



Turning the spotlight: Looking at the interviewers

A dialogical approach to interaction analysis of two interviewers' sociolinguistic interviews with a personality psychological perspective on the interviewers

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Randi Skovbjerg Sørensen
PhD thesis

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interaction analysis of two interviewers' sociolinguistic interviews
with a personality psychological perspective
on the interviewers

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Summary

Very often, the speech of the person being interviewed is taken as the outcome of an interview. In the present thesis, interviews are approached dialogically with a special focus on the interviewer. Rather than a monologue, the interview is viewed as a dialogue.

The point of departure of the study is two interviewers – a female and a male – who have conducted a range of sociolinguistic interviews for the LANCHART Centre. I ask them to point out their good and bad interviews. Particularly, each of the interviewer's best and worst interviews are studied in detail and supplemented with another eight interviews conducted by the two interviewers.

The thesis is divided into three parts:

In **Part I**, methodological considerations are addressed. The sociolinguistic interview is described as a heterogeneous genre. Moreover, this method for data collection and critiques of it are discussed. Furthermore, I account for the way I contacted the interviewers, my interviews with them, and how the data was selected based on these interviews.

In **Part II**, I address the following question with quantitative and CA inspired analyses:

- How do two interviewers behave in the sociolinguistic interviews which they themselves classify as good or bad interviews? And how does this relate to their own ideals for the sociolinguistic interview?

The studies show clear differences in what the interviewers classify as their best and worst interviews. The interviewers tend to take more of the initiatives to change the topic and ask more questions in their bad interviews than in their good interviews. Generally, the female interviewer changes the topic and asks relatively more questions than the male interviewer. However, I find no clear difference in the share of words uttered by the interviewers in their good and bad interviews. Further studies of the female interviewer's best and worst interview show that rapport is achieved in her best but spoiled in her worst. It also seems that face-work is carried out more carefully in her best interview than in her worst. Moreover, studying the female interviewer's best and worst interview show clear differences in the number of dispreferred responses to assessments and next turn repair initiators as responses to questions. The studies make it clear that success and failure is not just one thing and may not simply be captured by a number of ideals. Above all, the studies reveal complexity and confirm that there are differences between their best and worst interviews as well as the two interviewers.

In **Part III**, I address the following question:

- How is it possible to approach an explanation for variations in interviewer behaviour?

Studying four interviews of each of the two interviewers reveals consistencies in the two interviewers' interview style. I conclude that the female interviewer has features which may be characterised as a risky and potentially face-threatening interview style, whereas the male interviewer has a less risky and rather flexible style. I find that their characteristic interactional features are (vaguely) in line with the results in a NEO PI-R personality test; however, the connection is too vague to anticipate or account fully for their special characteristics.

Resumé

Ofte er det alene den interviewede persons tale, der regnes som resultatet af et interview. I denne afhandling anskuer jeg interviewet i et dialogisk perspektiv med særligt fokus på interviewerens. Interviewet betragtes som en dialog, ikke en monolog.

Udgangspunktet for undersøgelsen er to interviewere – en kvindelig og en mandlig – som har udført en række sociolingvistiske interview for LANCHART Centret. Jeg har bedt de to interviewere udpege deres gode og dårlige interview. De interview, som de to interviewere udpeger som deres bedste og deres dårligste, studeres indgående og suppleres med yderligere otte af deres interviews.

Afhandlingen er opdelt i tre dele:

I **Del I** udfolder jeg de metodologiske overvejelser bag studiet. Det sociolingvistiske interview beskrives som en heterogen genre, og dataindsamlingsmetoden og kritikken af den diskuteres. Desuden redegør jeg for måden, hvorpå jeg har kontaktet interviewerne, mine interview med dem, og hvordan jeg har udvalgt data.

I **Del II** søger jeg svar på følgende spørgsmål gennem kvantitative og CA-inspirerede analyser:

- Hvordan agerer de to interviewere i sociolingvistiske interview, som de selv klassificerer som gode og dårlige? Og hvordan relaterer denne adfærd sig til deres egne idealer for det sociolingvistiske interview?

Studierne viser en klar forskel på de interview, som interviewerne klassificerer som deres bedste og værste. Blandt andet er der en tendens til, at interviewerne tager flere initiativer til at skifte emne og oftere stiller spørgsmål i deres dårligste interview end i deres bedste. Generelt initierer den kvindelige interviewer flere emner og stiller oftere spørgsmål end den mandlige. Der er dog ingen klar forskel på hvor stor en andel af ordene, der ytres af interviewerne i deres gode og dårlige interview. Yderligere studier af den kvindelige interviewers bedste og værste interview viser, at *rapport* ("kemi") opnås i det bedste interview, men mislykkes i det værste. Der udføres også mere *face-work* i den kvindelige interviewers bedste interview sammenlignet med hendes dårligste. Desuden er der klare forskelle på antallet af dispræfererede svar på vurderinger og næsteturs-reparaturinitiatorer som svar på spørgsmål i den kvindelige interviewers bedste og værste interview. Undersøgelserne gør det klart, at succesfulde og mislykkede interview ikke bare er én ting og muligvis slet ikke kan reduceres til et antal idealer. Mest af alt afslører studierne en stor kompleksitet og bekræfter, at der er forskel på gode og dårlige interview lige såvel som på interviewere.

I **Del III** søger jeg svar på følgende spørgsmål:

- Hvordan er det muligt at nærme sig en forklaring på variationerne i intervieweradfærd?

Ved at studere fire interview foretaget af de to interviewere afsløres en konsistens i hver af de to intervieweres interviewstil. Den kvindelige interviewer har træk, der kan karakteriseres som en vovet og potentielt *face*-truende interviewstil, hvorimod den mandlige interviewer har en mindre vovet, fleksibel interviewstil. Deres karakteristiske interaktionelle træk er (vagt) i overensstemmelse med deres resultater af en NEO PI-R personlighedstest. Dog er forbindelsen for vag til at forudsige eller redegøre fuldt ud for deres særlige karakteristika.

1. Turning the spotlight

Interviews are used all over the place. We come across varieties of interviews when we listen to the news, when we apply for a job, when we go to the doctor, etc. Our society relies on interviews for various purposes. They ensure that people get the social care they are entitled to; statistics are based on them; and basically, the interview has become an essential part of modern democracy since it is the format in which democratically elected persons are usually held accountable for their actions. Thus, interviews are fundamental to the way we have arranged our society although, as indicated, they have various forms and purposes.

A common feature is that the focus is strictly on the interviewee and her/his replies. The content of an interview is often summarised by the replies alone, leaving out the questions which generated the answers. The outcome of an interview is, thus, treated as a monologue although it was generated as a dialogue. It is often ignored that the person who is interviewed is placed within the frame of the questions s/he is asked – and, if they try to answer differently they will be corrected (however, e.g., Stivers & Hayashi (2010) discuss how respondents may indicate transformative answers). Thus, the interviewer is just as responsible for what can be talked about and revealed in an interview as the interviewee.

In the sociolinguistic interview, it is the speech of the informants, people in a specific community (cf., e.g., Labov (2006)), which is in focus. Thus, the overall goal is to make the informants produce speech, whereas the interviewer's contributions are often not studied at all. However, looking closer at individual sociolinguistic interviews, they are, in fact, quite diverse. Some interviews obviously run smoothly. Some interviews go deep. And yet other interviews are only just pulled off. Basically, some interviews may be said to be very good and others rather poor. So what creates this difference in data which is meant to be comparable?

The purpose of sociolinguistic interviews is to collect comparable speech data (e.g., Labov, 1984, p. 32). Labov (in particular, 1984) has rather clear descriptions of what the sociolinguistic interview should include. However, Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995, p. 58) conclude in their critical review of the literature on sociolinguistic interviews that the interviewers are not as constant a variable as they might seem on the surface. The sociolinguistic interview is a more complex situation than a simple method for data collection. To the best of my knowledge, no one has studied the actual characteristics of concrete sociolinguistic interviews selected as good or bad by the interviewer and, thus, approached the issue that sociolinguistic interviews vary in the way they are conducted by the single interviewer. In the present study, I seek insight into interviewers' ways of interviewing, and I ask interviewers what they think a good interview is to understand their comprehension of the interviewer role and their conception of interview practice. In that way, I explore whether different interviewers seem to influence their interviews in specific ways.

I have several reasons for looking at the interview from the interviewers' perspective. For instance, Schober & Clark's (1989) studies show that interactants have special access to interaction and understandings achieved in interaction which is better than the access of those they refer to as

'overhearers'. I, the analyst, only have access as an overhearer since I was not present when the interviews took place and, therefore, can only rely on the audio. Furthermore, it is only the interviewers who may know how it felt to be in the situation – as for instance, DePaulo & Bell (1990, p. 306) note it is only the interactants who have the definitional experience of rapport, which is one way of speaking about a good relation between interactants. Therefore, I find that the interviewers' perspective contributes to the present study with knowledge to which I would not otherwise have had access. I wish to study interviewer behaviour and how this is in agreement with the interviewer's own ideals for the sociolinguistic interview.

Specifically, I look into the variation between individual sociolinguistic interviews and, subsequently, differences between interviewers. I ask two interviewers – a male and a female – to point out their good and bad sociolinguistic interviews in a specific study done in Copenhagen. All of them have been recorded and transcribed by the LANCHART Centre five to seven years before the present study. Furthermore, I ask the interviewers what constitutes a good sociolinguistic interview. I reduce their responses to four points which they both mention, and I then perform quantitative and qualitative interactional analyses to explore how these points are realised verbally in their best and worst interview. Then, I explore other things that leap out in the good and the bad interviews.

However, studying good and bad interviews from the interviewer's perspective and looking into what seem to be obvious differences when listening to the actual interviews do not explain why the differences are there. To answer this question, I look for consistencies in the interviewers' interview style: If everything varied in all the interviews, it would not be possible to find any fixed pattern.

In order to get at the connection between interview style and individual characteristics, I discuss ways to approach individual behaviour. Many personality psychologists argue that individuals have a core and rather stable way of acting – what they refer to as a personality. For instance, Tausczik & Pennebaker (2010) propose that the use of style words may reveal a speaker's or writer's personality; I argue that this is not a convincing approach due to, among other things, the dialogical conviction of the present study. Other personality psychologists such as McCrae & Costa (2008) have developed a theory of personality and a widely used test called NEO PI-R to reveal the individual's personality. I compare the personality approach to other ways of describing the individual: roles (Goffman, 1959), positioning (Langenhove & Harré, 1999), and identities (Blommaert, 2005).

Personality psychologists say they may reveal individual differences: I explore whether this holds true for the interviewers and their interactional behaviour in the present study. Giles (1973, p. 103) mentions personality as a factor which may influence whether one is likely to accommodate linguistically to others; thus, he suggests that personality has interactional consequences. The two interviewers in the present study have taken the above-mentioned NEO PI-R personality test and, in the final part of the thesis, I compare their test results with their interview style to see whether the test results reflect the interviewers' characteristics. If the personality psychologists behind the test are right, the test results should match the person's interview style.

The NEO PI-R personality test (cf. Costa & McCrae, 2008) is widely used for recruitment, employee development, therapy, etc. The intention of the final experiment of this thesis is to see whether the interviewers' interactional behaviours are reflected in the results of a NEO PI-R test. Thus, the experiment is not based on a firm belief that the test will be the right way to reveal information about the interviewers which may be directly linked to interviewer differences. However, the NEO PI-R test seems an obvious choice due to its extensive use elsewhere.

The success of the applied test in this context should be considered an experiment in itself. Either way, no one within sociolinguistics has studied whether consistent interactional patterns in interviewer behaviour can somehow be explained. I see the present study as one step towards seeking an explanation for differences between interviewers who otherwise seem to have the same theoretical background and ideals for a sociolinguistic interview.

In brief, I aim in this thesis to answer the following questions:

- How do two interviewers behave in the sociolinguistic interviews which they themselves classify as good or bad interviews? And how does this relate to their own ideals for the sociolinguistic interview?
- How is it possible to approach an explanation for variations in interviewer behaviour?

Delimitation

The project is not normative: The project does not end up with guidelines for how to produce good interviews. Rather, it is an observation of what happens in the interviews which are remembered as good or bad, best and worst, by the interviewers who conducted them. However, indications of what seem to be successful strategies in interviewing may be a by-product of this manoeuvre.

Furthermore, the present study might draw conclusions that, potentially, have implications for the discussion of good and bad data; however, I wish to make it clear from the beginning that this is neither particularly intended nor do I attempt to avoid it. Even though the discussion of good and bad data in comparison to good and bad interviews as pointed out by the interviewers might seem close to the topic of the present study, this discussion is not the aim. Thus, my conclusions about the good and bad interviews are not meant as conclusions about good and bad data. Moreover, the rather small and carefully chosen selection of interviews used most frequently in the present study would not be an appropriate basis for drawing general conclusions.

The organisation of the thesis

The thesis is divided into three parts including several chapters. The three parts and the chapters within them are arranged as follows:

Part I accounts for the methodological basis and design of the study:

In Chapter 2, I look at the literature and critiques of the sociolinguistic interview and compare the sociolinguistic interview with other types of interviews. In Chapter 3, I present the data of the

present study (mainly, the interviews which the interviewers point out as their best and their worst) and how they have been selected.

Part II focuses on the interviews selected by the interviewers as being good or bad, best or worst: After introducing the chapters in Part II.A, I begin by accounting for my theoretical point of departure, which constitutes the basis for the following analyses (Part II.B). In Chapter 4, I account for the interviewers' points on 'the good sociolinguistic interview', which is one of the main topics in the interview I conducted with them. In Chapter 5, I explore how the interviewers' points about the good sociolinguistic interview are realised in the interviews they consider their best and worst interviews. In Chapter 6, I continue the study of the interviews to see whether other features may characterise the difference between the good and bad interviews. I am inspired by the conversation analytic (CA) approach in my analyses in this part of the thesis although I have some reservations about the CA practice.

Part III focuses on the interviewers and discusses ways to seek an explanation for the differences revealed between them:

First, I introduce the chapters in Part III.A. In Chapter 7, I look for consistencies in the interviewers' interview styles. In Chapter 8, I take up a theoretical discussion of ways to approach individual differences, and I end the chapter by experimenting with a widely used personality test called NEO PI-R to see whether the test results may approach an explanation for differences in interview style.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I make my conclusions, put them into perspective, and offer some suggestions for further research.

Part I: The design of the study

A. Introduction to the Chapters 2 and 3.

In this first part of the thesis, I present a methodological account of the study. First, I explore the method of data collection in the present study: The sociolinguistic interview. I make some general comments on the method and, afterwards, I look in detail at how the sociolinguistic interviews were conducted in the study from which the data for the following analyses will be selected. As will be argued, the method entails various elements and, therefore, is comparable to several other types of interviews.

Thereafter, I describe the data collection made specifically for the present study. Two interviewers are in focus. I have interviewed each of them twice with different purposes. Based on the first interview with them, I select the interviews for further analysis in Part II. The second interview serves the purpose of verifying a test used in Part III – more about that later.

The purpose of this part is to introduce the data which will be the foundation for the thesis and how I have obtained them.

Thus, in Chapter 2, I explore the literature on the genre – one of my research objects – the sociolinguistic interview. In Chapter 3, I present my approach to collecting data for the present study and how the interviews below have been selected.

2. The sociolinguistic interview – as interpreted by LANCHART

An interview is not just one thing – the interview genre is heterogeneous. Indeed, the sociolinguistic interview in particular has features similar to several speech events such as everyday conversation (Labov, 1984; Thøgersen, 2005b), the research interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), the standardized survey interview (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000), the news interview (Schmidt, 2011), and the therapeutic interview (Rogers, 1945).

The present study does not apply the sociolinguistic method of study; rather, the sociolinguistic interview constitutes the data, and it is in this respect that the following account of it is relevant. More specifically, the sociolinguistic interviews in the present study have been collected in the BySoc study, which is part of the larger LANCHART¹ study. All the informants were interviewed both in the late 1980s and, again, between 2005 and 2007; it is the design of the recent interviews I focus on in the following since the interviews selected for the present study are all from the recent round of interviews. Thus, the point of departure for this chapter is the genre of the sociolinguistic interview as it has been conducted in the BySoc study at the LANCHART Centre (henceforward LANCHART). In the following, I reflect on the circumstances around and the conditions which apply to the general interview practice at the LANCHART. In Chapter 3, I account for the selection of the specific interviews analysed in the present study.

The design of the BySoc interviews is clearly inspired by Labov (e.g., 1966, 1972c; 1984) and I will, therefore, account for similarities and differences in the following. However, as I study what happens in specific interviews which have been evaluated as either particularly good or particularly bad by the interviewer, the following account is focused on the factors which influence the way the interviews are carried out and the basis on which they are likely to be evaluated. For an account of the entire LANCHART study, see Gregersen (2009).

In 2.1, I explore the similarities and differences between the interviews in the BySoc study and Labov's design of the sociolinguistic interview. In 2.2, I look into the criticism of the Labovian sociolinguistic interview. In 2.3, I reflect on the relationship between the interviewer and the informant in this particular type of interview. In 2.4, I account for the design of the BySoc part of the LANCHART study in which the data for the present study is found. In 2.5, I compare the sociolinguistic interview with other types of interviews. And, finally, in 2.6, I sum up the design and critique of the speech event presented.

2.1 Labov's sociolinguistic interview and the BySoc interviews

Labov (e.g., 1966; 1972a, 1972b, 1972c, 1984, 2001) argues that we all use a variety of speech styles. According to Labov (e.g., 1972c), the intra-individual styles are related to the attention paid

¹ LANCHART is short for LANguage CHAnge in Real Time. The LANCHART Centre (2005-2015) performs sociolinguistic studies of the Danish language; it is funded by the Danish National Research Foundation and based at the University of Copenhagen.

to speech – i.e., if you pay attention to the way you speak in a situation, you are likely to speak more formally than if you do not pay attention to the way you speak. Gregersen (2009) explicates that the LANCHART design (and, thereby, also the BySoc study) was inspired by Labov's hypothesis about 'attention to speech' (e.g., 1966; 1984). Thus, the LANCHART study focuses on the variety of styles in individual speakers, which is obvious from the different phases in the interviews (see 2.4 below).

Vernacular speech is meant to designate the style we use when we pay the least attention to the way we speak (e.g., Labov, 1972a, 2006). Labov writes about the vernacular:

[...] I have tried to stabilize it as a technical term to signify the language first acquired by the language learner, controlled perfectly, and used primarily among intimate friends and family members. Thus every speaker has a vernacular, some quite close to the network standard, some quite remote from it.²

(Labov, 2006, p. 86)

The term vernacular originates from the first of the developments within sociolinguistics, which Eckert (2005, 2012) – a student of Labov's – describes as three waves. The last two waves build on the preceding wave(s) as the knowledge established in the first wave was necessary to be able to develop into a second wave, and the same goes for the third wave. The first wave was a break with the structuralist thought, and most work was quantitative with a focus on the relation between linguistic variables and class, gender, age, and ethnic group (e.g., Labov, 1966). In the second wave, sociolinguists employed ethnography to study local categories and social groupings and explore the social meanings of linguistic variables (e.g., Eckert, 1989). In the third wave, language variation is seen and studied as an actual force in social change. Quist (2005) and Maegaard (2007) are examples of late-modern variationist studies; both studies are interactional and Labov-inspired approaches.

Labov (1972a, 1972b, 1984, 2001) argues that vernacular speech is the most important to study in a sociolinguistic study of language variation and change (e.g., Milroy, 1987, agrees). However, capturing the informants' vernacular speech is not an easy task according to Labov's so-called observer's paradox: the sociolinguist wishes to observe how informants behave when they are not being observed. Labov (1984) stresses that the interviewer and the equipment make the informants pay more attention to their speech and, thus, by definition, they do not speak their vernacular. Thus, Labov is aware of the interviewer's influence on the situation and refers to this as the observer's paradox. The focus in the BySoc study was not only on the vernacular or casual style but on different styles (see, e.g., Albris, 1991; Gregersen, 1988). This makes it relevant to conduct longer sociolinguistic interviews which include different phases.

² Labov's use of the term does not seem to be completely consistent. For instance, Labov (2013) refers to the vernacular not as a personal speech style but as a specific style connected to a language (e.g., "African-American Vernacular English" in Labov, 2013, p. 183). Milroy (1987, pp. 57-58) also notes that the term is applied with two different meanings. In the following, I use the term in accordance with the quotation, which corresponds to the use in several books and papers as referred to above.

Labov (1984, p. 28) specifies that the sociolinguistic interview is akin to the traditional techniques used in dialectology, individual interviewing, and participant observation. He (1984, p. 30) remarks on how survey interviews and data collections of social anthropologists and ethnographers are each radical in opposing ways. The interaction in survey interviews is such that rapport (see 5.3 below) is kept at a moderate level and information that is irrelevant for the prepared questions is avoided; thus, the speech of informants – called 'respondents' in the survey interview genre – is thought to be far from their vernacular speech because of the impact of the interviewer and the formal style. In contrast to this, anthropologists and ethnographers have the opposite problem: Since they wish to have as little effect on the observed subjects as possible, they are limited in their opportunities and means to record actual speech. With the sociolinguistic interview, Labov tries to take the best from each of the two traditions.

Labov (e.g., 1972a, p. 354) notes that people are likely to shift to their vernacular when they tell narratives of personal experience, which is how Labov tries to work around the observer's paradox. An example is the 'danger-of-death' question which Labov (e.g. 1966) posed to make New Yorkers tell a gripping self-experienced story which would make them forget they were being interviewed and confide their story to the 'intimate stranger', i.e., the interviewer (e.g., Albris, 1991, pp. 53-54). For a discussion of danger-of-death narratives, see Butters (2000). In this way, Labov (e.g., 1972a; 1984) acknowledges the importance of the content covered in the sociolinguistic interview. He also provides clear descriptions of the more formal components the interview should contain (for instance, reading a list of 'minimal pairs'; cf. Labov, 1966; Labov, 1984, p. 43). However, Thøgersen (2005a, p. 228) points out that Labov's ideal is not standardisation; rather, the interviewer should become an intimate stranger and follow the informant's lead.

The Labovian ideal for the interviewer is to position her/himself as a learner (Labov, 1984, p. 40). To fill this role or position, the interviewer must be conscious of his use of the language to support the learner's position and, possibly, even partially accommodate to the local dialect. Furthermore, the interviewer should not attempt to control the order of the topics s/he has prepared to discuss; rather, s/he should follow the informant's interests as well as offer her/his own experience (Labov, 1984, pp. 36-37). That said, Labov has a long list of topics, which should ideally be covered in the interest of comparability.

The practice of the sociolinguistic interview in the BySoc study is, indeed, inspired by Labov (e.g., 1984) but not as strict in terms of comparability. Labov might even claim that the rather free way of conducting sociolinguistic interviews makes them not properly comparable. In fact, in the BySoc study, comparability is not enforced in the design of the sociolinguistic interview in the same way Labov does it; rather, the so-called discourse context analysis (also called intra-individual variation analysis (iiv-analysis)) is what secures ex post comparability in the study (Gregersen, Beck Nielsen, & Thøgersen, 2009). Thus, a part of the data processing – after the interviews have been transcribed – is to analyse the interaction according to specified categories at different levels. An example is the genre level in which, for instance, passages which constitute narratives, soap boxes, or confidences are marked. For a full account of the discourse context analysis, see Gregersen, Beck Nielsen & Thøgersen (2009).

As noted by Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller, other studies even have other names for interviews in the sociolinguistic framework. For instance, Møller (1993, p. 63ff) refers to the interviews in the BySoc study as "konversationelle interview" (*conversational interviews*) to stress the difference from Labov. Macaulay (1991, p. 204ff) refers to the sociolinguistic interview as 'individual interviews' and, in a critical work, Wolfson (1976) uses 'spontaneous interviews' – I return to Wolfson in the next section (2.2). As shown above, I agree with Møller (ibid.) that there are differences between the sociolinguistic interview as described by Labov (e.g., 1984) and the interview designed for the BySoc study. Møller's (1993) reason for using the term conversational interview is to stress both the intended structure of the interaction (that is, an informal conversation rather than a structured interview) and, at the same time, the inevitable formality of the situation (he stresses his use of "konversation" (conversation) rather than "samtale" (talk/dialogue/interaction – there seems to be no English equivalent to the difference in formality between the two Danish terms). Nonetheless, I will not use Møller's (1993) term as I find that the term 'sociolinguistic interview' covers the variety better, which was stressed in the BySoc study (cf. Gregersen, 2009).

Thus, the BySoc interviews are certainly inspired by Labov although, at the same time, there are points as to which the BySoc design is different. In the following, I review the critique levelled against the sociolinguistic interview. Some of the points are rather general, whereas others give reason to reflect on the consequences for the BySoc design more specifically. I should note that, in the following, I refer to the sociolinguistic interview as it was conducted in the BySoc study unless I refer to the sociolinguistic interview as described by Labov more specifically.

2.2 Critique of the Labovian sociolinguistic interview

The linguist Nessa Wolfson (1976) and – building on Wolfson (ibid.) – the sociolinguists Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) discuss whether sociolinguistic interviews are sufficiently homogenous for quantitative analyses. Wolfson's two main points of critique of the sociolinguistic interview (as pointed out by Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995)) are: 1) that the sociolinguistic interview does not in itself have a clear status as a speech event and 2) that the influence of the relation between the interviewer and the informant is not taken into account. Following Hymes (1974, p. 52), 'speech event' is understood as an event consisting of one or more activities which are governed by rules or norms (cf. Wolfson, 1976, p. 189); that is, the speech event is generally recognised as a specific event, and people act according to the norms for this type of event. Thus, it is Wolfson's argument that people do not know the sociolinguistic interview (or, as she calls it, 'the spontaneous interview') as a speech event and, therefore, are naturally ignorant of which rules and norms to follow.

Contrary to this, Macaulay (e.g., 1991, pp. 254; 265-266) explicitly states that, in his interviews, he has not experienced the awkwardness described by Wolfson, and Macaulay (1991) encourages the use of the sociolinguistic interview as a means for data collection. However, Macaulay (1984, p. 61) notes that the success of the interview depends on the attitude and personality of the respondent and also points out that the interviewer must be a good audience to ensure good data (ibid., 1984, p. 63). Moreover, based on interviews conducted in the BySoc study, Gregersen (1988, p. 87) also opposes

Wolfson's experience of the sociolinguistic interview as an unfamiliar speech event for the informant. Thus, it seems the experience of this type of interview can be quite divergent – and as I will show, there is also great variety in how they are carried out even within one study (here: the BySoc study).

In addition, Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) insist that at least some informants associate the situation of and activities in the sociolinguistic interview with something familiar and, thus, deny that the speech event is unfamiliar to everyone. In this way, they (at least, partly) ascribe the success of the sociolinguistic interview to the informants, who in the successful cases, associate the unknown situation with other well-known speech events. 'Successful' in this case means to achieve the aim of having an informal conversation after the formal part in the beginning (I return to the discussion of 'success' in Chapter 4).

Wolfson (1976) and Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) stress the influence of the relationship between the informant and the interviewer. For instance, Wolfson (*ibid.*, p. 197; 198) stresses the importance of solidarity between the informant and the interviewer. Indeed, it seems reasonable to assume that the relationship between the interviewer and the informant is important for whether the interview is experienced as a success. Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 128) also points out that a good relation between the respondent and the interviewer is a key to make the respondent cooperate, i.e., willingly respond to the questions asked by the interviewer. Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (*ibid.*, p. 12) also point out that quantifiable differences between the interactants prove the influence of the relation, e.g., Albris (1991) emphasises that age and gender differences between the informant and the interviewer are likely to influence the entire situation.

Furthermore, Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995, p. 7) mention that personality is likely to have an influence on the verbal behaviour of the opposite part and, on page 43 (*ibid.*), it is mentioned that the interviewer must show that s/he is more than just an interviewer by contributing personal opinions and experiences and being willing to open up to the informant. It is not my aim to uncover how interactants may influence on each other's verbal style; however, particularly the latter notions are, indeed, interesting for the discussion I take up in Part III.

Butters (2000) also has some methodological qualms about the sociolinguistic interview. He suggests that this type of interview might even have the opposite effect of its intention. According to Butters (2000, p. 77), the interviewer's focus on collecting data may result in insensitive, personal reactions to an informant's serious responses to the danger-of-death question. Thus, the situation may turn into the opposite of natural (against all intentions) because a sympathetic response would have been unmarked and preferred. Thus, Butters (2000) raises a moral question: If an interviewer intentionally evokes something emotional in the informant, is s/he not obligated to respond to it? Furthermore, he expresses his concern that an incident of such a personal nature might affect the informant and her/his view on being observed for the rest of the interview. Inspired by Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995), who remark that, at least, some of the sociolinguistic interviews succeed in becoming informal conversations, I suggest that it depends on the informant's interpretation of the situation as there might be important differences in the expectations for different speech events.

If the informant associates the situation with everyday practice and behaves as if in an everyday conversation, the norms of this naturally apply and a sympathetic response would be expected. Anything else would be marked and potentially have conversational and relational consequences. On the other hand, if the informant conceives the situation as more formal, he would only be confirmed in this belief by the interviewer's less sympathetic reply.

Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) comment on Labov's ideals for the interviewer, who should position her/himself as a listener and tone down any sign of his academic background. Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (ibid.) point out that informants with an academic background themselves might find it curious if the interviewer toned down her/his academic background; thus, they find it unlikely that the same strategy will be equally useful with different informants (referring to Wolfson (1976, pp. 196-197)). Furthermore, Milroy (1987, pp. 41-42) also notes that Labov tries to get around the social dominance that stems from the possible class difference between informant and interviewer; however, Milroy (ibid.) points out that Labov makes no remarks on the asymmetry that emerges due to the discourse roles – one is what he calls the 'questioner', and the other is 'respondent'. Thus, Milroy (ibid., p. 42) encourages further study of the implications of the discourse roles in sociolinguistic interviews.

