garfinkel was mainly channelled to him through the work of Sacks and Jefferson (Goodwin & Solomon 2019). According to Goodwin, whereas Garfinkel focused on reasoning in a 'mono-logic perspective as though you've just got a syllogism' (p. 21), Sacks went 'into the actual interactive constitution' of meaning (p. 9). This distinction is crucial in order to understand Good-

win's fascination with how participants *in situ* co-operatively reuse with transformation materials created by others (Goodwin 2018). In Goodwin's words, 'human action is constructed co-operatively in ways that preserve and accumulate earlier resources' (pp. 258-259). Thus, objects created by predecessors are not per se latent assets pending in some locally situated context as opportunistically available resources. They can be intentionally created to promote some specific future use by successive others in a later unfolding present. Goodwin (2012) calls these kinds of objects 'semiotically charged'. He notes how 'objects inherited from predecessors make the distinctive forms of action that constitute the work of a community possible, and constitute both it and the actions that sustain it as something that can accumulate and change through time" (2018, p. 264). Thus, this sort of inherited object has certain *action-relevant* properties (p. 238).

A most extreme example of how a semiotic resource has been semiotically charged in order to promote affectivity at a later point is that presented by Goodwin (2018) of how a radio voice actor performs the action of 'falling in love'. Once, the BBC performed all of Shakespeare's play on the radio and at a specific point during *As You Like It*, the voice actor who plays Orlando falls in love with Rosalind. Rather than sticking to the script, the actor produces an extra 'no'. As Goodwin observes, through this lexical addition paired with his skilful prosody, the actor makes this action 'his own' (p. 130). As such, through the co-operative, accumulative action of the actor, Shakespeare's centuries old manuscript comes to promote an affective stance in the present.

So, as with Garfinkel, Goodwin emphasises the meaning of objects as fundamentally a matter of social constitution. As Goodwin continuously demonstrates, actions are *accumulative* in the way that 'subsequent utterances are constructed through operations that decompose and reuse with transformation materials provided by an earlier utterance' (Goodwin 2018, p. 12). Constituting 'order at all points' is innately a joint accomplishment as co-participants constantly 'inhabit each other's actions' (p. 11).

Goodwin (1994) observes how an 'object of knowledge' emerges in a 'specific activity' through 'the interplay between a domain of scrutiny (…) and a set of discursive practices' (p. 606). In his following analysis of the Rodney King trial, Goodwin shows how each return to a recorded event allows a reinterpretation of what plays out on the 'tape'. By manipulating the temporality of interaction by replaying the encounter between

King and a group of policemen frame by frame, the prosecutor succeeded in framing Rodney King as a 'PCP-crazed giant' (p. 606). What Goodwin shows, is how 'the ability to see a meaningful event is (...) a socially situated activity accomplished through the deployment of a range of historically constituted discursive practices'(p. 606). However, even though Goodwin (2018) continuously demonstrates this 'consequential presence of absent predecessors' (pp. 243-259), he never fully investigates the constitutive practices of creating the objects, through which this 'presence' is sustained and conveyed over time. The present dissertation explores the affordances of being able to trace these discursive practices back to when they were first introduced, through the social work of pre-packing them in material artefacts, to the final public presentation of these objects. In other words, had Goodwin had access to the same type of data as is presented in this dissertation, he would have had access to, for example, the meetings in which the still frames were chosen and in which the expert testimonies of the police officers were rehearsed as part of the co-operative work of preparing the defence. Apart from this fascination with how the social is intertwined with the material world, what makes Goodwin especially interesting in the scope of this dissertation is his attention to the temporalities of actors and objects. Goodwin (2018) draws on Alfred Schutz' notion of 'predecessor' to define the participants from whom objects are inherited. A main argument is that it is indeed possible to perform in the momentary now a co-operative action with absent predecessors (p. 251).

Goodwin (2000; 2018, p. 32) introduces the notion of *substrate* in order to address a 'patterned arrangements of parts', which source and restrict interaction in the present. Substrates are inherited from the past where they were recreated or reworked by others. Thus, according to Goodwin, past events and decisions are prolonged into the present through the properties of the substrate. An inherited substrate can take various forms, for example, a hopscotch grid (Goodwin 2000), the Munsell colour chart (Goodwin 1994), or a flight schedule (Goodwin 2018). The notion of 'substrate' effectively captures the sense of how the unfolding now is constantly informed by the chain of events that have led up to this particular present. According to Goodwin (2018, p. 246), 'frameworks for actions are not fixed or independent of the operations being performed on them by a later actor'. Rather, as Goodwin notes, 'actions emerge within environments constituted through the public presence of diverse semiotic resources' (p. 129). The main argument that

I develop in this dissertation, is that by seeing how these resources became available for the present actors in the first place, we get some sense of just how much, even on a relatively small time-scale, present actions are performed by 'using with transformation' (p. 4) materials inherited from the past to accumulate complex, reflexive actions in the momentary now. These materials are not (necessarily) coincidental resources. Some of them are purposefully created to anticipate and promote specific types of actions. The semiotic resources of interest in this dissertation are those, which are created to set up the perimeters for relevant next activities on different time-scales. This ranges from the moment-by-moment projections of relevant next turns to non-contiguous actions widely distributed in time and space, where, through the transformation of actions, objects and discourses, a present (inter)action comes to influence the sequential outcome of a remote, future interaction.

In a rethreading of the classic *Seeing as a Situated Activity: Formulating Planes* (Goodwin and Goodwin 1996), Goodwin (2018) demonstrates how, in practice, actors distributed in space and time can and do co-operatively organise and perform activities in the momentary now by analysing how action-relevant objects can be used in the co-operative work of organising the relevant perception of a workplace environment (p. 253). A member of the staff at a local airport, referred to as *Hawk One*, uses an airport schedule to make sure the planes on the runway are ready to take off as planned. All the aeroplanes look alike, so Hawk One has to navigate from the number on their tail wing and the information given in the schedule. Goodwin finds that the actions of actors distributed in time and space are sustained in the momentary now as 'materials inherited from predecessors are attended to and used co-operatively to build current actions' (p. 262). He notes that he does not know the details of the process that created the schedule (p. 254). Nonetheless, he can make a thorough analysis of the *in situ* multi-semiotic work of Hawk One and conclude the following.

> The airport schedule provided a way of examining how an inherited object, a substrate created by predecessors, created action-relevant perception for an actor engaged in specific activities by transforming entities in the environment, planes sitting on the runway, into the discursive objects required for the accomplishment of that work (p. 273).

Thus, the airport schedule prolongs the past into the present and comes to both source and delimit the actions of Hawk One. Goodwin defines the schedule as 'a substrate providing a range of different resources' (p. 253). It is an important object, yet only for the particular task of monitoring the exact aeroplanes sitting on the runway waiting for take-off. Once the planes have left the ground, Hawk One will throw the document away. Even though Goodwin thoroughly explores the multisemiotic aspects of everyday activities, his CA-informed approach does not comprehensively account for how objects are created to be means of translation between 'actors distributed in time'. His data simply does not allow for him to study the actual (inter)actions of the absent predecessors with whom the present actors in his analysis build their co-operative actions in some momentary 'now'. Thus, the collective work of creating action-relevant objects (i.e., the daily flight schedule or the Munsell chart) which can help sustain decisions and understandings of predecessors across time and space is lost. Goodwin observes how a substrate 'is simultaneously the source, the point of departure for future action, and a collection of resources inherited from the past that will be selectively carried forward to future action, there to become a new resource' (p. 323). However, he never demonstrates just how substrates are created in order to promote specific (inter)actions on a later occasion.

Being a competent member of a professional community of practice involves being able to reuse materials provided by predecessors in ways that are meaningful to the organisation of action. Hawk One is not confused about how to perceive and put to use the airport schedule. Rather, due to her professional vision, she is perfectly capable of performing an action based on the documentation provided to her by absent predecessors. Thus, although the flight schedule text might seem downright gibberish to non-professionals, Hawk One competently translates it into meaningful, work-relevant actions. Importantly, though, it is through the constitutive professional practices of Hawk One that the schedule becomes a relevant, situated, and meaningful resource. We do not know for sure how much Hawk One knows about the processes through which the schedule was created, but at least Goodwin does not have access to these details. So, what difference would it make, had Goodwin had access to different steps of the process of creating this particular object? A main argument of this dissertation is that, at least in the particular type of institutional interaction scrutinised here, there is a lot to be gained from

closely investigating the materialisation of meaning in the ongoing constitutive practices of competent actors.

ALL THE WAY DOWN

As hinted above, am interested in the research objectives of 'classic' EMCA-informed workplace studies such as the participatory tasks of orienting to whiteboards (Mondada and Svinhufvud 2016, Nielsen 2012), managing topics of meeting talk (Asmuß & Svennevig 2009; Barnes 2007; Deppermann, Schmidt & Mondada 2010), co-creating work-relevant documents (Samra-Fredericks 2010), making architectural inscriptions (Mondada 2012), and so forth only insofar as the coordination of these (inter)actions supports the process of resemiotising a work-relevant object with affective properties. Streeck (2011) finds that 'in the course of social interaction, physical objects often accumulate situated meanings over time—meanings over and beyond those with which they enter the scene, but which they may retain throughout and beyond the current encounter' (p. 67). Other studies suggest that objects can come to serve as *mediators of action* (Latour, 2005; Middleton and Brown 2005; Scollon and Scollon 2004). The idea is to see that action is always mediated through the use of cultural means. According to Latour (1994), by virtue of their materiality, some objects come to influence the behaviour of people who encounter the object. From an ethnomethodological view, when people succeed in doing some activity for 'another next first time', it is because any interaction is exactly that, a *next* to preceding, similar events. So, the question is, how do participants orient to and set up the parameters for a next relevant activity? Also, how is this space of possibilities oriented to when this future interaction eventually, unfolds? As actors move together through time and space, they manipulate both dimensions to fit their present activity based on prior experiences as well as on their expectancies for things to come (Garfinkel, 2008, p. 141). Thus, the reassembling of the social is not done anew on each occasion. Strum and Latour (1987) demonstrates this insight by comparing the degree of social complexity in baboon society with that of human society. Their study presents an ethnomethodological perspective which entails a 'performative' definition of the 'social link' (p. 785).

Strum and Latour find that modern industrial societies have a low degree of social complexity because of its members' ability to 'organise

others on a larger scale (p. 792). A baboon society, on the other hand, is not able to organise others on a large scale and, thus, has a high level of complexity. The baboon society cannot establish a lasting moral order and must continuously reassemble its social structures anew. Consequently, 'their society reflects their relative powerlessness to enforce their version of society on others or to make it stick as a stable, lasting version' (p. 791). Interestingly, Strum and Latour find that this powerlessness can be explained by the baboon society's inability to employ in meaningful ways exo-somatic resources, which could help them 'simplify social negotiations' (p. 793). In other words, the ability to sustain moral order allows the members of a society to construct intelligible interactional patterns over and over for each next first time. Thus, the 'nextness' of a first time through is constructed on the basis of materialities, which come to prolong past decisions and understandings into the present through the constitutive practices of competent members.

Latour (1994), famously seeks to reconcile the dispute between how mainstream sociology and ethnomethodology treat the relationship between agency and structure. He observes how 'even the simple effect of duration, of long-lasting social force, cannot be obtained without the durability of nonhumans to which human local interactions have been shifted' (p. 51). According to Latour, ethnomethodology makes the mistake of dealing with interaction as a completely local event: 'An action in the distant past, in a faraway place, by actors now absent, can still be present, on condition that it be shifted, translated, delegated, or displaced to other types of actants' (p. 50). This point is strikingly similar to Goodwin's (2018) observation that participants in the unfolding present can, indeed, perform actions in co-operation with absent predecessors through materials inhabited from the past.

In *Reassembling the Social*, Latour (2005) makes his first comprehensive introduction to actor network theory (ANT) in which he continuously refers to Garfinkel's studies of ethnomethods and at some point even notes, 'As Garfinkel has taught us, 'It's practice all the way down!' (p. 135). Latour makes a radical and polemic division between, on the one hand, what he calls the 'sociology of the social' as represented in 'classic' sociological studies and, on the other hand, his own 'sociology of associations' (p. 9). As with Garfinkel, Latour is inspired by the dispute between Émile Durkheim and Gabriel Tarde. Durkheim sought to explain the integrity of modern society in late 19th century France from the position that a society as a whole represents more than its parts. Accord-

ing to Durkheim (1895), there are phenomena 'which [are] general over the whole of a given society whilst having an existence of [their] own, independent of [their] individual manifestations' (in Appelrouth & Desfor 2016, p. 99). These 'social facts' exist external to the individual and have a coercive influence upon the individual's life (Durkheim 1982, p. 51). Tarde, on the other hand, argues that the key research objective of sociology should be the 'accounting for how society is held together, instead of using society to explain something else or to help solve one of the political questions at the time' (in Latour 2005, p. 13). When Tarde's argument can seem rather straightforward to scholars within the EMCA community, it is because it resonates with the framework of ethnomethodology. Tarde's critique of Durkheim's 'scientification' of sociology is similar to the criticism of Parsons's structural functionalism offered by Garfinkel. According to Latour, had the sociological community chosen to cherish Tarde over Durkheim, the field of sociology would have looked very different today with a much stronger focus on the social constitution of society. Greatly influenced by Garfinkel, Latour presents a 'flat' ontology, which encourages analysts to bring into analytical attention the greater networks of actors and their actions based on their locally situated practices. Latour (2005) describes actor network theory as 'half Garfinkel and half Greimas' and notes how these two intellectual programmes combined can help address 'the inner reflexivity of both actor's accounts and of texts' (pp. 54n-55n). My take on how actions are interconnected across time and space is inspired by Latour's readings of Garfinkel and his claim that

> the word 'interaction' was not badly chosen; only the number and type of 'actions' and the span of their 'inter' relations has been vastly underestimated. Stretch any interaction and, sure enough, it becomes an actor-network (2005, p. 202).

The point is to see (inter)actions not as separated points in time and space, but as 'in themselves' somehow stretched: The sense of 'nextness' experienced in 'another next first time through' is rendered perceivable through remote past and immediately preceding (inter)actions. While the adjacent turn-by-turn organisation of participants' joint attention to the 'why that now' of 'local' interaction has been thoroughly investigated within the field of EMCA, the historicity of actions, people, objects and discourses, which spans well beyond the unfolding present has remained widely unexplored. The dispute between different schools

of discourse analysis about how to deal with different 'levels' of analysis, however, is not new.

2.2. INVESTIGATING CHANGE

One of the most famous debates about how EMCA deals with the socio-historical entanglements of local interaction is that between Wetherell (1998) and Schegloff (1997, 1998). The debate started with a paper in which Schegloff (1997) criticises critical discourse analysts for imposing a priori a sociopolitical context on their analysis. According to Schegloff, only from a formal analysis of 'the object–the conversational episode–in its endogenous constitution' can the analyst determine whether politics is at stake at all (p. 168). Wetherell (1998) responds that while the classic CA question of 'why that now' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973) proves a compelling analytical tool in the moment-by-moment analysis of talk, 'the movement of contextualization and the troubling of positions gives some insight into the contradictory and inconsistent organization of the broader interpretative resources' (p. 388). Looking at the broader activities, or contexts, of interaction allows the analyst to make a more sophisticated analysis of 'why' a specific 'that' is prompted by participants as relevant in the momentary 'now'. Schegloff, however, dismisses this criticism by pointing out that the question of 'why that now' is a member's question. According to Schegloff, the reason CA became interested in the question in the first place is that it is 'a pervasively relevant issue (for participants)' (p. 413). 'Why that now?' should not be understood as a way for the researcher to speculate why something happens at a particular point but should rather be considered a vital part of the emic approach of EMCA through which the member's orientation to the sequential organisation of unfolding interaction is studied 'from within'.

From the idea that this order is sequentially organised, EMCA-informed analysts commonly start by looking at turn-taking and adjacency pairs in interaction (Have, 2007; Wooffitt, 2005). Sacks and Schegloff (1973) defines adjacency pairs as

> sequences which properly have the following features: (1) two utterances length, (2) adjacent positioning of component utterances, (3) different speakers producing each utterance. The component utterances of such sequences have an achieved re-

> latedness beyond that which may otherwise obtain between adjacent utterances. (p. 295)

This observation is a cornerstone of the conversation analytic framework. The production of turns-of-talk is not coincidental. A next turn will typically demonstrate some 'analysis, understanding or appreciation' of the prior turn (Heritage 1984, p. 254). It is the placement of a turn that makes it relevant as a particular type of turn. Sacks and Schegloff's (1973) phrasing 'achieved relatedness' makes clear that the pairing of actions relevant to each other (question-answer, greetings, etc.) is indeed the result of a social effort where a missing second pair part is 'noticeably absent'.

Adjacency pairs are considered the smallest possible size of sequential organisation of conversation and discourse (Fetzer & Meierkord, 2002; Schegloff, 2007). Their size and adjacent position make these locally paired actions quite easy to point out in most interactions. Yet, whereas the definition of adjacency pairs as the smallest possible sequence (to the best of this author's knowledge) is shared by most scholars within the EMCA community, it is much harder to find a clear definition of how to define the sequential boundaries of longer stretches of talk. Sacks (1987, p. 54) defines sequentiality as follows: 'Sequential means roughly that the parts, which are occurring one after the other, or are in some before-and-after relationship, have some organisation between them". In other words, sequentiality is the achieved orderliness between different parts in interaction. Locating the beginning and the end of a sequence in analysis is a matter of demonstrating the (stepwise) topic transitions that can occur in the locally situated production of communication (see Jefferson, 1984; Riou, 2015).[8]

EMCA is profoundly occupied with documenting different types of change: change of speaker, change of gaze, change in orientation, change of topics, change in footing, changes between different social activities, and so forth. These changes, however, must happen against a backdrop of expectancies, which remain constant (or, as noted, change slowly), as Rawls states, 'If everything changes, there is no continuity" (in Garfinkel, 2008, p. 64). Exploring the interlinked processes of transforming discourse and materiality on a larger timescale, however, has generally been

[8] Yet, as noted by Have (2008), it can be quite difficult to locate the exact beginning and end of sequences as they tend to overlap and/or 'trail' off into a next sequence (pp. 122-123).

abandoned in favour of doing what EMCA does best, closely scrutinise locally situated single events. Only recently have the connections between non-sequentially related social interactions become a topic of interest to the EMCA community.

ABOUT TIME

Nguyen (2008) observes how novice interns at a pharmacy through practice improved their ability to 'do being' professionals. Nguyen concludes:

> It is through local management of talk that knowledge and competence can be modified, and it is through longitudinal participation in the same speech exchange system that further efficiency can be achieved in the next local management of talk (p. 524).

Through her analysis, Nguyen identifies a modification of professional competences over time as she demonstrates how the professional competences of the intern 'Mai' through practice becomes more efficient over time. This observation suggests that an essential analytical insight of CA, that an utterance can only be understood in relation to its sequential context (Schegloff, 2007), is an idea that can be pushed further in order to analyse how chains, or series, of consecutive conversations rely on the participants' experience as well as their 'historical sedimentation' (Goodwin, 2018). In other words, to explore the complexity of interactions involves describing established, yet volatile 'semiotic ecologies' where '[t]he system, the skill and mastery of the actors change dynamically as time unfolds' (p. 445). The increased *efficiency* described by Nguyen is closely linked to changes in 'the speech exchange system'.

During my work on this dissertation, two edited volumes on the temporal aspects of social interaction have been published: One addresses the temporal properties of moment-by-moment local organisation of interaction (Deppermann and Streeck 2018). The other addresses longitudinal studies of interactional phenomena primarily observed in similar instances of interaction distributed over longer stretches of time (Doehler, Wagner, and González-Martínez, 2018). Both include contributions from several prominent researchers in the field of conversation analysis.

First, *Longitudinal Studies on the Organization of Social Interaction* (Doehler, Wagner, and González-Martínez, 2018) explores the analytical benefits of doing 'longitudinal' studies of social interaction. According to the editors, when studying changes over time, one's data must be collected, analysed, and presented in new ways. The chapters of the volume mainly contrast chronologically occurring interactions divided in time in order to see how the social competences of members are developed through social conduct in a variety of settings. Throughout the contributions, the notion of 'longitudinal' presupposes classic sociolinguistic attention to variations observed 'horizontally' in chronologically ordered, repeated social activities at different points in time.

Second, *Time in Embodied Interaction—Synchronicity and sequentiality of multimodal resources* (Deppermann and Streeck, 2018) explores the temporalities of bodily interaction and multimodal conduct. The contributions are all concerned with the synchronous and sequential coordination of bodily and verbal actions. Thus, the locally situated orchestration of different modes is studied on a moment-by-moment basis in order to explore the temporalities of multimodal interaction. The parts of this edited volume that are mainly of interest here are the chapters dedicated to the study of the temporalities of multimodal conduct, including what Deppermann and Streeck call 'the nexus of materiality and temporality' (p. 7). This nexus consists of physical, durable objects, which, according to Deppermann and Streeck, 'can keep meaning available until further notice, that is, until the object and its situated meaning are modified by action' (p. 8). Alex Schmidt's chapter (pp. 231-260) is interesting in regard to our present interest in planning the structures for a future interaction. Schmidt shows how in theatrical rehearsals participants seek to secure future states. According to Schmidt, this is done in two ways: either through public, verbal projections or through modifications of the material world 'immediately in a purposeful way' (p. 234). Both practices are related to time. The verbal projections allow for the speaker to 'skip time' while modifications of objects 'preserve time' (p. 234). In other words, whereas verbal projections present hypothetical statements about the future, reworking an object (including changing the light, positioning the bodies of the actors, choosing different music, etc.) can help prolong decisions made in the present into the future. Schmidt shares this view on the durability of objects with other prominent EMCA scholars (e.g., Day and Wagner, et al., 2019; Goodwin, 2003, 2013, Nevile et al., 2014, Streeck and Kallmeyer, 2001).

CONTINUITY OF EXPERIENCE

A main gap in the above-mentioned studies on temporality in interaction is that they do not fully deal with is the matter of *continuity*. Longitudinal studies deal with changes over time, but what about changes through time? Creating a shared sense of continuity is an essential ingredient in how members' in each case construct intelligible patterns of behaviour for 'each next first time' (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002). From a phenomenologically informed ethnomethodological perspective, Mary F. Rogers (1983) notes how

> meaning refers beyond what is immediately given. The now-retention-protention structure of consciousness makes meaning an accomplishment that, in a sense, favors time rather than any specific moment. (…) When human beings actively constitute it, meaning derives from the way they regard their experiences, specifically those that have already occurred. (p. 43)

This quote urges us to move beyond the level of single events in order to see how the construction of meaning is distinctively a matter of both 'continuity' and 'repeatability'. Continuity, claims Rogers, 'exhibits a stability that indefinitely validates my determinations and guarantees the fundamental familiarity of my experiences', while repeatability means that 'I can repeat my successful actions as long as the former idealization [the continuity] remains tenable' (p.41). The repetition of an action is made possible by, what Garfinkel (2008) refers to as the seen-but-unnoticed, shared 'background experiences' of the actors of that society in which the action is performed. Moving through time and space is decisively a matter of continuously co-constructing a shared sense of both dimensions through a range of flexible, yet intelligible, constitutive practices. Repeated actions, which constitute a sense of 'sameness' across different activities, must remain recognisably the 'same' and change 'slowly enough not to appear strange to members' (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002, p. 30).

Drawing on the concept of *boundary object* (Bowker, Timmermans, Clarke, and Balka 2015; Star 2010; Star and Griesemer 1989; Zemel, Koschmann and LeBaron, 2011), McIlvenny (2012) suggests using the term 'boundary act' in order to see how an action can serve as an 'interface between different nexuses (or communities) of practice' (p. 264). The boundary act in McIlvenny's data is that of switching off the light at

a designated hour as a collective, political statement. This act is part of a campaign called 'Earth Hour' and is a global event created to stimulate climate change awareness. As McIlvenny notes,

> One of the key goals of the official 'Earth Hour' campaign was to fix temporarily the meaning of a simple boundary act, namely switching off the light, and to establish it as a flexible, viral cultural tool for social activism on climate change. But as we know from studies of communication, it is not easy to fix the meaning of a social action, esp. when it is interactional and therefore negotiable.

This is an essential point in the scope of this dissertation. Certain objects connect communities and activities over time as they align, or recycle, spaces of possibilities distributed in time and space and thus help define the limits of their use. These potentials and limitations are highly dependent on the understanding, practices, and anticipations of predecessors, which resonate with the physical or abstract object at hand (Goodwin 2018). However, in an ethnomethodological sense, it is not that the object remains 'the same' across settings and contexts, but rather that the practices which constitute the object 'are common across situations and memberships' (Rawls in Garfinkel 2008, p. 5). Thus, it is the constitutive practices of competent actors that gives an object its apparent 'durability'. The resilience of objects is thus not an innate feature, but should rather be understood as the co-operative practices of participants from various intersecting social worlds that progressively, and often without intergroup consensus, define the potentials of the object. This is why, in McIlvenny's case, the interactional and thus negotiable act of switching on the light is not easy to fix as social action. As Streeck and Kallmeyer (2001) show in their paper on the role of inscription in interaction, a written work-related document not only 'supports interaction', but is rather a 'locally meaningful sign is fashioned from locally available materials, by extending the sign beyond its canonical realm of application and projecting it into a different domain' (p. 489).

A range of interactional scholars have investigated how interlocutors anticipate and project future actions and events through their local organisation of talk, gesture, and gaze in different setting, such as couples of friends having dinner (Goodwin, 1979; Mandelbaum, 2010), co-driving (Haddington, 2013; Laurier 2013), bike riding (McIlvenny, 2014, 2015), and school staff meetings (Streeck, 2009). As Hopper (2012)

notes, rather than encompassing solely semantic, syntactic, and prosodic features of talk, within CA the term 'projection' has been 'extended to a more general sense, the strategies for foreshadowing upcoming discourse' (p. 307). Haddington (2013) suggests that car passengers directing drivers use projections to explicitly 'build context for what should follow' based on their anticipations about future events and actions (p.185). Navigating a car through the narrow streets of an inner city is a nice example of how participants continuously build their actions with reference to the physical environment and the changing surroundings of the car (see also Laurier 2004).

From a nexus analytical perspective, Scollon and Scollon (2004) make a distinction between 'anticipating' and 'emanating' actions. They find that 'many of the actions that we take are themselves anticipations of actions yet to come or the result of earlier actions' (p. 166). In studies concerning semiotic cycles of different discourses, objects and actions with diverse time-scales, Scollon and Scollon suggest that the analyst, among a number of relevant questions, asks: "How are anticipation and emanation 'built in' in the mediational means used?" (p. 166). In order to answer this question, Scollon and Scollon suggests a number of further questions, including that of 'what relationships or linkages are there among or across timescales?'. In this sense, rather than a straightforward matter of clause-and-effect, the organisation of (inter)action is a multi-party, creative endeavour where each action, actor, object and discourse is embedded in complex, dynamic networks with multiple links to past, present and future others. Moving through time and space is thus a joint, multi-temporal effort where, as Goodwin (2018) puts it, 'next actions are built through relevant operations on prior action' in order to navigate different possibilities for future action (p. 451).

THINGS TO COME

Co-creating a space of possibilities for a future interaction is, a matter of being able to adequately anticipate and project in the present a relevant future sequential outcome. Jean-Paul Sartre (2004, p. 125) describes imagination as a 'magical act'. As repeatedly demonstrated by EMCA-informed scholars, however, this 'magical' act is most often a rather worldly issue, which unfolds as a locally situated social endeavour. Nishizaka (2003) suggests that members of the same culture 'know how to

produce imagination in the course of organizing the activity [they] currently engage in' (p. 200). Other important observations of practices of co-imagination 'in the wild' have been made in studies on the gestural reification of absent objects such as an icebox (Fukuda & Burdelski, 2019) or a blender (Goodwin, 1995, 2003). Also, the sequentiality of reanimating past (and thus 'lost') events has been of major interest. Accordingly, the social reproduction of prior events through acts of storytelling has received much attention from the CA community (e.g., Drew and Heritage, 1992; Edwards and Middleton, 1986; Mandelbaum, 2010; Middleton and Brown, 2005; Sacks, 1992; Sidnell, 2006).

Keith Murphy (2012, p. 1979) develops the concept of 'transmodality' as a fruitful addition to the multimodality paradigm. Murphy observes how 'nearly all processes of design involve the gradual progression from a vague and abstract idea to a concrete, perceptible object, (...) a tangible material object'. In the joint process of designing a candleholder, Murphy thus finds that there are specific tasks, which cannot comprehensively be studied in single instances of talk-in-interaction. According to Murphy, in chains of transmodality, the locally situated interaction and the emerging object are highly interdependent. This interplay is observable in the ways in which social interaction shapes the object, while the changing object restricts variety in the ongoing interaction. Murphy observes how 'the form of the resulting object roughly matches the form of the interactions that produced it' (p. 1979). Murphy's study shows how, through practices of anticipating the next step of developing a final product, the candle holder slowly begins to emerge.

In a study on idea-development in design meetings, Due (2018) entertains the idea that participants co-construct 'imagination spaces' through language, body, and material structure in order to produce sequences of imagination jointly. The paper shows how imagination in work-relevant environments can be analysed based on the reflexive, social practices of co-participants, who 'invite' each other to co-imagine potential design choices. In one example, Due shows how material structure (an old Christmas card) comes to source an imagination space during the process of designing a new Christmas card. In his concluding remarks, Due finds that 'participants can talk emergent structures into being, such as rules, possibilities, and limitations of what is possible in the imagination space, for example by discussing what it is possible to do with an object' (p. 165). Thus, Due suggests a phenomenon closely related to the one that I seek to develop in this dissertation, namely that of

how specific structures of the semiotic ecology of an institutional interaction come to source and restrict the ongoing process of designing a 'final' product. However, I am primarily interested in how these structures came to be sequentiable in a next first time before this one, and, at the end of the present interaction, how these and new structures, which have been recreated and remodified trough the course of the just preceding interaction come to source and restrict the sequential outcome of a next relevant activity. Thus, the type of imagination that I am interested in is the type that demonstrably is produced in order to cultivate and set up a sequential environment for future (inter)actions.

Raudaskoski (2019) observes how, in a televised documentary, parents applying for the adoption a Korean child use objects such as photos of the child to co-operatively imagine a hypothetical future for their brought-together family. She finds that the photo becomes a 'timeless' object: Stripped of its Korean socio-cultural context, in the hands of the hopeful adopting parents, the photo becomes a resource for 'remaking the identity of the child, fixing it to that of a Dane' (p. 21). Thus, as Vygotsky (2004, p. 17) has suggested, a person 'can imagine what [s]he has not seen, can conceptualise something from another person's narration and description of what [s]he [her]himself has never directly experienced' (quoted in Raudaskoski 2019, p. 19). The photography becomes a mediational means, which helps co-construct in the momentary a longing for a potential future. Thus, what is 'not yet there' is co-imagined with help from a particular at-hand resource (p. 20). The photo, which was taken in Korea, is now transferred to a new context in the hands of the adopting parents where it comes to serve the specific role of supporting longing and bonding across time and space. Interestingly, this transference of an object between intersecting social worlds (which in this case share a border that is created by the adoption agency) explicates an attachment to the object on behalf of the parents. The mother's statement 'det er en Peter' ('it is a Peter') (p. 20), recycles an earlier anticipation that 'the baby will look like a Peter'. Consequently, the couple's earlier imaginings are confirmed. An interesting observation in relation to the focus of this dissertation is how the introduction of the baby photography elicits an emotional stance from the mother as she laughs with a 'teary voice' in line 5. This incident is a clear example of how materiality can serve the sequential purpose of promoting affectivity in unfolding interaction. Through the constitutive practices of the parents, the picture comes to influence the sequential outcome of the on-screen interaction.

Interestingly, most of the above-mentioned studies include shifts between different semiotic systems where the interplay between actions, objects, people and discourses comes to prolong past (inter)actions into later activities through the co-constitutive practices of participants. In this dissertation, I utilise and further develop the concept of 'resemiotisation' in order to construct a framework to deal with changes through time in the task of producing mass media interaction.

2.1. ACROSS TIME, SPACE, AND MULTIPLE MODES: RESEMIOTISATION

Resemiotisation concerns the 'pathways and trajectories of texts, actions, practices, and objects of people and communication across time and space and multiple modes' (Scollon 2008, p. 241). The concept originates in the field of social semiotics and resonates with the ontology and epistemology of *traversing* (Lemke 2009). Rick Iedema, who coined the term 'resemiotisation', has a main interest in health records and communication. His first study of resemiotisation (2001, p. 23) examines the flow of objects in a stream of events in the process of designing a new wing for an Australian hospital. In meetings with different 'stakeholders' (officials, architects, and future users of the building), Iedema shows how in the architectural process, meaning 'gradually moves from temporal kinds of meaning-making, such as talk and gesture, towards increasingly durable kinds of meaning-making, such as reports, designs, and, ultimately, buildings' (pp. 23-24). Throughout his analysis, Iedema (p. 29) demonstrates how studies of resemiotisation can '1) trace *how* certain semiotics are mobilised in workflows where ideas are continuously shared, negotiated and reshaped through the interlocutors' social practices and 2) help asking *why* these semiotics are mobilized, rather than others'. Iedema's conceptualisation of resemiotisation takes root in Roman Jakobson's notion of 'intersemioticity' (Jakobson 1971 in Iedema 2003), which originally referred to the translation between different languages. However, with Iedema (2003a, p. 24) 'intersemiotic shifts' are extended to 'include translations that occur between different semiotic systems and their materiali-

ties. These translations are intersemiotic shifts insofar as one semiotics come to stand for or represent another'.[9]

In his contribution to the edited volume *Discussing Conversation Analysis – The work of Emanuel A. Schegloff*, Iedema (2003b) criticises the ontological and analytical primacy of (Schegloff's) conversation analysis. The part of his critique that is particularly interesting here is that of how external contexts inform local interaction. According to Iedema, Schegloff differs between the external and the intra-interactional (p. 80). The external type of context is that which encompasses

> aspects of social life long central to the social sciences—the class, ethnic, and gender composition of an interaction, each of these understood either as a distinctive source of ordering of and constraint on social life, or as an embodiment of more general properties such as 'power'… Here as well are found the various institutional matrices within which interaction occurs (the legal order, economic or market order, etc.), as well as its ecological, regional, national, and cultural settings, all of which may be taken as 'shaping' what goes on under their auspices or in arenas of social life on which they have a bearing (Schegloff, 1992 in Iedema, 2003b, pp. 80-81).

In contrast to these external contexts commonly suggested in the social sciences, the intra-interactional context in 'Schegloff's CA' includes:

> the sort of occasion or genre of interaction which participants, by their conduct, make some episode be an instance of, the sorts of sequences of talk or courses of conduct in which particular events may occur […], the capacity in which participants act relative to the episode in progress […] (Schegloff 1992 in Iedema 2003b, p. 81).

According to Iedema, however, Schegloff's view on context grossly overlooks the socio-historical links and dimensions, the 'contextual factors', of human interaction. He attacks the lack of attention that conversation analysts pay to the 'modalities of structuredness' over time, a continuum ranging from momentary and fleeting (talk, gesture, etc.) to solid

[9] Interestingly, the notion of intersemiotic shift thus encompasses the act of transcribing interaction that is inextricably a part of doing EMCA. I will return to and discuss this observation further in Chapter 3.

and durable (e.g., written summaries, architectural drawings and, eventually, buildings) (pp. 78-79). Within the paradigm of Schegloff, Iedema claims, the matter of how 'meaning is constantly rearticulated or 'resemiotised' as interaction unfolds' cannot be addressed. Thus, Schegloff's CA fails to respect 'the semiotically fluid and complex nature of human interaction' (p. 80). As an extension to this claim, Iedema provides the counterargument presented by Latour (1996):

> If one attempted to draw a spatio-temporal map of what is present in the interaction, and to draw up a list of everyone who in one form or another were present, one would not sketch out a well-demarcated frame, but a convoluted network with a multiplicity of highly diverse dates, places and people (Latour 1996 in Iedema, 2003, p.81).

Even though Schegloff, in his rather harsh and brief response, dismisses Iedema's critical account as faltering on a foundation of cherry-picking quotes and an overall misreading of Schegloff's lifelong work (Schegloff, 2003, pp. 159-160), the critique is indeed relevant when investigating how understandings are co-created and reworked over longer periods. According to Latour (1994), 'ethnomethodologists are right to criticise traditional sociology with its fanciful macro level, but they are wrong to conclude that there is such a thing as an absolutely *local* interaction' (p. 51, my emphasis). Now, a main question in this dissertation is that of how far we will have to stray off the patch of classic CA to achieve some sense of the 'convoluted network of dates, places, and people' as suggested by Latour above–and what types of theoretical and methodological insights we would potentially gain from this.

A FLOW OF OBJECTS IN A STREAM OF EVENTS

A varied group of scholars have taken up resemiotisation in order to explore a range of issues similar to mine. Using nexus analysis and mediated discourse analysis, Ron Scollon (2008) finds that 'much discourse which is of relevance to a moment of action is, in fact, displaced from that action, often at quite a distance and across a wide variety of times, places, people, media and objects' (p. 233). Scollon illustrates certain discourse itineraries, or processes of resemiotisation, by analysing the

trajectories of the word *organic* on a bag of brown rice. He demonstrates ways of 'making' food organic through the discursive and social process of narration. Scollon finds nine processes of resemiotisation in his analysis: Regularly repeated *actions*, which were increasingly recognised 'as doing the same thing', *practice*. *Narratives* were created to retrospectively characterise a sequence of actions or practices. These narrative claims were verified and *authorised* by the National Organic Standards Boards (NOSB). This authorisation is made publicly visible and relevant though *certificates*. By putting the he word 'organic' on its label the rice is *metonymized* and 'now stands in for objects, actions, practices and places called Lundberg Farms'. By implementing different semiotic modes on the label of the bag, the organic properties of the rice is *remodalised* to include the company brand color and 'a graphic looking like an official seal'. With the present bag of rice and the words 'organic rice', focus is shifted from the process of 'growing organic rice' to the *materialized* object of 'organic rice'. The label enables consumers to eat organic rice as an action but also as a practice (*technologisation/reification*) (pp. 242-243; see also Koivisoinen, Kuure & Tapio, 2016). Scollon concludes that, although a useful concept, Bakhtin's *intertextuality* cannot sufficiently explain how meaning is reworked over time. Rather, itineraries of discourse should be explained as 'processes of transformation across events, spaces, times, modes and media' (p. 241). Scollon presents a most interesting take on resemiotisation—and one that has profoundly inspired this dissertation. In conclusion, he remarks that 'what I hope to have made clear in this chapter is that our actions, practices, texts and objects itinerate along over such sequences of transformation, now material, now discursive, now actional' (p. 243).

Kerfoot (2011) observes how meaning travels across multilingual participatory spaces in South Africa. She finds that by promoting intergroup dialogue, 'linguistic hierarchies' can be reorganised to make all participants equals (p. 97). Interestingly, it is through semiotic materialisations 'entwined with shifts in and among languages, language varieties, or registers' that inclusion and mutual understanding is mobilised. By adopting a social semiotic notion of *multimodality* (Kress 2003), Kerfoot reproduces the classic linguistic tradition of treating *meaning* as something that can be coded and recoded into and through language (pp. 95-96). While claiming to consider 'the full range of semiotic resources in play' (p. 100), Kerfoot leaves out a great deal of interactional features. Her analytical insights are derived from interviews with participants who have

been in workshops on 'how citizens living in poverty can engage the state and influence the wider decision-making processes that affect their lives' (p. 88). In general, conversation analysts find research interviews problematic as these kinds of data 'are seen as too much of the researcher's or informants' manipulation, selection, or reconstruction, based on preconceived notions of what is probable and important' (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984, pp. 2-3). In other words, doing research interviews might obscure a study of certain processes of resemiotisation because the data will potentially overflow with personal stories, which are difficult to revisit and review, which, from an EMCA perspective is problematic.

In their study on how identity is constructed on social media, Leppänen, Kytölä, Jousmäki, Peuronen, and Westinen (2013, p. 8) defines resemiotisation as 'the process of semiotic change in the circulation and flow of discourses across social and cultural boundaries'. From the analysis of five cases, the study shows how progressive modifications of social media discourse is a vivid part of doing online identity work. One of their cases demonstrates how, in a music video, a Christian metal band uses as its logo a reworked pentagram. Originally, a pentagram is a five-point star, which is commonly related to Satanism. However, the Christian band has taken this non-Christian symbol and resemiotised it into a nine-point star, which they call a *re*pentagram. (p. 16). This rather complex multimodal transformation leaves some fans in an online forum wondering whether the band is Christian at all. According to Leppänen et al., this problem occurs because 'some elements from the original non-Christian *scheme* may (…) have been transferred (…) to the new Christian context' (p. 18). Other fans, though, are able to understand and explain how repentagram is a play on words; repent + pentagram. This ideological transformation of different properties of the object into something new thus allows the band to be a metal band while overtly keeping their Christian values (p. 17). The case is an interesting example of how an object can be transformed into something else while preserving a sense of its former use. This process of transformation also reveals another interesting thing: A reason why some fans did not immediately perceive the repentagram as a Christian symbol is because it was presented to them without a complementary explanation.

Building on the insights of Iedema (2003) and Leppänen et al. (2013), Theodoropoulou (2016) introduces resemiotisation as a 'tool' to 'explain how mainstream (i.e., institutionalised) and social (i.e., grassroots) media (cf. Hepp, 2014) are involved in the production and circula-

tion of information and knowledge' (p. 29). Her paper focuses on the public ridicule of the former Greek minister of finance, Yanis Varoufakis; a left-wing politician who 'advocated for the Greeks to adopt a modest lifestyle' (p. 31). Yet, the public soon began to criticise Varoufakis' extravagant lifestyle for contrasting with his political statements. The study demonstrates how, through practices of resemiotising sarcasm, Varoufakis's alleged double standards are repeatedly made the centre of attention in a series of pictures and cartoons. Theodoropoulou's research is conducted as 'hypermedia ethnography', which, in practice, means that she draws on a corpus of data from Facebook, Twitter, and a centre-right newspaper called *Kathimerini* (p. 29). In her concluding remarks, Theodoropoulou notes how the dimension of the prosumer's perspective would be an interesting next step of analysis.

Achugar (2016) investigates intergenerational transmissions of narratives in Uruguay to see how memories of past events are passed on through generations. Tracing a popular tale of the Uruguayan soccer team winning the World Cup in 1950, Achugar finds that in (re)making the past, 'dominant narratives about the past construct meaning-making traditions that produce continuities connecting the past and the present' (p. 193). These narratives are recontextualised and resemiotised over time, and young people are seen taking the role of *animator* of predecessors' experiences and talk (p. 191). This shift in *footing* (Goffman 1981) reflects the intercultural entitlement to reproduce the narrative as a first story. As Achugar shows, this way of reproducing memory can be extended way beyond a soccer match to encompass how the traumatic past of Uruguay is represented and thus understood by different political ideologies. Achugar (2016, p. 3) argues that discourses about the past 'not only construct particular representations of events, participants, and circumstances but also orientations towards these representations of the past' and that these representations potentially affect the identity work of the Uruguayan youth. Thus, past experiences handed down through generations shape both the present and the future of the Uruguayan people. According to Achugar, the 'cultural collective memory' that constitutes 'what the nation has learned from particular historical events' is 'transmitted through symbolic systems' (p. 7). This idea of *symbolic systems* echoes throughout Achugar's analyses (Chapters two and three), and the 'semiotic work' that is explored is limited to focussing on the linguistic features of the participants' talk (p. 47). What is specifically interesting in Achugar's work is her observation that specific narratives connect the

past and the present, and, importantly, that by representing these narratives as 'their own', young generations of Uruguayans inherit and recycle in the present the traumatic past of their ancestors. The practices through which these narratives are handed down through generations are what is interesting to consider. The processes of passing on semiotic structures (in this case a narrative) between generations is a joint, interactional effort, and the sequential organisation of the present is dependent on the resemiotisation of structures passed on by ancestors.

Within the field of EMCA, the notion of resemiotisation has been widely overlooked. This is likely due to a general attitude amongst conversation analysts against theorising *a priori*, as opposed to following EMCA's more 'inductive' approach (Liddicoat 2007; Lynch and Bogen 1994). EMCA has a very strict methodological programme, and even though scholars from different scientific fields such as anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and so forth treat certain interactional elements somewhat differently (see Sidnell and Stivers 2013), EMCA is essentially a grounded theory. This means that rather than basing a priori hypotheses on existing theory, 'one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge' (Strauss and Corbin 1990 in Nielsen and Nielsen, 2005) Thus, EMCA is primarily interested in the here-and-now features of interaction. Consequently, few studies have been occupied with the transformations of meaning over longer stretches of time. The historicity of objects and actions have simply not been an interest of EMCA in the same way as in, for example, nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2005). Ten Have (2007) observes how 'what CA tries to do is to explicate the inherent theories-in-use of members' practices as *lived orders*, rather than trying to order the world *externally* by applying a set of traditionally available concepts, or invented variations thereof' (p. 31). This seemingly atheoretical stance should not, however, be written-off as 'naïve realism' (Lynch and Bogen 1994, p. 69). The reason that conversation analysts do not compare the actions of a society's members to 'formulaic accounts of methods' (Lynch 2001, p. 149) is that 'persons are *in* the social not as sentient bodies absorbing information but as *members* whose acts contribute to the 'assembly' of naturally organised, ordinary activities' (Lynch and Bogen 1994, p. 71). In this sense, Iedema's work is missing an attention to this 'assembly' of complex multifaceted structures of interaction that he himself accuses Schegloff of being too caught up in exploring. Iedema's reproductions of interaction are limited to the partic-

ipants' utterances. Iedema's transcription (2001, p. 31) focuses on grammatical structures and has a complete lack of phonetic, multimodal, material, and so forth, features that are all parts of the semiotic field of face-to-face interaction and which could support (or undermine) his analytical claims. He concludes that 'contested issues [in the architectural meetings] were placed beyond negotiation and were stabilised by grammatical structures which require extra linguistic work for them to be recuperated into interactive negotiation' (p. 35).

The inspiration from linguistics/semiotic theory (Halliday, 1994; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001) is evident in Iedema's understanding and utilisation of multimodality and, at least from an EMCA perspective, Iedema's work does not satisfyingly demonstrate how meaning moves from one end of the continuum of structuredness to the other as his lack of attention to the fine-grained trajectories of meaning-making in meetings results in some rather rough analyses. Goodwin (1994) and Latour's (1999) studies of the use of the Munsell chart for archaeological purposes, and the new hospital wing in Iedema's (2001) study are quite tangible examples of the solidification of meaning over time. Yet, neither Goodwin, Latour, or Iedema can (or least do) account for the creation of either object. Goodwin and Latour both notice the historical embeddedness of the Munsell chart, but they do not have access to see just how these colours originally were divided and subdivided into categories. Thus, the social achievement of systematising the classification of colours is lost. Iedema, on the other hand, presents some idea about how particular collaborative choices are made in order to shape the final structure of the hospital building, but he never shows what it is like then for the hospital personnel to inhabit the finished building. When looking at the Munsell Chart or standing in the new wing of the hospital, these objects do not necessarily reflect the active, social process of resemiotising initial volatile ideas into tangible materials and spatial structures. Neither do they echo the behavioural states or actions (i.e., affective) that are intrinsically a part of processes of resemiotising these structures. Ann Rawls (in Garfinkel, 2008) addresses the relationship between actors and their material worlds and notes:

> I believe Garfinkel would maintain that if there are objects that cross situated boundaries, it is not because some objects are common to more situations than others, but rather, because the practices which constitute them as objects—mutually intel-

> ligible objects—are common across many situations and memberships. (p. 5)

This quote nicely deals with the concerns described above regarding how materialities can come to prolong decisions and understandings into future activities. The intergenerationally inherited cultural narratives presented in Achugar's study demonstrate how practices of handing down traumatic stories through generations can come to affect the interactional spaces of possibilities for future generations. Interestingly, these narratives have been retold over the years. Thus, it is through the practices which constitute and maintain these stories as relevant across generations that they are continuously recycled and reiterated as part of a shared Uruguayan discursive identity. The aim to 'respect the semiotically fluid and complex nature of human interaction' (Iedema, 2003a, p. 80), which echoes in the notion of resemiotisation is a welcome supplementary dimension to the scope of EMCA. In return, EMCA affords a framework more apt to demonstrate just how practices of translation between different semiotic systems take place on a moment-by-moment basis, for example, through means of 'inscription' (e.g., Streeck and Kallmeyer, 2001; Mondada, 2007; Mondada and Svinhufvud 2016). Iedema, greatly inspired by Latour's (1987) account for the 'hardening' of facts in science and Bernstein's *recontextualization* (1990), claims that 'in some sense, exo-somatic realms store meanings that have 'settled', thereby perpetuating the kinds of social relations and understandings that gave rise to them across time and space' (Iedema, 2001, p. 32). However, as stated in the quote from Rawls above, ethnomethodologists (and, thus, also this dissertation) would make the counter claim that this 'perpetuation of social relations and understandings' is a practice-based and contingent members' accomplishment.

STRUCTURES FOR COLLABORATIVE ACTION

Mondada (2012) investigates the multimodal co-operative task of dealing with inscriptions within the architectural work of transforming a castle into a luxurious hotel. She finds that 'the focus on the final product erases the practices that have produced it; it ignores the interpretive, selective, partial way in which inscriptions are used, read, transformed, and created' (p. 329). Mondada's study is inspiring in order to see how a fine-

grained multimodal analysis of local interaction can help uncover specific locallysituated practices of co-creating work-related objects. It is, however, temporally limited to a case study of a single, demarcated meeting, and thus must rely partly on the 'probability' of the existence of prior events and actions of predecessors (p. 329). Even though Mondada addresses the architects' references to past discussions, she does not have access to these prior events. Of course, this is not a problem to Mondada since she is not interested in (or perhaps does not have the data to trace) the flow of events leading up to the particular architectural meeting scrutinised in her paper.

Hazel and Mortensen (2019) investigate the deployment of different types of 'designedly incomplete objects' to see how such objects come to encourage specific actions. In cases of L2 classroom interaction, the authors show how different gap-fill tasks become a resource for learning as 'blank' spaces in handouts and textbooks and on a whiteboard demonstrably come to elicit contributions from the students. Thus, through practices of noticing and indexing the 'noticeable absence' of inscription, the teachers in Hazel and Mortensen's data skilfully orient the students' attention to these 'missing' parts and encourage them to produce relevant-next actions.

In Nevile's (2019) paper on how to progress the collaborative activity of making a custom-made dress, the placing of pins constitutes contemporary decisions on dress design. As Nevile's analysis shows, pins are placed in two different parts of the sequential organisation of negotiating the design of the dress. Either, a pin is placed after agreement—that is after the involved participants have agreed and settled on where to place it with regard to the following work of cutting and stitching the dress according to the placement of pins. Or, a pin is provisionally placed for agreement, marking a possible location. In this case, 'the pin might remain in that location, if agreement is reached, or may be re-placed (i.e., relocated) until there is agreement' (p. 56).

The joint activities of producing architectural drawings, completing an 'incomplete' whiteboard, and placing pins in a dress emanate from prior actions and anticipate possible future actions. The sequential environments of these unfolding interactions are heavily influenced by the place that the individual activity holds in a series of work-relevant activities. Yet, this historicity remains invisible from the analyses. Thus, we do not have access to the past events in which the now at-hand semiotic

resources in the three examples were made sequentiable in order for successors to continue working on these objects on a later occasion.

2.2. GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

Current EMCA-informed studies show how participants and 'their' material worlds are intrinsically intertwined at all points in locally situated interaction. However, these studies fail to demonstrate adequately how people, actions, objects and discourses evolve over time and, thus, how both the 'another-ness' and the 'next-ness' of every 'another next first time' constantly (although slowly) change. Accordingly, exploring the individual time-scales of semiotic resources have been widely disregarded by the EMCA community. As Goodwin (Goodwin & Salomon, 2019) notes,

> We're always in this world where we inherit the solutions that earlier actors have found. So, we're constantly in a world of not just objects, but of things that are shaping both our actions and our thinking, that has an historical sedimentation. And we can't ignore that historical sedimentation, which I think is what happens in CA. (p. 17)

I agree with Goodwin that the lack of interest in the historicity of semiotic resources is unfruitful. The more we know about how a sequence of interaction became sequentiable in the first place, the more sophisticated analysis can be made about why participants interact in certain ways in the present. The dispute about time and space is not new to the EMCA community. Garfinkel's discontent with the binary structure-agency and micro-macro perspectives as described by the mainstream social sciences was a driving force in the creation of ethnomethodology (see Psathas, 1999). Sociology typically describes social conduct as something that can be explained only as a tension between, on the one hand, the actor's intentions and motives and, on the other hand, the 'nexus of social forces' in which the actor's action is located (Francis and Hester, 2004, p. 6). For ethnomethodologists, this is a false dichotomy. 'Social structure' is not seen as something that exists outside the actor. Rather, if there exists such a thing as structures, these are realised and maintained as locally situated, joint accomplishments thought the ongoing constitutive practices of a society's members. As we have seen in this chapter, this issue is

closely related to that of the micro-macro levels of analysis. Besides from ANT, a range of scholars have sought to bridge the gap between analysis of different 'levels'.

- Practice theory (Nicolini, 2009; Ortner, 2016; Schatzki 2002) explores the connections between practice and structure and 'seeks to explain the relationship(s) that obtain between human action, on the one hand, and some global entity which we call 'the system' on the other.' (Ortner 2016, p. 499). A main argument is that member's practices are both locally situated and globally inter-connected to each other over time.

- Critical discourse analysis (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) explores the reproduction of discourse by looking at how locally produced texts relate to social practice. A key claim is that texts must be understood in relation to interdiscursive and intertextual macro levels of society—and vice versa.

- Nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2004) suggests an enhanced focus of NA is on how social action emerges as a tension between 1) the locally situated interactional order, 2) the discourses in place, and 3) the historical body of the individual actor. 'Discourse in place' encompasses the spatial and material properties of the interaction, while 'historical body' is defined by the actors' overall experience with social actions (Kuure, Riekki, and Tumelius, 2018; Larsen and Raudaskoski, 2016).

- Structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) draws on ethnomethodology's concepts of 'rules' to account adequately for the structures of social interaction as 'techniques or generalisable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices' (p. 21). According to Giddens, social systems are constituted by the connections between practices which are recursively produced across various spans of time and space' (Giddens 1979 in Hartland, 1995, p. 26).

These approaches present different ways of accounting for the above-mentioned issues of the relationship between micro and macro levels of society, which all include as an element the interplay between

actors and their material worlds. I prefer to stay true to the ethnomethodological insight that if some greater structures do exist 'outside' the here-and-now, and if these do influence the ongoing course of local interaction, these structures, or 'norms', must be treated as a members' phenomenon–again: 'it's practice all the way down!' (Latour, 2005). Based on my initial observations of the reflexively embodied practices through which the participants of my data constitute and maintain 'fractal orderliness' (Forrester, 2015, p. 66) by deploying a range of work-relevant objects, I find it interesting to investigate further how these people co-create a shared sense of continuity and change across series of non-contiguous, work activities. My research involves a synthesis of Garfinkel's (2002) observation that members always produce social order in the momentary now as 'another next first time', and Strum and Latour's (1987; Latour 1994) claim that the human ability to organise this order over longer stretches of time is intrinsically dependent on their ability to displace human action into a variety of non-human objects. This assertion is in line with Goodwin's claim above that we should not disregard the historical sedimentation of objects. What is of interest here, then, is to see what we gain analytically from knowing more about how the joint accomplishment of co-constructing a sequential environment for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction for another next first time is sequentially organised and materially structured across a series of work-relevant activities.

In the following chapter, I will elaborate further on my data and methodology in order to clarify just how I seek to explore the discursive trajectories of mass media pre-production.

CHAPTER 3. EMPIRICAL DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. DATA

My data is collected at the editorial office of a Danish live televised talk show over four days in mid-2017. I contacted the editorial manager of the talk show and asked for permission to visit them and tell about my project. After my presentation, the manager, and thus the staff, granted me unlimited access to all parts of the editorial work. The editorial staff has a two-day work cycle (see Figure 9 below), and so I followed two cycles of their work, focusing on the co-creation and pre-production of semiotic resources for two specific talk show interviews.

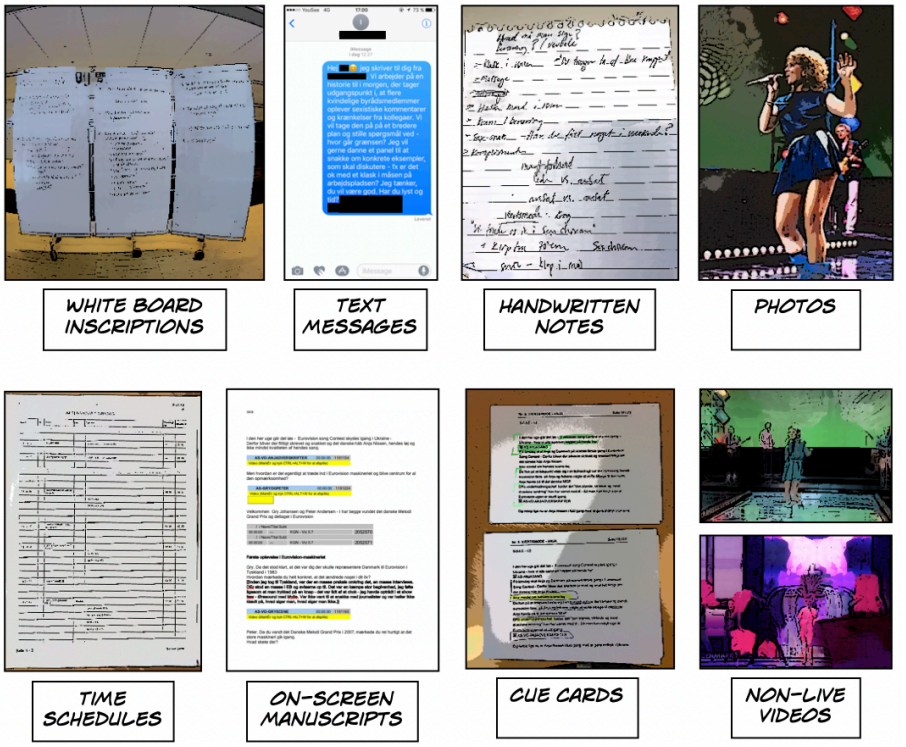


Figure 4 Work-relevant objects.

The collection consists of two types of data. The first type is the exo-somatic materials that are in one way or another involved in the editorial

work of (pre-)producing live talk show interaction. These include whiteboard inscriptions, text messages, handwritten notes, photos, time schedules, on-screen manuscripts, printed cue cards, and non-live video materials (Figure 4 above). The other type of data is video and sound recordings. I will return to this when I introduce and elaborate on my methodological choices below. Laurier (2014b) notes how video recordings present the researcher with 'a profusion of things to notice' by making available for analysis 'all manner of gestures, objects, and environmental features' (p. 260). As we shall see, the type of processual data presented in this dissertation makes some aspects of this 'profusion' easier and others much more difficult to comprehend: easier in terms of understanding—along with the participants moving through time and space—the reasons why specific actions and objects appear the way they do at specific points, and harder because we suddenly get a sense of just how huge and complex the networks of people, objects, actions, ideas, and more really are. I have done my best to make available to the reader the 'events' of my analysis as they unfolded in situ.

The two interviews that I traced pursue quite different types of affective talk show talk. The main case traces the pre-production of a talk show interview about the Eurovision Song Contest (Figure 5)

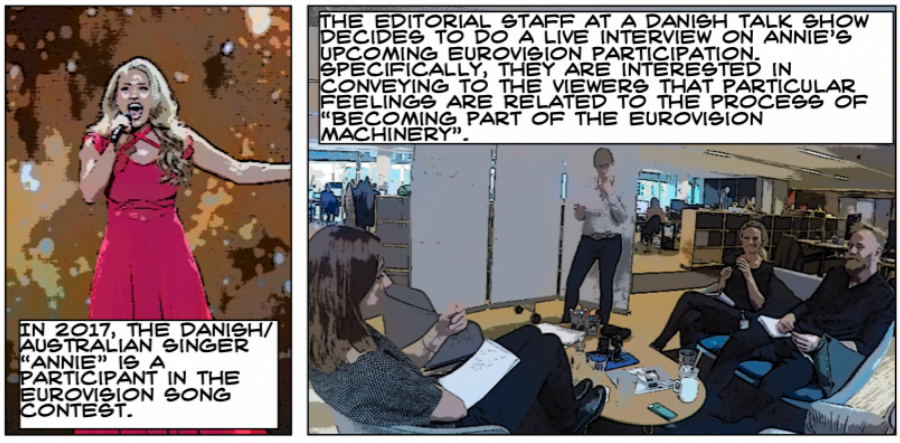




Figure 5 A brief introduction to case 1.

The second case is about the creation of the sequential space of possibilities for a panel debate on sexual harassment. In this second case, I am primarily interested in seeing how the live introduction to the interview is planned and preproduced. Shortly before my submission date, one host on the second case withdrew her consent due to personal issues. According to her, the decision had nothing to with my anonymisation or general use of the data. So, I removed her from the analysis and restructured the entire dissertation accordingly. Thus, my use of this second case is sparse, and the female host (H1B) is only part of a single talk show interaction, where she has been heavily anonymised.

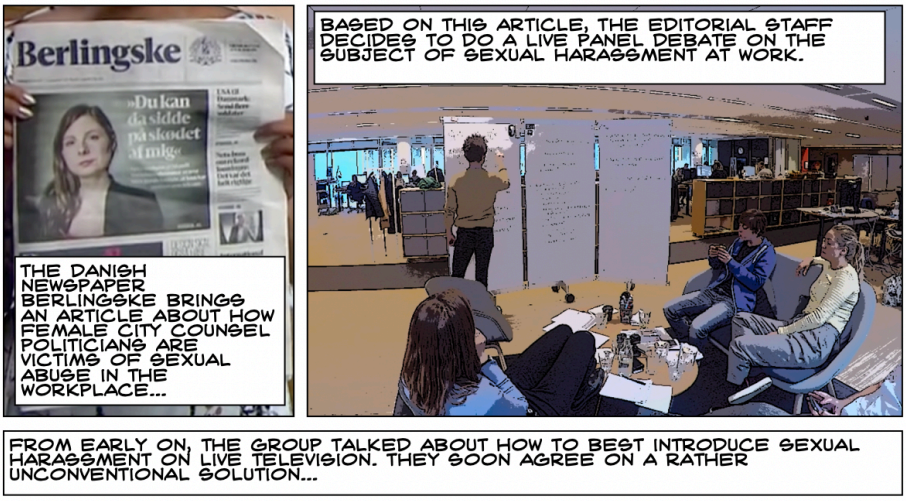


Figure 6 A brief introduction to case 2.

In my analysis, I follow these two cases 'simultaneously'. That is, I follow the two stories as if they were developed over the same two days of work. In doing so, I continuously shift between the cases in order to demonstrate (dis)similarities in how the two teams cultivate different affective possibilities for the final live shows.

THE EDITORIAL STAFF AND THEIR PLANNED ACTIVITIES

Over the following pages, I have provided a list of the most prominent participants for each case, including a list of their planned activities according to the intern workplace manual. The list of employees extends well beyond the ones listed below, but to avoid information overload, I have left out personnel who are not part of the data. A few staff members with minor roles will be introduced at later points. All members of the staff have signed a consent form which enables them to withdraw their consent and be deleted from the data at any time.

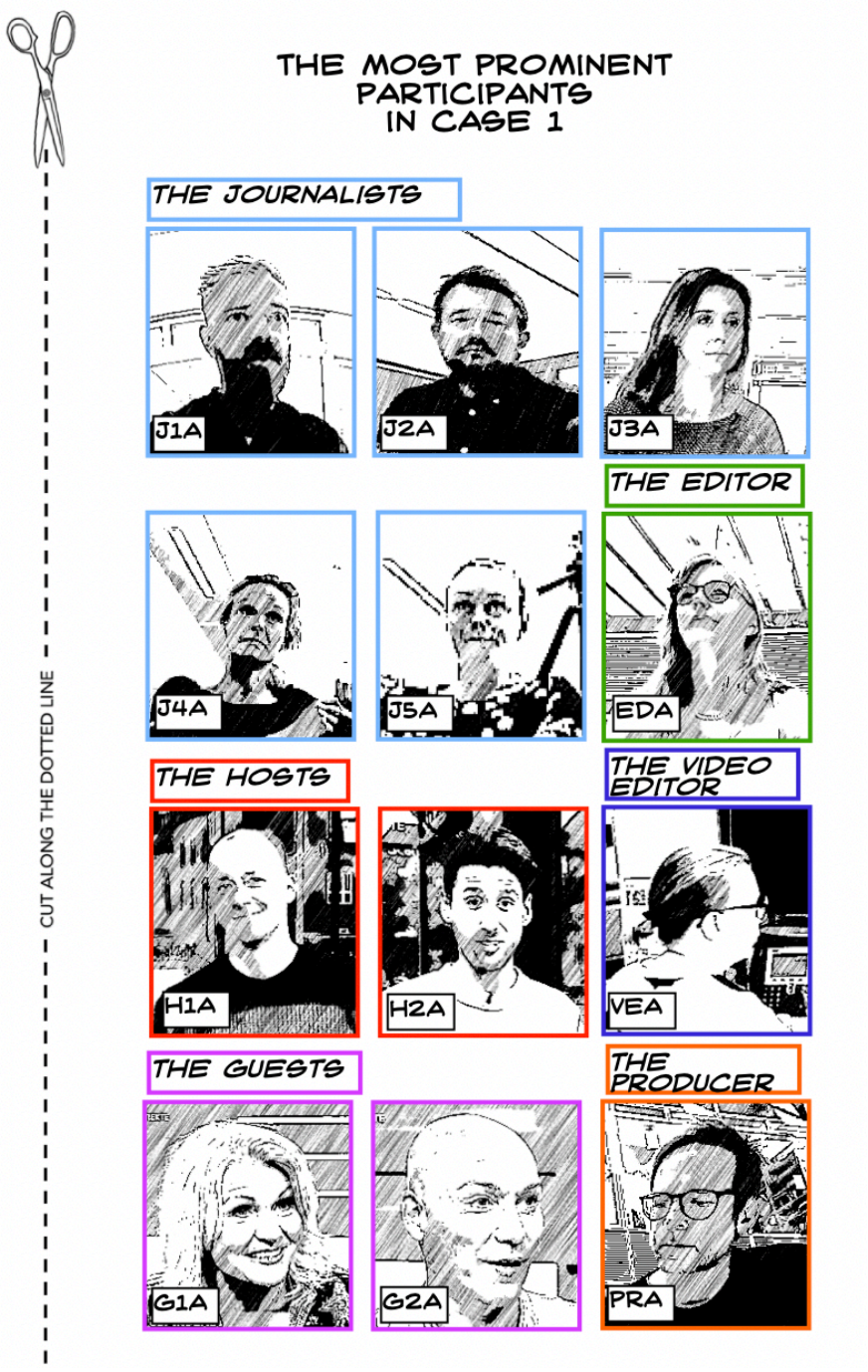


Figure 7 The most prominent participants in case 1.

