The Interviewers' Alignment with Narrative in a Japanese TV Talk Show

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TAKAGI Sachiko

1. Introduction

1. 1 The purpose of this study

The influence of the mass media on the general public has been widely discussed. For example, newspaper articles, even news reports, which purport to be objective, are said to reflect the writers' viewpoints, if not outright assertions or firm opinions, through their language use. (Fang 1994, Allan 1998[1]) Advertisements typically "speak for" the advertisers. In fact Fairclough (1989)points out the "personalized relationship between producer and consumer," such as "the direct address of audience members with you and imperative sentences" in the advertisements[2]. Such directness gets the audience to feel personally addressed, which makes the advertisement effective. Fairclough coins the term "synthetic personalization" which is "a compensatory tendency to give the impression of treating each of the people 'handled' *en masse* as an individual." (Italic in original.)[3]

Thus, we are attracted to an advertisement, a kind of medium, when we feel it has given us a personal message, one which is specifically aimed at us. We feel in a similar way when we listen to live TV interview programs which aim to attract the general public: we feel as if we are being directly talked to by the guest or we were asking some questions of the guest as the interviewers. This is clearly shown by the nodding and facial expressions of surprise, pleasure, incredulity and more which both the studio audience and TV viewers invariably display.

While Fairclough examines synthetic personalization in advertisements in terms of lexical and syntactic perspectives, we are going to deal with this phenomenon in real conversation, or more specifically, in narrative found on a TV talk show, since it reveals the guest's experiences and opinions which attract us the viewing audience[4]. By studying narratives from a live TV talk show, therefore, we shall try to clarify another mechanism of "synthetic personalization" which

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1) Fang, Yew Jin. 1994. 'Riots' and demonstrations in the Chinese press : a case study of language and ideology. *Discourse and Society*, vol. 5 (4): pp.63-481. London : SAGE.

Allan, Stuart. 1998. News from NowHere: Television News Discourse and the Construction of Hegemony. In Allan Bell and Peter Garrett(eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*, pp.: 105-141. Oxford: Blackwell.

2) Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*, p.205. London: Longman.

3) Ibid., p.62.

4) The word "audience" in the present paper hereafter means both the studio audience and TV viewers since they have essentially the same experience of watching the live talk show.

Fairclough does not mention. This is the purpose of this study.

1. 2 Narrative and cotellers

As Jaworski and Coupland(1999)point out, narratives are subjective ways of representing events even when the narrator is trying to present a fact, for the narrator not only can put a personal slant on "the facts" but quite often has the initiative in the choice of the narrative topics[5]. Furthermore, a narrative enables the narrator to represent his or her "identities and relations with others" and to show how the narrator understands and interprets what is happening in society[6]. A narrative, particularly one elicited in an interview, is thus not only subjective behavior; it is an attempt to connect with the outside world, that is, society. However, just the fact that narrators on TV seek to relate to society does not fully explain how they can directly appeal to the audience, who are overhearers in a sense. How, then, is the phenomenon "synthetic personalization" realized in narratives in a TV talk show ?

This study pays attention to the role of the interviewers to find an answer. Capps (1999)emphasizes the importance of copresent interlocutors in narratives, stating that they contribute to the advancement of storytelling by "their gaze pattern, body orientation, and verbal contributions," adding that "in these ways, cotellers simultaneously display varying degrees of validating or repudiating the teller's legitimacy as narrator."[7] A talk show's cotellers are the interviewers; therefore, the present study focuses on how the interviewers contribute to the development of storytelling and to achieving "synthetic personalization," if they really do that.

It is easily assumed that the interviewers first understand and interpret the guests' utterances, and through their own utterances, they try to enable the guests both to make themselves understood and to leave an impression in the process. In this regard, we believe that certain social and cultural assumptions which should be shared between the direct participants (the guest and the interviewers) and the audience might be a clue to clarifying "synthetic personalization." Therefore, as the framework of this study, we have adopted critical discourse analysis (CDA, hereafter), which analyzes "the process of production and interpretation of text as social process."[8]

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5) Jaworski, Adam and Nikolas Coupland(eds.). 1999. *The Discourse Reader*, p.32. New York: Routledge.