There is also some criticism of how to get the informant to speak in the way it is in the sociolinguists' interest to record. Bell (1984, p. 150) and Albris (1991, pp. 59-60) both criticise the hypothesis that the formality with which we speak solely depends on the attention we pay to our speech. Moreover, Briggs (1986) notes that Labov's notion of 'casual speech' as "everyday speech [...] where no attention is directed to language" (ibid., 1986, p. 18) is much too simple for such a complex area. Furthermore, Giles (1973) questions the validity of Labov's (1966) method. Giles (1973) suggests that the interviewer's language is likely to influence the informant due to what he calls 'accent mobility'. According to Giles (ibid.), a person's language may vary according to contexts and her/his interpersonal relation to the other interactant(s). Thus, Giles criticises Labov for excluding the interpersonal influence in the equation; how can it be known for certain that informants actually speak their 'casual speech style' when interacting with a given interviewer? Briggs (1986) also stresses the importance of systematically including the interviewer's contributions in the analyses. Wolfram (2010, p. 301) notes that, for researchers today, it is a fact that they become more and more aware of "their role in the gathering, shaping and interpreting of the data in the field" referring to, e.g., Hazen (2000) and Mendoza-Denton (2008). In general, more sociolinguists express similar views stressing the complexity of influence on someone's speech. For instance, Blommaert (2010, p. 39) states that we do not only address our immediate addressees and the current situation when speaking, but – referring to a term by Bakhtin (1986) – we are also oriented towards a 'super-addressee' that is:

[C]omplexes of norms and perceived appropriateness criteria, in effect the larger social and cultural body of authority into which we insert our immediate practices vis-à-vis our immediate addressees.

(Blommaert, 2010, p. 39)

Blommaert (*ibid.*) even finds that the topics of a conversation influence the style. Similar views are expressed by, e.g., Giles & Coupland (1991) and Coupland (2007).

Thus, within the sociolinguistic paradigm, there is agreement that people vary their style, but there are various views on and critique of how and within which framework different styles emerge.

2.3 Reflections on the relationship between interviewer and informant in the BySoc study

Most interviews in the BySoc study take place in the homes of the informants. This poses certain limitations for the interviewer – there are limits as to how you may behave as a guest in someone's home. There are a few exceptions as to which informants for various reasons only agreed to meet at their workplace or at the home of a family member, for instance. In the cases in which the participants meet at the informant's workplace, there is a risk that it is not so much the informant as a private person but, rather, as a professional who is interviewed. Thus, the informant might be more likely to think of the interview as another task on the work list rather than a voluntary leisure-time activity (this actually seems to be the case with one of the informants in the present study). Albris, Gregersen, Holmberg, et al. (1988, p. 65) note that the position as a guest can be contradictory to playing the role of an interviewer: The position of a guest is inferior to a host; at the same time the interviewer is superior to the host because s/he is also the informant. They (*ibid.*) note that this may cause some role confusion and the interviewer might feel limited in what is appropriate to do or ask as a guest.

Related to this, another factor which influences the relationship between the informant and the interviewer is the interactants' expectations of the situational roles – their own and the other's. The informant expects the interviewer to have everything under control; however, they are both aware that it is the informant that is, in fact, the key figure in the activity: Without the informant – no data! It would not only be impolite but counterproductive if the interviewer took the floor over and over again. This is partly due to the situation and, certainly, it applies if they are in the informant's home. As mentioned above, Milroy (1987) points out that the discourse roles are important. Indeed, these roles would be expected to have an influence on the interaction and the relationship between the interviewer and the informant. In the BySoc interviews, the role as interviewer or informant seems to be enacted to various degrees although they seem to be underlying throughout in most of the situations. Thus, these roles – and with them each of the interactant's expectations – certainly mark both the interaction and the relationship between the interactants in the data in the present study. And, in some cases, it may be that the interactants have divergent expectations and ideas about their own and the other person's role in the situation and, more specifically, the interaction which potentially causes problems (not unlike Wolfson's (1976) critique, cf. 2.2 above).

As mentioned above, Thøgersen (2005a, p. 228) stresses that it is a goal in the sociolinguistic interview for the interviewer to become an intimate stranger. Surely, the reason for this is a focus on the advantages; however, I also see disadvantages. On the good side, we would expect a stranger

(i.e., the interviewer) who offers to listen and, at best, even to display interest in what the informant is saying to be warmly welcomed into the lives of most adults. One could expect that most people – if not all – have something they would be relieved to confess, a problem they would like someone’s view on, a close person they would like to complain about without the person’s knowledge of it, or something completely different. It could be seen as a free consultation with a psychologist (except the interviewer has no professional skills to give what the informant may have wanted, which is a potential problem; this is not unlike Butters’ (2000) point in 2.2 above). A major disadvantage is that some people have to get to know others before they can easily speak with them; thus, having a stranger in your own home asking questions about your private life feels awkward for some – at least, at first. The interviews usually last between one and two hours – sometimes longer, rarely less. So, even though an interview starts out with a somewhat awkward atmosphere, it is not bound to stay like that for the entire time. Sometimes the interaction just needs to get started or the right topic has to be introduced to make the informant speak more freely. Thus, an intimate stranger might have the desired effect or develop into having a positive effect or it might remain a rather awkward situation – most likely, for both parties – for the entire interview.

2.4 The design of the BySoc interviews 2005-2007

The overall theme in the BySoc interviews is "from cradle to grave" as it develops in a rather free conversation – thus, not necessarily in chronological order. In the BySoc study, there were no fixed questions such as Labov's danger-of-death question or questions about childhood fights (Labov, 1984), which were meant to ensure some comparability between parts of the interviews. In the BySoc study, comparability was, instead, secured by the discourse context analysis (see 2.1 above).

As mentioned in 2.1 above, there is a focus on stimulating variety in intraindividual style in the sociolinguistic interviews. One part of the speech event is a formal part. In the BySoc study, the formal part consists of the so-called "background interview" in which the interviewer reads a fixed number of questions from a piece of paper and writes down the informant's answers. The questions concern basic, personal information such as their full name, birth, where they grew up, their parents' work and birthplace, whether they are married and have children, and so on; this is basically to learn about the informant's geographic attachments and social background. The part with the formal questions is at the very beginning of the interviews³. The ideal for this part of the interview is to keep it as formal as possible; thus, the informant is not encouraged to do anything more than answer the questions, which contrasts with the rest of the interview in which the informant is certainly welcome to speak as much as possible. However, usually, the interviewer has turned on the recorder a little before they get to the interview or, at least, the interviewers do not wait to turn it on until they have settled in and are ready for the interview. Thus, at the beginning of the recording, they might talk about how to put on the microphones or finish whatever topic they started before the recorder was turned on. The change to a more formal conversation is marked by the interviewer when he or she introduces the questions and starts to read them aloud and to take down the informant's replies.

³ The specific questionnaire used for the formal part is not attached as I find it irrelevant for the present study.

After the formal part, the interviewer puts away the paper with the formal questions (in order demonstrably to show that they are entering a new phase of the activity) and asks a question which has the potential to get a conversation started (the interview guide used for BySoc and other studies at LANCHART appears in Appendix 1). It may be about some of the personal information they have just registered although, quite often in the BySoc study, the interviewers ask about the informants' memories of their childhood in a special neighbourhood in Copenhagen – Nyboder – in which all the informants in the BySoc study grew up (more about this in 3.4 below about my reasons for choosing these specific data).

The main part of the interview makes up the phase that follows. It is tempting to call this a free conversation, and this is preferably what the informants should more or less feel that it is. However, the interview guide provides many questions as inspiration to the interviewer; therefore, even though the interviewers do not openly use the guide when interviewing, it seems likely that they have the topics suggested in the interview guide in the back of their mind. Thus, it will hopefully seem like a free conversation to the informant but may, in fact, be rather "controlled" by the interviewer in terms of topics. It could be claimed that this ensures, at least, some comparability of data, but naturally it is not as exact as in Labov's cases with specific questions being asked to introduce a specific topic (cf. 2.1 above)).

Later in the interview, the interviewer introduces a "voice test": that is, s/he plays four different voices which are examples of four different ways to speak in the Copenhagen area, and the informant is then asked to compare them to her/his own way of speaking. The idea is to find out how they perceive their own dialect. Following this exercise, the interviewer asks the informant about their attitude to language – e.g., how they have been raised to speak, how they regard people who speak different dialects, and the like. In this final part of the interview, a question-answer structure tends to emerge that is commonly associated with a classic (survey or news) interview in which the interviewer asks and the informant replies.

At the end of the interview, informants are asked to sign a declaration of consent; the informants give their consent so that the interview can be used for research in a depersonalized and anonymised form.

2.5 The sociolinguistic interviews compared with other types of interviews

Indeed, the various phases of the BySoc interviews, as described just above, have similarities with other known genres of conversation. For instance, the background interview – where the interviewer reads questions from a piece of paper and notes the answers – is unmistakably similar to the standardized interview as described and studied by, for instance, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000). Her approach (*ibid.*) is conversation analytic, and her ideals are not standardisation at any cost. She (*ibid.*) refers to Fowler and Mangione (1990) as the representatives of standardisation. Fowler and Mangione (1990) write that:

[I]t is when interviewers fail to be standardized that they are responsible for error. The challenge for researchers and interviewers, working together, is to bring standardization to the interviewing process

(Fowler & Mangione, 1990, p. 13)

Thus, any deviation from a set standard is thought to produce errors. A part of standardisation is for the interviewer to be "interpersonally neutral", which is specified as not giving any personal information and not giving evaluations of the respondents' replies (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 48-49). Naturally, this approach to interviewing is far from the ideals of the sociolinguistic interview; as Thøgersen (2005a, p. 228) notes, Labov's ideal is not standardisation. However, the standardized interview could be seen as the extreme of the formal style that is aimed at in the background interview in the BySoc study. Fowler & Mangione (*ibid.*, p. 55) do acknowledge that the relationship between the interviewer and the person being interviewed is critical for the result; at the same time, they stress that the main part of the responsibility rests on the interviewer and that this job is carried out very inconsistently. However, the present study will show that even a master and his apprentice may differ as to interview style.

In contrast to Fowler & Mangione (1990), Houtkoop-Steenstra (1997; 2000, p. 128) studies what she refers to as a personal interview style. This seems to be much closer to the interview styles that the interviewers in the present study themselves express to be their ideals. Even though the data in Houtkoop-Steenstra's (2000) study is different from the present study, the interview style is certainly comparable; however, I will not elaborate on this style here as I return to this in 4.3 below.

Even though sociolinguistic studies are widely inspired by ethnography and recently often supplemented with ethnographic data (e.g., Ag, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Eckert, 1989; Maegaard, 2007; N. Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Quist, 2005; Rampton, 2005; Stæhr, 2010), there are critical differences between the sociolinguistic interview and the ethnographic interview. For instance, the BySoc study does not include participant observation or field work; thus, the interviewers and the informants are strangers to one another prior to the interview⁴. Spradley's (1979) description of the (classic) ethnographic interview makes it clear that, in this type of interview, the purpose is made very explicit by the interviewer. In contrast, the interviewer in the sociolinguistic interview cannot reveal too much about the purpose due to the underlying hypothesis about 'attention to speech' (cf. 2.1 above). However, in most of the BySoc interviews, there are at least one or a few sequences of speech in which the speakers engage in metatalk about which topics they should cover and/or what the purpose of the study is. Naturally, the interviewers respond to questions from informants who want to know about the purpose of the study, but they are careful to remember the 'attention to speech' hypothesis and, therefore, not to say explicitly that the aim is to study the informant's speech.

⁴ Except from the fact (mentioned in 3.4 below) that the interviewer has had the chance to listen to the old recording of the informant and thus has a basic knowledge of the informant in her/his youth.

Spradley (1979, pp. 55-58) compares the ethnographic interview with what he lists as characteristics of another speech event, namely, the 'friendly conversation'. The main parts of the BySoc interviews have more similarities with this speech event than with the ethnographic interview as described by Spradley. For instance, Spradley (1979, p. 57) mentions 'expressing interest' and 'expressing ignorance' as common characteristics of friendly conversation – both of these characteristics are in line with Labov, who describes the ideal interviewer as someone who is interested in everything the informant relates and who positions her/himself as a learner (thus, ignorant). Furthermore, Spradley (1979, p. 56) notes that friendly conversations do not have agendas; this is, on the other hand, not entirely true of the sociolinguistic interview. However, preferably the informant should feel free to speak of anything even though the interviewer might still have the interview guide at the back of her/his mind and introduce some topics from it – in many cases, also to give the informant a sense of purpose with the interview although it is not completely explicit. Thus, the sociolinguistic interview both has similarities with and differs from Spradley's description of a friendly conversation. At the same time, this is all part of what Wolfson (1976) sees as the challenge for the speech event since she suggests that it is not necessarily a natural development for an interview to continue into a personal conversation (cf. 2.2 above).

The design of the BySoc interviews also has similarities with the research interview – or, more specifically, the semi-structured life world interview – described by Kvale & Brinkmann (2009). Their description covers the informality and the formality, the explicit and the implicit:

[the life world interview] comes close to an everyday conversation, but as a professional interview it has a purpose and involves a specific approach and technique.

Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, p. 27)

The same could be said about the sociolinguistic interview: Its purpose is to collect speech samples from selected informants, and the approach and technique is marked by the interviewer's beliefs and educational background in the sociolinguistic (in particular, the Labovian) hypothesis of language styles. The everyday conversation-like form is especially enforced in the BySoc interviews, which mean – as mentioned in 2.4 above – that the major part of each of them is meant to be more like a conversation than a formal interview. Although, at the same time, the interviewers are naturally inspired by the interview guide, which means they have rather fixed ideas about the content of the conversation in advance.

The sociolinguistic interview differs from the well-known news interview (e.g., Schmidt, 2011, pp. 127-128) in that the latter usually has a fixed content and a predetermined perspective set by the interviewer. The more thorough journalistic interview with a selected famous person with the aim of uncovering this person's history and personality might come closer to the sociolinguistic interview in its length and depth (the British journalist David Frost interviewing the former American president Richard Nixon about his professional and personal life would be an example). This type of interview is similar to what Schmidt (2011, p. 161) calls “det personlige interview” (cf. *the personal interview*). Schmidt (ibid.) mentions that, in such interviews, the interviewer must make the informant comfortable and help the informant tell her/his stories (these points are in line

with the intentions of the interviewers in the present study, cf. Chapter 4 below). However, the journalist who does such an interview is likely to have much more pre-knowledge about the person than is the case with the interviewer doing an interview with an informant in a sociolinguistic framework such as in the BySoc interviews. The interviewer's sole possibility of pre-knowledge in the BySoc study comes from listening to the old interview before performing the present, new, interview.

Finally, Labov's (1984, pp. 36-37) ideals that the interviewer should go along with the informants on any topic they choose is not unlike the non-judgmental approach encouraged by Rogers (1945) – American psychologist and one of the founders of the humanistic approach – in his description of the non-directive method. Labov does not state that the interviewer cannot judge what they are told (and, as will be clear in Chapter 6, one of the interviewers in the present study certainly does assess what the informants say); however, the research design certainly specifies that the interviewers act politely and follow the social norms of the informants. Furthermore, the co-operation between field workers and informants is crucial for the success of the study – and of the interview as I will show in the present study.

2.6 Summing up

The aim of this chapter has been to account for the conditions around the sociolinguistic interview and the theory and ideals which underlie this speech event. As I have made clear from the beginning, my main interest was not to discuss the usefulness of the sociolinguistic interview for the purposes described by Labov or other sociolinguists. However, the matter becomes relevant to the degree that it is of importance to the interviewers and the ideals they base their practice upon when they conduct sociolinguistic interviews (more about this in Chapter 4). Thus, I will conclude this chapter by summing up the implications of the above for the present study.

As I claimed at the beginning of the chapter, an interview may be many things – throwing light on the sociolinguistic interview in particular, as in the preceding, proves that this particular event is, indeed, a hybrid. Labov tries to take the best from different research traditions – and his eclecticism is received differently. Wolfson (1976) criticises that the sociolinguistic interview per se is not a recognisable speech event and, therefore, could not be a situation which promotes casual speech as it is intended. Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) also question whether sociolinguistic interviews result in quantitatively comparable data; however, contrary to Wolfson (*ibid.*), Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) find that, at least, some informants (in the successful interviews) act as if they are familiar with a similar situation. Several observers criticise that the sociolinguistic interview does not take into account the relationship between the informant and the interviewer and the influence of the interviewer's speech when studying the informants' speech (e.g., Butters, 2000; Giles, 1973; Heegaard et al., 1995; Wolfson, 1976).

From the point of departure of the present study (see Part II.B below), I find that what matters depends on what the particular informant and interviewer construct together in a given situation. No

matter how well-prepared the situation is, there will always be some essential, unknown factors: What happens in the concrete situation in which the person who has arranged and prepared the interview meets the person who has agreed to be interviewed? What are their expectations prior to the interview and how are they changed throughout the interview? How do they react and respond to one another? How do they feel about the situation and how it develops, and what do they think of each other? And these are just a few. I find that the interactants' expectations of their own and the other's situational and interactional roles are of particular relevance for the analyses. My aim is not to understand all about the complex situation and its consequences for collecting and comparing language data but to attempt to grasp just a small part of what happens between the interviewer and the informant under the conditions described above and how this is related to the interviewer's later evaluation of the event.

In the next chapter, I account for the data selection in the present study.

3. Selecting data

In this chapter, I account for the way I have selected the data from the BySoc study for the present study. I reflect on my path from the first contact to the interviewers to the final selection of interviews. Furthermore, I introduce the interviewers who are – as mentioned – the main focus in the thesis.

Thus, in the following, I present how I contacted the interviewers for the present study (3.1), the interviewers themselves (3.2), the interviews I have done with the interviewers (3.3), and, finally, how I selected the interviews for the analyses (3.4).

3.1 Contacting the interviewers

I first contacted the interviewers via e-mail. I sent the same e-mail to two former interviewers at the LANCHART Centre (henceforward, LANCHART), hoping they would consent to become my "informants" (henceforward interviewers⁵). My information on the project in the first e-mail was scanty: I told the interviewers that my project was about "language, identity, and personality", that I wanted to study the interviewers, and that my supervisor had suggested the two of them as my "informants" because they had both done a range of interviews varying in the three relevant variables of geography, age, and gender. I made a remark on the scarcity of information in a meta-comment:

I'd better not reveal too much – if you could be persuaded to be my "informants", it is best if you aren't influenced by my thoughts about the project.⁶

I expected both of them to consent without hesitation, but chose to address them in the same e-mail as I was aware that they had worked together. Furthermore, according to my supervisor, they had great respect for one another and, therefore, I thought that, if either of them had any immediate doubts, they would be cancelled if the other consented. Moreover, they are both still involved in research (more about the interviewers in 3.2 below) and, therefore, I expected they would feel a certain pressure to take on the role as an informant as that is what they ask others to do in their own research. It cannot be ruled out that mentioning my supervisor (who is the boss of the male interviewer and the former boss of the female interviewer) as the one who suggested the two as informants may have had a positive effect. Both of them consented on the same day I sent the e-mail.

The next time I contacted them, I asked them to give me the following information:

⁵ To avoid confusing the interviewers with the informants in the data, I refer to the interviewers as such even though they naturally play the role of 'informants' when I interview them.

⁶ Original: "Jeg må jo hellere lade være med at løfte sløret alt for meget – hvis I kunne overtales til at blive mine "informanter", skal I jo helst ikke påvirkes af hvad mine tanker om projektet indebærer"

1) I'd like to ask you to think of the four worst and the four best interviews (or as many as possible) that you can remember carrying out in the BySoc study. That is, interviews which you remember as a particularly good or bad experience or good or bad conversation(/interview).

[...] Of course I don't expect you to be able to remember the names of the informants or the code of the interview, but if you can give me some details of the interview, the circumstances or your impressions, then it may enable me to find out which interview you're thinking of [...]

2) Furthermore, I'm really interested in knowing your background for interviewing. Therefore, I want to ask you if you could make a list of the interviews you've conducted over the years – preferably from your first interview (also non-sociolinguistic) including the sociolinguistic interviews you've carried out for LANCHART so that I can get an idea of what sort of experience you had prior to the different interviews you conducted for the centre [i.e. LANCHART].⁷

Thus, I specified for them that I was particularly interested in the interviews in the BySoc study⁸ in 2005-2007 (my reasons for choosing this particular study are listed below in 3.4). In the e-mail, I only hint at a distinction between personal and professional when I refer to experience and conversation, respectively: "interviews which you remember as a particularly good or bad experience or a good or bad conversation(/interview)" (I return to the discussion of personal versus professional in 4.1 below). The number of four good and four bad interviews was admittedly a bit random and, possibly, optimistic from my side as I was not sure how many interviews they would be able to remember or how many I would be able to look into; none of the interviewers mentioned as many as four good or four bad. I elaborate on the two interviewers' answers to the two requests above in the next section (3.2).

After this, there was a gap of six months in which I was preoccupied with teaching, and I only contacted the interviewers once via e-mail to assure them I had not forgotten about them. In the same e-mail, I ventured to ask them whether they had long-term plans for the following semester – just to find out if there would be any hindrances to interviewing them. None were brought up; the female interviewer merely replied that she would have a baby at some point.

⁷ "Jeg vil bede jer om at prøve at komme i tanker om de fire værste og de fire bedste interviews (eller så mange det nu er muligt) I kan huske I har lavet i BySoc-undersøgelsen. Altså interviews som I husker som en særlig god eller dårlig oplevelse eller god(t) eller dårlig(t) samtale(/interview).

[...] Jeg forventer selvfølgelig ikke at I kan huske informantens navn eller interviewets kode, men hvis I kan give mig lidt detaljer om interviewet, omstændighederne eller jeres indtryk så jeg har mulighed for at finde ud af hvilket interview I tænker på[...]

Og så er jeg rigtig interesseret i at kende jeres baggrund for at interviewe. Derfor vil jeg spørge jer om I vil lave en liste med hvilke interviews I har lavet i løbet af årene – meget gerne fra jeres allerførste interviews (også andre end sociolinguistiske) og inklusiv de sociolinguistiske interviews I har lavet for DGCSS, så jeg kan få en idé om hvad I havde af erfaring forud for de forskellige interviews I har lavet for centret."

⁸ The BySoc study includes i. a. 43 interviews carried out in 2005-2007 with informants who were all interviewed by language researchers in the 1980s, too.

The next time I e-mailed the female interviewer was to arrange a date for the interview. The e-mail only contained courtesy phrases (e.g., "how are you?") and suggestions for concrete dates for what I called "a small, informal interview".⁹ At the end of the e-mail, I describe the event as follows:

It won't be a sociolinguistic interview but presumably somewhat shorter and with some relatively fixed questions about the interviews you've conducted and rather informally about the work at LANCHART. Of course I'll bring along a recorder to capture our conversation on audio.¹⁰

The date for the interview with the male interviewer I arranged face to face.

Besides the interviews with each of the interviewers about the data collection they had carried out in the BySoc Study, I also asked them to go through a personality test and, subsequently, interviewed them about that. I return to this data collection and the study, which includes personality testing, in Chapter 8.

3.2 Meet Lisa and Jasper!¹¹

In the following, I present some facts about the two interviewers in the present study and some reflections on my interviews with them.

Lisa

The female interviewer, Lisa, was born in 1980. She did the interviews for LANCHART as a student assistant and was taught how to interview by the male interviewer in the present study (see below); thus, she was an apprentice and the male interviewer her master, so to speak. At the time of the interview for the present study, she was, however, employed as a PhD student at another university. Lisa was adopted from Korea, which is a topic we touch on shortly when I interview her as I want to know whether that may have influenced her interviews either because the informants have had reactions to her "not looking Danish" or whether this fact has influenced her life and her way of reflecting on relations or anything else. Lisa denies that either was the case. Equally, I find no signs at all that it should have had any influence on the interviews used in the present study. Lisa's experience with interviewing prior to the BySoc interviews (as she replied in an e-mail after I asked, cf. 3.1 above) consisted of a university course in which she did three interviews.

When I interviewed Lisa on the 12th of September 2012, she was pregnant and had gone on maternity leave; she gave birth to her son (her first child) at the beginning of October. The interview took place in her flat, where she lives with her boyfriend. We met at ten o'clock, and we were alone in the flat. I brought breakfast rolls and she served coffee and juice. The rolls were not meant as

⁹ "et lille, uformelt interview".

¹⁰ "Der bliver ikke tale om et sociolingvistisk interview, men formentligt noget kortere og med nogle forholdsvis faste spørgsmål om de interviews du har lavet og lidt løst om arbejdet på DGCS. Og så tager jeg naturligvis en optager med og snupper vores samtale med på bånd."

¹¹ The names of the two interviewers are pseudonyms.

bribe but, rather, as a courtesy that I find quite common when you are in someone's home for the first time. We were seated at the dining table facing each other on each side of the table with the bread, coffee, juice, and – most importantly – the recorder. Unlike the interviews done by the interviewers at LANCHART, where a headset is obligatory, I used an mp3-recorder with a microphone on each side to record the sound coming from both sides of the device; as the exact pronunciation is not in focus in my interviews it was not necessary to use the more complicated equipment used in the LANCHART data.

The interview lasts 1 hour, 34 minutes, and 35 seconds¹². We chatted both before and after, but I was very careful not to touch on subjects I wanted to have on the tape. Most of all, we talked about the processes and phases you go through when you work on a PhD project; this topic is finished in the beginning of the recording.

As the interviewer's perspective is an important part of the present study, I find it relevant to bring a few notes on my experience of the interviews I did with the interviewers. Lisa seemed open, friendly, and was certainly very reflective on her job as an interviewer. She took her time to answer the questions and, sometimes, there are breaks of several seconds between my question and her answer. Often, she somehow signalled that an answer would come if I just waited – for instance, with a sound like “mm”. I could not read her body language very well as we had the dining table between us, but she did not seem tense at any point but rather relaxed, in fact, although, at times, maybe a bit puzzled by my questions, which may be the reason she had some meta-comments throughout the interview regarding the purpose of the interview.

In general, I felt a good connection with Lisa, and I think it had to do with the fact that we were in the same situation: We were both PhD students and, thus, were both familiar with the issues that are common when working on such a project.

Jasper

The male interviewer, Jasper, was born in 1970. He worked as a scientific assistant at LANCHART when he did the interviews. As noted above, he was the one who taught Lisa the craft of interviewing. At the time I interviewed Jasper, he was employed as an associate professor at LANCHART. Jasper has a son born in 2009. He had experience with interviewing prior to the BySoc study from a range of interviews (his estimation is 40 interviews) done for two different projects similar to the BySoc study.

I interviewed Jasper in his home on the 8th of November 2012. We were alone in the flat, where he lives with his girl-friend, her daughter and their son. We both had a cup of tea and were seated comfortably in front of one another – he was on a couch, I in an armchair, with the recorder on the table between us. The interview lasts 1 hour, 39 minutes, and 13 seconds with a small break before

¹² The interviews I have made with the two interviewers are not accessible as they contain too much confidential information about various informants they have been in touch with as part of their jobs at LANCHART. However, I quote and translate relevant sequences and report the time in the interview when quoting specific words or phrases.

the last 3 minutes and 46 seconds because I had to use the bathroom and turned on the recorder when I came back to ask just one more question.

When we arranged to meet, I offered to bring breakfast rolls, but Jasper insisted he would have eaten by ten o'clock when we had arranged to meet. I think he declined my offer because we are colleagues, and he wanted to signal that I did not owe him anything for asking him to take the time for an interview or, maybe, just to keep things simple. I respected his insistence and did not bring anything even though I still considered doing it and felt weird about coming empty-handed into his home (even at my own request) for the first time. However, the atmosphere was relaxed soon after my arrival and before we began the actual interview. Before I turned on the recorder, we mostly talked about the flat; Jasper mentions the purchase of the flat in several interviews, which is why it was an obvious topic for me to learn more about although not important for the actual interview.

I had the feeling with Jasper that he was completely open. From the beginning, his whole body language signalled that he had nothing to hide: He was seated on the couch legs parted and with each arm on top of the back rest. Naturally he did not keep this position during the entire interview, but I never felt he was anything but completely open. However, at the end of the interview, I had the feeling that he was hoping there would be an end to my questions or, at least, my eagerness to make him talk about things, probably because some of the questions to him may have seemed to be repetitions (see my question guide in Appendix 2.a). I admit that this interpretation may actually be a projection of my own wish to feel satisfied and believe that I had asked him everything I wanted to when we had spoken about an hour and a half. Either way, listening to the interview, I do not think it affects the quality of the answers near the end of the interview as he never ceased to answer my questions and to elaborate patiently and thoroughly on the topics I or he himself brought up. Like Lisa, Jasper was certainly also very reflective about his role as an interviewer.

One thing I learned during the interview was to give him time to answer the questions; I was not prepared for the breaks between my questions and his answers, but I learned that it was not because of an unwillingness to respond that he did not answer immediately; rather, he took his time to think and formulate his responses. Gradually during the interview, I came to appreciate the fact that he thought about my questions before answering them, but I admit that, in the beginning, it felt as if there was no flow in the interview. It may be out of insecurity that the pauses felt long – especially, in the beginning, or it may be that I only gradually learned how he signalled that he meant to answer a given question; he just needed some seconds to think, and he rarely showed it by uttering a sound (in contrast to Lisa, who often uttered a sound like “mm”, which signalled to me that she was thinking about her answer, cf. above).

3.3 My interviews with the interviewers

During the interviews with the interviewers, I did not take notes; I wanted the interview to be informal and relaxed. However, I did bring some papers for the interviews – some of them with the questions I had planned to ask the interviewers (see question guide in Appendix 2.a) and others with

facts about those informants the interviewer had interviewed so that I could make sure which informants they mentioned if they did not remember their actual names. I also wanted to see if factual clues would make them remember something in particular about specific informants; but, since it was important for me not to influence them on their reflection about specific informants they had interviewed, I only told them facts such as the names of the informants, where they lived, who they lived with, their job title, and the time of the interview. In both interviews, when I thought we had gone through all my questions, I checked my papers to remind myself whether there were any questions I had forgotten or wanted to go through more thoroughly.

I planned for the interviews to be semi-structured (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 130), but I tried to ask my questions when they fit in naturally in the dialogue rather than adhere to some fixed order. However, I did have a rough idea about the overall order of the topics we would touch on and, in certain respects, the order was particularly important: I wanted the interviewees to elaborate freely on specific interviews they had done in the BySoc study before I gave them factual clues about the interviews and before I said much about the project. The reason for this was to see what they remembered without my interference and to avoid leading them in any particular direction influenced by my focus (other than the few words they knew from my first e-mail if they still remembered them).

The order of topics in my interviews is as follows: First, I asked the interviewees how they became interviewees at LANCHART and how they liked being interviewees. In both interviews, I referred to my e-mail in which I first asked them about specific BySoc interviews. Afterwards, I asked the interviewees to think of the specific interviews they conducted and which they still remembered as either good or bad. Then, I found my papers about the informants they had interviewed and went through them, one by one, to find the names of those they had mentioned but whose names they did not remember. Furthermore, whenever an interview they had not mentioned beforehand came up, I asked if they remembered anything from the interview. After this "memory exercise", I introduced my distinction between good and bad interviews, noting that they were probably aware of this part from my focus throughout. Finally, I presented my distinction between professionally good and personally good (more about this in 4.1 below) and asked them whether this made sense to them.