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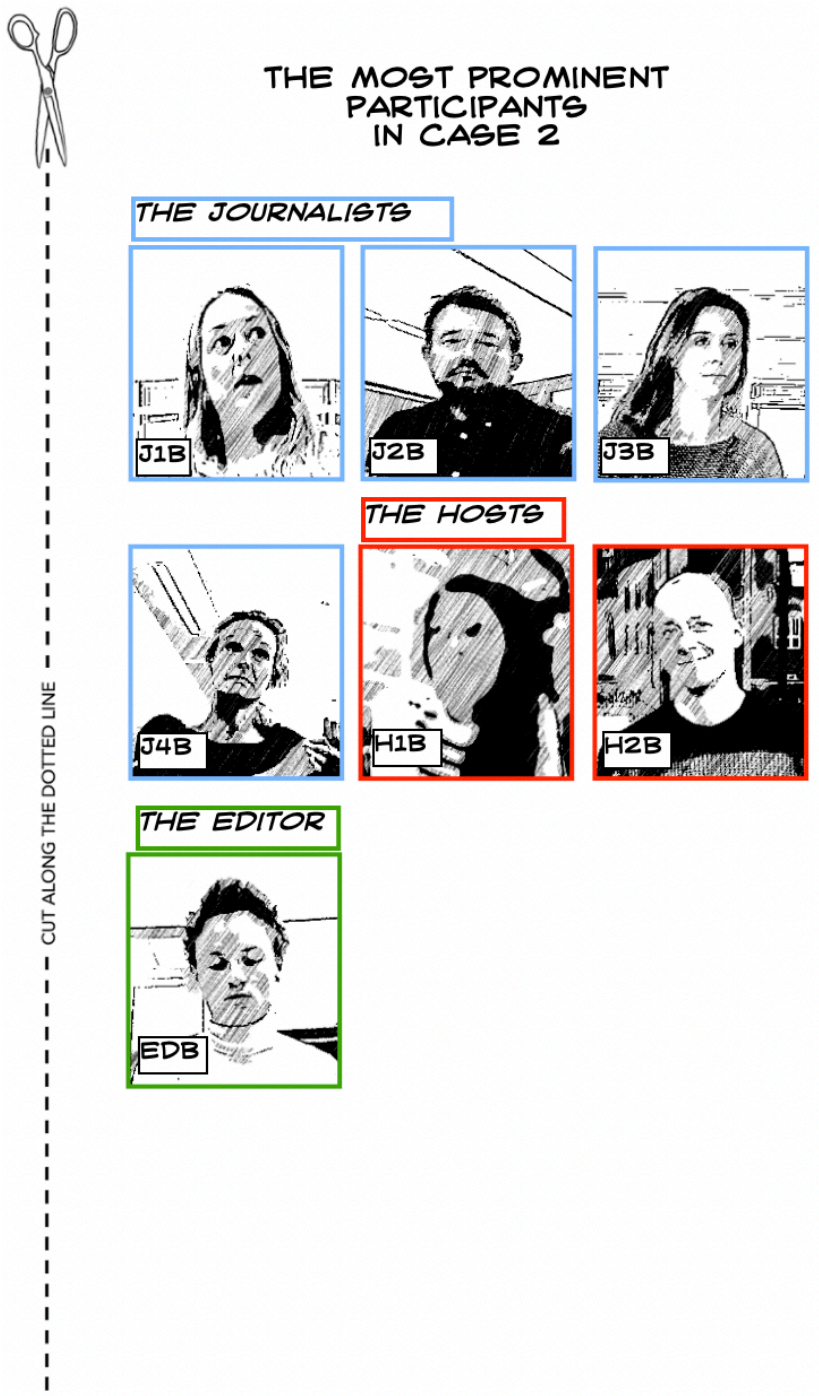

Figure 8 The most prominent participants in case 2.

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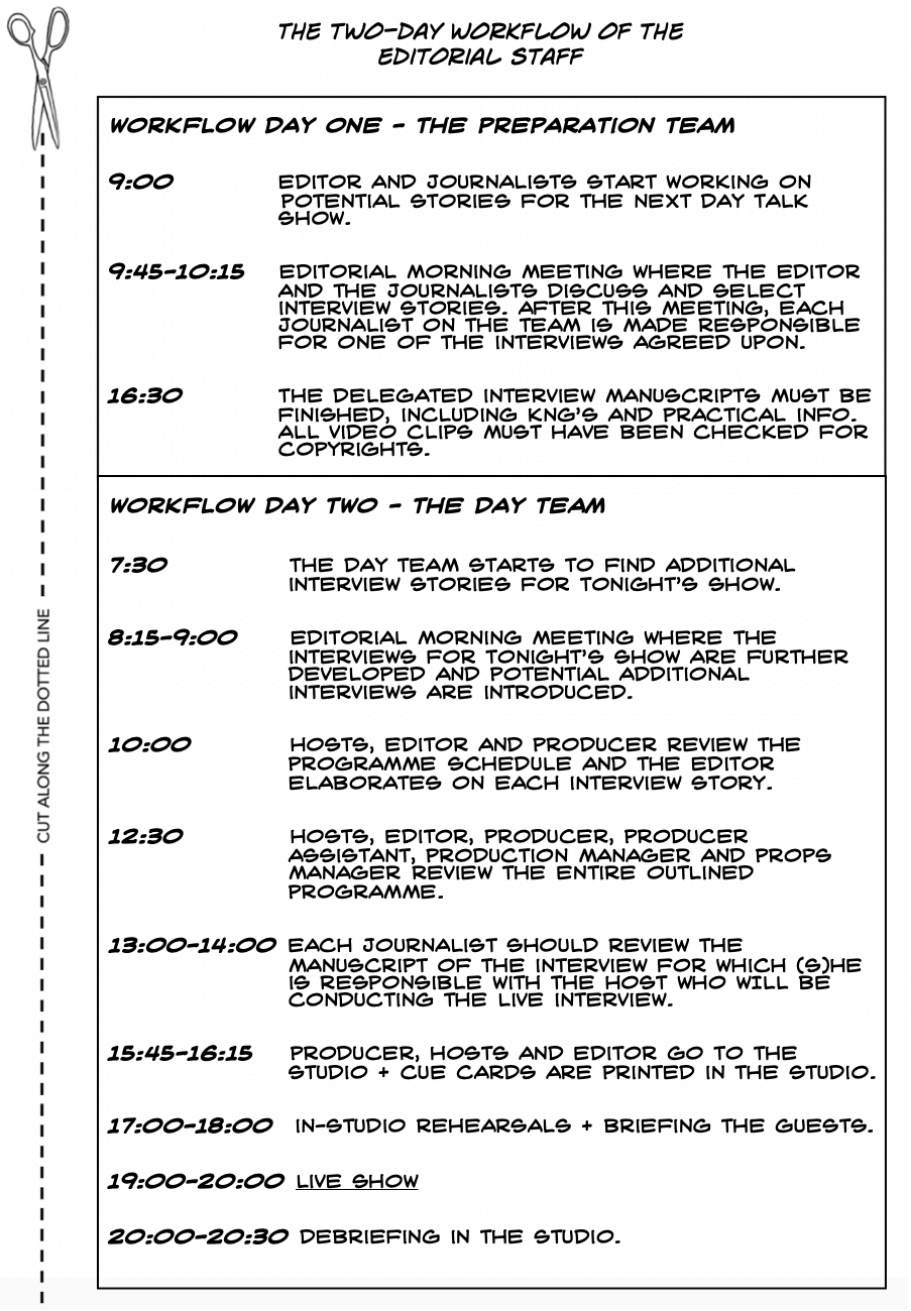

Figure 9 The two-day workflow of the editorial staff

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3.2. METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation, I explore the inextricable relationship between the professional actions of the editorial staff and the work-relevant objects through which they constitute and maintain a shared sense of progressivity and, thus, continuity across time and space. My claim is that by tracing the discursive trajectories of the different modes that current 'multimodal' EMCA is busy exploring, we can know more about how the semiotic ecologies that source affective, mass media (inter)action are (pre)produced. And, thus how and why an affective stance, rather than other possible actions, is projected as a sequentially relevant next contribution during a live interview. Jack Sidnell (2013, p. 85) claims that "the more we know about who the participants are to one another and how they feel about the matters they are talking about, the better we can understand what they are doing in talking in the particular ways they do". I agree. Though, I do believe that this assertion can be fruitfully extended beyond 'talk' to also encompass knowing more about the embodied actions of participants and how they engage with 'their' material worlds. In order to explore these multi-temporal, multi-semiotic issues, I employ a synthesis of 1) EMCA with an emphasis on embodiment and materiality as elaborated by Charles Goodwin, and 2) a processual ontology where participants continuously resemiotise and displace human action into objects in order to 'organise others on a large scale' (Strum and Latour, 1987). Thus, I propose a 'flatter' ontology than EMCA has usually employed. This methodological choice entails putting more analytical emphasis on the co-creation of semiotic resources in order to see how different types of semiotic fields can come to help render actions sequentiable across instances of interaction. However, I consider this 'flatness' to be a members' phenomenon. That is, if, say, a written document appears harder to negotiate that the words from which it originated (Iedema, 2001), this is solely because participants co-operatively maintain this illusion trough their constitutive practices.

Charles Goodwin, who is a great inspiration for my work, spent the majority of his professional life exploring similar types of interplay between actors and their use of various semiotic resources with individual time-scales as presented in this dissertation (e.g., 1994, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2007, 2013). What I add to Goodwin's work and to the growing EMCA literature on participants and 'their' objects is a methodological contribution. The type of data presented here enables us to quite closely trace the

interwoven-ness of professionals and their work-relevant objects in order to explore how further knowledge about past and possible future interactions can help us make a more sophisticated analysis of an unfolding present. According to Scollon (2008), 'much discourse which is of relevance to a moment of action is displaced from that action, often at quite a distance and across a wide variety of times, places, people, media, and objects' (p. 233). By following these displacements, we get a sense of how the unfolding present is always encircled by past (inter)actions performed by 'absent predecessors' (Goodwin, 2018), or, in Latour's (1996) words, 'people who are absent today, although their action continues to make itself felt' (p. 231). I introduce Goodwin's notion of 'laminated action' (borrowed from Goffman, 1981) in order to describe the multilayers of action and to see how 'individual actions are constructed by assembling diverse materials, including language structure, prosody, and visible embodied displays' (Goodwin, 2013 in Raudaskoski and Klemmensen 2019).

It is important for me to stress at this point that this interest in the work-relevant objects of the editorial staff is grounded in initial co-observations made in a data session with my fellow InterDisc members in October 2017. In this session, it became clear that to get a better understanding of the locally situated meaning-making—both in situ and over time—I needed to become acquainted with 'the phenomenal objects around which the discourse of the profession is organized' (Goodwin, 1994). Thus, the need to implement 'resemiotisation' as a concept is inspired by the ways in which the participants of my data engage with 'their' material worlds in ways that EMCA does not have a vocabulary to adequately describe. With his Halliday-inspired deployment of resemiotisation, Iedema (2001, 2003a) considers official documents to be more formal and authoritative than the talk from which they originate. This view on talk as something that can 'settle' in text, however, contradicts the ethnomethodological view as outline in Chapter 2 that objects always derive their relevant ontological existence from the constitutive practices of competent members. Therefore, I borrow instead from Scollon and Scollon's (2004) utilisation of the concept of resemiotisation as developed in nexus analysis. According to Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 12), actions are, in essence, social. Therefore, it is redundant to talk about 'social' actions. Instead, as actions always involve mediational means, or 'semiotic resources', Scollon and Scollon suggest using the term 'mediated action' to describe the dialectic relationship between an action and the

cultural artefacts that make possible this particular action. The reason for drawing on the vocabular, and thus, in part, the frameworks, of mediated discourse analysis and nexus analysis is to propose an extended EMCA that has the manifold individual temporalities of different materialities, actions and discourses at its centre of attention. Thus, whenever I use the terms 'anticipations' and 'emanations', I borrow from Scollon and Scollon, who draws on Iedema (2003a) and Latour (1996) to argue that 'there are cycles of transformation from discourse to objects to new discourses and new objects' (Scollon and Scollon, 2004, p. 181). I introduce the notion of 'semiotic cycles' in order to emphasise that the different resources that make up the 'semiotic ecologies' described by Goodwin (2018) have individual, inherent time-scales.

Finally, I draw on the concept of 'boundary act' (McIlvenny, 2012) in order to deal with the multitemporality of practice, e.g. when participants oscillate between the boundary activities of 1) doing 'having a production meeting' and 2) co-inhabiting the imagined furture interactional structures that they are planning and pre-producing in the present. Thoughout my analysis I further develop this concept in order to adequately trace 'boundary affects'. From an EMCA perspective, affect is a practical matter and displays of affect are lodged within local, sequentially ordered organisations of interaction (Goodwin et a., 2012). By introducing the notion of 'boundary affects', I seek to further develop this view on affectivity as a local accomplishment to also encompass how displays of affect are at the same time sourced by the place that the hold in greater networks of mediated activities (Callon, 1986 in Middleton and Brown, 2005).

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO EM AND CA

At its core, Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology is the procedural study of how competent members of a society jointly constitute and maintain social order. Inspired by Garfinkel's interest in ethnomethods and, in part by Erving Goffman's symbolic interactionism, Harvey Sacks, Gail Jefferson and, later, Emanuel Schegloff developed conversation analysis as am analytical approach for studying human interaction (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). Besides making the sequential organisation of interactions observable for analysis, the main contribution from CA derived from Garfinkel's ethnomethodology is the concept of actions. As Schegloff (2007) states, talk-in-interaction should be analysed based

on action rather than on topicality; what it is doing rather that what it is about (p. 1). Following ethnomethodology's effort to treat members' observable methods as problematic phenomena (Garfinkel 1967, p. 75), CA does not begin its analysis from prescribed classes or categories of analytical concepts. Rather, conversation analysts try to ground their analysis of an action by showing "that it is *that* action which *co-participants in the interaction* took to be what was getting done, as revealed in/by the response they make to it" (Schegloff 2007, p. 8). In short, EMCA presents a framework capable of revealing features of everyday live that would otherwise remain seen-but-unnoticed. Scholars within the field of EMCA strive to uncover conventions, techniques, procedures, methods and maxims to investigate local understandings in ordinary social activities (Nielsen, Steensig & Wagner, 2006; Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1984; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Within CA, 'analysis' is a pivotal notion that describes the methodological endeavour as "the concerted production of intelligible lines of talk is both the subject and the source of such analysis" (Lynch 2001). A basic assumption in EMCA is that each action is both context sensitive and context renewing (Heritage, 1984).

AN INTERPRETIVE VOID

During my reassembling of the collected materials, I encountered a particular issue which relates to the temporal horizon of the participants. I was present in the control room during the live broadcasts, so when I returned to AAU and started watching the video recordings from the editorial office, I already had some vague idea about what I was looking for. That is, whenever an idea was discussed among the journalists, I already knew whether this idea or something similar would show up in the final, live broadcasts. I had already lived through the two-day workflow along with the journalists, setting up cameras and tracing their every move. So, now, I am faced with the problem of knowing the outcome of the series of events that I am exploring, while the participants experience the immediate and remote future as *possible* coming things (Garfinkel, 2008, p. 141) (Figure 10).

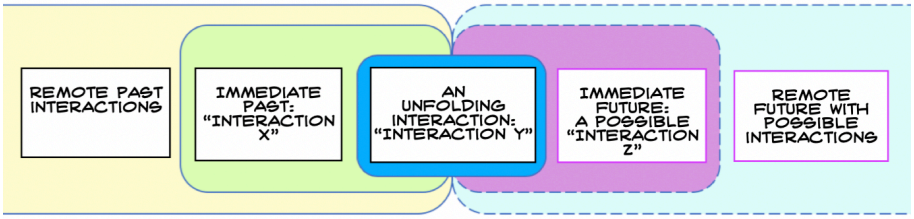


Figure 10 The temporal horizon of experience.[10]

In other words, I have an a priori sense of which initial ideas will become part of the structures for the live show as soon as these are introduced by the staff in the data. A reasonable solution to the 'issue' is to maintain, as a researcher's method, an emic viewpoint and base every step of analysis in the chronologically ordered progression of locally situated (inter)actions through time and space rather than making on-the-go references to whatever final product an action may or may not eventually result in.

If we return to the initial example of Figures 6 and 7 in Chapter 1, it is important to note that Figure 7 does not become the final audiovisual resource illustrated in Figure 6. Rather, J2A's embodied action in Figure 7 initiates a series of (inter)actions distributed in time and space across several work-relevant activities. The data presented here allows us to have omnipresence, but it is crucial to remember that to the participants, J2A does not refer to the clip of G1A that it is eventually translated into. The idea travels through a series of interactions, through which it is continuously renegotiated and transformed by several staff members until it becomes a possibility (of many) that the evolving idea could be manifest as a video clip of one of the guests (Figure 11).

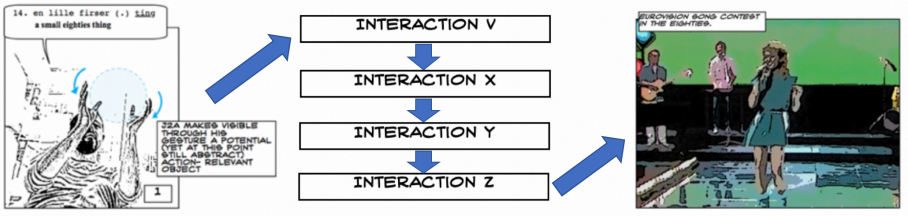


Figure 11 Transforming an object.

[10] This Figure primarily is inspired by Garfinkel (2008). However, Bakhtin famously presents a similar concept of discourse with his slovo theory (see Andersen, 2001).

So, to explore a lived orderliness, a continuity of experience, it is important to treat the 'final' product, the intent, as secondary to the practices of the participants, which progressively co-construct meaningful structures that just happen to become something entirely other than what was first anticipated by the staff.

Of course, I am not the first person to deal with this sort of issue regarding the temporal aspects of documenting and analysing continuity as a member's phenomenon. Kyung-Man Kim (1999) describes the same issue in his revisiting of Lynch, Livingstone, and Garfinkel's (1981) famous study of how astronomers extract a cultural object through their locally produced embodied practices, the independent Galilean pulsar. In their paper, Garfinkel et al. locates a problem with the relationship between the discovery of the pulsar and the tape and log, which document this discovery. They find that the actual work of the scientists is noticeably absent in their final article that

> their collection, when it is examined in the light of first time through, was obtained, and was only obtainable, case-after-case, as an historicized series. The series was done as a lived order, in real time. Only as a feature of its local historicity did the series project as its possibility that it could become an atemporalized collection of measurable properties. (p. 135)

Garfinkel et al. address the issue by choosing to disregard in their analysis the end product of the astronomers' work, the discovery of the pulsar, and instead focus on the 'night's work' as a 'first time through' (p.136). However, as Kim (1999) notes,

> Now the question becomes: How do ethnomethodologists fill in the interpretive void that exists between a series of events? The only option open to them is to go back in time and 'retroactively re-align' (Danto 1964) the past sequences of experimental trials, adjustments, and so on, so that such a realignment can show how contingencies are eventually managed by the 'embodied' or 'incarnate' practice of the chemist. (p. 517)

There is no easy solution to this 'problem'. I have chosen to deal with it by inviting the reader to experience the step-by-step as a chronologically ordered lived order. At certain points I do provide the reader with some of the professional background knowledge necessary to get a sense of

what is going on in a specific work activity. Yet, similar to what Goodwin (2018) experienced while studying the work of archaeologist 'though standing in their midst I lacked the competence to see the world made visible through their work in the way that they did' (p. 392). It takes some practice to become adequately acquainted with a, to the researcher, new type of 'professional vision' (Goodwin, 1994). My 'retroactive realignments' were primarily a matter of going back and describe more adequately the technicalities of how the editorial staff used different computer applications and shared drives in order to share with each different sorts of work-relevant files. As such, I never went back and changed my analysis of a given action or object simply because I could see that this particular action or object would later become something else than expected. Instead, my analysis progress through time and space in the same pace as the editorial staff, and I have done my best to only 'know' what the staff members demonstrably orient to as 'known' at any point of their work. Hereby, by focusing on the continuity of experience as a members' phenomenon I seek to reduce the 'interpretive void' between series of events as suggested by Kim (1999).

During the two-day editorial workflow of the talk show, different objects are co-created, semiotically charged, and continuously modified with the aim of projecting and promoting specific sequential structures of the live interviews. In this process, the professional practices, which constitute these objects as intelligible and meaningful across settings and modalities, are also modified. Thus, there is a dialogical relationship between actions and object. Actions are made possible by the semiotic affordances of a meaningful object, yet this meaningfulness is achieved only when the object is perceived, manipulated, oriented to, put to use, and so forth through locally situated actions performed by competent members of some community of practice. This analytical interest leaves us with the issue of accurately accounting for the ontological presence of rich, semiotic ecologies. As has been demonstrated repeatedly by Goodwin, the objects that we inherit from predecessors; be it a colour chart (2003), a video recording (1994), a flight schedule (2018), and so forth, both source and restrict the outcome of the present interaction. However, as Garfinkel proposes, the 'sameness', or 'durability', of an object across different activities is to be found in the professional practices which constitute the object as intelligible across settings and modalities.

STUDYING SEMIOTIC CYCLES

EMCA is suitable for scrutinising the locally situated sequential orderliness of interaction. However, apart from the recent adoption of the linguistically charged term 'longitudinal', the framework does not have an adequate vocabulary to describe how people constitute and maintain some shared sense of continuity over longer stretches of time. Garfinkel (1967, p. 53) refers to the 'background expectancies' as a main component in performing (inter)actions for another first time. Yet, we are left wondering just how the prior first time unfolded in order to set up the structures for the present first time—and how this first time will shape the structures for a next next first time. Over the following some hundred pages, I seek to explore how different material means are semiotically charged and reworked in stages of pre-production in order to promote affective stances with the guests during live talk show interviews. EMCA is well-suited to investigate the moment-by-moment sequential organisation of interaction. Yet, linking consecutive interactions to each other to see how meaning is constituted and evolved *through* time has not been a topic of interest of EMCA. Exploring the 'next-ness' of a next time remains a theoretical endeavour. Therefore, I seek a first inspiration in a framework more apt to say something about the historicity of practice, namely that of contemporary mediated discourse analysis (see McIlvenny and Raudaskoski 2005; Scollon 2005, 2013). In the edited volume *Discourse in Action—Introducing mediated discourse analysis,* Ingrid de Saint-Georges (2005) notes how an enhanced analytical focus on the trajectories of people, objects, and discourses

> naturally invites us to enlarge the scope of traditional discourse analysis and to move beyond the level of single events to start addressing issues such as how social realities are constituted across time and space, and what kind of methodological and theoretical tools we need to conceptualize how events, people, ideas, objects, and knowledge evolve over time. (p. 155)

The reason for drawing on the vocabular, and thus, in part, the frameworks, of MDA and NA is to propose an extended EMCA that has the manifold individual temporalities of different materialities, actions and discourses at its centre of attention. As a way of exploring the processual view of discourse, in this dissertation, I employ an EMCA-informed version of resemiotisation. In doing so, I consider the unfolding co-

production of meaning both a locally situated accomplishment *and* as something that is sourced and restricted by the temporal horizon of participants, (inter)actions and material means. To do so, I will trace the discursive itineraries of different parts of the final live interviews. Over the two-day workflow of the editorial office and onto the live show, each part of the final in-studio semiotic ecologies is continuously reworked and semiotically charged to enhance specific inter-affective possibilities successfully. To experience the progression of work in the same pace as the editorial staff, the nature of these parts will remain undefined since, as of now, the staff has not yet begun to create them.

Each section of my analysis is marked with 1, 2 or 3 stars (*) to make it easier to keep track on what resource is being worked on when during the two days of work. E.g. 'Receiving photos*' is a section about how a journalist receives photos on his phone from a guest. This section I related to the development of the first resource of interest, hence the one star after the title. Some work-relevant activities involve work on more than one resource, e.g. 'Morning meeting day one*/** that is, resource 1 (*) and 2 (**).

I initiated my analysis, inspired by Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 171), by locating a number of semiotic cycles 'that looked promising' to follow. I then checked with the final live show, if these cycles, in some way or the other, had made it through to become demonstrably a part of the 'final' product. Of course, every bit of (inter)action during the two-day work-flow can be said to have amounted into the live interviews. As such, my analysis first included objects and actions, which did not make it through to the live broadcast. However, after presenting these 'non-occurrences' during a PhD-course I realised that most CA people would be interested in seeing how actions are built through the use of present, rather than absent, semiotic resources. Though, as we shall see, making a cut line distinction between present and absent (material) resources can be a difficult task.

RECORDING 'THE EVENT'

Video provides unprecedented access to replay and revisit incidents of human interaction, including visible embodied conduct captured on camera. However, video recordings do not give access to re-experience what it was like to be a co-present participant in the recorded event. Rather, it offers a translation, or 'a version' (Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff 2010, pp. 5-6), of some unfolding moment in time as it was captured in

flux by the camera and thus by the person responsible for filming. It is therefore relevant at this point to explore some critical issues regarding two key steps of doing video-informed qualitative research on human interaction:

- Collecting audiovisual material
- Reassembling, transcribing, and analysing audiovisual data

In this chapter, I will touch upon and discuss these steps, including the methodological assumptions reflected in my choice of cameras, transcription conventions, and analytical approach. The reason why reassembling, transcribing, and analysing data are under the same bullet point is that these steps are inseparable in my workflow as I move back and forth through these steps. During the reassembling of my data, I am already thinking about how to represent and analyse the events that I have recorded. During my work of transcribing the data, I will continuously adjust my reassemblages, the better to track and represent to a future reader the interactional phenomena that I find to be interesting. Finally, during my analysis, I often revisit and readjust my camera views and transcriptions if something is missing or could be more clearly illustrated.

COLLECTING AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL

Some 50 years ago, Harvey Sacks realised the fruitfulness of including in analysis interactional features other than talk. The visible conduct of interaction; however, was not easily captured by the technologies available at that time. In Sacks's (1984) words:

> [M]y research is about conversation only in this incidental way: that conversation is something that we can get the actual happenings of on tape and that we can get more or less transcribed; that is, conversation is simply something to begin with. (pp. 25-26)

Much has happened since Sacks made his first reel-to-reel tape recordings. The heavy audio recorders and the huge and clumsy cameras used in early recordings of interactions in natural settings (Goodwin, 1993, 1994, 1995) are long passé. Nowadays, most audiovisual recording devic-

es are considerably more discrete and can fit in the palm of a hand. Additionally, in recent years, new types of cameras have seen the light of day and introduced new video formats such as 360 and 3D-recordings. Due to the development in size, price, and resolution of these new camera types combined with ambisonic spatial audio recordings, which can be linked to the videos, it has become increasingly relevant to reimagine sound and vision when collecting data 'in the wild'. Once we start recording and thus seeing the world in new ways, we must find new ways to represent our findings in data sessions, journals, at conferences, and so forth. For example, how can a half-sphere 360 frame grab be unfolded onto the 2D pages of a dissertation in a way that makes sense to readers who are used to the experience of classic visual photo material from traditional cameras with a restricted field of view within a rectangular frame? And what are the best ways to transcribe this omnidirectional audiovisual data?

The first obstacle in answering these questions is that, due to the accelerating technological development, there is close to no literature on the subjects of collecting, transcribing, and analysing materials from these new recording devices. However, for the last couple of years, within the digital humanities, McIlvenny and Davidsen (2016; McIlvenny 2018) have developed and suggested a new paradigm for video-based qualitative studies of social human conduct—that of 'big video'. The term is chosen to 'counter the hype about quantitative big data analytics' (McIlvenny 2018, pt. 4). In its essence, big video is about using state-of-the-art recording equipment to capture more of the complex social interactions in which we are interested than has been possible until now with regular cinematic frame cameras and their built-in microphones (see McIlvenny and Davidsen 2017). The new cameras, that is, the 360º camera used in this dissertation, allows the researcher to refocus point-of-view *after* the recording has been made, which especially for a young researcher is an invaluable affordance. Yet, no recording devices are 'neutral' as 'there are biases built into the technology, the underlying algorithms and its (default) uses' (McIlvenny and Davidsen 2016, p. 15). Even though we might get access to *something more* by using a 360 camera, this 'something' is yet to be defined. As observed by McIlvenny (2018), even with 360 recordings, 'the lived work of making sense is not capturable (...), frozen on the video record, from which the analyst simply extracts it *in vivo*' (2). When projected onto a flat page, 360 still shots get rather distorted and represent a non-orthomorphic version of reality.

This means that since the 360 half-sphere video recordings presented in this dissertation is not meant to be represented in 2D, they cannot be rendered on the pages of this dissertation in their true visual forms. Instead, as depicted in Figure 12, stills are digitally conformed to fit the format of a rectangular frame.



Figure 12 Digitally conformed reality.

The lines in the ceiling in this figure are straight, yet they appear to be curvy in this 2D depiction. Also, the person in the black shirt (J1A) seems to be aligned with the person sitting by the computer (H1A), when actually he is standing on the right of H1A as illustrated in Figure 13 below.

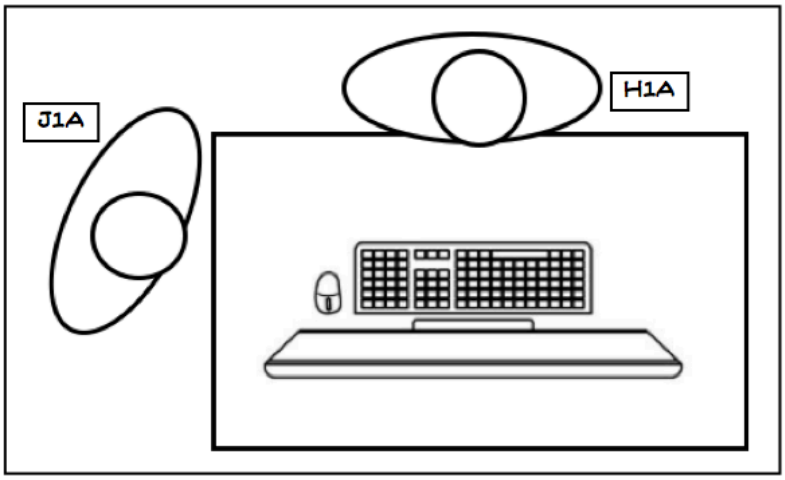


Figure 13 Figure 12 as seen from above.

Despite issues with reconstructing 360 video frame grabs in the archaic format of a paper-based dissertation, the analytical benefits we gain from using these new recording technologies far exceed the challenges we face in reanimating the data. The state-of-the-art 360 cameras allow for hitherto unseen access to the rich complexity of human interaction. Regarding my work, I would like to point out two specific advantages of using the 360 cameras which have made my collection of materials possible. First, placing the camera and the audio recorder has gone from being a time-intensive affair of setting up numerous cameras well ahead of the interaction of interest to a swift action, which, with a little practice, can be done in five to ten seconds. In my case, this change in pace made it possible to record unforeseen pop-up meetings without having to move several tripod-mounted cameras. During their two-day workflow, the editorial staff have several planned meetings at specific *sites of engagement* at the editorial office in which they discuss the progress of their journalistic work. Within nexus analysis, 'site of engagement' is used to describe 'the social practices and mediational means [...] that make that action the focal point of attention to the relevant participants.' (Scollon 2001 in Larsen and Raudaskoski 2016, p. 95, *my translation*).

However, restraining a study of creative workflows to what occurs at meeting in a few physical settings is a great underestimation of how much often happens outside these settings, for example, supportive small talk by the coffee machine (Rauniomaa, forthcoming) or relational workplace talk (Koester, 2006). Thus, quite important pieces of the

'symphonic orchestrated theme' (Duranti, 2006) of institutional interaction must be found in the small talk amongst the journalists during the entire days of work—and not exclusively in the formal setting of meetings. Second, the high resolution (e.g., 4K or 3840x2160 pixels) of these new cameras provides highly exhaustive video data, which gives access to previously unseen details, because we are now allowed to zoom in on, say, text on paper or a screen, which with a camera recording at a lower resolution would be unreadable.

Doing video ethnographic fieldwork requires planning and practice. I started planning my stay at the Danish broadcasting company a month in advance; looking into the editorial workflow and schedules, trying to figure out the best way to capture as much of the editorial work as possible. Being a one-man-army in the field is a tiresome task, and when you get tired, you start making mistakes; reusing memory cards for the recording devices without erasing what was on them; messing up the system for archiving on-the-go; forgetting to setup a camera for a planned meeting, and so forth. Therefore, I sought to meticulously anticipate and plan every possible outcome and aspect of my fieldwork. The first work-related document I received with the mail from the talk show was their internal workplace manual (IWM), which is handed out to all new employees. I then went to the editorial office to see the place, do test video recordings, and take photographs of important sites of engagement. Back at my office, I made a preliminary recording plan as depicted in Figure 14.

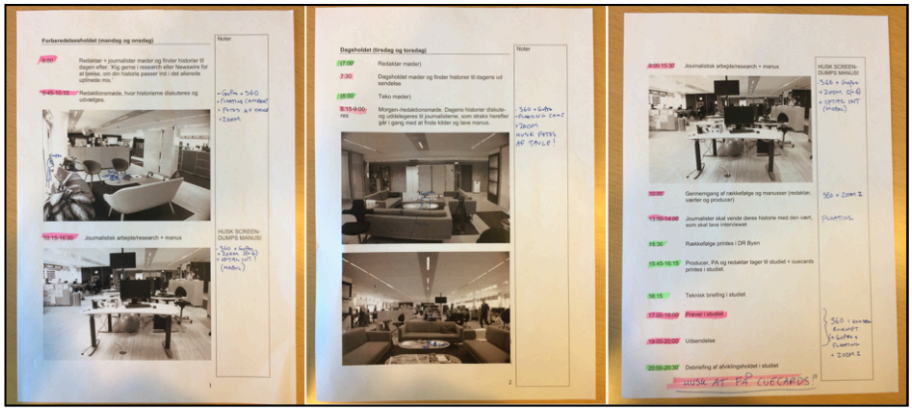


Figure 14 Preliminary plan for video recording the editorial workflow.

I based this preliminary plan on 1) the daily work schedule described in the intern work manual that the company hands out to all new employees and 2) my initial visit at the editorial office and the video test shots I did at that point. A couple of weeks later, I did my fieldwork. In collecting the video material, I relied on mainly two combinations of equipment: 1) the Kodak PixPro SP360 4K (360º video) paired with the Zoom H2n Handy Recorder (spatial audio), and 2) the Panasonic HC-WXF991K 4K ('classic' field of view, including small extra overview-camera) paired with the Zoom H6 (stereo audio). Additionally, I used the GoPro Hero4 for recording meetings and a Sony A5100 to take additional pictures of different settings. Figure 15 illustrates the field-of-view of the three video cameras.





Figure 15 Cameras used: 1) Kodak PixPro SP360 4K (source: kodakpixpro.com), 2) Panasonic HC-WXF991K 4K (source: amazon.com), 3) GoPro Hero4 (source: amazon.es).

The field-of-view of the 360-degree camera (1) is not the final view. I import my files into the PixPro 360 4K video playback and editing application to reveal another visual layer in post-production. I mainly use the 'equirectangular' setting, as it allows me to see all of the participants at once and to make graphic transcriptions for the dissertation, which make sense to readers not used to experiencing 360 footage. As I first look at my data, I use the GoPro VR Player. The Panasonic (2) has two cameras, a main camera and a sub camera, which let you record two images simultaneously. As depicted in Figure 16 below, filming with both the main camera and the sub camera of the Panasonic makes is possible to zoom in on something specific with the main camera (in this case the computer screen) while keeping an overview of the environment with the sub camera. When you record with the main and the sub cameras at the same time, the sub camera recording is 'burned' into the main recording. This means that when you play back the recording, you will see the main recording with the sub recording in the corner (as depicted in Figure 24). The three cameras offer quite distinct visual perspectives, or fields of view—all useful in their own way for the task of capturing specific parts of the density in diverse unfolding interactions of interest.

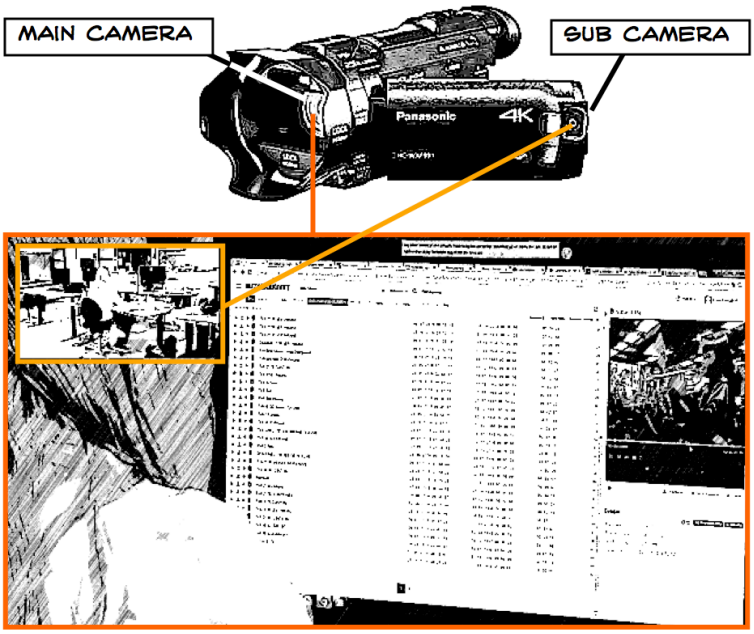


Figure 16 The Panasonic camera.

In Figure 17, my audio recording devices of choice are shown.



Figure 17 Audio recorders used: 1) Zoom H2n (zoom-na.com), 2) Zoom H6 (en.audiofanzine.com).

The Zoom H2n was placed next to the PixPro 360° camera to record spatial sound, while the Zoom H6 was mainly used with the Panasonic and with the GoPro to record audio in much higher quality than would have been possible if relying solely on the two cameras' built-in microphones. Spatial sound recordings enable us to hear sounds as they are heard in the real world. This means that you can determine the distance and direction of a given sound. All of my recording equipment was relocated several times during each workday to follow and capture the actions of the editorial staff across changing sites of the editorial office.

While some studies are surely best done with a handheld camera, I solely used fixed cameras. I did so because the 360 cameras capture what might be missed with static 2D cameras, so there is no need for roaming cameras. This was because almost all of the interactions at the editorial office took place within institutionally defined spaces of meeting areas (see Figure 5 above). Besides, I did not want to unnecessarily become part of the events that I was recording. Instead, I set up my equipment and left the scene.[11] Between doing work related to the video recording such (as changing memory cards, relocating the recording devices, archiving video and sound recordings, etc.) I monitored the work being done on the manuscript through a shared computer system, took a panel of personal notes, recorded prepping-interview phone calls, and took screen dumps of the journalists' text messages on their phones and their e-mail correspondences with guests and colleagues.

RECONSTRUCTING 'THE EVENT'

Records of different types only become data, as we start to engage with it in different ways. Back at the office, after collecting several terabytes of video and other types of material, my immense work of reconstructing past events began. I have done my best to reassemble and represent the trajectories of the editorial work accurately and as true to what happened as possible. Of course, no matter how much the data excerpts resemble the 'real' event, assessing analytical relevance is a task no less objective than any other members' methods. Thus, in the same way particular

[11] For elaborate discussions on the use of fixed vs. hand-held cameras in social research, see Heath, Hindmarsh, and Luff (2010) and Laurier, Mondada, and Broth (2014).

frameworks lend themselves to particular analyses, particular methodological choices promote particular analytical results. To the conversation analyst, the process of transcribing is an essential part of the analysis. This is where we first become acquainted with the finely ordered social phenomena found on the recording. By watching the video recordings numerous times, we start seeing the seen-but-unnoticed interactional features of everyday life. However, although most researchers consider their video recordings to be a 'pure' data source, for every viewing the relationship between the data and the viewer becomes less pristine. Ashmore and Reed (2010) address the *nostalgia* of replaying or 'checking' data material and state the following.

> On these occasions, what is re-experienced, according to CA's rhetoric of method, is an unchanged analytic object: Each return is construed as though it were the first time the object had been encountered, as though it were through a frame of innocence. This orientation ignores the reflexive effects of returning to an object built through the search for greater analytic utility. (p. 89)

Relevant to the present dissertation, there is no escaping the professional vision that comes with being a member of the EMCA community. However, in EMCA data sessions, widely envied by PhD students from other academic fields, 'seeing' is a reflexive practice; we co-practice identifying seen-but-unnoticed features of everyday social life (Garfinkel 1967). A range of the findings presented in this dissertation was initially co-noticed over several data sessions in Aalborg, Aarhus, Copenhagen, and Oulu.

As noted above, the 360 video recordings made with the Kodak PixPro 360 4K can be paired with the spatial audio recordings from the Zoom H2n. As illustrated in figure 15, linking sound and vision, gives the ability to 'look around'. The spatial sound is recorded in the same spot as the camera was placed, which has thus become the viewpoint of the analyst, the analyst will now be able to refocus the FOV and look around the room. Because the video and the spatial audio have been linked, whenever the analyst moves the focus, the sound will move accordingly so that 'what you see is what you hear'. In Figure 18, the analyst is looking at person 1 talking. Since the sound is spatial and paired with the video, to the analyst it will appear that the talk of person 2 comes from his/her left side, that person 3 is talking behind him/her,

and that person 4 is on the right side talking. This effect can be achieved in modern digital audio and audiovisual production computer software applications such as Reaper and Pro Tools. In assembling the data for this dissertation, I also used two applications primarily made for handling video files: PixPro 360 VR Suite and Adobe Premiere Pro.

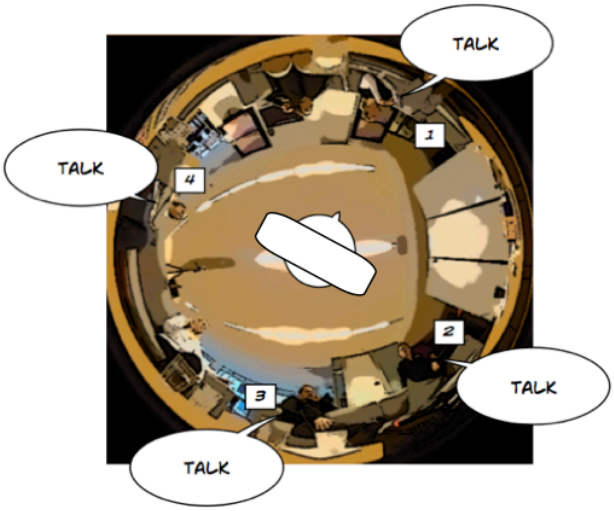


Figure 18 Experiencing spatial sound.

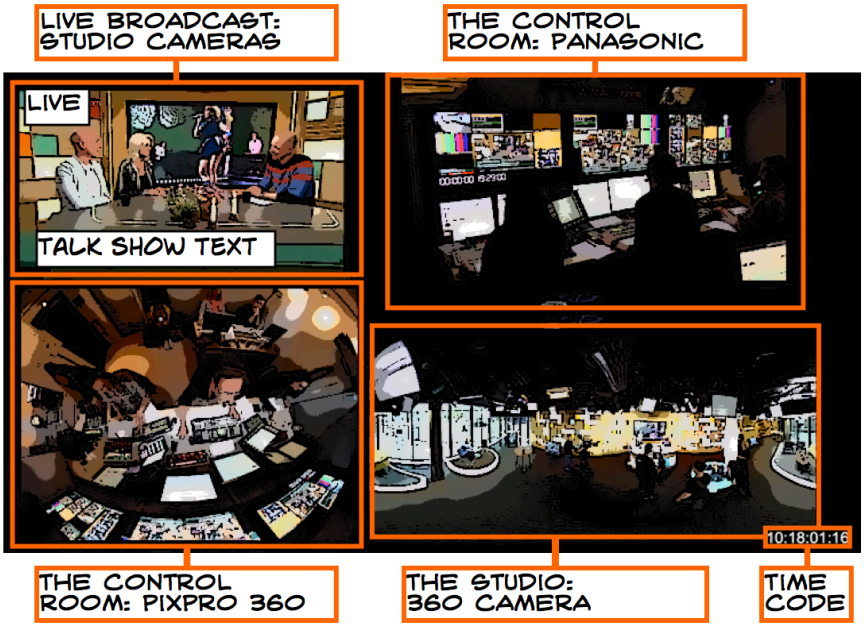


Figure 19 Master composite file.

I mainly used the VR Suite to 'unfold' my 360° recordings and Premiere Pro for editing video and anonymising video data for public presentations. Additionally, I used Premiere Pro to assemble master composite files for analysis; these include several video and sound feeds (Figure 19). Mixing the raw 360-video footage in a 2D composite frame presents an odd juxtaposition. This way of constructing a master file from several video and audio feeds provides us with a nice view of the unfolding interaction. Figure 19 illustrates how the composite file allows the researcher to observe how participants are distributed in space (the studio and the control room) coordinate actions across settings.

TRANSCRIBING INTERACTION

In EMCA, transcribing interaction serves three overall purposes. First and foremost, it is a crucial part of analysis. The process of transcribing is where we first become acquainted with the social phenomena that we have captured on some kind of recording. Second, as opposed to the common understanding across social sciences, EMCA rejects the idea that orthographic transcripts can effectively substitute the interaction itself (Hepburn and Bolden 2017). Third, EMCA is, in its essence, about jointly developing a framework for analysing and theorising upon social patterns found across instances of human interaction. In her early work on transcribing the Watergate Tapes, Gail Jefferson demonstrated the importance of detailed transcriptions which included not just the 'naming' of laughter, but the 'quoting' of it (Clift, 2016, 45). By including non-linguistic phenomena in her transcripts, Jefferson underlined the importance of identifying not only *what* was being said but also *how* it was expressed.

As Alexa Hepburn and Galina B. Bolden (2017, p. 4) observe,

> there needs to be a paper system of representation that makes [interaction] portable, editable, shareable and therefore conventional; a standard system of transcription that captures the specifics of social action will allow researchers to share data and collaborate in analysis.

Transcripts are thus created to meaningfully convey to others an idea of what went on in some locally situated social event. Although, it seems

that the conventional paper system will eventually give way to more modern ways of representing data in journals. In fact, last year McIlvenny (2018) had the first-ever 360-video data presented in an online journal on human interaction.

When transcribing the messy organisation of social activities following the idea 'everything is potentially relevant' (Schegloff, 2007), it can be quite tricky to figure out exactly which features of an interaction to include in the transcript. If mutual (mis)understanding is found in the 'sum-of-it-all', then what parts of this sum should be included and what should be left out? In this dissertation, I seek to follow the suggestion of Schegloff and focus on 'identifying what is demonstrably relevant to the participants at just that moment' (cited in Hindmarsh and Llewellyn, 2018, p. 417). In *Transcription as Theory*, Elinor Ochs (1979) observes how 'the problems of selective observations are not eliminated with the use of recording devices. They are simply **delayed** until the moment at which the researcher sits down to transcribe the material from the audio- or videotape' (p. 44, emphasis in original). At first, the 4K 360 video paired with spatial sound recordings seemed to be a potential way of solving this 'problem', as I could refocus my camera angle to suit my analytical needs (Figure 20).

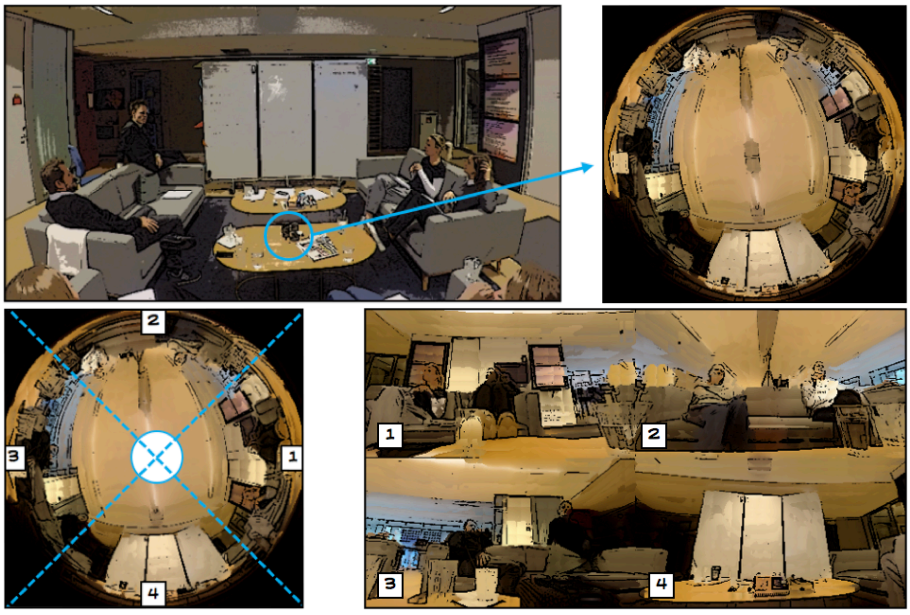


Figure 20 The 360°-camera FOV unfolded into "quad"-format.

However, the selection of observations (and especially which observations to transcribe) became even harder since I now had visual access to even more of the recorded event and thus more observations to choose from. In my work on this dissertation, I have sought to overcome this 'problem of relevance' (Schutz, 1970) by presenting as many of my excerpts as possible in data sessions in order to see if others see what I see in my data. I have thus had numerous trained CA-scholars commenting on my data and transcripts—and challenging my findings. We always transcribe with a specific professional audience in mind (see Goodwin, 1994), and researchers from other fields may well criticise my transcriptions for lacking whatever they find to be important in human interaction.

In EMCA-based work on interaction, what is of interest to the researcher is every part of an event that is explicitly made relevant in the locally situated construction of meaning by the participants themselves. In other words, in a dissertation on the co-operative work of resemiotising action-relevant objects, the objects of interest are the ones which observably are relevant to the participants as parts of their ongoing course of interaction. It is not that other objects (furniture, documents, posters on the walls) that are not explicitly attended to by the participants are *not* important in the workflow of the editorial office, I just cannot know for sure whether they are or not, and, therefore, they are left out of my transcripts. Additionally, with multiple cameras and microphones in the same scene, there are likely to be even more objects that are not relevant.

Transcribing is a delicate matter. As Alessandro Duranti (2006) puts it, a transcript is 'a form of collective memory, a way to re-present rather than represent […] a stance, a point of view, often with an attitude, on what the world was like at a particular moment' (pp. 307 and 309). Interestingly, resemiotisation plays a great role in this relationship between what is being transcribed and the transcription itself. As Scollon (2008) observes, transcribing interaction entails a great deal of translating embodied semiosis into words on a piece of paper. Due to work obligations other than research, most of us have to focus on some parts of the recorded interactions in order to explore a specific subject of interest. As the present study is based on nearly three terabytes of video and audio files; or well over a hundred and fifty hours of recordings with multiple cameras including phone calls, SMS-texts, and email correspondences, from the beginning of this study, it was necessary to focus strictly on the

parts of the data where objects clearly were constitutively entangled in the editorial work of building the talk show interviews.

For EMCA-scholars, the process of transcribing recorded material is often referred to as an important first step of analysis (ten Have 2008). This is where the analyst first becomes acquainted with what has been recorded. However, despite the significance of transcribing, individual conversation analysts rarely share their transcription process. Most often, the work of selecting which observations to bring into, say, a paper remains invisible to the readers. Exceptions are papers in which the process of transcribing is the subject of interest (e.g., Mondada 2019; Laurier 2014a, 2019; McIlvenny, 2014, 2015). Yet, most EMCA-informed analysis follows the same conventions for representing interaction as initially developed by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson 2004). What made EMCA-transcripts possible in the first place was the invention of the portable tape recorder. The great thing about tape recordings was that they could be played and replayed continuously allowing the researcher to listen to the same conversation over and over rather than, as earlier, relying solely on field notes. In Sacks's words (1992), 'If you can't deal with the actual detail of actual events then you can't have a science of social life' (p. 26). While transcribing Sacks's audiotapes, Jefferson constructed a system which takes into consideration both the orthographic and the phonological dimension of speech (see Jefferson 2008).

Originally, the reason for this was to make the transcripts available for readers with no phonological background since the initial CA-writings were published in general linguistic journals. As a consequence, to this day, linguists represent a rather substantial share of the EMCA community. This has affected the development of conversation analysis over the years. Despite a growing interest in embodiment, what Nevile (2015) calls the *embodied turn*, talk has widely remained the main focus of analytical attention (cf. ten Have, 2007; Psathas, 1995). Because linguists dominate the field of CA, it makes sense that the aim to represent embodied features of interaction has resulted in in-transcript descriptions of bodily movements. A prominent example is the 'Mondada system' (Mondada 2018), which pushes this idea further by adding several lines to the transcript to meticulously represent the simultaneity of different interactional, particularly embodied, resources. Thus, the locally situated *coordination* of interaction is at the centre of analytical attention. I am not quite convinced that the Mondada way is the most fruitful way to represent the type of materials that I have collected. Instead, I have decided to

use graphic transcription (Laurier, 2014a, 2019), which allows me to focus extensively on embodiment and materiality.

GRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTION

Although originally based in sociology, from early on, conversation analysis took a strong position across the social sciences and the humanities. For this reason, the EMCA-community includes researchers from diverse fields of academia. Despite variations in transcription styles, most scholars share a penchant for the conventions of the Jeffersonian transcription system. These conventions are continuously revisited and further developed to enable the researcher to adequately represent complex social phenomena (e.g., Goodwin 2018; Laurier 2019; McIlvenny 2015; Mondada 2018). Thus, several possible systems for transcribing embodied actions present themselves (cf. Goodwin, 2018; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2012; M.H. Goodwin, 1990, 2006; Jefferson, 2004; Laurier 2014a, 2019; McIlvenny, 2014; Mondada, 2018; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite, 2018). To address the analytical interests of this dissertation and its focus on the discursive trajectories of materiality, I employ a hybrid between Gail Jefferson's (2004) classic conversation analytic transcript system and the comic style animations of graphic novels (Eisner 1990; Hague 2014; Laurier 2013; McCloud 1994).

I Initially began my analytical process of assembling data excerpts by transcribing talk (ten Have 2007; Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff, 2010). I then turned my attention to the embodied practices of the participants in my data to get some sense of 'the interplay of talk and visible conduct (Heath, Hindmarsh, and Luff 2010, p. 61). However, after I started doing graphic transcriptions, I soon found that this was a much more interesting and intuitive way to explore the intertwined-ness of people and the material world. I was first introduced to this line of work by Eric Laurier at a PhD course at AAU in 2017. Laurier (2019) finds that

> while the textual transcript continues to have fruitful convergences with turn-by-turn analysis of talk, it has fitted less well with the continuous parallel of embodied action in ecologies of objects and architectures which interactional analysts come across in video recordings.

I agree. At the beginning of writing this dissertation, I desperately tried to cram pictures into my written transcript to illustrate how materiality and interaction were interconnected at all points in interaction. To me, it was a relief to leave behind the more classic, logocentric CA that I also used in my master's thesis in favour of doing comic style transcripts. Reassembling and representing my data as comics have changed the way I approach my data—and thus the way I analyse it. As with all methodological choices, this way of representing data, of course, influences the analytical outcome. In the scope of this dissertation, I believe the graphic transcription to be the most rewarding way of representing the interplay between participants and the material worlds they co-inhabit and co-create. Inspired by Laurier (2014a), I have used *Comic Life* to transcribe and represent my data. Comic Life is a software application that allows the user to make comic strips from his/her own frame grabs.[12] I combine the Jeffersonian system with comic-style reanimations. In line with Laurier's (2019) observation above, I find that this is the most rewarding way to convey to readers the interplay between embodied actions and the semiotic ecology of work-relevant activities.

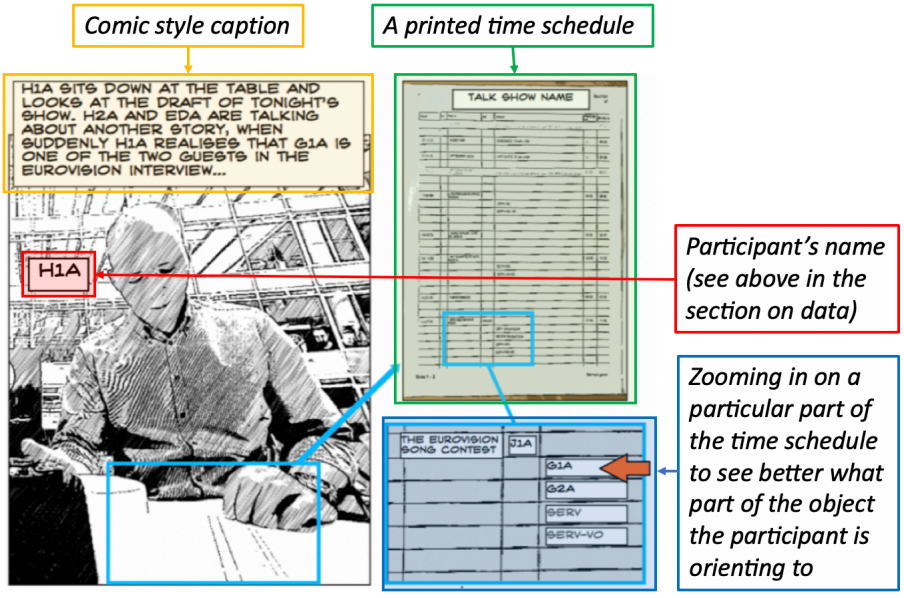


Figure 21 Transcription hybrid 1/2.

[12] I purchased my copy of the Comic Life software from Plasq: https://plasq.com/

is an introductory first panel in one of my excerpts (Excerpt 41). It illustrates the object that initiates the subsequent sequence of interaction. I use captions (yellow box) to make in-transcript descriptions of what is going on. The name tags (red box) tells the name of each present participant. In this example, the participant, H1A, looks at a printed time schedule (green box). From the turn H1A produces next, we can see that he indexically orients to a specific part of the schedule.[13] Since I have collected a wide range of semiotic resources, for example, the time schedule, we get to zoom into and closely read the inscription that H1A orients to (blue box).

In his famous introduction to the wondrous world of comics, Cartoonist McCloud (1994) reminds us: 'From the *early days*, the modern comic has grappled with the problem of showing motion in a *static medium*. How do you show this aspect of time in an art where *time stands still*?' (p. 110, original emphasis). As illustrated by McCloud, when reading comics, we perceive time spatially. In comics, the content, number, closure, and size of panels can make a difference in our perception of time (p. 101). Whenever we are 'reading' a series of coherent panels in comic-style setup, our eyes are simultaneously moving through space *and* time (Goodwin 1994, p. 624; McCloud 1994, p. 100). In this dissertation, I have done my best to illustrate simultaneity and progression. In Figure 22 below, H1A (on the left) is tapping his fingers on the table while singing a song together with EDA (on the right). As I will get back to in Chapter 5, his tapping is part of an intertwined semiosis that goes into co-resemiotising a historical object in the present.

The speech bubbles contain a Jeffersonian transcription of the Danish talk (in `Courier`) and an English translation (in **Times New Roman**, **bold**) (yellow box). Each panel in my excerpts is numbered, which makes it easier to make references to them (red box). In this example, I zoom into the specific embodied action of tapping an index finger on a table. Since H1A taps his finger twice in the amount of time illustrated in this panel, I have made four sub-panels: panel 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4 (blue box). A caption describes H1A's embodied action (green box). This type of illustration allows the graphic transcript to show how individual temporalities of a variety of different semiotic materials, in this case, H1A's

[13] I will return to and elaborate further on this example and its embeddedness in a longer sequence of interaction in Chapter 5.

singing, rhythmical movement of upper body, and finger tapping, are intertwined in the momentary 'now' of panel 10 to build a form of 'action not found in any of its parts in isolation' (Goodwin, 2018, p. 140).

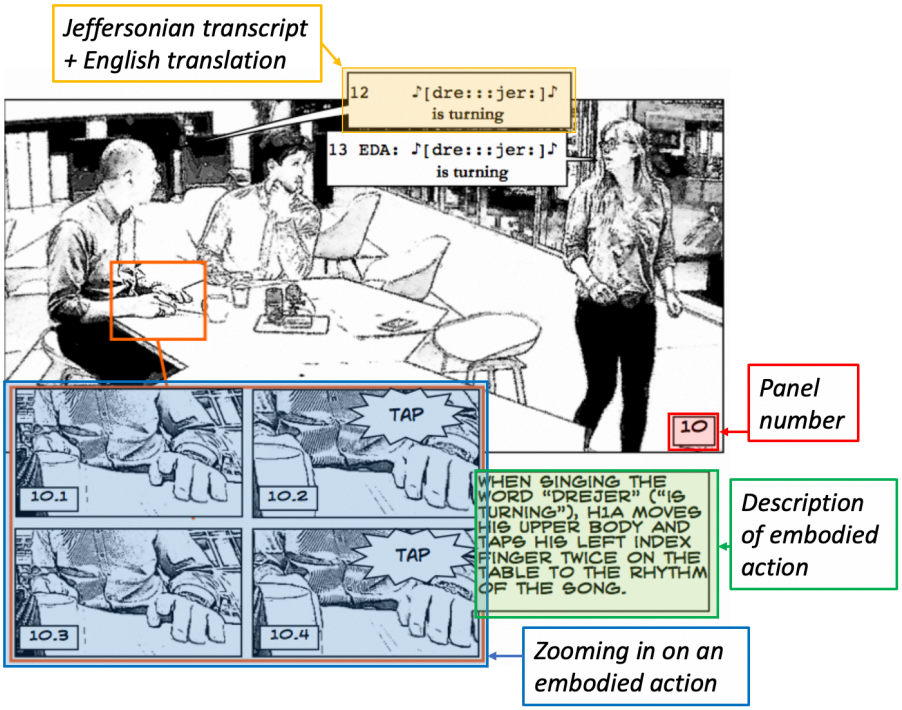
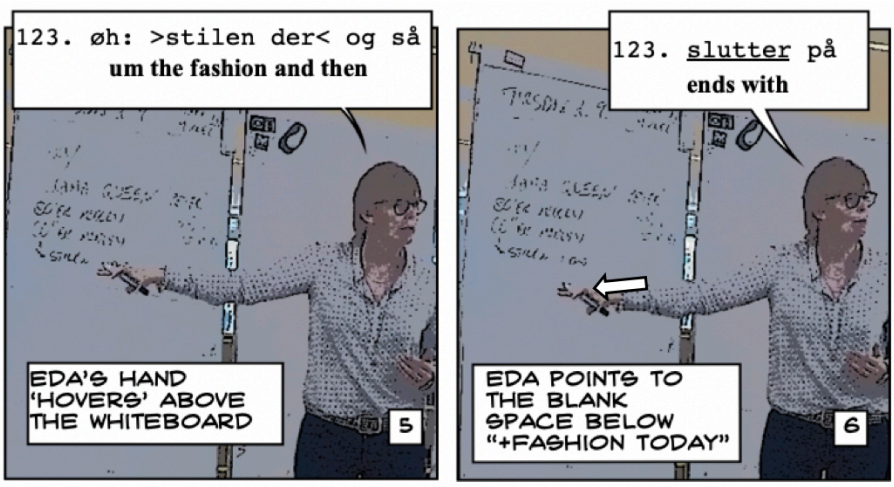
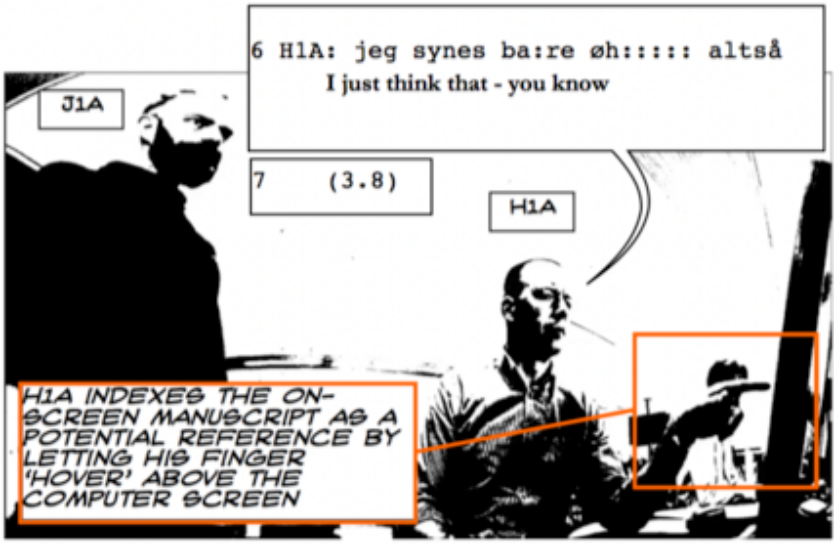


Figure 22 Transcription hybrid 2/2.