6) Ibid., p.32.

7) Capps, Lisa. 1999. Constructing the Irrational Woman: Narrative Interaction and Agoraphobic Identity. In Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang and Laurel A. Sutton(eds.), *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*, p.86. New York: Oxford University Press.

8) Fairclough(1989) p.24. Here text is defined as "a written transcription of what is said."

1. 3 Critical discourse analysis

CDA uses a method of discourse analysis which aims to reveal latent ideologies and power through examining various levels of text, such as morphemes, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Fairclough and van Dijk are leading forces behind this approach, and CDA's framework and its concepts governing the present study are based on Fairclough(1989), which gives detailed explanation about this approach.

1. 3. 1 Discourse as social interaction

CDA considers discourse as socially determined language use which can be examined in two stages (Fairclough 1989)[9]. The first examination stage looks at "the process of production of text and process of interpretation of text." Here, people produce the text or interpret it by utilizing their linguistic knowledge, general knowledge about the world and their own "values, beliefs, assumptions and so on." Fairclough terms such background knowledge "members' resources" or "MR." (In the present paper, MR will be used, hereafter.) At this stage, such knowledge, though it is of social origin and is socially characterized, is limited to the knowledge in the people's own minds. The second examination stage deals with the processes of "social conditions of interpretation and social conditions of production," which completes the discourse process (or discourse itself). In other words, the first stage looks at the processes from lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic viewpoint, while second stage examines how socially these processes are defined. Besides, these two stages don't work separately, but are intertwined; according to Fairclough, the three types of social conditions[10], which are referred to in the second stage, actually shape the MR people utilize in their production and interpretation of text in the first stage.

Moreover, CDA includes "subject position", which refers to the roles within the social structure taken by the discourse participants, who may at times shift roles and even speak in the name of their interlocutors. Since this concept is useful for identifying the interviewers' positions in the course of talk, it is employed in this study together with MR.

1. 3. 2 Coherence, and cultural and social assumption

In order to clarify the mechanism of "synthetic personalization" this study examines the interviewers' responses to the guests' narratives. In this format of the program, examined here, we can guess that the interviewers respond in such a way as to cohere with the guest's narratives. Our focus is then, on how well the interviewers' utterances cohere, and specifically, what kind

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9) Ibid., pp.24-25.

10) Ibid., p.25. Fairclough states that the three types of social conditions are : "the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs," "the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse," and "the level of the society as a whole."

of effect the interviewers' cohering utterances in response to the guest's narratives have on the audience.

CDA's concept of coherence does not necessarily entail formal cohesion which is often identified with grammatical connections. Fairclough(1989)states coherence is inferred based on implicit and commonsensical assumption, and that it often has ideological characteristics[11]. The "ideological" here refers to assumptions—common sense and common knowledge—which we usually take for granted[12].

We will endeavor to specify such common-sense assumptions and perhaps their underlying ideology by examining elicited MR, established social structure and subject positions of the participants, and to clarify the effect of the interviewers' cohering utterances on the audience.

2. Research procedure

2. 1 The data

The data in this study are from a TV Interview program entitled "Studio Park kara Konnichiwa" broadcast on NHK. The interview format is casual but not too casual; the subjects are celebrities, largely from the world of entertainment. It was presided over by Masaaki Horio, an announcer and Chika Takami, a TV personality when the data were collected in 1997 and 1998[13]. A notable—and noticeable—fact about the program is that an audience of about 20 are watching the interview in the studio. Though they do not present their opinions at any time during the program, they are considered to affect the interaction as listeners who react with such non-verbal behaviors as laughter and applause.

We can say the conversation on this interview program is "almost natural," for Horio himself(personal communication)states that he does not discuss the detailed procedure before-hand, either with the guest or with Takami, who he lets talk freely.

Among the interviews which were videotaped and transcribed by the researcher, 16 cases were selected for this study. As is shown in Appendix 2, the age groups of the guests vary widely, from their twenties to their seventies, so that we can examine talk by representatives of various generations. Though some occupations such as singer and actor/actress are common among the selected guests, their backgrounds and personal histories are varied and their ways of speaking are also different. We are thus enabled to analyze narratives of various kinds.