In the interview with the female interviewer, I actually introduced the distinction of professional versus personal before I went through the key words about the specific interviews they had conducted; as commented above, Lisa had several meta-comments regarding the purpose, which is why I chose to introduce a part of the purpose (i.e., to talk about the distinction between professionally good and personally good) earlier than with the male interviewer, who did not ask many questions about the purpose. After all this and, in part, also throughout the interview, I tried to get them to say as much as possible about their personal role in the interviews they had conducted. As stated above, I tried to ask my questions when they were relevant in the particular context; thus, I have only described the main themes in this section.

3.4 Selecting the interviews for the analyses

Both the interviewers have done a range of interviews in the BySoc study. Choosing this study as my point of departure means I have the same type of interviews with the same two interviewers. Both of the interviewers have done interviews in other studies but not the same. In the interview with Lisa, she talks about another LANCHART study in Køge in 2007. The interviews in Køge are different from the BySoc interviews as the informants are young people with parents who are not ethnically Danish and the interviews are focused on their cultural background. The BySoc study is unique in the sense that all the informants were brought up in a particular area in Copenhagen called Nyboder. Nyboder is different from other parts of the city. It used to be the case that only people employed in the navy and their families were allowed to live there. There was also a certain hierarchy in the way the flats and houses were distributed to the employees; for instance, promotion in the navy meant the family could move into a better flat; thus, many of the informants had lived in several places in the area. In the interviews, it is clear that many thought there was a special atmosphere around this particular neighbourhood where everyone knew everyone, and many of the informants display an exceptional attachment to this place. Thus, the stories about a childhood in Nyboder is like a connecting thread in the BySoc study and, even though many other topics are covered in the interviews, the point of departure is, most often, memories of Nyboder, which makes this particular study more comparable than interviews from other studies. This is the reason the BySoc study was an obvious choice for the present study. Moreover, all the informants in the BySoc study were interviewed in the late 1980s; even though I do not look into the recordings from the 1980s, it was still an important background for doing the interviews and, thus, a special frame for this particular study.

The selection criterion for the interviews I analyse is that the interviewer remembers the interview done sometime in 2005-2007 as either particularly good or particularly bad¹³. In the e-mail I sent to the interviewers after their consent to become my informants, I asked them to tell me about the best and the worst interviews they had done in the BySoc study (cf. 3.1 above). However, after getting their e-mail answers and before interviewing them, I realised it would make the data more homogenous if I chose only to look into interviews with a single informant; in quite a few interviews in the BySoc study, a family member is present along with the primary informant and plays an active part in the interview. Thus, I chose to rule out the interviews in which more than two (the interviewer and one informant) play an active role for an extended period of time in the interview (however, on several occasions, family members appear briefly in the chosen interviews since they take place in the informant's home, cf. 2.3 above).

It was evident both from the e-mail replies from the two interviewers and in my interviews when I asked them to try to remember details from the BySoc interviews that Jasper remembers quite a few of his interviews in the BySoc study, whereas Lisa only remembers a few of hers. However, when listening to the interviews, it is obvious that the fact that Lisa does not remember as many good interviews from the BySoc study does not mean she was not a skilled and committed interviewer.

¹³ I have one exception to this as will be clear in Chapter 7.

The selected data which I analyse further in Part II consist mainly – but not exclusively – of four interviews from the BySoc study, which were the two interviewers' first choice of a good and a bad interview in their e-mail replies, i.e., their first intuitive response. Needless to say, all four were also mentioned when I interviewed them. Henceforward, I will refer to the interviewers' first choice of good and bad interviews as 'best' and 'worst', respectively. In some of the quantitative analyses, I also include all the other interviews which either of the interviewers remembered as particularly good or particularly bad.

A summary of the facts about the interviewers is given in Table 3.1 below. And, in Table 3.2, some facts and the codes¹⁴ for the informants used as the primary data in the subsequent analyses appear. (An overview of all interviews used in the present study appears in Table II.a and Table II.b in Part II below.)

Table 3.1

Brief facts about the two interviewers at the time of the recording of the BySoc interviews

Code	Gender	Age	Profession	Other relevant facts
Lisa/Int	f	26	Student assistant at LANCHART	Studies Danish at the University of Cph.
Jasper/Int	m	36	Research assistant at LANCHART	

Table 3.2

Brief facts about the best and the worst interviews and their informants

Facts about the interview				Facts about the informant		
Code	Evaluation	Duration	Location	Gender	Age	Profession
KK	Lisa's best intw	1h 38min 38sec	Informant's home	f	35	Psychologist
OP	Lisa's worst intw	1h 1min 33sec	Informant's office	m	37	Lawyer
UF	Jasper's best intw	2h 16min 33sec	Informant's home	m	56	Teacher (tech. school); TV photographer
KL	Jasper's worst intw	1h 52min 44sec	Informant's home	m	56	Taxi driver

It is worth noticing that Lisa's worst interview with a lawyer stands out from the others. Lisa's interview with OP was conducted in his office, whereas the other interviews take place in the informant's home. This means that the positioning of the interviewer and the informant is different than in the other settings: As reflected on in 2.6 above, an interviewer in the informant's home is a guest. When Lisa meets OP in his office she may, in some way, be in the position of a client rather than a guest. This could be one explanation of the fact that this interview is quite different from the others; however, it is impossible to say for sure whether it is the location – most likely, in combination with numerous other factors – which explains why the interaction and the atmosphere seem so different. Notwithstanding this obvious difference, it has never been discussed whether the interview should form part of the BySoc data collection or not. It is not the practice in sociolinguistic studies to discard interviews from a collection. Each interview is costly. Besides, such interviews can still be used for the phonetic, grammatical, and other analyses for which they

¹⁴ To help the systematicity in the data processing in this study, the informants' codes are based on their original three-character codes in the BySoc study – thus transparent to me, but unfortunately, possibly random to readers of the thesis.

have been collected – although it is uncertain how the atypical nature of such interviews shows in the results.

Therefore, I see no good reason why this interview should be omitted from a study like this. It has been pointed out and evaluated by the interviewers in the same way as all other interviews in the present study. The four main interviews in the present study are the most extreme (best and worst) of the interviews in the BySoc study. Should we not expect a deviating interview or two in all big data collections?

Part II: The interviews

A. Introduction to the Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

There are various differences between any two interviews analysed in the present study – however, more between some than between others. Moreover, there are clear differences between the good and the bad interviews. In this part of the thesis, I seek to answer the following questions:

How do two interviewers behave in the sociolinguistic interviews which they themselves classify as good or bad interviews? And how does this relate to their own ideals for the sociolinguistic interview?

As implied in the questions, I will approach the interviews from two perspectives: I ask the interviewers what they consider a good sociolinguistic interview (Chapter 4) and, then, compare this with the way they actually behave in their good and bad interviews (Chapter 5). Subsequently, I look for other characteristics in the good and bad interviews in a way inspired by CA (Chapter 6).

Studying the interviews from the perspective of the interviewers gives me an opportunity to compare their ideals and the way they believe they interview with what actually happens in the interviews. Looking at the interviews on their own gives me the chance to see whether there is any interesting differences that have not been pointed out by the interviewers themselves.

The design of the study gives me the opportunity to compare data classified as both good and bad interviews and thereby makes it possible to notice what is present and absent: Phenomena which are frequent in either the good or the bad interview but absent or rare in the other would not have been obvious if I had only studied the good interviews.

On the following pages, I give an overview of the data used in the present study. The Tables II.a and II.b account for the data related to Lisa and Jasper, respectively. Table II.c gives an overview of the interviews used in each of the studies, which follow in the Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Table II.a

The data collection in the BySoc study and in the present study.

Lisa - data collection	
BySoc study 2006-2007	Present study 2012
Interviews made by Lisa: KK (f)* OP (m) KP (m) QL (f) BT (f) ES (f) LL (f) LS (f) QK (m) SS (f)	Lisa's evaluation of the interview: Best Worst Bad [not remembered] [not remembered] [not remembered] [not remembered] [not remembered] [not remembered] [not remembered]

* The gender of the informant is marked in brackets: (f) = female, (m) = male.

Table II.b

The data collection in the BySoc study and in the present study.

Jasper - data collection	
BySoc study 2005-2006	Present study 2012
Interviews made by Jasper*: KL (m)** UF (m) BU (m) SK (m) BT (f) DF (m) ML (f) FB (f) Intws with more than one informant	Jasper's evaluation of the interview: Best Worst Good Good Good Good Good Bad [irrelevant for the present study]

* As is obvious in the last line, I have given the codes of the informants in interviews in which only one informant is active; I find the interviews with more than one informant irrelevant for the present study.

** The gender of the informant is marked in brackets: (m) = male, (f) = female.

Table II.c

The use of interviews in the analyses in Part II.

(f) = female; (m) = male.

Chapter 5

Word counts (5.1)		Initiatives (5.2) (Topics + intw. questions)		Rapport (5.3)
Lisa	Jasper	Lisa	Jasper	Lisa
KK (f)	KL (m)	KK (best)	UF (best)	KK (best)
OP (m)	BU (m)	OP (worst)	KL (worst)	OP (worst)
KP (m)	UF (m)			
	SK (m)			
	BT (f)			
	DF (m)			
	FB (f)			
	ML (f)			

Chapter 6

Assessments (6.2)	Next turn repair initiators (6.3)
Lisa	Lisa
KK (best)	KK (best)
OP (worst)	OP (worst)

B. Positioning myself among perspectives on language and ways to study it

The point of departure for the analyses is my view on language since this influences how I study language; therefore, I find it relevant to account for my position. In the following, I position myself in relation to the two perspectives on language I find relevant for my methodological approach to the analyses: the dialogical approach as expressed by Linell (1998, 2009)¹⁵ and others (e.g., M. M. Bakhtin, 1981; Rommetveit, 1974) and the conversation analytic (hence, CA) approach as represented by Schegloff (1997, 2007), Psathas (1995), and Have (2007).

I am especially inspired by dialogism in my approach to study language. In the following account of my perspective on language, I refer especially to Per Linell (1998, 2009). Linell makes it clear from the beginning that Bakhtin is salient in his account of dialogism (Linell, 2009, p. 8). Keeping in mind that Bakhtin was a theorist of literature and, thus, had aims of a literary character, which clearly marks his theories, he has unquestionably been a great source of inspiration for the dialogists I agree with in my perspective on language. In addition to Bakhtin, Linell is also inspired by Ragnar Rommetveit.

According to dialogism, a speaker does not shape a conversation single-handedly. Even in a monologue, several other individuals – imagined or actual (i.e. physically present) recipients – influence the topic and the speaker's experiences with other interactions influence the perception of the speech event (Linell, 2009, pp. 13-16), etc. Bakhtin (1981) describes this as a natural part of any verbal interaction:

The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. Such is the situation in any living dialogue.

(M. M. Bakhtin, 1981, p. 280)

Thus, Bakhtin stresses the interdependency of the past, present, and future of a conversation. Described with the CA notion of 'turn', Linell (1998, pp. 78-80) also writes how this dialogical principle is reflected in the dialogical process of establishing – at least, partially – a shared understanding: Each utterance in a turn displays parts of a speaker's understanding of former turns, and the meaning of a given turn will only become apparent in the way it is responded to. Thus, understandings are displayed in the turns of a dialogue, and obtaining a degree of shared understanding is a joint achievement.

The dialogical view on language necessarily has consequences for how we conceptualise the individual. Linell (2009) states that:

¹⁵ Linell has, in fact, also contributed a lot to the CA tradition (e.g. Linell & Persson Thunqvist, 2003).

[D]ialogism denies the *autonomous* subject who thinks, speaks and acts in and by himself. Our actions, thoughts and utterances are imbued with interdependencies with what others have done, are doing, and could be expected to do in the future.

(Linell, 2009, p. 13; italics in original)

Linell (1998, p. 55) views dialogism as a kind of social constructionism – though not a radical kind – which means the interaction we have with our surroundings plays a large part in constructing our relation to ourselves, others, and the world. The quotation above should not be misunderstood: Denying that we can act independently of our surroundings does not mean rejecting individuality. Linell (2009, p. 53) states that each individual develops a personal point of view based on her or his unique experiences. I return to the discussion of constructionism versus realism in 8.1.2 below.

The role of the language should not be underestimated; for instance, experiments carried out by Loftus & Palmer (1974) and Loftus (1979) show how language influences our memory. However, I am not persuaded by the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in which Whorf (1941) – inspired by Edward Sapir – proposes that language rules the way we think and act. This theory builds on the view that language precedes communication, which means that language could be studied independently of language use. Like other dialogists, I find that it is the other way around: Communication precedes language and, therefore, language cannot restrict the way humans think and act as Whorf (1941) proposes. Indeed, I agree with the American psychologist James (1950, p. 195) (whom Linell (2009, p. 8) calls interactionally oriented) when he warns us that we should not be seduced to believe that, whenever there is a word, there is also content¹⁶. Language is not a joint dictionary which is available to everyone in the same edition as expressed by the prominent linguist, Saussure:

La langue existe dans la collectivité sous la forme d'une somme d'empreintes déposées dans chaque cerveau, à peu près comme un dictionnaire dont tous les exemplaires, identiques, seraient répartis entre les individus [...]

Saussure (1968, p. 38)

In contrast to Saussure, I believe that each individual uses language according to the experience s/he has with it. This may potentially cause problems in conversation in terms of intersubjectivity. Linell (2009, p. 81) points out that intersubjectivity is a necessity to accomplish successful communication; however, the intersubjectivity can only ever be partial. The dialogist Rommetveit (1974) also points to the necessity of intersubjectivity:

Intersubjectivity has ... to be taken for granted to be achieved. It is based on mutual faith in a shared social world.

(Rommetveit, 1974, p. 56; italics in original)

Thus, Rommetveit (ibid.) stresses the importance of intersubjectivity and, simultaneously, how it is and must be taken for granted. However, knowledge about the world and experiences with the

¹⁶ As a modern example of James' warning the much discussed "War on Terror" narrative (e.g., Hodges, 2011) could be mentioned; at least, this literature shows how a non-provable "reality" became prevalent through discourse.

language naturally differ – in various degrees – from one individual to another. It does not seem unlikely that two people with very different backgrounds may have more trouble with intersubjectivity both in terms of shared knowledge about the world and similar ways of using and understanding the language compared to two people who have rather similar backgrounds.

The CA tradition values the inductive approach in that it encourages the approach of 'unmotivated looking' (e.g., Have, 2007; Psathas, 1995). Nonetheless, as quoted in Have (2007, p. 120), Psathas criticises the term itself as he stresses that 'unmotivated' contradicts the fact that we always have a motivation for looking into a piece of data; he specifies that the point of the term is to encourage analysts to stay 'open' to new phenomena. However, it should be noted – as pointed out by Peräkylä (2008, p. 359) – that the prominent CA researcher, Schegloff, in his recent, principal work (*Sequence Organisation in Interaction* from 2007; Cambridge University Press) describes several terms used in the CA tradition to equip researchers for doing CA and thereby encourages analysts to take a point of departure in interactionally well studied features such as 'adjacency' and 'contiguity', which have already been thoroughly studied. Naturally, this does not mean CA could be called a deductive approach; rather, carrying out analyses for several decades within the CA tradition by way of the inductive approach has given us insights into some general patterns of conversation, which can now be used for further research. The present study relies on several terms which have been studied in the CA literature. Thus, in the part of the analyses in which I am inspired by the CA, I use the term inductive in the sense that I have explored my data with no specific presuppositions; while exploring the data, I have noted the phenomena which stood out and seemed to differ in the interviews evaluated as good and bad.

Despite several similarities between dialogism and CA (i.e., qualitative methods; a holistic approach to data in the sense that they look at all (here: both) participants and the context), there are also important differences. In the name of insisting on the participants' perspective, CA researchers limit themselves to looking into what happens in a specific sequence and what has happened immediately prior to the specific sequence analysed (cf. Psathas, 1995, p. 49). In contrast to CA, dialogism is nowhere described as an actual concrete method. However, the dialogical view on conversation (cf. the quotations by Linell and Bakhtin above) is that speakers are not only influenced by what has been said and is being said but are also constantly aware of what they think will come subsequently; thus, they are influenced by their own expectations of the succeeding events. I see this as an important difference: It has consequences for their conception of contexts and aspects on which their analyses can be based. Dialogism has a broader view of contexts than CA. Linell (2009, p. 204) speaks of pre-given circumstances, which are "brought along" – as he puts it – to the situation and may be oriented to in various degree; whereas CA finds that only the context which is "demonstrably relevant to the participants in the event being examined" (Schegloff, 1997, p. 165) counts as context for the analysis as their "relevance is ensured by having subsequent moments in the trajectory of the interaction" (ibid., p. 184). Indeed, Linell (2009, pp. 62-63) (in line with Markovà (1990)) argues that dialogism should embrace both situated interaction as well as sociocultural practices, and he argues that CA only covers the first one. More on my critique of and restrictions in using CA in 5.3.3.

Thus, from a dialogical point of view, I explore the interviewers' points about the good sociolinguistic interview in Chapter 4. Subsequently, I study the original interview data from the interviewers' perspective in Chapter 5. And, in Chapter 6, I study the same data as interaction with no regard to the interviewers' comments, merely as a "text" in its own right.

4. What is a good interview according to the interviewers?

In the present study, the interviewers are asked: "What is a good interview?" No one to my knowledge has studied the good sociolinguistic interview seen from the interviewer perspective; however, Wolfson (1976), Butters (2000) and Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995) start a discussion of the interviewer's experience of the sociolinguistic interview (cf. Chapter 2 above).

In this chapter, I account for my interview with the interviewers about 'the good sociolinguistic interview'. One issue is unavoidable in this case: Is a good interview necessarily good data? And is a bad interview necessarily bad data? Indeed, it is important to distinguish between good interviews and good data. The interviews that are called 'bad interviews' in the present study have not been excluded from the BySoc study for which it was originally collected; indeed, the so-called bad interviews have been used for various studies of speech variation in the same way as the interviews that are labelled 'good interviews' in the present study. Thus, what is considered useful data depends entirely on the purpose of the data collection, and this is not my main concern here. Rather, what is of interest here is what the interviewers stress as important for an interview to be counted among good interviews.

On the surface, I would think that a professional interviewer would not be satisfied with an interview if it did not – at least – live up to the expectations for the data collection and, thus, would not call it a "good interview". However, not only a friendly interview style can result in good data; I have seen examples of (although, unfortunately, none that are published) interviewers having success with a rather provocative interview style. Thus, interviewer preferences are an individual matter, it seems. It should be noted that a rather friendly style was probably preferred in the BySoc study as the interviewers were aware that they would possibly want to return to the informants if they needed more data; therefore, it was important to leave the informants with a good impression and a nice experience to think back to.

Admittedly, in the interview, I mostly focused on the good interview rather than the bad. However, I did ask them more about the specific interviews which the interviewers had reported to me as bad, trying to find out why they thought these were particularly bad. Their responses were very much like what Labov (1984) declares about the bad sociolinguistic interview:

The sociolinguistic interview is considered a failure if the speaker does no more than answer questions. It is the additional material that the speaker provides, beyond the initial question, which provides the main substance of the interview.

(Labov, 1984, p. 38)

I approach this point and its realization in the data when I study initiatives in 5.2.

Most people have an intuitive idea of what a good or a bad interview is; so, basically, I could have asked anyone to point out good and bad interviews for me to study. In some studies, volunteers are the ones to evaluate the participants (e.g., Simmons-Mackie & Kagan, 1999, about the

conversational skills of volunteers in conversation with individuals with aphasia). However, in the present study, I have asked the interviewers themselves to evaluate what is good and bad. Naturally, the interviewer who has been an active participant in the situation has other sources for his or her evaluation of the interview than the analyst, who can only access the audio (cf. Schober & Clark (1989) as described in Chapter 1). On the other hand, the interviewer could be said to be biased as s/he has been part of the situation and, thus, his or her evaluation could potentially be different if I asked any outsider to evaluate the event. A third option would be to ask the informant to judge the interview; but, unlike the interviewer, the informant does not know the actual purpose of the interview, which potentially provides him or her different criteria for the success of an interview. However, I find the perspective of the interviewers particularly interesting; they know the purpose of the activity, but what is it in an interview situation that subsequently leads the interviewer to state that it was either good or bad?

The interviewer perspective in this study gives a special point of departure. I have access both to the interviewers' present and past evaluation of the interviews: I have asked the interviewers in writing (i.e., e-mail) and had their confirmation and elaboration in my interviews with them; and I know their past evaluation from their interview diaries. The difference between their present e-mail/interview and past diary notes is that, today, they have been asked to relate to all of their BySoc interviews (cf. 3.1 and 3.3 above), whereas they only had to consider one interview when they wrote their diary just after an interview.

In the following sections, I elaborate on the interviews I have done with the two interviewers and what they told me about the interviews they conducted in the BySoc study. I refer to the interviewers' main sources of inspiration – i.e., the interview guide and Labov (cf. Chapter 2) – whenever relevant. In accordance with the dialogical perspective described above, I present the interviewers' points in the context it was given – I do not pretend that my influence as an interviewer on a par with other situational factors is of no importance for the outcome. Thus, I quote entire sequences from my interviews with the interviewers; the original dialogue in Danish will appear in the footnotes.

First, I elaborate on the interviewers' answers to my distinction between personally good and professionally good (4.1). Second, I address the interviewers' focus on opening up the informant (4.2). Finally, I address the importance of the relationship between the interviewer and the informant (4.3).

4.1 'Personally good' and 'professionally good' – a meaningful distinction?

From the beginning of the project, I had an idea that the interviewers would have to use both personal and professional skills when conducting the sociolinguistic interview. Their professional skills ensure that the aims of the interview are reached, whereas the interviewers' personal qualities are an important means to achieve this: The informant has to experience the interviewer as a person to have an informal and relaxed talk with and, preferably, also someone with whom they can

discuss personal issues. My idea was that these two aspects could be discussed separately. Naturally, I would need the interviewers to confirm this.

Therefore, after the talk about specific good and bad interviews in the interviews with them, I introduce to the interviewers that, besides the distinction between good and bad interviews (which I made clear already in the e-mail in which I asked them to tell me about their good and bad interviews from the BySoc study), I also distinguish between professionally and personally good or bad experiences (see 3.3 above about the structure of my interviews with the interviewers). I ask the interviewers whether the distinction makes sense to them. The following is part of the interview with the male interviewer Jasper (my utterances – by virtue of being the interviewer – is indicated with Int; the original transcription of the dialogue is given in a footnote at the end of the translation; the transcription conventions appear in Appendix 3):

Extract 4.1

(Jasper and me (Int), 01:01:22)

1 Int: and then I'll make a little little a h- a uh then I'll distinguish what you could say
2 was like professionally good that is what you should take home with you
3 from the Centre

4 Jasper: mm

5 Int: uhm as you have also touched ha on and uh what has like personally been
6 good or bad I mean what sort of things <have> made it great for you

7 Jasper: < yes >

8 Int: because it has been interesting for you persoⁿally or you've built up a good
9 relationship

10 Jasper: yes

11 Int: something like that but b- does it make sense to you at all to make
12 such a distinction

13 (1.5)

14 Jasper: yes it does it does=

15 Int: =yes okay

16 (1.5)

17 Jasper: so as I said there are lots I mean you go out # and hear for about one and
18 a half hours about people's lives right

19 Int: mm

20 Jasper: and that was of course s- i- the point uh from: cradle to grave

21 Int: °yes° yes!

22 Jasper: so what have you done so far and what do you imagine you'll do <right and>

23 Int: < yes mm >

24 (0.5)

25 Jasper: and i- and uhm

26 (2.0)

27 Jasper: quite a lot of cases it was really educational so

28 Int: yes

- 29 (2.0)
 30 Jasper: uhm especially if you are somehow open to uh to: # to learning
 31 from listening <right>
 32 Int: < yes >
 33 Jasper: and it is you know probably quite often the case that the kind of people
 34 from the humanities [meaning: the faculty] they are [interested in listening] right
 35 <so >
 36 Int: <yes!>
 37 Jasper: so: i- that i- (0.5) yes i- s- i- think it gave me a lot
 38 Int: yes
 39 Jasper: on that score so: ¹⁷

Thus, in the interview with Jasper, I define what is professionally good as: "what you should take home with you from the Centre" (l. 2-3). And I suggest the understanding of personally good to be a conversation which is "interesting for you personally" (l. 8) and "a good relationship" (l. 8-9). After thinking for a while (l. 13; cf. 3.2 above; Jasper very often takes the time during the interview to think before he answers, so, the length of the pause is not unusual), he confirms that the distinction makes sense to him (l. 14). Then, Jasper points out that he found that, in many cases, it was "really educational" (l. 27); he explains his interest (l. 30-31) by pointing out that, probably, a lot of people within the humanities would find it interesting to listen (l. 33-35) to stories about people's lives from cradle to grave (l. 20 + 22). So, in this extract, Jasper tells me about the personal gain from

¹⁷ Int: derudover så laver jeg lidt lidt en h- en øh så adskiller jeg det man kunne sige var sådan professionelt godt altså hvad det er I skal have med hjem fra: centret

Jasper: mm

Int: øhm som du også har været ha lidt inde på og så øh hvad der sådan personligt har været godt og dårligt altså hvad er det for nogle ting der ligesom har gjort at <det har> været fedt for dig

Jasper: <ja>

Int: fordi det har været personligt interessant↑ eller det har været en god relation du har bygget op eller

Jasper: ja!

Int: sådan et eller andet men m- giver det mening↑ for dig overhovedet at lave sådan en skelnen (1.5)

Jasper: ja det gør det det gør det=

Int: =ja okay

Jasper: altså som sagt så er der jo masser altså man kommer ud # og hører de her halvanden time om folks liv ikke

Int: mm

Jasper: og det var jo s- d- altså en pointe i det med øh altså fra: vugge til grav

Int: °ja° ja!

Jasper: altså hvad har du lavet indtil nu og hvad forestiller du dig kommer til at lave <ikke og>

Int: <ja mm>

(0.5)

Jasper: og d- og øhm (2.0) re- rigtig mange tilfælde der var det jo lærerigt altså

Int: ja

(2.0)

Jasper: øhm især hvis man på en eller anden måde er åben overfor øh for: # for at lære af at lytte <ikke>

Int: <jo>

Jasper: og det er det jo nok ret tit at sådan nogle der render rundt på humaniora de er ikke <altså>

Int: <ja!>

Jasper: så: d- at d- (0.5) ja d- s- d- synes jeg havde meget med

Int: ja

Jasper: på den konto altså:

doing the interviews; pointing out that, in “quite a lot of cases” (l. 27), it was educational for him to listen to the informants, he also says that, in some cases, it was not so educational and, as he points to the educational aspect as a good thing, it seems that he personally prefers the educational interviews to the interviews which are not.

Let me also note that the fact that Jasper has taken part in developing the interview guide seems to influence his replies. In fact, the extract quoted above (Extract 4.1) is the only place he speaks of personal preferences; in the rest of the interview, Jasper only raises points of a professional kind; thus, his opinions about the sociolinguistic interview are, undoubtedly, very entwined with Jasper’s own professional ideas (inspired by Labov to some degree) and experience with the genre.

Indeed, both of the interviewers are aware that the professional and the personal are interrelated; this is clear in the following passage from the interview with the female interviewer Lisa. After mentioning the focus on good versus bad interviews I introduce the distinction between professionally good/bad and personally good/bad as follows:

Extract 4.2

(Lisa and me (Int), 0:29:27)

1 Int: but I also distinguish a little bit between uhm what is sort of personally a good
2 experience and what is sort of profes↑sionally a good experience

3 Lisa: <arh okay>

4 Int: < uhm: > so i- i- yes that ha I would maybe actually like to hear what
5 your what you like think is the difference I mean what is it like I don’t know
6 whether you can put it so simplistically that you don’t know if I
7 <I don’t know> if you agree with me on

8 Lisa: < so: >

9 Int: <I mean in the way that uhm >

10 Lisa: <I mean in connection wi:th: >

11 (0.8)

12 Int: (smacking sound) in <connection with> the different interviews you have conducted

13 Lisa: < uh wi- >

14 Int: °or what do you think↑°

15 Lisa: yes! yes

16 Int: yes! that’s what it’s like well uh as an interviewer and as a representative of
17 the Centre then you have to keep certain things in mind and but as as a
18 private person for instance you think it is interesting to talk with someone who
19 has a different background that is a cultural background because then you learn
20 something about why # or understand some new things about their culture uh- or
21 how can you say it # uhm so # that distinction between uh < y- can >

22 Lisa: < now > I

23 can’t just like have to admit that I can’t quite remember what it actually was that we
24 had to do when we had to interview # so it was like
25 cradle to grave we <were> given as a guideline

26 Int:

< yes > ¹⁸

Thus, in my explanation of what I mean by personal, I elaborate on how one interview may be more interesting than another because the interviewer gets to speak with someone with a different cultural background and, therefore, is able to learn or understand something new about this specific culture (l. 17-20). This is different from my explanation in the interview with Jasper in which I mention the relationship between the interviewer and the informant along with the personal interest (cf. Extract 4.1 above, l. 8-9) and, thus, point out that both these factors may influence the evaluation of a given interview as either good or bad. The focus on personal interests in the interview with Lisa is in line with prior parts of the interview; however, when she gives her reply 27 seconds later after a small detour¹⁹, she actually focuses on the part I did not mention to her, namely the relationship between herself and the informant:

Extract 4.3

(Lisa and me (Int), 0:31:30)

1 Int: <[clears her throat]>

2 Lisa: < I mean > I often felt that if the chemistry between me and

3 # and the informant was good

4 Int: yes

5 Lisa: then I also felt that there was often uh: a better basis for # getting the

6 informant to talk about the things we were supposed to talk↑ about

7 Int: yes↑

8 Lisa: uh:m # so in that sense I think it it actually # all quite connected this thing with

¹⁸ Int: men jeg skelner også lidt mellem øhm sådan hvad der er sådan personligt er en god oplevelse og hvad der sådan profes↑sionelt er en god oplevelse

Lisa: <årh okay>

Int: <øhm:> så d- i- ja det ha kunne jeg måske egentlig godt tænke mig sådan at høre hvad din hvad du sådan synes er forskellen altså hvad er det sådan altså hvis man kan stille det så firkantet op det ved du ikke om det <ved jeg> ikke om du er enig med mig i

Lisa: <altså>

Int: <altså sådan at man øhm>

Lisa: <altså i forbindelse me:d:>

(0.8)

Int: (smask) i <forbindelse med> de forskellige interviews du har lavet

Lisa: <øh me->

Int: °eller hvad tænker du°

Lisa: ja! ja

Int: ja! altså sådan er de:t jamen øh som interviewer og som udsending ha for centret så skal man jo tænke på nogen bestemte ting og men som dig som privatperson for eksempel synes du det er spændende at snakke med nogen som har en anden baggrund eller altså en kulturel baggrund fordi så lærer du noget om hvordan # eller forstår nogle nye ting af hvordan deres kultur a- øh er eller hvordan man nu kan sige det # øhm så altså # den skelnen mellem øh <kan d->

Lisa: <altså nu> kan jeg jo ikke lige altså må indrømme jeg er ikke lige sådan helt skarp på hvad det egentlig var det var vi skulle da vi skulle interviewe # altså det var sådan vugge til grav vi <fik> udstukket

Int: <ja>

¹⁹ I do not reproduce this part as I do not see the relevance. Basically the female interviewer asks whether she is right in her claim that cradle to grave was the theme; I tell her that I do not know as I do not want to influence her answers and therefore aim to get her own account of what was important in the interviews. Furthermore, I do not mean to evaluate whether what she says about anything is right or wrong which is why I chose not to look at interviewguides, etc., before I had interviewed the interviewers. So Lisa and I laugh together in the omitted part – possibly because of my ignorance.