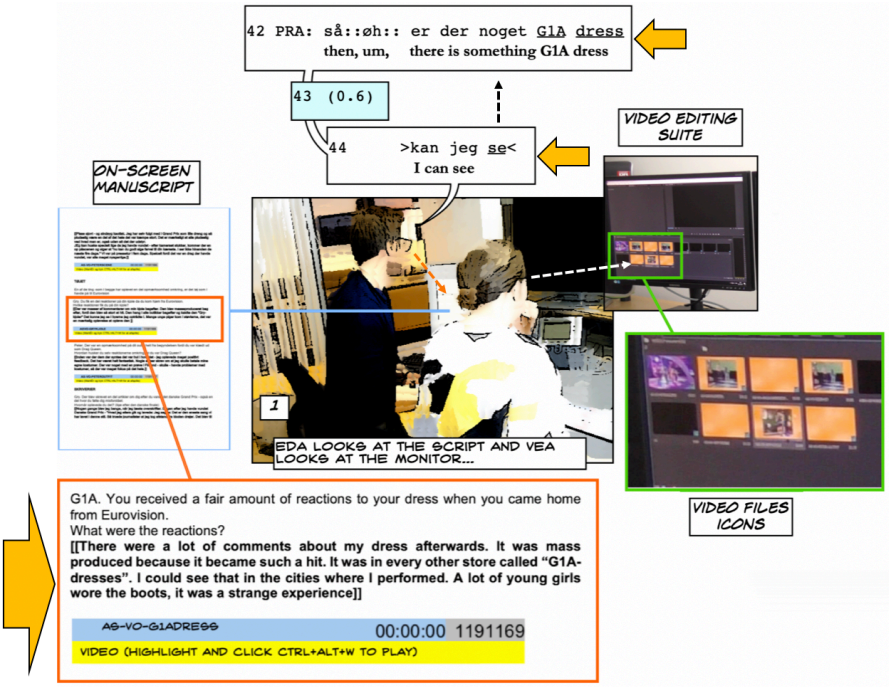
As my style has developed over the past two years, the transcriptions have changed accordingly. Thus, throughout the dissertation, a range of different types of graphic transcriptions occur. Interestingly, this progression in style and choice of anonymisation makes visible my own methodological development; from my initial naïve looking attempts…



… over my darker, Frank Miller-ish illustrations…



… to my most recent multi-semiotic and multitemporal transcriptions.



From excerpt to excerpt, I switch between levels of granularity and filters in order to adequately illustrate the range of phenomena that are of interest in that specific piece of analysis. There is no 'on-size-fits-all'. Rahter, as Maynard and Clayman (2018) note, it is an ongoing task for the analyst to 'decide when, for all practical purposes, an appropriate level of detail – answerable to the phenomenon under inquiry in the context of an actual and not imagined or hypothesized research study – has been reached (p. 134). A pervasive issue, however, is that of anonymising people and 'their' material worlds while still keeping a sufficient visual field for readers to inspect the phenomenon that is being analysed.

ANONYMISING PARTICIPANTS

Anonymisation is a reoccurring issue when representing qualitative video material. I have anonymised my data in Comic Life. As illustrated in Figure 23 below, Comic Life offers a wide range of different filters, which

can be used to stylise one's pictures in different ways. I have used six different filters on the same frame grab, which provide the reader with different sensations of depth and contours and, importantly, with different levels of anonymisation.

Whereas the participant in panel 4 is surely harder to identify than the participant in panel 6, the latter provides us with a more detailed depiction of the embodied and material features that we are interested in here. The main reason for anonymising data is to make it harder for readers to recognise the depicted participants, setting, objects and more, while still preserving a clear sense of what is going on in the data. Unfortunately, the level of anonymisation is somewhat defined by how much a reader knows an anonymised participant or setting. If we know someone very well, we may well recognise them by the way they move or gesticulate no matter how heavily they have been anonymised.

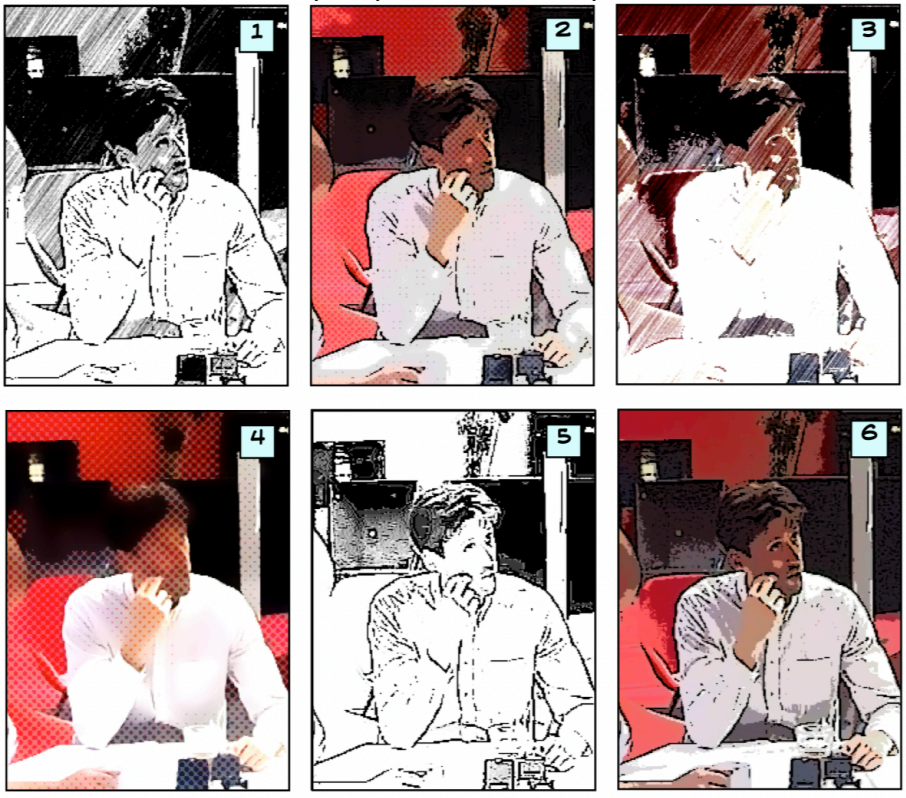


Figure 23 Anonymising with Comic Life filters.

I have done my best to anonymise my data in ways that make it hard for readers to recognise the personal features of the editorial staff and spatial and material properties of the editorial office and the television studio. The talk show is broadcasted live and viewed by a great many people each night. Since the television studio is thus a public scene, earlier EMCA-informed studies on television production have used non-anonymised data in their analysis (e.g., Broth, 2008a, 2009; Nielsen, 2001). However, my analysis continuously moves back and forth through time between the secluded sphere of the editorial office and the public sphere of the live talk show studio. Therefore, I have also anonymised the parts of my data that are publicly available.

ANONYMISING SEMIOTIC RESOURCES

Goodwin's (2003, 2018) enhanced focus on the semiotic fields of human interaction brings attention to the manifold ways in which co-operative actions are accomplished through accumulations of several semiotic resources. As I started assembling my data for analysis, I soon realised that, as with the individual features of humans, some objects have properties which make them recognisable as things that have been created by and/or worked on by particular and thus recognisable participants. Therefore, I found that these objects should also be anonymised. Thus, no handwritten text appears in its original shape in this dissertation. Instead, as illustrated in figure 24 below, I represent text as captions with the original paper as background to provide some sense of materiality for the reader.

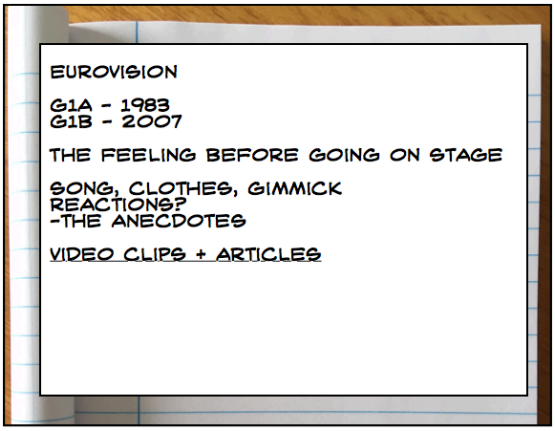


Figure 24 Handwritten note.

Again, with this methodological choice, I seek to strike a balance between anonymising and obscuring the data. Consequently, I have not changed the grammatical structures of texts, although these configurations could also be said possibly to give some indication of who wrote the text.[14]

[14] Forensic linguistics show that individuals are linguistically unique (e.g., Olsson, 2008). One of the participants in my data makes a lot of distinct syntax errors, which could make his writings recognizable to people who know him.

CHAPTER 4.
DAY ONE: EMERGING ACTION–RELEVANT PROPERTIES

By the time I write this chapter, I already know very well the two 'final' products of the lines of work that we are about to scrutinise closely. Yet, to preserve an emic perspective, I will refrain from providing hints about how things will evolve beyond the unfolding present. In this way, we can explore the flow of creating whatever it is that these people create as 'their' first time through. It is tempting to act as an omniscient narrator when you have the entire arc of work laid out in front of you. However, as it would be very tedious to reveal the murderer in the first chapter of a crime novel, it would be a shame to begin this analytical journey by revealing how it all ends. It is far more intriguing not to know at this point whether what the staff progressively co-create will ever result in anything at all. Of course, we know at this point that the staff must put together an entire hour of talk show by the end of tomorrow. Yet, not all stories make it onto the show; sometimes interview guests back out, or a story turns out to be not well-suited for the talk show format anyway. All that we need to know at this point is that two teams of journalists, each accompanied by an editor, is gathered for a morning meeting on two different mornings at 9 a.m. to brainstorm on the content for two different live talk show episodes. After the morning meetings, the teams will return to their computers and keep working on the talk show interviews for which they are responsible. We will follow them simultaneously as they move through their two-day workflow towards the live shows on the next day to see how the work progresses through time and space and, especially, what practices and materialities go into projecting and make known across sites and modalities a next relevant work activity.

During this chapter, I will pick up on several leads, which to the reader might seem rather arbitrary. However, over this and the next two chapters, it will become clear just how these particular threads are interwoven in greater entanglements of people, practices, objects, and discourses.

4.1. THE MORNING MEETINGS ON DAY ONE

The first scheduled meeting is the morning meeting on day one. The journalists each are made responsible for one of the interview stories chosen and discussed at the meeting, while the editor is responsible for putting all of the stories together as a coherent show. In this meeting, important choices are made regarding the select of stories for the live broadcast including how these stories should be represented through interview talk. After the meeting, the journalists return to their individual workspace to do journalistic research on the interview of which he or she is responsible. This research includes doing prepping interviews with potential guests over the phone. At the end of the day, the manuscript for the individual interviews should be as completed as possible, including a clear idea about what kinds of objects should be created on day two to be included in the live show.

As the editorial staff is co-creating content for television, the employment of graphic material is used as well as interview questions to elicit affective responses with the guests. Television is essentially an audio-visual medium, and the editorial staff is always concerned with making different audio-visual modes of expression visible to the viewers. This entails producing three categories of objects:

1. Those available only to the viewers (i.e. "up next" text boxes (called *KNG*'s) and video montages)
1. Those visible only to the hosts (i.e. the cue cards)
2. Those visible to both viewers, guests and hosts (i.e. photos and video montages projected on the rear wall screen (see Figure 48 below).

I am exclusively interested in the objects in category 2 and 3, as these are the objects, which demonstrably affects the in-studio interaction of the live broadcasted interview.[15] Category 2 covers a specific type of object, which is directly related to the management of talk; the manuscript in the final broadcast interview pre-packed into the hosts' cue cards. Category 3 encompasses different audio-visual objects, which are actively referred in situ during the live interview in order to make public specific multimodal aspects of the unfolding talk. In Figure 25, we see how two action-relevant objects, scripted talk and a visual semiotic field, are joint togeth-

[15] For a study on the social practice of watching television, see Raudaskoski (2003).

er in the embodied and verbal action of H1A in order to create a meaningful configuration.[16]

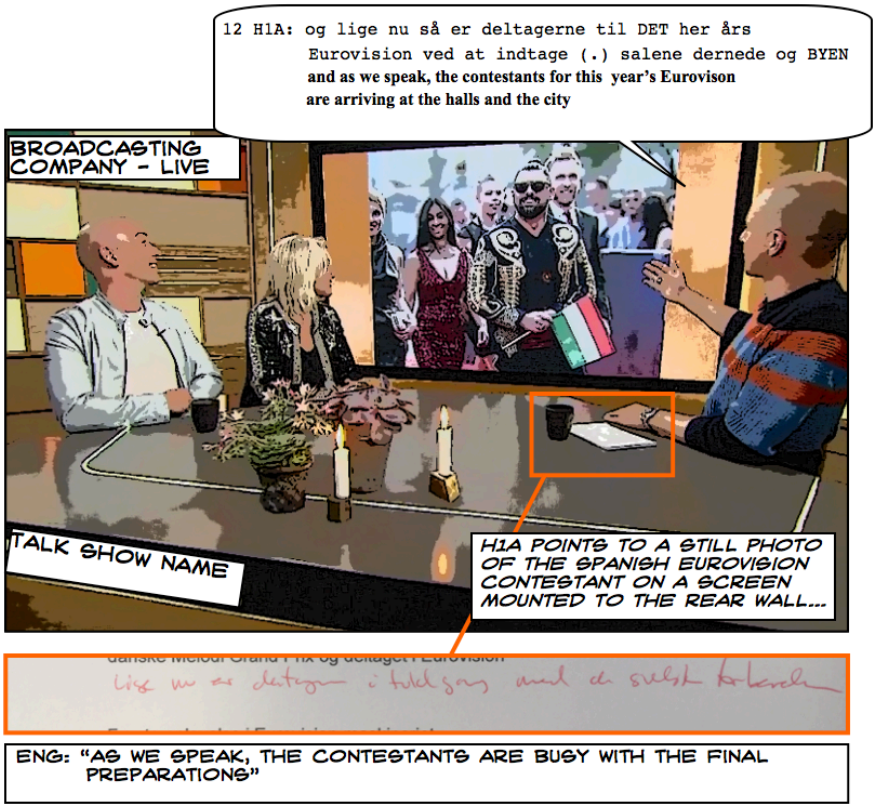


Figure 25 Environmentally coupled gesture.

During the live interview, the host join together different semiotic resources of the locally situated semiotic ecology to perform specific actions (Goodwin, 2018). H1A's pairing of talk and environmentally coupled gestures in Figure 25 is an accumulative action by which he transforms several interactional affordances into a meaningful configuration not found in any single semiotic resource. As we shall see, the joining of semiotic resources is quite efficient in the task of inciting affective stances with the guests.

One important aspect, which separates the institutionalised talk show setting from, say, a mundane interaction is the way in which the

[16] I will elaborate on this example in Chapter 6.

available resources of the semiotic ecology of the talk show studio have been put together to restrict variety in the emerging interaction. These objects displace certain possibilities regarding what the hosts can and can't do with them in the interview situation. When the final show is aired, the editorial staff has cultivated a semiotic field for the interview environment in which specific editorial decisions are sustained in the at-hand available interactional resources in order to delimit the outcome of the live interaction. Tracing the *discursive itineraries* (Scollon 2006) of these objects thus reveals essential parts of the co-operative work of planning a future interaction that are otherwise invisible to people from outside of the editorial office. The seemingly effortless flow of the live talk show by no means expose the non-consensus of the editorial staff who produced it. As Garfinkel (2008, p. 137) states, "the objectivities and realities of the experiencer's universes are to be sought in the meanings that the possible object of his experience "have" for him as these objects are experienced relative to an interpersonally valid and validated order". The co-operative task of co-imagining action-relevant objects and publicly project how these will potentially affect the sequential organisation of a boundary future interaction is in itself a spectacular social accomplishment. In the following, we shall closely trace and examine the commencing of particular objects with focus on how inter-affective possibilities are located, negotiated and cultivated by a group of journalists and their editor.

MORNING MEETING*/**

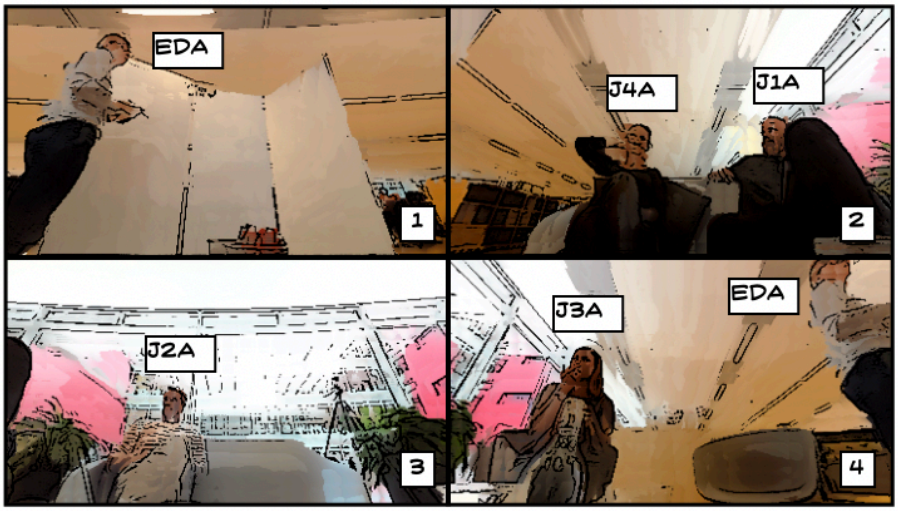


Figure 26 360-degree camera view.

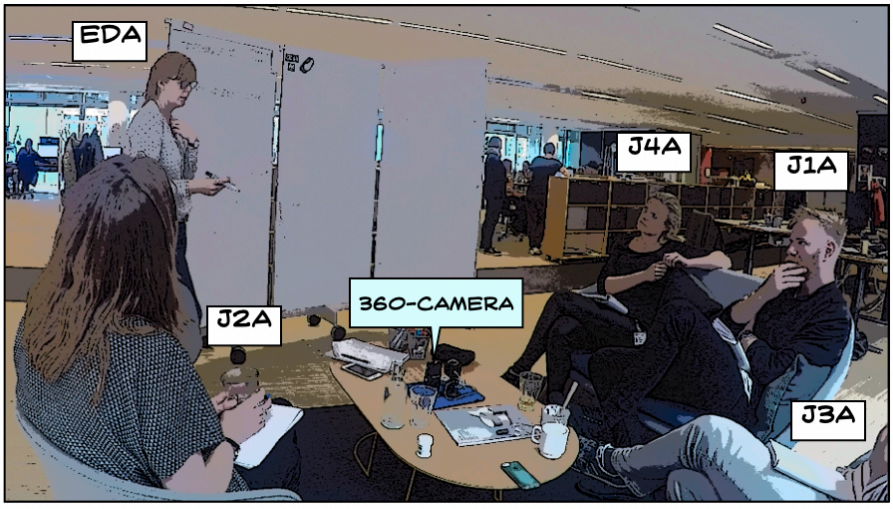


Figure 27 GoPro camera view.

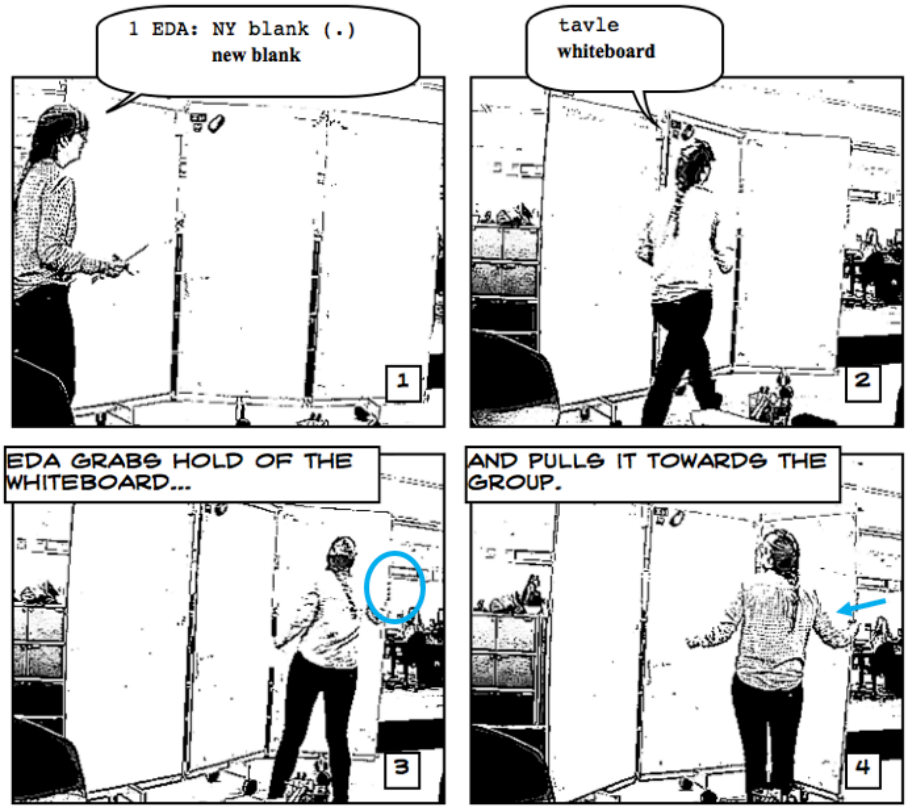
The editor (EDA) stands by a whiteboard and the group of journalists (J1A, J2A, J3A, and J4A) sit on a sofa set facing each other. In the middle of the group, is a small coffee table with a penholder with whiteboard markers, a bottle of water, and the group's glasses with coffee, water, and yoghurt. The 360-degree camera and the spatial sound recorder are

placed on this table. The GoPro camera is placed behind the sofa facing the whiteboard (on the right in panel 3).

A new, blank whiteboard

As a pre-opening activity, EDA announces that the whiteboard is now 'ny' ('new') and 'blank' ('blank') (Excerpt 3, line 1).

Excerpt 3. New, blank whiteboard.



EDA's turn in line 1 could be heard as a mere noticing of an object. However, in Danish, the phrasing 'en blank tavle' ('a blank whiteboard') is commonly used with the meaning 'a clean slate'. Thus, EDA's turn-of-talk indexes the whiteboard as a potential work-relevant object while at the same time it announces the beginning of a new two-day work circle. Middleton and Brown (2005, p. 215) suggest that in a game of dominos, the blank tile does not lack properties compared to the other tiles—'in

fact, it has *all* the properties'. At this point in the meeting, the same goes for the blank whiteboard. Of course, as we shall see, this 'clean slate' is pristine in the same sense as any other object encountered for 'another next first' time, where the 'new' is recognisably structured by the social conventions and expectations of the institution. In panels 3 and 4, EDA brings the whiteboard closer to the spatial centre of their current site of engagement. In doing so, she makes it visible to the group as *the* object of attention (Hindmarsh and Luff, 2000a). EDA's talk, paired with her embodied action of rearranging the spatial properties of the meeting area, publicly displays a shift from their prior pre-meeting small talk to the actual meeting.[17] At the same time, EDA introduces the whiteboard as a significant object, a 'designedly incomplete object' (Hazel and Mortensen, 2019), in the following co-operative task of brainstorming ideas for the upcoming live talk show. This embodied action is particularly interesting because it is a first example of how participants orient to the material world that they co-inhabit in order to perform work-relevant activities (see Nielsen, 2012).

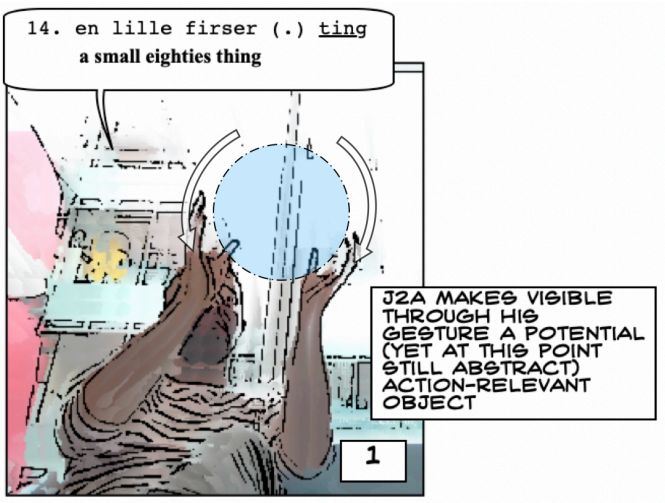
'A small eighties thing'

At this early stage of pre-producing talk show interaction, the editorial staff starts envisaging specific objects meant to manage variety in the future interview interaction. As illustrated in Excerpt 4 below (see also Chapter 1, Excerpt 2), one of the journalists (J2A) suggests making 'en lille firserting' ('a small eighties thing') (line 14) 'for ligesom at sætte stemningen' ('to set the mood') for what the eighties 'egentlig var for noget' ('were actually like') (lines 19 and 20). 'Ting' ('thing') in line 14 is accompanied by the simultaneous gesture in panel 1, and J2A maintains this gesture from lines 14 to 20. He then makes a change from present to past tense from line 20 to 21. This change in tense demonstrates a temporal reorientation from the 'thing' that the group can potentially create in the momentary now to the past from which the present, abstract object derives its meaning. In other words, what J2A suggests is that, by creating this object, the past can be prolonged into the present to convey some sense of what the past was like.

[17] See Deppermann, Mondada, and Schmitt (2010) on the restart of a work-related activity as a social accomplishment.

Excerpt 4. A small eighties thing.

13 man ku godt lave sådan e-
you could make such a-



15 (0.4)
16 med G1A
with G1A
17 J2A: [altså me-
you know
18 EDA: [ja
yes
19 J2A: for ligesom
to sort of
20 at sætte stemningen for
set the mood for
21 [hva- hvad firserne egentlig ↑var for noget
what the eighties were actually like
22 EDA: [ja
yes

Through his pairing of hand gesture and talk, J2A constructs an 'imagination space' (Due, 2016) for suggesting that the eighties could be represented as a small object: an extract of the decade, which incites a certain mood. According to J2A, when people see this eighties thing, they will experience some specific feeling of what the eighties were like. I see this transformative action of bringing the past into the present as an early establishment of a resource for doing affective talk. Interestingly, already at this early stage of pre-production, the initial prefiguration of the future

live talk show evolves around creating different kinds of materials to promote a certain mood in a future interaction. EDA summarises J2A's idea about creating the small eighties thing on the whiteboard as '80'er medley' ('eighties medley') and includes '00'erne medley' ('noughties medley'), thus making an intersemiotic shift by transforming the talk of J2A into whiteboard inscription. Thus, EDA displaces J2A's embodied and verbal action in Excerpt 4 into a few keywords on the whiteboard. J2A's idea of making a 'small eighties thing' has now been publicly accepted by at least EDA in that she makes it part of the preliminary talk show assemblage.

After making this inscription, EDA suggests that they close the interview by linking the guests' experiences from the eighties and the noughties to the current Eurovision. The group agrees to focus on how the outfits of the contestants have changed over the past decades (not part of the excerpt). As illustrated in Figure 27, EDA summarises this agreement by writing the words '+stilen i dag' ('+fashion today') on the whiteboard.

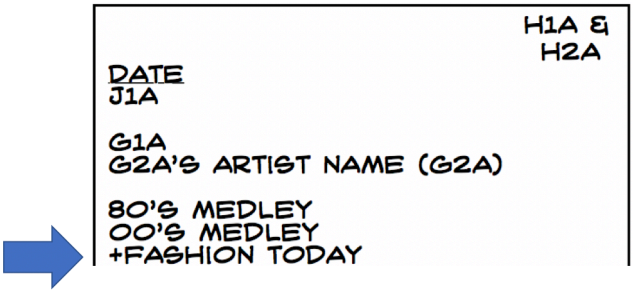


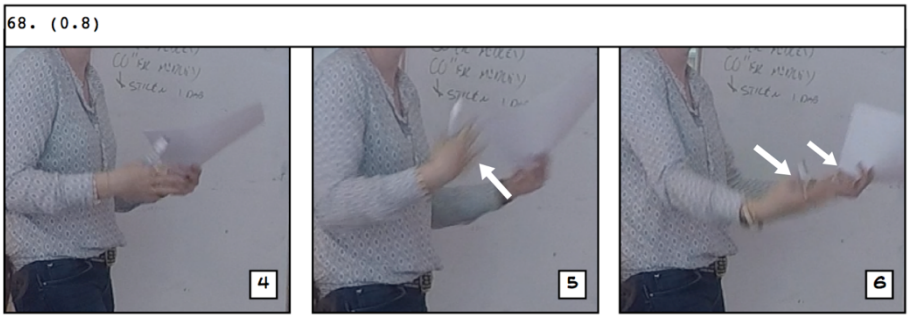
Figure 28 The whiteboard summary.

EDA, then, validates the decision of including 'fashion today' by stating that they 'skal nå et eller andet sted hen med den' ('have to get somewhere with it') in Excerpt 5, line 64 below.

Excerpt 5. We have to get somewhere.



65 EDA: vi kan ikke bare tale om nullerne
we cannot just talk about the noughties
66 og firserne
and the eighties
67 vi er nødt til at have
we have to have



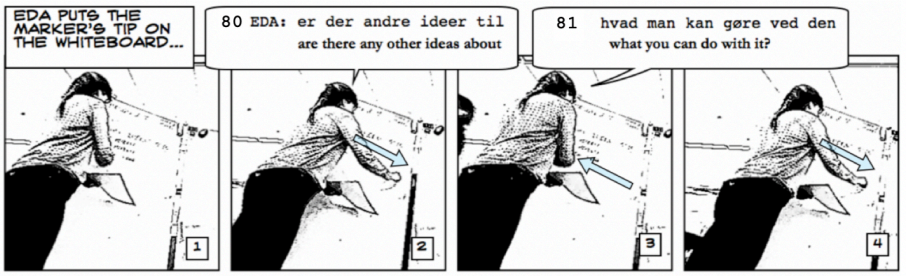
69 øh:
um
70 (0.5)
71 EDA: hvor er vi så i dag
where, then, are we today
72 J2A: °ja°
yes

They 'er nødt til at have' ('have to have') (line 67) something in the interview that deals with 'hvor er vi så I dag' ('where, then, are we today?') (line 71). In terms of the prefiguration of future talk show talk, two interesting things happen here. First, in line 64, EDA makes a hand gesture away from her body as she utters the Danish adverb 'hen' ('to') in panel 2. This embodied action visually maps out a potential temporal progression throughout the interview: According to EDA, 'it' (the interview) should move from the eighties and the noughties (represented by her

bodily position in the room, indexed by her retracted right hand in panel 1) to the present Eurovision Song Contest (represented by her stretched right arm in panel 2). Second, at this point, EDA is already anticipating and projecting how certain objects can come to demonstrate this historical progression publicly on the live show. In line 68 (panels 4, 5, and 6), EDA introduces talk as something that can be represented as a tangible object. EDA keeps her posture in panel 6 throughout the excerpt, making what she is 'holding in her hands' in this panel relevant as something that has to do with 'where we are today'.

In Excerpt 6, one of the journalists, J2A, asks 'hvornår vandt G1A?' ('when did G1A win?'). Rather than responding to the question, EDA re-enacts a dance move in front of the whiteboard.

Excerpt 6. EDA re-enacts G1A's performance from the eighties.

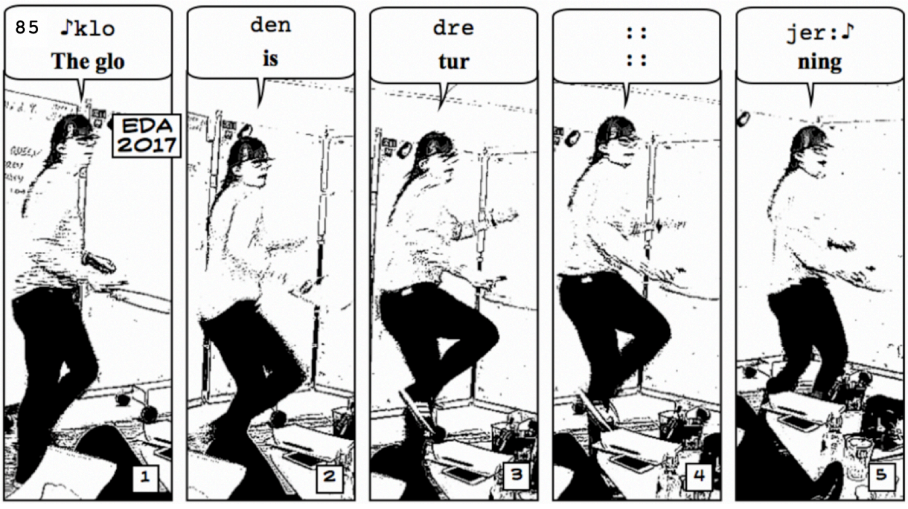


82 (2.2)

83 J2A: >hvornår vandt ↑G1A<

when did G1A win?

84 (1.3)



```
86          (0.5)
87  J4A:    ∪heh [heh∪
88  EDA:         [∪HAH HAH∪
```

In this excerpt, EDA draws a line on the whiteboard under the line "+fashion today". According to Streeck and Kallmeyer (2001),

> Lines reveal the dual nature of external cognitive operations with particular clarity: they are material, visible, and enduring products of motor acts; and these motor acts themselves can be executed in different ways - they can be accentuated, formalized, or embellished (p. 476).

Paired with her talk in lines 80 and 81, EDA's drawing of the line serves as a visible end to the preceding discussion. The line is a visible representation of a shift in topicality. From here, they can elaborate on alternative things 'man kan gøre ved den' ('you can do with it'), yet these potential ideas are now separated from the ideas above the line.

One of the two guests, G1A, became quite famous for making a specific dance move in the eighties Eurovision Song Contest. This move has come to be known as the 'shrimp skip' (Figure 29).



Figure 29 G1A does the 'shrimp skip' in the eighties.

The pairing of singing the refrain from G1A's eighties Eurovision hit song while performing the shrimp skip is a complex, multi-temporal

assemblage of actions. With our present focus on intersemiotic shifts, it is quite interesting to see how J2A's verbal reference to G1A's name on the whiteboard incites EDA's mediation of G1A's performance in the eighties. By bringing the past into the present, EDA introduces in the momentary now G1A's eighties performance as something that is a recognisable depiction of G1A. Notice how EDA looks at the others during her performance. This indicates the social nature of enactments; EDA is checking for responses. Also, when J4A produces a 'heh heh' in line 87, EDA bursts out into laughter in line 88, treating her own performance as a laughable. None of the others questions this quite spectacular performance during the meeting.

In Excerpt 7 below, J4A reacts to the fact that the performance was some thirty years ago. Here, we see a wealth of temporal entanglements. J4A's reference to 'det nummer' ('that song') in line 103 is oriented towards EDA's re-enactment of G1A's song and dance move. As such, EDA's performance is accepted by J4A as a valid depiction of the particular song—and thus as a valid resemiotisation of G1A' name on the whiteboard as indexed by J2A. Then, in line 107, panel 3, J4A points to the whiteboard with her pen, thus indexing the whiteboard inscription as a representation for 'alle de nye der' ('all the new ones there'). J4A's gesture locates the whiteboard as both a phenomenological object and as that 'the' object for the particular work-relevant task of creating while they brainstorm the initial structures for what a future interaction about the Eurovision *could* look like. Thus, already at this point, the initial structures are actively used as a source for the group's ongoing brainstorming about how these structures should evolve.

Excerpt 7. Glitter belts.

```
94  J4A:   kæft det er lang ∪tid siden∪
           wow, that's a long time ago
95         (0.4)
96  J2A:   ∪mth hh. [heh∪
97  J4A:            [∪heh [heh∪
98  EDA:                  [∪ah hah hah hah hah∪
102 EDA:   det var med glimmerbælter=
           they had glitter belts
103 J4A:   ∪=ja ja∪ [og det nummer
              yes yes   and that song
104 EDA:            [det var dengang man havde'
                     that was when they had'
```



109 J4A: de siger mig ikke rigtig [noget
the speak me not really something
I can't recall

110 EDA: [nej nej
no no

111 J4A: heh

The group continues to discuss how the guests' experiences with the Eurovision in the eighties and the noughties can coherently lead up to talk about the present song contest. In Excerpt 8, line 107 below, J1A notes that had they been closer to the finals, the interview would evolve around 'hvad er det for en Annie' ('what is it for an Annie') (the Danish contestant of 2017) in the moments before she is going on stage. With this formulation, J1A suggests that there are different 'Annies' and that

the type of Annie in this particular hypothetical scenario is the one standing behind the scene waiting to go on stage and perform.

Excerpt 8. Had it been closer to the finals.

104	J1A:	havde det været ↑tættere på finalen
		had it been closer to the finals
105		så havde man jo haft sådan noget
		you would of course have had something like
106		(1.2)
107	J1A:	hvad er det for en (.) annie
		what is it for an Annie
108		inden hun skal gå på scenen
		before she is going on stage
109		(1.4)
110	J1A:	hvordan er det (.)
		how is it
111	EDA:	ja=
		yes
112	J1A:	=at stå der få minutter før-
		to be standing there, few minutes before
113		hvad er det for nogle ritualer omkring det
		what kind of rituals are there
114		hvad er det- (.) et eller andet
		what is it - something
115		hvem har haft-
		who have had-
116		hvem [har oplevet]
		who have experienced
117	EDA:	[men kan man] ikke også godt gøre det,
		but can't you do that?
118	J1A:	det ku man måske godt
		maybe you could

J1A's turn in lines 104-116 serves as a pre-enactment of a hypothetical future manuscript, with which J1A anticipates and projects the possible outcome of planning the interview 'tættere på finalen' ('closer to the finals'). Thus, J1A publicly makes relevant temporal characteristics of the action-relevant object (the manuscript) that they are currently working on. If they were creating it at a later point and thus closer to the finals, the manuscript could have been semiotised and prepacked in different ways than is possible at the time of the present meeting. I see J1A's public prefiguring of a potential future as a defensive way of sharing an idea without being held accountable for it. This observation is supported by

J1A's initial talk in lines 92 and 93 with which he frames his following talk as something that 'man' ('you'/'one') generally would do, had they been closer to the finals. Notice, how J1A proposes two different types of questions here: One about 'hvordan er det at stå der i minutterne før' ('how it is to be standing there in the minutes before') you are going on stage (lines 110 and 112), and one about what type of 'ritualer' ('rituals') you go through in that situation.

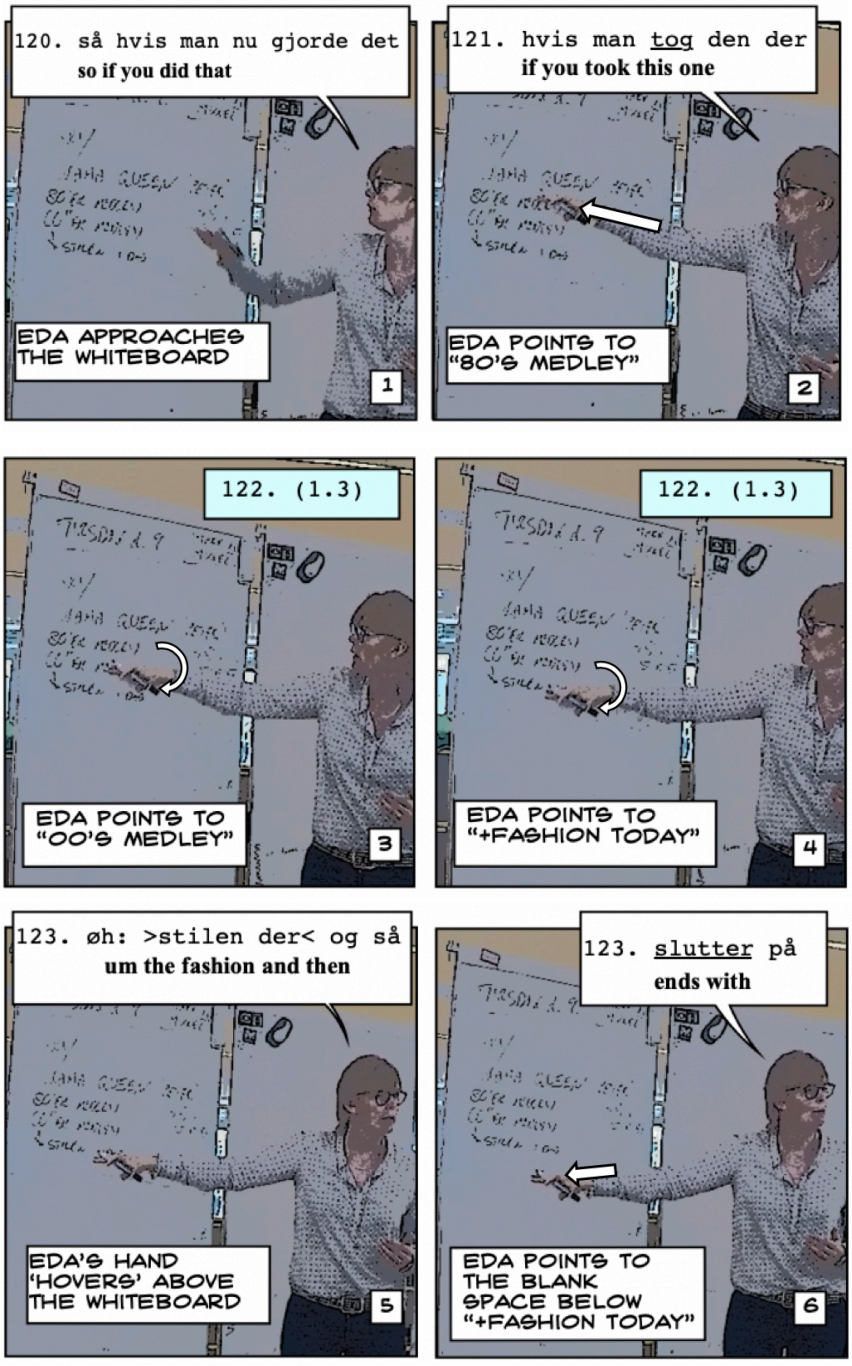
In line 105, EDA overlaps with J1A in order to choose herself as the next speaker. By formulating her response as an interrogative with present tense: 'men kan man ikke også godt gøre det?' ('but can't you do that?'), EDA asserts J1A's idea as possible—not only as a hypothetical future but also as a way of structuring the interview in the present meeting. In Excerpt 9, EDA then goes on to conclude that what could coherently tie together the 80s, the 00s, and the present in the interview is the feeling the participants have in the moments before going on stage.

Excerpt 9. What ties it all together.

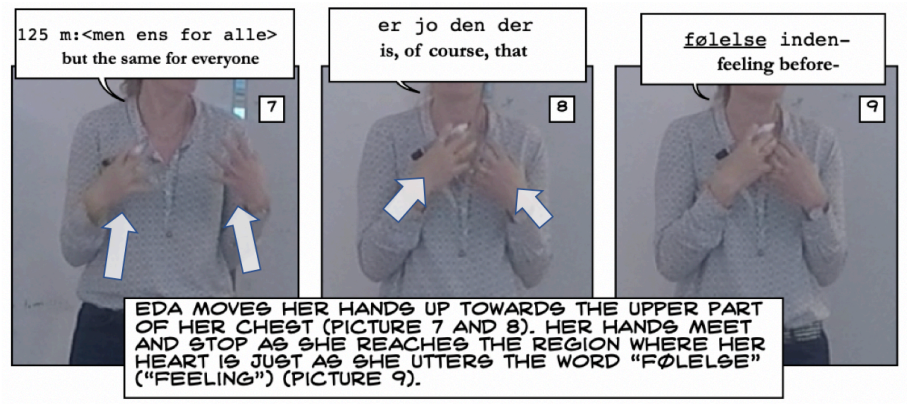
113	EDA:	den samme følelse må jo lissom være
		but the same feeling must of course be
114		altså det der binder det hele [sammen]
		you know, what ties it all together
115	J4A:	[ja]
		yes
116	J2A:	[↑nåh ja]
		oh yes

At this point, the whiteboard in Figure 27 has become a public, collective memory, on which past decisions are displaced and thus made available as semiotic resources for the group's subsequent interaction. In Excerpt 9, the inscription enables EDA to map out a temporality of fashion across three decades of Eurovision (panels 2, 3, and 4), eventually pointing to the empty space beneath '+stilen i dag' ('+fashion today') to highlight the place where something is missing.

Excerpt 10. That feeling.



124 (0.6)



126 EDA: lige inden man skal på scenen
just before you enter the stage

EDA's stepwise pointing from '80'er medley' ('80's medley') in panel 2 to '00'er medley' ('00's medley') in panel 3 to 'stilen i dag' ('fashion today') in panel 4 illustrates a possible progression in the sequential organisation of a future interaction. According to EDA, moving through these steps will eventually enable them to talk about 'den der følelse' ('that feeling') commonly related to the activity of going on stage in the Eurovision (lines 125 and 126). Her pointing gesture in panel 6 paired with her words 'slutter med' ('end with') in line 123 prefaces the content of her following talk in lines 125 to 126 as something that could fill out this empty gap in the manuscript. As she utters the word 'følelse' ('feeling') in line 125, EDA indexically points to her upper chest with both hands (panel 9) to publicly make relevant a part of her body, the heart, which is often (metaphorically in Danish and most Western cultures) said to be the centre of human emotions. With this embodied action, EDA refers to a suggestion made by J1A in Excerpt 8 that Eurovision contestants could be asked about how they felt before going on stage as a general and tangible, boundary emotion; it is a specific feeling, which is the same for all people who have participated in the song contest over the years. EDA then resemiotises her phrasing in lines 125 and 126 that 'ens for alle er jo den der følelse lige inden man skal på scenen' ('the same for everyone is, of course, that feeling just before you enter the stage) into written text on the whiteboard as: '+følelsen inden Anja skal på scenen' ('+the feeling before Anja enters the stage'). In this way, EDA has summarised the prior talk of J1A by choosing from his two-piece proposal

the focus on the emotional state of the participants before going on stage.

We know what people will answer

Shortly after, in Excerpt 11 J3A reopens this resemiotisation. She challenges the idea of asking about the guests' emotional state by publicly imagining the possible second pair parts the guests will provide when faced with the question of how they felt before going on stage.

Excerpt 11. J3A pre-enacts possible second pair parts.



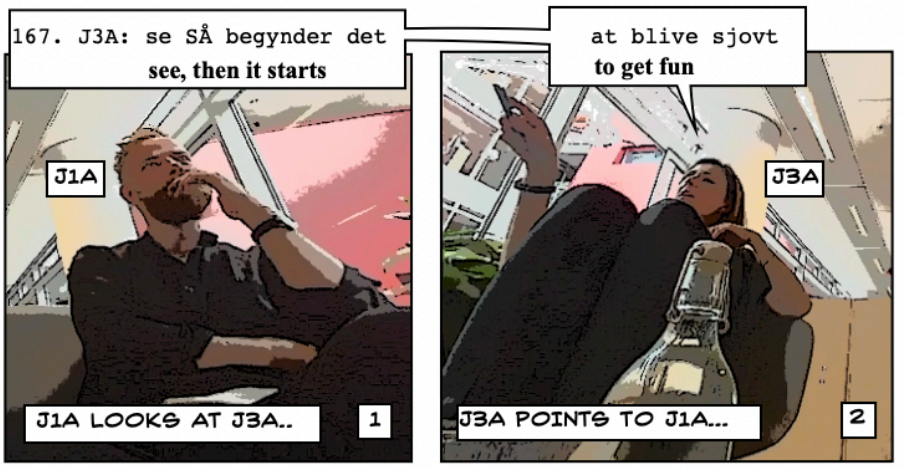


In lines 130 and 132, J3A makes a change in footing and voices potential second pairs. With her frowning paired with her head subtly tilting from side to side and the prosodic features of her talk, J3A positions herself as a sceptical recipient of EDA's turn-of-talk (see Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008, pp. 178-179). Thus, according to J3A, asking the guest about 'følelsen inden du gik på scenen' ('the feeling before you entered the stage') will elicit brief, general accounts for emotional states: 'jeg er nervøs' ('I am nervous'), 'jeg er spændt' ('I am excited'). These kinds of answers, of course, pose a problem in terms of the conversational nature of the talk show format, where the guest is supposed to produce a prolonged turn of narrative in which they talk about rather than simply assess in brief terms some past event(s) (see Loeb, 2017). What makes Excerpt 10 particularly interesting is the way in which J3A inhabits a potential future interview by publicly anticipating the affective, sequential outcome of asking specific questions. This is a clear initial example of how the group expects certain semiotic resources, in this case a question, to promote certain affective accounts from the guests.

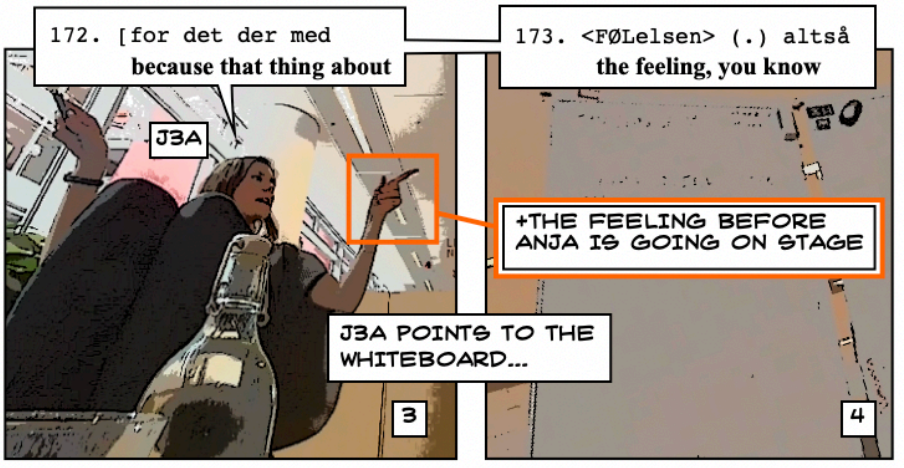
J1A, who has been responsible for covering the Eurovision Song Contest for the prior two weeks, goes on to tell the group about how other earlier participants have shared with him during telephone interviews anecdotes about what they were doing in the minutes before going on stage, such as, chain-smoking (not part of the transcript). In Excerpt 11, J3A makes a positive assessment of J1A's contribution to the discussion. According to J3A, asking about what the participants were doing in the moments before going on stage will promote more 'fun' accounts from the guests (lines 167 and 168). In panel 3, J3A verbally and bodily indexes the whiteboard inscription '+the feeling before Annie is going

on stage' as an accountable displacement of their ongoing interaction (lines 172 and 173, Panel 3) as she points to the text on the whiteboard rather than making a mere reference to EDA's turn-of-talk in Excerpt 10.

Excerpt 12. We know what people will answer.



168 [når man hører de der konkrete historie=
when you hear those concrete stories
169 J1A: [ja ja præcis
yes, yes, exactly
170 EDA: =ja
yes
171 [ja
yes



```
174          (0.6)
175 J3A:     følelsen (.)
             the feeling
176          så ved vi godt
             then we know

177          hvad folk vil svare=
             what people will answer
178 EDA:     =jo (.) ja ja
              yes,      yes yes
```

In Excerpt 8, line 113, J1A first introduced the idea of asking 'what rituals' are related to the minutes before going on stage. This suggestion is not visible from EDA's whiteboard summary, but is now revoked by J1A and J3A.

Interestingly, J3A is now treating the whiteboard inscription as a preliminary outline of a future sequentiality. Thus, the fact that EDA has resemiotised and inscribed on the whiteboard her suggestion from lines 125 and 126 makes this particular semiotic resource more durable than the talk from which it originated. The inscription 'Følelsen før Annie skal på scenen' ('The feeling before Annie is going on-stage') has become a displacement of human action, and something that must be actively oriented to and challenged in order to change it. In Iedema's (2003) terms, meaning has been structured in durable and, therefore, 'resistant' material (p. 43). Of course, as EMCA reminds us, this 'durability' of the inscription is not found in the material realisation of the whiteboard, which makes up its Newtonian presence in the world (Garfinkel, 2008). Rather, the text's 'stability' as a common, work-relevant object is constituted and maintained through the referential work of EDA in Excerpt 10 and J3A in Excerpt 12. The preliminary whiteboard manuscript thus is both 1) the main semiotic resource for the group's ongoing interaction, and 2) the designedly incomplete object, which should be completed in order for the group to adequately accomplish the co-operative, institutional task of doing 'meeting' interaction.

Anticipating audiovisual content

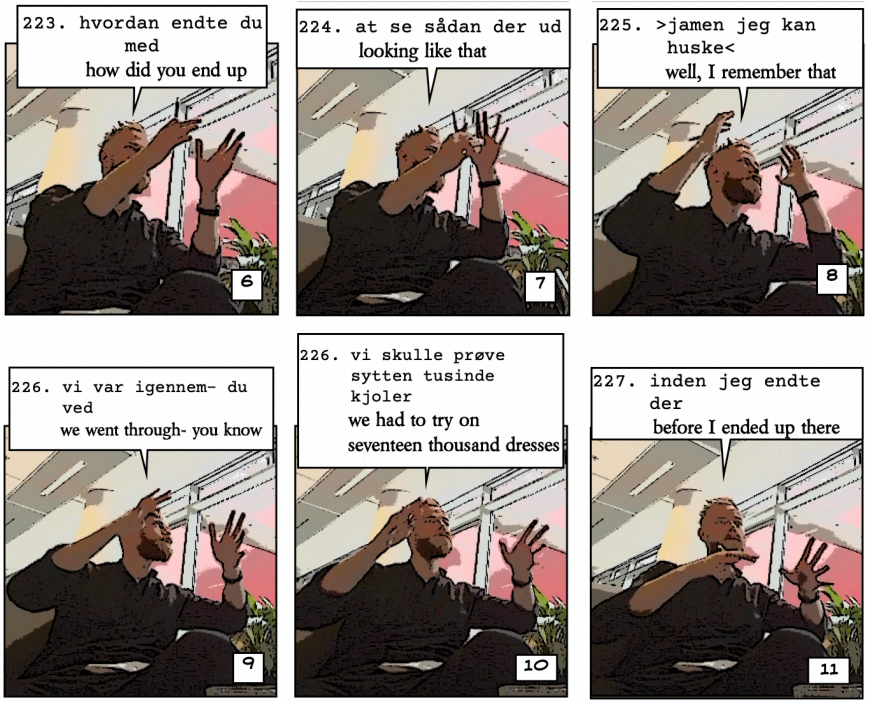
In Excerpt 13, J1A picks up on J2A's suggestion in Excerpt 4 that they should make visible certain aspects of the eighties. J1A modifies J2A's idea from a general aim to 'set the mood' of the eighties to a more spe-

cific purpose of the visual content. With his 'og så kan man sige' ('and then you can say') in line 8, J1A pre-specifies what follows in lines 9 to 20 as hypothetical. In lines 9 to 13, he suggests using a panel of G1A as a visual point of reference for answering the following question in lines 15 and 16 about how G1A 'endte med at se *sådan* ud' ('ended up looking like *that*'). In lines 17 to 20, J1A projects the answer of G1A with a shift in footing. In doing so, J1A anticipates and pre-enacts a possible future interaction. Of course, this practice is not entirely guesswork but relies on J1A's experience with prior interaction; with the conventions of how talk show talk is ordinarily done (cf. Hutchby 2005; Loeb 2017).

Excerpt 13. J1A pre-enacts a first and second pair part.

212	J1A:	så kan man sige
		then you can say
213		velkommen øh ding og ding og ding
		welcome ding and ding and ding
		(0.7)





228 J3A: eller måske skulle de overhovedet ikke det
or maybe they did not have to do that at all

229 fordi det var firserne
because it was the eighties

230 [>°og de var ligeglade< ja°
and they didn't care

231 J1A: [eller også- ja eller også det
or- yes, or that

In line 21, J3A's 'eller' ('or') prefaces an other-initiated repair, while 'måske' ('maybe') highlights what follows as another hypothetical scenario. J3A's repair includes a counter suggestion in lines 21-23. With this, J3A introduces the possibility that G1A's answer will be something other than in J1A's pre-enactment in lines 17 to 20. J1A, however, does not treat J3A's turn in lines 21 to 23 as problematic. Instead, in line 24, he acknowledges it as a possible outcome with his 'eller også- ja eller også det' ('or- yes, or that'). In this way, J1A publicly assesses J3A's alternative as equally possible. He does not, however, initiate a repair of his own turn in lines 17 to 20, although J3A's turn could be seen as a repair serving to problematise J1A's projection of how G1A will respond to the hypothetical question posed in lines 15 and 16 paired with the action-

relevant object of a panel of her from the eighties. Interestingly, besides J1A's alignment in line 24, J3A's repair is ignored by the group, and is neither further discussed by the team nor reflected in the inscription on the whiteboard. Consequently, J3A's disaffiliative counter-suggestion is marginalised and silenced (Iedema, 2001)–and not reflected in the preliminary whiteboard manuscript.

A twist in the tale

The group has now gone from talking about making a 'small eighties thing' to 'set the mood' to more specifically talking about how a visual representation of G1A can become an action-relevant object, which in the live interview can come to elicit a specific sequential outcome. J1A summarises their talk up until this point and suggests that they focus on what it was like for the guests to have people focus on their songs, their looks, and their gimmicks. Rather than asking J1A to repeat his verbal summary, in Excerpt 14, line 250, EDA initiates a repetition of talk by reading out loud the first part of a written summary of J1A's preceding turn-of-talk formulated with interrogative syntax. While reading out loud the unfinished sentence 'hvordan var det at få sat spot på' ('what was it like/how did it feel to have people focus on'), the marker in EDA's right-hand hovers above the whiteboard surface.

This is an interesting example of how a material resource sources and restricts the sequential organisation of the interaction through which its semiotic properties are being reworked. EDA's embodied orientation towards the unfinished objects of a question, paired with her action of visually anticipating writing and reading out loud the current whiteboard inscription, publicly projects a 'noticeably absent' last part of the inscription.

Excerpt 14. A twist in the tale.




```
251          (0.6)
252 J1A:     ja
             yes
253          (1.2)
254 J1A:     hvordan var det
             how was it
255          at få sat ↑spot på din ↑sang dit udseende og (.)
             to have put spot on your song your looks and
             when people focussed on your song, your looks and
256          din gimmick i mangel på bedre ord
             your gimmick for lack of better words
```

This multi-layered next turn-initiation thus pursues a completion of EDA's turn in line 250. EDA's formulation of the summary as a question incites J1A to produce his completion as a question as well. Consequently, in lines 254-256, J1A performs a change in footing by animating a hypothetical talk show question: 'hvordan var det' ('what was it like/how did it feel') 'at få sat spot på din sang dit udseende og din gim-

mick' ('to have people focusing on your song, your looks, and your gimmick').



257 altså sådan at man har de der tre ting
you know, so that you have these three things
258 man kan dykke ned i=
that you can dive into
259 J2A: =ja
yes
260 (2.4)
261 J1A: °ja°=
yes

Again, we see how a proposal is co-operatively constructed in the present through projections of a possible sequential outcome of a future interaction. To create a semiotic ecology which will promote affective stances during the live show, affect has to be made sequentiable. In both Danish and English, the question 'hvordan var det' ('how was it') presupposes that an emotional state was related to the following content of the question, in this case, 'to have people focusing on your song, your looks, and your gimmick'. Interestingly, this is the first addition to the whiteboard inscription that is formulated as a first pair part designed specifically to promote an affective second pair part.

In Excerpt 15, line 268, J1A argues that if they deploy the type of interview talk proposed in Excerpt 13, they can still end the interview by asking 'kan i huske hvad i gjorde lige inden I gik på scenen?' ('do you

remember what you were doing right before you entered the stage?'). J1A's shift in footing in lines 269 and 271-276, again, animate the hypothetical future talk of a host.

Excerpt 15. A twist in the tale 2.

```
268 J1A:   og så kan man stadigvæk slutte med sådan
           and then it is still possible to end with, like
269        okay tak for snak agtigt
           okay, thank you for the talk-ish
270        (0.6)
271 J1A:   altså
           you know
272        (0.4)
273        det i også har til fælles med annie
           what you have in common with Annie
274 J3A:   °ja°
           yes
275 J1A:   kan i huske hvad i gjorde
           do you remember what you were doing
276        lige inden i gik på scenen
           right before you entered the stage
277 EDA:   ↑m↓m↑m
           yes
```




```
278 J1A:   det er bare for at have sådan et slag med halen
           It's just to have a twist in the tale
```

J1A's 'stadigvæk' ('still') in line 268 is an interesting lexical choice. By its use, J1A emphasises that their decision to ask about what the guests did right before they entered the stage can still be part of the interview. As such, the new material does not require the group to change decisions already made and added to the preliminary whiteboard manuscript.

Intriguingly, this first meeting quite clearly illustrates several examples of the main interest of this dissertation, namely how participants in some momentary now co-operatively seek to create and resemiotise specific objects in order to render affect a sequentiable matter. The whiteboard provides a 'practical basis for making progress' (Iedema, 2003, p. 43) in the group's public planning of the interview, a reification of meanings from the volatile sphere of talk to the increasingly durable semiotic materiality of whiteboard inscription. Interestingly, the above excerpt demonstrates how this alleged durability is continuously constituted through the practices of the group.

Through their continuous use of present tense and the personal pronoun 'vi' ('we'), EDA, J1A, and J3A bring the future into the present by pre-enacting the talk show interaction in excerpts 5, 8, 10, 11, and 13.[18] Thus, rather than projecting in the momentary now potential interactional outcomes of employing action-relevant objects in a hypothetical future, the group actively refer to the current structural stage of the interview (as inscribed on the whiteboard) through their verbal and bodily conduct, and thereby stage the future in the present. This way of staging and inhabiting a potential future allows the team to pre-enact publicly the interview as it might unfold in situ, thus oscillating between the activities of doing 'brainstorming' and the co-imagined activity of doing 'live talk show' talk.

[18] The verb *enact* could be used to describe this anticipatory work as well, but I prefer to use the prefix *pre-* in order to emphasise the fictitious spatio-temporal character of the shifts in footing performed during the morning meeting. The group is projecting someone else's future interaction, and, therefore, they are not enacting their own roles but the roles of others.

MORNING MEETING***

Two days later another group of journalists and their editor have a morning meeting. One journalist, J2B, brings up a story from the Danish newspaper *Berlingske* about how one in four female city council politicians are subjected to sexual harassment.

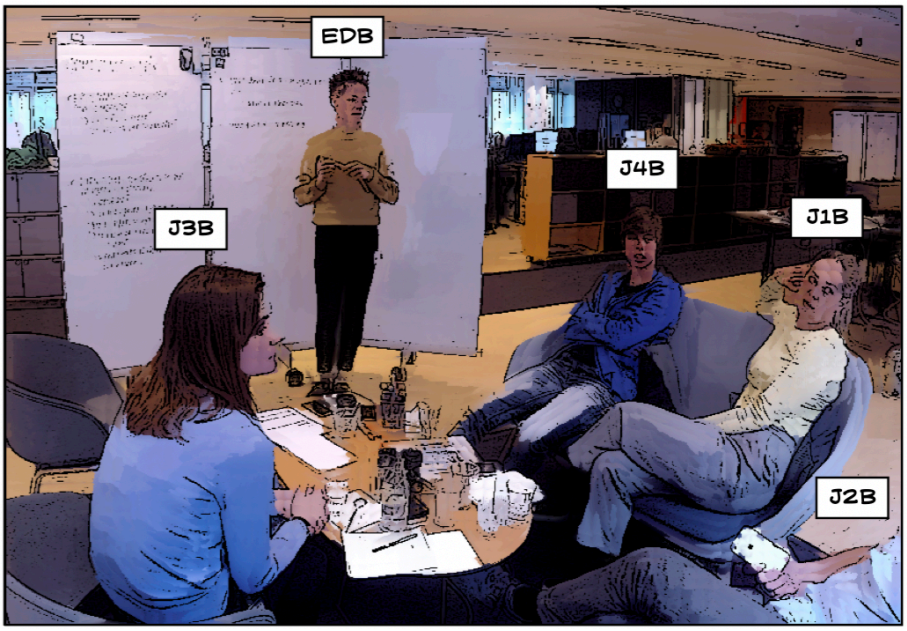


Figure 30 GoPro-camera view.

While J2B presents the content of the newspaper article to the others, EDB writes on the whiteboard: 'Hver fjerde kvinde I byråd har fået sexistiske kommentarer' ('One in four female city council politicians has been subjected to sexist comments'). According to J2B, the newspaper article describes a situation in which a female politician from the Danish left-wing party, Enhedslisten, is told by a male colleague: 'Du trænger fanme til at blive kneppet' ('You could use a good fucking'). As illustrated in Excerpt 15, on hearing this particular wording, J1B and J4B jointly produce affective stances (panel 2).