The transcription method of Maynard(1989)is mainly adopted; however, owing to lack of space, only the original spoken Japanese and idiomatic English translation are included in this paper[14].

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11) Ibid., pp.143-144.

12) Ibid., p.84.

13) The interviewers have changed from Horio and Takami to two other professional announcers now.

14) Maynard, S. Kumiya. 1989. *Japanese Conversation: Self-contextualization through Structure and Interactional Management.* Norwood, NJ : Ablex.

2. 2 Audience-oriented coherence and guest-oriented coherence

In examining the data, we have found two types of coherence in the interviewers' utterances towards the guest narratives.

The first coherence type involves any common social assumption which is salient and can be detected in terms of both linguistic information and common sense, which in Japanese also embraces common knowledge. The subject position of the interviewers is close to the one taken by the audience, who are ordinary Japanese citizens. The interviewers are interacting with the guest based on common social assumptions which are considered to be shared with many ordinary people in Japan. Since this type of coherence relates the interviewers to the audience, we will name this type "audience-oriented coherence."

No general social assumptions figure in the second type, so coherence is not obvious. However, when the interviewers respond in such a way as to take the subject position of the guest, who should be fully aware of the particular assumptions, coherence becomes salient. Since this type of coherence relates the interviewers to the guest, we will name this type "guest-oriented coherence."[15]

We will see how these two types of cohering utterances of the interviewers affect the audience's reception of the narrative messages[16].

3. Analysis

We will examine both types of coherence, then their relations with each other in order to find out how the interviewers align themselves with the narratives in such a way as to draw the audience along with them.

3. 1 Audience-oriented coherence

We will see how audience-oriented coherence is recognized in the data.

data(1)guest: Mr. Oowada, Baku(O), actor, 40's   H＝Horio, T＝Takami

<Oowada talks about his past experience of being put off in his efforts to be assigned a job.>

1. O：Ano doo mo okashii to/[Well, there is something wrong,]

2. H：Ho./[17][Hm.]

3. O：jimusho ga./[with my agency.]

4. H：Ho./[Hm.]

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15) The terms "audience-oriented coherence" and "guest-oriented coherence" have been invented by the researcher in this study.

16) While Takagi(2000), in an earlier examination of the present data, discusses the particular roles played by the male master of ceremonies and his female assistant, this study has not revealed any distinctions. The roles of both interviewers are divided into the two types of coherence described.

17) Backchannels are excluded from the present study's target of coherent utterances by the interviewers.

5. T : Hun./[Hm.]

6. O : Denwa wo iretemo shigoto arimasen to shachoo ni aitai to ittemo isogashii to./

   [When I called the production agency, they said there was no job for me, or when I wanted to see the president, they would say he was too busy to see me.]

→7. H : Hoo nanka kirawareteru mitai desu yo ne./

   [Well, it seems that somehow they didn't like you.]

The social assumption working in the guest's narrative, especially in Oowada's utterance 6 is that his words "shigoto arimasen" and "isogashii," meaning "no job" and "busy," respectively, convey nothing but a refusal to Oowada. Here, social custom and common sense, which are part of MR, help the audience understand that the speech act of "refusal" is being performed. Horio, taking the same subject position as that of the audience, verbalizes the speech act of "refusal" in utterance 7. Here, Horio's utterance not only has coherence with Oowada's utterance 6 but also re-inforces the audience's MR and common sense about the kind of situation Oowada found himself in. In other words, Horio very much "speaks to" and thereby speaks for the audience on this matter.

3. 2 Guest-oriented coherence

Next, we will examine guest-oriented coherence in the data.

Data(2)comes a little later than data(1)in the same interview.

data(2)guest: Mr. Oowada, Baku(O), actor, 40's H=Horio, T=Takami

<Oowada tells about his talk with the president of his agency.>

1. O : Sorede ne hantoshi gurai tatta toki ni ano totsuzen shachoo kara denwa ga atte/

   [Then, after six months or so, I got an unexpected telephone call from the president,]

2. T : Ee./[Yes.]

3. O : chotto detekonai ka to. Etto iyoiyo kubi ka na tto iu ne. (laughing)/

   [he told me to come to the office. I thought he was going to fire me at last.]