9 I mean my experience of the good interview and and the:n the the professional
10 Int: yes²⁰

So, Lisa stresses that the personal relationship between the interviewer and the informant (l. 2-3) may be important for making the informant talk (l. 5-6) and, thus, can be crucial for the professional success of the interview. In this way, the female interviewer agrees that it makes sense to distinguish between personal and professional success but also concludes that they are heavily interrelated (l. 8-9). So, Lisa confirms the distinction, but, at the same time, she stresses that professional and personal experiences are "all quite connected" (l. 8). This is similar to Jasper above: He confirms the distinction between professionally good and personally good, although he seems to have more focus on the professional part. In fact, it seems impossible for both of the interviewers to speak about what is personally good for them without referring to professional sides of the interview. Therefore, I conclude that it is not in line with the interviewers' perspective to maintain a clear distinction between what is professionally good and what is personally good.

4.2 Opening up the informant

The interviewers both mention that it is crucial for a sociolinguistic interview to make the informant "open up". Lisa even calls it a "criterion of success" to win the confidence of the informant (at 0:57:42 in the interview). This is similar to Labov (1972a, p. 209), who writes that the interviewer must be capable of "breaking down the constraints" of the informants.

Regarding the content of the interviews, both interviewers mention that the theme was "from cradle to grave", which is in accordance with the interview guide (cf. Appendix 1, p. 1). Both of the interviewers also confirmed that they had to be willing to offer a piece of themselves and their own story in their interviews. In my interview with Jasper, he expresses:

Extract 4.4

(Jasper and me (Int), 01:05:26)

- 1 Jasper: so it is about getting out and g- that is g- showing a bit of yourself not necessarily
- 2 much you should of course < not >
- 3 Int: < yes >
- 4 Jasper: waste of time if the interviewer or the transcriber has to write
- 5 Int: oh:
- 6 Jasper: out what you say [meaning: transcribe] th- that I can als-

²⁰ Int: <[rømmer sig]>

Lisa: <altså> jeg syntes tit at hvis der var kemi imellem mig og # og informanten

Int: ja

Lisa: så synes jeg også at der tit var øh: altså bedre grundlag for at # få informanten til at tale om ting som det var meningen vi skulle ↑tale om

Int: ↑ja

Lisa: øhm # altså så på den måde så synes jeg det det egentlig # hænger meget godt sammen det her med altså min oplevelse af det gode interview og og så de:n den faglige

Int: ja

7 I don't think I was the best at avoiding so # < I my > feeling was
8 Int: <°oh yeah°>
9 Jasper: that you go out you know as a person right <you go> out
10 Int: < yes > yes
11 Jasper: as a person with a history that uh and a job
12 Int: yes
13 Jasper: so <like-> who then also # like
14 Int: <yes> yes
15 Jasper: asks people for for the same [in return]
16 Int: yes yes²¹

Jasper refers to the fact that the sociolinguistic interview is about making the informant talk since it is only the speech of the informant (l. 1-2 + 4 + 6) that is usually used for grammatical analyses, phonetic measures, narrative studies, and other types of analyses the data is suited for. The interviewer knows the purpose of the study and is, therefore, thought to be influenced by this in his or her way of speaking. Basically, this means the speech of the interviewer is irrelevant; as Jasper points out, the speech of the interviewer just means more work hours for the transcriber (l. 4 + 6). At the same time, he points out that he was not the best at keeping quiet (l. 7) and explains why when he says that “you go out as a person with a history [...] and a job” (l. 9 + 11). He, thus, implies that the interviewer is not just a person with a job but a person with his or her own personal history and life experiences which are a part of what you bring with you as an interviewer when you visit informants in their homes to interview them. So, Jasper says explicitly what had originally made me think the personal and the professional were two sides which could be kept apart (cf. 4.1 above). Certainly, it is confirmed that the personal side of the interviewer is a necessary means to obtain the purpose of it all: Good data!

This is in line with Labov's (1984) thoughts on the interviewer role. Even though this is not included in the goals stated by Labov (1984, pp. 32-33), he is aware of the importance of the interviewer's active role in attaining these goals. Thus, he encourages the interviewer to take an active part in the interaction when he introduces the idea that a network of topics can be helpful to obtain the goals of a sociolinguistic interview:

²¹ Jasper: s- så det handler sådan om at k- komme ud og f- altså f- vise lidt af sig selv ikke nødvendigvis meget man skal jo <ikke>
Int: <okay>
Jasper: spild af tid hvis interviewereren eller udskriveren skal sidde og skrive
Int: nårh:
Jasper: en ud ikke d- det kan jeg så ogs- altså det tror jeg ikke jeg var sådan den bedste til at lade være med altså # <jeg> havde det sådan
Int: <°nårh°>
Jasper: at man tager jo ud som menneske ikke altså <man kommer> ud
Int: <ja> ja
Jasper: som en person med en historie der øh og et arbejde altså
Int: ja
Jasper: altså <som-> som så også # ligesom
Int: <ja> ja
Jasper: beder folk om om det samme
Int: ja ja

The network is a guide for the interviewer as he or she constructs a simulated conversation which follows principles quite similar to the unfocused conversations of everyday life. The interviewer does initiate topics, often with questions; this is an expected role. But there is no rigid insistence upon a preset order of topics, and *ideally the interviewer plays a part in the conversation which approaches that of any other participant: volunteering experience, responding to new issues, and following the subject's main interests and ideas wherever they go.*

(Labov, 1984, pp. 36-37; my marking in italics)

Thus, even though the focus is on collecting the informants' speech, the way to achieve this is through the interviewer's active, natural guidance through a range of prepared topics but in a way that is as equal to any other participant as possible by offering personal experience and responding to the talk of the informant.

Lisa also stresses that the focus was on the informant, but adds that sometimes her personal contributions became a part of the interaction:

Extract 4.5

(Lisa and me (Int), 00:34:40)

1 Int: so you you f- you never really forgot that that recorder you were always also

2 the professional who was not # lost in that now you were talking to this

3 person and it was incredibly interesting

4 (3.0)

5 Lisa: mm

6 (2.5)

7 Lisa: like I think I always kept # my focus o:n # the

8 informant right↑ that it was about the informant <xxx>

9 Int: <yes>

10 Lisa: but

11 (2.0)

12 Lisa: but I think I maybe exposed myself more if I could also feel that it paid off

13 either because the informant him/herself <found> it difficult

14 Int: < mm >

15 Lisa: opening up or (0.5) hh or if there was just sort of # if the

16 chemistry was really good then it could like <sometimes> be like an exchange

17 Int: < yes >

18 Int: yes °yes°²²

²² Int: så du du g- du glemte aldrig rigtig at den der optager altså du var altid den professionelle også som ikke sådan # fortabte sig i at nu snakkede du med den her person og det var vildt interessant
(3.0)

Lisa: mm

(2.5)

Lisa: altså sådan jeg tror altid jeg holdt # blikket på: # informanten ikke↑ at det skulle handle om informanten <xxx>

Thus, the female interviewer expresses a willingness to bring herself more into play in the interview (l. 10 + 12) if it seemed to contribute to her goal: Make the informant open up (l. 15).

I infer from these statements that the interviewers see it as a very important goal to open up the informant; and, if it helps to achieve this, they are likely to give a piece of themselves and their own story. Thus, it is not solely a matter of enacting or performing the interviewer role (to use Goffman's (1959) terms) – the professional role – in the right way; it is just as much the person who plays the role who is a means for obtaining a good interview. The interviewers do not state explicitly (maybe, I was not insistent enough in the formulation of the questions I asked) what they meant by 'opening up the informant'. My interpretation of what the interviewers say on the matter is that the interviewers found that they could sometimes help if they offered information about themselves. Thus, I take it that 'opening up the informants' means something like 'making the informants talk about topics or give reflections on whatever is pertinent in their personal life and past experiences' – just as the interviewers sometimes do themselves as inspiration or in an attempt to make the informant speak of something they might not normally confide to strangers.

4.3 The influence of the relationship between the interviewer and the informant

It also seems important to the interviewers that they establish a relation of trust with the informant, so that s/he will take the interviewer seriously but will also relax. For example, in the following passage from the interview with Jasper, he reflects on the relationship between the informant and the interviewer in general:

Extract 4.6

(Jasper and me, 01:04:50)

- 1 Jasper: you cannot go out to people # and then
- 2 Int: mm
- 3 Jasper: they think # that you a:re a complete idiot °right° so
- 4 Int: no
- 5 Jasper: that won't do right so < tha:t > [is] like one criterion
- 6 Int: < no >
- 7 Jasper: to uhm make them relax in the situation
- 8 Int: yes
- 9 Jasper: understand↑ what it is all about without: uh putting at risk any: of the things
- 10 which uh
- 11 Int: yes

Int: ja

Lisa: men (2.0) men jeg tror jeg måske satte mig selv i spil mere hvis jeg også kunne mærke at det gav noget enten fordi informanten selv <havde> svært ved

Int: mm

Lisa: sådan at åbne sig op eller (0.5) hh eller hvis det bare sådan # hvis der også var rigtig god kemi så kunne det jo godt <nogle> gange blive sådan en udveksling

Int: <ja> ja °ja°

12 Jasper: which ar- which are part of people's methods that they [i.e. the informants] are not
 13 allowed to know that we are investig<ating vowel>qualities
 14 Int: < yes yes >
 15 Jasper: or what the hell do I know < right >
 16 Int: < mm >
 17 Jasper: those of course you can't a- aba- a:bandon
 18 Int: yes²³

Thus, Jasper stresses that the interviewer must win the acceptance of the informant (l. 1 + 3) and the trust to make the informant relax in the situation (l. 5 + 7). Furthermore, he remarks that you should not depart from the method (l. 9-10 + 12), which means, in this case, that the interviewer cannot tell the informant that the recording of the interview will be subject to detailed linguistic analyses afterwards (l. 12-13) since the informants are supposed to be distracted from paying attention to their language in order to get closer to their vernacular (cf. Labov, 1984).

Other studies also confirm the benefits of a personal style of interviewing. Dijkstra (1987) – guided by the question-answer process described by Cannell, Miller & Oksenberg (1981) – argues that survey interviews benefit from a personal style of interviewing as opposed to a formal style of interviewing. Dijkstra (1987, p. 312) explains the benefits of the personal style of interviewing in terms of a motivation hypothesis:

[A]n interviewer who behaves in a very personal way by showing interest and understanding will motivate the respondent to fulfill the task requirements of the interview in an adequate way.

(Dijkstra, 1987, p. 312)

Although Dijkstra (1987) has other criteria of success than the present study since he is interested in how to obtain adequate responses in survey interviews (cf. Dijkstra, 1987, p. 309), his motivation hypothesis might still be a good explanation for why the personal style of interviewing is important for the success even of the sociolinguistic interviews analysed in the present study. 'Interest' and 'understanding' I would think are certainly key ingredients in, at least, one recipe for a good

²³ Jasper: du kan ikke tage ud til folk # og så

Int: mm

Jasper: synes de # at du e:r fuldstændig idiot °vel° altså

Int: nej

Jasper: det går ikke vel så <de:t> ligesom et kriterie

Int: <nej>

Jasper: at øhm få dem ti:l at slappe af i situationen

Int: ja

Jasper: forstå↑ hvad det handler om u:den og øh sætte nogen af: de ting over styr som øh

Int: ja

Jasper: hvor d- hvor det indgår i folks metoder at de ikke må vide at vi under<søger vokal>kvaliteter

Int: <jo ja>

Jasper: eller hvad fanden ved jeg <ikke>

Int: <mm>

Jasper: dem skal man selvfølgelig ikke g- gi- gi:ve køb på

Int: ja

interview; even though one could imagine various styles of the sociolinguistic interview which could all be considered good interviews, each following their own ideals; and, thus, there are several ways of achieving a good interview. However, the characteristics of the so-called personal style are not described in much detail. It is noted that

[the interviewers] were trained to express a supportive and understanding attitude towards the respondent.

(Dijkstra, 1987, p. 319)

Besides,

[the interviewers] were taught to act in a personal, sympathetic, and understanding manner, especially when the respondent conveyed emotional feelings or signs of distress.

(Dijkstra, 1987, p. 320)

Furthermore, they were encouraged to express sympathy (ibid.). However, the interviewers were taught not to interpret the answers of the respondents; the understanding and interest they were supposed to express were only permitted as repetitions or summaries of the respondents' answers (cf. Dijkstra, 1987, p. 320). After the data collection, the interviewers' utterances were coded; the category called "personal" contained "expressions of understanding and sympathy of the respondent" (Dijkstra, 1987, p. 321). Despite the different aims, Dijkstra's guidelines for the personal interviewer style are not unlike the description given by the present study's interviewers of the ideal interviewer as sympathetic.

Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 128) makes the same distinction as Dijkstra (1987) speaking of person-oriented or socio-emotional style versus a task-oriented or formal style of interviewing. However, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 128) points out that the literature does not say anything about how the person-oriented style of interviewing is achieved. She (ibid.) refers to Fowler & Mangione (1990, p. 64), who describe the person-oriented style with words such as "personal", "warm", "friendly", and "the sort of person to whom one might tell personal information that would be more difficult to tell to a stranger"; especially the last statement is in line with the focus of the interviewers in the present study, who focus on 'opening up the informant', cf. 4.2. Furthermore, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 130) notes that the personal interview style often shows in the interviewers' reactions to the informants' answers. The interviewers in the present study indeed argue that a style comparable to Houtkoop-Steenstra's socio-emotional style is favourable for the sociolinguistic interview.

As I accounted for in Part II.B above, my point of departure is dialogical; thus, I find that a good interview is a shared accomplishment and, therefore, it makes sense to speak of good or bad interviews and not good or bad interviewers. However, in a study by Simmons-Mackie & Kagan (1999), it is argued that a good communication partner has certain characteristics compared to a bad conversation partner. Even though they study conversations with individuals with aphasia and use

the term 'communicative partner' rather than 'interviewer', their conclusions on the characteristics of the so-called good communicative partner may not be so unlike the descriptions which the interviewers in the present study give about the interviewer's achievements in a good interview. Although I retain a focus on the good interview rather than a good interviewer, their characterization of the "communicative partner" seems to have similarities to the qualities shown by the interviewer in the good sociolinguistic interview as described in the present study.

According to Simmons-Mackie & Kagan (1999, p. 811), the good communicative partner is someone who frequently uses acknowledgements and congruent overlap (e.g., the communicative partner is nodding yes, smiling and expressing agreement overlapping with a question posed nonverbally; *ibid.* 1999, p. 812), and someone who accommodates to possible nonstandard methods of interaction of the conversation partner (e.g. 'thumbs up'; *ibid.* 1999, p. 814). Furthermore, the good communication partner uses strategies that are face saving for the person with aphasia (*ibid.*, 1999, p. 815). By contrast, bad conversation partners use few acknowledgements, few congruent overlaps but various disjunct markers (*ibid.* 1999, pp. 813-814).

Furthermore, Dijkstra (1987, p. 312) points out that a personal interview style requires the interviewer to show understanding. As several studies show, understanding requires collaboration between the speaker and the hearer (e.g., H. H. Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986; Schober & Clark, 1989). This is consistent with my dialogical point of departure (cf. Part II.B). As will be clear from Chapter 6, co-operation seems to be important for whether the sociolinguistic interview is experienced as successful by the interviewer.

As mentioned the interviewers do not remember all the interviews they have done – in particular, the female interviewer does not remember so many of the interviews from the BySoc study, which is my source of data. I will not discuss the memory aspect in the present study; however, I will make a few remarks about what the interviewers actually remember. Very often, the interviewers make remarks about whether a particular informant was "sympathetic", "nice" or the like in an interview. For instance, the male interviewer remarks that one informant was "a cool type" and "working class in a cool way" (57:33-57:38 in my interview with Jasper). The female interviewer remembers one female informant as "boring" (44:07-44:08 in my interview with Lisa) and "not someone I could become friends with" (44:47-44:49 in my interview) but also that "I think she was quite nice to speak with" (44:55-44:57 in my interview with Lisa). Another informant she remembers as "really nice" (46:48-46:49 in my interview with Lisa). From these notions, I infer that the relationship between the informant and the interviewer and even a personal liking for a specific informant are a considerable part of what the interviewers remember from an interview, which potentially influences their evaluation of the interview.

As the interviewers seem to remember – or, at least, report – interviews with a focus on the atmosphere and their experience of the informants, it also seems likely that the interviews the interviewers point out to me as their good or bad interviews are not necessarily good or bad from the beginning to the end. The interviewers might only remember one or a few topics in the interview about which they had a very good talk, or it might be that the informant had one point or

told one story which made the interviewer think well of this person and, therefore, remember it as a good interview. Naturally, even the interviews evaluated as bad have sequences which are not so bad, and the good interviews have sequences which are less successful. I cannot directly confirm this in the analyses which follow; however, it is clear that some sequences are better or worse than others and that these could be the crucial points for the evaluation as either very good or very bad.

In the following chapter, I will recapitulate the interviewers' points about the good sociolinguistic interview and study how these retrospective points were implemented by the interviewers themselves when they conducted the interviews they now evaluate as their good or bad, best and worst, interviews.

5. Analyses from the point of view of the interviewers

As is clear from Chapter 4, several factors are important for an interaction to be evaluated as good – and most of these factors are interrelated. In the following, I attempt to reduce – and, admittedly, simplify – the main points about the sociolinguistic interview made by both of the interviewers as presented in Chapter 4²⁴. Then, I study each characteristic to deduce whether they do, in fact, form the actual difference between the good and the bad interviews pointed out in Chapter 3, as might be expected. I note the similarity between the interviewers and Labov whenever relevant.

- 1) Both of the interviewers expressed awareness that the aim of the sociolinguistic interview is to study the informant's speech; consequently, the informants should speak relatively more than the interviewer. This is in accordance with Labov (e.g., 1984, 2006).
- 2) The interviewers both mention their own contributions as an important part in opening up the informant. Both Jasper and Lisa specify that they contributed to the interviews with personal experiences and knowledge in various degrees to make the informants open up. As stressed with a quotation in 4.2, Labov (1984, pp. 36-37) also remarks that the interviewer should play an active part in the conversation ("volunteering experience, responding to new issues, and following the subject's main interests and ideas wherever they go"; *ibid.*, pp. 36-37).
- 3) As raised in 4.2, it is a task for the interviewers to "open up the informant", so that they relax in the situation and feel confident to speak freely with the interviewer. For instance, with respect to several of the good interviews, Jasper explains that they were good because the informants were 'willing to talk' and/or 'expressive' and involved and that it was great when they found something they were interested in – and, preferably, something he was interested in as well. Lisa remarks that, in her best interview, the informant was "willing to give" and, generally, she found the interview easier whenever the informant mentioned new topics in their talk, which could, then, be elaborated. Similarly, Labov (1984, pp. 32, 38) points out that the informants should take the initiative in raising some of the topics discussed and, thus, should not only answer the questions asked by the interviewer.
- 4) As pointed out in 4.3, the interviewers stress the importance of a good relationship with the informant. Lisa mentions "kemi" (*chemistry* between people), and Jasper says that, sometimes, it *clicked* (my best translation of the untranslatable term "svinge") already when he and an informant spoke on the phone to arrange the interview. He also mentions that you must win the acceptance of the informant; thus, the relationship between the interviewer and the informant is crucial for the success of the interview. Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990, p. 286) describe "clicking" or feeling "chemistry" as rapport. Furthermore, both interviewers note that it was important for them – a 'measure of success', as Lisa calls it – to gain the confidence of the informants and thereby make them open up (cf. 4.2).

In the following, I show whether these four points are complied with in the best interviews and less so in the worst interviews. Thus, in 5.1, I make quantitative counts of the words uttered by the

²⁴ None of the points I am about to list are mentioned explicitly in the interview guide developed and used at the LANCHART Centre (Appendix 1) but are reflections on and consequences of the approach in the BySoc study described above; the points could be said to be implicit in the interview guide.

informants and by the interviewers in all the interviews remembered as either good or bad by the interviewers (thus, points 1) and 2) above). In 5.2, I study the topics which are touched upon in the two interviewers' best and worst interview to see how much the interviewer has to give to make the informant speak (related to point 2)) and to see whether the informant seems to be "willing to give" (point 3) above). In addition, I look into the number of questions asked in each of the four best and worst interviews as I see this as another way to study activity and initiative; after all, the questions constitute the backbone of an interview and affect the direction of the interview. Finally, in 5.3, I make a qualitative study of the relationship between the interviewer and the informant in two selected sequences by putting the term rapport into practice (point 4) above). And, in 5.4, I make my conclusions.

5.1 Informant versus interviewer – who speaks the most?

Looking at points 1) and 2) in 5. above, it is clear that they are conflicting; as Labov (1984, p. 32) remarks, some of the goals of the sociolinguistic interview are contradictory. According to the first point in the list above, the words of the informant are the most important thing in the sociolinguistic interview as they constitute the part of the data which will be used in the data processing. However, following point 2) on the list, the interviewers should participate as equals in the conversation and, thus, are expected to contribute actively to the conversation. Point 2) is connected to the qualitative aim in sociolinguistic studies and thereby also the BySoc study: To make the interaction varied (cf. 2.1 and 2.4). Although contradictory, the two points may still co-exist in some interviews; for example, point 2) may be followed to such a degree that it is still reasonable to say that point 1) is still in effect or point 1) and 2) may vary throughout the same interview. The dialogical principle that all the present interactants and, potentially, many others (through their influence on the present interactants) contribute to the speech at a given moment is naturally at play whether the interaction seems to be a monologue or a dialogue.

A hierarchy seems to be implied between the two points. As noted in 4.2 above, Jasper remarks in my interview with him that he was aware that it was not his voice that was interesting and, therefore, it was a waste of time if those who transcribe spend a lot of time on transcribing his words (in agreement with the first point above), but he adds that he was not very good at that. Lisa – in my interview with her – admits that she "gave more of herself" (i.e., talked more) if she felt it was necessary to make the informant open up (cf. 4.2). Thereby, point 1) seems the most salient to both of the interviewers, but it is replaced by point 2) when they see the need.

Counting the number of words for each participant makes it possible to see which of the two points the share of words uttered by the interviewer and the informant seem to follow. The words have been counted by a search engine developed at the LANCHART centre. Words that are not pronounced completely are counted as well; as I see it, they were, at least, intended to be pronounced. Besides, a bit of stammer, stutter and hesitation, and cutting the endings are only common in spoken language. The only words I have subtracted from the count are 'hh' (audible in- or exhalation) and 'ha', which signifies laughter. Laughter could be argued to be comparable to a

word in the sense that it is a type of response and may even work as a continuer; however, as I rely on audible data, which means that laughs with no distinguishable sounds are ruled out, I find that laughter is not a countable entity.

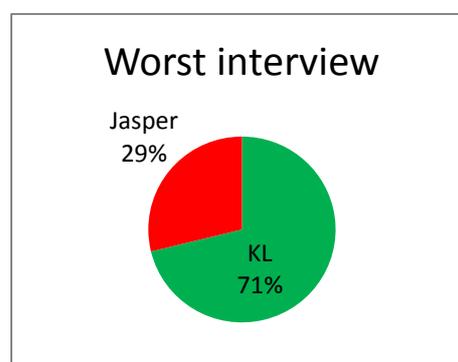
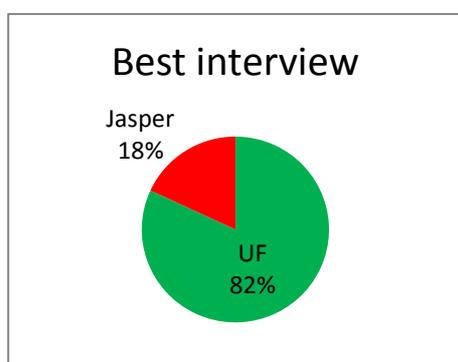
Table 5.1a.

The number of words spoken by each of the speakers in Jasper's and Lisa's best and worst interview, given in number of words and in percentages.

Jasper's interviews

Best interview	UF	Jasper
Number of words*	29174	6464

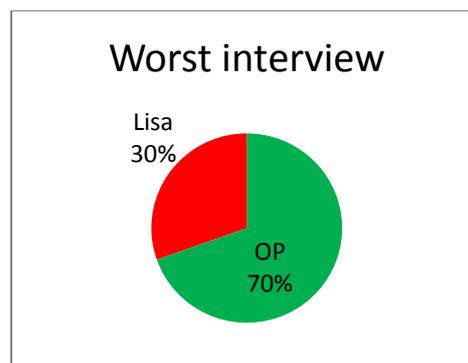
Worst interview	KL	Jasper
Number of words*	17841	7230



Lisa's interviews

Best interview	KK	Lisa
Number of words*	11252	3263

Worst interview	OP	Lisa
Number of words*	7304	3195



*Total number of words spoken by the informant and the interviewer with 'ha' and 'hh' subtracted.

Interestingly, the share of words uttered by the interviewer is larger in the worst interviews compared with the best interviews. This is consistent with point 1) above: The interviewer's strategy is to speak as little as possible because the goal is to record the voice of the informant; thus, it seems characteristic of a bad interview that the interviewer talks a lot. Looking at these results, it is

tempting to conclude that the interviewer strategy of speaking as little as possible simply works better in the best interviews, whereas, in the worst interviews, the interviewer must work more (hence, say more words) to keep the informant talking. It even looks as if an interviewer could base her/his evaluation of the interview as either good or bad on her/his estimation of the extent of the informant's spoken contribution.

However, the picture becomes blurred if we look at the calculations for the other interviews which the interviewers remember and evaluate as either good or bad in my interview with them ²⁵. These results are listed in Table 5.1b.

Table 5.1b

The number of words spoken by each of the speakers in the interviews conducted and remembered by Jasper or Lisa as their good or bad interviews, given in words and percentages.

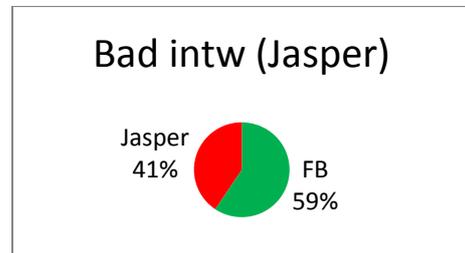
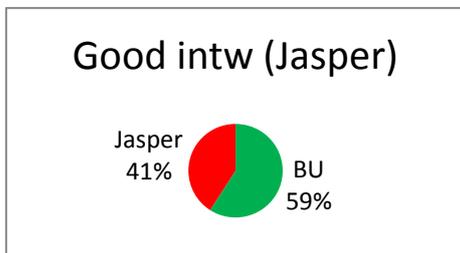
The gender is marked in brackets after the code of the informant: (m) = male; (f) = female.

Good interviews:

Bad interviews:

Good interview	BU (m)	Jasper
Number of words*	12432	8618

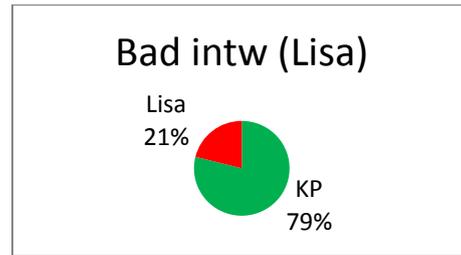
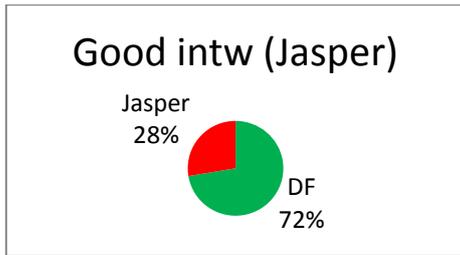
Bad interview	FB (f)	Jasper
Number of words*	12935	8852



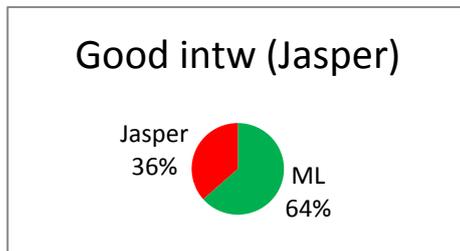
Good interview	DF (m)	Jasper
Number of words*	18932	7224

Bad interview	KP (m)	Lisa
Number of words*	11172	2983

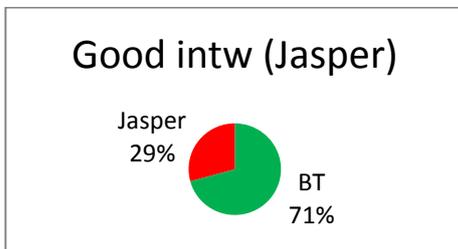
²⁵ I only make calculations for the interviews mentioned which only have two main participants: The informant and the interviewer. This is to make them comparable with the share of talk in the best and worst interviews, which only have one informant and the interviewer present. Furthermore, I have only made calculations for the interviews, parts of which the interviewers demonstrate they remember and, thus, show reason for evaluating as either good or bad.



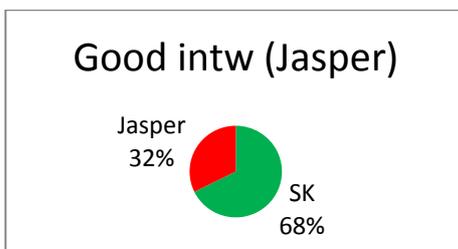
Good interview	ML (f)	Jasper
Number of words*	15373	8835



Good interview	BT (f)	Jasper
Number of words*	14430	5970



Good interview	SK (m)	Jasper
Number of words*	14356	6845



* Total number of words spoken by the informant and the interviewer with 'ha' and 'hh' subtracted.