Excerpt 16. Reported harassment.[19]



[19] Unfortunately, due to an issue with the 360-degree camera sitting on the coffee table we are only able to see this interaction from the illustrated angle.



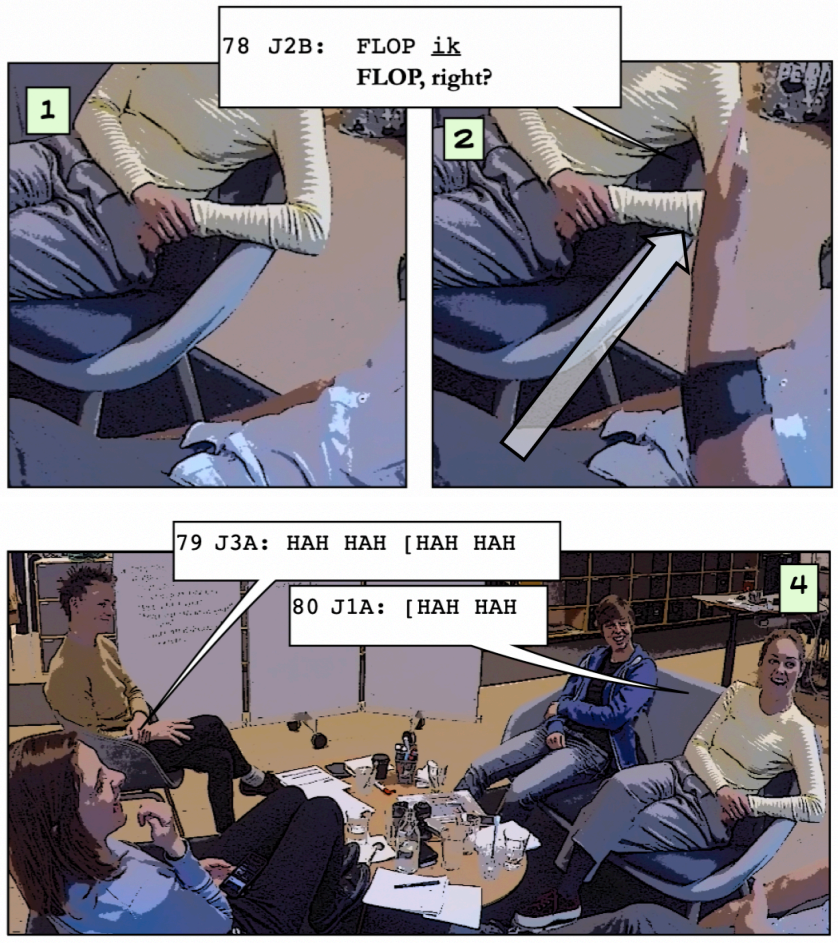
J1B and J4B react to the quite profane language in J2A's turn-of-talk. Both overtly 'do being surprised' by producing what Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2006) calls 'surprise tokens' in panel 2 as a response to J2B's 'surprise source' in line 8. While J4B immediately displays surprise both with a surprise token and through her facial expression, J1B's surprise token is delayed although her facial expression displays an immediate reaction to the surprise source. This silence can be demonstrating that 'the breath has been knocked out of me' or 'a loss for words' (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006, p. 166). EDB summarises the story as 'Enhedslisten oplevelse' ('Enhedslisten experience') on the whiteboard.[20] As the story was brought in the newspaper the same morning and the show that they are working on is still two days away, EDB adds to the whiteboard 'Reaktioner dagen derpå?' ('Next day reactions?').

Shortly after, J2B introduces a story about how two of their colleagues at the radio department of the broadcasting company planned to experiment with sexual harassment live on air. They agreed on their live show that when the female news anchor would enter the studio to deliver the news, one of the two male hosts were to smack her on the bum.

[20] Enhedslisten is a Danish left-wing political party.

Excerpt 17. Smack her on the bum.

72 J2B: og de har jo de der steady cams
and then they have these steady cams ((in the radio studio))
73 og så så man bare
and then you just saw
74 hvordan hun kom ind
when she came in
75 for at læse ↑nyheder
to read the news
76 og så går han bare sådan hen forbi
and then he just walks by her
77 nåh jenny det er din tur
well, Jenny, it's your turn



In this excerpt, J2B vividly resemiotises the act of smacking someone on the bum by pairing his narrative with the embodied action of doing hitting someone with his left hand as he utters the word 'FLOP' in line 78. From the organisation of laughter, this embodied action appears to be the laughable source. J2B's verbal and embodied retelling and re-enactment of what happened at the radio department not only evokes a shared affective stance with the rest of the group, it also represents an alternative way to structure the future.

Excerpt 18. Where to draw the line.

```
98  EDB:   ja men det kræver lidt
           yes, but that requires
99         at det er det
           that that is what
100        (0.3)
101 EDB:   [på en eller anden måde
            in some way
102 J1B:   [°hvor går grænsen°
             where to draw the line
103 EDB:   diskussionen [går på
           the discussion      is all about
104 J3B:                [ja hvor går grænsen
                          yes, where to draw the line
105 EDB:   dagen der[↑på
           the next day
106 J2B:            [ja
                     yes
107        hvor går grænsen
           where to draw the line
```

In line 102, J1B utters with low volume 'hvor går grænsen' ('where to draw the line?'). In line 104, J3B repeats the utterance with a little more volume, and in line 105, J2B repeats the line right out loud. This is an interesting way to co-construct agreement. J3B and J2B repeat the exact words of J1B's turn of talk. The 'yes + J1B's exact words' construction including the prosodic features of the two repetitions as well as their location in the unfolding organisation of talk tell us that these are displays of J2B and J3B affiliating with J1B's proposal.

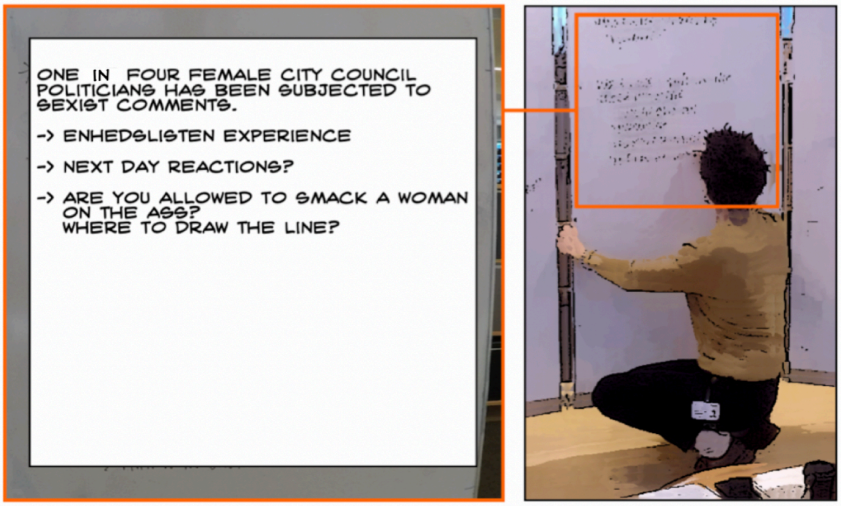


Figure 31 Whiteboard summary.

In Figure 30, EDB summarises the just preceding talk on the whiteboard as 'Må man slå en kvinde I røven?' ('Are you allowed to smack a woman on the ass?') and, underneath, 'Hvor går grænsen?' ('Where to draw the line?'). While he is writing, J3B tells the other members of the group about an episode of a famous Danish radio show called *Mads og Monopolet*, which every week features a new celebrity panel who discusses different dilemmas posted by the show's listeners. According to J3B, the week before, one of the listener's dilemmas was about sexual harassment at the workplace (not part of the excerpt). After J3B's retelling of the radio show episode, in Excerpt 18, EDB asks the group:

Excerpt 19. 'Sexist is negatively charged'.

128 EDB:	men er det et panel
	but is it a panel
129	der skal diskutere sexistiske dilemmaer?
	who discusses sexist dilemmas?
130 J3B:	og så måske ikke kalde det sexistiske=
	and then maybe not call it sexist
	and then maybe we shouldn't call them sexist
131 EDB:	=nej=
	no
132 J3B:	=fordi sexistiske er jo negativt ladet
	because sexist is, of course, negatively charged
133 EDB:	ja
	yes

```
134          (0.8)
135 J3B:     altså nede på Radio9
             you know, on Radio9 [21]
136          ville jeg ikke blive overrasket
             I wouldn't be surprised
137          hvis nogen klappede mig i røven
             if someone smacked me on the ass
138          for vi havde et andet forhold til hinanden
             because we had a different relationship to each other
139          (1.3)
140 J4B:     °er det noget med (.)°
              is  it  something with
             perhaps
141          °at vi skal have H2B til at:°
             we shall have H2B
142          (0.8)
143 J1A:     °slå H1B I røven°
             smack H1B on the ass
```

Based on J3B's turn-of-talk, in lines 128 and 129, EDB introduces the idea that they put together a panel to discuss different sexist dilemmas. The design of his proposal is quite interesting in two ways. First, the interrogative lexico-morphosyntax of this turn-of-talk is a way for EDB to solicit approval for the idea while introducing it to the group. Second, similar to what we saw in the Eurovision case, EDB uses the present tense when talking about the future interaction that they are planning in the present. The wording 'er det et panel' ('is it a panel') brings the future into the present as the preliminary structures are oriented to as 'the' object of the group's current interaction. In line 130, J3B affiliates with EDB's idea by reworking it further. As such, she expresses her affiliative stance not by treating EDB according to its structure as a yes/no-question, but by further developing EDB's proposal. In lines 135-138, J3B elaborates on her point that the 'negativt ladet' ('negatively charged') term *sexism* does not apply to all situations where an employee is smacked on the ass. J1B afterwards shares a similar story about her former workplace. EDB adds to the whiteboard: 'Panel?' ('Panel?').

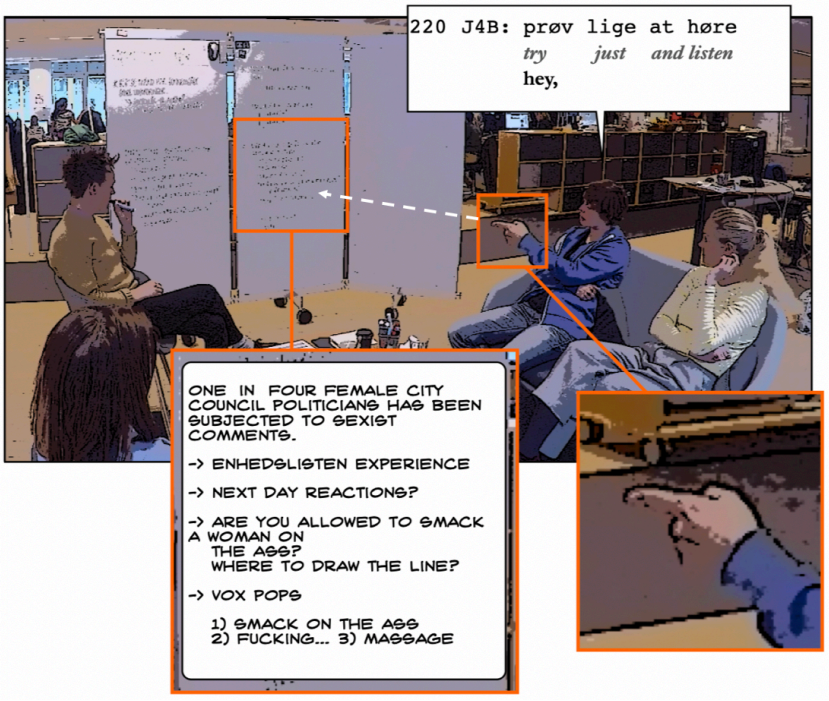
Clayman and Heritage (2002, p. 300) have made the same link and observe how conflict can be cultivated in panel debates by 'bringing

[21] Another editorial office at the broadcasting company where J3B used to work.

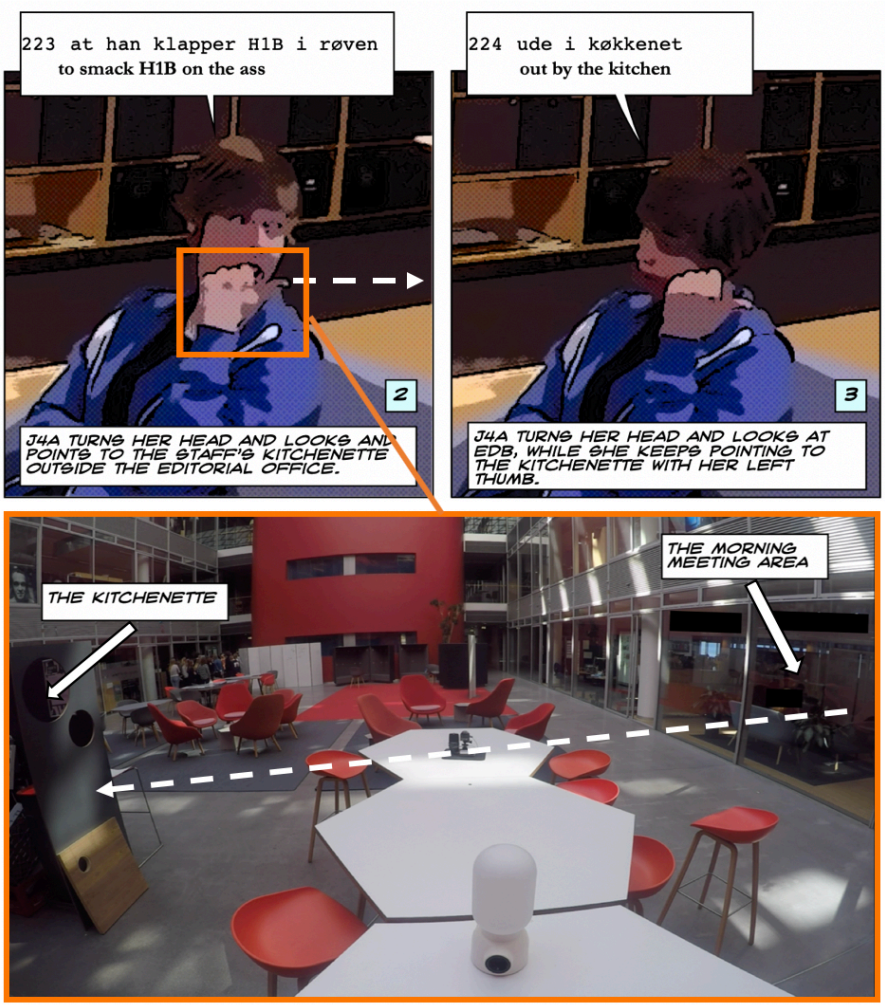
people together who are worlds apart'. As such, a panel debate commonly brings together people who represent different perspectives in order to discuss some newsworthy issue. This allows the talk show to promote adversarial-ness in the studio without compromising the neutral stance of the interviewer by simply making the interviewees argue among themselves (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Greatbatch, 1992). So, choosing to do the interview as a panel debate includes finding people with conflicting perspectives.

Another interesting thing happens in the final part of Excerpt 18. In a low voice, J4A introduces the idea that they get H1B to do something (lines 140-141). In line 142, based on the group's ongoing talk about colleagues smacking each other on the ass, J1A picks up on this idea and suggests completing J4A's sentence by adding the action of smacking H1B on the ass. In Excerpt 20, J4B picks up on this idea. In line 142, based on the group's ongoing talk about colleagues smacking each other on the ass, J1A picks up on this idea and suggests completing J4A's sentence by adding the action of smacking H1B on the ass. In Excerpt 20 below, J4B picks up on this idea.

Excerpt 20. Repeating the co-proposal.



221 er det noget med
is it something about
what if we
222 at man skal have overtalt H2B til (.)
that you should convince H2B
convince H2B





226 og [sig]er
and say

227 J3B [ja]
yes

228 J4B: hvordan [havde] du[det]lige med det
how did that make you feel?

229 J3B: [ja::r]
yes

230 J1B: [ej hvor [sjovt]
oh that's funny

231 J2B: [m↑m.]
yes

Several interesting things happen in this excerpt. J4B summons the others to orient their joint attention to the whiteboard as 'the' object for the following talk. J4B then suggests a chain of resemiotisations to enable the hosts to talk about sexual harassment at the workplace as competent, experienced members:

1. If they convince H2B to 'klappe H1B I røven ude ved køkkenet' ('smack H1B on the ass out by the kitchen') (lines 223 and 224),
2. they will be able to 'vise det' ('show it') during the talk show (line 225),
3. which will allow H2B to ask H1B: 'hvordan havde du det lige med det' ('how did that make you feel?') (line 228).

So, step one enables step two, which enables step three, where H2B's action of smacking H1B 'on the ass' will provide her with the experience

to competently and publicly produce an affective stance related to the incident in the kitchen on the day before. Thus, J4B's proposal sets up the next relevant activity of convincing H2B to smack H1B on the ass. In lines 229 and 231, J3B and J2B demonstrate affiliation with the proposal through the minimal responses 'ja::r' ('yes') and 'm↑m' ('yes') and in line 230, J1B produces the positive assessment 'ej hvor sjovt' ('oh that's funny'). Through J4B's embodied actions, the proposal co-produced by J4B and J1B in Excerpt 20, lines 140-143 has now moved from a low voice suggestion about having H2B 'smack someone on the ass' (Excerpt 20, line 143) to a public projection of how this hypothetical action can come to influence the live talk show through a chain of resemiotisations across the editorial office kitchenette and the in-studio interview. For them to elicit a specific sequential outcome during the talk show, the smack must be recorded and brought into the semiotic ecology of the studio interaction so that it can be played publicly and referred to as a relevant non-live audiovisual resource during the live broadcast. Interestingly, EDB summarises this idea on the whiteboard as 'H2B smækker nogen i røven' ('H2B smacks someone one the ass')–that is without specifying that this 'someone' is the hostess (H2A). This ambiguity of the whiteboard inscription thus leaves out who is the victim of this potential event.



Figure 32 H1B walks by the meeting area.

The office layout means that H1B walks by the meeting area to get to her working space. EDB thus knows that H1B will potentially see the

whiteboard inscription when she comes to work, goes to the bathroom, or goes to get coffee from the kitchenette outside of the office.

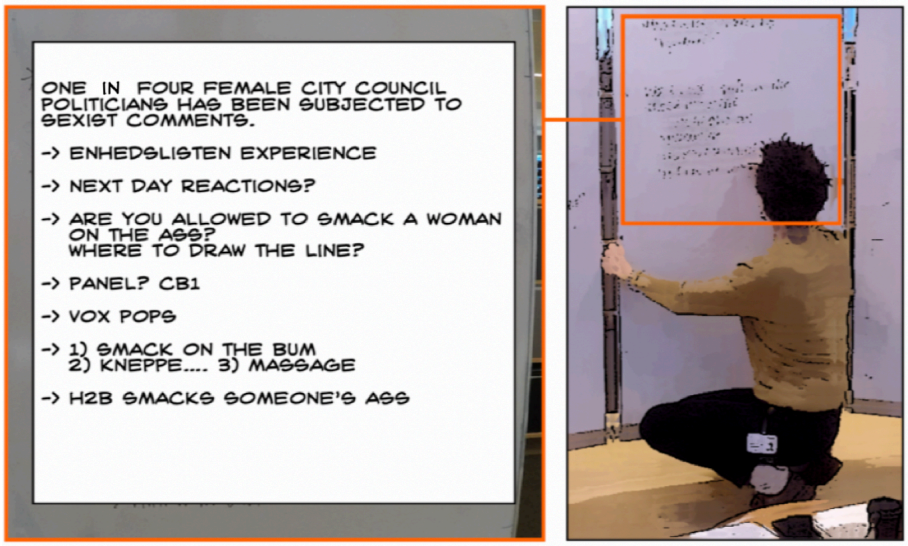


Figure 33 Whiteboard summary.

This meeting interaction demonstrate a clear relationship between affect and affiliation. Smacking a female colleague on the bum has proven to be a laughable matter on a prior occasion. This experience is what renders the hypothetical scenario of having H2B 'smack H1B on the ass' likely a laughable matter when performed another next first time out by the kitchenette. The secrecy of this plan is particularly interesting because it leaves the action of doing 'inappropriate touching' a vaguely structured matter, summarised onto the whiteboard as 'H2B smacks someone's ass' (Figure 33).

4.2. JOURNALISTIC WORK ON DAY ONE

A RESEARCH INTERVIEW*/**

After the morning meetings, the journalists return to their desks in the open space editorial office. Each journalist on the two teams has been assigned an interview, the structures of which this person is responsible for creating. J1A is responsible for the Eurovision interview, and J1B is responsible for the sexual harassment panel. The two guests for J1A's interview are already lined up and have accepted the invite, whereas, in the sexual harassment interview, J1B still has to figure out which guests to bring onto the panel. At this point, the journalists must resemiotise the summaries from the morning meeting into questions in an on-screen computer manuscript. This is the first step of transforming the key words from the whiteboards into comprehensible interview questions. All members of the staff have access to all scripts at all times via the editorial office intranet.

In Figures 34 and 35 below, we see how J1A resemiotises his own written notes from the whiteboard inscription into a proto-manuscript on his computer screen. Through the unpacking of his written notes to computer text and the syntactic conversion from bullet-point keywords into interrogative constructions, J1A resemiotises the content of the talk show interview from a line of ideas to a first draft for the final manuscript.

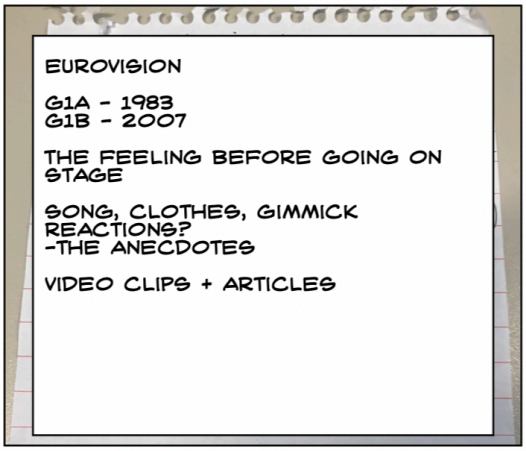


Figure 34 J1A's handwritten notes.

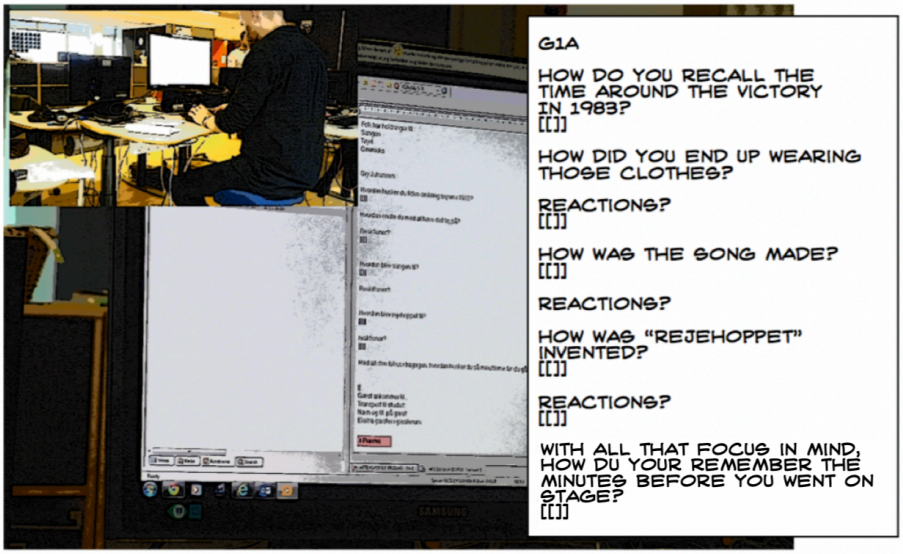


Figure 35 The research interview questions.

The interview questions in Figure 35 thus reflect J1A's understanding of the talk at the morning meeting as it was displaced from the whiteboard into the object of his own notes. Now, he has to transform his written down keywords into questions, which can prime a specific type of talk, a research interview. The double square brackets are where the guests' answers will be written during the research interview ([[guest's answer]]). After preparing this rough sketch, J1A calls the guests to do the prepping interview. His aims to test first-hand whether the questions he has prepared will elicit interesting anecdotes from the guests or not, and if questions should be added, modified, or removed. After creating the first draft for a manuscript, the J1A is ready to conduct pre-interviews with the guests. From the answers provided by the guest in these initial telephone interviews, J1A restructures the script to make it increasingly suitable for its future interactional purpose of structuring the sequential organisation of talk show talk. This part of the editorial work is interesting because it requires the journalists continuously to modify the manuscripts that they draw on in order to do the pre-interviews.

Overall, in the research interviews, 'doing answering' is a social practice somewhat different from, say, what we see in news interviews. Indeed, the talk show interview differs from the classic news interview in several aspects, and then the pre-interview is something else again. First of all, the pre-interview is conducted over the phone and not face-to-

face. Phone interviews involve a different kind of presence than face-to-face interviews because people talking on the phone do not have visual access to each other's bodily components. The establishment of inter-subjectivity over the phone thus relies exclusively on the involved parties' ability to make sense of each other's verbal contributions. Furthermore, the journalist performing the pre-interview takes notes and adjusts the manuscript during the talk. As we shall see, this task of typing results in several longer periods of minimal response, or *continuers* (Schegloff, 1982), from the journalist when he shifts from the activity of doing interview talk to taking notes for the manuscript. At some points, even seconds of complete silence occurs, which very rarely happens in a televised interview. In the pre-interview with G1A below, J1A accounts for these continuous moments of silence as he says to the interviewee: 'undskyld, når jeg er stille, er det fordi, jeg noterer noget af det, du siger' ('sorry, when I am silent it is because I take notes of some of what you are saying').

The research interview is an essential part of pre-producing the live interview. This interview serves two purposes in the process of structuring a future interview interaction. First, it presents the editorial staff with the opportunity to test whether the questions promote 'interesting' answers. During a research interview, J1A explains to a guest the reason for doing this type of interview before the live broadcast (Excerpt 21).

Excerpt 21. The research interview.

1	J1A:	research interviewet (.) **the research interview**
2		det er der jeg gerne vil finde ↑ind til **is where I would like to find out**
3		hvad jeg skal spørge ind til i ((talk show name)) **what I shall ask about on ((talk show name))**

In Danish, 'der' ('where') serves as a demonstrative expression, which might be best translated into 'there'. So, 'der' presupposes that there is an activity in which the journalist must find out what to 'spørge ind til' ('ask about') during the later live interview and that that particular activity is the research interview. Interestingly, J1A uses the personal pronoun 'jeg' ('I') in line 3 although he is not the one who will do the live televised interview. Of course, this could be written off as a minor mistake in J1A's production of speech. This is, however, not the first time that someone from the editorial staff has used a first-person pronoun when

they talk about the final interview.[22] Thus, rather than a mistake, I hear J1A's use of 'I' in line 3 as something that indicates that, although at this point still quite abstract, the structures of the interview are sufficiently linguistically structured for J1A to inspect them. In other words, J1A is not creating the structures for a future activity from which the pre-interview is completely detached. Rather, the emerging interactional structures are already at this point adequately 'stable' for J1A and G1A to co-inhabit an initial version of 'the' interview.

A question sets up a particular sequential environment, in which 'an answer to that question (or an account for its absence) is an approximate, expectable, or relevant next turn' (Hindmarsh and Heath, 2000, p. 535). Thus, due to the sequential authority of adjacency pairs, the process of deciding which questions to ask during the live show is, at the same time, a process of restricting the type of answers that the guests will be able to produce as adequate second pairs. During and after the pre-interviews, J1A makes changes to the script on his computer screen. This process of resemiotising and restructuring the script is a vibrant part of co-prefiguring the dialogue for the later live broadcasted interview. During the research interviews, J1A continuously fills in the double square brackets of the manuscript (see Figure 36 below) with the guests' answers. The pre-interview takes about 30 minutes, but here I will focus on the ambiguous closing question about how G1A remeber the moments before going on stage.

A closing question

The staff concentrates on producing easy-to-digest television with a wide target audience. Therefore, the closing question is not supposed to pull the rug out from under the guest's feet. Rather, it is supposed to elegantly sum up the interview. The prepping interview allows J1A to test the difference between asking the guest (G1A) 1) *how she felt* in the moments before going on stage at the international finals of the Eurovision as suggested by EDA in Excerpt 11 and 2) *what she was doing* in those moments as suggested by J3A in Excerpt 13. Figure 36 below depicts the question as formulated by J1A in the manuscript on his computer screen.

[22] See, e.g., Figure 5 where EDA says, "We cannot just talk about the noughties" (line 65).

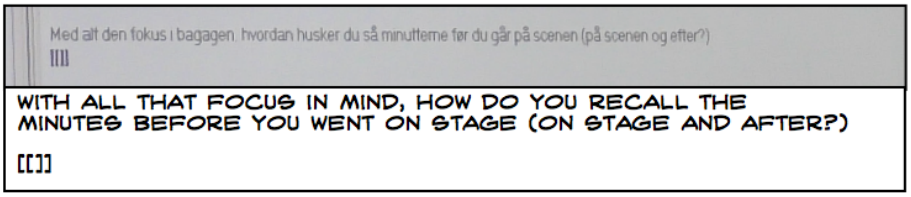


Figure 36 The closing question.

The group at the morning meeting has just agreed that it is more fruitful to hear the guests' anecdotes than to talk about their past emotional states. However, as we saw in his written notes in Figure 34, J1A still considers asking about 'the feeling before going on stage' as a relevant part of the interview. With his question design in Figure 36, J1A has not decidedly chosen whether to ask G1A about how she felt or what she was doing in the minutes before going on stage. Instead, J1A has constructed the object of the manuscript in a way which allows G1A to understand the question as pursuing either type of answer, since in Danish 'Hvordan husker du...' ('How do you recall...') can equally be used to pursue 1) an account for an emotional stage or 2) an anecdote about what happened at some past time. As we shall see below, this ill-structuredness of the manuscript serves as a strategic ambiguity as it helps J1A test the question on G1A to see which type of answer she will produce. In Excerpt 22, J1A reopens this resemiotisation regarding how she recalls the minutes before going on stage. In the manuscript, J1A has prefaced the question with 'Med al den fokus i bagagen' ('With all that focus in mind').

Excerpt 22. The closing question preface.

1 J1A: jeg kom lige til at tænke på–
it just crossed my mind

2



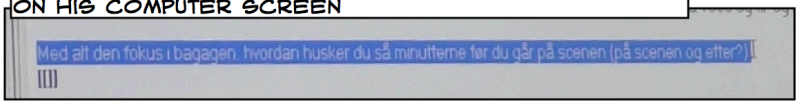
3 J1A: øh det der med–
um that thing about

4 der er også noget andet i har til fælles med annie
you also have something else in common with Annie

5 det der med at gå på scenen
that thing about going on stage

altså når der nu har været ↑sagt øh
I mean, now that there has been said
og skrevet og stj-
and written and-
du fortalt selv at der var ligesom en forventning-
you said yourself that there was kind of an expectation
eller at
or that

(.) J1A HIGHLIGHTS "WITH ALL THAT FOCUS IN MIND, HOW DO YOU RECALL THE MINUTES BEFORE GOING ON STAGE (ON STANGE AND AFTER?)" IN THE MANUSCRIPT ON HIS COMPUTER SCREEN



folk har-
people have-
der var opmærksomhed på dig
you were centre of attention
efter du vandt det ↑danske melodi grand prix
after you won the Danish Eurovision
alt det der >du har været i↑gennem så<
everything that you have been through
med fokus på dig >og sådan noget<=
with focus on you and all

As we see here, the question preface takes a lot of work to unfold in interaction. Then, in Excerpt 16 J1A presents to G1A the closing question discussed in the morning meeting.

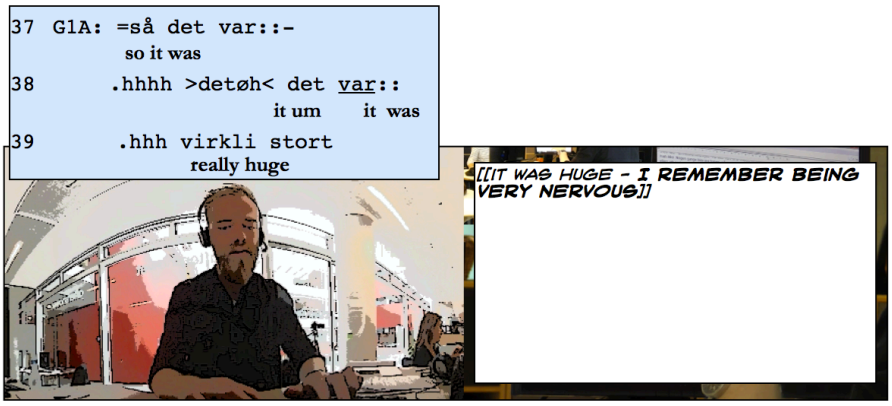
Excerpt 23. What is it like?

J1A: =hvordan
what
(.)
J1A: >↑er det så når man ska-<
is it like, then, when you are
(0.3)
J1A: i de der minutter før du går på scenen?
in those minutes before you are going stage
til det internati[ona]le i tyskland
at the international ((Eurovision)) in Germany?
G1A: [øhm]
um
J1A: øh: med [det i bagagen]
um with that mental luggage
um, with that in mind

24 G1A: [øh:::]
um
25 (0.5)
26 G1A: ja::men-
well
27 (1.2)



31 (.)
32 G1A: ja
yes
33 (.)
34 G1A: °det ka jeg godt-°
I can
35 je:g var os ↑meget nervøs (.) ka jeg husk
I remember being very nervous
36 J1A: °ja°=
yes




```
40  J1A:    °ja°
              yes
41            (1.3)
42  G1A:    j(h)a HAH hah heh heh
            yes
```

'Hvordan er det så' ('how is it, then') in lines 16 and 18 is produced by J1A to promote an account for an emotional stance generally associated with the activity of being minutes away from going on stage in the Eurovision. Yet, J1A's emergent change of grammatical tense and personal pronoun from present 'skal' ('are') to past tense 'gik' ('went') and from generic 'man' ('you') to the singular pronoun 'du' ('you') in lines 18-20 presents a significant alteration midst turn: J1A goes from asking how people generally feel in the situation to asking how G1A specifically felt. In line 35, G1A provides the concise answer 'je:g var os ↑meget nervøs (.) ka jeg husk' ('I remember being very nervous'). Interestingly, J3A prefigured this specific type of second pair part in Excerpts 12 and 13, where she criticised the question design for eliciting brief, predictable answers. J3A specifically prefigured G1A's answer in Excerpt 12, where she projected 'jeg er nervøs' ('I am nervous') as a likely outcome from asking the guests how they felt before they entered the stage. J3A's prefiguration and G1A's answer itself remind me of Sacks' (1984) observation that 'in ordinary conversation, people, in reporting on some event, report what we might see to be, not what happened, but the ordinariness of what happened' (p. 414). Although the pre-interview by no means can be categorised as an 'ordinary conversation' (as opposed to 'institutional talk'), G1A's answer concerns a general emotional state of feeling nervous before going on stage.

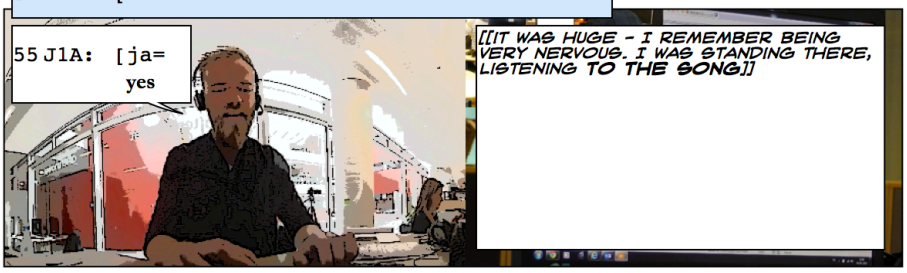
J1A proceeds to another question and thus demonstrates that G1A has now provided an adequate answer to his question. In Excerpt 24, line 43, J1A asks the alternative closing question proposed during the morning meeting and now prefigured in the onscreen manuscript (Figure 35) by asking G1A 'ka du huske, hvad du lavede?' ('do you remember what you were doing?').

Excerpt 24. Do you remember what were you doing?

```
43  J1A:   kan du huske hva du ↑lavede?
           do you remember what you were doing
44  G1A:   øh[::
           um
45  J1A:     [i de der
              in those
46         (0.3)
47  J1A:   minutter før
           minutes before
48         (0.6)
49  G1A:   øh::: ja
           um yes
50  G1A: jeg:: stod og hørt på den sang
         I was standing there listening to the song
51       ude bagved som var lige før mig
         out back that was just before me
52       som jeg syntes var rigtig god=
         which I thought was really good
```



53 G1A: =det var tyskland den hed <rücksicht>
it was Germany
it was called Rücksicht
54 [.hhh



56 G1A: =og så prøved jeg bare på at leve mig
and then I just tried to get
57 ind i den der:: ah den er dejlig
into that oh, this is nice



58 G1A: ligesom sån slap a ved at ↑høre på den sang.
like, relax by listening to that song
59 [.hhh]

60 J1A: [e heh heh] ja
heh heh yes



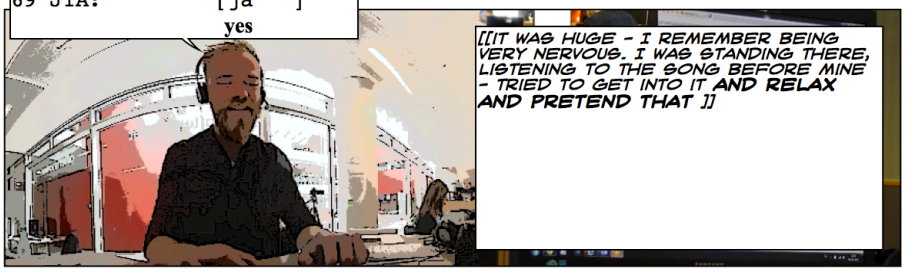
61 G1A: Ø(h)h:: og stå og syng: med og sån
um and sing along you know
62 (.)
63 G1A: prøv og lade som om jeg ikke sku på
pretend that I was not about to go on stage
64 HIH hih [.hh

65 J1A: [heh heh



66 G1A: såøh: ja sån-
So. Yes that is
67 sån havde jeg det ka jeg husk
that is how I felt, I remember
68 jeg var [sådan] lidt nå okay
I was somewhat like well okay

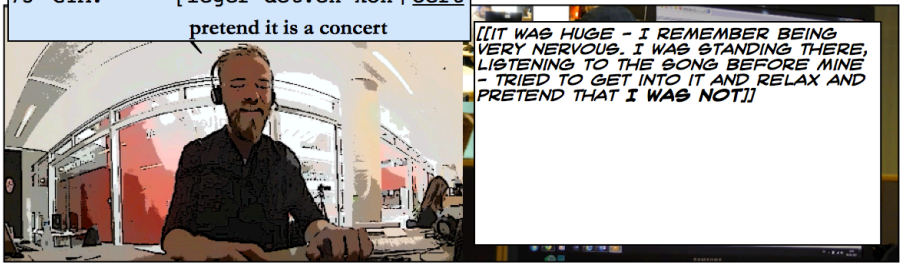
69 J1A: [ja]
yes



70 G1A: nåh og nu
well and now
71 nyder jeg lige det her-
I will just enjoy this=

72 J1A: =heh [heh

73 G1A: [leger det:en kon↑cert
pretend it is a concert

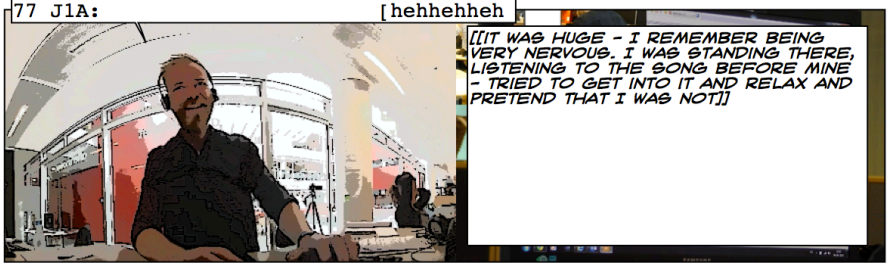


74 og der er [ik særlig] mange mennesker
and there are not that many people

75 J1A: [e heh heh heh]

76 G1A: der er ikke så mange [mensker der ↑ser det
there are not that many people watching

77 J1A: [hehhehheh

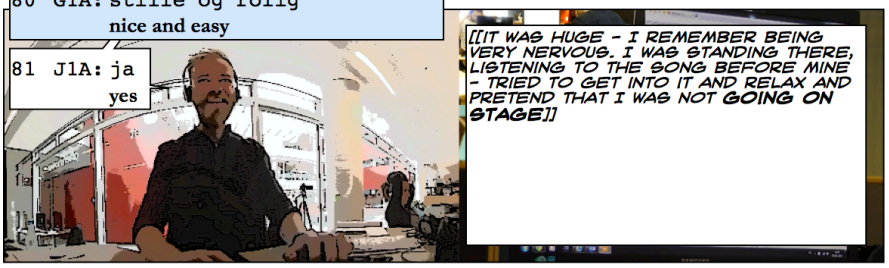


78 G1A: [heller det] er sådn bare helt
either it is just completely

79 J1A: [heh heh heh]

80 G1A: stille og rolig
nice and easy

81 J1A: ja
yes



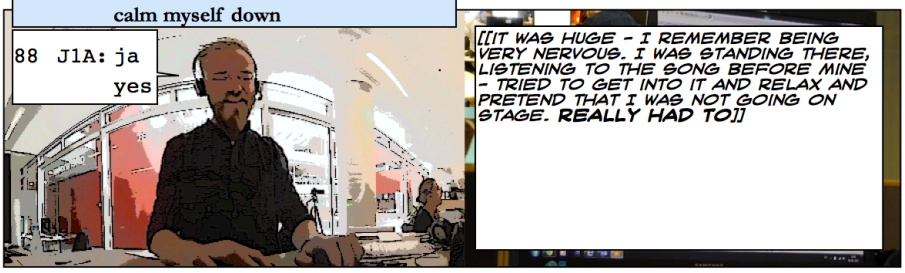
82 G1A: for mig selv her
here by myself

83 J1A: ja=
yes

84 G1A: =sån havde jeg det
that is how I felt
85 .hh jeg prøved virkelig på at
I relly tried to

86 (0.4)

87 G1A: at geare mig selv ned
calm myself down



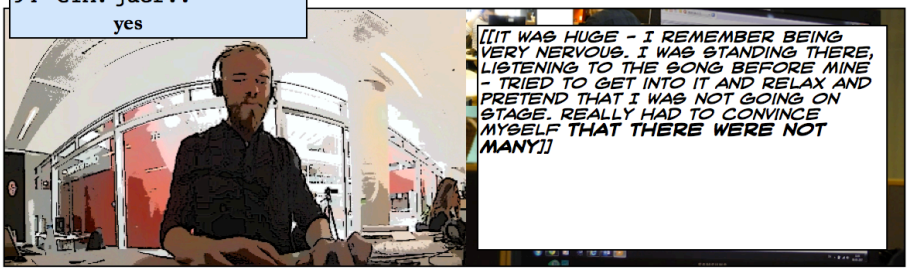
89 G1A: mens jeg bare stod der
while I was standing there
90 og havde håndsved og bare (.) rystede
with sweaty palms, shaking



92 G1A: menøh::
but um

93 (0.4)

94 G1A: jaer:.
yes



95 J1A: okay
96 (0.5)
97 J1A: jeg har (.) RIGeligt
I have plenty

98		til et dejligt interview i morgen
		for a lovely interview tomorrow
99	G1A:	okay

J1A's reworking of the onscreen manuscript during this pre-interview with G1A is an intriguingly complex multi-activity (see Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, and Nevile 2014). The pre-pared questions on J1A's screen serves as objects for the progressivity of action while this progressivity itself means to rework these objects. In other words, based on the second pair parts provided by G1A, J1A resemiotises the onscreen questions into meaningful first pair parts in order to restructure the sequentiality of the final interview. In practice, J1A fills in G1A's answers beneath his pre-written questions. This allows him to keep a 'record' of which type of answer each question elicits from G1A.

It is interesting to see how the two questions in Excerpts 23 and 24 promote two quite different second pair parts. The second question in Excerpt 17 elicits a more comprehensive answer than the one in Excerpt 16. Interestingly, in Excerpt 17, G1A conveys an affective stance through her anecdote. However, the anecdote is not merely an alternative way of conveying an affective stance. Even if G1A twice (in lines 254 and 269) states that 'sådan havde jeg det' ('that is how I felt'), no feelings are articulated in her words. Rather, these TCUs suggests that G1A considers her anecdote in lines 237-267 as an adequate way of describing her emotional state. Thus, through the anecdotal content, J1A is expected to be able to recognise the situation described by G1A as one that aroused a certain emotion. J1A's minimal responses throughout the pre-interview function as both 'continuers' (Schegloff, 1982), and as ongoing 'displays of interest' (Goodwin, 1986)–and even as brief evaluations of the anecdotal content of G1A's talk: It is particularly noticeable, how J1A in line 60 treats G1A's turn-of-talk in lines 56-59 as a 'laughable' (Glenn, 2003). As Holt (2011) observes, the selection of laughter as an appropriate response is not always associated with humour in a strict forward way (see also Stivers and Rossano, 2010). Not to get lost in the comprehensive field of laughter in EMCA, in the scope of this dissertation, it seems sufficient to conclude that by producing laughter at this point, J1A actively engage in constructing G1A's cluster of turns as being a laughable matter. Consequently, G1A's personal experience is evaluated by J1A as 'tell-a-story-aboutable' (Garfinkel 1967, p. 33) and thus well suited to be part of the talk show interview.

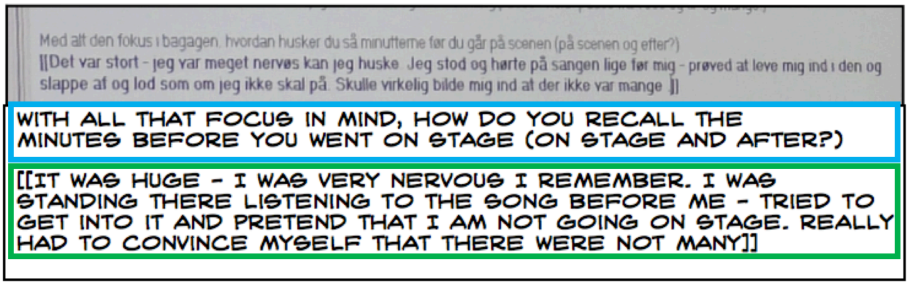


Figure 37 G1A's answer as summarised by J1A.

As illustrated in Figure 37, J1A does not change the formulation of the closing question. Instead, he keeps the ambiguity of the wording, 'how do you recall the minutes before you went on stage?', thus rendering the testing of the two questions invisible in the manuscript text. With this, J1A lets the script falsely suggest that asking the closing question (marked with blue in Figure 37) will elicit the answer provided below the question in the script (marked with green). Through this act of resemiotising what happened in the pre-interview situation, J1A has obscured the script. Thus, it would appear that he has made it increasingly difficult for successive actors, in this case the host who is conducting the live interview, to pursue the desired affective response from G1A simply because the triggering question has now been corrupted in the official manuscript.

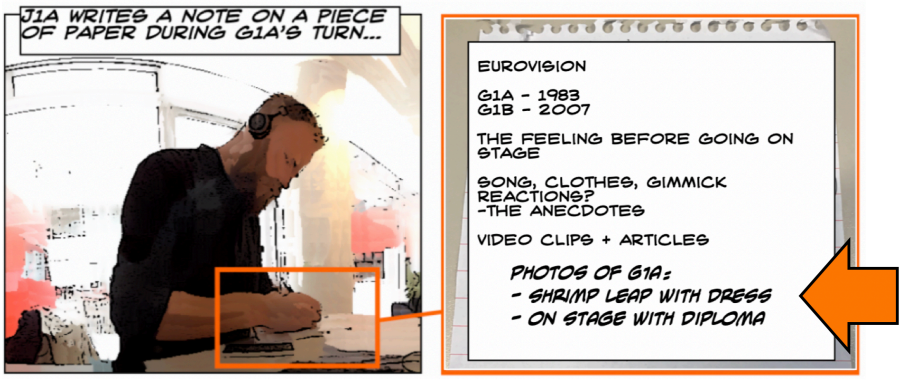
An audiovisual semiotic field

Before ending their talk, J1A asks G1A if she has any photos or press clippings from the time around her performance. G1A says that she does have some pictures. This request corresponds to J1A's suggestion during the morning meeting that a photo of G1A could come to elicit talk about her outfit (Excerpt 13). This idea is not in the on-screen manuscript, but appears in J1A's handwritten notes on the table in front of him

Excerpt 25. Photos of the dress.

121		[hvad er det du har liggende]
		what do you have lying around?
122	G1A:	[jeg har (.) æh:::]
		I have um
123		(0.4)

124 G1A: jeg ↑har sådan faktisk et billede
I actually have a picture
125 hvor jeg rejehopper med kjolen på ↑ik
where I do a shrimp skip in the dress, right?
126 J1A: ja=
yes
127 G1A: hvor man ser det
where you see it
128 (0.8)
129 G1A: °ja°



G1A says that she also has a picture where she is sitting on stage with her diploma (not part of transcript). J1A adds to his handwritten notes the two fotos: 'rejehop med kjole' ('shrimp leap with dress') and 'på scene med diplom' ('on stage with diploma'). Here, we are mainly interested in the first photo. In Excerpt 26, J1A asks G1A to send a picture of the photos to his phone, so he knows what to 'skrive op ad' ('write about') (line 164).

Excerpt 26. Just so that I know what to write about.

143 J1A: ville det være en mulighed også og:
would it be possible to also
144 også tage-
also take
145 tage et ↑billede af det med din telefon
take a picture of it with tour phone
146 og så bare [sende det]
and just send it
147 G1A: [nåh:: ja]
oh, yes
148 J1A: på ↑den måde=
like that

149 G1A: =jamen jeg tror bare ikke
yes, but I just don't think that
150 det bliver i god nok kvalitet
the quality will be good enough
151 J1A: ne::j det er rigtig nok
no, that is true
152 men så- så har jeg dem
but then- then I have them
153 øh: så kan du bare tage dem med i studiet i morgen
um, then you can just bring them to the studio tomorrow
154 og så scanner vi dem ind der
so we can scan them there
155 det kan [vi sagtens]
we can do that
156 G1A: [okay sådan]
okay, just so
157 at du på forhånd bare ved
you know in advance
158 hvilket mo↑tiver det [er]
what is in the photos
159 J1A: [ja]
yes
160 G1A: [det er det du tænker på]
that is what you're thinking of
161 J1A: [ja: (.) præcis]
yes, exactly
162 G1A: okay
okay
163 J1A: så jeg lige har en ide om
just so I have an idea about
164 [hvad jeg] skal skrive op ad
what to write about

Different semiotic resources are in play here. In lines 155 and 156, J1A asks G1A to take a photo with her phone of the analogue photos from her eighties performance and send it to him. She can then bring the original photos to the talk show studio, so they can scan them there to get them in better quality for the live show. Initiated by her 'change-of-state' token (Heritage 1984) '↑okay' ('okay') (line 166), in lines 166-168 G1A realises why J1A would want her to do this: He needs to know 'hvilket mo↑tiver det er' ('what is in the photos') in order to adjust his subsequent work of writing the script to accord with the photographs. In other words, J1A needs the photos sooner than just before the live show in order to know what he 'skal skrive op ad' ('write about') (line 174). So, through their unfolding talk, the potential action of G1A sending the

photos to J1A is co-articulated as 'the' relevant next activity, which needs to be attended to by G1A in order for J1A to do his subsequent work of writing the script. Again, we see how relevant future actions are ordered in time and space based on the material resources through which these actions can potentially be mediated at a later occasion. In writing about the photos, J1A needs to know what is in them; however, he can gain access to these visual resources only through a series of actions performed by G1A, who needs to 1) find the photos, 2) take a picture of them and 3) send these pictures to J1A. This is yet another example of how a member of the staff sets up the space of possibilities for doing journalistic work for another next first time: J1A's next relevant activity is to implement the photos from G1A in the manuscript, but he knows that this work can only be done, when he has seen what is in the photos that he is writing about. So, writing about photos is a familiar task, however new photos require new ways of performing this task for another next first time. Thus, through J1A and G1A's organisation of talk in Excerpt 26, the photos are constituted as a necessary resource for J1A to continue his professional work.

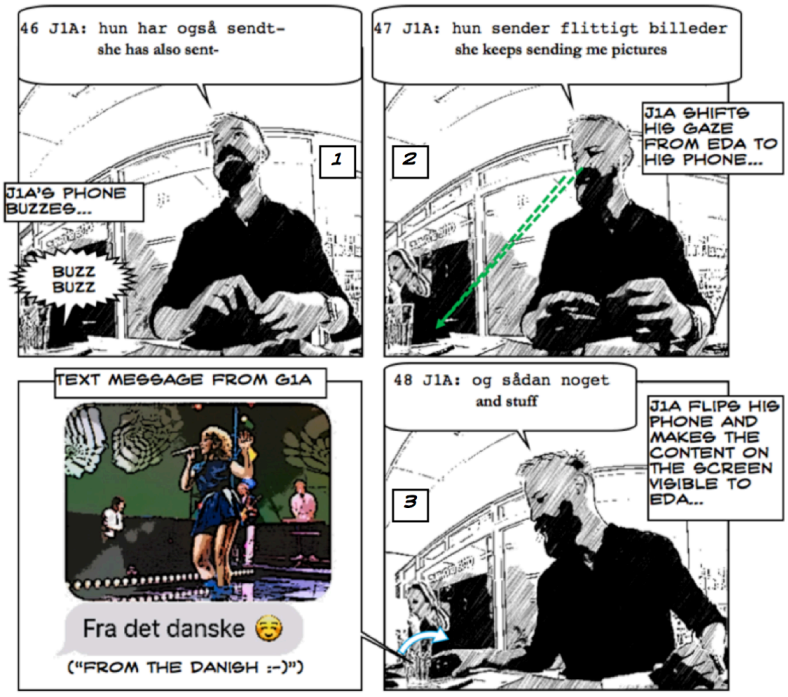
RECEIVING PHOTOS*

In Excerpt 27, after the research interview with G1A, J1A talks to EDA about how G1A is 'anekdotisk af natur' ('anecdotal by nature') (not part of transcript). During his assessment, J1A's phone buzzes (panel 1). He transforms the buzzing phone into a relevant part of the ongoing interaction by referring to the incoming text message as a real-time demonstration of his continuous co-operation with G1A in creating the sequential structure of the future interview. Thus, visual resources distributed in space and time through the digital technology of the smartphone observably are made parts of the semiotic ecology of the unfolding evaluation of G1A.

Excerpt 27. J1A receives a photo from G1A.

```
31  J1A:    hun er fanTASTISK
            she is fantastic
32  EDA:    ↑ja [skide godt
            yeah? bloody great
33  J1A:        [hun er virkelig god
                 she is really good
34  EDA:    ja
```

		yes
35	J1A:	og hun er meget [meget sympatisk også
		and she is also very very sympathetic
36	EDA:	[ja ja
		yes yes
37		(3.1)
38	J1A:	hun er god til at fortælle
		she is a good storyteller
39	EDA:	ja
		yes
40	J1A:	hun er anekdotisk af naTUR
		she is anecdoctally by nature
41		vil jeg sige=
		I will say
42	EDA:	=ja
		yes
43	J1A:	heh heh heh
44		så
		so
45	EDA:	hvor ↑fedt
		how great



J1A's iPhone is not locked, so the visual content from G1A is visible to J1A right away. However, considering the physical distance between EDA and J1A at this moment, it is unlikely that EDA has visual access to what is on the screen. Rather, J1A is making an embodied account for

his phone as a sequentially relevant object, which serves the purpose of supporting his claim that G1A keeps sending him visual materials. By flipping his phone, J1A makes the content on the screen visible to EDA. This is a way for J1A to constitute a shared sense of the on-phone-screen content as being relevant within their ongoing course of work-relevant activities (see for example Hindmarsh and Heath 2000a), thus making the phone 'the' object for the particular task of receiving visual content from G1A (Garfinkel, 1960). The fact that J1A receives a picture from G1A in panel 1 requires him to make a change in tense from line 46 to 47. I see this change from present perfect in line 46 to present tense in line 47 emphasising that even though G1A is absent, she is still actively co-creating with J1A the semiotic ecology of the interview.

MODIFYING THE TALK SHOW INTRODUCTION*

J1A keeps reworking the manuscript for the rest of the day. Mainly as a sole type of work, but occasionally he orients to his colleagues to discuss ideas and issues. A couple of these interactions directly relates to and results in modifications of the structure of the Eurovision manuscript. After lunch, he approaches EDA with another problem regarding the structure of the different parts. At this point, J1A is not sure whether the introduction should include video footage of the two guests' past performances. According to J1A, it might remove focus from the present Eurovision participant and onto the guests' performances in the past. EDA, however, disagrees. Unfortunately, this interaction takes place off-camera, and thus, we have only the sound recording. However, because we have access to the same manuscript as J1A and EDA at this particular point (3:16 p.m.), we can get some sense of what they are referring to in the following excerpt.

Figure 38 below illustrates the scripted introduction as it looks before J1A approaches EDA.

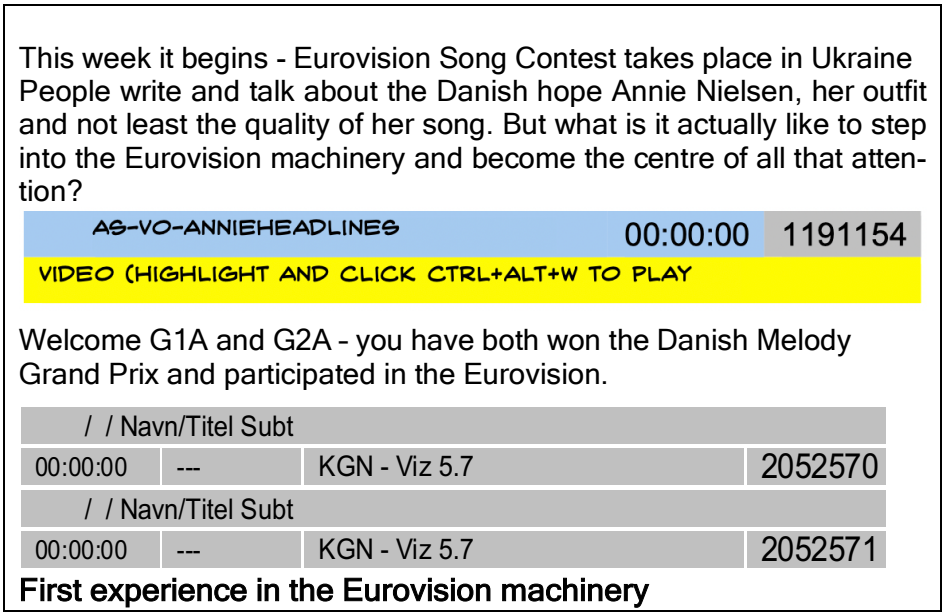


Figure 38 Eurovision manuscript at 15:16 pm on day one.

Excerpt 28. Resemiotising the manuscript structures.

1	EDA:	altså jeg synes jo ↑helt s:ikkert vi skal hø'
		I think that we should hear'
2		>vi bliver jo nødt til at< høre
		of course, we will have to hear
3		bare en bid af deres sange et eller andet sted
		just a bit of their song at some point
4		(1.7)
5	EDA:	altså vi er nødt til at høre en bid
		you know, we have to hear a bit
6	J1A:	jamen kan vi ikke ba::re øhm
		well, can't we just um
7		kan vi ikke bare lægge dem ind ↑her
		can't we just put them here
8		(.)
9	J1A:	først oplevelse
		first experience
10		(0.9)
11	J1A:	(( ))
12		(1.5)

In this excerpt, EDA introduces disagreement. It is interesting to notice the change from 'jeg synes jo helt sikkert vi skal' ('I really think we

should') in line 1 to 'vi bliver jo nødt til' ('of course, we'll have to') in line 2. With this change from epistemic to deontic modality, EDA implies that her suggestion is based on the conventions of what they are creating rather than on her personal gut feeling. In other words, it is imperative that we must 'høre bare en bid af deres sange' ('hear at least a sample of their music') (lines 2 and 3). We do not have visual access to their embodied actions, but J1A's solution to the issue as presented in lines 6-8 suggests that they are looking at the manuscript on EDA's screen. Otherwise, the indexical reference 'here' in line 7 would be odd. In line 9, J1A clarifies what he is referring to by adding 'første oplevelse'. Because we have access to the manuscript (Figure 38), we can see that he is referring to the first headline in the script: 'First experience in the Eurovision Machinery' ('Første oplevelse i Eurovision maskineriet'). We cannot know for sure whether J1A's 'here' refers to over or under the headline, but it is either-or.

In Excerpt 29, EDA proposes a counter solution.

Excerpt 29. A solution.

79	EDA:	men hvis nu man rykker overskrifter op
		but what if you move up headlines
80		(0.3)
81		det er jo det du snakker om
		because, that is what you are talking about
82	J1A:	NÅ:::H ja
		OH yes
83		og så sige
		and then say
84		hvor[dan] er det
		what is it like
85	EDA:	[ja]
		yes
86	J1A:	det ved de her to=
		these two know about that
87	EDA:	=ja (.) og så klip ↑ik
		yes and then clips, right?
88	J1A:	ja præcis
		yes, exactly
89		yes (.) den er købt
		yes, sold

In line 79, EDA suggests that J1A 'rykker overskrifter op' ('moves up headlines') because 'det er jo det du snakker om' ('because, that is what you are talking about') (line 81). By using the word 'du' ('you'), EDA

attributes to J1A the role of being the one who is talking. in line 82, J1A responds with the change-of-state token 'NÅ:::H ja' (OH yes) followed by a change in footing as he animates the hypothetical 'introducing the guests' talk of the hosts in lines 84 and 86. Through their joint constitution of affiliation in this Excerpt, EDA and J1A co-construct a rearrangement of the manuscript parts. J1A returns to his computer and modifies the on-screen manuscript according to what he and EDA had just agreed upon (Figure 39 below).

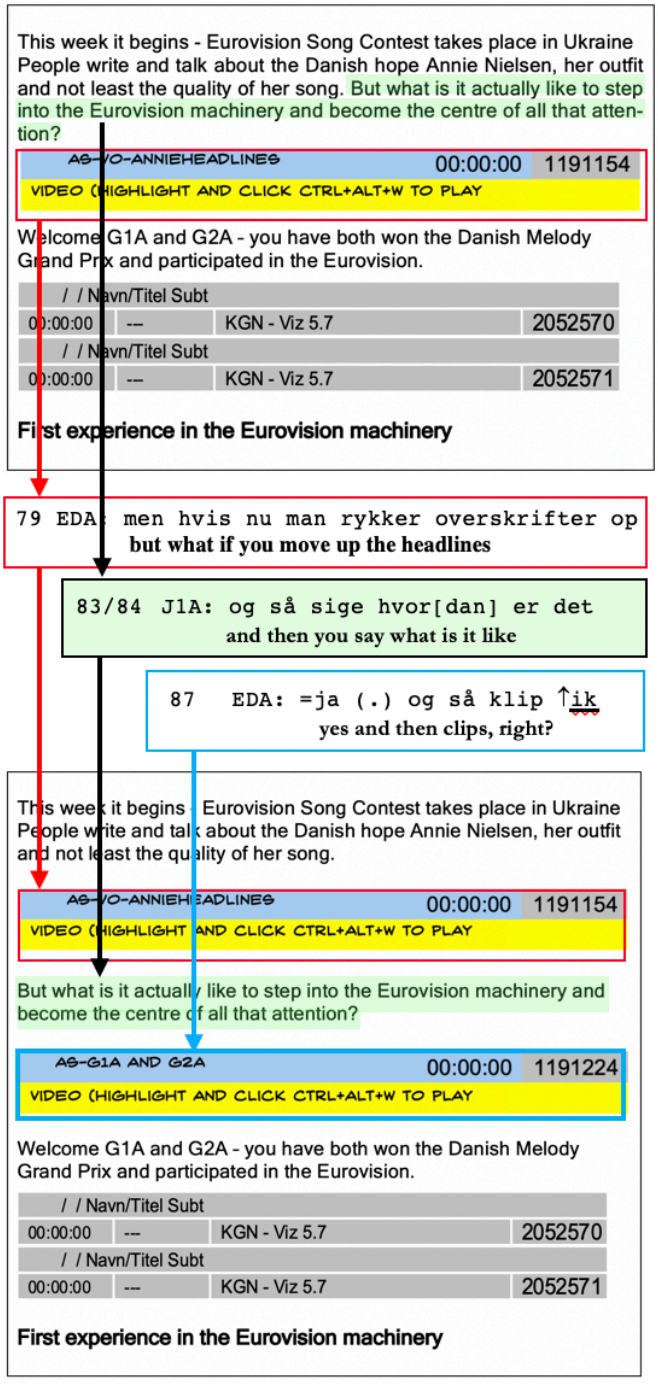


Figure 39 Eurovision manuscript at 3:41 p.m.