⇒4. H : Hehehe. Kita na tto ne.(sadly)/

   [Well, well, here comes the "ultimatum."]

5. O : Iyoiyo kubi ka na tto ne./[I thought I would finally get fired.]

6. H : Hoho./[Hmhm.]

Here, Horio does not try to get close to the audience by presenting a general social assumption, as he does in 3. 1. Utterance 4 does not tell who or what has come at last. However, based on Oowada's utterances 1 and 3, the audience can understand that it is not Oowada or the president but the time of Oowada's dismissal that has come and that Horio's utterance 4 expresses

such a situation self-scornfully. In other words, through Oowada's utterances 1 and 3 , and from what they have heard already on this talk show, the audience know that the social assumption working here is the ideology of hierarchical social order: that a person in a lower position in a social organization(Oowada) is usually expected to obey an order of a person in a higher position(the president). With the help of such context, Horio's utterance 4, which is made from Oowada's subject position, makes the guest's narrative more direct, and enables the audience to feel as if they were listening to Oowada's anxious murmur on the spot.

This type places the interviewer in the guest's subject position, from which he or she makes a cohering utterance. The audience get stronger messages from the guest thanks to the interviewers' utterances, which contain some combination of paralinguistic effects and direct speech.

3. 3 Both types of coherence and their effects

We are now going to analyze the two types of coherence described above, audience-oriented coherence and guest-oriented coherence, in one sequence of narrative. The guest here is Manami Fuji, an actress in her sixties. She talks about a serious illness in her childhood.

data(3)guest: Ms. Manami Fuji(F), actress, 60's H＝Horio, T＝Takami
＜Fuji talks about her experience of a serious illness.＞
1. F : Arimasu yo.(laughing)Hontoni hitotsu hanashi de ne otooto ni iu to mata onaji hanashi suru tte okorarechau n dakedo isshoni byooki ni natta toki ni ano tasukara-naitte toki ni chichi to haha ga osooshiki no shitaku made shitato iu kurai futari tomo ekiri ni nacchatta n desu kedo mo./

   [I am always scolded by my younger brother since I often tell people the same story. Well, my younger brother and I were suffering from children's dysentery so seriously and with so little hope of recovery that our parents had begun to prepare for the funeral service for us.]
2. H : Ee./[Yes.]
3. F : Soredemo akirame rarenakutte chichi to haha mo shinbutsu ni inotte/
   [Still my parents could not simply give up on us so they prayed and,]
→4. H : Ee donata to donata ga ? /[Well, who and who became sick ?]
5. F : Atashi to otooto ga. Choonan no otooto ga./
   [I and my younger but first brother did, I mean he was the first boy.]
→6. H : Sugu shita no otooto san ga/[Your brother born just after you]
7. F : Ee./[Yes.]
→8. H : ekiri ni kakatte shimatte/
   [You caught children's dysentery,]

9. F : Ee./[Yes.]

→10. H : dooji ni./[at the same time.]

11. F : (nod)

12. H : Haihai./[Yes.]

13. F : Tasukara-naitte iwareta toki ni/

[When our parents were told we had no hope of recovery,]

14. H : Ee./[Yes.]

15. T : Ee./[Yes.]

16. F : Moo fubo wa anoo kono otokonoko wa yatto umareta wareware no takara nanode tsureteku nara kono ko ni shitekudasaitte./

[Well, our parents prayed to the gods, "We had been hoping for a boy and at last our son was born. He is our treasure, so if you have to take somebody, please take only our daughter. "]

⌈→17. H : Ee.(shouting loudly)/[What！]

⌊→18. T : Ee.(shouting loudly)/[What！]

19. F : Watashi no koto./[They meant me.]

→20. H : Sooiu koto wo dooiu bamen de kiiteta n desu ka./

[In what situation did you hear such a story？]

21. F : Iyaa sore wo chanto ano chichi ga nokoshita nikki ni kaite arundesu yo./

[This story was written in my late father's diary.]

⇒22. H : Sore wo miteshimatta.(sadly, showing great empathy)/

[. . . happened to see it.]¹⁸⁾

23. F : Soo haha ga moo konna koto ga tte itte ne./

[My mother showed it to me, saying such a thing was written.]