Obviously, Table 5.1b does not support point 1) in 5. above as unambiguously as Table 5.1a with only the best and worst interviews. Table 5.1b shows that Jasper, for instance, utters more words in several of his good interviews (e.g., when he interviews BU, MS, and SK) compared to both his and Lisa's worst interview (Table 5.1a). It also shows that Lisa speaks more in the interview she remembers as bad than in both her best and worst interview. Thus, a quantitative measure such as a word count does not demonstrate a clear difference between the interviews which have been evaluated as good and those evaluated as bad by the interviewers. The count also suggests that there are differences between the two interviewers in terms of how much they speak; I return to this point later.

It could be argued that it is not even fair to weigh the interviewers' estimates of good and bad interviews against this quantitative measure – and it is certainly confirmed by the word counts in Tables 5.1a and 5.1b above. Indeed, it seems only plausible that the interviewers' impression of an interview as a whole and, possibly, also their judgment of who said the most is influenced by the content and, for instance, their own interest in the topics discussed.

Furthermore, Schegloff (1993) and his CA approach to quantification could potentially present a problem for a quantification like a word count. However, in this case, I see no problems in counting words to compare the participants in the same conversations to see whether Lisa and Jasper in the specific interviews evaluated as either good or bad seem to have followed point 1) or 2) in 5. above. Naturally, the number of words cannot be compared to other interviews as it is not a matter of faster speech preferred to a conversation with fewer words per minute – it is the share of words that is comparable. The number of words is given in the diagrams to show what the percentages are based on. However, the quantitative counting only shows whether the interviewers seem to have followed point 1) or 2); it would take a qualitative study to see whether the interviewer only says few words in some interviews because the informant is very talkative or whether the interviewer speaks a lot to open up the informant. (More on Schegloff's remarks on quantification in 6.2.2 below.)

A qualitative look at the interview seems relevant. In fact, point 2) as well as point 3) and 4) in 5. above stress that there are also qualitative ideals for the sociolinguistic interview. For instance, there is an ideal for the interviewer to "open up" the informant (cf. 4.2). In the following section, I study the data from a more qualitative perspective: I look into the content of the interviews and who decides what that should be.

5.2 Initiatives

As noted in point 2) and 3) in 5. above, the interviewers stress the importance of opening up the informants, so that they speak willingly and freely. Labov (1984) points out that the informants should take the initiative to talk about some of the topics and thereby not just answer the interviewer's questions but also elaborate on or even introduce completely new topics. Indeed, I find

that topic initiation is one way which reveals which of the speakers is the one to keep the interaction going. Thus, I look into topic shifts in the two interviewers' best and worst interviews in 5.2.1.

Another way to study initiatives is to look into how often the interviewers take control of the direction of the conversation by asking a new question. Thus, in 5.2.2, I count the number of interviewer questions asked in each of the four interviews.

5.2.1 Topics

The topic of a conversation is what the conversation is about (Maynard, 1980, p. 263). However, it is not an easy task to delimit one topic from another in a conversation. Naturally, questions can be a smooth way to change a topic, but how much should be changed to speak of an actual topic shift? Svennevig²⁶ (1999, p. 168) defines 'topic' as "a unit organizing both action patterns and content of a stretch of discourse", inspired by Bublitz (1988). Furthermore, coherence is "a constitutive feature of topic organization" (Svennevig, 1999, p. 201); to accomplish a topic shift²⁷, the content of a new topic must somehow be dissociated from the prior topic.

Furthermore, Svennevig (1999, p. 172ff) reasons that topics are organised according to four general principles about talk on topics: reportability, projectability, connectedness, and progressivity. Svennevig (1999, p. 173ff), like Labov (1972a, p. 370)²⁸ speaks of 'reportability' to mean that a topic must be of interest to the participants to be established. Another principle of topic is 'projectability' (Svennevig, 1999, p. 181): The organization of a topic, which also signals when the topic comes to an end, is manifested in both the content and the genre. Furthermore, 'local connectedness' can be expected; that is, any utterance is interpreted as coherent with the previous one (Svennevig, 1999, p. 184) unless otherwise signalled – for instance, by a 'misplacement marker' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 319). Talk which is "off topic", so to say (e.g., asides and side sequences), must be marked as deviant (Svennevig, 1999, p. 186); otherwise, local connectedness is expected (cf. *ibid.*, p. 181ff). Finally, 'progressivity' is expected both in terms of new content and in a form that is continuous without long pauses.

As above, the following sections about topic are mainly built on Svennevig (1999). In 5.2.1.1, I compare my data with Svennevig's (*ibid.*) data. Subsequently, in 5.2.1.2, I account for how I study the topic shifts and, in 5.2.1.3, the way I approach the coherence from one topic to the next, inspired by Linell & Gustavsson (1987, pp. 42-45). In 5.2.1.4, I summarise the approach to my empirical study of topic shifts. In 5.2.1.5, I compare the best and the worst interviews and point out difficulties with the method of analysis. In 5.2.1.6, I reflect on why the interviews do or do not work in terms of topics and initiatives.

²⁶ Svennevig (1999, p. 19) subscribes to dialogism referring to Marková (1990), Rommetveit (1990), and Linell (1998) as I do (cf. Part II.B above).

²⁷ I do not distinguish between "shifting" and "changing" as Bublitz (1988) does; thus, "topic shift" and "to change a topic" mean the same in the following sections.

²⁸ Labov (1972a, p. 366) states that narratives must be reportable; the reportability is often communicated as part of the evaluation.

5.2.1.1 Topics and the genre of the data

Even though I define and delimit topics according to the principles laid out by Svennevig (1999), it is worth noting that the sociolinguistic interview deviates somewhat from the conversational data studied by Svennevig (1999). Furthermore, within the CA tradition, it has been argued that topics are mere by-products of a conversation; as I will argue, I do not find this to be true of the genre of the sociolinguistic interview.

Svennevig (1999, p. 163) argues that the structure of topics in a conversation is an interactional achievement. Thus, topics are a joint project: It is proposed by one participant, but whether it is established interactionally depends on the uptake of the other participant(s) (Svennevig, 1999, p. 168; 196). I agree with this interactional approach. However, I believe the realisation of it may on the surface look quite different in the sociolinguistic interview. Svennevig (*ibid.*, p. 88) looks into conversations between people who were unacquainted but would have extensive future contact; in the first aspect, his data is similar to the data in the present study but not in the last aspect: The interviewer and the informant did not know one another before the interview, nor are they likely to meet afterwards. The difference I wish to stress is the potential assignment of roles in the situations due to the interview setting. In some parts of the interviews in the present study, it is addressed – explicitly or implicitly – that there are certain expectations for people in an interview setting. For instance, the preferred act for an informant is to answer the questions asked by an interviewer (more about preference in 6.1 below). This potential division of roles, this potential asymmetry, is, at times, evident in the interviews in the present study. By contrast, there is no a priori potential division of roles in the setting in Svennevig's data.

Even though the sociolinguistic interview is often eventually shaped as a conversation, there is still the element of an interview which allows – and even makes it expected – for one party to ask questions every now and then and, thus, introduce new topics or directions to the conversation. Thus, the roles in the situation, the responsibility to make it work and carry out the interview as it should be done is up to the person who enters the situation as the interviewer. In that sense, the conversational partners and the expectations for each of them are not equal. The consequence in terms of topics is that more abrupt topic shifts initiated by the interviewer are not uncommon in sociolinguistic interviews, whereas gradual topic shifts are preferred in most conversations (Sacks, 1995, p. 301; 566 in vol. 2). Schegloff & Sacks (1973, p. 305) refer to gradual topic shifts as 'topic shading'. I consider abrupt topic shifts to be a natural part of the interview genre as the interviewer is usually allowed to ask whatever s/he finds relevant. Questions are also a natural part of an everyday conversation; yet, in the sociolinguistic interview, the questions may constitute a considerable part and primarily be asked by one party, whereas, in everyday conversation, it would not be salient if both participants had an equal share in raising questions throughout the conversation.

My point is that, even though the sociolinguistic interview often ends up as a conversation between two strangers, there is still an asymmetry between the two parties because of the underlying expectations for one party to act the role of the interviewer and the other to perform the role of the

informant. At least, on the surface, this asymmetry may be different from Svennevig's data and, therefore, may potentially influence the data in different ways.

But why study topics in the sociolinguistic interview? I find that topics are salient in this particular genre. Indeed, I recognise some of the problems related to topic analyses pointed out by Schegloff (1990, pp. 51-52); as I return to below, it is not an easy task to determine what a topic is and when one topic ends and another begins (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 305). Besides the difficulties with determining and limiting topics, another part of conversation analysts' critique of focusing on topics is that, when participants formulate topics, it "is typically the vehicle for some *other* activity or action" (cf. Sidnell (2010, p. 223; italics in original), referring to Schegloff (1990)). Admittedly, it may often be so, but I do not agree that it is always so in the sociolinguistic interview. The topics talked about in a sociolinguistic interview could be said to be a way to keep the activity of the sociolinguistic interview going, and most topics would probably support the activity; yet, the topics in the interviews are not completely random, and it does not seem like the participants are primarily concerned with the activity but, rather, orient themselves towards the topics. The interviewers in the sociolinguistic interviews must have some kind of awareness of the topics discussed as they have prepared themselves for specific topics by reading the interview guide (cf. Appendix 1) and listening to the former interview with the informant (cf. 3.4). Furthermore, the informants may not know exactly what the overall purpose of the sociolinguistic interview is and, indeed, it often shows that they are oriented towards the content of the interview and seem primarily concerned with providing the interviewer with the knowledge and experiences they have on the topics about which they are asked. Several times in some of the interviews, the topics of the interview are addressed explicitly by the informant in the form of meta-comments or questions about the content of the interview; thus, the topics are immediately below the surface and, sometimes, oriented towards explicitly when changed or further explored.

The informant in Lisa's best interview addresses the content of the interaction explicitly after returning from putting her son to bed (which constitutes a ten-minute break in the recording). (The transcription conventions can be found in Appendix 3.)

Ex. 5.1

(Lisa and KK, 0:16:32-16:56; l. 185-191 in Appendix A)

- 1 KK : nå! [skramlen] hh jamen jeg ved faktisk slet ikke sådan lige
well! [noise] hh but I know actually at all not [filler] [filler]
well [noise] but actually I don't really know
- 2 hvad hvad du sådan er specielt interesseret i at vide noget om
what what you [filler] are particularly interested in to know something about
what you're particularly interested in hearing about
- 3 (1.0)

4 KK: <så der må du jo > så spørge til
*<so there must you [MP]> then ask for
so you just have to ask [what you want to know about]*

5 Int: < ba:re om ø:h >
< ju:st about u:h >
just about uh

6 Int: ja bare om dig o:g
*yes just about you a:nd
yes just something about you and*

7 (0.6)

8 Int: hvad du kan huske sådan derfra
*what you can remember [filler] there from
what you remember from there*

9 (0.4)

10 KK: < ja >
< yes >

11 Int: <°sådan°>
<°[filler]°>
like

12 (0.3)

13 Int: du ba:re
you ju:st

14 (1.2)

15 Int: altså hvordan var det var kvarte↑ret
*[filler] how was it was the quar↑ter
like how was the neighbourhood?*

16 (0.3)

17 KK: ↓mm
↓mm

18 Int: sådan at vokse op i o:g
[filler] to grow up in a:nd
to grow up in and

19 (1.0)

20 Int: kan du huske nogen (0.2) særlige du legede ↑med
can you remember anyone (0.2) particular you played ↑with
do you remember anyone in particular that you played with?

Thus, in Ex. 5.1, the content of the succeeding interaction and, thereby, the purpose of the entire situation become the topic of the interaction. The informant KK asks Lisa to guide her on to the things she wants to know about in her interview (l. 1-4). Lisa gives some suggestions for topics they could touch upon in their interaction (l. 6-8 + 15 + 18) and, finally, asks a rather concrete question, which becomes the initial topic of their preceding talk.

Several times in Jasper's interviews, the informants also ask about the content and invite the interviewer to decide the direction of the interview, as is the case, for instance, in Ex. 5.2.

Ex. 5.2

(Jasper and UF, 0:48:41-0:49:03; l. 1815-1831 in Appendix C)

Prior to this sequence, the interviewer has returned from the lavatory and has just put his microphone back on when UF asks the following:

1 UF: skal vi tilbage til sporet
should we back to the track
should we get back on track

2 Int: vi skal <tilbage til sporet øh: så >
we should <back to the track uh: so>
we should get back on track uh so

3 UF: < omkring hvad øh > det må det må du kunne
< about what uh > that must that must you be able to
about what uh you have to you have to you be able to

4 du må prøve at hjælpe fordi man
you have to try to help because you
you have to try and help me because you

5 <kommer hurtigt ud af nogle sådan tangenter ikke>
<come quickly out of some [filler] tangents not >

easily fly off at a tangent right

6 Int: < ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha >
< ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha >

7 Int: ja ja
yes yes

8 UF: det springer hurtigt ud sådan en at der er noget jeg kan huske
it leaps quickly out [filler] a that there is something you can remember

9 men altså
but [filler]

10 (1.3) [sound of someone taking a sip from a drink]

11 UF: øh skal vi tilbage til Nybo↑der
uh should we back to Nybo↑der
uh should we talk about Nyboder again?

12 (0.5)

13 Int: ne:j < vi skal tilbage > til øh:
no < we should back > to uh

14 UF: <°ikke nødvendigvis°>
<°not necessarily° >

15 (1.1)

16 Int: efter militæret måske
after the military maybe
maybe after the military

17 UF: ja
yes

18 (0.4)

19 Int: hvad øh:
what uh:

- 20 UF : efter militæret
after the military
- 21 Int: ja:↑
yes:↑
- 22 UF : der var sket det [...]
there was happened that [...]
it had happened that [...]

In Ex. 5.2, the informant UF displays that he is very aware that they are touching on various topics, and he asks Jasper directly which topic he should start talking about after they have had a small break. He mentions that he knows he does not stick very strictly to one topic but occasionally goes off on a tangent (l. 5). UF mentions a potential topic (l. 11), but Jasper declines the topic and suggests another (l. 16). UF agrees to the topic (l. 17; 20) and jumps right back into his story (l. 22). Thus, in the meta-talk in Ex. 5.2, both of the speakers are directly oriented towards the topics they have been talking about, and it seems they both regard their preceding interaction as a collection of topics.

Indeed, the meta-comments and the questions related to topic appear more often in some interviews than in others. In fact, it seems that topics are addressed more explicitly in the best interviews. I would have expected topics to be more salient in the interview evaluated as bad, given that directing the content explicitly could be thought to be a sign of the informants' uncertainty, suspicion, or wonder at the purpose of the situation. On the contrary, it could be the meta-talk about the interview situation in the best interviews which makes them the best. It is hard to say and impossible to prove either way.

For the given reasons and the examples shown, I find that the topics are certainly aimed at consciously and explicitly and not reduced to by-products with the mere purpose of maintaining a social activity. Svennevig (1999, pp. 164-172) notes that topics can be seen as either a product or a process; as Svennevig suggests, I find that it makes sense for my purpose to view topics “as a set of techniques for organizing discourse in real time” (Svennevig, 1999, p. 167).

In the following, I account for how topic shifts occur.

5.2.1.2 Topic shifts

Topics can be changed by a more or less obvious transition. Svennevig (1999, p. 188) notes that one of the most obvious signs of a potential topic shift is lack of progressivity. He refers to Maynard (1980), who finds that silences and omission of another participant to produce a substantial next turn on the topic are signs that it is time for the topic to be closed. Furthermore, Schegloff & Sacks (1973) note that minimal responses are often part of closing a topic down. However, substantial turns may also signal termination of a topic if it does not expand on the current topic and, thus, does

not conform to the principle of progressivity (Svennevig, 1999, p. 190) – for instance, repetition, as noted by Johansen (1994, p. 55) (translated quotation in Svennevig (1999, p. 191)). For a topic to be closed, it must be potentially “complete” or exhausted (Svennevig, 1999, p. 191), which is related to both projectability and reportability; the first in the way that the expectations that were raised by the introduction of the topic must be satisfied (for instance, by a summary, a generalisation, or a reformulation), and the latter when a topic is closed by way of an assessment (*ibid.*, p. 192). These can all be seen as signs of a 'topic transition relevance place' (hence, TTRP): a place where it would be appropriate to change the topic.

Topics can either be changed when the former topic has been closed and a TTRP (topic transition relevance place) arises or a new topic may be introduced while another topic is still part of the interaction (Svennevig, 1999, p. 188ff). In the latter case, the other participant(s) must accept the new direction in the conversation (Svennevig, 1999, p. 164) before the new topic can replace the prior.

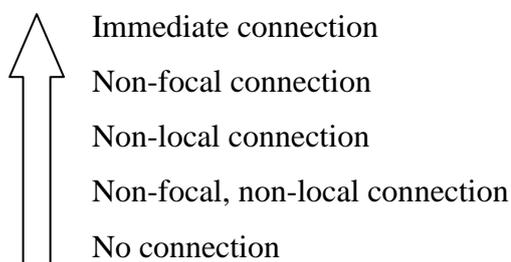
Some topic shifts happen at non-TTRPs. These are more abrupt or sudden changes of topic as they are placed where it is not obvious or made interactionally relevant to start a new topic. As found by Svennevig (1999, p. 214), you cannot start a new topic just anywhere with no connection to the prior: Only topic shifts with a rather close connection can happen at non-TTRPs. This is what I consider in the next section: the coherence of consecutive topics.

5.2.1.3 The coherence from one topic to the next

In my empirical study of topics, I look into topic shifts using a scale of categories presented by Svennevig (1999, pp. 204-206), which is based on Linell & Gustavsson (1987, pp. 42-45). The scale outlines how one topic in a conversation can be more or less connected to the next topic. The scale is reconstructed in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1.

Topic coherence.



Like Svennevig (1999), I count anything below or "less than" an immediate connection in Fig. 5.1 as a topic shift. It could be argued that so-called 'non-focal connections' are mere focus shifts. However, I also count these as topic shifts as I wish to study speaker initiatives and, thus, find even small changes in topic or focus to be initiatives which, potentially, lead the interaction in a new direction and, in any case, expand a topic with new perspectives.

Complying with Svennevig (1999, pp. 204-205), an example of a **non-focal connection** in Fig. 5.1 could be a mentionable in a topic which is topicalised to form a new topic; that is, something which is not central in one topic is made the focus in the following topic. As Svennevig (1999) notes, Linell speaks of this as recontextualization (see Linell, 1998, pp. 86; 140-144). A **non-local connection** is when a topic which is related to a former topic is returned to without being part of the topic just prior to it. If a topic changes the focus away from the former topic and the prior discourse in general, there is a **non-focal and non-local connection**. And, finally, there may be **no connection** whatsoever.

Besides the categories of connection listed in Fig. 5.1, I find it relevant to add another category due to the nature of the data. I call it: 'Connection to the physical surroundings' (corresponding to Linell & Gustavsson's (1987, p. 45) "situationsrelevanta repliker men utan dialogintern anknytning" (emphasis in original; *situation relevant remarks without dialogue internal connection*)). The recording equipment, the drinks being served, pets or children present, and the like are frequent, temporary interruptions of topics in the interviews.

An example of this category is the underlined lines in Example 5.3 from Jasper's best interview in which Jasper (Int) refers to the line of the microphone in the middle of the informant's speech.

Ex. 5.3

(Jasper and UF, l. 3098-3107; 1:20:25-1:20:37)

- 1 Int: kan kan kan dem der producerer programmerne sådan
can can can those who produce the programmes [filler]
can those who produce the programmes

- 2 ligesom håndplukke nogle < tv_fotografer eller >
[filler] hand-pick some < TV photographers or >
like hand-pick particular TV photographers or

- 3 UF: <ja det gør de i høj grad > det gør de faktisk
<yes that do they in high degree> that do they actually
yes they do very much so in fact they do so

- 4 Int: skal du have noget mere <ledning til den ↑her >
should you have some more <line for that ↑here >
do you need some more line [for the microphone]?

- 5 UF: <nej nej det gør ikke noget >
<no no it does not something>
no no that's alright

- 6 Int: < okay >

< okay >

- 7 UF : <jeg ville bare> lige læne mig lidt tilbage
<I would just> [filler] lean myself little back
I would just lean back a little
- 8 Int: jeps
yeah
- 9 UF : øh nej det øhm altså det har det har været sådan gennem de sidste år
uh no it uhm [filler] it has it has been like that through the last years
uh no it uhm it's it's been like that for some years

From this example, it is clear that the participants temporarily jump out of a topic if something calls for it in the physical surroundings (as in l. 4-8) but without letting it disturb or change the topic of the discourse. The short interruption could be said to be reflected in the "øh" and "øhm" in line 9, where UF continues his reply from before the interruption. Otherwise, they proceed as if nothing had happened, which is why I find these instances to be irrelevant for the scale of topic coherence in conversations described in Fig. 5.1 above; they are at another level than the ongoing conversation. This is why I recognise instances of this category only to ignore them. If I did include those that live up to my requirements of length to be counted as an independent topic (see 5.2.1.4 below), I think them likely to deviate from other topic shifts in terms of their timing at TTRP and non-TTRP. As in the example with Jasper above, he does not postpone his reaction when he discovers a discomfort for the informant caused by the equipment he has imposed on him and, therefore, does not wait for a TTRP even though it has nothing to do with the topic the informant is talking about at the moment. Most often, these shifts work as 'asides', which I do not study any further and thus exclude in the counts below, but see Svennevig (1999, p. 186; 268).

In the following, I account more specifically for my approach to the topic analyses.

5.2.1.4 Method for the topic analyses

As stated above, my main interest in topic shifts is to study who takes the initiative to bring on a new topic. The point is to pursue what the interviewers told me about making the informants open up and freely talk about what they want to. Labov (1984, p. 38) also counted the number of topics initiated by the interviewer and the informant (without defining how to delimit a topic) and, as mentioned, he states that an interview is a failure if the informant never takes initiatives about choice of topic. Following Svennevig's (1999, p. 168) argument that topics are joint projects, I only count topics which are somehow recognised by both parties. Furthermore, I ascribe the initiative to the speaker who develops a topic, i.e., the one who topicalises an issue, which is not necessarily the same person who first mentioned a potential topic when talking about another topic.

I do not count the topic shifts in the background interview unless the interviewer or the informant speaks of something deviating from the formal questions (expansion of a reply to some degree is still counted as the same topic). Even though they are shifts without a connection to the prior talk, they are due to the questions the interviewers read from a sheet they brought with them; and, thus, these shifts are not interesting in the study of who takes the initiative.

In cases of side sequences (i.e., cases in which the focus is changed but, after a while, is returned to the previous main topic (Jefferson, 1972; Svennevig, 1999), I specify both the initial onset of the topic and the return to the topic since I see both as topic shifts. Exceptions are examples of the category 'connection to the physical surroundings', which are simply ignored (cf. 5.2.1.3 above). Furthermore, I only include the side sequence in itself if it is, at a minimum, four turns²⁹ (including continuers; at least, one of the turns must be substantial and give extended thoughts on the topic to say that it has, indeed, been elaborated). In the CA tradition, the adjacency pair is a basic unit for sequence construction (e.g. Schegloff, 2007); however, I do not find this sufficient for a topic to be interactively established. Inspired by thoughts by Mead (1962, p. 14ff; 63ff) and others (e.g. Linell, 2009, p. 184), I would argue that, to establish intersubjectivity and to secure mutual understanding, it takes a minimum of three turns. This means both the participants have to orient themselves towards it explicitly and with more than one turn before I count it as a topic to categorise; the fact that the participants return to the prior topic after a while shows that the prior topic is not exhausted; however, it does not mean that the side sequence cannot entail a topic in itself.

To make the range of topics comparable from one interview to the other, I label the topics in agreement with what is said by either party but also with an eye to the topics suggested in the interviewer guide as these are likely to have been the inspiration for the interviewer to propose a number of the topics they introduce. The keywords have, furthermore, been "neutralized", so that the informants cannot be recognised by name, places, or other things. Furthermore, I should note that I only take into account what can be heard in the recording; thus, in cases of "no connection", I cannot rule out the possibility that the interviewer and the informant have touched upon the topic before the recorder was switched on.

I do note the topic shifts in relation to other planned activities such as signing the declaration of consent and the voice test (see 2.4 above); I find these activities relevant for initiatives and the progression of topics in terms of when the interviewer chooses to introduce the activities.

5.2.1.5 Comparing the best and the worst interviews

In Table 5.2, the results of the topic analyses of the two best and the two worst interviews of each interviewer are enumerated. The topic analyses in the transcriptions of the four interviews can be found in Appendix A-D. A summary of the results of the topic analyses of each of the four interviews is given in Appendix 4.a-4.d; I refer to these when relevant.

²⁹ I find that minimal response, e.g., continuers, to be sufficient to count as an active contribution as this would be the expected activity for an interviewer who has given the speech turn to the informant.

Table 5.2

The distribution of the initiated topics between the speakers in Jasper's and Lisa's best and worst interviews with the coherence of these topics specified underneath.

	Best interviews				Worst interviews			
	Jasper and UF				Jasper and KL			
	Topics in total: 113		Duration of intw. 2h 16m 33s		Topics in total: 109		Duration of intw. 1h 52m 44s	
	Jasper		UF		Jasper		KL	
	TTRP	non-TTRP	TTRP	non-TTRP	TTRP	non-TTRP	TTRP	non-TTRP
Initiated topics (total)	27	17	11	58	57	3	31	18
<u>Coherence:</u>								
• Non-focal connection	12	16	5	40	33	2	23	17
• Non-local connection	4	1	6	18	11	1	5	1
• Non-focal/non-local	7	0	0	0	9	0	3	0
• No connection	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0

	Lisa and KK				Lisa and OP			
	Topics in total: 53		Duration of intw. 1h 38m 38s		Topics in total: 57		Duration of intw. 1h 1m 33s	
	Lisa		KK		Lisa		OP	
	TTRP	non-TTRP	TTRP	non-TTRP	TTRP	non-TTRP	TTRP	non-TTRP
Initiated topics (total)	32	9	9	3	54	0	3	0
<u>Coherence:</u>								
• Non-focal connection	15	8	5	2	33	0	3	0
• Non-local connection	9	1	1	1	8	0	0	0
• Non-focal/non-local	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
• No connection	4	0	3	0	11	0	0	0

Like Svennevig (1999), I find that no topic shifts of less coherence than a non-local connection are made at a non-TTRP. Thus, even despite the abrupt topic shifts, which may be more frequent in this genre than in, for instance, everyday conversations (cf. 5.2.1.1), the topic shifts which change the

topic far away from the previous topic (i.e., non-focal/non-local and no connection) are only initiated at TTRPs.

A note on my procedure for assigning TTRP and non-TTRP is in place to explain the results: I analyse according to the signs of TTRP described in 5.2.1.2 above, which means that, in an interview like Jasper's best one in which the informant UF talks and elaborates topics very fluently, there are hardly any signs of one topic being exhausted before a new one is introduced. This is the reason for the high number of topic shifts initiated by UF at a non-TTRP. Furthermore, UF rather often uses side stories to explain the background of a person who plays a role in a narrative he is telling; according to my principles for the length of a topic to be counted as such (cf. 5.2.1.4), these background stories figure as independent topics and, when he returns to the main narrative, it is counted as yet another topic he has initiated. Thus, numerous topic shifts at non-TTRPs seem to characterise a conversation in which one topic succeeds the next without waiting for full exhaustion of the first topic. However, in Jasper's worst interview, topic shifts at non-TTRPs seem rather to interrupt (more about this below). Interestingly, no topic shifts are initiated at a non-TTRP by any of the speakers in Lisa's worst interview. To me, this underlines the formal atmosphere in this particular interview, which takes place in the informant's office (cf. 3.4 above); each of them waits for their turn to speak, and there is a clear distribution of roles: When the informant OP has finished a reply, a new question from the interviewer is expected. Topic shifts at non-TTRPs are rather characteristic of an informal everyday conversation in which the interactants feel free to speak of the topic and to change the topic whenever they want to (although a topic shift may also stop the flow in a conversation as I return to below).

Another striking difference in the best and the worst interviews is that the interviewers also make notably more topic shifts at non-TTRPs in the good interviews compared with the bad interviews (Jasper and Lisa make 17 (equivalent to 0.12 per minute) and 9 (0.09 per minute) topic shifts, respectively, at non-TTRPs in their best interviews compared with 3 (0.03 per minute) and 0, respectively, in their worst interviews, cf. Table 5.2). Possibly, the interviewers introduce new topics at non-TTRPs just to have a chance to change the topic at all. For instance, in the beginning of Jasper's best interview, he only makes topic shifts at TTRPs; but, after just under 22 minutes, he starts to introduce at least some topics at non-TTRPs. The first six times he changes the topic, he does so at a TTRP (cf. Appendix 4.c). Possibly, Jasper gets more into the topic after a while, or, perhaps, he realises that topic shifts at non-TTRPs are the only way to get a word in. In the end, when Jasper is the one who takes the most initiatives and the topics he proposes seem more directly inspired by the interview guide (e.g., UF's family, job, future, hobbies, and language), he introduces more than half of them at TTRPs. The structure is close to the question-answer structure which is common for interviews in general but also seems more formal than a conversation in which topics are changed at non-TTRPs.

Indeed, initiating topics at non-TTRPs can prove great involvement by the interviewer at times when the informant has a great flow in her/his speech (especially, topics), but it might also appear to be interruptions for a speaker. Furthermore, there is always the risk that the other party will be less engaged in the introduced topic than the prior topic. This seems to be the case in Jasper's worst

interview in which both parties often skip back to a previous topic after listening and politely contributing for a while to a topic introduced by the other. An example is from l. 3375 in Appendix 4.d in which the topic is – as it is several times during the interview – KL's house. Jasper then changes the topic to his newly purchased flat and shortly after KL changes the topic back to his house. Jasper then introduces a new topic about how he and his girlfriend considered buying a more expensive flat in another area, and KL then starts to speak about houses in his neighbourhood. Thus, each takes a turn in introducing a topic which is of his own concern and politely listens to the other speaker when he initiates another topic. All these topic shifts happen at TTRPs; but, naturally, any speaker can accelerate a TTRP by not contributing essentially to a topic. Even though I count each of these as topic shifts because there are four turns or more, the enthusiasm of a new topic seems very limited when the speaker changes the topic to a new or former topic when given the chance.