In Figure 39, we see J1A modify the on-screen manuscript according to three contributions from Excerpt 29 (marked with red, green, and blue in the figure). Interestingly, the KNG 'AS-G1AANDG2A' (Figure 40 below) still does not link to any video material on the shared broadcasting company server. Thus, at this point, it is mere anticipation of a possible future object. Although the KNG 'invites' people to 'highlight and click ctrl+alt+w' in order to play the file 'AS-G1AANDG2A', doing so at this point will make a blank media player appear.



Figure 40 KNG with dead link.

It is quite interesting to see how the video footage of the two guests is made part of the manuscript while, in fact, it exists only as an abstract idea represented by text on a clickable yet dead link. This is another example of how the staff sets up a relevant next activity through practices of resemiotisation. J1A and EDA have just renegotiated the scripted structure of the introduction and reached the agreement that 'vi er nødt til at høre bare en bid af deres sange et eller andet sted' ('we have to hear just a bit of their songs at some point') (Excerpt 28). Despite J1A's failed attempt to locate G1A's eighties performance in the archives on day one, he will thus have to figure out a way to enable hearing their songs during the live introduction to the talk show. Thus, by now the in-script KNG box represents an unfinished object, which J1A will have to resemiotise and semiotically recharge for it to become part of the final broadcast.

J1A returns to his computer and starts looking for video clips of G1A and G2A in the broadcasting company's media archive. He soon encounters a problem. In the digital media archive, J1A can find only the first half of the 1987 Eurovision, and unfortunately, G1A's performance is not part of this half.

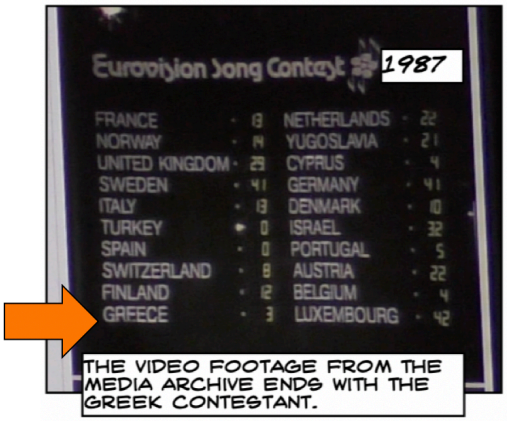
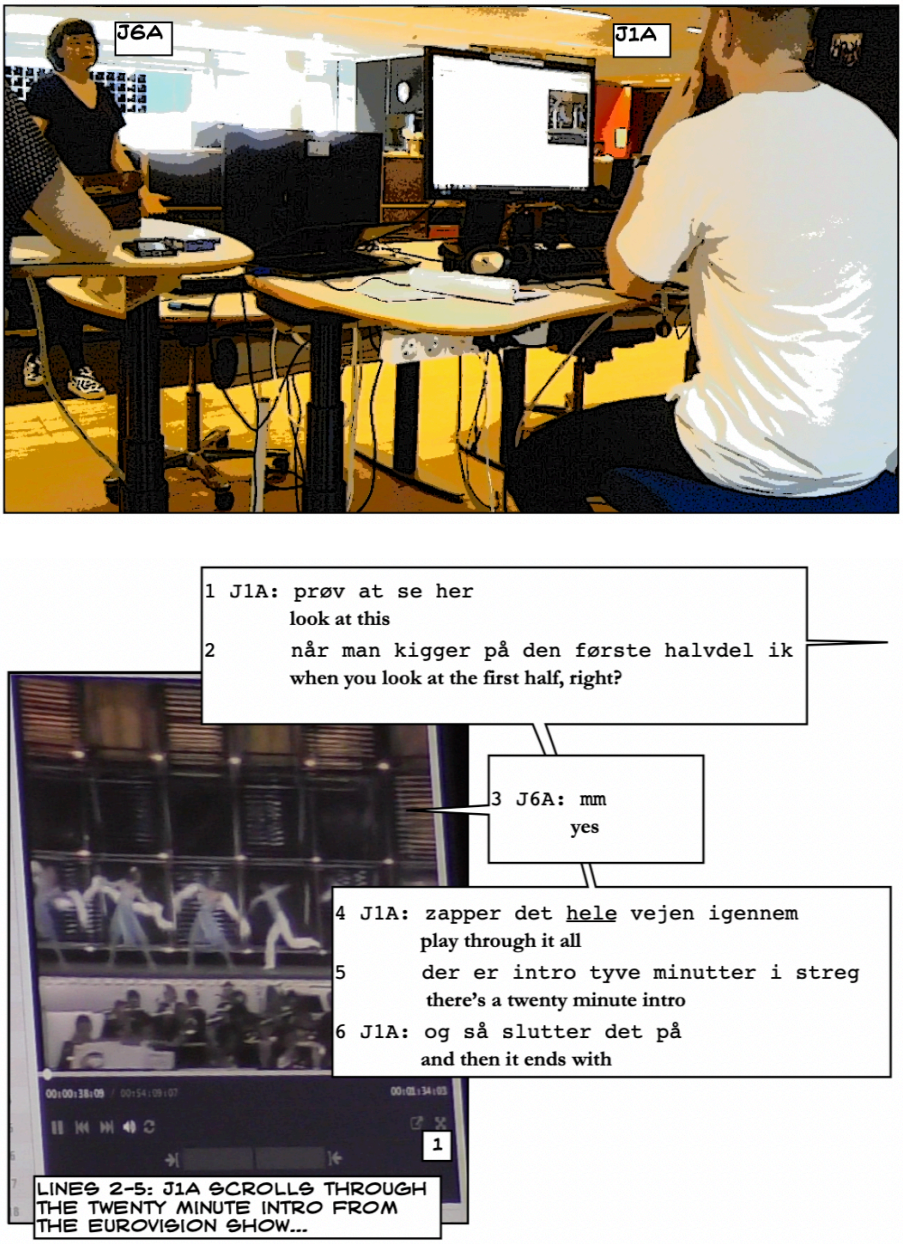


Figure 41 The 1987 Eurovision contestants.

The recording ends after the Greek song and thus is missing the songs from the last ten songs (from Netherlands to Luxembourg). J1A summons another journalist, J6A, who is not on the same team as J1A but who has some experience finding video clips of G1A. J6A explains to J1A that in the eighties when G1A participated in the Eurovision, professional reel-to-reel videotapes were very expensive. Therefore, the broadcasting company commonly reused the tapes. As a result, by the time the media archive is eventually digitalised, a part of the Eurovision recording has been recorded over.

In Excerpt 30, J6A approaches J1A and they look at the video file on his screen together. In lines 1- 13, J1A and J6A inspect the object of a digitalised media archive video file. J1A scrolls through the file in order to visibly demonstrate the absence of the other half of the show. The video file thus is a material created (and later in part destroyed) by predecessors, which come to restrict the work of J1A. Thus, the past decision to record over the videotape recording of the Eurovision Song Contest from 1987 now comes to influence the range of possible actions in the present.

Excerpt 30. So, they just decided that it was not important.

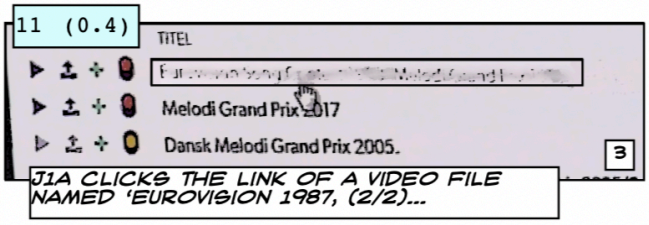




8 J1A: [grækenland]
Greece

9 J6A: [midt i det] der ja
in the middle of it, yes

10 J1A: ja
yes



12 J1A: ↑næste halvdel ik
next half, right

13 J6A: m↑hm
yes



15 J6A: ja (.) så:
yes so
16 så har de bare valgt at det var ikke vigtigt
so they have just decided that that was not important

J1A cannot bring onto the show an audiovisual resource that does no longer exist. In this way, the past action of reworking a semiotic resource by 'recording over a videotape' is displaced into the (absent) video material, which, then, comes source and restrict possible next work activities. The agency of this action is vaguely ascribed in line 16, where J6A says that 'så har de bare valgt at det var ikke vigtigt' ('so they have just decided that that was not important'), which is a reference to some prior employees at the broadcasting company. Excerpt 30 is yet another example of how materials inherited from predecessors come to source and restrict the present course of action and thus the next relevant activity, which is prompted by the momentary lack of an audiovisual semiotic resource. The incompleteness of the video footage means that one of J1A's next relevant activities is that of figuring out how, then, to make sure that we hear some of G1A's song during the introduction to the Eurovision interview.

4.3. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This first day of work clearly shows how the task to preproduce semiotic resources, which will help promote affective stances during the live interview is a most important job for the editorial staff. Interestingly, it shows how the staff members' own displays of affect, which are lodged within locally situated, sequentially ordered organisations of interaction (Goodwin et a., 2012) are repeatedly deployed as (dis)affiliative assessments in the work of choosing 'good' stories and interview questions. This observation corresponds with prior studies on affect, which find that affiliation, emotion, and affect are often closely connected phenomena (cf. Peräkylä and Sorjonen 2012; Stivers 2013). Through verbal and embodied displays of affect (Excerpts 6, 12, 16, 17 and 20), the staff members gradually co-construct and rework semiotic resources, which will hopefully lend their stability to elicit certain types of emotionality during the later live show.

Thus, affect is an emergent, social phenomenon, which encircles the moment-to-moment interaction in which is is locally produced. At the same time, it is stretched beyond the single interaction through the staff members' practices of resemiotisation of the first pair part, which prompted an affective stance. That is, the staff seeks to objectify the source of an affective stance in order to render this stance sequentiable again as a relevant second pair part during a later activity–and thus make this later activity intelligible to the guests as doing 'emotional talk show' talk for another next first time. Thus, the staff's main job is to cultivate the sequentiability of affectivity by resemiotising affects from initial ideas into semiotic ecologies, which can, then, be brought into the live TV-studio for doing accumulative, 'emotional talk show' (inter)actions. A primary way for the staff to do this, is to co-operatively anticipate how specific first pair parts will project as relevant specific second pair parts an affective stance. This way of staging a potential future by actively treating the preliminary proto-manuscript as an action-relevant object enables the group to oscillate between the activity of writing a manuscript and the boundary activity of doing co-imagined 'live talk show' talk. Though, as we saw during the reseach interview, resemiotising semiotic resources for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction for another next first time is not just a 'local' task. Rather, in order for the manuscript to keep its affective properties, J1A co-experience with G1A the pre-produced interactional structures as ones that evoke certain emo-

tions. Thus, through his displays of affect and affiliation J1A continuously constitute together with G1A the scripted question as resources, which prompt affetivity.

As demonstrated in my reviews, different studies present diverse takes on how to describe the process of creating something in the present which can affect an immediate and/or remote future sequential outcome (e.g., Due, 2016; Hazel and Kristiansen 2019; Nevile, 2019). There is a strong interdependency between the object and the action that is both mediated by the object *and* which makes the object relevant as a mediational means. This is what sometimes creates the sensation that 'our actions "act back" at us' (Middleton and Brown, 2005, p. 153). By displacing their (dis)agreements into summaries, the two groups can refer to the whiteboards as collective memories, which through the constitutive practices of the group members come to provide a record of the staff's decisions so far.

The initial morning meetings show how, from the very beginning of building a talk show interview, the institutionalised task of managing and restricting variety in a projected future interaction is highly dependent on the staff's ability to co-create certain work-related objects, which enables them to 'act at a distance' (Latour, 1987, p. 222).[23] In practice, the journalists seek to fulfil this task by planning and initially structuring the sequential organisation of the future interview talk through practices of anticipation and resemiotisation. To modify the whiteboard inscription is to modify a possible future sequentiality.

Co-operatively planning and structuring a potential future appears to me largely about anticipating and projecting how different sequential ecologies will promote different types of interaction. Thus, the way for the editorial group to manage and restrict variety in the later talk show is to create diverse structures, which hopefully will promote affective stances and emotional storytelling. To do so, the editorial staff relies on their ability to co-operatively displace human action into objects in ways

[23] Gibson (1979) makes a similar point when he claims that what we perceive when we look at objects are their 'affordances, not their qualities' (p. 75). However, from an ethnomethodological perspective, Gibson grossly underestimates the creative and playful nature of how humans interact with, and thus perceive, material objects. His description of how the infant child begins to notice the affordances of objects undervalues the process of how newcomers (here: the infant) are socialized through co-participation with competent members (here, e.g., the parents) in order to become part of a given societ

which enhance the possibility that these objects can come to mediate specific actions at a later point. At the same time, as we continuously see, these objects come to restrict the range of relevant next activities for the group. When the objects are transferred to the studio for the live broadcast, the hosts should be able to unpack and transform in situ the sustained decisions and meanings as meaningful talk show talk. In the live situation, they seek to pre-produce a sense of co-experience by triggering specific reactive particles and/or elaborating content (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2001). Thus, the triggering event of asking a question or showing audiovisual content to the guests must be resemiotised from the initial volatile sphere of talk in the morning meeting into action-relevant objects, by which some sense of decisions made in the past can be transferred between social worlds to promote desired actions on a later occasion.

The task of imagining a potential future event is no solitary act. Rather, the journalists continuously publicly pre-enact to each other the potential outcome of bringing into the semiotic ecology of the show different resources (i.e., questions and audiovisual material). They do not simply state that certain objects will trigger certain guests' responses. Instead, they bring the future interview into the present by actively and vividly projecting to each other how they expect bits of the interview to play out.

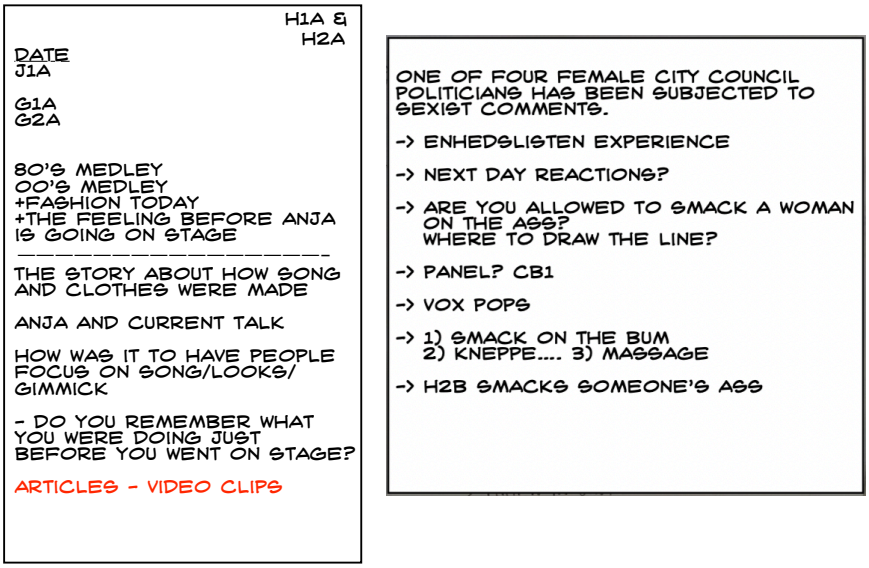


Figure 42 The two whiteboard summaries.

These pre-enactments are then assessed by the rest of the group and most often result in resemiotisation of the object that is 'the interview' so far. Interestingly, even if (as in Excerpt 10 and 12) other members of the group do not align with the likelihood of some projection of a possible future scenario, the non-consensus is not necessarily reflected by the 'final' object.

As Iedema (2001) finds, it is eventually the person in charge of summarising the ongoing talk (in the above cases EDA and EDB) who most often has the last say when it comes to what goes on record. A most interesting question at this point is that of *what is a summary*? The summaries from the two morning meetings (Figure 42) makes little sense without the knowledge we have by now about how these proto-manuscripts came to look the way they do. Yet, these initial structures for the future interactions are not instructions to newcomers. Rather, during the two individual meetings, they have been continuously re-worked to prolong the ideas and decisions of the group into projected next activities which include the same participants. As such, they are not minutes, which can simply be shared with staff members who were not at the meetings–at least not without some explanatory work being done as to what each item on the whiteboards means and how these connect to each other in meaningful ways. In the work of the editorial staff, constructing a sense of continuity and coherence across time and space is a situated, joint accomplishment.

Interestingly, nothing has been erased from the whiteboard during either of the morning meetings. Starting from the top, they thus serve as documentation of the development of ideas, and from these two summaries, the non-consensus of the group members and the changes in direction from the first to the last line of summary remain invisible. The groups use summaries to structure both their ongoing morning meeting talk and possible next work-relevant activities. Understanding these whiteboard summaries is not a matter of making logical, linguistic sense of the inscriptions. Rather, meaningful 'unpacking' of these resemiotisations is highly dependent on one's knowledge about the practices through which these semiotics (rather than others) came to represent the now lost interactions of the morning meetings. From these analytical points, I make the following initial observations.

- The main task of the editorial staff is to make affect sequentiable. This is primarily done by co-operatively co-anticipate different sequential outcomes–and, based on these anticipations, resemiotise semiotic resources for the boundary activity of eventually do 'emotional talk show' talk.
- As they progressively are co-constructed during the morning meetings, each whiteboard summary sets up sequential environments for immediate and remote future relevant next turns and activities based on the just preceding talk and the staff's past experiences.
- Accomplishing progressivity in the locally situated task of planning a future sequentiality is effectively about constituting a shared sense of continuity by continuously resemiotising and reworking the in-the-moment available, preliminary interview script.
- Even though at this point the 'final' whiteboard manuscripts are atemporalised objects, reading from top to bottom gives some sense of the progression of the groups' processes of developing ideas in the two interactions.

At this point, several semiotic resources have started to emerge. These represent a variety of ways of resemiotising affect and thus displace human agency into objects across time and space until they are unpacked as meaningful resources during the live interview. In this and the following chapters, I focus on three resources and their discursive and material trajectories.

- First, **the audiovisual non-live video footage from the eighties**. J2A's suggestion that they make 'a small eighties thing' has already been reworked and semiotically charged, for example, through EDA's embodied re-enactment of G1A's Eurovision performance and her summary on the whiteboard. Interestingly, because in the eighties rolls of videotape were very expensive and, therefore, used over and over, J1A has problems finding a specific video clip from G1A's performance in the international finals.
- Second, **the closing question** for the Eurovision interview. At the end of day one, this question remains ambiguous. It sets up a

sequential environment for two possible answers. Yet, J1A has kept the wording in the manuscript.

- Third, **doing sexual harassment on live TV**. J4B and J1B's joint idea that H2B slaps H1B on the bum is interesting because it involves several practices of transformation. In order for this incident to take place in a future interaction, the action of 'doing inappropriate touching' will have to be displaced into some sort of materiality, which can be

I have chosen these three because of their different natures: Video footage, a question, and a touch. All three will have to be made sequentiable in order to elicit affective stances as their relevant next pair parts. They all need to be actively attended to by the talk show participants during the live show in order to efficiently become part of the live interaction. Though all three are present in the manuscript at this point, they remain ambiguous: J1A cannot find any footage of G1A's eighties Eurovision performance, the closing question does not promote the answer that it appears to do according to the manuscript, 'a smack on someone's ass' is a rather imprecise description of how this sort of touch might (or might not) play out in real life. As such, all three will still have to be reworked and resemiotised if they are to become parts of a semiotic ecology which aims to promote affective talk show talk. Transferring these objects across activities requires that they are displaced into atemporalised objects which can be brought into the live studio to mediate these actions at a later occasion.

With respect to the main argument being developed in this dissertation, on this first day of work the editorial staff anticipates and resemiotise the sequential environment for relevant 'nexts' on a range of timescales by displacing (inter)actions into different abstract (the eighties medley and the inappropriate touch) and physical (whiteboard inscriptions, written notes and on-screen manuscripts) objects. Transformations between different semiotic modes is a reoccurring type of action, and, thus, a professional practice. The task of semiotically charging objects with potential action-relevant properties for another next first time appears to be a main part of progressively co-creating semiotic ecologies for doing live 'talk show' talk. Interestingly, the different semiotic resources come to mediate the actions through which they are themselves reworked: In Excerpt 11, J3A incorporate the structures of the whiteboard inscription in order to perform the 'laminated' action (Goffman,

1981 in Goodwin 2018) of animating hypothetical guest's answers while displaying a disaffiliative stance towards this particular type of second pair parts through her prosody and embodied action. Likewise, in Excerpt 11, J4B resemiotises the whiteboard inscription and thus the groups' prior talk about 'smacking someone on the ass' at the workplace into the embodied and verbal mapping of potential future events with individual time-scales: the groups *could* film H2B smack H1A on the ass out by the kitchenette. This anticipated action would enable the editorial staff to show the non-live video footage of the incident during the live show.

CHAPTER 5.
DAY TWO: REWORKING ACTION-RELEVANT PROPERTIES OF OBJECTS

During the second day of work, we shall see what emanates from the first workday and how different parts of the semiotic fields for doing live interview talk are further developed. A range of semiotic resources have started to emerge through different practices of resemiotisation. Now, these need to be further transformed in order to eventually become part of the semiotic field of a live talk show. On this day, different editorial groups work simultaneously on the same semiotic ecologies. Interestingly, these people are all responsible for different parts of the final live broadcast. The producer (PRA/B) is responsible for the visual characteristics during the show; directing cameras around the studio by navigating from what he sees on screens and hears through speakers (see Broth 2009 for a comprehensive study on this type of control room interaction). The producer assistant (PAA/B) is responsible for timing the live show. The production coordinator (PCA/B) is responsible for managing the workday of the in-studio broadcasting crew (the camera operators, sound engineer, technical crew, etc.). Finally, the hosts (H1A/B and H2A/B) are responsible for doing the interviews and thus for unpacking the pre-produced objects and redeem their interactional possibilities in the institutional setting of the live talk show. The hosts are gatekeepers in terms of what will be said during the interviews. They are the ones who eventually will have to resemiotise days of editorial work into vivid, seemingly effortless 'talk show' interaction on live television together with the guests. Thus, on the second day of work, more people become involved in shaping the interviews for the final broadcast. On this day, the hosts, the producer, the technical staff, and so on are first introduced to the preliminary interview manuscript.

5.1. MORNING MEETINGS DAY TWO

THE EUROVISION INTERVIEW*

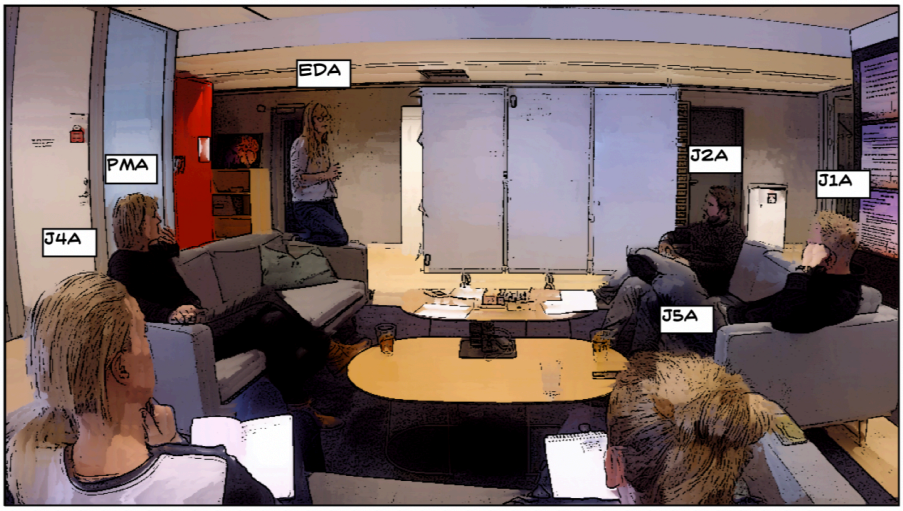
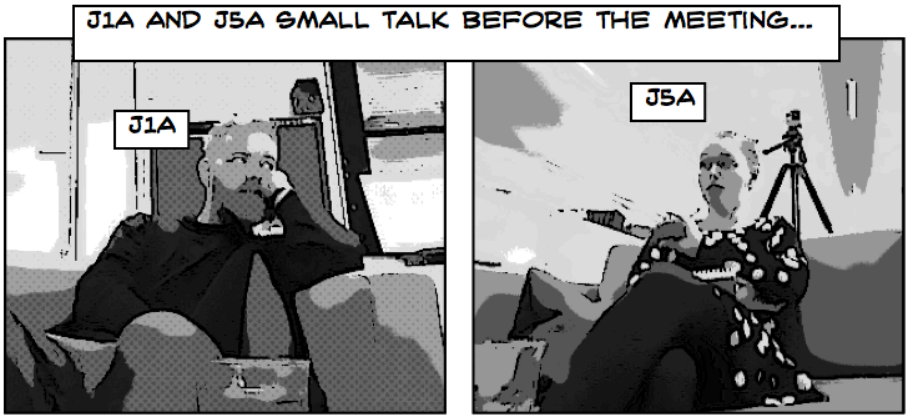


Figure 43 Morning meeting day #2.

At 9:45 a.m., the team of journalists meets for a morning meeting. J5A has joined the group. Commonly, one or more journalists are added to the team on the second day to help finish and refine the semiotic ecologies of the live talk show interviews. The second-day morning meeting aims to discuss, choose, and further develop the stories from the first day of work, including coming up with ideas for stories, which can fill in potential empty slots left in the talk show programme (i.e., due to cancellations from guests). Often, the editorial staff has to line up several last-minute interviews to be able to fill out an entire hour of talk show talk. On this second day, other parts of the staff (hosts, producer, technicians, etc.) get involved with co-constructing the action-relevant objects that were initiated on day one. Ideas and texts are semiotically reworked based on how these newcomers account for their notions about the best way to structure these objects to promote specific affective responses from the guests.

Before engaging in the joint activity of doing 'meeting talk', pre-meeting small talk between the journalists takes place. J5A, who was not on the preparation team with the others on day one asks J1A about the Eurovision interview.

Excerpt 31. Pre-meeting small talk.



1	J5A:	kommer de og fortæller om
		are they coming in to tell about
2		hvordan det var at stå på scenen
		how it was to be on stage?
3	J1A:	↑nej
		no
4	J5A:	nej (.) hvad så
		no, then what?
5	J1A:	om at blive en ↑del af maskineriet
		about becoming part of the machinery
6		og øh: når folk fokusere på
		and um when people focus on
7		alt fra ens sang (.) ↑tøj
		everything from your song, clothes
8		og (.) gimmicks til
		and gimmicks to
9		(.) alt muligt andet
		all other kinds of stuff
10	J5A:	og hvor meget ↑meget har man egentlig selv
		and how much do you
11		at skulle have sagt
		have a say yourself
12		(0.6)
13	J5A:	<°i det maskineri?°>
		in that machinery?
14		(0.8)
15	J1A:	.hh >°det har jeg ikke lige spurgt om°<=
		I didn't ask about that

```
16  J5A:    =°nåh okay°
                well, okay
17  J1A:    men det er da et interessant spørgsmål
            but that is indeed an interesting question
```

J5A's question in lines 1 and 2 'kommer de og fortæller om, hvordan det er at stå på scenen?' ('are they [the guests] going to tell about what it was like to be on stage?') entails the common understanding that it has already been decided what the guests are going to talk about in the live interview. J5A does not suggest a topic for the interview. The group is no longer brainstorming as they did in the morning meeting the day before. Rather, they have now moved on to refer to the content of the interview as something that has been settled. Line 10 and 11 facilitate continuation. J1A does not answer in line at the PCP in line 12 and after one more pause in line 14, he delivers a dispreferred answer, which is delivered in present perfect–not in 'dramatic' present tense.

Even when J1A in line 17 evaluates J5A's follow-up question in lines 10, 11, and 13 as 'interessant' ('interesting'), it does not result in any subsequent changes made to the manuscript. This lack of resemiotisation suggests that J1A's utterance in line 15 'det har jeg ikke lige spurgt om' ('I did not ask about that') is, in fact, a statement rather than an acknowledgement of something problematic in the manuscript. From the English translation, this observation may seem trivial, but in Danish, 'lige' (roughly equivalent to 'just') serves as a modal particle, which paired with J1A's lowered voice makes line 15 an attempt to downgrade the potential problem with the content of the manuscript as identified by J5A. As Schegloff (2003) observes, a lowered voicing can imply 'quiet improprieties' in the ongoing talk (p. 251).

Then, in line 17, while uttering 'men det er da et interessant spørgsmål' ('but that is indeed an interesting question'), J1A turns to look at EDA, who at the same time shifts her gaze from J5A to J1A (Figure 44). This embodied action displays a shift in the addressee of J1A's talk from J5A to EDA. EDA, however, responds to J1A's turn with silence. J1A treats this silence as a tacit acceptance of the 'problem' proposed by J5A as irrelevant for further discussion and, therefore, the group does not further address this matter in their subsequent talk.



Figure 44 An interesting question.

In relation to the resemiotisation of action-relevant objects, this incident is interesting because it directly relates to the displacement of past decisions. This brief exchange provides empirical evidence for Scollon and Scollon's (2004) observation that whenever a resemiotisation occur 'there tends to be a certain irreversibility which make it easier for actions to go forward rather than to return and reconsider' (p. 172). J5A's question is evaluated as being 'indeed interesting'. However, the preceding work of J1A on creating the sequential structure of the future talk show interview means that implementing J5A's question would require a fundamental restructuring of the manuscript, including new pre-interviews with the guests. In other words, the past work on the manuscript both sources and restricts the outcome of the groups' pre-meeting small talk. J1A (and EDA) made decisions on the day before, which now make it increasingly difficult to contest the current state of 'the interview'.

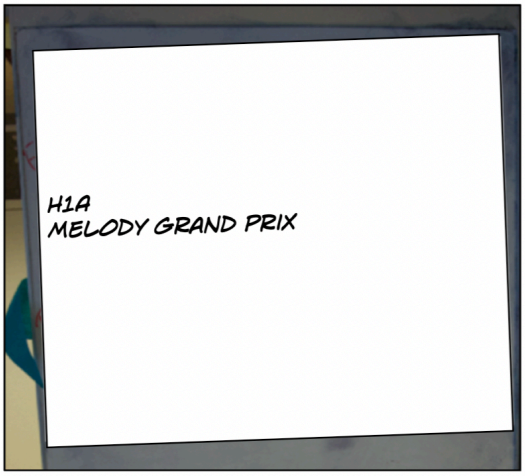


Figure 45 The whiteboard, morning meeting day #2.

On the whiteboard, the Eurovision interview is simply stated as 'H1A – melody grand prix'. For the group of journalists, this inscription provides to types of information: 1) That J1A is responsible for an interview, and 2) that the interview is about the melody grand prix. As opposed to the 'new, blank whiteboard' from the morning meeting on day one (Excerpt 3), EDA has inscribed a number of interview titles onto the whiteboard prior to this second day morning meeting. The aim of this meeting is not to brainstorm further on the Eurovision interview, but rather to bring the group up-to-speed with how the building of the interview is progressing. This observation is further supported by Excerpt 33. Here, EDA is interested in knowing which tasks, if any, J1A will have to attend to in order for the interview to be ready for the live show (line 1). The group has already agreed that a non-live audiovisual object provides some sense of what it was like to participate in the Eurovision. As we saw in Excerpt 28 and 29 above, J1A and EDA have further decided that this video footage should specifically show G1A and G2A's Eurovision performances. J1A introduces the lack of video footage from G1A's performance in proper quality as problematic by initiating his answer with the task that he needs to fulfil (lines 3 and 4) followed by an account for why he needs to complete this particular task.

Excerpt 32. Finding video footage.

1	EDA:	`HVA:: har du noget der skal laves?`
		So, do you have anything that needs to be done?

2 (0.6)
3 J1A: jeg skal findeøh: ↑klip øh::
I have to find um
4 jeg skal finde ↑levende billeder (.) klip
I have to find alive pictures clips
I have to find live footage
5 fordi det der ↑°skide° klip fra firserne
since that damn clip from the eighties
6 ikke eksisterer i ordentlig kvalitet
does not exist in proper quality
7 EDA: ↑ja
yes
8 (0.3)
9 J1A: så det skal jeg lige have løst
so, I will just have to solve that
10 på en eller anden måde
one way or another
11 (2.1)
12 J1A: så det er to [klip
so it is two clips
13 EDA: [har du noget
do you have anything
14 (0.4)
15 EDA: der kan klippes=
you can edit from
16 J1A: =ja jeg har nogle-
yes, I have some
17 nogle v o er
some VO's [voiceover]
18 som hun sendte mig i går
that she sent to me yesterday
19 (0.5)
20 J1A: G1A
G1A

J1A needs to solve the problem of the missing video footage in order to finish building the interview. This is a nice example of how actions performed by actors working on the same object decades apart (in this case the employee(s) who recorded over the videotape and now J1A), come to form an intertwined semiosis in a present activity (see Goodwin 2018, p. 130). The past decisions of the tape erasing employee(s) come to influence the semiotic field, and thus the range of possible next actions, of J1A's present day work. Interestingly, in lines 9 and 10 J1A notes how this is a problem that he will have to solve 'på en eller anden måde' ('in

some way or another'). So, J1A has a problem that he has to solve, which makes 'solving the problem' a relevant next activity. However, he does not know how to solve it, which makes 'figuring out how to solve it' a more urgent task. Fortunately, as we saw on day one G1A has sent J1A some photos that he can use for making VO's (voice overs).[24] Thus, J1A has pictures that he can edit into VO's, yet he still needs to find non-live video footage for the live introduction of G1A. EDA adds to the white-board inscription these two work tasks: 1) 'VO'S proto' and 2) 'clips' (Figure 46).

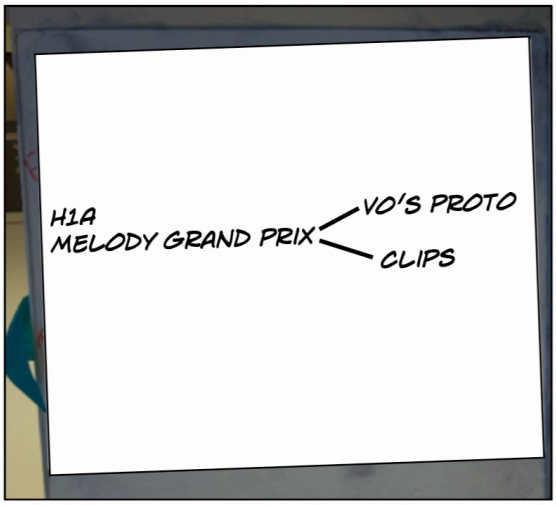


Figure 46 J1A's work tasks added by EDA.

The 'VO's proto' refers to the task of creating prototypes of the VO's for the editorial office video editor to rework into files, which are compatible with the talk show format (file sizing, colour grading, and so forth). The photos from G1A has rendered this task executable. 'Clips' refers to the task of finding video footage. EDA's resemiotisation makes visible to the group what types of work still needs to be done in order to make the Eurovision interview well-suited for the live show.

[24] I will return to these different types of audiovisual materials later.

THE SEXUAL HARASSMENT INTERVIEW***



Figure 47 The morning meeting setup.

The group starts the meeting by discussing how to properly introduce the interview. At the morning meeting the day before, the group agreed that it would be an interesting visualisation of sexual harassment to have H2B 'smack H1B on the ass'. Two of the journalists, J5B and J6B were on another team the day before and, therefore, they have to be brought up to speed. J3B asks J1B to present an idea she brought to the table at the day before. J1B concurs and presents her idea in plenum to J5B and J6B:

Excerpt 33. A slap on the bum

1	J1B:	vi snakkede bare om::::
		we just talked about whether
2		om H2B skuøh: (.) prøve og dask (.)
		H2B should ehm maybe slap
3		ˇH1B i: ↑rum(h)pettenˇ?
		H1B on the bum?

In Excerpt 34, J1B introduces her turn of talk with reference to the prior talk of the group. It is interesting to notice how J1B in line 1 brings a past interaction into the present to project a hypothetical future event as something that has already been discussed. Thus, she draws attention to the fact that she is not making up this suggestion at this moment. Rather,

it has already been topicalised at an earlier point. Additionally, the Danish word 'bare' ('just') in line 1 is an adverb, which in this particular use serves the purpose of downgrading the severity of the subsequent suggestion in lines 2 and 3: The idea has been talked about but has not yet for certain been established as part of the final broadcast. The phrasing thus roughly translates into 'simply' or 'merely'. The pauses in J1B's turn implies some struggle in presenting the idea, while her laughter in line 3 when the idea is finally 'out there' suggests that this proposal is for some reason laughable.

At first, there are no objections to the idea, so the group goes on to discuss how to document the incident. At the request of J3B, they decide to have it take place by the coffee machine outside the editorial office while they film it from inside the office (lines 8-11, not part of the excerpt). During the planning of the technicalities of how to document the incident, in Excerpt 41, J1B addresses how the encounter will possibly affect H1B.

Excerpt 34. An upsetting experience

```
29  J1B:    >jeg ved godt<
             I do know
30          >at det kan være grænseoverskridende [for H1B<]
            that it can be an upsetting experience  for H1B
31  J3B:                                          [åh H2B  ]
                                                   oh, H2B

32          [han tør ikk lave det helt sikkert ]
             he dares not do it, for sure
33  J1B:    [.hh men det er jo det der er hele-]
            but that is the whole
34          det jo [det    ]
            that is the
35  J2B:           [°nej° ]
                     no
36  J1B:    der er hele pointen .hh
            whole point
```

With her preface in lines 29-30, J1B projects that what follows may be considered a problematic proposal. The potential personal harm done to H1B however is promptly written off by J1B herself as acceptable collateral damage (lines 33, 34, and 36). In fact, according to J1B, it should be an upsetting experience for H1B; it is 'the whole point' (line 36) of stag-

ing the episode. Simultaneously, J3 states that the episode could be problematic to H2B as well.

J2B is not quite convinced about the physical manifestation of the sexual harassment theme and so, when J3B proposes that H2B massages H1B's shoulders rather than slapping her on the bum (lines 84-89, not part of the excerpt), J2B assess this idea as 'a little better' and adds that it is still 'Pushing it' (Excerpt 36).

Excerpt 35. Introducing massage.



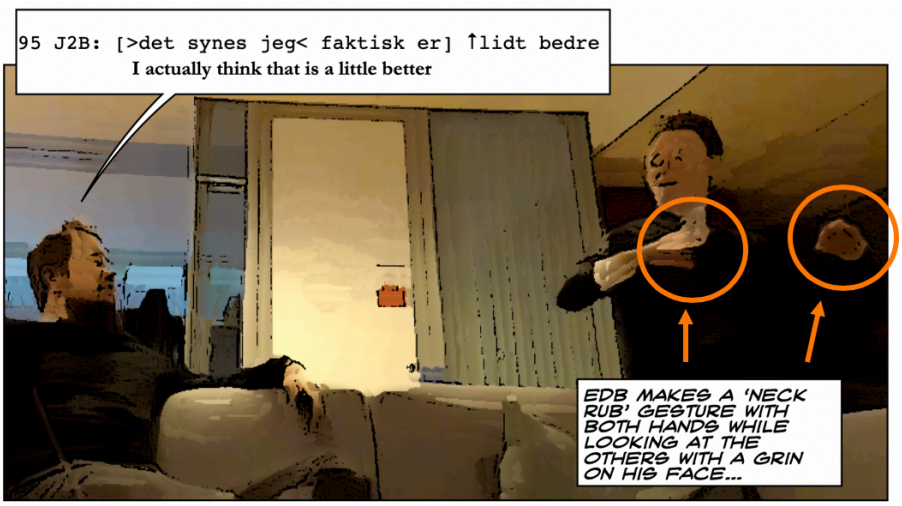
91 J2B: ja det er måske bedre
yes, perhaps that's better

92 J1B: ◡ej ja◡
oh, yes

93 J3B: lige trykke hende >°eller [et] eller [andet]°<
just rub her neck or something like that

94 EDB: [◡ja◡] [◡ja◡]
yes yes

◡ja massere ja◡
yes, massaging, yes

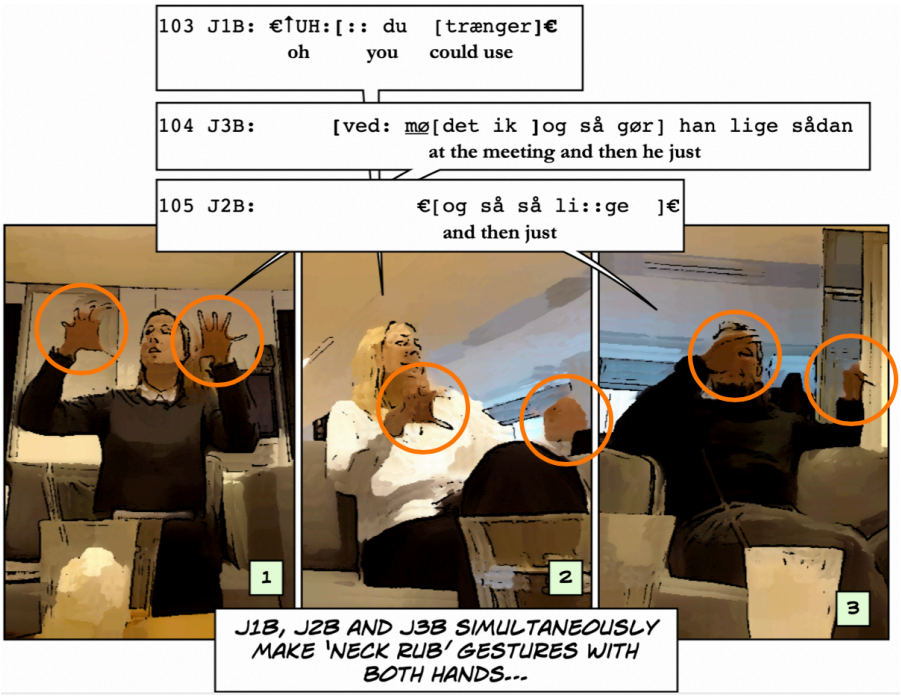


96 (0.5)
97 J2B: fordi det er også sådan
because that is also like kind of
98 lidt på græn[sen ik]
pushing it, right?

It is noticeable, how J2B in lines 97 and 98 uses the fact that having H2B unexpectedly massage H1B is *also* 'pushing it' as an argument for why this physical approach is acceptable. During J2B's turn, EDB enacts the gesture of 'massaging another person's shoulders' with a smile on his face. This embodiment of the practice of massaging is shortly after mirrored and re-enacted simultaneously by J1B, J2B, and J3B in Excerpt 36.

Excerpt 36. Mirroring massage gesture.

100 J3B: i [sæt]ter jer ved::-
you sit down by
101 J2B: [ja]
yes
102 (.)



106 EDB: [ja]
yes
107 J2B: [træn]ger du ikke lige til:: og så videre
'couldn't you use' and so on
108 og så [stiller han sig der]
and then he walks over
109 J3B: [han behøver ikke gøre]
he does not have to do
110 særlig [meget]
very much
111 J5B: [ˇHAHˇ]
ha
112 J3B: være [sådan:: et ek]stra klem
be an additional squeeze
113 J5B: [det er sjovtˇ]
that is funny

In lines 103 to 105, EDB's embodied practice of 'massaging' in Excerpt 36 is mirrored by J1B, J2B, and J3B. They are publicly mapping abstracts bodies in order to categorise this type of touch on this part of the body as being more appropriate than a slap on the bum. The hypothetical future encounter between H1B and H2B is manifested in the embodied

enactments of the journalists engaging with abstract or potential future bodies. These enactments reflect J1B, J2B, and J3B's past experiences with other bodies. Since the gestures are not questioned by the other participants, they appear to be recognisable as relevant and meaningful to them as well. Interestingly, although the three simultaneous massage gestures all serve the role of projecting a hypothetical bodily action, the individual accompanying phrasings of the three journalists makes their enactments quite diverse. In lines 103 and 107, J1B and J2B perform a change in footing where they project possible things for H2B to say when initiating the massage situation: 'oh you could use' (line 103), and 'couldn't you use' (line 107). In this way, J2B transforms the phrasing of J1B's statement of what H1B 'could use' to a question of *whether* H1B could use a massage or not, thereby toning down the assaultive character of the hypothetical physical encounter. J3B's statement that 'he [H2B] does not have to do very much' (lines 109-110) emphasises that J3B expects H1B to react visibly to even very little unwanted intimacy. These multifaceted projections of future resonating bodies hyphenate the extent to which the journalists' participatory work is supported by their ability to anticipate various multimodal interactional resources of future events. Notice, in this and the following excerpt how different degrees of 'sjov' ('fun') (line 113) are continuously articulated as a relevant assessment of what the group is planning. This assertation is presented as a interpersonally felt affective stance and not as something that a particular member of the group finds funny.

It is interesting to see how the object of 'a touch' evolves throughout this meeting from 'a smack on the ass' to a shoulder-rubbing. J1B's reopening (Excerpt 33) of their previous resemiotisation from the morning meeting on the day before (Excerpt 20) is prompted by J3B. In Excerpt 38, J1B asks why they should pre-produce the incident and thus film it prior to the live show. J3B's answer is that 'it would be staged' if it happens in the studio (line 141). J3B verbalises a difference between real and staged, which imply that what is staged at the editorial office is somehow more real than what is staged as part of the live studio broadcast.

Excerpt 37. It would be staged

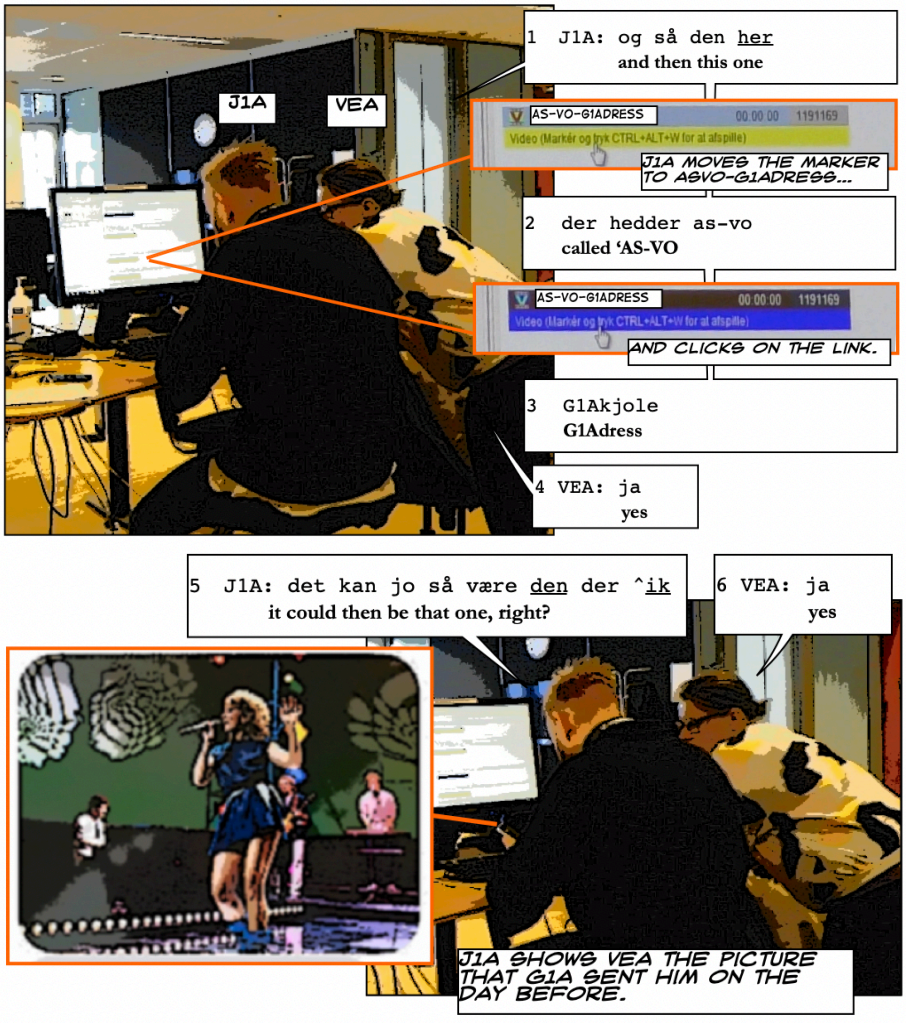
```
130 J1B:   .hh er der en grund til
           is there a reason that
131        [at det er sjovere at gøre                    ]
           it is more fun to do it
132 J3B:   [>det behøver ikke være grænseoverskridende<]
           it does not have to be an upsetting experience
133 J1B:   ↑inden:::
             before
134        end at det er live
           than doing it live
135        er det fordi vi er [bange] for
           is it because we are afraid of
136 J3B:                      [ja   ]
                               yes
137 J1B:   hvordan hun vil reagere eller hvad
           how she will react or what
138 J3B:   nej jeg synes bare det er sjo-
           no, I just think it is fun-
139        >så kan du bare ↑se< det rigtigt
            then you can really see it
140        .hh inde i studiet vil du ikke kunne se det
                in the studio you would not be able to see it
141        der vil det være ↑iscenesat
           it would be staged
```

The sexual harassment episode is thus publicly treated by J3B as an episode, with certain qualities which change when it is moved to another social world. The (potentially) same spectacle will be more real and, importantly, more fun in one setting than in the other. This observation demonstrates attention to the physical environment in which the harassment takes place. Additionally, J3B wants the viewers ('you') to 'really see' (line 139) what sexual harassment looks like. Somehow this makes it more 'fun' (line 138). In this morning meeting, we get a rare insight into the pre-production of touch and how the co-imagined sequential environment for doing 'inappropriate touch' is continuously transformed through practices of reusing with transformation materials provided by others. H1B is not supposed to know anything about the inappropriate touch, and therefore it is nowhere to be found in the script. Interestingly, the abstract status of the nature of the touch makes it harder to fix in a specific agreed upon action as it remains a negotiable act (see McIlvenny, 2009).

PICTURES FROM G1A*

On day one, J1A received photos from G1A on his phone. Now, he is talking to the video editor (VEA) about which pictures to use at what point in the manuscript. J1A and VEA are looking at the manuscript on J1A's computer. While they talk, J1A shows VEA the pictures from G1A to show her which picture to use in which VO.

Excerpt 38. AS-VO-G1ADRESS





Notice, how J1A has already named the in-script KNG-link 'AS-VO-G1ADRESS', and thus prefigured which photo should be used here. Through this inscription, J1A has semiotically charged the link to promote a specific sequential outcome. In line 5, J1A performs the 'environmentally coupled action' (Goodwin 2018) of showing VEA the photo of G1A while verbally indexing it with his suggestion: 'det kan jo så være den der ↑ik' ('it could then be that one, right?'). The name of the link indexes the photo of G1A in her Eurovision dress as the most relevant content, and, therefore, J1A and VEA seamlessly agree on using this particular photo for this particular KNG. In a mass media television industry, which is necessarily occupied with making audiovisual content, it is a compelling argument not only to suggest using a picture of G1A but to present a visual resource, which can quite easily be implemented in the semiotic ecology of the live show. VEA returns to the editing room, and J1A sends her the photo from his phone.

RESEMIOTISING TOUCH***

As we saw during the morning meeting, the journalists and EDB have come up with the idea that H2B should 'do something' to H1B during the introduction to the panel debate in order to make sexual harassment visually available to the viewers. It is important again to remember that everything that happens in the studio is visible to the guests. So, even if this act of doing 'sexual harassment' interaction on live TV is planned primarily with the viewers in mind, it is also part of the in-studio interac-

tion and will, as such, be part of setting up the structures for the live panel interaction.

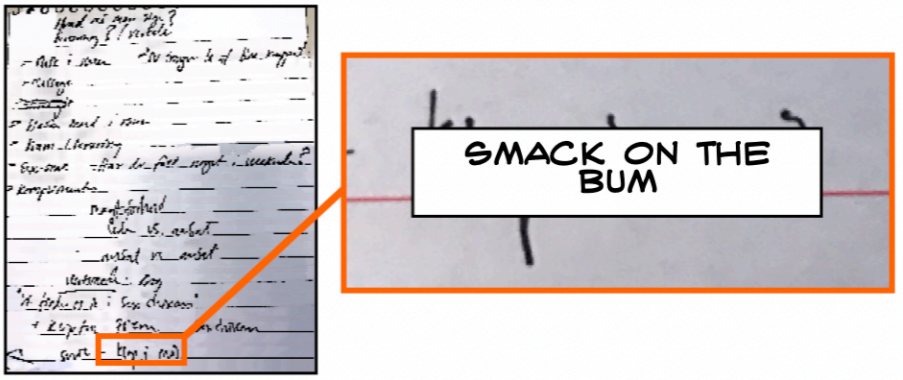


Figure 48 J1B's resemiotisation of the morning meeting discussion.

Minutes before the time schedule review meeting, J2A and EDB approach H2B by the coffee machine outside the editorial office to talk to him about their plan. I had set up my 360-degree camera on a nearby table to film the following planned meeting, but the camera also picked up this interaction. The acoustics outside the editorial office, however, are quite bad and since this interaction took place approximately 15 meters from the camera, it is very difficult to make out what is going on. From the data fragments below, though, it is clear that they have agreed at this point that H2B should do 'something' to H2A, and now they are discussing just what this 'something' should be.



Figure 49 EDB, J1B and H2B talk by the coffee machine.

Luckily, some parts of this unplanned meeting come through clearly on the microphone as well as on camera. In Excerpt 40, EDB explains why they want to do it on live TV rather than showing it live as non-live pre-produced video clip.

Excerpt 39. The show has other rules.

1	EDB:	hvis vi gør det live
		if we do it live
2		så får vi bare den der umiddelbare reaktion
		then we get this immediate reaction
3	H2B:	>ja ja< det er bare::
		sure it's just
4		det der er (.)
		the thing is
5		det er at det bliver der lagt en lille smule låg på
		that it will be somewhat downplayed
6		når vi er i fjernsynet
		when we are on TV
7		der er det jo et show
		because then, of course, it is a show
8		og der gælder nogle andre regler
		with other rules
9		(1.1)
10		men det kommer jo an på hvad jeg skal gøre
		but of course, it depends on what I have to do
11	EDB:	ja
		yes
12	J1B:	jeg troede du var med på det med det der [massage]
		I thought you were in on that massage-thing
13	H2B:	[↑ja men]
		yes, but
14		(0.8)
15	H2B:	jeg tror måske hellere
		I think maybe I should rather
16		jeg skulle ↑sige noget
		say something
17	EDB:	°ja°
		yes

In lines 1 and 2, EDB represents J3B's statement from Figure 38 that 'in the studio, you will be able to really see it'. This decision—reached in the morning meeting—is here reused with transformation in the present as a

relevant reason for performing the act of 'sexual harassment' on live TV. With his 'ja ja, det er bare:: det der er (.)' ('yes yes, it is just- the thing is') in lines three and four, however, H2B projects that something problematic is coming up regarding the groups' suggestion on what H2B should do to H2A. The 'ja, men' ('yes, but') construction is famously described by Anita Pomerantz (1984) as a way of 'expressing conversationally dispreferred disagreements under the conditions of the preference for agreement' (in Uzelgun, Mohammed, Lewinski and Castro, 2015). Interestingly, the 'problem' that H2B addresses relates to the affective properties of H2A's response. According to H2B, if he does something inappropriate during the broadcast, H2A is likely to downplay her response because a different set of rules applies when you are doing televised talk show interaction (lines 5-8). So, when H2A and H2B enter the live studio space, they are following a set of rules, which differ from the rules of the editorial office. H2B's observation matches the findings of numerous EMCA-informed studies on the institutional setting of the media interview (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Hutchby 2005). It is, however, interesting to see H2B talking about the live broadcast as a 'show' where not just talk, but also embodied, affective responses are restricted by specific rules, or structures, for interaction. In line 9, there is a noticeable lack of response from EDB and J1B. As a consequence of this pause, in line 10, H2B prolongs his turn and suggests a solution. In saying 'men det kommer jo an på, hvad jeg skal gøre' ('but, of course, it depends on what I should do'), he self-initiates a repair to his claim that H2A's response will be downplayed because of the rules of the televised show: H2A's type of response depends on how they perform the first pair part of doing 'sexual harassment'.

In Excerpt 41 a couple of minutes later, H2B anticipates and projects an embodied action, which he thinks could promote a 'sjov men afvejet' ('fun, but subtle') reaction as a second pair part from H1B. Thus, H2B overtly anticipates a range of possible affective stances with H1B as the result of the incident.

Excerpt 40. Prefiguring H1B's response.

1	H2B:	hvis vi skal have en reaktion
		if we want a reaction
2		som på en eller anden måde er
		which in some way or another is
3		(0.7)
4		↑sjov (.) men afvejet

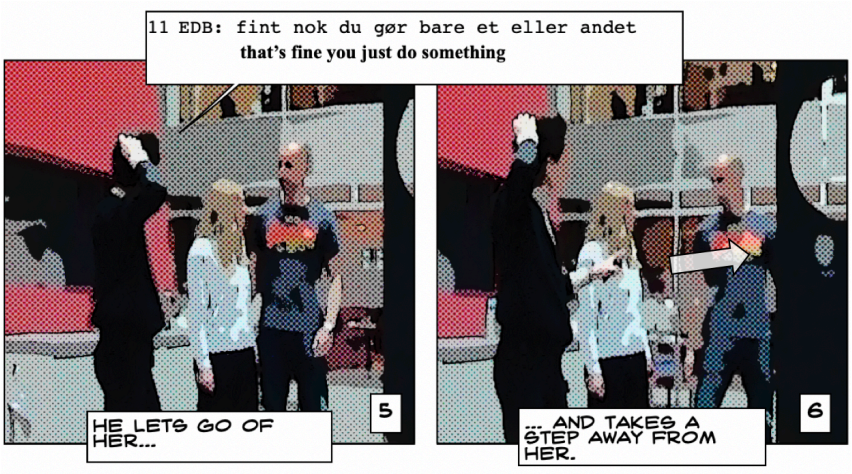
fun but subtle

5 EDB: ja=
yes

6 H2B: =så tror jeg det er bedst derinde
then I think it is best to do it in there

7 og så gøre sådan et eller andet
and then do something like





12 som du synes passer
that you see fit
13 H2B: ja
yes

In Excerpt 40, the prior resemiotisation of the live act of doing 'sexual harassment' is reopened by H2B. According to him, if they seek to promote a fun but subtle affective stance with H1B, a first pair part could be the bodily action performed in panels 1 to 6.

Once again, a newcomer reopens the resemiotisation to transform its material properties to fit its present and future use better. This observation supports Garfinkel's claim that the 'sameness' of an object is found in the institutional practices which constitute the object as intelligible across settings and modalities. To constitute a common sense of continuity across the work-relevant activities of the editorial staff, when transferred between non-contiguous activities, structurings must be handed down by actors who have been part of resemiotising them. H2B reopens the resemiotisation presented by J1B and EDB. First, in Excerpt 40, he challenges the idea of touching H1B. Then, once he has agreed to do something physical, in Excerpt 41, H2B modifies the idea of massaging her as presented by J1B (and originally by J3B during the morning meeting, Excerpt 38). In the morning meeting, the group of journalists, along with EDB, discussed a variety of different ways to preconfigure touch and talk in order to promote an affective stance with H1B. In Excerpt 36, H2B presents a counter-prefiguration of the sequential outcome of doing 'sexual harassment' on live TV.

5.2. PROGRAMME SCHEDULE REVIEW

'DID SHE DO A SHRIMP SKIP?'*

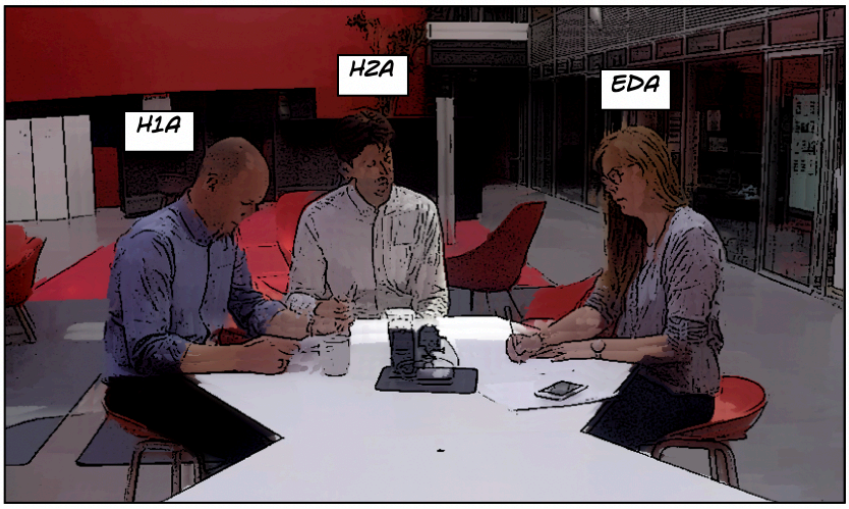


Figure 50 H1A, H2A and EDA review of the programme schedule.

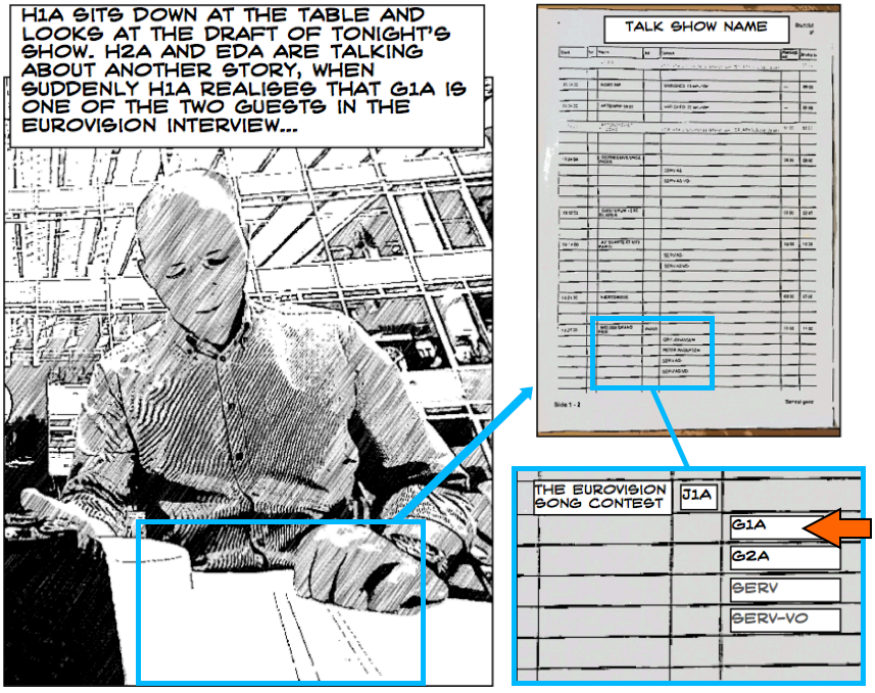
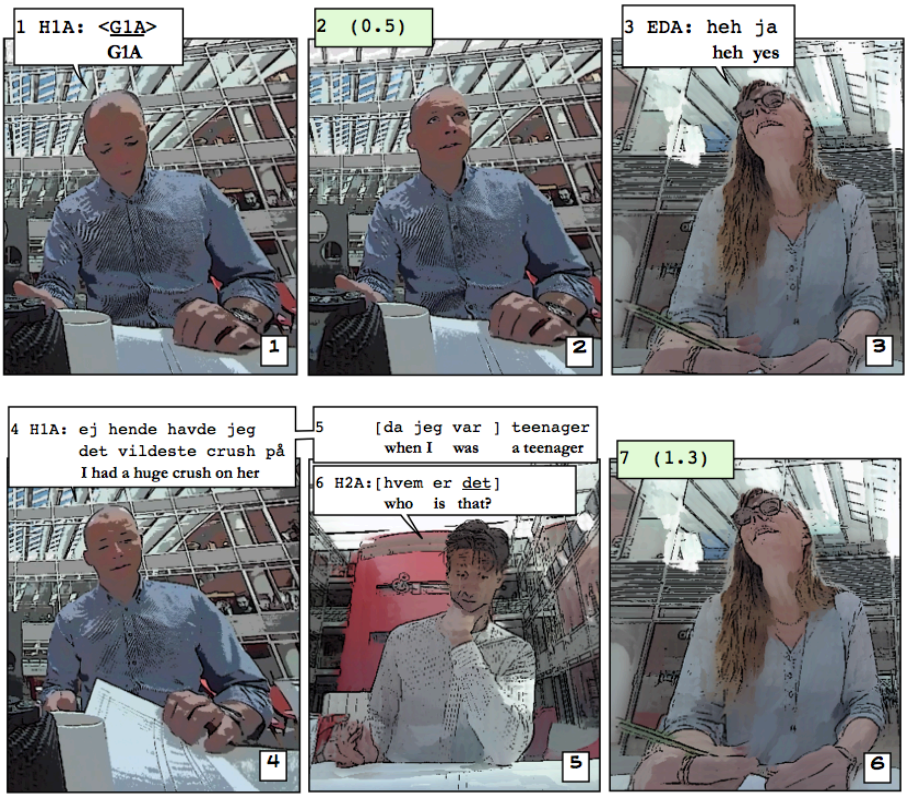


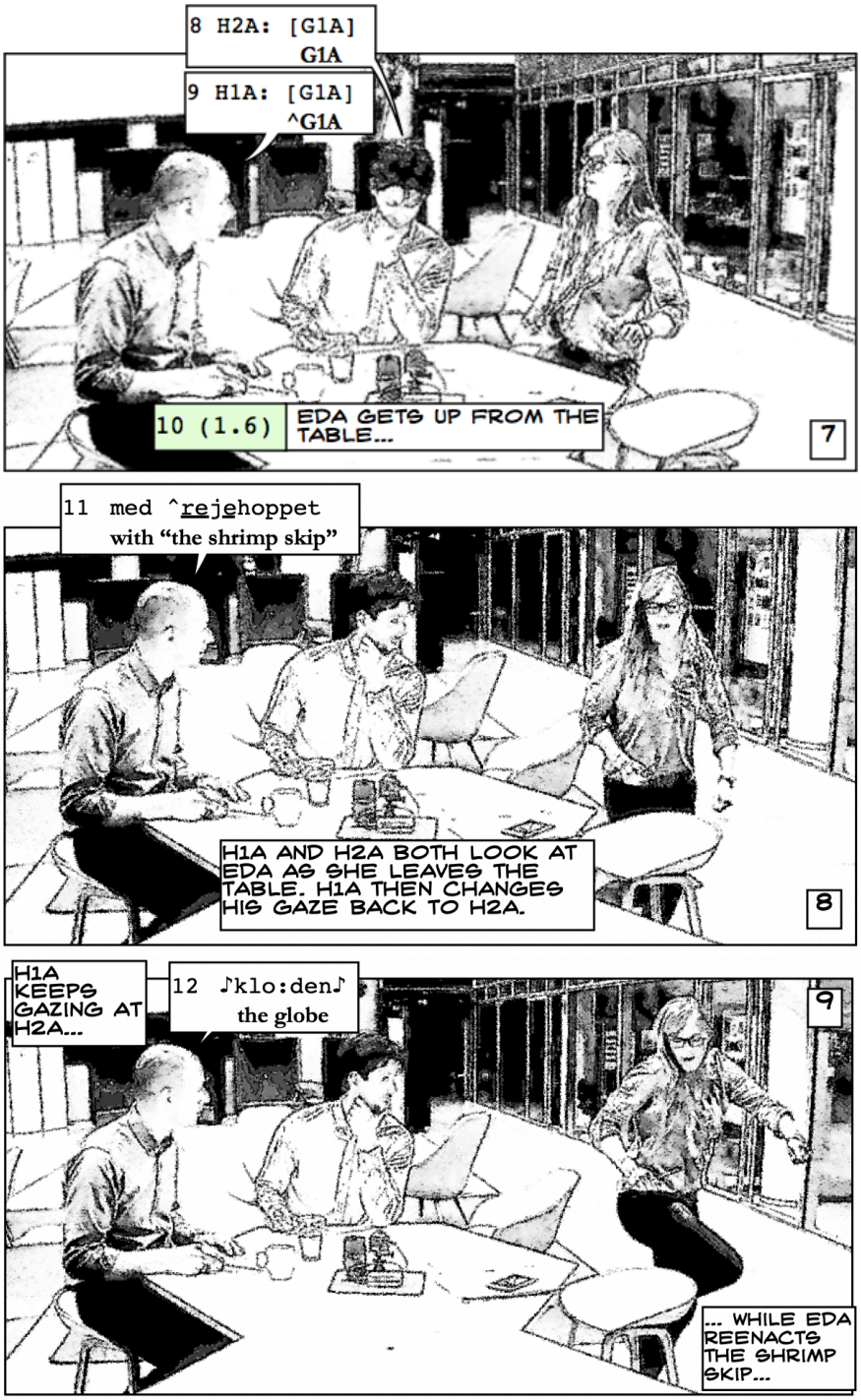
Figure 51 H1A looks at the programme schedule.