→24. H : Hoo jimange ni miserundesu ka./

[Did she proudly show it to you？]

25. F : Jimange ni.(laughing)/[Proudly.]

⇒26. T : Shokku./[That's shocking！]

27. F : Hun hun./[Hm, hm.]

28. H : Hoo./[Well.]

29. F : Omoshiroi desu ne./[It's funny.]

→30. H : Demo oya to shite wa ne/[Well, parents usually,]

31. F : Sorya ryoohoo tasukattehoshii desu kedo/

[Of course they wanted to save both of us, but,]

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18) The omitted subject pronoun would ordinarily be "you" but H's tone conveys "I" as if the hapless Fuji were speaking.

32. H : Hun./[Hm.]

33. T : Hun./[Hm.]

34. F : futari tsureteku nante mugoi koto shinaidekure tsureteku nara kono ko ni shitekurette./ ["Don't do such a cruel thing as to take away both of the two children. If you want, please take away only our daughter."]

⇒35. T : Sore motto mugoi.(sadly smiling)/[That is more cruel.]

36. F : Mugoi huun.(laughing)/[Cruel, hm.]

→37. H : Sorehodo nanka otokonoko ni taisuru kimochitte tsuyokatta no kamo shiremasen ne./ [It seems that they treasured boys so much at that time.]

3. 3. 1　Analysis of coherence

3. 3. 1. 1　Analysis of utterance 4 ＜audience-oriented coherence＞

This is an utterance with audience-oriented coherence. Fuji's linguistic information(one of several MRs)in utterance 1 is not enough here(she just says "isshoni" meaning together); therefore, the audience may lose coherence with the story regarding what happened and who suffered. Taking the subject position of the audience who might want to ask, Horio asks for clarification for the audience, which shortens the distance between the guest and the audience.

3. 3. 1. 2　Analysis of utterances 6 , 8 and 10 ＜audience-oriented coherence＞

These utterances as a whole compensate for the missing linguistic information. Fuji's expression "choonan no otooto" which is literally "a[younger] brother of a first boy" in utterance 5 may sound as if she means her second brother. Therefore, the interviewer confirms that she means the elder one of her two younger brothers. His utterance 6 also elicits intertextual context where she has said that she has two younger brothers. Moreover, this utterance 6 contributes to elicitation of the social assumption that if the two children, whose age gap is very small, have contracted the same illness, it is really a terrible situation. Thus, utterance 6 clarifies and emphasizes a serious situation and presents it to the audience, who can get a more obvious message. The word, "shimatte" in the utterance 8 and "doojini" in 10 further emphasize the seriousness above.

3. 3. 1. 3　Analysis of utterances 17 and 18 ＜audience-oriented coherence＞

These are also utterances with audience-oriented coherence. Horio's and Takami's "Ee." respond to Fuji's utterance 16, expressing great surprise. Based on the social assumption that parents should not unfairly treat their children, the interviewers show the extraordinariness in her mother's utterance. In other words, they speak for the audience, who must feel surprised and sorry for the almost discarded daughter.

3. 3. 1. 4　Analysis of utterance 20 <audience-oriented coherence>

The interviewer tries to specify the situational context which is the basis of social assumption. By doing this, he makes the private situation in which Fuji was placed clear and the social circumstances surrounding her at the time also salient, which helps the audience recognize the ideological content embodied in this incident[19].

3. 3. 1. 5　Analysis of utterance 22 <guest-oriented coherence>

Though it is Horio's utterance, this direct speech is to be interpreted as Fuji's exclamation telling how she knew the sad fact. (In fact Horio's intonation here sounds sad and dramatic.)For "mite shimatta" means she had happened to see her father's diary, and that she greatly regretted it. By taking Fuji's subject position and uttering 22, the interviewer is able to convey Fuji's sad regret directly to the audience.