Despite the numerous topic shifts at non-TTRPs by the interviewers, it goes for all four interviews that the majority of topic shifts initiated by the interviewer are introduced when a TTRP has been created in the conversation. Even though topic shifts at non-TTRPS can be said to be a characterization of an informal conversation, it also means running a risk: Many topic shifts at non-TTRPs may interrupt or even stop the flow of talk. Thus, a reason for the limited number of topic shifts initiated by the interviewer at non-TTRPs may be because the interviewers know that one of the purposes of the interviews is to make the informants speak freely (cf. 4.2). It could also be out of politeness that the interviewers do not interrupt what the informant is relating until a TTRP is created in the conversation.

Another observation I have made is a tendency for the topics in the best interviews to be generally more chronologically organised than the topics in the worst interviews. In both of the best interviews, the interview is initiated (after the background interview) with an extended and detailed account of the circumstances in the informants' childhood; then, the informants talk about their youth; and, in the last part, they touch on work and other conditions relevant for their current situation and, then, naturally, the language part, which is usually one of the very last activities. As both of the interviewers mention in my interview with them, it is an obvious advantage if the informant quickly understands what the interview is about (despite the fact that the interviewers cannot tell them the whole truth about it; cf. 2.5), and it may be an easy way into it or a transparent model if the interview starts off in Nyboder (the area where they grew up) and then moves on to their youth with the help of the interviewer's questions, etc.

In the worst interviews, it seems, the interviewers try to find whichever topics the informant may be able and willing to elaborate on. Thus, there are more topic shifts in general since none of them are really elaborated. Table 5.3 shows the number of topics per minute.

Table 5.3

Frequency of topic shifts in Jasper's and Lisa's best and worst interviews.

	Best intws:	Worst intws:
	Jasper and UF	Jasper and KL
Number of topic shifts in total	113	109
Number of topic shifts per minute	0.83	0.97
	Lisa and KK	Lisa and OP
Number of topic shifts in total	53	57
Number of topic shifts per minute	0.54	0.93

It is clear from Table 5.3 that the topic is changed more often in the worst interviews compared with the best interviews. For instance, in Lisa's worst interview, none of the parties elaborate any topic very extensively; thus, it seems that topic shifts are relevant throughout the interview – unfortunately, Lisa never seems to find a topic which catches on with OP even though she introduces numerous different topics. In Jasper's worst interview, the topic is also changed very often; however, the variety of topics is not very broad – most of all, they seem to circle around closely related topics, although without elaborating very much on any of them. It is rather the opposite that is the case in Jasper's best interview. The speech is continuous, and topic shifts happen often as one topic leads to the next to throw light on another perspective or a person mentioned in a given story. In Lisa's best interview, the informant relates many details of her stories and gives very thorough replies to Lisa's questions, which is also obvious in the quantitative counts of topic shifts in Table 5.3. More, qualitative remarks on the interviews in 5.2.1.6 below.

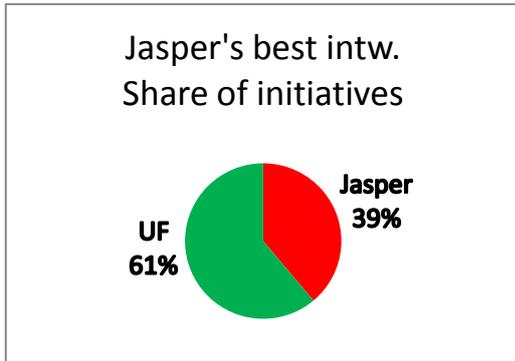
Another difference between the best and the worst interviews is whether it is the informant or the interviewer who takes the initiative to change the topic. This is clear from Table 5.4.

Table 5.4

The number of initiatives to change the topic relative to the time of the interview and each speaker's share of the initiatives³⁰:

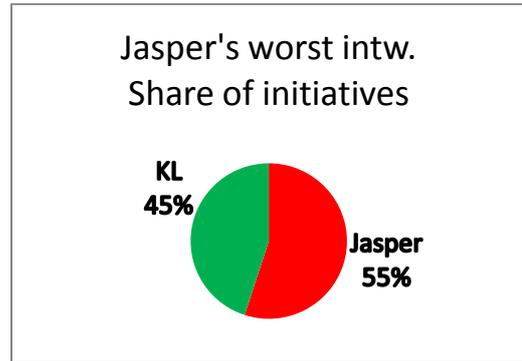
³⁰ Macaulay (e.g. 1991, pp. 208-210) makes a similar count of initiatives by the interviewer and by the respondent (i.e., the informant). Furthermore, he (ibid.) counts the number of lines to present the average length. I would not consider such a measure to be accurate for my data as the lines are of various lengths and also depend on the replies of the other speaker; i.e., many continuers would result in many lines, although some lines would merely consist of one word, a sound, or a laugh. Other options would be to count words or compare the duration of the topics; however, I find that none of these options would be likely to benefit the results with central contributions. In fact, Macaulay (1991, pp. 204-206) makes another type of measure of the lengths of the topics by counting syntactic units; he notes that this was due to convenience and possibly not a very exact measure, although he estimates it to be exact enough for his purpose.

Best interviews:

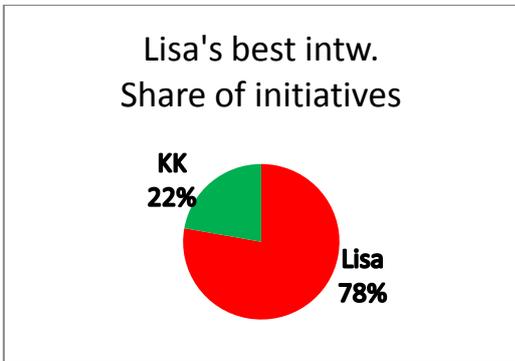


Jasper's best intw	Jasper	UF
Initiatives per minute	0.32	0.51

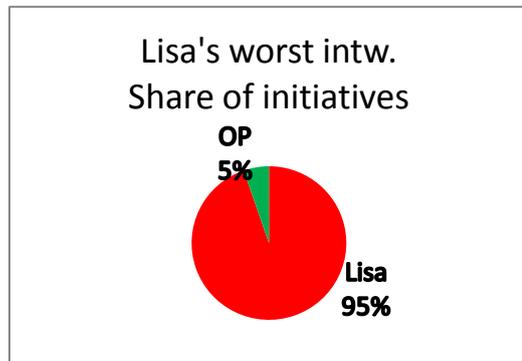
Worst interviews:



Jasper's worst intw	Jasper	KL
Initiatives per minute	0.53	0.43



Lisa's best intw	Lisa	KK
Initiatives per minute	0.43	0.12



Lisa's worst intw	Lisa	OP
Initiatives per minute	0.88	0.05

I find two points to be particularly interesting in the pie charts in Table 5.4: 1) There is a difference between the interviewers. 2) The pie charts confirm the assumption I make in my research question: There are differences between the best and the worst interviews.

Regarding the first point, it is clear that, overall, Lisa takes more initiatives to change the topic than her informants compared with Jasper and his informants. It seems she is more in control of the topics and the direction of her interviews compared with Jasper in his. Naturally – looking at the interviews from a dialogical perspective – the informants also have their share in this. However, it is noteworthy with such a marked difference between the interviewers as in Table 5.4, and it seems only likely that the pie charts hint that they actually do different things in their interviews. This will be the focal point in the studies in Part III, but Table 5.4 and some of the following counts are the basis for even considering doing such studies: The interviewers are different both in the quantitative counts and the qualitative reflections – but why?

The second point I make from Table 5.4 is that, even though there is a difference between the two interviewers in their share of initiated topic shifts relative to the informants' shares, the pattern is the same: Both of them take considerably more initiatives in their worst interview relative to the informants compared with the distribution of initiatives between the speakers in their own best interview. This is also confirmed by the frequency of initiatives given in the diagrams in Table 5.4: Lisa changes the topic twice as frequently in her worst interview (0.88 initiated topic shifts per minute) as in her best interview (0.43 initiated topic shifts per minute). Jasper also takes the initiative to change the topic considerably more often in his worst than in his best (0.53 and 0.32 initiated topic shifts per minute, respectively).

It is hardly a surprise that an interviewer is more likely to evaluate an interview as particularly bad if the informant does not take the initiative for new topics than an interview in which the informant volunteers, at least, some topics. However, it could seem that the two interviewers have individual standards for what they find is a sufficient degree of initiatives for an interview to be successful. Naturally, it is another option that who takes the initiative is not the most crucial point.

Some methodological points about the method are appropriate. It should be noted that, in some cases, it is very difficult to estimate where the actual topic shift takes place. Macaulay (1991, p. 204ff) also notes that it is difficult to determine topic boundaries. The degree to which the topics are intertwined and gradually become actual shifts may vary throughout the interviews. Thus, the model reproduced in Fig. 5.1 (in 5.2.1.3 above) has a clear limitation in that it does not take gradual topic shifts into account. It means there is some uncertainty in the assessment of the precise place of the topic shift and whether the location is a TTRP (on TTRP see 5.2.1.2 above).

However, this methodological difficulty in parts of the analyses turned out to become an interesting observation: It turns out that, especially in the interviews in which the informant speaks very freely and, thus, changes from one topic to another with no interference from the interviewer, the topic shifts happen gradually and are thereby harder to point out. Thus, it is more complicated to draw the lines between the topics in the good interviews than in the bad ones. Perhaps, this should not be a surprise when thinking about Sacks (1995, p. 301 and 566 in vol. 2), who finds that gradual topic shifts are preferred in everyday conversations. At least, it seems plausible that this could be the case here: The best interviews are more like an everyday conversation than the bad interviews. The best interviews are more fluent in the sense that the informants usually only need a keyword every now and then from the interviewer to continue their speech, and the interviewers have success in keeping them on topic or guiding them on to a new topic if the ongoing topic seems exhausted. In contrast to the best interviews, the informant (OP) in Lisa's worst interview only takes the initiative to change the topic three times (cf. Table 5.2 above).

It should be noted about the methodology that the qualitative analyses of topic shifts relies on a subjective evaluation which might affect the final result. However, I do not anticipate any specific bias – any sequence of a conversation is like no previous sequence (as discussed in relation to dialogism in 5.2.1.5 above); and, therefore, each evaluation of a potential topic shift is admittedly subjective, but it is also an evaluation of a new context. Naturally, such a subjective approach used

as the basis for a quantitative counting can be criticised – however, I see no alternative: Evaluating topic shifts must depend on a qualitative study. Consequently, the quantitative summation is only as reliable as the qualitative evaluation of the topic shifts.

Indeed, it is not a simple task to determine where topic shifts occur. Spoken language is not an entity that is easily put into boxes or categories. It seems only probable that few of the examples of topic shifts in the interviews in the present study could, for instance, be argued to be a degree more or less coherent if someone else did the analyses – it is inevitable that a part of the analysis relies on a subjective judgement. Naturally, consistency should be strived for in such analyses – and so it has been – but, with a dialogical perspective on language, it would also seem naïve to expect that sequences of dialogue are easily compared. Even similar wordings and formulations which appear repeatedly have a new meaning each time since the context is different, the preceding talk is elaborated, the reasons for saying it have changed, etc. However, I would still claim that the overall picture – both quantitatively (as seen so far) and qualitatively (see 5.2.1.6 below) – is noteworthy. Even if minor changes could be argued for in few of the topic shifts I have determined in my analyses, the overall result is still too salient to be ignored. The variations between the best and the worst interviews and the difference between the two interviewers cannot be overlooked.

Thus, the counts give some clear patterns of differences, but only a qualitative study of the topics can explain how the differences are manifested in the concrete interviews – and, possibly, hint at why some of the interviews are evaluated as the best or as the worst of an interviewer's interviews. I look into this in the following section.

5.2.1.6 Why the interviews did or did not work in terms of topics and initiatives

In the following, I will have a brief, qualitative look at each of the four interviews and approach an explanation for the quantitative results above.

Jasper's best interview (informant: UF)

As is clear from Table 5.3, Jasper and UF change the topic fairly often; so, it could be questioned whether the topics are only considered superficially. However, even though some of the topics are only touched upon briefly, it seems that this is due to the fact that UF is often led on from one topic to the next as he describes different aspects of and persons related to a story (cf. Appendix 4.c). Indeed, UF is the one to take the most initiatives in the interview (cf. Table 5.4), and he rarely returns to a topic he has already recounted; thus, he comes up with new topics constantly as he elaborates stories from his life and starts new stories inside other stories.

As evident from Appendix 4.c, the topics are generally initiated rather chronologically throughout the interview, starting with UF's childhood memories and ending with his plans for the future. In Table 5.2, it shows that he only changes a topic to another topic with a rather close connection to the previous; there are only topic shifts with a non-focal or non-local connection as accounted for in 5.2.1.3 above. Furthermore, the table shows that, often, he changes the topic before the prior topic

has been exhausted (i.e., where TTRPs emerge), which – as noted above – makes it more difficult to decide exactly when one topic is changed into another. Thus, the many topics illuminated from various perspectives on the informant's initiative make the interview successful in terms of topics.

Jasper's worst interview (informant: KL)

Reflecting on how Jasper's worst interview has succeeded in terms of topics, it is worth noting how few topics are treated compared to the number of topic shifts (compare the keywords about the topics in Appendix 4.d with Tables 5.3 and 5.4). The interview basically circles around five topics: KL's family (especially, his sister and her family), KL's work, the area where KL lives, KL's house, and Jasper's house; exceptions are a passage in which they talk about KL's trips to tropical islands, a brief talk about Nyboder school and their house in Nyboder, and then the voice test. An interview of almost two hours' length, which mainly considers a limited number of topics, has the potential to go into the subjects in depth and become very personal and reflective; however, the frequent topic shifts from one topic to another and then back again in this case rather gives the impression that neither of them suggests a topic which interests the other enough for them to explore it together. Thus, the initiatives are limited not so much in number as in content.

A short comment on a point stated by Jasper – and also Labov (1984, p. 32), in fact – but not by Lisa (which is why it is not included in the list in 5. above): One of the goals in the sociolinguistic interview is "to elicit narratives of personal experience" (see 2.1). The informant KL tells four narratives during the interview, but all of them are rather superficial and involve no affective stance-taking or any personal evaluation or reflections on the meaning of the incidents. KL does not touch on any topics with a private content; thus, the interview does not fulfil this aim of personal narratives expressed by Jasper and Labov (1984).

Generally, the interaction does not become very personal at any point. Once, Jasper ventures to encourage or, at least, leaves an open slot for KL to give a personal reflection on KL's relationship to his brother, whom he says is very different from himself. KL gives a reply; however, he makes no mention of his brother, which I, at least, find curious as I cannot see how the reference in the question can be understood except as referring to the brother who has just been the centre of attention. The sequence is quoted in Ex. 5.4.

Ex. 5.4

(Jasper and KL, 0:26:01-0:26:35; l. 875-891 in Appendix D)

Prior to this, KL has suggested to Jasper that he should contact his brother because he would be able to tell some very different stories from their childhood in Nyboder as they were very different. "han" (*he*) in the first line refers to KL's brother.

1 KL: han var helt anderledes end mig fordi der der
 he was completely different than me because there there
 he was completely different from me because something

- 2 skal der skal ske noget hele tiden der < så >
should there should happen something all the time there <[filler]>
has to something has to be going on all the time
- 3 Int: < ja > okay
 < yes > okay
- 4 KL: så
 [filler]
 so
- 5 (0.6) [Int is chewing cookies]
- 6 KL: det skal nok være
it will [MP] be
it'll probably be
- 7 (2.2) [Int is still chewing cookies]
- 8 KL: øh
 uh
- 9 (0.8)
- 10 KL: nå det var sådan her [putting his microphone on]
oh it was like this [putting his microphone on]
- 11 Int: ja!
 yes!
- 12 (3.6) [Int is still chewing cookies]
- 13 Int: men I har det godt sammen alligevel eller <↑hvad>
but you have it well together anyway or <↑what>
but you're getting on well together anyway or what?
- 14 KL: < ja >
 < yes >
- 15 KL: ja men altså nu for eksempel min søsters svoger
yes but [filler] [filler] for instance my sister's brother-in-law
*yes but you see for instance my sister's husband**
 *KL consistently uses the term "my sister's brother-in-law",
 however, it seems likely that he means his sister's husband/his

- 16 Int: ja
yes
- 17 KL: og der øh hver onsdag der plejer vi jo at være sammen
and there uh every Wednesday there usually we [filler] to be together
and then uh every Wednesday we're usually together
- 18 Int: okay
okay
- 19 KL: der har vi jo sådan noget kortspil
there have we [filler] like some cardplaying
we're playing cards
- 20 Int: ja
yes
- 21 KL: og så: ø:h to gange om u- øh: to gang- hvad to gange er ovre hos dem
and the:n u:h two times a w- uh: two time- what two times are over with them
and then uh twice a w- uh twice what twice we're at their place
- 22 Int: ja
yes
- 23 KL: og så hv- og så hver tredje gang er de hos mig ikke
and then wh- and then every third time are they with me not
and then wh- and then every third time we're at my place right
- 24 Int: ok↑ay ja
ok↑ay yes

Thus, Jasper asks about KL and his brother's relationship (l. 13); he uses the Danish "I" (*you* in plural); and, as KL has talked about his brother prior to this and has suggested that he and his brother are rather different types of persons (l. 1-2), the local context points out KL's brother and KL himself as the natural reference for "I". However, KL's response is an account of how often he meets with his brother-in-law (l. 15; and his sister as is clear from line 21 and 23, where he refers to "dem" (*them*) and "de" (*they*), respectively). He does initiate with "ja ja" (*yes yes*), which could suffice as a preferred response to Jasper's yes/no question (l. 13). The only thing which could be said to indicate that KL is possibly aware that he is not giving the expected answer is: "men altså nu for eksempel" (l. 15; *but you see for instance*) – perhaps, mostly "for eksempel", which implies that it is not a full answer. Saving both their faces, Jasper does not question any further in this matter,

but it is notable that KL mentions his brother-in-law as so often before and, thus, avoids speaking about his brother to whom he only refers a few times.

It is hard to refrain from suggesting that Jasper might have considered the interview a bit boring as the frequent topic shifts at least partly seem to be because they do not really manage to find a topic which interests both of them enough to not change the topic shortly after it has been established. Thus, the limited variety of topics and the complete lack of personal topics are some of the reasons Jasper's worst interview can be called unsuccessful in terms of topic.

Lisa's best interview (informant: KK)

As is apparent from Table 5.3, Lisa and KK change the topic considerably less frequently than is the case in the three other interviews I have looked into in terms of topics. Most of the topics in this interview are debated very thoroughly. In several cases, KK gives detailed accounts of concrete sequences of events, and she confides in Lisa with several personal reflections and reveals past or present feelings about narrated events. Indeed, the interaction touches very private topics such as having sex for the first time and sensitive topics such as divorce (as in the example in 5.3.4 below). Thus, in this case, the relatively few topics which are discussed compared with the other interviews (cf. Tables 5.2 and 5.3) reflect that the established topics last longer and do not include many focus shifts as was the case in Jasper's interview with UF.

As is indicated in the summary of topics in Lisa's interview with KK in Appendix 4.a, the order of the topics are rather chronological, starting with her childhood, then, her younger years and, finally, the present. As accounted for above, this was also the case in Jasper's best interview; and, in these cases, it seems to be a good connecting thread through the interviews, which possibly makes the content and interviewer questions easier to follow for the informants. From Table 5.4, it is evident that Lisa initiates most of the topics. She does not refrain from asking direct questions about personal issues, and KK is not reluctant to answer. In this way, both participants contribute to a confident interaction in which sensitive topics are greeted and seem rather natural. Admittedly, as an analyst – a third party, absent 'overhearer' (to use Schober & Clark's (1989) term) – I find that some of the interviewer's questions and comments are, in fact, beyond my personal limits. However, this is not indicated by any of the interactants in the situation and, certainly, this trusting atmosphere between the two interactants is likely to be one of the main reasons the topics become as private as they occasionally do and why the interview may be said to be successful in terms of topics.

Lisa's worst interview (informant: OP)

In Lisa's worst interview (with OP), the informant only takes the initiative to develop a topic three times³¹ (cf. Table 5.2 above). The first time he volunteers a topic (l. 348, Appendix 4.b) is to give a

³¹ In fact, OP takes the initiative to change the topic another time as well: To resist what seems to be experienced by him as a wrong categorisation proposed by Lisa (around l. 1113, Appendix 4.b; see 5.3.5 for a qualitative analysis of this section); however, this topic is only developed in OP's turn and is not accepted interactionally as Lisa does not develop the topic further in her response; therefore, this does not figure in the list of topics (Appendix 4.b) since it is not a topic in my definition (cf. 5.2.1.4).

very short account of where he and his wife lived at the time of the interview, which is a topic shift inspired by the former topic in which Lisa asks where and how he and his wife met. The two other times OP takes the initiative (l. 652 and 1119, Appendix 4.b) are to ask Lisa about her experience or knowledge about hunting and lawyers, respectively; these are topics Lisa has expressed an opinion about, and it seems from OP's initiatives as if he wants to undermine her claims by suggesting that she has no basis for commenting on these matters. OP only makes one initiative, which concerns himself; thus, point 3) in 5. above is not really achieved. Labov (1984, p. 38), who writes that an interview is considered a failure if the informant does nothing more than answer the questions, would probably assess this interview as a failure in that respect.

It takes two to do a successful interview, and, unfortunately for this interview, it seems that neither of the interactants are able to establish a topic about which OP seems interested in talking. Indeed, it does not seem to be an easy task for him to just "talk away". On the other hand, you could get the impression that it is never established as a norm that OP is allowed simply to "talk away" about what he could have come up with. It certainly does not seem a usual situation for OP. Possibly, it never occurs to him that he could – and, actually, is supposed to – do something beyond what he is asked to do directly. Sometimes, he even seems reluctant to talk. For instance, OP mentions that he goes hunting a little bit ("går en lille bitte smule på jagt"; l. 531 Appendix B) when he replies to Lisa's question about what he spends his time on. Even though he has mentioned the topic himself, he is rather reluctant to extend the subject in the beginning when Lisa asks him about this directly.

Ex. 5.5

(Lisa and OP, 0:27:16-0:27:37; l. 535-544 in Appendix B)

- 1 Int: hvordan er det at gå på ↑jagt
how is it to go on ↑hunt
how is it to go out hunting?
- 2 (2.4) [a clicking sound and a smacking sound]
- 3 OP : det er egentlig okay jeg er ikke specielt fanatisk med det
it is actually okay I am not especially fanatical with it
it's actually okay I'm not a fanatic
- 4 jeg gør det heller ikke særlig meget hh
I do it either not particularly much hh
I don't do it particularly much hh
- 5 Int: hvorhen↑ne
where?
- 6 (0.9)

- 7 OP : hvor! jeg går på jagt henne=
where! I go on hunt [filler]
where I go hunting?
- 8 Int: =ja
yes
- 9 (0.5)
- 10 OP: jamen det kommer da an på hvor jeg bliver inviteret hen hh
well it depends [MP] on where I become invited [filler] hh
well obviously it depends on where I'm invited [to go hunting] hh
- 11 Int: nå man man bliver ligesom
oh you you get like
oh you you get like
- 12 (0.8)
- 13 Int: inviteret til at tage med < på::: ja >
invited to to take with < on::: yes >
invited to go with [someone] on yes
- 14 OP : <ja med mindre man>
<yes unless you >
- 15 OP : har sin egen jagt eller altså og det det har jeg ikke og
have your own game or [filler] and that that have I not and
have you own game and I don't and
- 16 jeg har heller aldrig tænkt mig at have det eller altså
I have either never imagined myself to get it or [filler]
I don't intend to get one ever

In Ex. 5.5, OP starts out by downplaying his own hobby twice (cf. "ikke specielt fanatisk" (l. 3; *not a fanatic*) and "gør det heller ikke særlig meget" (l. 4; *don't do it particularly much*). Lisa then asks the one word question "hvorhenne" (l. 5; *where*). OP formulates a question pronounced with interrogative intonation (l. 7), and Lisa confirms that it is the question she seeks an answer to (l. 8). Yet, OP still does not provide the information asked for but informs her that his reply depends on others who have to invite him; he even adds the modal particle "da" (l. 10; which I have translated into *obviously*), which suggests a certain matter of course. In the end, OP rules out the possibility that he would ever be able to go hunting anywhere he has not been invited as he states that he never intends to have his own game (l. 14-16). Thus, a topic which was mentioned by OP himself does

not seem to be well received as a topic for further discussion by OP himself. Yet, Lisa keeps pushing the topic despite OP's resistance, and the topic does end up being relatively extended and explored to some detail.

The topics in the interview with OP are fairly easy to delimit; OP has a tendency to signal that he does not know what else to say by the word "så:" (which translates literally as *so* but is, rather, what I call a 'filler' as no meaning can really be assigned to it) – at least, he seems to apply this word when he has finished something and only returns to the topic or moves on to another topic when Lisa asks another question. This means that at least one party does not contribute to the progressivity of topics (cf. the progressivity principle in 5.2.1) or, rather, that it seems to be a fixed division of roles in this interview: The interviewer asks the questions, and the informant answers (usually with no more details than what is asked for explicitly).

It should be noted that Lisa's interview with OP takes place in his office (cf. 3.4). Lisa notes this in her diary from the interview, and it also seems clear throughout the interview: OP gives the impression that he has not left his lawyer identity behind; he is still at work. It seems plausible that OP sees the interview as another task on his list to tick off. This could be one reason the interview does not contain, for instance, any personal reflections. Certainly, the content of the interview lacks the details and the personal topics to be successful in terms of topics.

Indeed, it takes two to create an interaction in which it is comfortable to just "talk away" and also address personal issues. In the next section, however, I will focus on the interviewers' direct initiatives in terms of questions – after all, in the light of the above, it seems that the interaction in the sociolinguistic genre is often shaped in a way in which it is expected that the interviewer leads – in some cases, more continuously than in others.

5.2.2 Interviewer questions

Another way to measure how active the interviewers have been – and thereby also how active/passive the informant has been – is to look into the number of questions asked by the interviewers. Following Labov (1984), who sees it as a failure if the informant only answers the interviewer's questions and nothing more, I hypothesise that interviews which are considered bad by the interviewer are interviews in which the informant does not give extended answers. If the informant only gives short answers to the interviewer's questions and only touches on the questions and topics introduced by the interviewer, it could be expected that the interviewer would have to ask more questions to keep the interview going than in a so-called good interview in which the informant gives more extended replies. Naturally, the interviewer could be said to have the main responsibility for the interview as s/he has arranged the activity; thus, it is expected that the interviewer takes action whenever this activity comes to a stop, but that is not to say that the interviewer is the only person who can or should decide the direction of the interaction.

Heritage (2012) asks the rather complex question: What is a question? Admittedly, I try to keep this rather complex matter quite simple. For my purpose, I find necessary a very concrete, however

broad, definition. As questions, I include structures with an interrogative word, structures which can potentially be answered with yes or no and usually have inverted word order or are pronounced with an interrogative intonation, and unfinished sentences with interrogative intonation and often a prolonged vowel in the end (e.g., "hun er fulgt i øh onkels fodspor eller:" (*she has followed in the footsteps of her uncle or:*); Jasper and KL, 1. 737). In cases of repair, I only count the initial interviewer question and not the "repaired" questions, which, in some cases, live up to the definition of question just made. For instance, in the sequence quoted in Ex. 5.6, I only count one question.

Ex. 5.6

(Jasper and KL, 1. 959-961; 0:28:46-0:28:48)

1 Int: hvad lavede I så på Malta
what did do you then in Malta
what did you do in Malta?

2 KL : hvad siger ↑du
what say ↑you
what did you say?

3 Int: hvad lavede I på Malta
what did do you in Malta
what did you do in Malta?

Thus, a question is not counted twice if it is repeated because it was not heard the first time or needs other kinds of repair. I include the number of times the interviewers ask a new question but exclude any number of times they may have to rephrase or explain a given question. (I return to repair of interviewer questions initiated by the informant in 6.3 below.)

I only look at questions asked by the interviewer. A large part of the questions asked by the informants are either repair initiators (e.g., requests to the interviewer to repeat a question they have not heard or to clarify things they have not understood) or offers of coffee and the like, politely formulated as questions. Naturally, the informants also sometimes ask the interviewers more substantial questions – especially in cases in which the interviewer tells personal narratives or shares personal experiences. A distinction between these types of questions would be necessary, yet complex, and likely to have grey zones. Thus, I've decided not to look into any questions asked by the informants. This is also consistent with my particular focus on the interviewers.

However, I do count any questions asked by the interviewers following the above definition – which also means cases in which the interviewers ask whether they may use the informant's bathroom. I find the number of this type of question to be very limited and, therefore, consider it plausible to compare the numbers found in the different interviews. And, certainly, I find it more reasonable to count all questions rather than trying to make a distinction and risk grey zones.

I only include questions which are expressed to a degree it is clear what information is being requested in the context. Questions may consist of only one word, or only half of a sentence may be expressed before the response is commenced; but, if the question appears to make sense for the other party in the context – and also naturally fits the definition above, then it is included as a question.

Finally, I do not include the questions asked in the background interview, neither the pre-planned questions nor any repair questions that may be expressed. Therefore, the time of the background interview has been subtracted in the calculations of questions per minute in Table 5.5. All the questions counted appear in Appendix 6.a-6.d.

Table 5.5

The number of questions asked by the interviewer and the frequency in Jasper and Lisa's best and worst interviews.

	Jasper's interviews		Lisa's interviews	
	Best (UF)	Worst (KL)	Best (KK)	Worst (OP)
Duration of background interview	6 min 12 sec	4 min 20 sec	4 min 21 sec	2 min 39 sec
Duration of interview*	130.35 min	108.4 min	94.28 min	58.88 min
Number of questions asked by interviewer**	64	110	105	98
Interviewer questions per minute	0.49	1.01	1.11	1.66

*The duration of the interview subtracted the time of the background interview.

** Questions in the background interview are not included.

It is clear from Table 5.5 that each of the interviewers asks questions more often in their worst interview compared with their best interview. In general, Lisa asks more questions than Jasper. In fact, she explains in my interview with her that she usually took on the role of the curious "ignorant" who could learn from whatever the informant told her; this seems to be reflected in the counts in Table 5.5. Moreover, it is much in line with Labov (1984, p. 40), who states that the strategy in the sociolinguistic interview is "to emphasize the position of the interviewer as a learner, in a position of lower authority than the person he is talking to". The counts above seem to suggest that Jasper does not mind longer pauses compared with Lisa, who is very quick to ask a new question if a topic seems to have been exhausted. My general experience of the two interviewers after listening to their four interviews several times confirms this hypothesis; however, I have not measured pauses throughout the interviews to test the validity of this explanation and, thus, it stays a hypothesis.