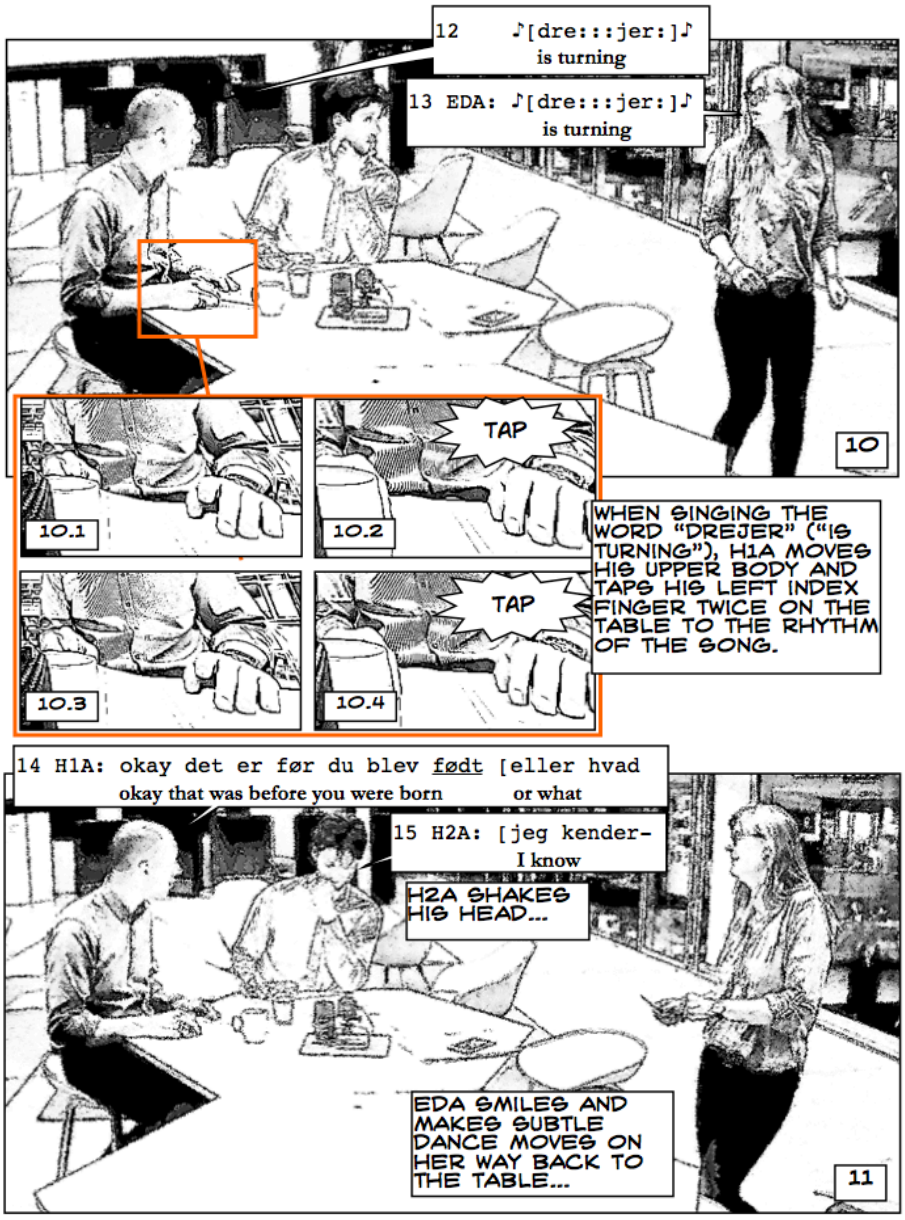
While J1A works on finding video footage of G1A, J1A, H1A, H2A, EDA, and PRA are supposed to meet at 10 a.m. to review the current schedule for the talk show programme. PRA is late for the meeting, and H1A is getting coffee. H2A and EDA are small-talking about the interviews for tonight's show. H1A comes over and joins them at the table. He looks over the programme schedule and notices something interesting (Figure 51 below).

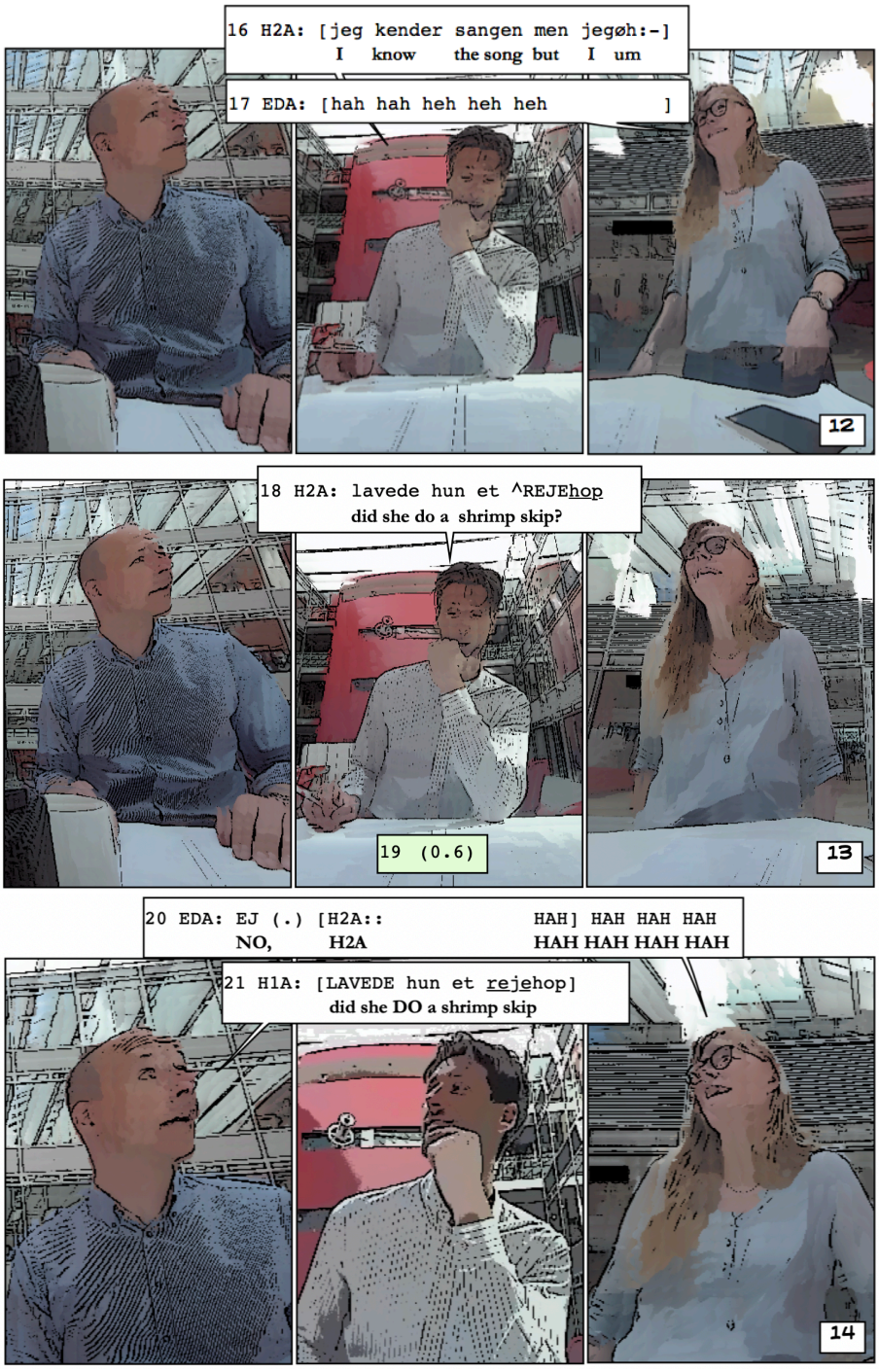
In Excerpt 42, H1A initiates a sequence of talk by simply reading out loud G1A's name.

Excerpt 41. A major crush.




8 H2A: [G1A]
G1A
9 H1A: [G1A]
^G1A
10 (1.6)
EDA GETS UP FROM THE TABLE...
7
11 med ^rejehoppet
with "the shrimp skip"
H1A AND H2A BOTH LOOK AT EDA AS SHE LEAVES THE TABLE. H1A THEN CHANGES HIS GAZE BACK TO H2A.
8
H1A KEEPS GAZING AT H2A...
12 ♪klo:den♪
the globe
9
... WHILE EDA REENACTS THE SHRIMP SKIP...


12 ♪[dre:::jer:]♪
is turning
13 EDA: ♪[dre:::jer:]♪
is turning
10
10.1
10.2
TAP
10.3
10.4
TAP
WHEN SINGING THE WORD "DREJER" ("IS TURNING"), H1A MOVES HIS UPPER BODY AND TAPS HIS LEFT INDEX FINGER TWICE ON THE TABLE TO THE RHYTHM OF THE SONG.
14 H1A: okay det er før du blev født [eller hvad
okay that was before you were born or what
15 H2A: [jeg kender-
I know
H2A SHAKES HIS HEAD...
EDA SMILES AND MAKES SUBTLE DANCE MOVES ON HER WAY BACK TO THE TABLE...
11

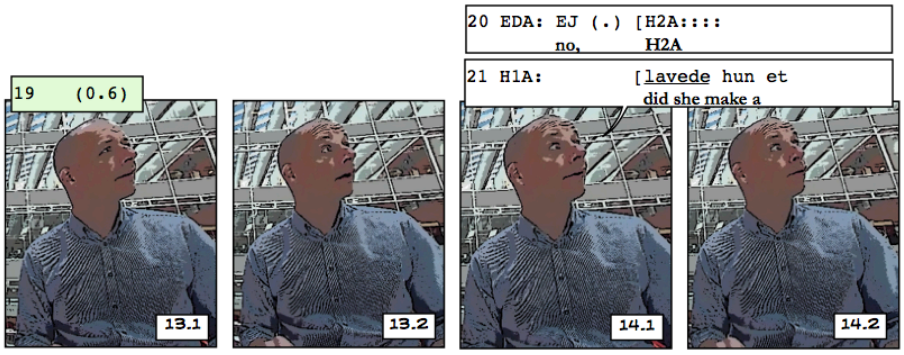

16 H2A: [jeg kender sangen men jegøh:-]
I know the song but I um
17 EDA: [hah hah heh heh heh]
12
18 H2A: lavede hun et ^REJEhop
did she do a shrimp skip?
19 (0.6)
13
20 EDA: EJ (.) [H2A:: HAH] HAH HAH HAH
NO, H2A HAH HAH HAH HAH
21 H1A: [LAVEDE hun et rejehop]
did she DO a shrimp skip
14

Through the act of reading-out-loud in line 1, H1A translates the name of G1A from the text in the programme schedule into a verbal and embodied display of surprise, abruptly introducing G1A as the next topic of talk. This 'surprise token' (Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006) extends into the following 0.5.sec pause in line 2 where H1A shifts his gaze from the programme schedule towards EDA with lifted eyebrows. By responding ‘◡heh ja◡‘ (‘◡heh yes◡‘) with a broad smile in line 3, EDA treats H1A's surprise as a case of disbelief that needs confirmation. Additionally, by producing a brief laughter token and putting on a smile, EDA affiliates with H1A's display of surprise when he realises that G1A will be one of the guests. In lines 4 and 5, H1A recalls that he had 'a huge crush' on G1A when he was a teenager. Thus, G1A's name in the programme schedule (Figure 60) promotes the recollection of a temporally distant emotional state. With H1A, her name evokes the memory of the particular experience of 'having a crush' on someone. This beginning of the sequence is quite interesting because H1A's claim to have had a teenage crush on G1A reveals an (although unilateral) affective connection between him and G1A. As we shall see in a minute, this teenage affection eventually becomes the reason why H1A ends up conducting the live interview.

When H2A in line 5 claims not to know who G1A is, H1A initiates a repair by repeating the trouble source 'G1A' in line 9. As H2A still does not demonstrate that the problem has been solved, H1A expands on his repair by elaborating on whom G1A is by adding in line 11 'med rejehoppet' ('with the shrimp skip') referring to G1A's famous dance move on the Eurovision. H1A keeps looking at H2A, which indicates that H1A is still trying to solve the problem. EDA, then, makes a re-enactment of the 'shrimp skip' in panel 9 just as H1A begins to sing the first line of the refrain of G1A's 1980s' Eurovision song. This simultaneity is interesting because it tells us something about the different levels of competence among these three practitioners (Goodwin 1994). EDA and H1A's references to the same historical moment some 35 years ago demonstrate a collective knowledge about G1A that is not shared by H2A. Furthermore, the co-operatively coordinated re-enactment of G1A's singing and dancing in the Eurovision displays a mutual understanding of the conditionally next relevant action, namely that of producing some sort of reference to this particular televised performance (see Raudaskoski and Kjær 2016).

In a study on the joint act of singing, Stevanovic and Frick (2014) find that 'singing sequences are highly predetermined, which makes it easy for the participants to sing together' and that 'this shared responsibility enables the participants to share their emotional stances without having to deal with the asymmetries in agency inherent to spoken interaction' (p.501). It is interesting to see how in line 16 H2A makes known that he 'kender sangen' ('knows the song'), yet he does not sing along. This is because through their orientation to him as the intended addressee of their performance, H2A is co-constructed by H1A and EDA as the audience of their joint re-enactment rather than invited to join them. More importantly, if we accept that singing is a way for participants to 'share their emotional stances', the performance of H1A and EDA can be seen as serving the purpose of conveying to H2A a shared affective stance, which ought to be promoted by hearing G1A's name. Thus, through steps of resemiotisation two words (G1A's first name and her surname) in the programme schedule are proficiently co-translated and remediated into a full-blown performance including singing, dancing, and tapping the rhythm of a music track that was presented to the public some 35 years ago. Again, here we see how objects make available past (inter)actions, which makes possible, or at least adds to, the moment-to-moment co-creation of meaning in the present. I see this way of prolonging the past into the present through embodied re-enactments and singing as a clear example of how semiotic shifts play a great role in the ongoing construction and constitution of affective meaning anchored in past experiences and reconstructed for another next first time.

Interestingly, if we 'slow down' the time span of panel 14 of this sequence, it becomes clear how H1A's next-turn repetition of H2A's turn-of-talk, although ambiguously hearable as a second-turn initiated repair, serves the purpose of teasing H2A.



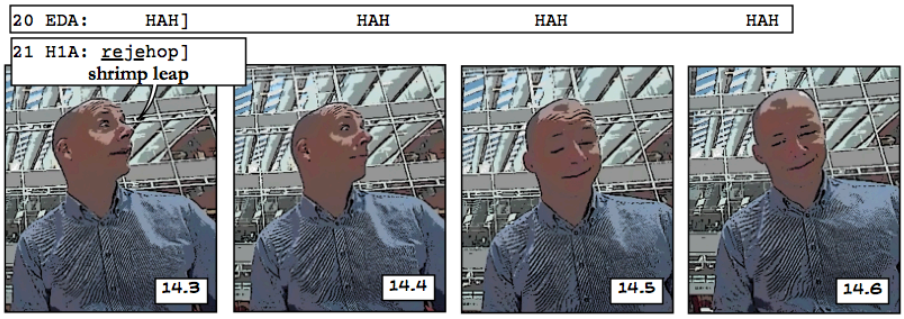


Figure 52 H1A reproduces with transformation H2A's previous turn.

As Eisner (1990) notes, adding panels to a comic can be used to extend, or slow down, time in order to 'enhance emotion'. In this case, I use the technique not to boost emotion but rather to make visible the affective stance of H1A. H1A's facial expression changes mid-pause in panel 13.2. His raised eyebrows and open mouth in panel 13.2 display that he is doing 'being surprised' by H2A's turn in line 17. In panels 14.1-14.3, as H1A repeats H2A's just preceding turn-of-talk in an exaggerated manner. He keeps his 'surprised' raised eyebrows though now with a thinly veiled smile, which I see as a way of displaying that H2A's lack of knowledge about G1A is both surprising and a little ridiculous. As illustrated in Excerpt 26, panel 14, H2A responds to H1A's act of teasing with a 'po-face' (Drew 1987). EDA, on the other hand, treats H1A's turn as a laughable. Her laughter in line 19 begins when H1A utters the latter part of the word 'rejehop' ('shrimp skip') in line 20.

The fact that H2A does not know about G1A's 'shrimp skip' is thus sequentially turned into a laughable matter by H1A and EDA. As with the morning meeting on day one, it is interesting to see how the staff members who are old enough to remember watching G1A's performance on television display different embodied, affective responses when they talk about G1A. During their review of the preliminary programme schedule, EDA and H1A not only burst into singing and dancing; on the basis of their embodied and verbal reproduction of G1A's performance, they explicitly tease H2A for not knowing who G1A is. As Middleton and Brown (2005, p. 136) demonstrate, the past is often prolonged into the present through the involvement of the body. In this case, I see the affective stances displayed by H1A in lines 19 and 20 and EDA in line 21 as the climax of an affective crescendo initiated by H1A's resemiotisation of G1A's name from the text in the scheduled programme to the topic of the talk. Thus, in this case, it is the inter-

twined-ness of the object of the programme schedule and the unfolding (inter)actions of the three participants which constitute the sequential organisation. Although the singing and dancing might not be environmentally coupled with the inscriptions in the programme schedule, it certainly is initiated by it. Interestingly, the very name of G1A launches a series of affective stances–from H1A's crush on G1A, over the singing and dancing, to the laughter and teasing of H2A.

EDA's dancing and H1A's moving his upper body and tapping his index finger on the table suggest that Middleton and Brown (2005, p. 136-137) are right when they claim that 'it is via the involvement of the body, or incorporation, that the past is materialised or prolonged into the present'. H1A and EDA *could* have just explained to H2A who G1A is, yet instead, they choose to reassemble in the present a vivid and complex re-enactment of G1A's televised performance from the eighties. As Goodwin (2018) reminds us, participants 'build social actions by joining together meaning-making resources, (…) into configurations where each mutually elaborates the other(s) to create a whole not found in any of the parts in isolation' (p. 120).

The reoccurring displays of affective stances with the editorial staff suggest that, in the process of resemiotising the structures of the final talk show talk, the participants are themselves deeply emotionally involved. From the very choice of having G1A as one of the interview guests, the programme schedule has already become a work-relevant object with the action-relevant property of arousing affect with competent participants who encounter and resemiotise the written text. It is thus a professional practice of the editorial staff to unpack the texts to demonstrate to each other that they work affectively for the right televisual audience-to-come. This observation resonates with Du Bois and Kärkkäinen's (2012) claim that if we are to explore the social life of human beings, 'emotion, affect and the rest must be in the mix' (2012). The making of the material structures of the interview is closely intertwined with the co-creation of meaning across settings. The professional decisions made by the editorial staff to structure work-relevant objects in certain ways are continuously based on the staff members' embodied displays of affect. The object of G1A's name written in the programme schedule both source and restrict the sequential outcome in Excerpt 25. Yet, the name itself does not re-enact the performance of G1A. The meaningfulness of this resource thus depends entirely on the steps of resemiotisation found in how H1A, H2A, and EDA unpack the action-

relevant properties of the line of text. This unpacking is by no means a simple configuration. Multiple trajectories and temporalities are entangled in the object of the written name. The intertextual reference to G1A's performance becomes relevant on the basis of and object passed on from the absent predecessor of the editorial editor through an entire day of work from day one to this very moment of interaction.

If we were to study this excerpt detached from the preceding interactions that brought these participants and materialities to this particular place in space and time, we would have to do without knowing about some important affective entanglements. In this meeting, H1A and H2A first learn about G1A being one of the guests. EDA, on the other hand, has already spent a day of work co-creating the interview with J1A, J2A, J3A, and J4A. During the morning meeting on day one, we saw her doing the 'shrimp skip' (Figure 46) as well as at several occasions displaying her attitude towards G1A (Excerpts 9, 11) and incorporating this stance into the structure of the work-relevant object of the whiteboard (Figure 45). Later, after J1A's pre-interview with G1A, we saw J1A evaluate G1A as being a great storyteller, or 'anecdotal by nature' (Excerpt 26). EDA's affiliative back channelling and, especially, her assessments 'skide godt' ('bloody good') in line 32 and 'hvor ↑fedt' ('great') in line 45 again demonstrate her affective attitude towards G1A. From an EMCA perspective, EDA's 'heh yes' in Excerpt 25, line 3 could be heard as a second pair part with which EDA treats H1A's turn-of-talk in line 1 as pursuing confirmation. Moreover, surely it is also that. However, if we consider what we know from the preceding analysis about EDA's involvement in working up the final live interview up to this sequence—and especially her affective attitude towards G1A—her 'heh yes' paired with her bodily posture and facial expression, although a locally situated action, extends well beyond the local situated-ness of this meeting only. From the interactions leading up to this meeting, we have learned more about why EDA produces her turn in line 3 the way she does. Thus, we get a little closer to providing an answer to the initial question of how to claim a 'proof procedure' for non-sequential interactional contributions across time and space; structures that do not necessarily have the same participants across their temporal unfolding. This is a step further from stretching sequential interactions with the same participants towards dealing with non-contiguous activities and actions with the same participants.

Rather than speculating about the affective nature of EDA's second pair part to H1A's turn, we can now address this adjacency pair from the perspective that the affective stance of EDA is lodged within both the local activity of this particular meeting *and* into a larger network of interactions. Also, importantly, these interconnections across time and space are demonstrably constituted through a continuous process of resemiotising work-relevant objects.

THE BLUENESS OF GREEN*

As Laurier and Brown (2011) observe, in the multi-screen activity of editing a film, the director and the editor 'sit side by side in front of their screens, the access to those screens is, in significant ways, asymmetrical because only one person handles the controls of interface and editing software and, normally, this will be the editor (p. 243). The asymmetry in the following Excerpts is similar: J1A is responsible for creating the interactional structures for the live interview. He is the one writing the manuscript, pre-interviewing the guests, collecting audiovisual materials, and so forth. In the setting of the editing room, however, it is the editorial office video editor (VEA) who controls the on-screen software, and, thus, is enabled to manipulate and modify the audible and visible features of the on-screen materials provided by J1A. The main task of VEA is to create non-live audiovisual resources from these materials for the live show. In excerpt 44 J1A has just joined VEA in the in-office editing room to help her make sense of the photos and video files that he has sent her. VEA is looking primarily at the computer screens running the video editing suite Pro Tools, while J1A has a screen on the left with the script on it. On the far right is a main monitor, which shows what the 'final' product looks like (Figure 53).

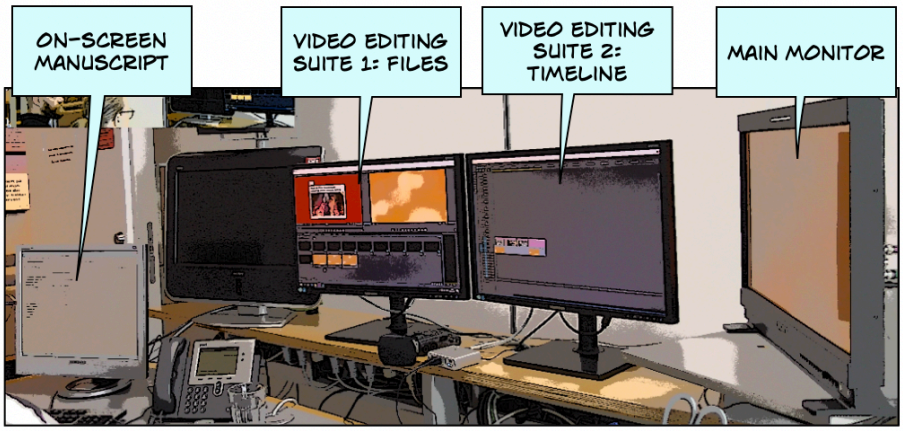


Figure 53 The video editing room screens.

In addition to the pictures that J1A received from G1A, he has found video footage from the national part of the Eurovision. As we saw above, video footage from the International Finals does not exist in high enough quality, probably because the original tapes have been recorded over (Excerpt 36). At this point, J1A introduces a new issue with the audiovisual content. As it turns out, G1A's dress appears to be blue in the photos, but green in the video footage. In Excerpt 43, J1A and VEA co-inspect the photos of G1A. J1A's turn in lines 1-2 pursues agreement that G1A's dress is indeed 'sindssygt blå' ('insanely blue') (line 2). Through his accumulative action of gazing towards the main monitor while talking about G1A's dress as 'den kjole' ('that dress') (line 2), J1A locate a specific visual feature of the on-screen photo, namely the colour of the dress, as 'the' problem that must be attended to in order to proceed their joint professional task of creating audiovisual content for the live talk show.

Excerpt 42. A blue dress.



4	J1A:	men når du ser klippet (.) med hende
		but when you see the footage of her
5		er vi så ikke enige om
		are we then not agree on
		we do agree
6		at den er ↑grøn
		that it is green, right?
7		(0.7)
8	VEA:	hvad for et klip
		what footage?
9	J1A:	altså (.) fra melo↑di grand prix?
		you know, from the melody grand prix?
10	VEA:	<°ja det: kan jeg ikke lige huske°>=
		well, I can't remember that

```
11  J1A:    =>prøv lige at hente det<
            try and download it
12  VEA:    har du sendt det til mig
            did you send it to me?
13  J1A:    nej jeg har lagt det ind i uge nitten
            no, I have put it in week 19[25]
14  VEA:    ↑nå::::h
              o::::h
```

J1A has located something problematic regarding the two different audiovisual depictions of G1A. The blueness of the dress in the photos is made publicly relevant as questionable by J1A through a comparison of this colour to the greenness of the dress in the video footage (lines 4-6). In line 4, J1A makes a verbal reference to the specific object of 'klippet' ('*the* footage'). Interestingly, this turn og J1A is initiated with 'når du ser' ('when you see'), which presupposes the shared past experience of having seen the video footage. J1A does not ask VEA *if* she has seen it, but rather takes for granted that she has also seen it–and that she is, therefore, capable of comparing what they see now to what they have both seen on separate prior occasion. In line 8, however, VEA initiates a repair by asking 'hvad for et klip' ('what footage?'). J1A specifies the footage as the one 'fra melo↑di grand prix' ('from the melody grand prix') (line 9). J1A's prosody in line 9 suggests that he is teasing VEA for not knowing this particular footage. In this way, 'the footage', is rearticulated by J1A as a co-recallable semiotic resource for doing comparing the dress color on the at-hand photos with that in the absent video footage. VEA, though, 'kan ikke lige huske' ('can't remember') the particular footage, which J1A is referring to (line 10). VEA's inability to recall the video recorded eighties performance is instantly addressed by J1A in line 11, when he says '>prøv lige at hente det<' ('try and download it'). At this point, J1A could have just told VEA that in the video footage, the dress looks green. Instead, he invites VEA to see with him the video. This practical solution to the issue points to the distinctively social nature of remembering the past through at-hand mediational means (Middleton and Brown, 2005). Through lines 10-14, J1A and VEA articulate the video footage of G1A as a tangible resource, which can be 'hentet' ('downloaded'), 'sendt' ('sent') and 'lagt' ('put'). The object of the video

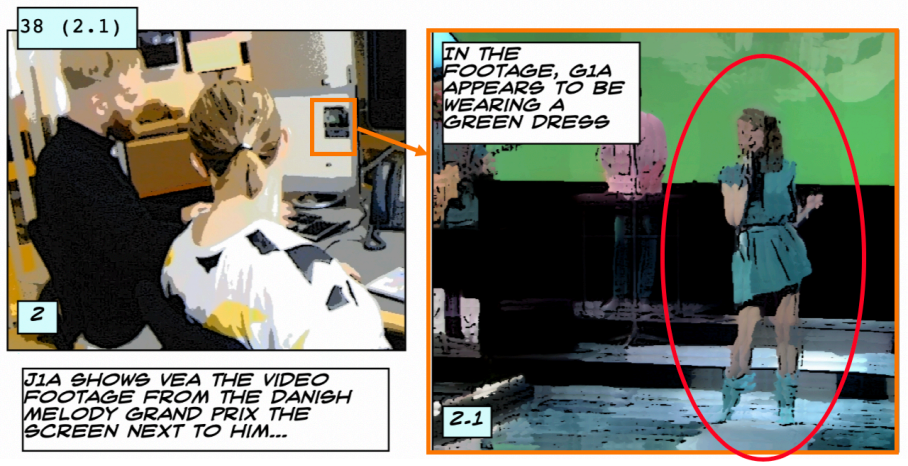
[25] Every week, the editorial staff creates a new folder for the audiovisual materials for the shows. This week is 'week 19'.

footage is practical evidence for J1A's assertion of the different dress colors.

VEA has some trouble downloading the file, so J1A starts searching for it in the media archive on the computer on his left. In excerpt 43, he locates the footage and shows it VEA.

Excerpt 43. Just have a look.

37 J1A: prøv at se
just have a look



39 VEA: ↑WHA:::T

((lines omitted, where they talk about how G1A way out of tune))

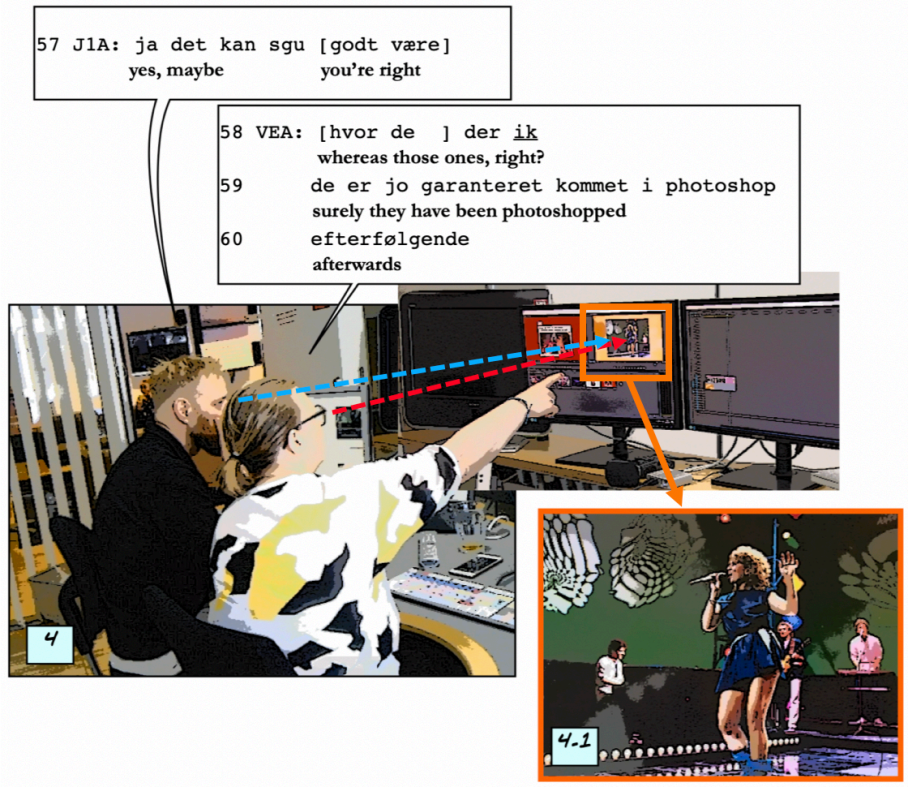
Here, J1A introduces the activity of co-seeing the footage with 'prøv at se' ('have a look'). Thus, he sets up the sequential environment for VEA to produce as a relevant next action an affiliative stance. Accordingly, in line 39 upon seeing the footage VEA produces the surprise token 'WHA:::T'. This response displays affiliation with J1A's observation that something is off in regard to the colour of G1A's dress. After they have co-constructed agreement about the fact that the same dress does seem to have different colours in the photos (blue) and the video footage (green), in Excerpt 45 VEA presents a possible explanation to this strange glitch in the Matrix.

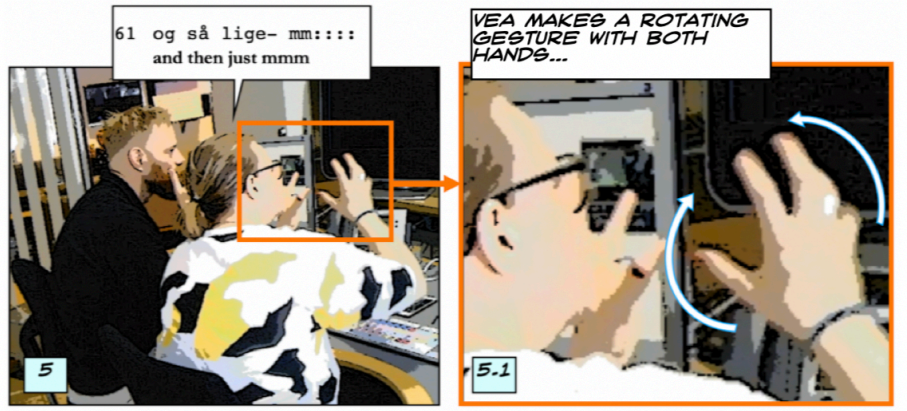
Excerpt 44. Then there is no problem.

54 VEA: altså:: det kan jo godt være noget lys
you know, it can be due to lighting

55 og så sker der noget på video
and then something happens to video



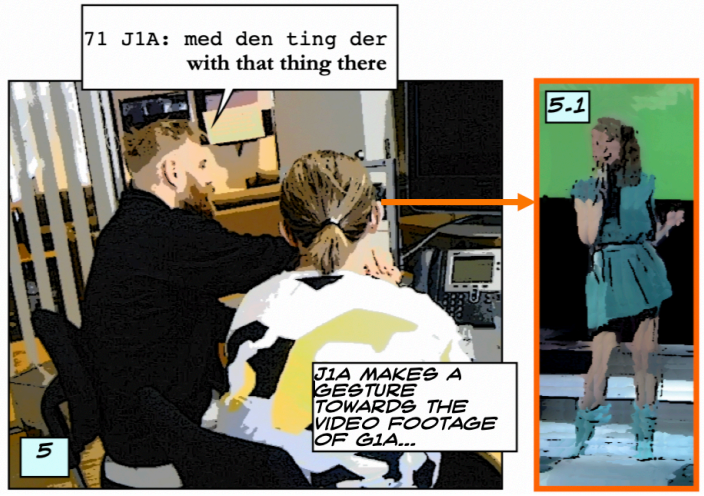


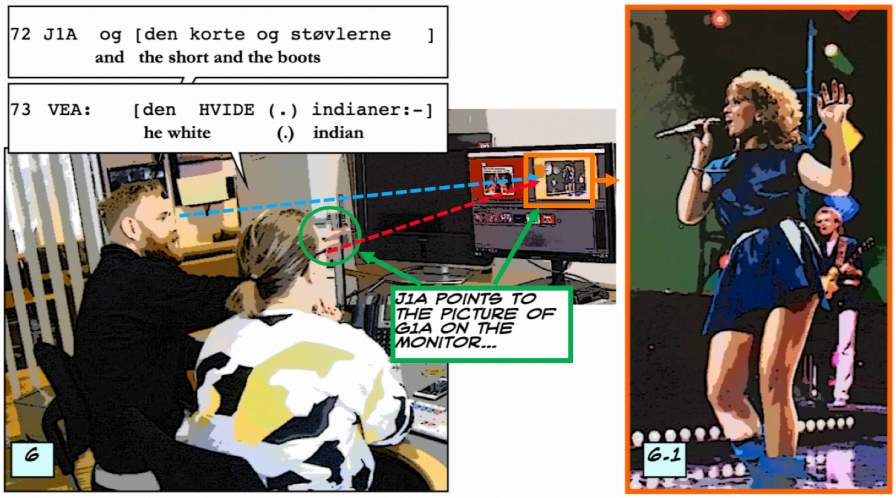


62 spitzet lidt op
spitzed a bit up
made better looking
63 (0.5)

((lines omitted))

68 J1A: =men vi er enige om
but we agree
69 at det er den samme kjole hun har på ↑ik
that she is wearing the same dress, right?
70 VEA: det er vi
we do





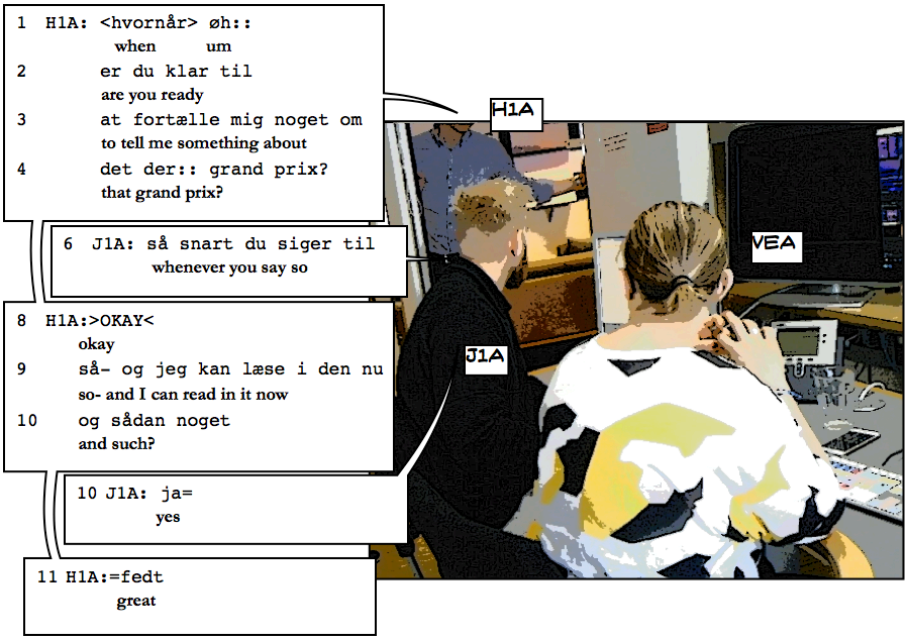
74 J1A: godt jamen så er der ingen ko på isen
good, yes but then is there no cow on the ice
good, well, then there is no problem

A lot of interesting things happen in this excerpt. With respect to the main argument being developed in this dissertation, I will focus on the parts, which are directly related to how J1A and VEA use with transformation materials inherited from past interactions in order to further transform the semiotic ecology for a future interaction. The photos and the video footage are supposed to constitute the point of departure for the live interview talk. However, since television is essentially an audio-visual medium, the difference in colour between the photos and the video footage could pose an issue. It is this particular issue that J1A addresses through his verbal and embodied, environmentally coupled, accumulative actions. We can tell that the inconsistency in the colour of the dress across different semiotic resources potentially could have been problematic from J1A's statement in line 74: 'godt, jamen så er der ingen ko på isen' (good, well, then there is no problem'). Thus, if J1A and VEA did not agree that it 'er dem same kjole' ('is is the same dress') (line 69), it would have been a problem.

J1A AND H1A REVIEW THE MANUSCRIPT**

While J1A and VEA work on finding and editing video montages of G1A and G2A, H1A enters the editing room and addresses J1A (Excerpt 46, below). In this excerpt, H1A pursues two types of information about the interview. First, in lines 1-4, he asks *when* J1A is ready to talk to him about the Eurovision. With this phrasing, H1A presupposes that J1A *will* talk to him about the Eurovision story at some point. Secondly, in lines 8-10, H1A seeks information about the current state of the object that is the interview with his 'og jeg kan læse i den nu og sådan noget' ('and I can read in it now and such?').

Excerpt 45. Can I read in it now?



At this point, the interview manuscript exists as a file on the editorial office's shared computer drive. H1A's reference to the manuscript is an environmentally coupled action, which makes sense only because we have access to their prior work.

Eight minutes later, J1A approaches H1A to talk about the Eurovision story. First, J1A accounts for a couple of journalistic choices that he has made in creating the script (not part of transcript). J1A then leaves H1A's desk, and H1A reads through the on-screen script. When

J1A returns to H1A's desk, H1A introduces a problem with the closing question of the interview. Interestingly, this question has already at several earlier occasions caused some troubles.

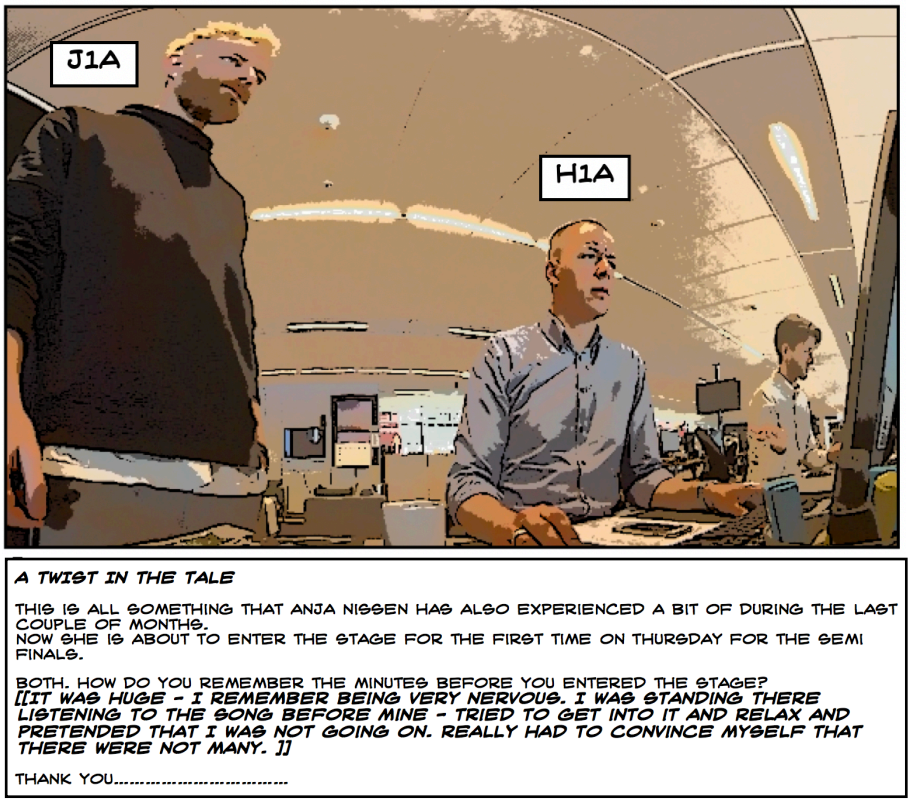
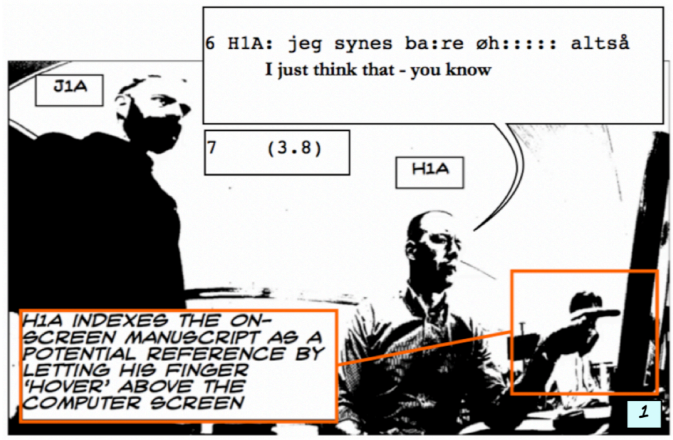
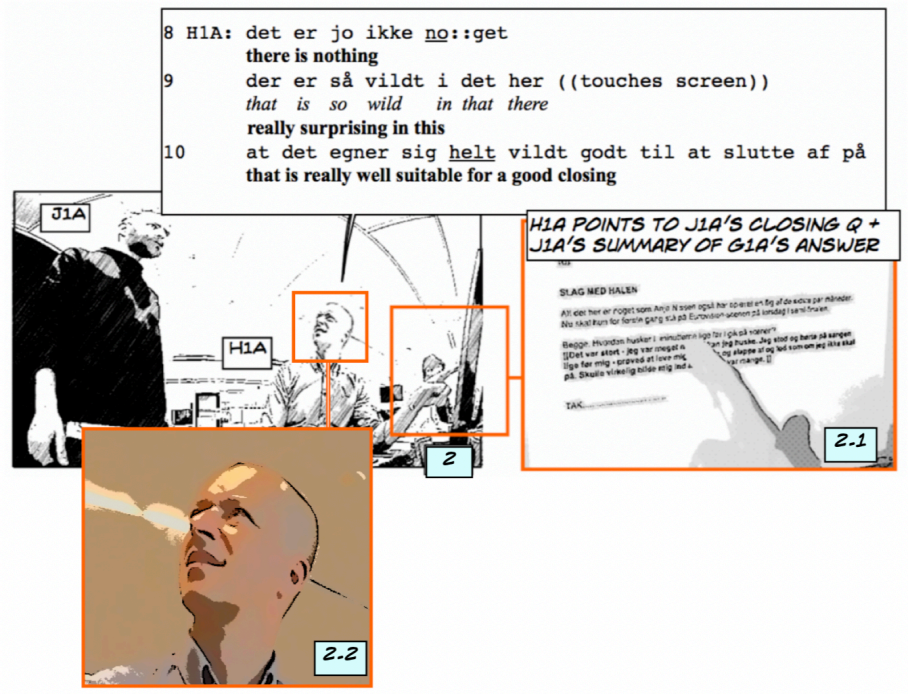


Figure 54 The closing question and G1A's answer (translated).

Excerpt 46. I just think that...

1	H1A:	det kører sgu meget fedt
		this is going great
2		(.)
3	J1A:	mm
		yes
4	H1A:	synes jeg
		I think
5	J1A:	har du prøvet-
		have you tried





A TWIST IN THE TALE

THIS IS ALL SOMETHING THAT ANNIE NIELSEN HAS ALSO EXPERIENCED A BIT OF DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS.
NOW SHE IS ABOUT TO ENTER THE STAGE FOR THE FIRST TIME ON THURSDAY FOR THE SEMI FINALS.

BOTH. HOW DO YOU REMEMBER THE MINUTES BEFORE YOU ENTERED THE STAGE?
[[IT WAS HUGE - I REMEMBER BEING VERY NERVOUS. I WAS STANDING THERE LISTENING TO THE SONG BEFORE MINE - TRIED TO GET INTO IT AND RELAX AND PRETENDED THAT I WAS NOT GOING ON. REALLY HAD TO CONVINCE MYSELF THAT THERE WERE NOT MANY.]]

THANK YOU.....

```
11  J1A:    næh
            no
12          (0.8)
13  J1A:    nej
            no
14          (.)
```

By letting his finger hover a few centimetres above the text on the computer screen, H1A indexes the manuscript as a potential reference while uttering 'jeg tror bare' ('I just think'). In Danish, the adverb 'bare' is often used to pre-deliver bad news. The pairing of 'bare' with H1A's creaky voice in line 6 and the 3.8 seconds pause in line 7 tells us that something dispreferred is on its way. H1A then delivers the bad news in lines 8, 9, and 10: 'der er jo ikke no::get i det her, der er så vildt, at det egner sig helt vildt godt til at slutte af på' ('There is nothing really surprising in this that really makes it well suitable for a good closing'). As the host utters 'det' ('this') in line 9, he touches the screen with his finger and points to J1A's closing question and J1A's summary of G1A's answer from the prepping interview. This environmentally coupled gesture is a prime example of how an action has a laminated organisation, which include verbal and embodied features, but also history and materialities (Goodwin, 2018, p. 440). The activity of reviewing the manuscript emanates from the script and anticipates further developments done to this resource as part of its semiotic cycle. H1A pointing gesture in panel 2 is a situated activity, through which a range of resources with individual trajectories are accumulated into the locally relevant action of questioning the semiotic structures of the manuscript. Additionally, with his frowning in panel 2.2, H1A takes an affective stance towards the current state of the manuscript as he assesses the closing question as not being 'very well suited for a good closing' (line 10).

In regard to the cultivation of the affective properties of the manuscript, it is interesting to notice how, according to H1A, a suitable closing question should contain an element of surprise (lines 8-10). Surprise is an immediate embodied and, thus, affective response to something surprising (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). Thus, H1A presents his criticism of the closing question as an anticipation of the type of possible second pair parts that this question will likely (not) promote. In lines 11 and 13, J1A affiliates with H1A's evaluation of the interview's twist in the tale, first with 'næh' ('no'), which in Danish is a somewhat capricious

version of 'no', and after a short pause in line 12 with the more definitive 'nej' ('no').

Excerpt 47. A good advice.

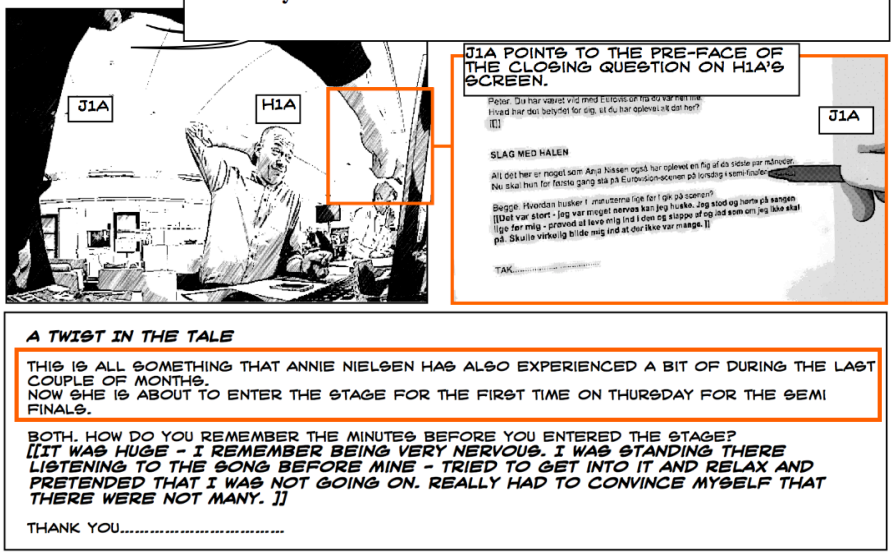
```
21  H1A:    [og så ved jeg godt at øh::
            and I know that
22          det er meget meget uorginalt
            it is very unoriginal
23          at slutte med
            to end with
24          >et godt råd til hende og sådan noget< ik?
            a good advice for her and stuff like that, right?
25  J1A:    nej [det synes jeg ik
            no   I don't think so
26  H1A:        [men det er-
                 but it is
27          men det er m- bedre tror jeg
            but I think that it is better
28          hvis der ikke er andet
            if there is nothing else
29          der sådan .hh
            which, you know
```

Here, the H1A proposes an alternative to the closing question. He initiates his proposal with the negative assessment 'I know that it is very unoriginal to end with a good advice for her and stuff like that, right?' (pursuing confirmation) and then continues with 'but I think that it is better if there is nothing else there'. As we know from Sacks (1992), self-criticism commonly pursues a dispreferred second pair part. And, sure enough, in line 25 J1A responds to H1A's turn with 'nej, det synes jeg ikke' ('no, I don't think so').

Then, in Excerpt 48 below, J1A says, 'But you could still keep the build-up'. He then makes a shift in footing in line 31 as he animates the future talk of the host as he might address the guests by saying 'Like with Anja, you have' after which he changes back to the activity of accounting for an idea with 'you know' and 'make the link obvious in lines' 32 and 34, only to return to prefiguring and animating hypothetical talk show talk in lines 37, 38, 40, and 42: 'been standing there behind the scene and been nervous and such. What good advice do you have for before she enters the stage on Thursday?'.

Excerpt 48. You could still keep the build-up.

30 J1A: men man kan jo godt beholde oplægget
but you could still keep the build up
31 i har jo ligesom ajna
like with Anja, you have
32 du ved
you know



33 (0.3)
34 J1A: sådan lave koblingen tydelig
make the link obvious
35 H1A: [JA ja
yes yes
36 J1A: [s-
37 stået der bag scenen og
been standing there behind the scene and
38 J1A: .hh stået og [trip]pet og sådan noget
been nervous and such
39 H1A: [ja]
yes
40 J1A: hvad er jeres gode råd til-
what good advice do you have for-
41 H1A: ja
yes
42 J1A: inden at hun går på torsdag
before she enters the stage on Thursday
43 H1A: ja
yes

```
44  J1A:    >det er meget fint<
              that's fine
45      (0.4)
46  J1A:    det kan man sagtens
            you could do that
47  H1A:    yes
            yes
48          (0.3)
49  H1A:    cool
            cool
```

So, even though they change the closing question, they can still 'keep the build-up' (line 30). This way of staging a potential future by actively treating the preliminary proto-manuscript as an action-relevant object enables J1A and H1A to publicly animate the interview talk as it might unfold in situ, and thus to oscillate between the activity of writing a manuscript and the boundary activity of doing co-imagined 'live talk show' talk. Thus, J1A and H1A prefigure and test the possibilities of the object of the closing question among themselves by co-creating and performing an imagined space of possible future actions.

Interestingly, in excerpt 48, J1A builds an accumulative action by drawing on the locally available semiotic field, which include a variety of temporal and semiotic entanglements: In lines 31, with reference to the manuscript J1A animates possible future host's talk. This utterance is followed by a meta comment in lines 32 and 34, after which J1A continues to animate imagined future action. In line 40, J1A, then, introduces as part of his animation H1A's suggestion to ask about 'a good advice' from line 24. Through his embodied and verbal action of indexing the on-screen manuscript as 'the' object of attention, J1A introduces the manuscript as both the source of his talk and the object, which will be further developed on the basis of their current interaction.

J1A returns to his computer and changes the closing question in the on-screen manuscript to: 'Begge. Hvad vil jeres bedte råd være til hende i de sidste minutter, før hun skal på scenen?' ('Both. What is your best advice for her in the last minutes before she is going on stage?') (Figure 55).

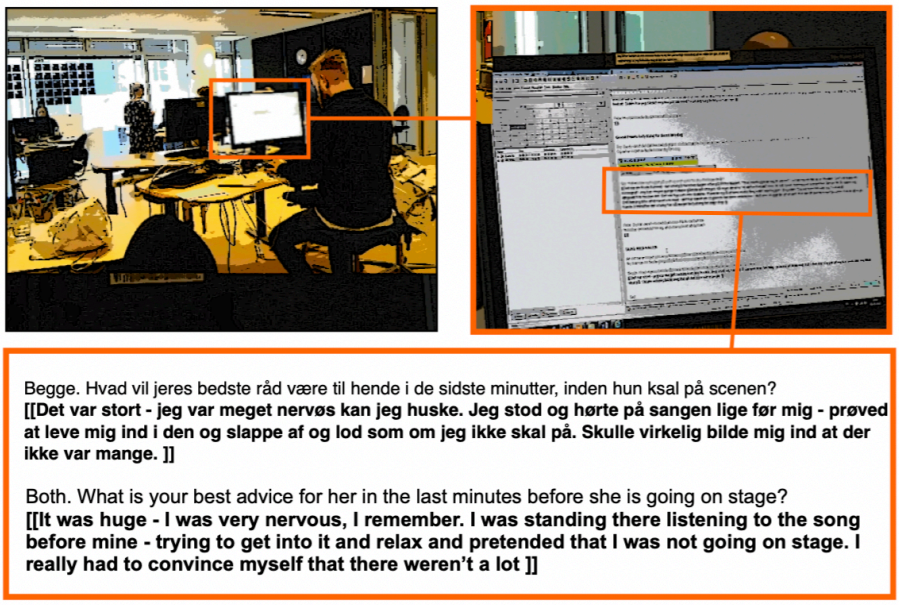


Figure 55 J1A changes the closing question.

J1A has now completely altered the closing question, yet he has kept the answer provided by G1A during the pre-interview. As a result, there is close to no apparent relation between the question and the answer. Looking exclusively at the manuscript at this point, it seems rather unlikely that G1A should have produced the answer stated in the manuscript as an adequate response to the scripted question.

PRA AND VEA CHOOSE A PICTURE FOR THE REAR WALL SCREEN*

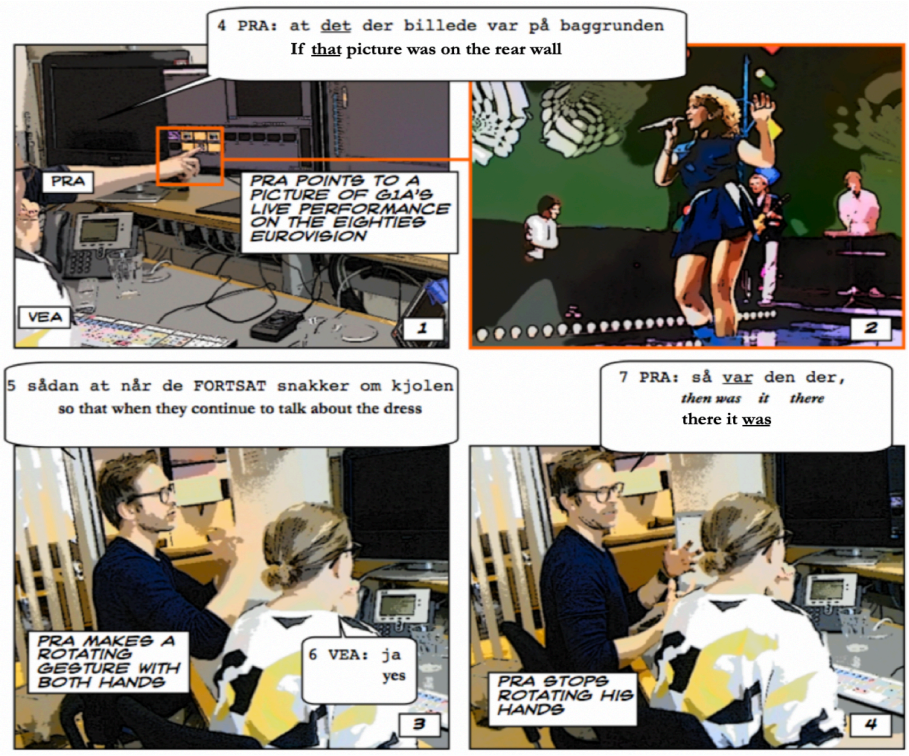
While J1A and H1A review the manuscript, PRA joins VEA in the video editing room. The AS-VO-G1Adress, which J1A and VEA worked on in Excerpt 44 is a voice-over, abbreviated 'VO'. That is, a video clip that is shown while the interview proceeds so that the viewers at home see this clip while they hear the interview continue in the background. Another type of visual content is the 'bagskærm' ('rear wall screen') photos, abbreviated 'BS'. While J1A and H1A review the cue card manuscript, PRA and EDA are in the editing room planning and pre-producing audiovisual content for the live studio interaction.



Figure 56 PRA and VEA in the video editing room.

Excerpt 49. Choosing a picture for the rear wall screen.

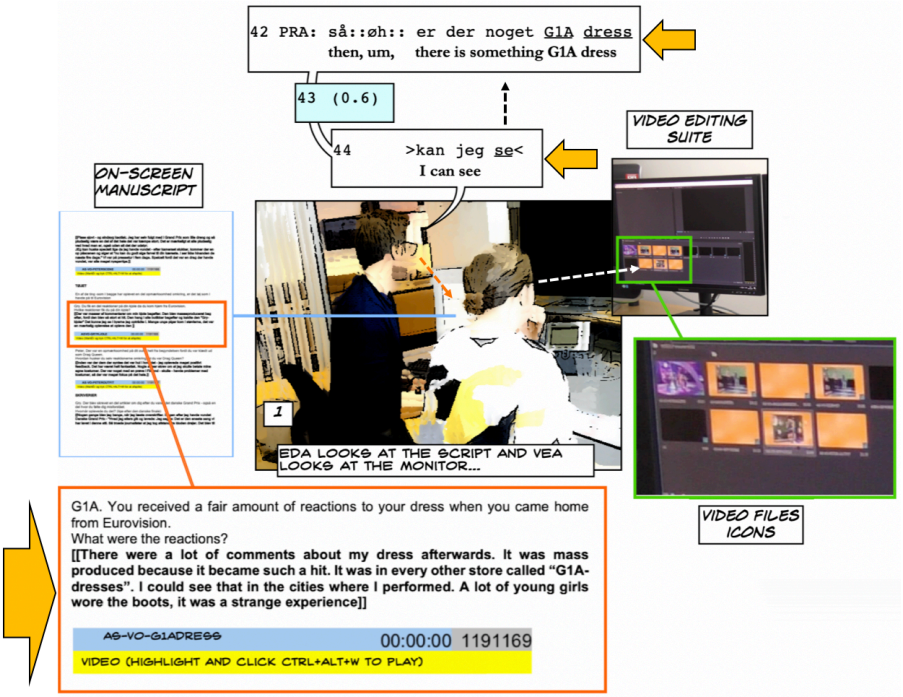
1	PRA:	når det nu er vi så har kørt vo erne
		then, when we have played the VO's
2	VEA:	↑ja=
		yes
3		så kunne man jo godt ↑tænke sig
		then could you of course think
		then you would like, of course



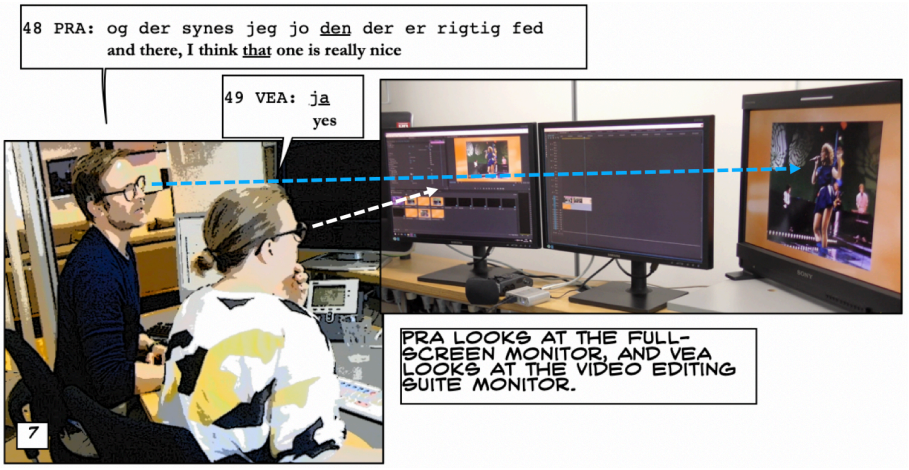
In this excerpt, we see how the photo that G1A sent to J1A the day before (Excerpt 28) is being worked into the future semiotic ecology of the talk show interview. J1A and VEA have already made a 'VO' with the picture, but PRA also wants a 'BS', so that 'når de fortsat snakker om kjolen, så var den der' ('when they continue to talk about the dress, there is was') (lines 5 and 7). It is interesting to notice the shift in tense from line 5 to line 6. In Danish, I hear this shift from present to past tense as indicating a current difference between the structures of talk and the photo of G1A: Whereas the dress has decidedly been made a central topic of talk, the graphic field of the dress that they are currently working on is still a debateable, possible resource. In other words, in this excerpt, present tense is used to describe what will be, while past tense is used to talk about what potentially could come to be. So, when the interview participants talk about the dress, 'så kunne man jo godt ↑tænke sig' ('then you would like, of course') that the picture of G1A was on the rear wall screen. PRA and VEA review the on-screen manuscript from the top and match KNGs with relevant audiovisual materials. After a couple of minutes, they come to the KNG that J1A has named 'AS-VO-

G1ADRESS'. It is interesting to observe in Excerpt 51 how PRA's two redirections of gaze indexes different objects central to their unfolding interaction. In lines 42 and 44, PRA orients to the on-screen manuscript as a source for progressivity. Again, the object that they are working on is also the object which guides the sequential outcome of the present interaction. They have now reached a specific point in the manuscript, which requires them to attend to a particular work task. Thus, J1A's past actions of co-writing with others the current on-screen manuscript and his actions of collecting from G1A and from the media archive different types of audiovisual resources come to restrict variety of choices in the present.