3. 3. 1. 6　Analysis of utterance 24 <audience-oriented coherence>

The interviewer tries to get into the specifics of Fuji's private situation where her mother showed her father's diary. At the same time, the word "jimange ni" meaning proudly, demonstrates a social situation wherein her mother is proud of her father's methodicalness in writing down details in life including such a heartbreaking story. Here, we can recognize the ideology underlying social expectation of parents, especially the father's high position in the family in those days in Japan. This social ideology can be shared with the audience, especially those who have experienced the traditional male-dominated society.

3. 3. 1. 7　Analysis of utterance 26 <guest-oriented coherence>

The word "shokku" is Takami's, but, because it is uttered with such directness, it is interpreted as what Fuji may well have exclaimed when she was shown her father's diary proudly by her mother. Here, Takami, by taking Fuji's subject position, brings Fuji's feeling of shock across to the audience and solicits their understanding.

3. 3. 1. 8　Analysis of utterance 30 <audience-oriented coherence>

The interviewer tries to voice some sort of general opinion about being a parent, though he does not complete it. Trying to express the ideology which supports the words and actions of her parents, he thus endeavors to enhance the audience's understanding of the Fuji family's situation and express the social assumption the audience are likely to have regarding what parents should

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19) Both "private situation in which Fuji was placed" and "social circumstances surrounding her " belong to the first level of the three social conditions described in Note 10. The ideological content embodied here are : (1)a boy's life outweighed a girl's, and(2)even a mother proudly embraced such values.

do at such a difficult time.

3. 3. 1. 9 Analysis of utterance 35 <guest-oriented coherence>

This is similar to the utterance 26. "Sore motto mugoi" is Takami's utterance; however, this direct speech is interpreted as how Fuji no doubt felt, and what she may well have said, when she heard her mother's "confession." Again, Takami puts herself in Fuji's position and conveys a sense of Fuji's shock directly to the audience.

3. 3. 1. 10 Analysis of utterance 37 <audience-oriented coherence>

Horio explains about Fuji's private situation, citing the conventional, widespread recognition of the traditional male-dominated society. Presenting this social ideology which is to be shared with most of the audience, Horio expresses not only his but also the audience's understanding of Fuji's family situation.

3. 3. 2 Effects of the two types of coherence

In the first type of coherence, that is audience-oriented coherence, the interviewer interprets the guest's narrative and produces utterances, appealing to the audience's common sense and common knowledge. Utterances of second type, that is guest-oriented coherence, omit explanation of the narrative, and allow the interviewers themselves in the position of the guest and emphasize the guest's message. The second type thus seems to put a heavier burden on the audience in the matter of understanding social assumptions embodied in the narrative. However, as we have seen in data(3)above, thanks to the first type which ensures the elicitation of social assumptions to be shared by the audience before the second type occurs, the audience can receive direct messages from the guest without difficulty. This has been proven by the lively reactions of the audience in this case, such as laughter and exclamatory voices.

4. Discussion

We have recognized two functions for utterances of audience-oriented coherence: 1. The interviewers ask the guest for additional language information or confirmation about the guest's previous utterance so that the audience can understand his or her narrative as a coherent one (e.g. data(3) Horio 4: "Ee donata to donata ga ? "). 2. The interviewers, based on the social assumption, clarify the contents of the guest's narrative(e.g. data(1)Horio 7: "Hoo nanka kirawa-reteru mitaidesu yone.")or point out an expressed ideology conveyed in the guest's narrative (data(3)Horio 37: Sorehodo nanka otokonoko ni taisuru kimochitte tsuyokatta nokamo shiremasen ne.").

In the case of function 1, the interviewers themselves are engaged in the first stage in CDA's text interpretation(Chapter 1. 3. 1 in this paper): they are interpreting the guest's narrative "text"

based on their linguistic and social knowledge in their own mind, and when they need more of such knowledge on behalf of the audience, they ask the guest to supply it. Function 2, on the other hand, is the process of "social conditions of interpretation," which corresponds to the second stage in CDA's text interpretation. Here, based on the social condition for interpretation, the interviewers clarify the narrative contents or define ideologies which are obviously or tacitly expressed by the guest. Both of these functions of audience-oriented coherence have been found in all the data analyzed.