It seems that the interviewers must take more steps to avoid that the activity comes to a stop in the worst interviews. If they are to have success in making the informant open up (cf. 4.2), it is in their interest to avoid, for instance, embarrassing silences.

A question asked by the interviewer might stimulate a topic shift or it might be a way to encourage the informant to elaborate an ongoing topic. As I study topic shifts in 5.2.1 above, I find it only natural to see whether there is any relation between the two types of initiatives studied in this chapter. The results of such a comparison are shown in Table 5.6. The questions which coincide with topic shifts are marked in Appendix 6.a-6.d.

Table 5.6

The number of interviewer questions which coincide with a topic shift compared with the total number of initiated topic shifts (from Table 5.2). And the number of interviewer questions which do not coincide with a topic shift.

	Jasper's interviews		Lisa's interviews	
	Best (UF)	Worst (KL)	Best (KK)	Worst (OP)
Questions which coincide with topic shift / total number of initiated topic shifts	32/44	38/60	32/41	41/54
Questions which do not coincide with topic shift / total number of questions	32/64	72/110	73/105	57/98

To see how often the interviewer changes the topic by means of a question, I compare the number of questions which lead to a topic shift with the total number of topics initiated by the interviewer (as deduced from the counts in Table 5.2). For instance, Jasper initiates a topic shift 44 times in his interview with UF (including topic shifts at both TTRPs and non-TTRPs (as described in 5.2.1.2)); 32 of these are initiated by means of question. Furthermore, Jasper asks 32 questions which do not result in a topic shift in his best interview.

The results in Table 5.6 show no strong tendencies for any particular relation between the interviewers' questions and topic shifts. In fact, I see no clear pattern at all. The results neither seem to support that the best and worst interviews could be contrasted nor that the two interviewers should be clearly different from one another. I still find that both of them are, at least, potential ways to lead the interview; however, from Table 5.6, it seems that it can be ruled out that there should be any clear relation between the two.

In the next section, I explore further the difference between the best and worst interview by the female interviewer as I look into the term 'rapport'. I return to the differences between the two interviewers in Part III.

5.3 Rapport

As pointed out in point 4) in 5. above, Lisa mentions "kemi" (*chemistry* between people), and Jasper uses the word "at svinge" (roughly translates as *to click*). They also both mention trust as an important factor in the process of opening up the informant. Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990, p. 286) describe "clicking" or feeling "chemistry" as rapport. My question is, then: Is rapport actually achieved better in the interviews described as the best compared to the worst according to the interviewers?

Rapport is something which is potentially established between two people; thus, it is always interpersonal. However, it is experienced individually; the experience is internal and can be experienced quite differently. The nature of the emotional state or feeling³² of rapport is positive. Rapport is mental; however, a number of displayed components have been argued in the literature to point to situations in which rapport is likely to be experienced. As I elaborate below, I am inspired by Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) and Fogtman (2007) when I take the three displayed components, mutual attentiveness, positivity, and coordination, as the basis for establishing rapport. Approaching a definition, rapport may be established on occasions when the specified components coincide in which cases the interactants are potentially left with a positive feeling, an experience of having had a special connection with their interactional partner at a given time in their interaction.

Thus, rapport is inseparable from emotions; therefore, I will start with a note on my view on the status of emotions and, consequently, rapport. Interactants influence one another; human beings are social beings, and they mirror one another's emotions (e.g. Rizzolatti, 2005, p. 420). However, even though we influence one another, the emotional result of the influence is internal: Emotions are individual. Despite mirror neurons, no one can actually feel how the emotions of someone else feel to the specific individual who has the emotions. Our emotions may naturally affect and show more or less in our verbal and non-verbal interaction.

Houtkoop-Steenstra (1997, p. 591; 2000, p. 128) emphasises that respondents (in the present study, called 'informants') are social and emotional beings and, therefore, cannot be forced to give information to the interviewer if they do not want to. Consequently, the interviewer must build up a relationship with the informant, which makes the informant willing to co-operate (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000, p. 128). Sandoval and Adams (2001) argue that establishing rapport is crucial to open up, for instance, a witness to a violent incident and make her or him report the painful experience. The interview situation in the present study is quite different from testimony, but it might be that rapport is just as necessary to open up informants and make them talk about personal experiences and private reflections. At least, it is noteworthy that both of the interviewers independent of one another stress the importance of gaining the informants' trust or even confidence to have success with this type of interview.

Spradley (1979, pp. 78-83) uses rapport to refer to a 'harmonious relationship' between the informant and the researcher (i.e., the interviewer in the present study). As described in 2.5, Spradley's ethnographic interview has similarities with the sociolinguistic interview and, certainly, rapport is relevant for both of the interview genres. Spradley (ibid.) connects rapport with trust and positive feelings between the informant and the researcher. Spradley suggests four phases in the process of developing rapport: apprehension, exploration, cooperation, and participation. I will not go into detail about these phases, as I only study shorter sequences of interaction and, thus, look for concrete, verbal signs of rapport rather than phases that build up throughout one or more interviews.

³² I use 'emotion', 'feeling', and 'affect' interchangeably.

Spradley does note that rapport can change over time; I agree with this – in fact, I consider rapport to be something that can be experienced in some sequences during an interview but not in others. Thus, my view of rapport as I define it below includes elements that are similar to Spradley's description (e.g., trust and positivity) – however, much more dynamic.

Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990, p. 286) stress that "rapport exists only in interaction between individuals"; thus, it is not a personality trait. However, some people may be better at achieving rapport than others in some situations (*ibid.*). Unfortunately, I find that I have too little data for comparison to study whether the interviewers in the present study could be said to be especially good at achieving rapport in general although that would make an interesting study. From a dialogical approach, rapport as an interactional phenomenon (cf. Fogtmann, 2007; Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990)) seems an obvious term to explore.

I am inspired by CA in the interaction analyses I do of rapport. Traditionally, CA does not take emotions into account. However, the moral obligations to offer affiliating responses in certain contexts as described by Heritage (2011) indicates that CA is aware of the importance of, at least, display of emotional investments in interaction. This is not to suggest that CA openly lets emotions be part of its analyses; only, it seems that CA is aware that certain interactional phenomena obligate the participants involved to act in accordance with underlying forces such as emotions (more about CA traditions in 5.3.3 below). Emotions are also part of Goffman's term 'face' (more about this in 5.3.2 below).

In 5.3.1, I account for the operationalization of rapport used in the present study. In 5.3.2, I account for Goffman's term 'face', which I also find relevant for the analyses of rapport and the data analyses in general. Subsequently, in 5.3.3, I make some remarks on my method of analysis, which is inspired by CA, but does not follow CA in its strictest sense. Finally, I make use of the method of analysis on an excerpt from Lisa's best interview (5.3.4) and an excerpt from Lisa's worst interview (5.3.5). And I reflect on the usability of the operationalization of rapport (5.3.6).

5.3.1 Operationalisation of rapport

DePaulo & Bell (1990, p. 306) note that analysts do not have the same access to define whether rapport is achieved as the interactants who are present in a situation. I agree that I, as an analyst, cannot know what the interviewer and the informant in fact experienced in the concrete situation. Nonetheless, I find it reasonable to study rapport inspired by Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) and Fogtmann (2007). Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) focus on the nonverbal; I insist that rapport can be studied in verbal behaviour as well like, e.g., Fogtmann (2007), Clark, Drew & Pinch (2003) – as referred to by Fogtmann (2007) – and, cautiously, De Paulo & Bell (1990). I am very inspired by Fogtmann (2007) in my study of rapport as I seek to do something similar in the present study in terms of studying rapport in verbal interaction. As mentioned above, I build on Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) and Fogtmann (2007) when I take three components as the basis for establishing rapport: mutual attentiveness, positivity, and coordination. I find that the display of these components is the closest I can get to study when rapport may have been experienced by the

interactants. In the following, I account for examples of the verbal signs I see as potential evidence for each of the three components.

Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal's (1990) first component of rapport is mutual attentiveness. This is about being attentive – being involved in the interaction both as a speaker and as a listener. A verbal expression of this element in the data in the present study might be, for instance, when the informant gives thorough answers to the interviewer's questions or when the interviewer asks further questions to elaborate on a given topic or to open up for new perspectives. Attentiveness could also be displayed by aligning to the activity with continuers which encourage the informants to continue their speech. I find mutual attentiveness to be a necessary component for rapport to be established.

The second component described by Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) is positivity. This is about engaging in the conversation with a positive attitude towards the activity and the other interactant and feeling "mutual friendliness and caring" (cf. Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990, p. 286). Display of affiliation can also be seen as a sign of positivity. An interactional sign of this component could show in the interviewer's comments or assessments of a personal narrative told by the informant or in the informant's acknowledgement of a comment or an assessment by the interviewer. Laughing together could also be a sign of positivity. In addition, as Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, pp. 134-144) touches on, for instance, normalizing the informant's response or expressing that the problem is familiar can be ways for the interviewer to express affiliation. I also find positivity to be necessary to achieve rapport.

The third component of Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal's (1990) rapport is coordination. I operationalise this component in a simplified manner – I look for signs of coordination or incoordination. For instance, I find that interaction with long pauses in which no one is the natural next speaker could be a sign of incoordination. By contrast, overlapping speech in cases of pre-emptive completions (cf. Lerner (2004, p. 225) who refers to Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974)) in which the first speaker willingly acknowledges the completion can, indeed, be cases of coordination. Furthermore, signs of accommodation (e.g., accommodating to the other person's speech volume, using words used by the other person) and mirroring one another's acts could be types of coordination. Thus, in looking for coordination, I only include the very obvious, audible phenomena. This is not far from Fogtman's (2007) suggestions for operationalization of coordination; however, she (ibid, p. 267) also proposes some more technical ways to determine interactional coordination – for instance, rhythm and timing in the interaction. I agree they are interesting suggestions; however, like Fogtman (ibid.), I refrain from putting them into practice – which would be a rather extensive study – as I find the obvious signs of coordination to suffice for the purpose here. I also find this third and last component suggested by Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) to be a necessary part of rapport.

DePaulo & Bell (1990), in fact, suggest another definitional component, adding to the three components of rapport suggested by Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990): Stressing the perspective of the interactants themselves in contrast to an outsider makes DePaulo & Bell (1990) suggest that

the interactants' feelings of comfort with one another should also be counted as a necessary element to speak of rapport. However, following the operationalization of rapport I have just accounted for, I do not see how a meaningful distinction between 'rapport' itself and 'comfort' can be preserved consistently and, therefore, I do not consider this component in the operationalization of rapport.

However, it can be discussed whether the three components constitute a sufficient basis for establishing rapport. Such discussion becomes pertinent in the second analysis (5.3.5) below as it seems that the three components alone cannot account completely for what goes on.

The three components I take as the basis for rapport are not always easily separable. As noted by Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990, p. 286), for instance, positivity and attentiveness are closely related; however, there might be a high degree of one of the components but only a low degree of the other. They state that rapport is more likely to be felt if a high degree of both of the two components are present. The same goes for the data in the present study: Some components may, at times, be present to a higher degree than others. Furthermore, evidence of mutual attentiveness can, in some cases, also be said to be signs of positivity; yet, in others, only one of the components are displayed in an interactional feature. Moreover, it may occur that interactional features which are signs of positivity happen in a coordinated way. Thus, a certain overlap between the three components occurs in the analyses in 5.3.4 and 5.3.5 below; I see this as a sign of how interrelated the components are.

As noted in relation to Spradley's (1979) use of the term in 5.3 above, I do not consider rapport to be a state which two interactants can achieve and, then, are likely to display interactionally throughout the rest of the interview; rather, it is something that may be established at points and, possibly, even to different degrees. As I was not present when the interviews were conducted and, therefore, have not had the chance to ask whether the interactants experienced a given sequence of the interview as having rapport with the other party, I cannot state for sure whether rapport was actually experienced by the interactants at a given moment. However, Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's (1990) studies make me confident that the presence of the three components of rapport – displayed as suggested above – during a certain time span in an interaction give a sufficient basis for rapport to be achieved and experienced.

In the following, I describe another term I find relevant for the following analyses of rapport.

5.3.2 Goffman's 'face-work'

Fogtman (2007) analyses rapport within the frame of the emotion of shame. In accordance with the above, I agree with Fogtman (2007) that emotions are more than constructions; they are part of the foundation from which we act. However, shame is not the most obvious choice of frame for the present study. Rather, I find that another element, which also relates to emotions (cf. the second quote below), is relevant: In my study, I include 'face-work' (Goffman, 1972) (first published in

Goffman (1955)) as I find the term 'face'³³ to account very well for some of the acts in the two examples I analyse below, especially in the last case in which something clearly goes wrong (cf. 5.3.5). Møller (1993) also discusses the need for face-work in a situation like the sociolinguistic interview. Indeed, with a term like 'face', Goffman makes it relevant to study emotions in interactions: We invest our face when we engage in a conversation and, thus, we invest our emotions (Scheuer, 2005). Goffman specifies that:

[F]ace may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.
(Goffman, 1972, p. 319; italics in original)

It is a shared task for interactants to save one's own and the others' faces. Goffman explains that:

When a person senses that he is in face, he typically responds with feelings of confidence and assurance [...]
Should he sense that he is in wrong face or out of face, he is likely to feel ashamed and inferior [...].
(Goffman, 1972, p. 321)

Obviously, two interactants cannot achieve rapport if one of the persons feels ashamed or inferior (cf. Fogtman, 2007); thus, positive face-work from both interactants is essential for rapport to be experienced. Moreover, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 152) confirms that the interviewer's friendly reactions to the informants' answers can be seen as a "face-saving practice". However, face is not part of 'rapport' as Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) describe it, and I do not suggest that it should be. 'Face' originates from the sociological tradition as do several of the founders of CA (e.g., Sacks and Schegloff), which is the method of analysis I apply below; thus, this term is not new in that framework. The psychological term 'rapport', on the other hand, is not connected to CA. The CA method is advantageous for revealing the display of the three components; however, claiming that these three components may leave the interactants with an experience of rapport does not comply with the norms of CA. Thus, I do not apply CA in the strictest sense and, therefore, a specification of my position on CA is in place. This is what I do in the next section, before I get to the concrete analyses of rapport in 5.3.4 and 5.3.5.

5.3.3 Interaction analysis inspired by CA

I am inspired by the micro-analysis developed within the CA tradition in the following analyses. However, as mentioned, CA would never include a term like rapport in their analyses as the term is associated with such an insubstantial phenomena as emotions. In the following, therefore, I specify how my analysis differs from CA.

³³ I do not mean to preclude anyone from arguing for some overlap between the terms 'shame' and 'face'; however, I find such discussion irrelevant for the present study.

First, it should be noted that CA has developed in two different directions when it comes to research aims: One which is referred to as "pure CA" and the other as "applied CA" (cf., e.g., Have (2007, p. 8) with reference to Heritage (1997, p. 162)). "Pure CA" is also referred to as "orthodox CA" (cf. e.g. Linell & Persson Thunqvist, 2003, p. 432). Although applied CA is closer to the approach in the present study, the following reservations for the CA approach concerns both the pure as well as the applied direction within CA.

As argued in Part II.B above, my point of departure is dialogical. Linell (2009, p. 179) points out that CA only looks at the local situation of the interaction, whereas the dialogical view is that traditions as well as things which have been expressed earlier and what may subsequently be said can be relevant in a given situation. To Bakhtin, this is part of what makes discourse 'co-authored'. Furthermore, Linell & Persson Thunqvist (2003) point out that interactions should be analysed "in the context of surrounding activity types" (ibid. p. 432).

There are other critics of the restrictions made by CA. For instance, Blommaert (2005, p. 206) criticises conversation analysts for their claim that identities are only relevant if "interactionally oriented towards by immediate participants in conversation"; on the contrary, Blommaert finds that identities can be established even before the interaction begins and thereby limit what goes on in actual interaction. I agree with Blommaert (ibid.) in the critique, and I find it relevant for the present study as it seems that, e.g., the expectations for one person to be the interviewer and the other to be the informant is underlying most of the time although not oriented towards explicitly. The conversation analyst Zimmerman (1998, p. 90), in fact, proposes identities which precede interactions as he suggests a division of the concept of 'identity' into three territories: Two of the three can be said to exist prior to an actual interaction, namely, transportable identities (i.e., usually visible features such as gender, age, and the like) and, partly, situated identities (e.g., interviewer and informant).

I find that the analysts within the CA tradition stick to the theoretical ideals but do not employ the method in the strictest sense in practice. Have (2007) writes that:

[T]he fundamental 'material' with which one is working is one's understanding of what the participants are *doing* in and through their talk-in-interaction

(Have, 2007, p. 121; italics in original)

I cannot see that "one" in this quotation can refer to anyone else but the analyst. Furthermore, earlier in the same book, Have (2007, p. 33) states that it is inevitable that the researcher uses her/his own comprehension as a member (cf. 'membership competencies'). I do not disagree with these statements; however, I find them to be inconsistent with the CA tradition's strict notion of evidentiality. Billig (1999) has the same point when he points out it is problematic that Schegloff (1997) (and, thereby, CA) claims that they do not take 'a priori assumptions' into account and that they supposedly analyse talk using the participants' own terms.

Fogtman (2007, p. 61) points out that CA presupposes the situational context, for instance, when Drew & Heritage (1992) compare ordinary conversations and conversations in institutional settings to study how the institutionality is manifested. Waring, Dreider, Tarpey & Black (2012) discuss whether context should not also include information which is not part of the actual talk, e.g., ethnographic data (for comments on the article and further discussion of context, see *Discourse Studies* 2012, 4, pp. 493-513). Furthermore, Fogtman (2007, pp. 221-222) suggests that emotional constructions are included in CA – despite the CA ideology stating otherwise – and, therefore, ought to be included in the theoretical basis of CA systematically. Indeed, the scope of the term context is debated.

Due to the nature of rapport and the fact that it is inseparable from emotions, I find it necessary to look at the broader context. Thus, I do not restrict myself to the common limits found in conversation analyses. I do interaction analyses inspired by CA but not restricted by, for instance, the context limitations specified in CA. In line with dialogism, I find that statements given early in an interaction may reasonably be pointed to as relevant when observing later actions in the same conversation and may be referred to in an analysis of a later sequence. Furthermore, unlike CA, I find that subsequent events can, in some cases, confirm an analysis of a former part of the interaction. As suggested by Blommaert (2005, p. 206), I agree that identities can be established prior to an interaction and are continuously negotiated throughout an interaction; thus, all the things that happen prior to a specific instance in an interaction are potentially relevant for the arising of that instance, and what happens later in an interview may even reveal central points about what happened earlier in the same conversation (as Blommaert (*ibid.* p. 206) notes, identity categories might be established retrospectively).

I do not claim that I can state how the interviewer and the informant experienced the situation; however, I find that the signs of the components of rapport and how they can be built up or spoiled might make it necessary to look into the situation more broadly than only the local context as CA argues for. This is especially relevant for the analyses of rapport in Excerpt 5.2 in 5.3.5 below, where something suddenly goes wrong.

5.3.4 Looking for rapport - Excerpt 5.1

The two excerpts I analyse in this and the next section have been deducted based on the operationalization of rapport described in 5.3.1 above. I find the two excerpts to be "telling cases". Lisa's best and worst interview are obvious choices as the Excerpts show that what happens in the two interviews are clearly contrasting.

Excerpt 5.1 below from Lisa's best interview shows that the basis for rapport is achieved between Lisa and the female informant KK even though, in the beginning, it seems that the conditions are not ripe for such a development as KK explicitly points out that it is hard for her to answer Lisa's question. Furthermore, faces are threatened in this excerpt from Lisa's interview with KK; yet, the basis for rapport is maintained. Excerpt 5.2 (in 5.3.5) is from the very last part of Lisa's worst interview. It is a point at which they are as close as they possibly get at any point for establishing

the basis for rapport; however, as is clear from the excerpt, the moment at which the basis for rapport is almost achieved is broken off. This analysis makes it relevant to discuss whether the three components of rapport constitute the full basis for rapport to be achieved.

Excerpt 5.1 below is a telling case because the informant expresses that she finds it hard to answer the question and, yet, she is not reluctant but, in fact, rather positive. Additionally, faces are potentially threatened by one of the turns in the excerpt; thus, even though the odds are against the establishment of the basis for rapport, it is achieved. Excerpt 5.2 (in 5.3.5 below) is a telling case because the circumstances seem favourable for the basis for rapport to be established as Lisa has finally suggested a topic on which OP elaborates without Lisa asking new questions and agreement is expressed several times and, yet, the basis for rapport is still not achieved.

The transcription conventions are described in Appendix 3. For information about the informants, see 3.4 above.

Excerpt 5.1

(Lisa and KK, l. 480-537, 0:32:30-0:36:18)

Prior to the following, KK has mentioned that her parents got divorced when she was twelve years old.

1 Int: hvorfor be- hvorfor ↑gik det galt med dine for↑ældre
why be- why ↑went it wrong with your pa↑rents
why did it go wrong with your parents?

2 (1.2)

3 Int: °og sådan:°
°and[filler]:°
and that sort of thing

4 (1.2)

5 Int: <så galt > at de skulle skil↑les
<so badly> that they had to be di↑vorced
so badly that they had to get divorced?

6 KK: < øh: >
< uh: >

7 (1.0)

- 8 KK: hh ja: ha hvorfor gik det galt
hh yes: ha why went it wrong
hh yes ha why did it go wrong
- 9 (1.6)
- 10 KK: ø:h det det er faktisk meget svært
u:h it it is actually very hard
uh it it's actually quite hard
- 11 at svare på fordi de har haft meget forskellige historier (0.4) begge! to
to reply to because they have had very different histories (0.4) both! two
to answer because they had very different histories (0.4) both of them
- 12 (2.0)
- 13 KK: så ø:hm
so u:hm
so uh
- 14 (0.7)
- 15 KK: hh altså vi! havde ikke sådan ø:h altså vi mærkede ikke noget
hh [filler] we! had not [filler] u:h [filler]we sensed not anything
hh so we didn't have like uh well we didn't notice anything
- 16 som ↓børn altså de skændtes! ikke sådan specielt me:↑get og
as ↓kids [filler]they quarrelled! not [filler] particularly ↑much: and
as kids well they didn't quarrel particularly much and
- 17 det kom meget bag på os
it came much behind on us
it took us very much by surprise
- 18 (1.4)
- 19 KK: ø:h at det skete
u:h that it happened
uh that it happened
- 20 (0.6)
- 21 Int: mm

mm

22 KK: der var ik- der var ikke sådan nogle ø:h forvarsler eller sådan
there were no- there were no like some u:h forewarnings or [filler]
there weren't- there weren't any like indications or anything

23 (0.5)

24 KK: hh altså min fa:r øh har fortalt at min mor begyndte at drikke!
hh [filler] my fa:ther uh has told that my mother started to drink!
hh well my father uh has told me that my mother started to drink

25 (1.0)

26 KK: øh
uh

27 (1.2)

28 Int: mm
mm

29 (0.2)

30 KK: hh og min mor! har fortalt at min fa:r øh kunne være voldelig
hh and my mother! has told that my fa:ther uh could be violent
hh and my mother has told me that my father uh could be violent

31 (0.6)

32 KK: hh
hh

33 (1.0)

34 KK: men under alle! omstændigheder så tror jeg det er foregået over
but under any! circumstances then think I it has been going on over
but in any case I think it had been going on for

35 lang tid altså har været en længere proces
long time [filler] has been a longer process
a long time that is has been a long process

36 (0.7)

37 Int: <ja sådan en> som man ikke lægger mærke til når <man er > tolv
<yes such a > that you not take notice of when <you are> twelve
yes the sort of process that you don't notice when you are twelve

38 KK: < ø:h > < ja >
<u:h > <yes >

39 (0.3)

40 KK: ja
yes

41 (0.9)

42 KK: så hvornår er nok nok! eller sådan ikke altså hh
so when is enough enough! or [filler] not [filler] hh
so when is enough enough or like

43 (0.8)

44 KK: men altså min mor havde tilsyneladende planlagt det
but [filler] my mother had apparently planned it
but apparently my mother had planned it

45 ☺ifølge min far☺ havde hun
☺according to my father☺ had she
according to my father she had

46 (1.3)

47 KK: nogle altså bankbøger og ting og sager liggende klar! <ø:h til >
some [filler] bank books and all sorts of things lying ready! <u:h for>
some like bank accounts and all sorts of things lying ready uh for

48 Int: < ha >
< ha >

49 (0.4)

- 50 Int: det store flugtforsøg
the big escape attempt
the big escape
- 51 KK: til et bestemt tidspunkt ikke og <og så > hh altså: altså det ↑skete! sådan
for a particular moment right and <and then> hh [fillers] it ↑happened! like
for a particular point in time right and and then hh well it happened well
- 52 Int: <jo >
 <yes >
- 53 KK: en helt! konkret aften hvor hun var ude me:d hun havde! en veninde inde i
a very specific! evening where she was out wi:th she had! a friend in
a specific evening when she was out with she had a friend in
- 54 Nyboder* som var! (0.4) kvar↓talsdranker hh o:g det <vidste vi selvfølg- >
Nyboder who was! (0.4) dip↓somaniac hh a:nd that <knew we of co- >*
Nyboder who was (0.4) a dipsomaniac hh and that we knew of co-*
 *a neighbourhood in Copenhagen
- 55 Int: <hvad er kvartals↑dranker>
 <what is dipsoma↑niac >
 what is a dipsomaniac?
- 56 KK: altså en der drikker sådan øh i perioder men så ikke drikker i ↑andre perioder
[filler] one who drinks [filler] uh in periods but then not drinks in ↑other periods
well someone who drinks like uh during certain periods but then doesn't drink in
other periods
- 57 (0.7)
- 58 Int: okay ha
 okay ha
- 59 KK: øh:m
 uh:m
- 60 (0.9)
- 61 KK: vidste vi ↑ikke som ↓børn men altså øh hh men alligevel så
knew we ↑not as ↓kids but [filler] uh hh but nevertheless [filler]
we didn't know that as kids but then uh hh but nevertheless

62 vidste vi nu ↑godt der var et eller < andet ved hende >
knew we [MP] ↑certainly there was something or < other about her >
we did know there was something about her

63 Int: < der var et eller andet >
<*there was something or other*>
there was something

64 KK: ja! det kunne vi <godt sådan> for<nemme>
yes:!/ that could we <[filler] > sen<se >
yes we could somehow sense that

65 Int: <uldent > <ja >
<*furtive* > <*yes* >

66 (0.6)

67 KK: hh og øh at hun var ☺måske ikke sådan li:ge☺ (0.4) hun var en speciel!
hh and uh that she was ☺maybe not like ju:st☺ (0.4) she was a special!
hh and uh that she was maybe not like (0.4) she was an unusual

68 veninde eller hvad man skal sige ha hh og ø:h
friend or what you should say ha hh and u:h
friend or how can you put it ha hh and uh

69 (1.1)

70 KK: (smask) og hende har min mor nok set
[smacking sound] and her had my mother probably seen
(smacking sound) and my mother had probably seen her

71 mere og mere der til sidst og
more and more there at the end and
more and more often towards the end and

72 (1.6)

73 KK: og ø:h
and u:h

74 (0.7)

- 75 KK: og så en dag min far kommer hjem
and then one day my father comes home
and then one day my father comes home
- 76 så er hun ikke hjemme og: (0.2) og spørger
then is she not at home and: (0.2) and asks
then she [the mother] is not at home and (0.2) and
- 77 vel efter hende og jeg siger ↑nå! men hun er ovre hos den
[MP] after her and I say ↑well! but she is over with that
he probably asks for her and I say well she is with that
- 78 (0.6)
- 79 KK: veninde der og
[female] friend there and
friend and
- 80 (1.3)
- 81 KK: og så ved jeg sådan set ikke så meget andet! end altså [KKs søster] er
and then know I [filler] not so much more! than [filler] [KK's sister] is
and then I actually don't know much more than that my sister is
- 82 nemlig derovre min søster er (0.4) <ovre i deres hjem!> på det tidspunkt o:g
[filler] over there my sister is (0.4) <over in their home!> at that time a:nd
in fact over there my sister is (0.4) over there in their home at that time and
- 83 Int: < mm: >
 < mm: >
- 84 (0.5)
- 85 KK: hh min far! går tilsyneladende derover men min mor er så gået med
hh my father! walks apparently over there but my mother has then gone with
hh my father apparently walks over there but my mother has gone with her (the
friend)
- 86 hende på et værtshus som han så går hen og henter hende fra og så!
her to a pub which he then goes to and picks up her from and then!
to a pub from where he then picks her up and then

- 87 sker der en meget voldsom ek·plo·sion! den aften mellem de to
happens there a very tremendous ex·plo·sion! that night between the two
that night there is a tremendous explosion between the two of them
- 88 (0.6)
- 89 KK: ø:h og efterfølgende flytter min mor
u:h and subsequently moves my mother
and afterwards my mother moves out
- 90 (0.5)
- 91 KK: altså dagen efter flytter min mor med
that is the day after moves my mother with
that is the day after my mother moves with
- 92 (0.7)
- 93 KK: med min søster
with my sister
with my sister
- 94 (1.0)
- 95 KK: og det er sådan set det
and that is actually it
and that is actually it
- 96 (0.8)
- 97 KK: så det var bare (0.3) bang! ha
so it was just (0.3) bang! ha
so it was just (0.3) bang ha
- 98 (1.1)
- 99 KK: fra den ene dag til den anden=
from the one day to the other=
from one day to the other
- 100 Int: =det var ikke noget (0.5) "børn! (0.7) nu skal I høre"***
*=it was not something (0.5) "kids! (0.7) now should you listen"****
it wasn't like (0.5) kids (0.7) now listen carefully

** The passage in line 100 marked in quotation marks is pronounced with a different voice quality as if quoting/imitating another person.