Excerpt 50. Co-locating a relevant visual resource.




45 (1.0)
2
VEA LOOKS AT THE ON-SCREEN MANUSCRIPT...
46 VEA: j::: y:::
3
PRA LOOKS AT THE VIDEO EDITING MONITOR...
46 VEA: a::: es:::
4
VEA LOOKS AT THE VIDEO EDITING MONITOR...
5
... AND DOUBLE-CLICKS ON THE PHOTO OF G1A ON STAGE IN THE BLUE DRESS...
... SO IT BECOMES VISIBLE ON ALL THE VIDEO EDITING MONITORS.
6
SONY



50 (2.1)
51 PRA: så er det bare den der
then it is just that one
52 der skal ind (.) i en BS
there shall into in a BS
you should make into a BS

The manuscript sets up the relevant next activity of choosing audiovisual content for the 'G1Adress' VO, and now PRA expands this task by wanting also to make a 'G1Adress' BS. The pictures and video clips collected by J1A are the ones to choose from, and thus J1A has beforehand provided a semiotic field for remediating G1A's eighties performance. The array of available semiotic resources provided by J1A (and, initially, G1A) now come to source and restrict the range of possible actions which PRA can build. In this way, past actions and decisions now influence the space of possible actions for PRA.

In line 44, PRA accounts for his visual access to the script by stating that his claim in line 42 that 'så::øh:: er der noget G1A kjole' ('then, um, there is something G1A dress') by adding 'kan jeg se' ('I can see') while visibly gazing towards the manuscript on the monitor on his left. This environmentally coupled gesture indexes the on-screen manuscript as a relevant, visual source for progressivity. In panel 2, VEA turns her head and looks at the script as well. Then, in panel 3, PRA redirects his gaze towards the photo files on the video editing suite monitor, thus redirecting attention towards the photos, in which G1A is wearing her Eurovision dress. PRA's shift in gaze from the on-screen manuscript to the

screen makes visible a link between what is still missing in regard to visual fields for the live show and the photos on the computer screen.
Panel 7 demonstrates a further division between two different semiotic systems, namely that of the full-screen monitor and the video editing suite monitor. The full-screen monitor displays what will be visible on the rear wall screen, which is what interests PRA. VEA keeps orienting more towards the video editing suite monitor, which is her primary work monitor. Regarding their individual work tasks, it makes sense that PRA is primarily interested in what the photo will look like on the live show, whereas VEA is more interested in the technicalities of how to make the photo well-suited for the rear wall screen. Interestingly, in Line 48, PRA assesses the photo of G1A on-stage as 'rigtig fed' ('really nice'). Through this assessment, PRA displays a subtle affective stance towards the object of the video. A main task for PRA and VEA is that of (p)rearranging the visual fields provided by J1A in ways, which will help promote 'emotional talk show' talk during the live interview. Thus, when PRA assesses the photo as 'really nice', he anticipates its future use as part of the semiotic ecology of the talk show.

5.3. FINAL REVIEW OF THE SCRIPTS

THE EUROVISION INTERVIEW*

After lunch, there is another review of the manuscript again with H1A, H2A, EDA and PRA. This time, they are joined by the stage director (SDA), the production coordinator (PCA), and the producer assistant (PAA). I filmed this meeting with the PixPro 360 camera, which was placed on a coffee table. As illustrated in Figure 57, the meeting participants are sitting around this table.

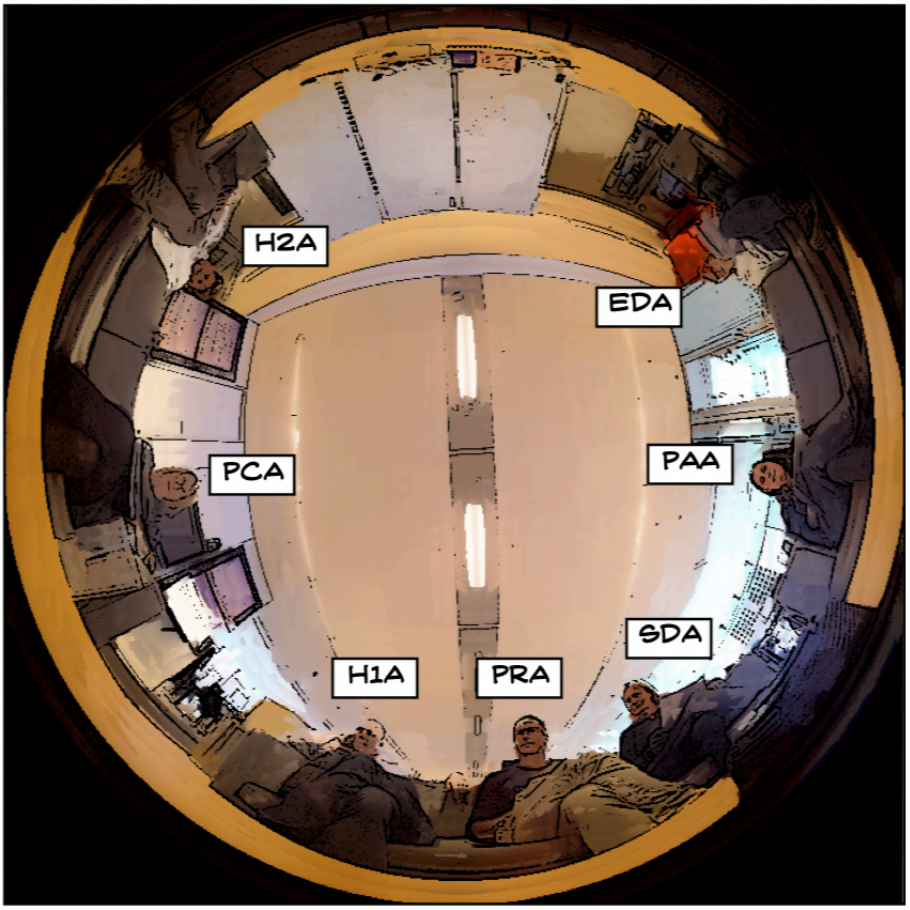


Figure 57 Final review with H2A, SMA, H1A, PRA, PCO, PA and EDA.

Similar to the review done earlier by H1A, H2A, EDA, and PRA, this meeting primarily serves the purpose of bringing SMA, PCO, and PA up-to-speed with the status of different semiotic resources at this point. PRA uses the opportunity to present and further develop in plenum the audiovisual elements that he and VEA have pre-produced for the live interview. He primarily direct his talk about the Eurovision interveiw to H1A as he is the one who will be conducting the interview during the show (Figure 58). The rest of the group is constructed as 'ratified listeners' (Goffman, 1981) through the volume of PRA's voice and his occasional swift shifts in gaze from H1A towards the others. These swift glanfes are primarily towads H2A and EDA. This makes perfect sense as they are key actors here: To this point, EDA has held a strong position in the co-creation of the semiotic resources as she is the one who insisted (and had the authority to insist) that 'we have to hear a bit of their songs' (Excerpt 29). The hosts are the ones who will eventually play a main part in reassembling the semiotic fields that have been created over the two days of work into vivid, reflexive, accumulative actions during the live talk show interaction.



Figure 58 Final review unfolded.

Excerpt 51. AS-BS-G1ADRESS rearticulated.

157	når så det er
	then when
158	I taler om alt det andet specifikke
	you talk about all that other specific stuff
159	med kjoler (.)

about dresses

160 så kommer der v o er
Then come there VO's
then there are VO's

161 rigtig gode v o er
really good VO's

162 altså af de der ting i nævner
you know with the things you mention

163 kjole og:: alt muligt ↑ik
dress and all that, right?

164 og hvis vi skal forlænge snakken
and if we have to prolong the talk

165 så har jeg også (.)
then I also have

166 de samme (.) billeder til at lægge på bagskærmen
the same photos for the backscreen

167 for eksempel G1As kjole og så videre
for example G1A's dress and such

It is interesting to see how PRA prefigures the future task of doing talk show talk as an activity where (inter)actions and work-relevant objects are interwoven and interdependent. The fact that PRA has 'de samme billeder til at lægge på bagskærmen, for example, G1A's kjole og så videre' ('the same photos for the backscreen, for example, G1A's dress and such') (lines 166-167) is closely related to the possibility of 'forlænge snakken' (prolonging the talk') (line 164). In Danish, one cannot know for sure whether PRA implies that, if they choose to prolong the live talk, he has some photos to put on the backscreen or whether he means that prolonging the talk can happen only because he has these pictures. This ambiguity is quite interesting here because it further complicates the classic sociological dichotomy between agency and structure.

5.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have seen how parts of the semiotic ecologies for the live shows are meticulously reworked through practices of anticipation, projection, and resemiotisation in order to cultivate their action-relevant properties. Scollon and Scollon (2004) find that whenever a resemiotisation occur 'there tends to be a certain irreversibility which make it easier for actions to go forward rather than to return and reconsider' (p. 172). The manuscript has been demonstrably treated as a key nexus of decisions and understandings, and thus is at this point it is increasingly difficult to challenge decisions made and resemiotised on day one. In Goodwin's (2018, p. 391) words, the editorial staff has further transformed 'the world that is the focus of inquiry into the distinctive objects of knowledge that animate its discourse'. A range of newcomers (noticeably H1A, H2A and PRA) have been included in the work of resemiotising 'talk show' interaction. This addition to the original group working on the two interviews have required practices of 'handing over' semiotic resources (e.g. Excerpts 32, 34, 40, 41, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 54 and 55). Most often, this 'handing over' includes a resemiotisation of the semiotic resource as its action-relevant properties is rearticulated to the newcomer in order to explain why this particular resource, rather than others, is mobilised at a certain point in order to promote a sequential outcome.

Pre-producing and cultivating the affect-prompting properties of the semiotic ecologies for the live shows continues to be the main task of the staff. Again, the editorial choices of how to semiotically charge the resources that they are working on are negotiated through displays of affective and (dis)affiliative stances: Through their locally situated verbal and embodied stances towards these current interactional structures of 'the interviews', the staff members draw on past experience and expectations for things to come in order to argument for specific reworkings of the at-hand semiotic resources. These resources are not opportunistic, but rather designed purposefully to be taken up by the hosts (and, thus, by the guests) and transformed again anew into greater, accumulative, co-operative actions during the live show. Specifically, they are co-created to render affectivity a sequentiable matter on a time scale, which spans beyond the series of 'locally' situated now's across which they started to emerged. Through 'cycles of transformation from discourse to objects to new discourses and new objects' (Scollon and Scollon, 2004, p. 181), these semiotic resources have repeatedly been anticipated and

reworked with the aim of cultivating their ability to intensify affective stances with the guests. On this second day of work, new actions have started to emanate from these resources. E.g., VEA and J1A (and later VEA and PRA) are enabled to co-operatively rework the audiovisual semiotic fields for the live show on the basis of resources that were introduced to the semiotic ecology of 'the interview' on the day before.

CHAPTER 6. THE LIVE TELEVISED TALK SHOWS

6.1. DOING 'TALK SHOW' INTERACTION

A main part of making participants visible as someone who are engaging in the activity of doing interview interaction is that of having one or more persons, the interviewer(s), asking questions to which one or more persons, the interviewee(s), provide adequate answers. These contributions are part of publicly 'doing' being acquaintances and, importantly they are for the most part mediated by the pre-produced, in-studio semiotic ecology of the interview. As such, in the terminology of Sacks (1994, p. 257), they serve the purpose of demonstrating that 'my mind is with you'. At the same time, they display what Goodwin (1984) calls 'story appreciation'. According to Goodwin, in mundane everyday storytelling, this type of appreciation often consists of 'questions, agreements, and laughter or other emotions'. This pre-allocation of turns provides a basic sequential structure for conducting interview interaction and promotes a clear asymmetry between the interviewer and the interviewee(s). However, whereas the news interviewer commonly uses this asymmetry as leverage in adversarial questioning of, for example, politicians, talk show hosts deploy a different approach. The fact that the editorial staff insists on calling their interviewees 'guests' speaks volumes about how the show deals with the asymmetry between the in-studio participants. As we shall see in this chapter, the host often co-constructs the affective properties of their guests' narratives by deploying a variety of interactional contributions. This claim is in line with Loeb's (2015) observation that in modern American talk shows 'congeniality' and 'personal engagement' characterise the interviewer as opposed to the news interviewer's adversarial questions and neutral stance.

In the media interview, the most common type of adjacency pairs is question-answer constellations. These are 'pre-allocated' (Atkinson &

Drew, 1979) as part of the asymmetry between the roles of the interviewer and the interviewee.[26]

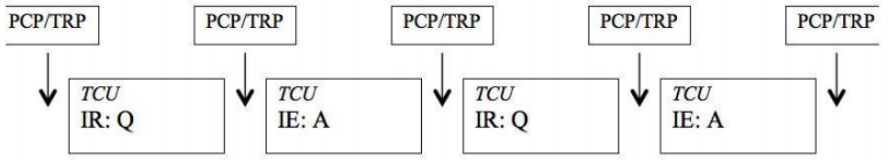


Figure 59 The media interview turn-type pre-allocation (Larsen 2016).

Interviewer and interviewee can (and often do) set aside this turn-type pre-allocation in order to achieve specific interactional goals, that is, through aggressive interventions or minimal response on the interviewer's part or when the interviewee starts producing counter-questions (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Departing from the pre-allocation in different ways often makes the interaction looks more like a 'private conversation', or even a quarrel than an interview (Clayman & Heritage 2002; Larsen 2016; Schegloff 1988/89). The 'neutral' news interviewer seeks to 'strike a balance between the journalistic norms of impartiality and adversarialness' (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 188).[27] Interestingly, in line with Loeb's (2017) observation that hosts in celebrity talk shows display 'congeniality' and 'personal engagement', the hosts of the talk show presented in my data employ several conversational devices that make the host and guests seem more familiar than they are.

To maintain a 'neutralistic' stance, news interview interviewers generally refrain from producing backchannels or third-turn evaluation actions (Hutchby, 2006). On the contrary, as we shall see, the talk show host continuously produces feedback in the shape of minimal response and continuers ranging from subtle nods and 'm↑m's to affiliative stances and empathic receipts (Hepburn and Potter, 2007). Stivers (2008) claims that nodding conveys affiliation while 'mh' conveys alignment.

[26] Interestingly though, according to Garfinkel (2008, p. 137), 'The notion of role, for example, is such a device for removing slabs of time from the flow of actual experience and thingifying the slabs so as to present them for orderly description'.

[27] For an elaborate discussion on the neutrality of journalists, see Clayman 1988; Clayman & Heritage 2002; Forde 2012; Nielsen 2001; and Schegloff 1988/89.

According to Stivers, in story-telling, an aligning response displays an understanding that the particular activity of telling a story is taking place whereas an affiliative response displays affiliation with the teller's stance (p. 34). Thus, through her/his actions, the host plays an active role in the construction of the story (see also Goodwin, 1984). Additionally, the host makes no effort to hide the fact that (s)he already knows what answers, most often structured as anecdotes, the guests will produce in response to particular questions. Thus, the interviewer asks questions which overtly anticipate a preferred second pair part. Interestingly, these anticipatory actions emanate from–and reuse with transformation again anew–the in-studio semiotic ecology that they are lodged within.

A key argument of this dissertation is that knowing more about this processual editorial work makes for a deeper understanding of how particular types of live talk show interactions are organised. As such, I suggest that what we see on TV emanates the (inter)actions of predecessors–and that we can analytically benefit from knowing more about how a sequence of interaction comes to be sequentiable in the first place. Analogous to Iedema's (2001) study on creating the architectural structures for building a new hospital wing, through practices of anticipation and resemiotisation the editorial staff has transformed initial ideas into well-tailored structures for interaction. Now, it is time to see, then, what it is like to co-inhabit and constitute as relevant resources for interaction these pre-produced, semiotic fields.

Hutchby (2006, p. 18) points to three key features of broadcasted talk:

1. Broadcasted talk adopts elements of everyday conversation as part of its overarching communicative ethos;
2. Broadcast talk is nevertheless different from ordinary conversation by virtue of being an institutional form of discourse that exists at the interface between public and private domains of life;
3. Broadcast talk is a specific type of institutional discourse because it is directed at an overhearing audience separated from the talk's site of production by space and, frequently, by time.

The last feature is interesting in the scope of this dissertation because the lack of a live audience means that there are no (dis)affiliative crowd responses during the interviews. Therefore, the host cannot rely on a rooting crowd to help elicit affective stances with the guests (see, e.g., Hutchby (2006) on the participatory work of the crowd in different talk

show settings). Instead, the host's role in promoting audiovisually available affective moments for TV is highly dependent on the guests' willingness to perform displays of affect. In practice, promoting affective stances with the guests during the interview is a matter of co-creating first pair parts, which will provoke affective response and/or stances as second pair parts.

During the live interview, the co-construction of meaning and the constitution of the material world become inseparable parts of doing talk show talk, demonstrably intertwined at every moment of interaction. In the scope of this dissertation, it is especially interesting to see how the materialities created to manage and restrict variety in the sequential structures of the talk show interview are transformed into action-relevant objects *in situ*. In the live transformation of action-relevant materials, it becomes clear(er) how the resemiotisation of affect is largely about the process of creating the objects rather than the objects *per se*. In other words, as we shall see on several occasions, the talk show interaction is less about what is written on the cue cards or shown on the rear wall screen and more about the process of putting together the semiotic assemblage that is the talk show. Therefore, rather than considering, say, the cue cards ahistorical objects, it makes sense to see how they 'lend their stability' to recollection (Middleton & Brown 2005).

The setting of the live production of the talk show is fairly similar to that presented by Broth (2009): The live studio and the control room are distant spaces of interaction. As such, the control room personnel have to make sense of what happens in the studio based on what they can see on the monitor screens and hear on the control room speakers. Most media interviews make perfect sense 'on their own', that is, without the viewers having any deep knowledge about the invisible productional means of what they view on-screen (e.g., Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Hutchby, 2006; Nielsen, 2001; Raudaskoski, 2011). Since most people regularly encounter different sorts of mass media products, we rarely find ourselves puzzled by the format of a television programme. However, the sameness of a mass media format is not found in the spatial or material properties of, say, a studio. Rather, it is through the accumulative actions performed by the present participants that these exo-somatic resources come to be part of a greater, interactional whole. Following Garfinkel (1991, in Broth, 2009, p. 1998), I thus treat the spatiality of the talk show studio as a members' phenomenon in order to see how the participants 'reflexively shape space for the practical purposes of their

actions' (Broth, 2009, p. 1998). In a similar sense, the objects of the broadcast studio become semiotic resources as they are deployed and co-constructed as part of the effortful joint task of doing talk show interaction.

An interesting aspect of the talk show interview is that, as with most media interviews, the guests' answers are already known by the hosts. The talk show interaction, however, is structured as a first time through– and thus the hosts must react accordingly with different types of surprise tokens (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006) in suitable places of the ongoing sequential organisation of interaction.[28] As with most scripted talk (see Hazel 2018), cue cards only provide information about the verbal content of the hosts' turns-of-talk. Other embodied interactional features—gaze, gesture, prosody, and more—that are crucial resources in a live televised setting are unscripted. Therefore, similar to what Elisabeth Burns (1972, p. 32, in Hazel 2018) observes in her work on theatre actors realising manuscripts on stage, the resemiotisation of the cue cards heavily relies on the hosts' ability to *'authenticate conventions'*.

In his 2008 paper on the 'listening shot' in television production, Broth shows how the close-up shot of one participant listening to another participants turn-of-talk makes relevant the listening party's reactions to 'what she or he—as well as the audience—hears' (p. 70). Witnessing the (inter)actions in the control room, the producer regularly shifts between three different camera angles: 'full', 'three', and 'close-up X', meaning 'all participants', 'the three guests, and 'close-up of a particular participant'. The close-up shot is particularly interesting in seeing how affect is resemiotised through the ongoing unfolding of events, as it reveals the interactional work that is being put into doing embodied and verbal 'listening'. However, the unseen actions of the participants during the live broadcast are as much part of the production as what is presented to the viewers on-screen. From a 360-degree camera in the ceiling of the live studio, we get further visible access to a lot of interactional features, which are invisible to the viewers as they cannot see all of the studio participants at all time due to changing camera angles. In other words, although the viewers cannot see the host at all times, his/her actions will affect the emerging organisation of the interaction.

[28] I wonder if this is a reason why the hosts are not the ones who conduct the pre-interviews.

In this chapter, I will analyse the live resemiotisation of the three semiotic resources: The audiovisual depictions of G1A in her blue/green dress, the inappropriate touch, and the closing question. In relation to the live deployment of the VO and the BS with G1A, a lot of interesting work is being done in the control room. Therefore, it makes sense to briefly introduce this highly complex setting.

Mathias Broth (2009) introduces the control room as a 'vantage point' and a 'centre of coordination' (p. 2001). The control room personnel are the ones who can see what the viewers will eventually see. The personnel perform specific individual tasks. The sound engineer controls the audio I/O. The two video technicians are responsible for colour grading and preparing the right non-live visual materials for the producer to select during the live broadcast.

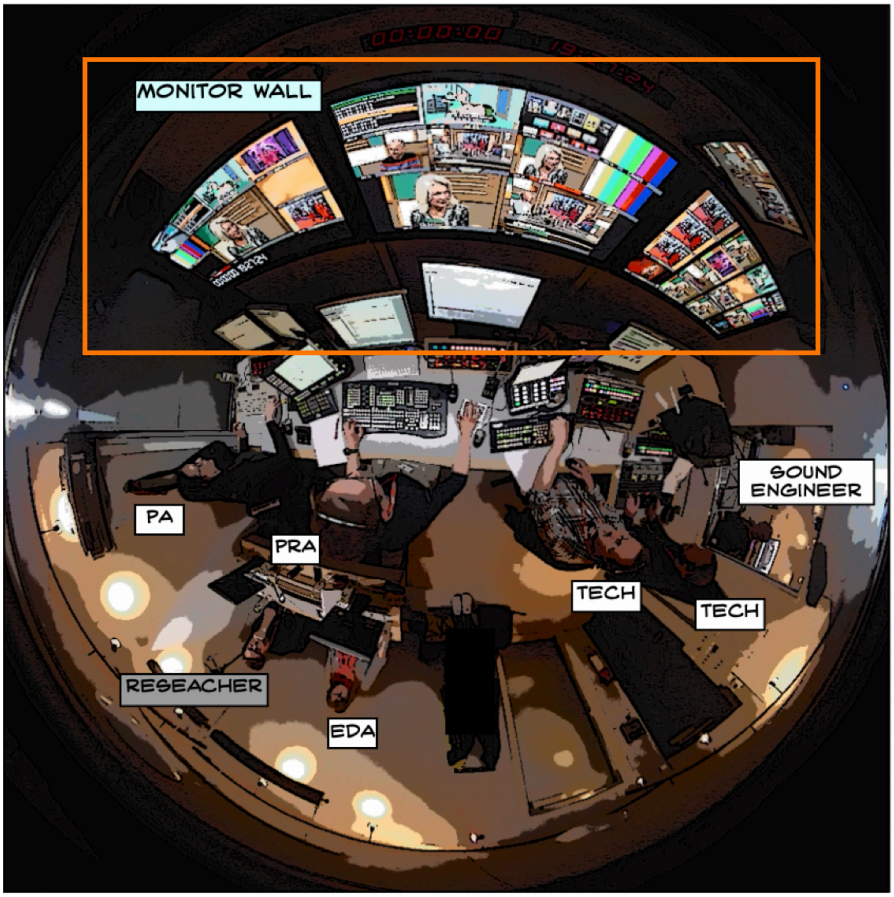


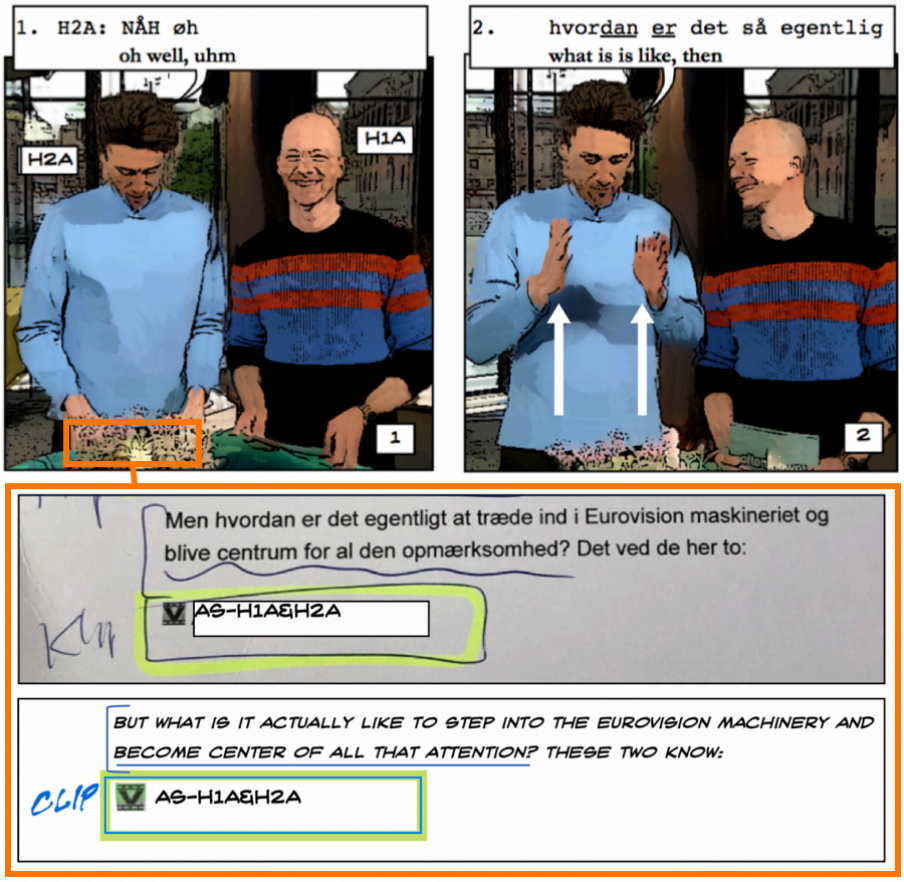
Figure 60 The control room.

The producer (PRA/B) is responsible for coordinating the movements of the three in-studio camera operators and for shifting between the different shots of these cameras as well as for the overall appearance of the show to the viewers. The producer assistant (PAA/B, PBA/B) is responsible for timing each part of the show and thus for keeping track of the programme schedule. EDA/B is the emergency line between the control room and the editorial office. Every evening, one journalist remains at the editorial office until the live broadcast is over, in case something is not right in the manuscript.

6.2. THE NON-LIVE AUDIOVISUAL MATERIALS

First, we shall see how the non-live video footage and photos from G1A's eighties performance is deployed as semiotic resources for promoting affectivity during the Eurovision interviews. In Excerpt 52, H2A resemiotises the cue card inscription into an embodied action

Excerpt 52. Live build-up to the audio-visual presentation of G1A and G2A.




3. at træde ind
to step into
3
3. i det her
this
4
3. eurovision (.) m:askineri
eurovision machinery
5
4. (0.4)
CLAP
6
5. H2A: det er noget som vores
that is something that our
7
5. næste to gæster kan tale med om
next two guests can talk about
8

Here, H2A sets two basic premises for the following interaction. First, in lines 2 and 3, he suggests that there is one or more specific feeling(s) related to being a participant in the Eurovision Song Contest. Secondly, in line 5, he makes accountable the choice of guests by presupposing their epistemic access to this feeling and, thus, what the 2017 contestant Annie is going through at the moment. The phrasing 'tale med om' ('talk about') in line 5 is interesting. It is commonly used to mean 'engaging in a conversation about' something. By using this specific wording, H2A emphasises the conversational nature of the talk show. The guests are not there to 'tell' about their experiences, they are there to engage in a conversation about how it feels to become part of 'eurovision-maskineriet' ('the Eurovision machinery').

Although the hosts' introduction to–and thus framing of–the upcoming interview interaction is addressed to the viewers at home, from the 360-degree camera in the studio ceiling (Figure 62), we can see how G1A and G2A also orient towards the hosts' talk.[29]



Figure 61 G1A and G2A orient towards the hosts.

As we know from the format of the news interview, an interviewer can, and often does, produce pre-interview talk to frame the type of talk that

[29] The frame grab in Figure 40 is from the same moment as is depicted in Figure 40, panel 8.

follows (Clayman and Heritage 2002). Thus, although the introduction primarily serves the purpose of providing the viewers with an introduction to the up-coming interview interaction, it also functions as a reminder to the guests of what type of 'talk show' interaction that they are expected to co-produce.

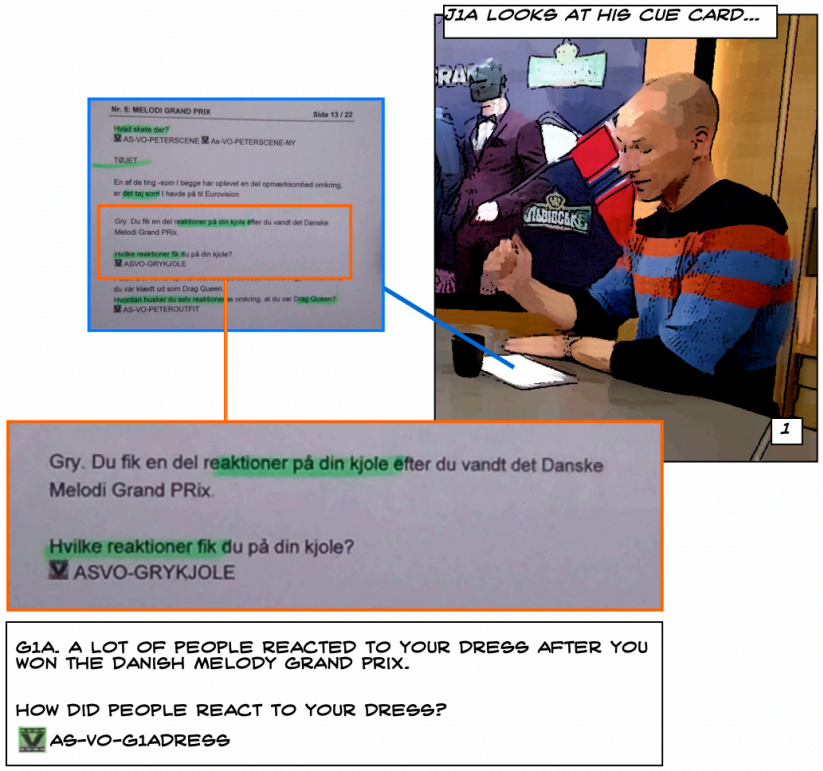


Figure 62 Introducing the guests.

As planned, the guests are introduced through the means of non-live video montages with footage from their performances. As we saw in Chapters 4 and 5, the choice to represent the two guests in this way is a product of a chain of decision-makings and resemiotisations reaching back to the very first minutes of the initial morning meeting on which

the structures for the interview were first discussed. During this VO, H1A walks from the pillar in the middle of the studio to the table where G1A and G2A are seated (Figure 63, panels 1-3). From the in-studio 360-degree camera, we can see how both guests and H1A look at the rear wall screen, where video footage of G1A's eighties performance is playing (panel 4). It is important to notice this co-orientation towards the footage of G1A's performance in the eighties.

Excerpt 53. Resemiotising G1A's dress.







80 G1A: ∪ja∪
yes

We know by now that this particular resource has been continuously resemiotised: from J2A's initial suggestion that they make some small eighties thing (Excerpt 4), over days of rearticulating and remediating the idea, including discussions about whether it should even be included in the introduction (Excerpt 34) and difficulties in finding suitable footage at a high enough resolution because of the tapes having been recorded

over (Excerpts 36 and 38). Now, on a shorter time-scale, the video footage comes first to serve the purpose of introducing G1A and, a few minutes later, it comes to mediate the accumulative action of asking a question (Excerpt 54).

This action is interesting because it involves an object that is no longer visible in the studio. In line 77, panel 2, H1A makes a verbal reference to what they 'lige så' ('just saw') while making a hand gesture through which he indexes the rear wall screen as the referent of his talk. G1A responds to this embodied referential work by swiftly redirecting her gaze towards the screen. When she sees that 'the' object that H1A is referring to is no longer there, she again redirects her orientation towards him in line 80.

Excerpt 54. G1A's answer.

81	H1A:	du fik jo en del reaktioner
		you got (ADV *jo*) quite a few reactions
82		på både kjole og støvler og sådan noget dengang=
		to both dress and boots and things like that back then
83	G1A:	=JA↑ (.)
		yes
84		jamen jeg oplevede jo meget bagefter
		well, afterwards I saw
85		at- øhm::
		how- um.
86		eller (.)
		or
87		DAGen jeg- jeg vandt
		the day after I won
88		der stod der på ekstra bladet
		it said on the fronpage of Ekstra Bladet
89		at jeg rejehoppede mig til sejren
		that I shrimp skipped my way to victory
90		som jo også var en del af den her sejr
		which of course was also a part of this victory
91		og [så-
		and, so-
92	H1A:	[så det er faktisk ekstra bladet
		so, it is Ekstra Bladet
93		[der] kan tage æren for det der beg[reb]
		who came up with that term
94	G1A:	[ja] [↑ja]
		yes **yes**
95	H1A:	[rejehoppet]
		the shrimp skip

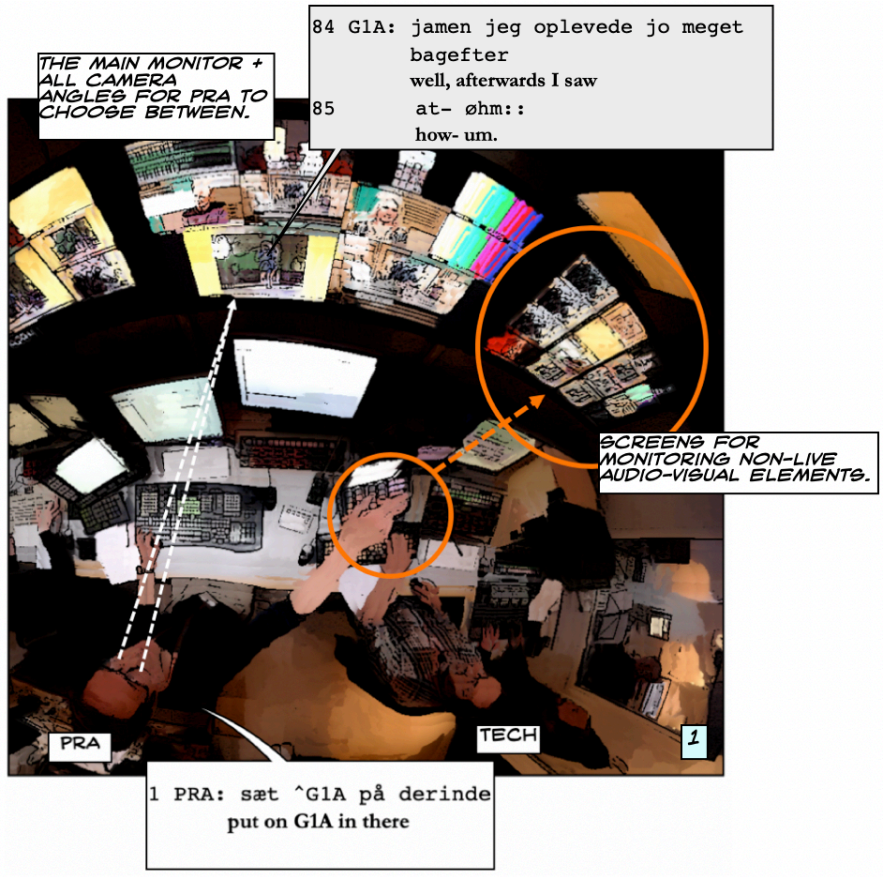
96 G1A: [ja det var] rune kofoed der fandt på ↑det
yes, it was Rune Kofoed who came up with that

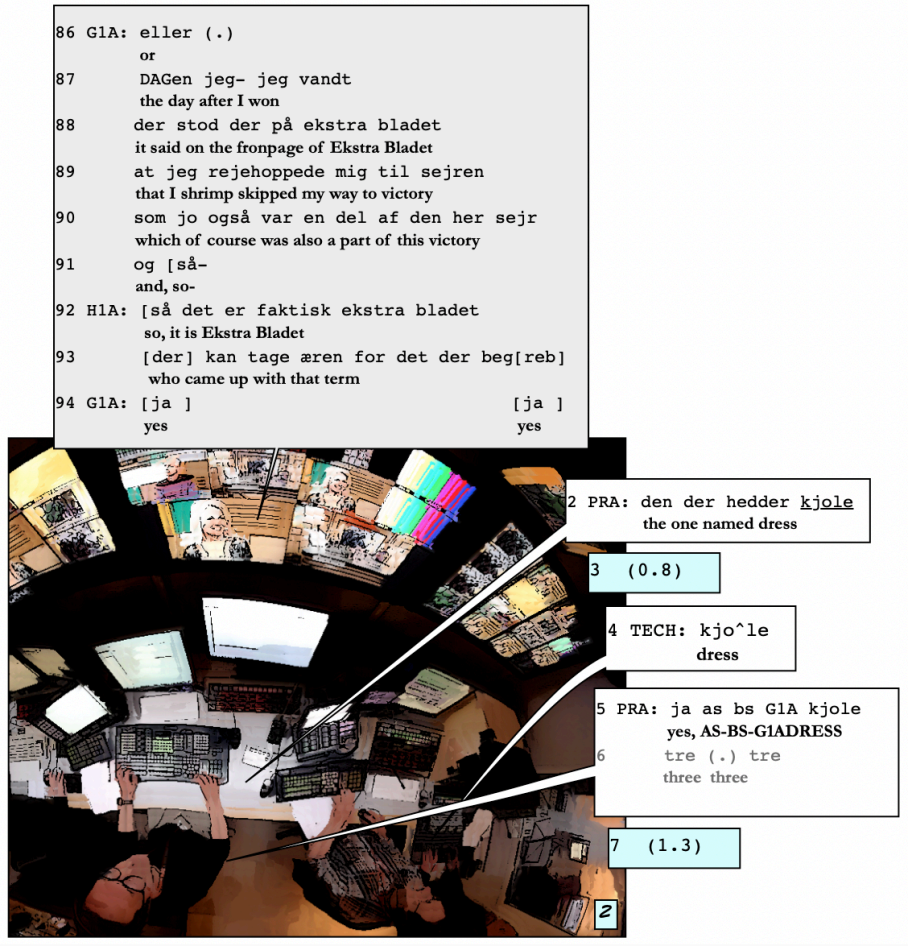
Now, the question as prefigured in H1A's cue card is that of: 'Hvilke reaktioner fik du på din kjole?' ('How did people react to your dress?').[30] However, H1A resemiotises this question as concerning both 'kjole og støvler og den slags' ('dress and boots and things like that'). This ambiguity prompts G1A to initially provide a 'wrong' answer as second pair part. Not wrong in the way that it does not make perfect sense in situ, but wrong in respect to the manuscript. Rather than initially telling the story about how her dress was mass-produced and sold all over Denmark as 'G1A-dresses', G1A starts telling about the shrimp skip. This unplanned departure from J1A's scripted interview requires H1A to change a later question about her dance move (not part of excerpt).

In Excerpt 55 (below), we see what happens in the control room during Excerpt 54. The simultaneous in-studio talk of G1A and H1A is in grey speech balloons. Without looking at the monitor screens of TECH, in panel 1 PRA points in the general direction of these screens as he asks TECH to 'sæt G1A på derinde' ('put on G1A in there'). 'Derinde' ('in there') refers to 'inside the live studio'. In panel 2, line 2, PRA indexes the on-screen file named 'kjole' ('dress') as the object that TECH needs to engage with in order to 'put on G1A' in the studio. After a pause in line 3, in line 4 TECH initiates a turn repair by repeating the word 'kjo↑le' ('dress') with rising intonation mid-word.

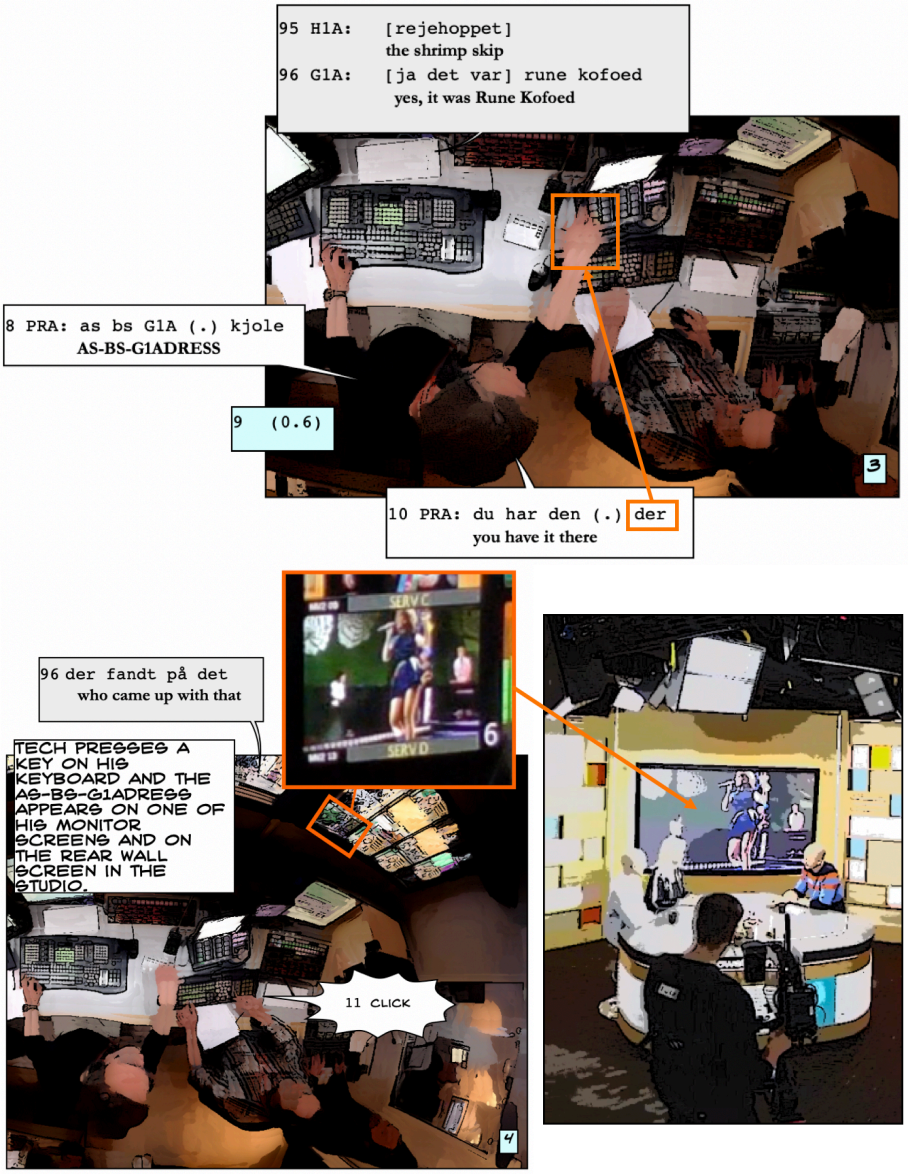
[30] A morpheme-by-morpheme translation is: 'What reactions did you get on your dress?'.

Excerpt 55. G1Adress on the rear wall screen.





In line 5, PRA responds to TECH's repair-initiation by further specifying 'the' relevant object as 'AS-BS-G1ADRESS'. This repair, however, is followed by a pause in which the picture of G1A does not appear on the wall screen. In panel 3 below, PRA deals with this absence of the in-studio, audio-visual semiotic resource by pointing to the file on TECH's computer screen as he utters the word 'der' ('there') in line 10.

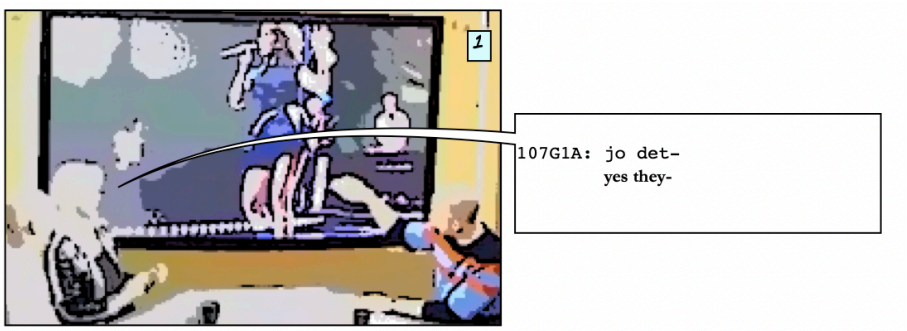


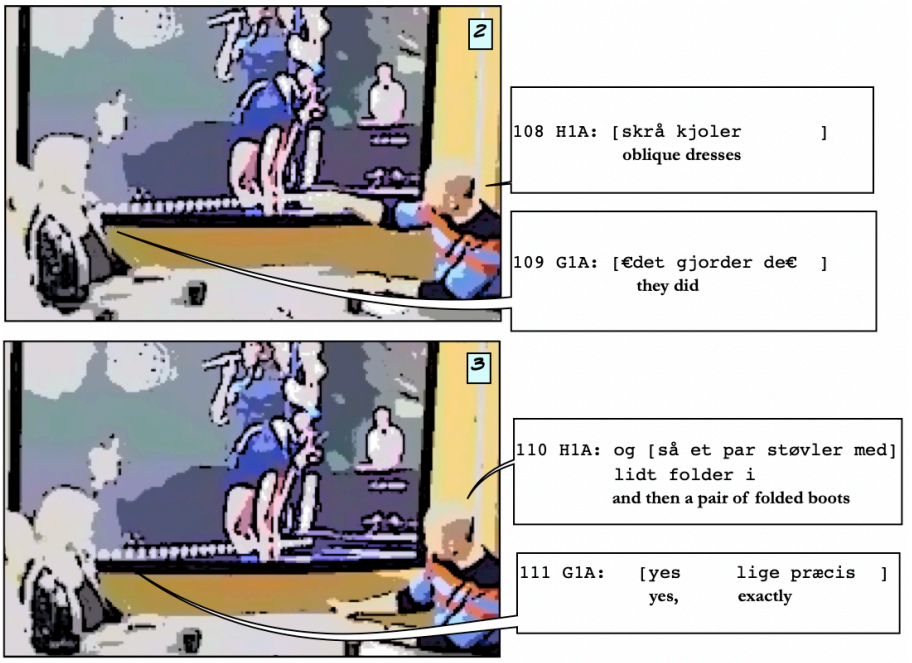
In line 11, TECH presses a key on his keyboard and the AS-BS-G1ADRESS photo appears on his monitor and on the rear wall screen in the studio behind H1A and the guests. In this excerpt, TECH's action makes possible the embodied, environmentally coupled gesture of mapping out G1A's outfit from the eighties. This actions further enables

H1A to provide a relevant 'second story' in lines 140-120 to G1A's 'first story' (Sacks, 1992).

Excerpt 56. That kind of outfit.

97	G1A:	∪og når jeg så var ude og optræde så mødte∪
		and then when I was out performing,
98		alle de der unge piger jo frem i G1A kjoler
		all these young girls came in G1A dresses
99		som de så hed
		as they were called
100		de blev så solgt over- over alt
		you could buy them everywhere
101		i de forskellige byer
		in the different cities
102		jeg kom ud til
		I came to
103		der hang der G1A-kjoler
		there were G1A dresses
104		[.hh det blev øh:-]
		it became um
105	H1A:	[∪man kunne faktisk] se sådan nogle ↑sæt∪
		you could even see these sets
106		nogle steder ↑ik
		some places, right?



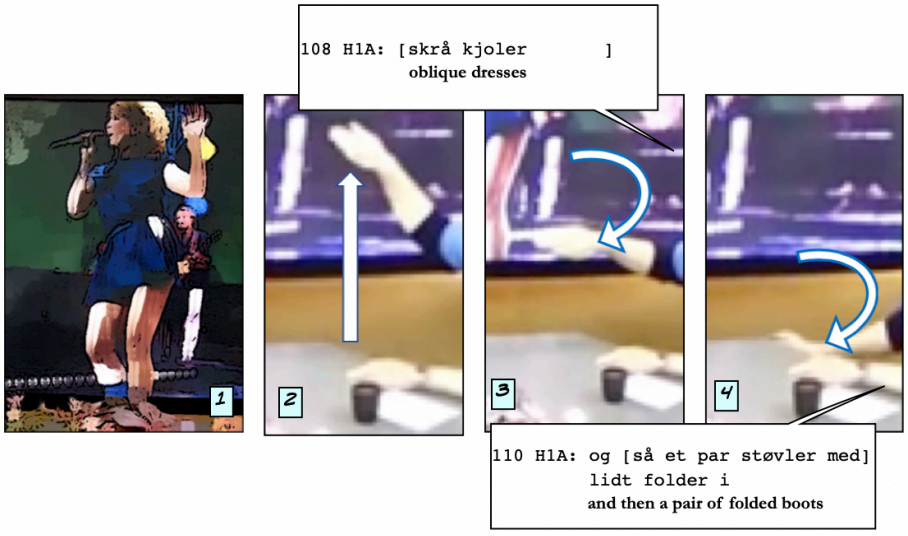


112 ∪i pastelfarver og så med (.)∪
pastel and then
113 [∪med støvler til∪
with boots
114 H1A: [jeg vil så også sige øh:
I must say
115 til de klassefester jeg var til
at the school parties that I attended
116 [i mine] teenageår dengang
when I was a teenager
117 G1A: [heh]
118 H1A: der så jeg da også et par stykker
I also saw a couple
119 G1A: ∪↑JA∪
yeah?
120 H1A: øh af pigerne [(.) i sådan] et outfit der
um of the girls in that kind of outfit
121 G1A: [∪ja (.)ja∪]
yes yes

If we zoom in on H1A's hand gesture in Excerpt 64, panels 1-3, we see how showing AS-BS-G1ADRESS on the rear wall screen enables H1A

to map out visually G1A's outfit by transforming the at-hand semiotic field of the rear wall screen into an action-relevant object.

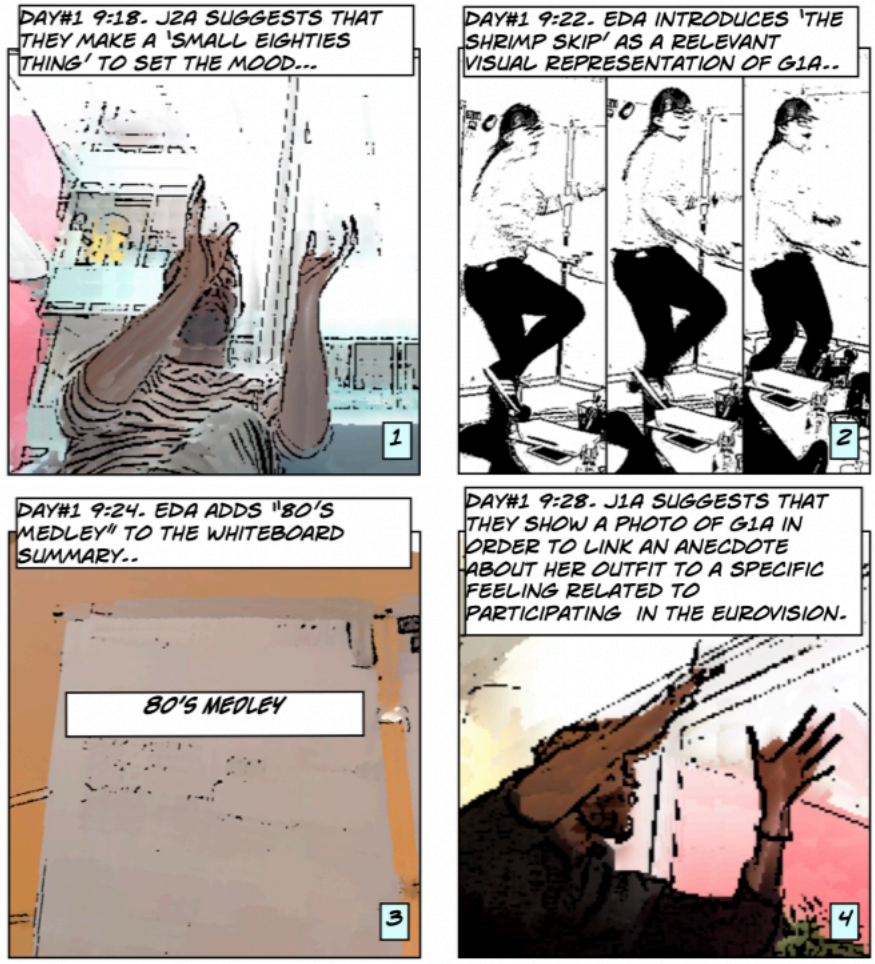
Excerpt 57. H1A's hand gesture in Excerpt 56.



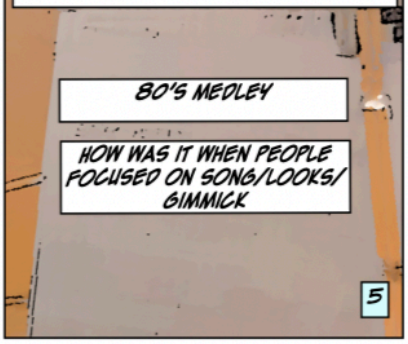
After following the chains of resemiotisation, which has gradually resulted in the presence of this particular picture of G1A during the live show, it is quite fascinating to see how H1A creatively builds with it an unscripted environmentally coupled action. In Excerpt 49, PRA said to VEA that it would be great if this particular photo was on the rear wall screen, when H1A and the guests continue to talk about the dress. Then, in during the final reviews in Excerpt 51, PRA tells H1A that when he talks to the guests about dresses, there will be photo of G1A in her dress on the rear wall screen. And now, there it is. Allowing for H1A to perform a complex, multi-semiotic and multitemporal action, which has been continuously anticipated and resemiotised over two days of work; from J2A's initial idea of making 'a small eighties thing' to this final semiotic resource for doing 'affective talk show' interaction.

Interestingly, H1A's actions are not only entangled with the currently available semiotic resources, but also laminated to 1) the preceding steps of resemiotisation through which the at-hand script and audiovisual fields have been co-created and reworked, and 2) H1A's teenage crush on G1A. Thus, she evokes thus certain past feelings with him, which are now publicly accumulated with reuse to build a nostalgic second story in order to publicly convey that his mind is with her (Sacks, 1992).

Interestingly, the slowly emergence of this resource is only made possible through the step-by-step editorial work on creating the semiotic ecology of the live show. Figure 64 below illustrates main parts of the semiotic cycle of the audio-visual resource from the initial morning meeting to the final show.



DAY#1 9:30. EDA ADDS "HOW WAS IT WHEN PEOPLE FOCUSED ON SONG/LOOKS/ GIMMICK"TO THE WHITEBOARD SUMMARY..



DAY#1 9:58. J1A TRANSFORMS THE MORNING MEETING TALK + HIS WRITTEN NOTES INTO A PRELIMINARY ON-SCREEN MANUSCRIPT..



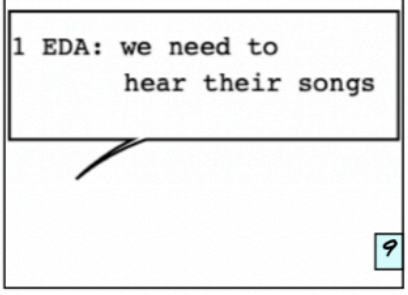
DAY#1 10:14. J1A CONDUCTS A RESEARCH INTERVIEW WITH G1A. BASED ON THIS INTERACTION, J1A CONTINUOUSLY MODIFIES THE SCRIPT...



DAY#1 10:45. G1A SENDS J1A PHOTOS FROM HER PERFORMANCE IN THE DANISH MELODI GRAN PRIX IN THE EIGHTIES..



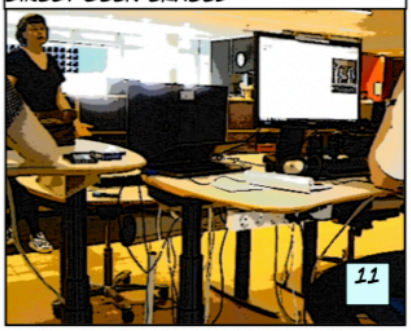
DAY#1 13:02. J1A CONSULTS EDA ABOUT THE INTERVIEW INTRODUCTION, AND (DESPITE J1A'S SILENT OBJECTION) EDA DECIDES THAT:



DAY#1 13:09. J1A RETURNS TO HIS DESK AND ALTERS THE INTRODUCTION IN THE MANUSCRIPT IN ORDER TO MAKE ROOM FOR NON-LIVE VIDEO FOOTAGE FROM THE GUESTS EUROVISION PERFORMANCES..



DAY#1 14:40. J1A IS NOT ABLE TO FIND VIDEO FOOTAGE FROM G1A'S PERFORMANCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINALS. HE ASKS JGA, WHO TELLS HIM THAT THE TAPES HAS MOST LIKELY BEEN ERASED



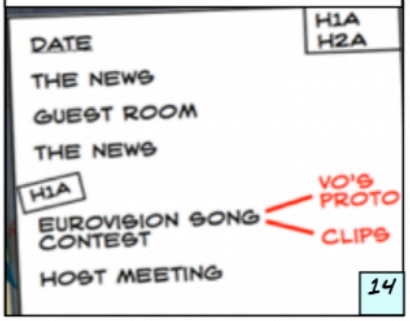
DAY#1 14:45. J1A STARTS LOOKING FOR FOOTAGE FROM G1A'S PERFORMANCE IN THE NATIONAL MELODI GRAND PRIX FROM THE EIGHTIES.



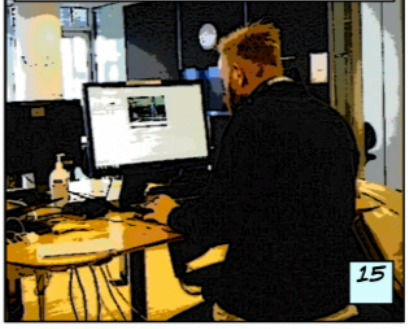
DAY#2, 7:40. J1A GETS TO WORK AND STARTS LOOKING FOR VIDEO FOOTAGE OF G1A'S NATIONAL PERFORMANCE FROM THE EIGHTIES (THE ONE THAT HAS NOT BEEN ERASED)..



DAY#2, 8:30. J1A BRINGS THE OTHER JOURNALISTS AND EDA UP-TO-SPEED WITH THE EUROVISION INTERVIEW. HE STILL NEEDS TO FIND VIDEO FOOTAGE AND MAKE VO'S.. EDA SUMMARISES J1A'S WORK TASKS ON THE WHITEBOARD (IN RED):



DAY#2, 09:00. J1A RETURNS TO HIS DESK. HE FINDS VIDEO FOOTAGE OF G1A AND UPLOADS IT TO THE SHARED SERVER – ALLOWING FOR VEA TO ACCESS IT..



DAY#2, 10:01 AM: EDA AND H1A RE-ENACT G1A'S EIGHTIES PERFORMANCE AS A RELEVANT REPRESENTATION OF G1A.





Figure 63 Chains of resemiotisation: The audio-visual resources.

At this point it is fruitful to get some sense of the entire process of re-semiotisation including the following points of transformation:

1. In the morning meeting on day one, J2A introduces the idea of 'a small eighties thing'.
2. EDA introduces the shrimp skip as a relevant, embodied re-enactment of G1A's performance from the eighties.
3. EDA summarises J2A's suggestion on the whiteboard as '80's medley'.
4. J1A suggests that they show a picture of G1A.
5. EDA summarises J1A's suggestion on the whiteboard as 'How was it when people focused on song/looks/gimmick.
6. J1A makes a preliminary on-screen manuscript on the basis of his written notes and their preceding meeting talk.
7. J1A conducts the research interview with G1A where he asks G1A if she has any visual materials from the time around her performance in the eighties.
8. J1A receives a photo from G1A on his phone.
9. EDA insists that 'we need to hear [the guests] songs' during the live talk show.
10. J1A alters the manuscript to include non-live video footage from the two guests' performances.
11. J1A cannot find any video footage from G1A's performance in the international Eurovision. Another journalist, J6A informs him that in the eighties, tapes were often recorded over and re-used. So, the footage might not exist.
12. J1A continues looking for video footage of G1A's performance in the preliminary national rounds of the song contest.
13. Next day, J1A continue looking for the video footage of G1A.
14. In the morning meeting on day two, J1A tells the group that he still needs to find video footage of G1A's performance and to make the photos that he received from G1A useable for television production. EDA summarises this work task as: 'VO's proto' and 'clips'.
15. J1A finds the video footage of G1A from the national melody grand prix and saves it to the shared server of the editorial office, allowing for VEA to access it.
16. EDA and H1A co-introduce the shrimp skip as a relevant re-enactment of G1A's performance to H2A.

17. J1A shows VEA the photos of G1A on his phone and suggests which photo to use when during the live talk show.
18. J1A and VEA makes a VO with G1A's eighties performance.
19. PRA and VEA makes a BS with G1A's eighties performance.
20. PRA introduces the VO and the BS to the production team, which, importantly, includes H1A.
21. and 22. H1A builds creative, accumulative, environmentally coupled actions sourced by and implementing the two audio-visual semiotic fields in order to promote affective talk show interaction.

Each of these 22 points represents complex, multimodal and multitemporal practices of anticipating and projecting a possible future outcome of the final, live talk show interaction. Also, they are all sourced and restricted by prior (inter)actions that are displaced in a variety of exosomatic, semiotic resources, which are competently recycled and unpacked through different embodied, multi-semiotic co-operative actions.

6.3. PRIMETIME SEXUAL HARASSMENT

As Clayman and Heritage (2002, p. 301) observe, in the opening sequence of a media interview, the interviewer can frame the following talk as conflictive—even before the first question has been asked. This preliminary topicalisation of certain specific issues helps set the scene for what follows. The camera locates H1B by the pillar in the middle of the studio. Here, she starts introducing the sexual harassment panel interview by presenting a story about how a Danish female politician has experienced an abusive episode at a political rally. Notice, in Excerpt 6 below how space is managed in order to anticipate that H2B will soon be joining H1B. Rather than having H1B in the centre of the shot, the camera operator places her in the left side of the frame, leaving the right half empty for H2B. H1B shows to the camera today's edition of the Danish newspaper 'Berlingske' while introducing the panel debate.

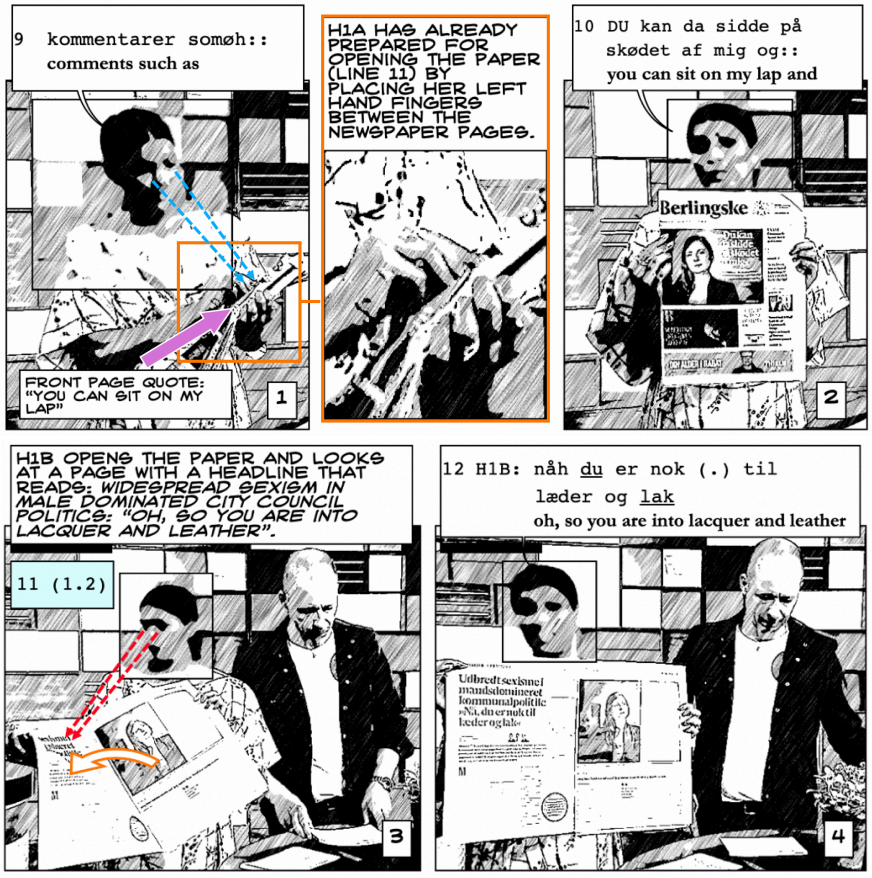


Figure 64 H1B introduces the sexual harassment interview.