The fact the interviewers' discourse strategies are the same as the process of discourse analysis in CDA as explained above, evidently shows that the interviewers interpret the guest's narrative as socially determined language use and that they produce their utterances as the result of such interpretation. Therefore, it is no wonder that their interpretation and production which depend on the social assumptions appeal to the audience who share these, and this is considered to explain why the audience can achieve "synthetic personalization" of the narratives in this talk show.

The characteristics of utterances of guest-oriented coherence are that the interviewers take the subject position of the guest and that the utterances are made in direct, vivid speech as if the guest were speaking[20].

In guest-oriented coherence, social assumptions are not clarified verbally to the extent found in audience-oriented coherence. However, guest-oriented utterances have the power of attracting the audience to the scene explained in the narratives, largely owing to the interviewers' paralinguistic and non-linguistic behaviors such as their dynamic intonation and facial expression. These utterances, together with liveliness of direct speech, are considered to help the audience identify the tacit social assumptions and thereby identify with the guest. Moreover, their simultaneity and dramatic effects are a key factor in enabling the audience to directly receive and empathize with the feelings of the guest expressed in the narrative. Therefore, such directness is considered another mechanism through which the audience can have "synthetic personalization."

The analysis has shown that guest-oriented coherence is not found in all the data; it does not appear in the interviews of Senju, Misaki, Wakata, Yamamura or Sakaki. We have found that this type of coherence is recognized. either when the talk goes on in a very cheerful atmosphere and the guest is always in a very good, cooperative mood, or when the guest is in a bad mood and so the interviewers have to cheer up the whole atmosphere. In other words, this type is used when the psychological distance between the guest and the interviewers is either very close or very distant.

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20) In the data, we have found cases in which the interviewers take the subject position of people who are cited in the guest's narrative. We have included such cases in guest-oriented coherence since the interviewers are related to the guest in these cases, too.

5. Conclusion

This study has suggested two types of coherence in the interviewers' utterances, that is, audience-oriented coherence and guest-oriented coherence, and explained the phenomenon of "synthetic personalization," which the audience tend to have in watching and listening to narratives on a TV talk show.

We have utilized the approach of CDA, which is effective in clarifying hidden messages and ideologies such as unfairness and discrimination in language. Though we have not encountered a radically discriminatory messages since the present data are from a public talk show, we have found that the interviewers draw from the guest's narrative the guest's opinions, assertions and feelings, which, in the CDA framework, are commonsensical assumptions representing a kind of ideology. In other words, the interviewers produce their utterances reflecting such ideologies obviously or tacitly, and it is this which makes the audience's synthetic personalization possible. This is one of the interviewers' strategies and may be among the reasons for the difficulty of interviewing.

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Appendix (1)

Transcription Format(portion) (based on Maynard[1989], Tannen[1984])

/	recognizable pause
.	utterance-final contour
?	rising interrogative contour
→ ⇒	focus of analysis
( )	comments on speech and context
[	Brackets between lines indicate overlapping speech.

Appendix (2)

List of the guests in the interview data and their approximate ages at the time of broadcast.

name of the guest	occupation	age group	date of broadcast
Ms. Nishida, Hikaru	singer	20's	1997. 7. 15
Ms. Senju, Mariko	violinist	30's	1997. 10. 21
Ms. Mizusawa, Aki	actress	40's	1997. 7. 17
Ms. Nakajima, Keiko	singer	40's	1998. 1. 21
Ms. Segawa, Eiko	singer	40's	1997. 8. 25
Ms. Yamamura, Reiko	rallyist	40's	1998. 2. 6
Ms. Fuji, Manami	actress	60's	1998. 2. 27
Ms. Misaki, Chieko	actress	70's	1997. 7. 16
Mr. Nagashima, Kazushige	sportscaster	30's	1997. 10. 10
Mr. Shimada, Masahiko	novelist	30's	1997. 8. 27
Mr. Wakata, Kouichi	astronaut	30's	1997. 11. 13
Mr. Oowada, Baku	actor	40's	1997. 7. 14
Mr. Atoh, Kai	actor	50's	1997. 7. 18
Mr. Ogata, Ken	actor	50's	1998. 1. 7
Mr. Tamaoki, Hiroshi	master of ceremonies	60's	1998. 1. 28
Mr. Sakaki, Bakuzan	calligrapher	70's	1998. 2. 5