Excerpt 58. Topicalising sexual harassment.

1	H1B:	så tager vi lige lidt af et emne skifte
		now to a completely different topic
2		fordi de sidste par da::ge
		because for the last couple of days

3 der har man kunne se artikler
there have been articles
4 og indslag i medierne om
and media features about
5 .hh kvindelige ↑Byrådspolitikere
female city council politicians
6 som følger sig udsat for (.)
who feel exposed to
7 ↑sexchikane
sexual harassment
8 det kan for eksempel være med
it might be, for example



H2A's use of the newspaper is interesting, as this object becomes a mediational means in the task of bringing into the present a tangible proof to support the timeliness of tropicalising sexual harassment at the work-

place suggested in lines 3 and 4. Further flexibility of this object is particularly visible from lines 9 to 12, where H2A uses it to produce a shift in footing to animate the written accounts of the female politicians from the cited newspaper text. H1B prefigures this shift in footing by placing her left index finger between the newspaper pages where the article on sexual harassment is. These intersemiotic shifts are ways of making publicly available the personal accounts of the sexual harassment victims. However, by introducing sexual harassment as something that the female politicians 'føler sig udsat for' ('feel exposed to') (line 6), H1B departs from the cue card manuscript (Figure 65).

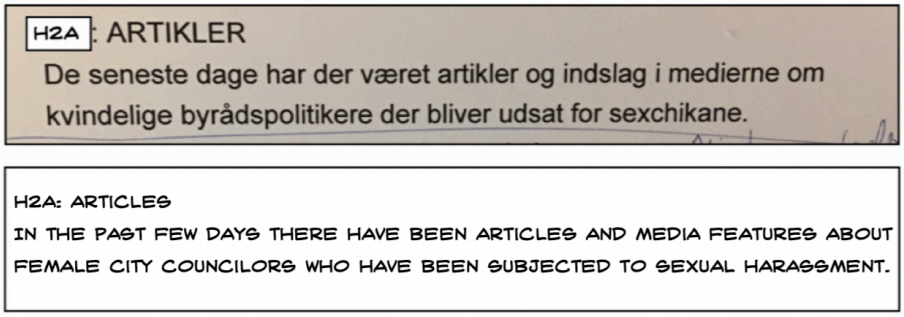


Figure 65 Original cue card (translated).

This modification is interesting, because it affects the space of possibilities of the following talk show talk. Through H2A's act of resemiotising the cue card manuscript, she questions the factual validity of the sexual harassment accusations made by the female politicians. There is a rather substantial difference between the cue card inscription 'politicians who *are* exposed to sexual harassment' and H2B's 'unpacking' of this line as 'politicians who *feel* exposed to sexual harassment. Although she is blissfully ignorant about what comes next, H1B is interesting here, because her ambiguous presentation of sexual harassment as something that exists primarily as an intrapersonal experience–as opposed to a definable type of action, plays a crucial part in setting up the sequential environment for the following activity. In panel 3, H2B joins H1B. He is looking at his cue card, on which before the live show he has drawn a red star after his own scripted lines (Figure 66).

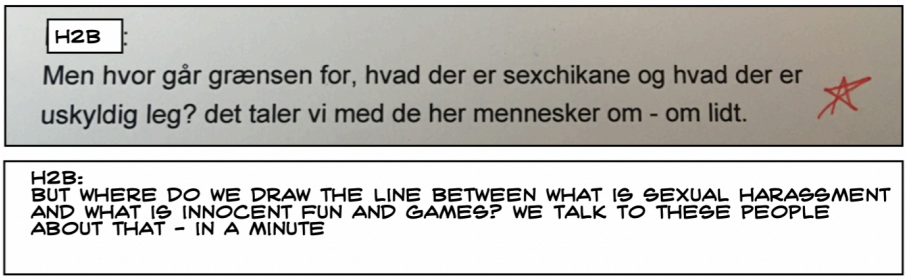


Figure 66 A red star on H2B's cue card.

At this point, this red star could mean anything. Interestingly, though, this symbol does not have fewer properties than other types of resemiotised materials. The ambiguity of this small, red star provides H2B with a wider space of interactional possibilities than, say, a line of text or a pre-produced video montage. This is due to its 'constitutional indifference' (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p, 215).

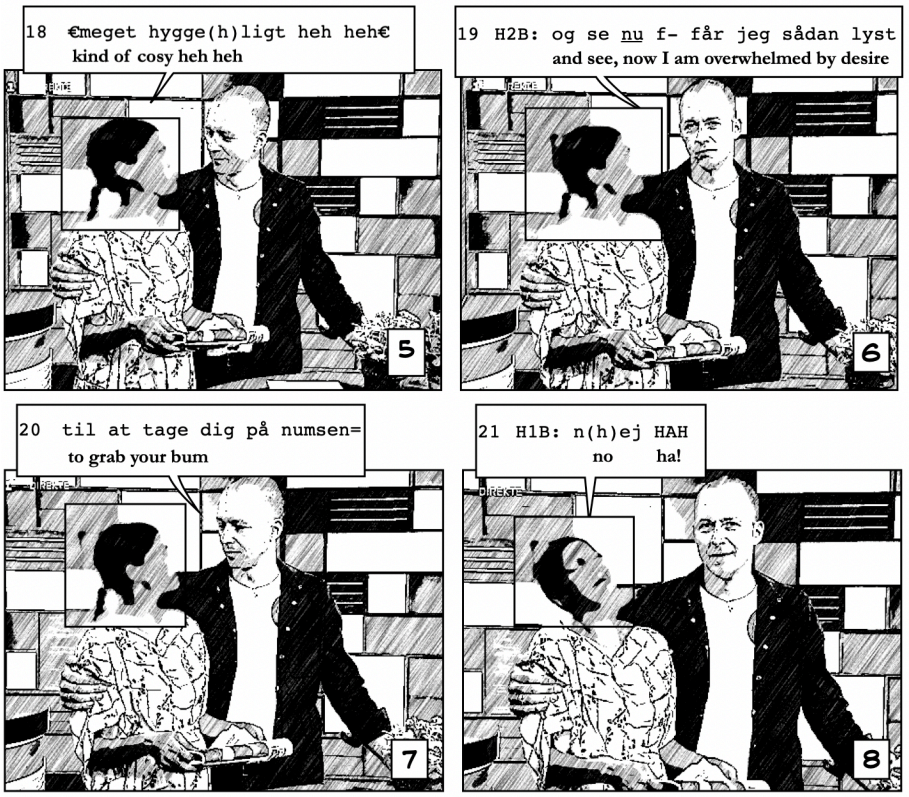
In Excerpt 59, panels 3 and 4, H2B is looking at his cue card with the red star. In Excerpt 3, H2B departs from the business of introducing the interview to the viewers and instead turns his attention to H1B and her thoughts on the issue of sexual harassment.

Excerpt 59. Resemitising a red star.

12 H2B: .hhh MENøh::
but ehm



At the end of line 14, H2B shifts his gaze from the camera to H1B and makes eye contact with her. With this shift in gaze, H2B reorienting his attention to H1B as the 'intended recipient' (Goodwin, 1979) of his following question in lines 13 and 14.



After making eye contact with H1B, H2B puts his right arm around her in line 15 (panel 3) and holds her firmly in a side hug. By manipulating H1B's body, H2B transforms what initially seemed to be a general question (lines 13 and 14) into a personal one. Since the interviewer typically acts on behalf of the interests of the viewers (Hutchby, 2006), turning his attention to H1B, H2B also turns the attention of the viewers towards her. H2B keeps his body positioned with its front towards the camera in order to make the incident visible to the viewers at home with the aim to publicly stage and display an observable affective stance with H1B. This embodied enactment of sexual harassment performed by H2B followed by H1B's immediate bodily display of perplexity in panel 3 including her subsequent '◡heh◡' in line 16 suggests that H1B does not expect this incident to happen. Although H1B's affective reaction is not vocalised as a 'surprise token' response to preceding talk (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), it is displayed as a bodily deployment of surprise (Goodwin, 2002) coupled with the '◡heh◡', followed by a verbal assessment in lines 17 and

18 evaluating the incident as 'hyggelig' ('cosy'). Through his embodied resemiotisation of the red star, H2B seeks to make visible to the viewers the line between 'innocent play' and sexual harassment. Thus, by portraying sexual harassment as potentially a 'cosy' and laughable matter, H2B and (involuntarily) H1B downgrade the abusive character of real-life harassment and trivialises the upcoming panel debate entirely.

Thus, although H2A's cue cards do not contain a red star, she quickly becomes part of the unpacking of this symbol by producing laughter in lines 16, 18, and 21. From the first 'heh' in line 16, H2A's laughter intensifies until it culminates in the 'HAH' in line 21. H2A's introduction in lines 1-12 introduces sexual harassment as a serious matter, yet H2B succeeds in constituting physical (panel 3) and hypothetical (lines 19-20) harassment as laughables to which H2A produces laughter as relevant second pair parts (Holt 2012). This introduction is interesting because, as we shall see, the red star on H2B's cue card has been given its action-relevant properties from the range of previous editorial discussions and reworkings of the incident over the past two days. Thus, the apparent 'unpacking' of a red star into an act of doing sexual harassment is perhaps better described as an act of recycling prior interactions in the momentary now.

From the moment that the inappropriate touch was first introduced during the morning meeting on day one, it has remained an unscripted semiotic resource in order not to spoil the element of surprise. As stated by J3A in the morning meeting on day two, the act is not supposed to be staged. In order for it to remain 'non-staged', H1B cannot know anything about it until it happens. It is quite interesting to see, how the idea that 'H2B should slap H1B on the ass out by the kitchenette' is transformed and resemiotised step-by-step into a sideways hug, which, according to H2B is better suited for the 'rules' of the talk show. Only through analysis of these steps as a chronologically occurring, lived order are we able to see how the initial idea eventually becomes the 'final', accumulative embodied action that we see on live TV.

Figure 67 below illustrates main parts of the semiotic cycle of the inappropriate touch from the initial morning meeting to the final show.


DAY#1 9:30. EDB ASKS J2B TO ELABORATE ON A STORY BROUGHT BY BERLINGSKE THAT ONE IN FOUR FEMALE CITY COUNCILORS HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT AT WORK...
Berlingske
1
DAY#1 9:37. J2B INTRODUCES 'SMACKING A FEMALE HOST ON THE ASS AT WORK' AS BEING A LAUGHABLE MATTER...
78 J2B: FLOP ik FLOP, right?
79 J3A: HAH HAH [HAH HAH
80 J1A: [HAH HAH
2
DAY#1 9:41. J4B SUGGESTS THAT THEY FILM H2B SMACKING H1B ON THE ASS BY THE OFFICE KITCHENETTE..
Should H2B smack H2A on the ass?
3
DAY#1 9:43. EDB ADDS THIS SUGGESTION TO THE WHITEBOARD SUMMARY – WITHOUT SPECIFYING H1B AS THE VICTIM OF H2B'S SMACKING...
-> H2B SMACKS SOMEONE'S ASS
4
DAY#2 8:43. THE GROUP FURTHER DEVELOPS THE IDEA AND AGREES THAT IS IS BETTER IF H2B GIVES H1B A NECK RUB...
5

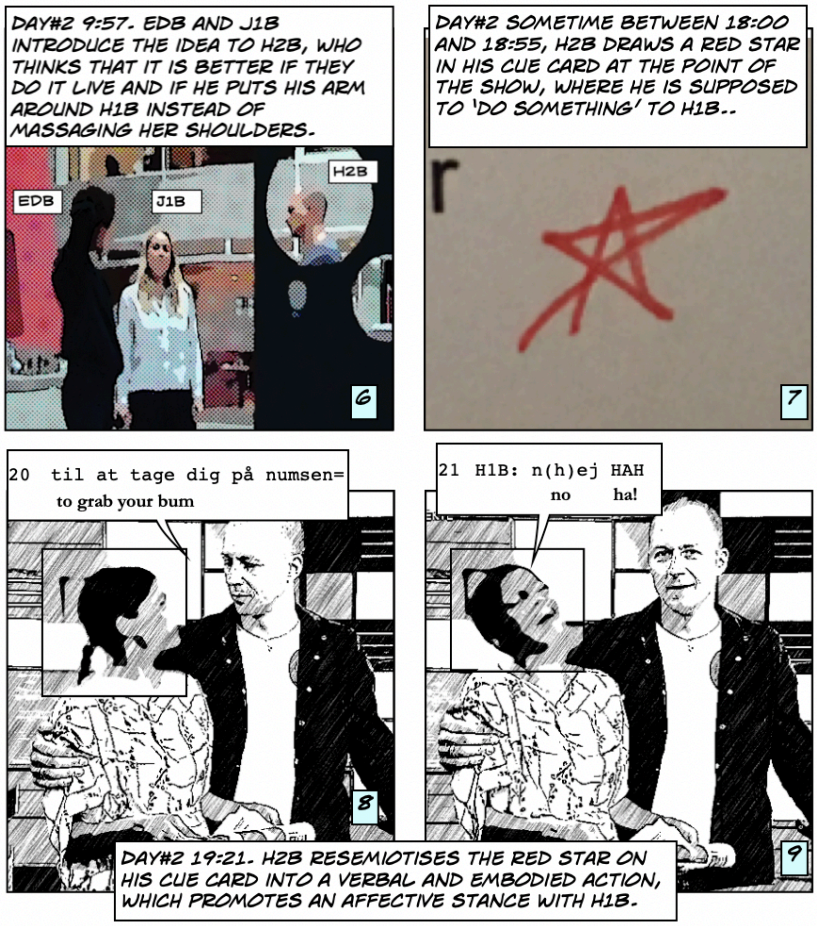


Figure 67 Chains of resemiotisation: The inappropriate touch.

The steps of resemiotisation through which the initial idea of slapping H1B on the bum is gradually transformed into a sideways hug include the following steps of transformation:

1 J2B elaborates on a story about how one in four female city councillors are subjected to sexual harassment.
2 'Smacking someone on the ass' is introduces by J2B and treated by the entire group as a laughable matter.
3 J4A suggests that they ask H2B to smack H1B on the ass out by the kitchenette.
4 J4A's suggestion is inscribed onto the whiteboard as: 'H2B smacks someone's ass.

5 The next day, the group further develops the idea and agrees that it is better if H2B gives H1A a shoulder rub.
6 J1A and EDA discuss the idea with H2B, who modifies the idea by a) suggesting that they do it live in the studio, and b) that he gives her a side-ways hug rather than a massage.
7 H2B resemiotises the live side-ways hug into a red star on his cue card at the point of the scripted introduction where he is supposed to do it.
8 The red star is unpacked by H2B as a verbal and embodied action, which promotes a visceral, affective stance with the unknowing H1B.

From it is first introduced, this action has been treated by the editorial staff as a laughable matter. Through steps of pre-producing doing 'inappropriately touching a colleague in the workplace', the staff members continuously resemiotise the nature of the touch.

Over the two days of work, the staff members verbally and through abstract gestures 1) relocate the touch from the bum to the shoulder 2) respicify the type of touch from smacking to a sideways hug and 3) suggest different types of touch to complement the inappropriate touch. Slowly, the group moved further away from the act of smacking H1B 'on the ass' towards a more subdued kind of harassment in the shape of a hug. The main problem of planning the incident, as eventually articulated by H1A in Excerpt 39, is that certain rules apply to the live, primetime talk show.

6.4. THE CLOSING QUESTION

In Chapter 1, we saw how H1A, G1A and G2A sequentially co-organise an affective moment on live TV. Over a range of subsequent work-relevant activities, the closing question has continuously been renegotiated and resemiotised. From the beginning, the question has been vaguely structured and ambiguous. After H1A and J1A's review, it now reads: 'Begge. Hvad er jeres bedste råd være til hende i de sidste minutter, inden hun ksal på scenen?' ('Both, what is your best advice for her in the last minutes before she is going on stage?') (Figure 69). In Figure 69, we see how H1A has added an extra line with a red pen: 'Hendes chancer?' ('Her chances?'). H1A's last minute addition of the cue card inscription only makes this 'twist in the tale' even more ambiguous.

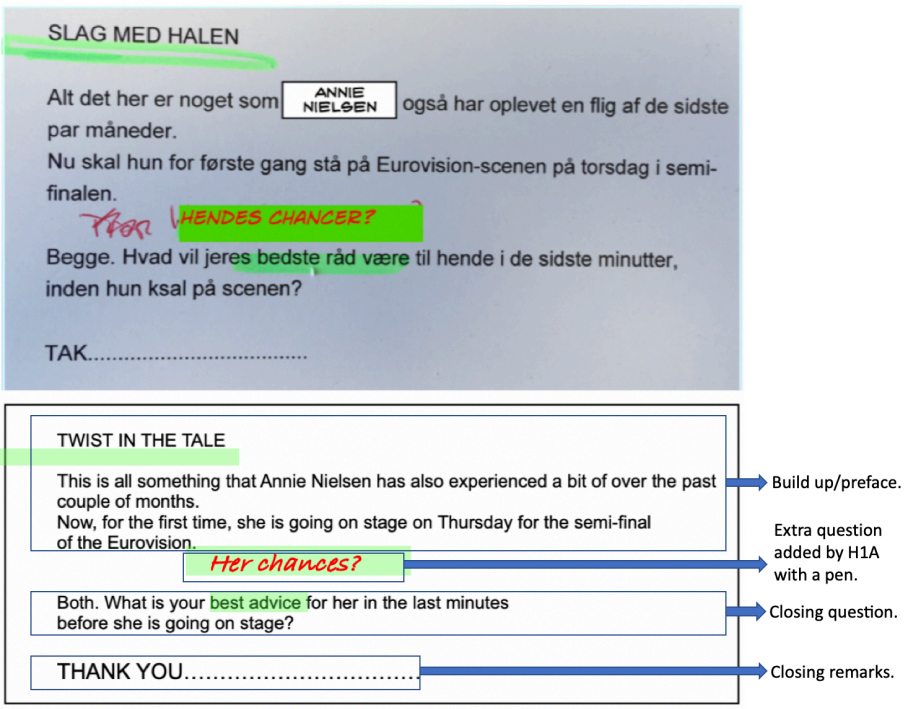


Figure 68 The closing question on H1A's que card.

This ambiguity is evident in H1A production of the build-up–followed by his added question about Annie's chances:

Excerpt 60. The closing question build up.

373	H1A:	alt det her det skal: annie nielsen jo så øh:::
		all of this annie nielsen is going to um::
374		↑opleve
		experience
375		øh::: det ↑sidste af nu her lige om lidt
		um::: the last of in a couple of day
376		og øhm:: først skal hun jo
		and, um::, first, of course, she is going
377		i den her semifinale her ↑ik
		to this semi-final, right?
378		og hun er jo selvfølgelig øh::: ner↑vøs
		and of course she is, um:::, nervervous
379		tænker jeg
		I can imagine
380		og alt muligt andet
		and all that
381		øhm:: hvor↑dan tror i hendes chancer er
		um:: how are her chances do you think?
382		>vil jeg gerne spørge om først<
		I'd like to ask that first



Only when he utters 'ner↑vøs' ('nervous') in line 378 does H1A reorient his gaze towards the guests. His focus on the card indicates that H1A is reading the inscription. This observation is futher supported by a particular re-articulation of the written text provided by J1A. There is a

sense of hesitation in H1A's talk in this excerpt, which is quite uncommon for the otherwise eloquent host. Earlier that day, J1A and H1A agreed that they could still keep the build-up, even though the closing question was changed from 'Both. how do you remember the minutes right before you went on stage?' to the present question about what advice the guests have for Annie before she is going on stage (Excerpt 47). However, with H1A's added question the build-up no longer prefaces the closing question. This mismatch between the build-up and extra question added by H1A causes a sense of discomfort with the guests: G2A swiftly looks around the studio and G1A repeatedly brushes her hair behind her ear while frowning slightly.

After G1A and G2A have answered the question about Annie's chances in the Eurovision, in Excerpt 65 H1A returns to the closing question. When we take a closer look at this sequence, it becomes clear how the three participants co-construct this emotional climax of the interview. H1A's resemiotisation of the cue card in is a fascinating example of how an action is sourced and restricted not only by the apparent action-relevant properties of the object-at-hand, but also by the practices of resemiotisation through which this semiotic resource was progressively transformed and shaped up until this point in time and space.

Excerpt 61. The closing question.





In line 484, H1A introduces the question of 'what is your best advice then'. However, he cuts off his own turn in order to establish a sequential relevance of this particular question: 'fordi nu TALte vi lidt om den der øh:: nervøsiTET, hun måske ville få der LIGE der inden, hun skal til at stå der på scenen' ('because, we just talked a bit about that, um, how she might get nervous right before she is going on stage') (lines 485-487).


488 to minutter-
two minutes
489 du [ved
you know
490 G1A: [ja
yes
5
491 H1A: står og venter på det er [hendes tur
she is standing there waiting for her turn
491 G1A: [ja
yes
492 ja
yes
H1A MOVES HIS CLENCHED HANDS UP AND DOWN...
6
493 H1A: hvor slemt er det?
how bad is it?
7
494 (0.6)
8

After he has accounted for the relevance of his question, H1A, however, asks a different question–one that seems strangely familiar. As noted above, we know by now that the closing question has been repeatedly negotiated and semiotically transformed. H1A was the one who suggested the closing question, which made it onto the live show. His argument was that there was nothing really surprising in the prior question and thus it was not 'really well suitable for a good closing' (H1A in Excerpt 47, lines 8-10). Nevertheless, rather than sticking to the scripted talk, halfway through asking the 'good advice'-question in line 485 H1A restarts and re-introduces the question of how the guests felt in the minutes right before she is going on stage. So, now H1A asks a question similar to the one that he was eager to remove from the script earlier that day.

Interestingly, this sequence is initiated by H1A after he orients to the object of the closing question written on his cue card (pic. 1). The line of text on the cards thus becomes a first pair part through the accumulative action of H1A. However, H1A not simply reads out loud a line of text from his card. Rather, he transforms a written line of text on the cue card into a greater, sequentially relevant, multimodal assemblage and builds a new action by creatively performing a selective operation on the at-hand available 'configuration of resources' (Goodwin, 2012). Of course, the observation that H1A looks at his cue card is visually available for all viewers of the show. Yet, two things remain invisible on-screen: First, we cannot see what is written on the host's cue card—or know if he is reading it or just looking at it (see Hindmarsh and Heath 2000). Second, and more importantly, even with access to his script, without the background knowledge presented in the previous chapters of this dissertation, we could not explain H1A's resemiotisation of the question. One might even understand his way of 'unpacking' the question as coincidental. Though, as we saw in Chapters 4 and 5, this closing question has continuously been worked on, prefigured, and transformed semiotically.

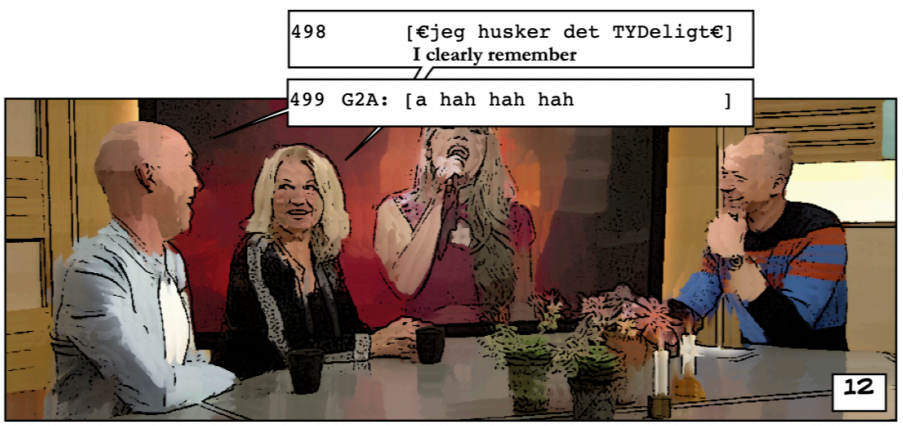
H1A's unpacking of the closing question makes a case for the argument that objects serve as mediational means, which enable the host to extend his repertoire of actions in the present. During the live interview situation, H1A transforms the cue card text into two questions: 'hvad vil jeres BEDSTE råd så ↑være' (what is your best advice then') (panel 2), and 'hvor <u>slemt</u> er <u>det</u>? ('how bad is it') (panel 7). The first question is close to the scripted closing question: 'Begge. Hvad vil jeres bedste råd

være til hende i de sidste minutter, før hun skal på scenen?' ('Both. What is your best advice for her in the last minutes before she is going on stage?').

Through his accumulative reuse with transformation, in panels 5-8 H1A (re)creates a sequential environment for G1A's answer. And, sure enough, in Excerpt 63, G1A produces an affective stance as a relevant second pair part.

Excerpt 62. G1A's answer to the closing question.





G1A's initial response in line 495 is exactly the type of account that J3A anticipated as second pair part to this type of question in the initial morning meeting (Excerpt 11). However, J1A's verbal and embodied crescendo in lines 485-493 and his laughter in line 496 projects an affective climax, which now comes to elicit an affective stance with both guests displayed through G1A's verbal and embodied account and the preceding laughter produced by H1A and G2A.

This is a quite fascinating example of how the host becomes a co-narrater of affective, anecdotal content. Notice, how lines 2-11 are one long build-up to the second part of the compound question. H1A's preface in lines 2-6 and 8 has already established a space of sequential possibilities, and the final question in line 11 'hvor slemt er det?' ('how bad is it?') is not a question about whether it was bad or not. Rahter its linguistic structure clearly delimits the range of possible responses from G1A by presupposing and pursuing as second pair part an assessment of the degree of 'badness'. Also, H1A is the one who first introduces laughter as a relevant, public response to G1A's answer.

Figure 69 illustrates main parts of the semiotic cycle of the closing question from the initial morning meeting to the final show.

DAY#1, 9:24- J1A INTRODUCES THE IDEA OF FOCUSING ON 'WHAT IT IS FOR AN ANNIE BEFORE SHE IS GOING ON STAGE...

104 J1A: havde det været ↑tættere på finalen
had it been closer to the finals
105 så havde man jo haft sådan noget
you would of course have had something like
106 (1.2)
107 J1A: hvad er det for en (.) annie
what is it for an Annie
108 inden hun skal gå på scenen
before she is going on stage

1

DAY#1, 9:26- EDA TRANSFORMS J1A'S IDEA INTO TALKING ABOUT HOW ANNIE FELT BEFORE GOING ON STAGE – ARGUING THAT THIS FEELING MUST BE A GENERAL FEELING AMONG EUROVISION PARTICIPANTS...

1 +THE FEELING BEFORE ANJA IS GOING ON STAGE

2

DAY#1, 9:27- J3A REOPENS EDA'S RESEMIOTISATION AND PRE-ENACTS POSSIBLE SECOND PAIR PARTS TO A QUESTION ABOUT 'THE FEELING BEFORE GOING ON STAGE...

130 J3A: jeg er nervøs
I am nervous

3

DAY#1, 9:29- BASED ON HIS PRIOR EXPERIENCE WITH INTERVIEWING EUROVISION PARTICIPANTS, J1A SUGGESTS THAT THEY INSTEAD FOCUS ON THE GUESTS' ANECDOTES...

1 +THE FEELING BEFORE ANJA IS GOING ON STAGE

2 - DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT YOU WERE DOING JUST BEFORE YOU WENT ON STAGE?

4

DAY#1 9:58- J1A TRANSFORMS THE MORNING MEETING TALK + HIS WRITTEN NOTES INTO A PRELIMINARY ON-SCREEN MANUSCRIPT...

5

DAY#1 10:21- THE CLOSING QUESTION IS AMBIGUOUSLY STRUCTURED: 'DO YOU REMEMBER THE MINUTES BEFORE YOU WENT ON STAGE?'

G1A

HOW DO YOU RECALL THE TIME AROUND THE VICTORY IN 1983?
[...]

HOW DID YOU END UP WEARING THOSE CLOTHES?

REACTIONS?
[...]

HOW WAS THE SONG MADE?
[...]

REACTIONS?

HOW WAS "REJEHOPPET" INVENTED?
[...]

REACTIONS?
[...]

WITH ALL THAT FOCUS IN MIND, HOW DU YOUR REMEMBER THE MINUTES BEFORE YOU WENT ON STAGE?
[...]

6

DAY#1 10:40. DURING THE RESEARCH INTERVIEW, J1A ASKS G1A BOTH VERSIONS OF THE QUESTION: 'HOW IS IT?' AND 'DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT YOU WERE DOING?' BOTH OF G1A'S ANSWERS ARE MISLEADINGLY PLACED IN THE MANUSCRIPT AS A SINGLE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF HOW G1A REMEMBERS THE MINUTES BEFORE GOING ON STAGE.



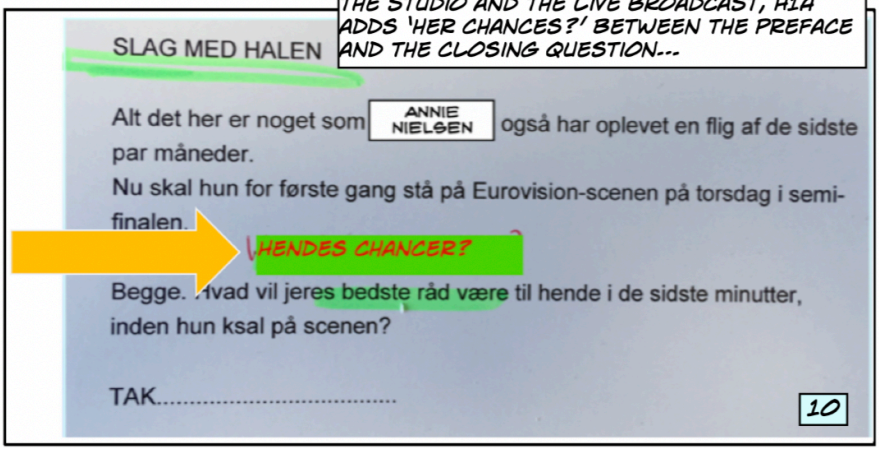
DAY#2 13:21. H1A AND J1A REVIEW THE SCRIPT. H1A SUGGESTS THAT THE CLOSING QUESTION SHOULD RATHER BE ABOUT WHAT GOOD ADVICE THE GUESTS WOULD GIVE ANNIE NIELSEN...



DAY#2 13:34. J1A CHANGES THE CLOSING QUESTION TO: 'BOTH. WHAT IS YOUR BEST ADVICE FOR HER IN THE LAST MINUTES BEFORE SHE IS GOING ON STAGE?'...



DAY#2 AT SOME POINT BETWEEN ARRIVING TO THE STUDIO AND THE LIVE BROADCAST, H1A ADDS 'HER CHANCES?' BETWEEN THE PREFACE AND THE CLOSING QUESTION...




484 H1A:hvad vil jeres BEDSTE råd så være
what is your best advice then
485 fordi nu TALte vi lidt om den der
because we just talked a bit about that
DAY#2 19:29. H1A INITIATES THE SCRIPTED QUESTION, WHICH PURSUES A 'GOOD ADVICE' FROM THE GUESTS...
11
11 H1A: hvor slemt er det?
how bad is it?
DAY#2 19:29. ... ONLY TO EVENTUALLY ASK INSTEAD ABOUT HOW 'BAD' ONE FEELS IN THE MINUTES BEFORE GOING ON STAGE.
12

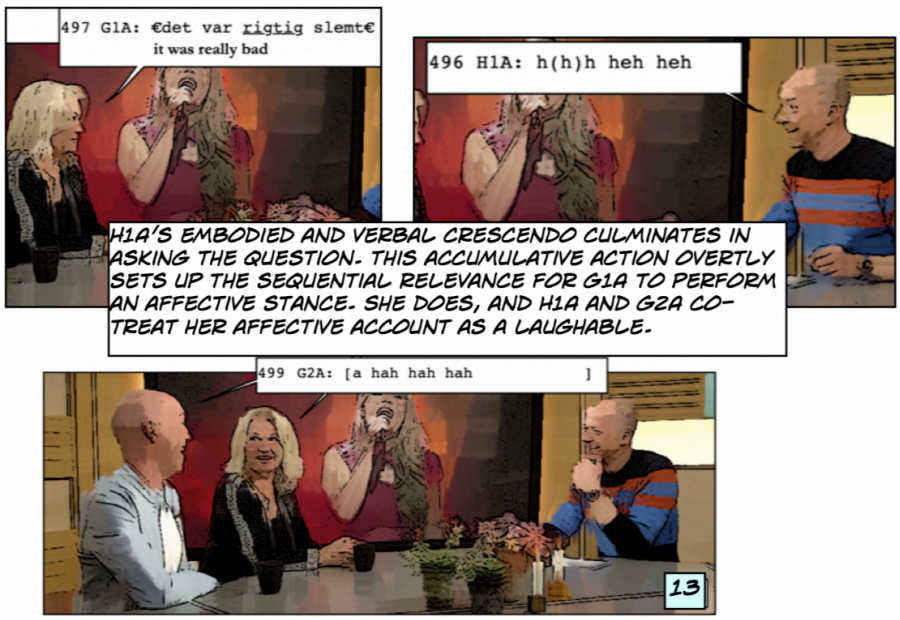


Figure 69 Chains of resemiotisation: The closing question.

The steps of resemiotisation through which the initial idea is gradually transformed into a sideways hug include the following steps of transformation:

1 J1A introduces the idea of focusing on 'what is is for an Annie before she is going on stage for the Eurovision finals.
2 EDA transforms J1A's idea into talking about how Annie felt before going on stage. According to EDA, this feeling must be a genereal feeling among Eurovision participants. She resemiotises the idea as '+the feeling before Annie is going on stage' on the whiteboard.
3 J4A reopens EDA's resemiotisation by pre-enacting possible second pair parts, which are problematic in the format of the talk show.
4 Based on his prior experience with interviewing former Eurovision participants, J1A suggests that they instead focus on the guests' anecdotes. That is, what the guests were doing in the minutes before going on stage rather than how they felt.

5 J1A transforms the morning meeting talk and his written notes into a preliminary on-screen manuscript. The closing question is ambiguous and could in theory prompt both types of answers.
6 During the research interview, J1A asks G1A both versions of the question: 'How is it?' and 'do you remember what you were doing?' Both of G1A's answers are misleadingly placed in the manuscript as a single answer to the question of how G1A remembers the minutes before going on stage.
7 H1A and J1A review the script. H1A suggests that the closing question should rather be about what good advice the guests would give Annie Nielsen.
8 1A changes the closing question to: 'Both. What is your best advice for her in the last minutes before she is going on stage?'
9 At some point between arriving to the studio and the live broadcast, H1A adds the line 'Her chances?' between the preface and the closing question.
10 H1A initiates the scripted question, which pursues a 'good advice' from the guests–only to eventually ask instead about how 'bad' one feels in the minutes before going on stage. H1A's embodied and verbal crescendo culminates in asking the question. This accumulative action overtly sets up the sequential relevance for G1A to perform an affective stance. She does, and H1A and G2A co-treat her affective account as a laughable.

This example demonstrates how the live performance of the hosts and guests are neither coincidental nor 1:1 restricted by the pre-produced semiotic ecologies. Instead, the at-hand semiotic resources as well as the preceding steps of resemiotisation through which these resources have emerged are reused with transformation in creative, accumulative actions during the live shows: H1A produces a relevant and unscripted second story to G1A's anecdote about how her dress was mass produced and sold; H2B performs the embodied and verbal action of doing 'suitable for a primetime talk show' sexual harassment again anew by combining different materials inherited from past interactions into something new again; H1A rearrange in situ the semiotic resource of the manuscript in order to introduce as relevant his own added question. In all three examples, affect is made sequentiable in the momentatry now through reuse with transformation different part of the pre-produced semiotic ecologies, which have been co-created by the editorial staff (and, in part, by

the guests) over the past two days. Figure 70 below illustrates some of the time-scales of the semiotic at-hand resources.

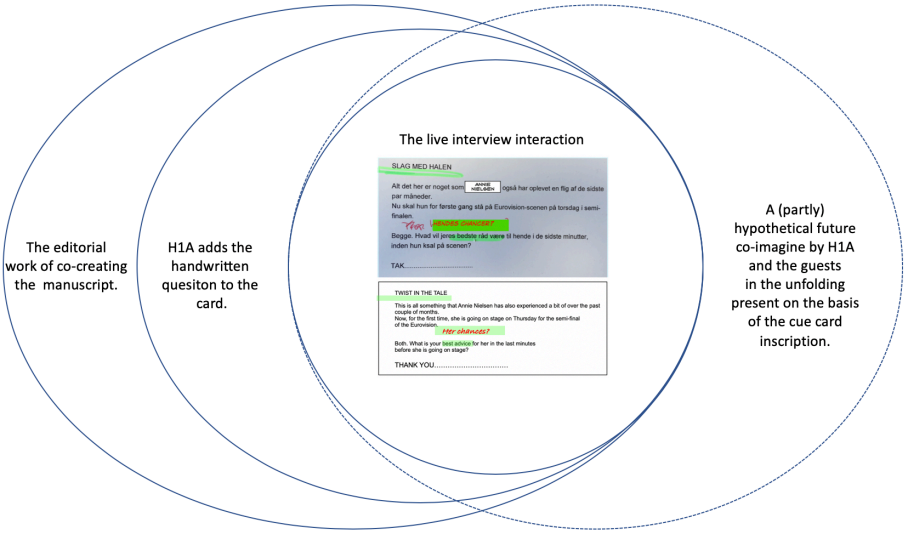


Figure 70 Some of the different time-scales encircling the at-hand semiotic resource of the closing question.

Figure 70 illustrates four different time-scales, which encircle the closing question: 1) The question emanates from the prededing days of editorial work through which boundary affects for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction have emerged and been continuously renegotiated and resemiotised. 2) The just preceding action of adding a question between the preface of the closing question and the question itself comes to influence the accumulative reuse of semiotic resources. 3) In the unfolding present of the talk show interview, the cue card comes to support the temporal organisation of interaction. 4) The cue card inscription anticipates a (partly) hypothetical future in which Annie Nielsen is going on stage in the semi-finals of the Eurovision Song Contest. The wordings 'her chances?' and 'what is your best advice?' both encompasses the co-imagined scenario that Annie Nielsen will in fact be going on stage in the song contest.

6.5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Although these are not visible from the final cue card inscriptions, the preceding days of editorial work permeates the live interview interactions. Yet, these previous processes of resemiotisation remain invisible to the viewers and thus to analysts solely concerned with the on-screen mass media interview. During the live show, the participants' talk, intonation, gesture, etc. are all features of the practices of reopening the resemiotisations of personal experiences. Yet, these embodied and verbal features of interaction are at all points intertwined with the action-relevant objects that the editorial staff has co-created with the specific aim of transforming personal experiences into publicly available affective accounts. The personal experiences of the guests are presented in ways that make them audible and visually available to the viewers through emotional, shareable, 'tell-a-story-aboutable' accounts, including affective stances associated with and evoked by these accounts. The same goes for the incident in Excerpt 59, where H1B produces an appropriate response to the inappropriate embodied and verbal action performed by H2B. Sacks (1992) observes how

> the orientation to the tellability of an experience may help to provide the terms in which it's experienced, i.e., those terms are selected right then and there by reference to the stories one will tell, and thereby one experiences, say, a more selected set of events than one otherwise might. (p. 780)

This claim seems to apply to the data scrutinised in this and the preceding chapters of this dissertation: An (inter)actions can be anticipated and planned for the mass media, but, eventually, it will have to be reflexively built in situ in an intelligibly, sequentially relevant fashion. As Goodwin (2018) observes, when an object is transferred from one interactional activity, or setting, to another its properties can change due to the needs of the local participants and the specific world they currently co-inhabit. So, even though H1A has been greatly involved in resemiotising the semiotic ecology for the live show, in this 'new' setting of the talk show interview, he has to assemble again anew the properties of the at-hand objects in order to build accumulative actions suitable for the activity of doing 'emotional talk show' interaction. During the two days of editorial work, the tellability of the guests' stories have repeatedly been renegotiated and transformed–noticeably during the pre-interview where

J1A overtly co-constructed G1A's answers as amusing through his continuous, affiliative story appreciation, or when J1A and H1A resemiotised the closing question in order to promote a 'more suitable' and 'surprising' interview closing.

In the two preceding analytical chapters, we saw how certain parts of the semiotic ecologies for the final live talk show was progressively worked up and reworked through different steps of pre-production and resemiotisation. The aim of the staff was to structure different kinds of affective spaces of possibilities by bringing together different types of semiotic resources to create 'a whole not found in any of the parts in isolation' (Goodwin, 2018, p. 120). In this chapter, we have seen how these interactional spaces of possibility are, then, co-inhabited by the hosts, the guests and the production team during the live shows. Here, the evocation of affectivity is organised through laminated actions, which incorporate a range of pre-produced action-relevant objects: the environmentally coupled gesture of making an embodied reference to the semiotic properties of video footage from the eighties; unpacking a red star as a mediational means for performing an intimate, unwanted touch; building up momentum for an affective stance as a relevant second pair part to a closing question.

Through cycles of resemiotisation, the fractality of these individual resources demonstrates actions beyond actions. Even in the 'final' practices of resemiotisations during the live interview, these resources are assembled again anew for another next first time; rearticulated and reworked in situ at a high pace through the creative accumulative actions of the locally situated participants. Questions are unnoticeably changed and rearranged as the interviews progress, a surprising touch is reacted upon in ways suitable for the talk show setting, and audiovisual components are referred to as meaningful resources–even after they have disappeared from the visual field of the rear wall screen. Plenty more individual time-scales are present, e.g. that of the guests and their individual experiences including a vast number of semiotic cycles with endless time-scales. Through H1A's creative embodied and verbal accumulative actions, the historicity of the cue card becomes a powerful resource in this 'final' act of resemiotisation during the live show. Rather than an ahistorical, linguistic entity, the stepwise transformation through which the closing question has emerged over the past two days is evidently present in the participants co-operative reassemblages. Importantly, my analytical chapters show how the diverse resources of the semiotic ecologies

of the live talk show and their individual time-scales are made relevant solely through the constitutive practices of the editorial staff. If meaning has in any ways 'settled' in these materialities, this settlement is a continuous, joint, cross-situational accomplishment.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

In Chapter 2, I noted how current EMCA-informed studies fail to adequately demonstrate how people, actions, objects and discourses evolve over time and, thus, how both the 'another-ness' and the 'next-ness' of every 'another next first time' constantly (although slowly) change. Accordingly, the individual time-scales of semiotic resources, which encircle the unfolding present have been widely disregarded by the EMCA community. Through my analytical chapters, I have utilised a temporally and materially contexed EMCA in order to suggest that an enhanced analytical focus on how activities are, in practice, made intelligible as another next first times enables us to make more sophisticated analysis human interaction.

The recent interest in longitudinality (Doehler et al., 2019, Nguyen, 2008) offers a number of cross-occasional examples of how actions change over time. However, in terms of tracing actions, objects, participant and discourses through time, further analytical granularity is needed. As Maynard and Clayman (2018) suggest 'the investigator unavoidably must decide when, for all practical purposes, an appropriate level of detail – answerable to the phenomenon under inquiry in the context of an actual and not imagined or hypothesized research study – has been reached' (p. 134). However, deciding upon 'an appropriate level of detail' becomes increasingly difficult as we start unravelling the immense networks in which (inter)actions are embedded. The multiple time-scales of work-relevant semiotic fields spans well beyond the sequential structure of a 'local' interaction. Thus, as Garfinkel (2008) suggested early on,

> anticipations and continuance, the before and the hereafter, do not belong to separate acts in the succession of experience. They are ingredients of the one act under consideration, and compose the temporal horizon of the intended object. The temporal "horizon" [of human experience] is not to be conceived of like a railroad track extending off to right and left with experiences stuck onto it like stations. Rather each experience has its own relevant past and future attached to it as an articulated set of actualized and future possibilities all experienced as a gestalt in the momentary Now. (p. 141)

Contingency is derived from experience and continuity, and a main concern of the present dissertation has been to 'tap into' the flow of human interaction through which the 'next-ness' is continuously and jointly constituted and maintained across time and space.

In this dissertation, I have introduced the notion of 'boundary affect'. The idea was to see how an affective stance is lodged within both a sequence of interaction and within series of activities on time-scales, which spans well beyond 'local' interaction. Interestingly, through my analysis, it becomes clear how affects 'travel' across modes and modalities through the accumulative and transformative actions of the editorial staff. On a daily basis, the editorial staff deals with the task of fixing the action of an affective stance in a specific future point in time and space through the deployment of a variety of semiotic resources. The action-relevant properties of these materialities, thus, are specifically resemiotised with the aim of render affectivity sequentiable for a later occasion. As it turned out, the stretching of affects across boundary past, present and co-imagined future activities permeates the editorial work of creating the interactional structures for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction. From the first morning meeting and over the two days of work, (dis)affiliation is commonly expressed through affective stances towards the current state of the semiotic fields of 'the interviews'. The editorial staff members are overtly emotionally involved in this pre-production of affectivity. Figure 71 below provides three examples of this involvement: 1) In the research interview with G1A, J1A produces a fair amount of laughter tokens, 2) during H1A and J1A's review of the script, H1A frowns as he questions J1A's choice of closing question, and 3) when J2B refers to the 'you could use a good fucking'-episode, J1B visibly does 'being surprised'. Thus, the staff members do not just inform each other that certain mediated actions and objects arouse specific feelings with them.



Figure 71 Affective stances with the staff members.

Instead, through their individual exchanges of affect 'the character of the apparent *referent* of the assessment becomes far less important than the shared affect and coexperience that participants display to each other' (Goodwin, 2018, p. 164). These are just a few examples of how the editorial staff members display affective stances in order to assess 'the phenomenal objects around which the discourse of the profession is organized' (Goodwin, 1994). In all three examples, the affect, although sequentially organised in the present, are boundary; stretched across different points in time and space. Through their subsequent journalistic work, J1A and J2A are doing their best to preserve these emotional impacts in different types of resources. J1A works G1A's answers into the script and tells EDA how G1A is 'anecdotal by nature' (this assessment, by the way, makes J1A laugh again). He even puts in the bottom of the on-screen script under 'Additional information': 'G1A has all the good stories'. Thus, the emotional impact that G1A's stories have on J1A makes him assess these stories as well-suited for the live talk show. That is, already during the prepping interview the affective potential that he co-experience with G1A is displaced in the scripted space of possibilities of the live interview. Thus, this affect exists simultaneously in the immediate past and in the co-imagined, emerging structures, which aim to bring the same affective moment into the possible, future, boundary activity of doing live 'emotional talk show' interaction. After the research interview, J1A chooses the questions, which prompted the most interesting answers from G1A and restructures the manuscript around these first pair parts. The aim is to elicit the same affective stances with G1A during the live show.

Over some hundred pages, I have traced the trajectories of three individual resources of the semiotic ecologies of two talk show interviews. As we have seen, even in the quite brief time-scale presented in my analysis, each of these resources is embedded in larger multi-temporal, multi-semiotic networks of participants, objects and activities. In fact, these networks proved to be inconveniently huge for analysis, which is, probably, a main reason why so few people engage in studying them. Even on the moment-by-moment spatio-temporal scale presented here, I am under no illusion that I have documented the entire arch of resemiotisation that has brought the semiotic resources scrutinised in the preceding chapters from the initial morning meetings on day one to the final live talk shows. In talk show production the first pair part of an answer-

question adjacency pair is initiated days before it eventually prompts as relevant a specific second pair part. As such, the sequential environment that the closing question sets up for an adequate answer is, in fact, produced by a variety of different speakers. The same goes for the audio-visual semiotic fields and the live embodied action of unpacking an 'inappropriate touch'.

Deppermann and Streeck (2018) note that objects 'can keep meaning available until further notice, that is, until the object and its situated meaning are modified by action'. The editorial staff seems to be under the same impression: They seek to keep emotions experienced in the present available for later reuse through the deployment of atemporalised semiotic resources. As such, during the live show the cue cards are aimed to 'lend their stability' to recollection (Middleton & Brown, 2005). During the talk shows, we see how the pre-produced boundary affects are recycled by the hosts. And, interestingly, how through their accumulative actions, the hosts reassemble again anew these semiotic resources to create in situ emotional talk show interaction. As we saw in Chapter 6, in addition to the locally situated organisation the live interactions are also laminated with a range of past and possible future actions.

Iedema (2001) introduces his main paper on resemiotisation by quoting Mary Douglas who suggests that

> we stop looking at individual objects. See them instead as participating in a long stream of event that unfold through time; chart their flow; then consider persons only as the points there flows of objects originate, congregate and from which they disperse. (Douglas, 1994 in Iedema, 2001, p. 23)

In this dissertation, I have proposed an alternative perspective, namely that of seeing actions, rather than objects, as participating and evolving over a long stream of event. As we saw in the analytical chapters above, professional objects only come to 'flow' through the emergent multimodal and multi-semiotic, embodied, co-operative actions of competent participant. As such, when we 'charge the flow' of objects, I would argue that we are, in fact, tracing the *practices* through which these materialities are continuously constituted as work-relevant semiotic resources. Objects become mediational means only through the (inter)actions of the hosts who have been part of the process of resemiotising these materials. Thus, my analysis supports the ethnomethodological claim that

> if there are objects that cross situated boundaries, it is not because some objects are common to more situations than others, but rather, because the practices which constitute them as objects—mutually intelligible objects—are common across many situations and memberships. (Rawls, in Garfinkel, 2008, p. 5)

Objects do not have agency on their own; however, they can help prolong the past into the future insofar as they are handed down through an uninterrupted series of locally situated interactions. Accordingly, Garfinkel (2008, p. 141) finds that 'the absolutely new is inconceivable. Strangeness exists only with familiarity; novelty only by the standard of the ordinary'. The co-creation of continuity, or progressivity, is a practical, situated accomplishment. The initial morning meeting does not result in the final programme. Rather, the editorial staff initiates possible structures, which are then reworked and negotiated through practices of resemiotisation over the manifold steps of pre-production.

Goodwin (2018) claims that semiotic resources inherited from past activities enable participants to perform in the present co-operative actions with absent predecessors, who have each contributed with something to this greater whole. My dissertation provides empirical justification for this claim by showing how, in the cases presented here, the sense of next-ness as experienced in the present is derived from the way in which work-relevant objects have been semiotically charged in the immediate and remote past. Movement through time and space is at all points restricted by prior actions–specifically those that have been displaced into objects, or substrates, in order to organise progressivity on a larger time scale. Different modalities of structuredness (Iedema 2001) thus appear to affect the staff's ability to revoke decisions in different ways. Of course, from an ethnomethodological view, this is a member's phenomenon: It is the editorial staff who demonstrably treat summaries, confirmation texts, and manuscripts as if meaning is harder to negotiate when it is resemiotised into these exo-somatic objects. And, thus, from an emic perspective it is.

Iedema (2003) suggests that different kinds of interaction involve different types of modalities, which form a continuum of structuredness ranging 'from relatively ephemeral and temporized (such as certain kinds of neuronal activity, speech, or gesture), to others which are more tangible and durable (such as architecture)' (p. 78). However, perhaps Iedema gives too much credit to material 'structuredness'. My analysis suggests

that the alleged 'durability' of semiotic resources is equal to the degree of engagement needed to reverse or change already made decisions. The joint work on these objects provides them with a sense of action-relevance. However, this relevance is not derived solely from the objects but rather from the practices that go into resemiotising them. An example hereof is the unpacking of the closing question during the live talk show interview. As we saw in Chapter 6, J1A's resemiotisation of the cue card text recycles his prior discussion with J1A about what question to ask. Intriguingly, in the live interview, instead of following the scripted talk H1A asks both the question initially suggested by J1A *and* the question that H1A himself suggested. Thus, the live action is laminated with the prior interactions, which are displaced in the at-hand object.

I agree with Goodwin (Goodwin & Salomon, 2019), when he states that 'we can't ignore [the] historical sedimentation [of objects], which I think is what happens in CA' (p. 17). In this dissertation, I have tried to utilise a practice-based analytical approach, which deals with the historicity of objects, people, actions and discourses beyond 'locally' situated interactions, yet without adhering to the ethnographic pitfall of implementing research interviews and field notes. Or, my 'field notes' are the participants' handwritten notes, manuscripts and other semiotic resources that the staff members themselves co-created in order to secure across time and space a shared sense of continuity and progress.

A main interest in this dissertation is to see how a shared sense of continuity is co-created and maintained across a series of interaction. I suggest deploying a synthesis of Goodwin's observation that as 'another next first time' and Strum and Latour's (1987; Latour 1994) claim that the human ability to organise this order over longer stretches of time is intrinsically dependent on the ability to displace human action into extra-somatic resources. I have employed a practice-based, moment-by-moment processual view on how the structures for a next 'another next first time' are continuously resemiotised in order to prefigure and project the sequential outcome of a relevant next activity. As such, continuity is explored from an emic perspective and thus as a member's phenomenon. Creating semiotic ecologies for a later interaction is not about coding, recoding, and decoding semantic content. Rather, it is about co-operatively and creatively resemiotising decisions across a range of modes in order to attune the type of embodied and verbal (inter)actions that can be mediated by a particular semiotic resource. The editorial staff members make use of a range of different work-relevant objects in order

to 'act at a distance', thus enabling complex combinations of absence and presence (Latour, 1994).

Ethnomethodologically informed conversation analysis is primarily occupied with exploring the locally situated, turn-by-turn, sequential organisation of interaction. The moment-by-moment construction of meaning is an endogenously produced, reflexively accountable, practical accomplishment (Heritage 1984), and there is 'order at all points' (Sacks 1973). The reason why competent participants can continuously constitute and maintain this order is that they experience each new (inter)action for 'another next first time' (Garfinkel 2002). Heritage (1998) describes institutional interaction as a 'reduction in the range of interactional practices deployed by the participants, restrictions in the contexts they can be deployed in, and [frequently] some specialisation and respecification of the interactional relevance of the practices that remain' (p. 3). However, Heritage never demonstrates just how these reductions, restrictions and respecifications are co-constructed and maintained beyond the unfolding present. With its focus on the sequential organisation of interaction, EMCA has mainly been interested in scrutinising instances of local interaction. Thus, the term 'projection' is primarily used to describe how contributions in moment-by-moment interaction makes relevant specific next turns. However, the ways in which a society's members prepare for things to come on a greater time scale remains under-researched and under-theorised. In the preceding chapters, we saw how semiotic ecologies for doing 'emotional talk show' interaction are sequentially organised and materially structured over two days of editorial work through practices of resemiotisation. Thus, we have moved a little closer to understand how (inter)actions are stretched in order to render affect sequentiable on different time-scales. When we see the group of journalists and their editor treat J2B's locally situated, embodied enactment of 'smacking someone on the ass' as a laughable during the morning meeting (Excerpt 17), this happens on a small turn-by-turn timescale: Through their immediately preceding organisation of talk, J2A's abstract 'smacking' hand gesture has been made sequentially relevant. As J2A explains, the 'smacking' gesture itself, however, is derived from a much earlier interaction performed by an absent predecessor. However, this action also anticipates the much later activities of further planning– and (possibly) ask H2B to perform the act of smacking H1B on the bum 'out by the kitchenette'. These observations are all available from the locally situated interaction of the morning meeting. However, the subse-

quent progression is not. If we only had this interaction, we would never know how things developed. From this initial meeting, there is no way to know how, or even for sure *that*, the initial idea of the 'non-live ass smacking by the kitchenette' ended up to be the side-ways hug on live TV.

As my analysis demonstrates, the 'next-ness' of another next first time is continuously anticipated and materially structured in the present in order to source and restrict the sequential outcome of a future next interaction. At any given point, the staff projects relevant next actions based on the current state of 'the interview'. This co-operative process of co-creating a shared sense of continuity and progressivity is analogous to that of placing pins in Nevile's (2019) study where 'placing a pin (…) objectifies participation and progress for making the dress' (p. 27). My data enables us to further see, then, how these 'objectifications of participation' is sourced by prior objectifications–and how they come to influence the sequentiality of future co-participations and objectifications.

Over the course of my dissertation, I have sought to complicate the conversation analytical take on temporality and objects by presenting a range of interactions, which are demonstrably sourced and restricted by different kinds of materials inherited from past work activities. The 'sourcing' and 'restricting' properties of these objects are constituted through the in situ up-takes performed by competent participants: The authoritativeness of a work-relevant object is a social accomplishment–not a 'hardening' of facts. Anticipated 'nexts' have individual time-scales, ranging from 'the relevant next turn in a sequence of interaction' to remote future nexts. Thus, the proof procedure that I suggest involves analysing series of interactions to see how initial ideas gradually transforms over time. J2A's suggestion of making a 'small eighties thing' does not anticipate the specific video footage of G1A that we see on the live show. Rather, it anticipates the next activity of 'figuring out what this eighties thing could/should be'. This work of co-creating a shared sense of continuity across time and space is a main editorial task. Thus, the staff have to continuously modify work-relevant objects in order to mediate specific actions at a later step of pre-production while steering towards the 'final' show. This anticipatory work is highly dependent on the staff's ability to project a relevant next activity, or interaction, on multiple time-scales. Interestingly, the institutional work task of doing 'anticipating the proximal and distant future' is highly dependent on the state of progression of specific work-relevant objects.

As stated earlier, the 'profusion of things to notice' (Laurier, 2014b) is massively increased in every additional step of pre-production presented here. In exploring mass media production as a processual ontology, I did not have the luxury of making neat collections of somewhat comparable instances of, say, a specific linguistic phenomenon. Even with order at all points, meaning-making is a complicated matter to adequately represent–so, analytical choices must be made to carefully follow specific leads. And yes, there definitely are interpretive voids between series of events, but I have tried to deal with this void as a members' phenomenon to see how the editorial staff deals with it; how they bring each other and the guests up-to-speed on the present state of things. On a similar note, Wetherell (1998, p. 403) suggests that 'it is the conversation analyst in selecting for analysis part of a conversation or continuing interaction who defines this relevance for the participant'. I suggest that by deploying EMCA with an enhanced focus on the individual time-scales of people, actions, objects and disourses, we can start dealing with these discursive issues without adhering to a Foucauldian concern with "hypothetical total structure rather than particular usage" (Billig, 1996).

In order to adequately reassemble the editorial staff and their creative deployment of actions and objects, I utilised and further developed graphic transcription. According to Ian Hague (2014), reading comics is a multisensorial experience. Thus, utilising graphic transcription as the primary tool for representing data influences the ways in which readers perceive and sense the data. Drawing on the work of Laurier (2014a, 2019), my dissertation demonstrates how employing graphic transcriptions is a most resourceful way to illustrate the unfolding interplay between actors and 'their' emerging material worlds. Whereas the logocentric Mondada system takes a lot of effort to read and fully make sense of (especially to laymen), I have found that my graphic transcriptions are much easier to understand for people from a range of different fields. I suppose that this is because most people in the Western world grow up reading comics and graphic novels and, therefore, can immediately understand what is going on in my data excerpts. Transcribing human interaction involves different practices of resemiotisation as the vivid, voluminous features of unfolding interaction are transformed and remediated into the atemporalised 'flatness' of a 2D page. I find the graphic transcript to be a most useful choice of transcription system to provide readers with a sense of semiotic and visual volume and depth in 'the con-

tinuous parallel of embodied action in ecologies of objects and architectures' (Laurier, 2019).

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

The main argument that I have developed in this dissertation, is that by exploring the trajectories of how affects are transformed 'from discourse to objects to new discourses and new objects' (Scollon and Scollon, 2004) through time in order to render emotionality a sequentiable matter, we can make more sophisticated analysis of the affective future interaction in which these discourses and objects come to promote affectivity. As we have seen, the task of anticipating and projecting imagined future interactional structures is a joint effort. Displays of affective and (dis)affiliative stances are a crucial part of the ongoing work of resemiotising and transforming the interactional structures for the live shows.

My dissertation presents new types of data and thus new types of analytical insights into how work-relevant objects can be semiotically charged in order to prefigure and prearrange the interactional space of possibilities for a next 'another next first time'. The study challenged the atemporalised character of most production studies by showing how semiotic ecologies for doing talk show talk are progressively worked up and reworked through practices of resemiotisation across modes, activities, and participants. I analysed series of editorial interaction in order to investigate the joint achievement of (pre-)producing 'affective talk show' interaction. In doing so, I found that only through step-by-step analysis of the anticipatory work of the editorial staff across sites and modalities is it possible to adequately account for how initial ideas at a morning meeting eventually become resources for building accumulative actions on live TV. A main component in this joint effort is that of publicly anticipating and projecting how specific objects can come to mediate actions, which will promote affective stances with the guests. My study demonstrates how the 'next-ness' of another next first time is cultivated through practices of resemiotisation in mass media production. Reassembling the semiotic ecology for a specific type of interaction is a joint effortful task, where a range of objects are semiotically charged in steps of pre-production in order to, eventually, become part of greater, accumulative actions, which aim to promote affective stances with the guests. I found that Latour (1994) is right when he claims that 'ethnomethodologists are right to criticise traditional sociology with its fanciful macro level, but they are wrong to conclude that there is such a thing as an absolutely local interaction'. However, rather than start speculating about

the 'broader activities' (Wetherell, 2012) of interaction, I explored new types of material and processual data.

Professionals use with transformation materials inherited from the past to accumulate complex, reflexive actions in the momentary now to accomplish work-relevant tasks. These materials are not (necessarily) coincidental resources. In fact, most of them are purposefully created to anticipate and promote specific types of actions. The semiotic resources that we have traced in this dissertation were gradually created to set up the perimeters for relevant next activities on different time-scales. This ranges from the moment-by-moment projections of relevant next turns to non-contiguous actions widely distributed in time and space, where, through the transformation of actions, objects and discourses, a present (inter)action comes to influence the sequential outcome of a remote, future interaction.

In Goodwin's example with the Shakespearian radio play, he notes how Shakespeare and the present actor, although centuries apart, come to co-operative built an action in the unfolding present. What my study suggests, though, that this conclusion underestimate the series of interactions and resemiotisations, which has led up to the present radio play. The action of doing 'falling in love' may primarily be sourced by the written words of Shakespeare, but what about e.g. newer cultural productions, and theatre rehearsals through which the voice actor has 'learned' the prosody of falling in love? Or the female voice actor who is perhaps sitting across the room from him? Or the thousands of actors who over the past centuries have transformed 'the voice' of Shakespeare into what it is today? These questions does not in any way diminish Goodwin's analysis, but they are relevant in regard to my findings, which would suggest that making a direct link between the voice actor and Shakespeare oversimplifies the historicity of the action.

I contribute to the small but growing literature, which deploy graphic transcription in order to make visible and explore in depth embodied and material features of interaction. My 360-degree video data paired with my collection of work-relevant objects enable me to further develop multi-angled, multi-semiotic and multimodal ways of representing in different ways the entanglements of professional work practices *and* the semiotic resources, which constitute and are constituted through these practices through time and space. Whereas Goodwin (2018) repeatedly demonstrates *that* participants in the present build actions in co-operation with absent predecessors, my dissertation shows *how* this co-

operation is made possible and sequentiable over the course of past events.

QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

My study was limited by the fact that I had to do all the camera work myself while keeping track of the simultaneous activities of a range of people. With a larger group of researchers, we could capture more of the vivid work life of the editorial staff. Although, surely, they would not recognise me on the street, I have come quite close to the staff members after spending years looking at my data. Thus, in a revisit to the editorial office I would be way better prepared for where to look for what in order to document as much of the editorial workflow as possible.

A main question, which needs further research is that of granularity. In Chapter 2, I accused 'longitudinal' CA for leaving to much of an interpretive void by looking at change across occasions widely separated in time and space. However, in exploring changes through time I have been grappling with the issue of temporal and material granularity. Choosing an appropriate level of analysis has proven to be a difficult task. I initially wanted to trace the discursive trajectories of the entire shows, but this task was just too immense–even for a doctoral study. The profusion of things to notice multiplies for each minute at the editorial office. The series of resemiotisation that I have presented in this dissertation is but a fraction of the interactional work that led up to the live interviews. However, my study does provide some sense of how the moment-by-moment activity of designing and creating semiotic resources for doing institutional work is sourced and restricted by the place that this particular activity holds in a multidimensional network of people, actions, objects and discourses.

The type of analytical approach presented in this dissertation could be fruitfully applied to investigate a number of other areas, e.g. how political decisions are resemiotised into algorithms in the shaped of digital, public applications, which, then, come to restrict and source subsequent (inter)actions of the public. Or, in the work of planning and executing successfully different, social events. On a darker note, the current coronavirus outbreak overflows with practices of resemiotisation to explore: closings of borders, changes in law, deployment of social distancing, etc. That is, a wide range of actions, which form new types of objects, actions and discourses–and, perhaps, even people.

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ISSN (online): 2246-123X
ISBN (online): 978-87-7210-627-4 AALBORG UNIVERSITY PRESS