101 KK: <☺nej ha der var ikke noget pædagogik i det eller> nogen der satte
<☺nej ha there was not anything pedagogical in it or > someone who sat
no ha there wasn't anything pedagogical about it or someone who sat

102 Int: < ha ha ha >
< ha ha ha >

103 KK: sig ned og forklarede stille og roligt eller☺ hh °nej sådan foregik det ikke°
themselves down and explained quietly or ☺ hh °no like that occurred it not°
and gently explained or hh no it didn't happen like that

104 (0.4)

105 Int: °ej det var har da været ret vildt°
°oh that was has surely been quite wild°
oh that must have been pretty awful

106 (0.2)

107 KK: ja <°det var ret vildt°>
yes <°it was quite wild°>
yes it was quite awful

108 Int: < hvorfor valgte din > mor så li:ge at (0.3) at
<why chose your > mother [filler] [filler] that (0.3) that
why did your mother then choose (0.3) to bring

109 det skulle s- være [KKs søster] og ikke
it should s- be [KK's sister] and not

110 KK: (smask) < hh jamen altså det skete > jo i virkeligheden så tilfældigt
(smacking sound) <hh yes but [filler] it happened> [MP] actually randomly
(smacking sound) hh well it actually happened rather randomly

111 Int: < enten din bror eller ↑dig >
< either your brother or ↑you >
either your brother or you

112 KK: ved at hun (0.3) <[KKs søster] havde været med> deres! datter i biografen
*by that she (0.3) <[KK's sister] had been with> their! daughter in the cinema
in that she (0.3) KK's sister had been to the cinema with their daughter*

113 Int: < var var der ha >
< was was there ha >
was there ha

114 KK: og var! derfor (0.2) i deres hjem ↑ikke
*and was! therefore (0.2) in their home ↑not
and therefore was (0.2) in their home wasn't she*

115 (0.9)

116 KK: så så øh (0.2) og det er der-! altså (0.3) efter den eksplosion mellem min mor
*so so uh (0.2) and it is ther-! [filler] (0.3) after the explosion between my mother
so so uh (0.2) and it's there- so (0.3) after the explosion between my mother*

117 og min far så: stak min mor jo af derover (0.1) igen ↑ikke
*and my father then: ran my mother [filler] off over there (0.1) again ↑not
and my father then my mother ran off you know over there (0.1) again you see*

118 (0.3) og blev senere hentet af hendes forældre altså morgenen efter
*(0.3) and was later collected by her parents [filler] the morning after
(0.3) and was later picked up by her parents that is the morning after*

119 (0.6)

120 KK: °ø:h h- havde hun° kontaktet ↑ikke og: så kom de over for at hente hende og
*°u:h h- had she° contacted ↑right and: then came they over for to pick up her and
uh she had contacted them right and then they came over to pick her up and*

121 (1.3)

122 KK: og så min søster jo som var derovre ↑ikke
*and then my sister [MP] who was over there ↑right
and then my sister who was over there you know*

123 (0.5)

124 Int: jo
yes

125 KK: så: (0.2) så så det! var i sig selv nok lidt tilfældigt (0.2) altså
so: (0.2) so so it! was in itself [MP] little random (0.2) [filler]
so: (0.2) so so it was probably just a coincidence (0.2) actually

126 (1.4)

127 KK: at det lige var hende der så var der! ↑ikke men så efterfølgende
that it just was her who then was there! ↑right but then subsequently
that it happened to be her who was there at the time right but then afterwards

128 forsøgte hun jo så i hvert fald at
tried she [filler] then in any case to
she in any case tried to

129 (0.6)

130 KK: hh at få (0.3) min lillebror (0.3) i: i det der forældre-
hh to get (0.3) my little brother (0.3) i:n in that there parental-
hh to get (0.3) my younger brother (0.3) in in the parental-

131 (1.8)

132 KK: -fejde der var der om os børn
-quarrel there was there about us kids
-quarrel they had about us kids

After this, the interviewer goes on to ask whether this has influenced KK's relationship to her sister and brother.

As I will show in the following analysis, Lisa and KK display all the three components which constitute the basis for rapport – mutual attentiveness, positivity, and coordination – in Excerpt 5.1 and, thereby, are likely to have experienced rapport.

In the sequence in Excerpt 5.1, KK is clearly attentive to answering Lisa's question (l. 1+3+5) thoroughly; even though she says it is a hard question for her to answer (l. 10-11), she proceeds with the task. It even results in a narrative of the specific night of the break between her parents. Furthermore, KK shows attentiveness when she agrees to answer Lisa's question (l. 55) – which, in fact, interrupts the story (l. 54-58) – and takes the time to explain (l. 56). In fact, it could also be seen as a sign of positivity that she cares to stop her story and explain what she means. And it can also be seen as a sign of Lisa showing attentiveness that she asks the question (l. 55) to obtain a better understanding of KK's story. Furthermore, Lisa displays attentiveness when she aligns to the activity with continuers (l. 21+28+52+58+83+124). Lisa also shows attentiveness when she asks

her initial question (l. 1+3+5), which builds on information KK has offered prior to the sequence in Excerpt 5.1. Moreover, Lisa displays attentiveness when she proposes perspectives on KK's story (e.g., l. 50; 63+65; 100) and when she enquires further (l. 108-109+111+113).

Lisa and KK show mutual positivity when Lisa offers a laughable (l. 100) followed by laughter (l. 102) to which KK responds in smiley voice and laughter (l. 101+103) (cf. Haakana, 2002, p. 220 who shows that smiling and smiley voice is connected to and a common response to laughter). However, it should be mentioned that there are two instances earlier in the sequence in which laughter is not mirrored: lines 48 and 58. In the first instance, Lisa's laughter could be a response to what sounds like a smiley voice (l. 45). It is not completely certain whether KK speaks with a smiley voice in line 47 and, therefore, it is not transcribed – there seems to be a hint of a smile in the voice, but it is very hard to determine. This would be my best guess at the function of Lisa's laugh in line 48. In line 58, Lisa also laughs without KK mirroring it; Lisa's laugh could have several functions: It could be a way for her to apologize for her interruption (l. 54-58) of KK's story; she could be laughing of her own ignorance of the meaning of the word, or she could be displaying that she now understands the particularity of the mother's friend and that this in itself is a reason for laughing. It is unclear which one or which combination of functions her laugh has – either way, there is nothing peculiar in KK not mirroring Lisa's laughter and, instead, going back to her story (l. 59). Thus, I do not find that either of these instances breaks the otherwise positive atmosphere between Lisa and KK in this sequence.

Positivity is also displayed as affiliation. Lisa displays affiliation when she reasons why KK is not in a position to give a comprehensive reply to Lisa's question (l. 37; based on KK's stance expressed mainly in line 10-22 and 34-35). Lisa uses the generic “man” in her response in line 37 and, thereby, normalises (cf., e.g., Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000, p. 137) that KK states she has difficulties in replying. Furthermore, Lisa affiliates with KK's stance towards the personal experiences KK has accounted for, when she gives an assessment of the whole story (l. 105). KK confirms this assessment by echoing her words (except change of tense) in l. 107 after a very short pause.

Though proving Lisa's attentiveness, the positivity between them and the displayed affiliation could be at risk when Lisa asks the potentially face-threatening question: Why KK's mother chose KK's sister over her and her brother (l. 108-109+111). Prior to this, Lisa has given an assessment of the entire event referring to it as “det” (l. 105; *it*) in which she uses ‘da’ which stresses the obviousness of her assessment. Assessing the entire event and KK confirming it in line 107 could be understood as a way of closing down the topic and could justify that Lisa changes the perspective in line 108 – although not that she changes the perspective by means of a potentially face-threatening act. However, KK does not react to the question as if she had suffered a loss of face; rather, she meets Lisa's request positively by quickly (i.e., even in overlap with Lisa's question) answering the question (l. 110-114+125-127). Lisa adds to KK's utterance in line 112 (which she actually finishes with perfect timing in line 113; cf. pre-emptive completion (Lerner, 2004, p. 225)) that the sister was the one who happened to be there (l. 113; “var var der ha”; *was was there ha*) and, thus, proposes the answer to her own question. The laugh in the end of the sentence could display an excuse either for interrupting or for having asked the question in the first place.

The third component of rapport – coordination – is also achieved. For instance, the timing of Lisa's pre-emptive completion (l. 113) of KK's sentence (beginning of l. 112) with KK's agreement to the completion in line 114 proves coordination. Besides this pre-emptive completion, Lisa also speaks along with KK (l. 63+65), almost echoing KK (end of l. 62) in the beginning (l. 63). Furthermore, they coordinate by accommodating to one another in the instance which I also describe as a sign of mutual positivity above: KK finishes her story by assessing it as a dramatic change “så det var bare (0.3) bang! ha (1.1) fra den ene dag til den anden” (l. 97-99; *so it was just bang! ha from one day to the other*) and, without any pause after this, Lisa gives a humorous account of what certainly did not happen according to what she has heard KK tell. This positive interplay is coordinated in that Lisa aligns by accommodating to KK's storyline by using the same, although negated, version of the words KK used in her assessment in line 97; that is, Lisa says “det var ikke noget...” (l. 100; *it was not something*), whereas KK said “så det var bare...” (l. 97; *so it was just*). Finally, KK mirrors the wording of Lisa's assessment of KK's narrative (l. 105) except for changing the grammatical tense of the verb from present perfect to past tense (l. 107), both of them even pronouncing their words in a low volume. And, when KK finishes her turn in a lowered voice, which indicates the end of a turn (Steensig, 2001, p. 132), Lisa accommodates this by giving her assessment of the entire story in a similarly lowered voice.

However, there are two instances in which, it seems, Lisa does not quite align to KK or, at least, does not express what KK had in mind with her story; at least, KK does not confirm Lisa's interpretation. In line 50, Lisa gives her interpretation – almost like a candidate pre-emptive completion – of the utterance KK initiated in line 47. Lisa's interpretation, however, is neither confirmed nor disconfirmed by KK and, possibly, Lisa has simply phrased her understanding with words which KK cannot quite confirm. It is notable that there is no pause between Lisa's utterance in line 50 and KK's in line 51; thus, it could be that KK simply continues without taking the time to consider a reaction to Lisa's suggestion. A similar thing happens in l. 61-68, where Lisa suggests a continuation (l. 63+65) of what KK initiates in line 61-62 (even echoing KK's phrasing) but with no recognition of this way of expressing it from KK. It might also be that KK simply does not hear what Lisa says in l. 65 as it overlaps with KK's own speech.

Thus, the three components which constitute the basis for rapport are achieved and, potentially, one or both have experienced rapport. The shared establishment of rapport is very much in line with the dialogical view on language described in Part II.B. KK and Lisa clearly build the story presented in Excerpt 5.1 together. KK may have talked about her parents' divorce many times before to other individuals with various relationships to KK, and she is probably affected by the previous listeners and her previous versions of the story. Yet, at the same time, the story takes its point of departure in Lisa's question (l. 1-2) and is structured especially for and with Lisa in this specific context. Lisa does not only co-construct KK's story by way of her suggestions, questions, and comments; Lisa is part of KK's very formulation of the story as a person and all the expectations and thoughts KK has about Lisa and the situation as a whole. And their shared contributions enable the three components of rapport to be established.

I return to the characteristics I ascribe to Lisa's particular interview style in 7.1.

5.3.5 Looking for rapport - Excerpt 5.2

The second excerpt I study is from Lisa's worst interview with the male informant OP (see 3.4 above for information about OP).

Excerpt 5.2

(Lisa and OP, l. 1088-1159, 0:57:53-1:00:05)

Prior to the following, Lisa has asked OP which offers of culture he engages in; he answers theatres, museums, and exhibitions and says that that is it. Then, Lisa reminds him of something he mentioned in the previous interview with him.

Later in the excerpt (l. 56), Lisa refers to information she has given earlier in the interview, namely, that she used to work as an office girl in a lawyer's office (l. 235 in Appendix B).

- 1 Int: jeg kan huske nem↑li:g ø:h v- at du snakkede om du faktisk var
*I can remember be↑cau:se u:h v- that you talked about you actually were
because I can remember uh that you said [in the previous interview] that you were
actually*
- 2 meget interesseret i dansk litteratur
very interested in Danish literature
- 3 (1.4)
- 4 Int: < i gym >nasiet
<in high>school
- 5 OP: < ja! >
< yes! >
- 6 OP: ja men det var jeg også
*yes but that was I also
yes it's true I was*
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 Int: ja (0.4) er du stadig ↑det
*yes (0.4) are you still ↑that
yes (0.4) is that still the case?*

- 9 OP: hh<hhhhhhhhhh > (puster luft ud)
 hh<hhhhhhhhhh > (exhales)
- 10 Int: <eller er er det >
 <or is is it >
 or is is it [probably referring to: "interested in Danish literature"]
- 11 OP: jeg vil sige at det er ikke fordi jeg ikke er interesseret
 I would say that it is not because I not am interested
 I would say that it's not that I'm not interested
- 12 men jeg får <↓aldrig> rigtig gjort noget ved det m:ere
 but I get <↓never> really done anything about it any: more
 I just never really get around to to doing anything about it anymore
- 13 Int: <°mm° >
 <°mm° >
- 14 OP: og det er lang! <tid siden>
 and it is long! <time since>
 and it has been a long time since
- 15 Int: <nej >
 <no >
- 16 OP: jeg har <læst > dansk litteratur og ø:h
 I have <read> Danish literature and u:h
 I've read any Danish literature and uh
- 17 Int: <°nej°>
 <°no°>
- 18 (1.8)
- 19 OP: det er sjældent måske < en gang om året >
 it is rare maybe <one time a year >
 I rarely do maybe once a year
- 20 Int: < det er svært at > at finde tid til=
 < it is hard to > to find time for=
 it's hard to find the time for it

- 21 OP: =ja! det er det
 =yes! *that is it*
 yes! *it is*
- 22 (1.1)
- 23 OP: så: hh ø:h men det! er rigtig nok jo men det var! jeg
 so: *hh u:h but it! is true enough yes but it was! I*
 so *hh uh but yes it's true I did! I*
- 24 da jeg gik i gymnasiet meget interesseret i dansk litteratur
 when I was in high school very interested in Danish literature
 when I was in high school [I was] very interested in Danish literature
- 25 (0.8)
- 26 Int: men du har aldrig overvejet sådan: at læse! litteratur altså på universitetet
 but you have never considered[filler]: to study! literature that is at the univer↑tety
 but you've never considered like studying literature that is at the university?
- 27 (0.2)
- 28 OP: nej! (0.4) så! interesseret var jeg heller ikke < ha >
 no! (0.4) so! interested was I really not < ha >
 no (0.4) I wasn't that interested
- 29 Int: < ha >
 < ha >
- 30 OP: °så det va:r° det var hobbyplan
 °so it wa:s° it was hobby level
 so it was just a hobby
- 31 (0.4)
- 32 Int: ja
 yes
- 33 (0.4)
- 34 OP: så:
 so:

35 (0.2)

36 Int: nu havde du også en fa:r! der var
*now had you [MP] a fa:ther! who was
well you had a father who was*

37 (0.7)

38 Int: eller han var vel også (0.4) ret in- litteraturinteresseret
*or he was probably also (0.4) quite in- literature interested
or I'm guessing he was also (0.4) quite interested in literature*

39 (0.2)

40 OP: ja! (0.3) og det har selvfølgelig sikkert også smittet af
*yes! (0.3) and that has of course probably also rubbed of
yes (0.3) and of course that has also influenced me*

41 (0.3)

42 Int: ja (0.3) °ja°
yes (0.3) °yes°

43 (1.5)

44 OP: ø:hm
u:hm

45 (0.8)

46 OP: men det er da ikke! f- det er ikke fordi jeg ikke som sådan!
*but it is [MP] not! bec- it is not because I not as such!
but it's not it's not that I'm not interested in it as such*

47 interesserer mig for det længere det er mere jeg ved ikke (0.2) det er sådan
*interest myself in it any more it is more I know not (0.2) it is [filler]
any more it's more I don't know (0.2) it's like*

48 ja! jeg får ikke læst! meget af det °det <vil jeg sige°>
*yes! I get not read! much of it °it <would I say°>
well I don't get around to reading much I would say*

- 49 Int: < nej du er >
< no you are >
- 50 Int: også bare! i en i en
also just! in a in a
just in a in a
- 51 (0.5)
- 52 Int: i en anden verden
in another world
in another world
- 53 (0.8)
- 54 Int: i din i < din hverdag >
in your in < your every day >
in your in your everyday life
- 55 OP: <du er meget! med det >
<you are very! with that>
you're very much into this
- 56 der med en anden verden men altså det er jo ikke sådan
there with another world but [filler] it is [MP] not [filler]
thing in another world but it's not like
- 57 (0.5)
- 58 OP: altså så! forskelligt er det jo ikke fordi man laver
[filler] so! different is it [MP] not because you do
it isn't that different after all because you do
- 59 det ene eller det andet eller det tredje (0.2) altså
the one or the other or the third (0.2) [filler]
one thing or another or a third thing (0.2) like
- 60 (1.4)
- 61 OP: man kan jo sagtens::! altså: ø:h være interesseret i dansk
you can [MP] easily::! [filler] u:h be interested in Danish
after all you can easily like uh be interested in Danish

- 62 litteratur selv om man sidder i: hh i advokatbranchen (0.4) ø:h
literature even though you work in: hh in the law profession (0.4) e:h
literature even though you work in the law profession (0.4) eh
- 63 (3.0)
- 64 OP: det vil jeg da håbe (0.3) ha ellers er det et fattigt liv hh
that will I [MP] hope (0.3) ha otherwise is it a poor life hh
I would certainly hope so (0.3) ha otherwise it's a poor life hh
- 65 (1.6)
- 66 Int: °ja°
 °yes°
- 67 (1.9)
- 68 Int: ↑ja
 ↑yes
- 69 (0.2)
- 70 OP: (smask) kender du mange advoka↑ter
(smacking sound) know you many la↑wyers
(smack) do you know many lawyers?
- 71 (1.7)
- 72 Int: ne·j det gør jeg egentlig ikke
n·o that do I actually not
no actually I don't
- 73 (0.2)
- 74 OP: ha [lyder som et fnys]
ha [sounds like a snort]
- 75 (0.8)
- 76 Int: ↓jeg ↓er øh jeg kender ↑nogle ↓ø:h (0.4) fra dengang jeg var piccoline
 ↓I ↓am uh I know ↑some ↓u:h (0.4) from the time I was office girl
 I'm uh I know some uh (0.4) from the time when I was an office girl

- 77 så nogle af de hh så va:r var vi i byen med nogle af
*so some of the hh [filler] we:re were we in the town with some of
so some of the hh we went out with some of*
- 78 de der fuldmægtige og °sådan noget° det! var meget skægt
*those trainee attorneys and °[filler]° that! was great fun
the trainee attorneys and that sort of thing it was great fun*
- 79 (0.1)
- 80 OP: ↓ja
↓yes
- 81 (0.5)
- 82 Int: ø:hm
u:hm
- 83 (2.0)
- 84 Int: men de ↑de! interesserede sig ikke så meget for dansk ↓litteratur
*but they ↑they! interested themselves not so much for Danish ↓literature
but they they weren't really interested in Danish literature*
- 85 (1.1)
- 86 OP: °ne:j men det° det er jo ↑også lidt forskel<ligt tror jeg >
°no: but that° that is [MP] ↑also little diffe <rent think I >
no but that that of course may vary I think
- 87 Int: < ha ha >
< ha ha >
- 88 Int: ja (0.2) °ja°
yes (0.2) °yes°
- 89 (0.3)
- 90 OP: °ø:h°
°u:h°
- 91 Int: men nu har! du så også den baggrund

*but now have! you [filler] also that background
but then of course you do have this background*

92 (0.6)

93 Int: me:d (0.4) <en far >
wi:th (0.4) <a father >
with (0.4) a father

94 OP: <↑ja ↓ja >
<↑yes ↓yes >

95 Int: der er præst (0.2) det er måske også: altså
who is pastor (0.2) that is maybe also: [filler]
who is a pastor (0.2) that's also maybe like

96 (0.9)

97 Int: atypisk eller det ved jeg ikke
atypical or that know I not
atypical or I don't know

98 øh v- hvad man kan sige
uh w- what you can say
uh what you could say

99 (0.7)

100 OP: f- < og så blive advokat > bagefter eller ↑hvad ha
f- < and then become lawyer > afterwards or ↑what ha
and then become a lawyer afterwards or wha-

101 Int: <der er da ikke mange der >
<there are [MP] not many who >
after all there aren't many who

102 (0.2)

103 Int: nej men der er jo ikke mange der ↑har (0.2) altså det ↑er!
no but there are [MP] not many who ↑have (0.2) [filler] it ↑is!
no but there aren't many after all who have (0.2) like

104 i hvert fald en lidt specielt baggrund med en

*in any case a little special background with a
in any case what could be called a special background with a*

105 (0.8)

106 Int: med en far der er ↓præst
with a father who is ↓pastor
with a father who is a pastor

After this and for the rest of the interview, they continue discussing the role of the pastor in society and how or whether this has influenced OP (another 1 minute and 27 seconds).

As will be shown in the following, mutual attentiveness and positivity seem to be built up in the beginning of Excerpt 5.2, which is close to the very end of the interview with Lisa and OP – thus, at least, two of the three components constituting the basis of rapport. However, I will argue that the excerpt can be split into two halves as something happens around line 49 where the interaction starts to go in quite a different direction than it seems to be going in the beginning. Thus, the components of rapport are almost present at the beginning but, then, get "sabotaged" at the crucial point where the second part begins. Moreover, the crucial point in the excerpt gives rise to a discussion of the sufficiency of the three components as basis for rapport.

The first component of rapport – mutual attentiveness – is displayed in Excerpt 5.2 when Lisa uses her knowledge about OP from the previous interview with him from the 1980s (l. 1-2) and reminds OP that, back then, he said he was interested in Danish literature. As he has still not replied after 1.4 seconds, she specifies "i gymnasiet" (l. 4; *in high school*), which overlaps with OP beginning his confirmation of her statement (l. 5+6). Lisa then asks if he still is. OP audibly breathes in and, after 0.4 seconds of this, Lisa expands her question (l. 10) to give another candidate answer, which opens up for other responses to be preferred (Pomerantz, 1988) and not only a confirmation, which was the preferred response to Lisa's first formulation (l. 8; more about preference in 6.1 below). Furthermore, Lisa's continuers (l. 13+15+17+32+42) and another question on the topic (l. 26) also show attentiveness. Moreover, in line 36-38, Lisa shows attentiveness when offering another explanation for OP's interest in literature when she infers that OP's father, who was a pastor, was likely also to have been interested in literature. OP confirms this (l. 40) after a short break (l. 41) and, in general, OP's thorough answer (elaborated from l. 11 to l. 48) to Lisa's topic initiation proves that the attentiveness is mutual.

The second component of rapport – positivity – is displayed by OP when he repeatedly (l. 23-24) confirms Lisa's statement about his interest in literature (l. 1-2+8). OP displays that the response he gives is dispreferred through his repeated confirmations of his interest in literature and his relatively elaborate reply (l. 11-19), which he even repeats the essential parts of in l. 46-48. Lisa's comment in line 20 ("det er svært at finde tid til"; *it is hard to find time for*) affiliates with the stance implied in OP's response and is quickly confirmed by OP (l. 21), which proves that the positivity is mutual here. Furthermore, Lisa's comment explains OP's replies and, thereby, she also does face-work on

behalf of both of them; she affiliates with OP's reasons for giving a dispreferred response and makes up for her question, which caused the dispreferred reply (more about preference in 6.1).

The third component of rapport – coordination – is not very pronounced in this excerpt. Actually, Capella (1990) questions whether coordination is at all a necessity to achieve rapport. I would rather call it a matter of degrees. Excerpt 5.2 would be an instance in which coordination is only pronounced to a smaller degree compared to the coordination in, for instance, Excerpt 5.1. However, compared with other passages in Lisa's interview with OP, it does seem they are more coordinated in this part. For instance, they have a shared laugh (l. 28+29), which they initiate almost simultaneously. Moreover, OP's voice is audibly softer at the beginning of this sequence compared to other parts of the interview, which makes him sound more obliging – thus, positive and coordinated – and more like Lisa's voice. Lisa's voice is rather soft – even more so in this sequence – which makes their interaction more coordinated and accommodating than in other passages when OP has a tendency to speak with a significantly louder voice than Lisa. Overall, I do not agree with Capella (1990); I would not go as far as to say that something completely uncoordinated could still be an instance of rapport; thus, I do see coordination as a compulsory element. As mentioned in 5.3.1, Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) note that the degree to which the components are present influences how likely it is that rapport will be felt in a given situation. As it is, rather, the lack of coordination in other parts of this interview which confirms some degree of coordination in the beginning of Excerpt 5.2, coordination naturally cannot be said to be present to a very high degree – although, perhaps, it is about as high as it gets between the two.

Thus, overall, in the first part of Excerpt 5.2, they both display mutual attentiveness, they give positive responses to each other, and their interaction seems more coordinated than in many other parts of their interaction. They also carry out careful face-work. Despite all this, the positive atmosphere suddenly seems to suffer a crucial rupture, which shows in OP's reaction to Lisa's turns (l. 49-54), starting in line 55 (overlapping with Lisa in line 54). Lisa's turns could be heard as another piece of work for the maintenance of OP's face (such as, e.g., line 20) as she displays empathy with OP's explanation of why he does not get to read a lot anymore. She infers that he is in a very different world than the world of literature and, thus, validates and justifies his statement about not reading very much anymore (l. 48). The inference is presented with an intonation, which signals that she ends her turn in line 52 (Steensig, 2001, p. 116; cf. decreased volume and prolongation of the final stressed syllable), and the pause afterwards leaves room for OP to take the floor (l. 53). After 0.8 seconds when OP has not taken the turn, Lisa specifies that she refers to OP's everyday life, which I, in this context, understand as a reference to his work life (l. 54). OP, then, starts his turn (l. 55) in an overlap with Lisa's specification. It is clear from OP's reply in l. 55 that he does not understand Lisa's inference as affiliating with and supporting the maintenance of his face but, rather, the opposite. He rejects her stance by stating she is very into his world being different (I believe he is referring to a sequence in the beginning of the interview to which I return to below). Furthermore, irritation can be detected in his voice. After this, Lisa withdraws verbally from the conversation (l. 55-65) despite several relatively long pauses in which she could have taken the turn (l. 60+63+65). Especially, the final comment in OP's turn (l. 64; "ellers er det et fattigt liv hh"; *otherwise it's a poor life hh*) certainly invites a confirmation or stance-taking of

some kind, which makes the pauses noteworthy long (l. 65+67). After the pause in line 65, she finally says “ja” (*yes*), although only after 1.6 seconds and in a lowered voice. After another 1.9 seconds, she says "ja" again in a normal volume with rising intonation. Generally, Lisa replies rather quickly. Therefore, it is quite noticeable that she does not say anything in this sequence even though there are at least two somewhat long pauses (l. 60 and 63, 1.4 and 3.0 seconds, respectively) in which she could have taken the turn.

Mutual attentiveness cannot be detected in the turns succeeding the lines in which Lisa withdraws verbally from the interaction (l. 55-65) and OP keeps taking the turn after the pauses during which Lisa could have taken the turn. The latter also makes the interaction uncoordinated: After several of the turns, it seems uncertain who the next speaker is, and long silences arise (l. 60-65). Furthermore, positivity could possibly be said to suffer a rupture in this sequence; however, as noted above, Lisa's turn (l. 49-54) could be understood as affiliating as her turn in l. 20 (and, possibly, also l. 36, where she suggests that OP's father was probably also interested in literature). Therefore, it seems that it is not only a lack of positivity which appears at this crucial point – it is even more than the loss of all three displayed components of rapport which occurs at this point. In the following, I cautiously suggest that an admittedly very complex term such as understanding may elaborate what it is that happens in this sequence.

In fact, Fogtman (2007, p. 269) notes that interactants must experience that they understand one another to a certain degree for rapport to be achieved. However, Fogtman (*ibid.*, p. 269) does not include this as a separate component of rapport; neither do I, as I find that it has another status than the displayed components described in 5.3.1. Understanding – in the literal sense – is not displayed the way mutual attentiveness, positivity, and coordination can be; as rapport itself, it is mental, which makes it difficult to capture interactionally since understanding is usually only addressed explicitly in cases of misunderstandings or non-understandings (on a dialogical review of misunderstandings and non-understandings, see Rathje (2004)).

I agree that an experience of literally understanding one another to a certain degree is a necessary condition for the experience of rapport to occur – at least, if a non-understanding or misunderstanding becomes obvious in an interaction, it seems less likely that the interactants will experience rapport. But it is not so much a discrepancy between their literal understandings of what Lisa says, which I find to point to something crucial in this instance. It rather seems to be their understanding of what Lisa is *doing* with her turn, the function of it, which is discrepant. As hinted at in the above, it seems that Lisa and OP make something very different of Lisa's turn (l. 49-54) as displayed in OP's reaction (starting l. 55) and Lisa's verbal withdrawal from the conversation (l. 55-65). In the following, I will argue how it seems that Lisa and OP have different understandings of what Lisa's turn does in the sequence and why this influences the establishment of rapport.

It seems probable that OP does not hear Lisa specifying that she refers to his work life as his own speech overlaps with her specifying increment (l. 54); at least, he does not display making changes in what he starts out saying in l. 55; there are, e.g., no pauses, no hesitation, and no direct address to Lisa's increment, which could reveal that he sees Lisa's increment as a mitigating factor. Moreover,

as mentioned, Lisa presents her inference: “nej du er også bare i en i en (0.5) i en anden verden” (l. 49-52; *no you are just in a in a (0.5) in another world*) with an intonation which could signal an end point of her turn (Steensig, 2001, p. 116; cf. above). Thus, as OP does not hear the increment in which she specifies her object of reference, it could seem that he takes her inference to be about both his work life and private life. This interpretation makes Lisa's inference quite an intrusion into OP's epistemic or knowledge domain (e.g. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Sacks, 1984) and could very well account for OP being upset. OP has the primacy in knowing about his work life and, certainly, his private life. This is further substantiated as OP enquires about Lisa's actual knowledge about lawyers (l. 70). However, when opposing Lisa's claim about him and his life, OP himself makes a claim about Lisa (l. 61-62). This claim is unmistakably disaffiliating, whereas Lisa's claim, as shown, very likely was meant as another exclamation displaying affiliation, like her prior turns (l. 20 + 36-38). However, OP's reaction displays a contrasting understanding of the function of Lisa's turn: OP reacts to it as if the turn has a disaffiliating function; he displays a strong disagreement with the position he understands Lisa's turn to display. Possibly, Lisa's verbal withdrawal (l. 55-65) and delay in response (l. 65-69) to OP's response can be seen as signs that Lisa did not anticipate OP's reaction and, therefore, is surprised. Besides surprise, Lisa's delay in reaction could also display that she may be at a loss about how to react to and how to continue after this obviously face-threatening act in which OP has told Lisa rather directly that she is mistaken. The hitherto cooperative interaction with a display of positivity and face-saving acts is replaced by an explicit critique expressed by OP about the stance he finds Lisa to take in the discussion – thus, a direct face-threatening act, which is met by silence and hesitation by Lisa.

Thus, it is not merely the spoiled positivity and the lack of mutual attentiveness and coordination which dissolve the opportunity for rapport in this instance. It is also the mutual understanding of what they are doing with their turns in this sequence, their shared project, which reveals itself to be less intersubjective than it seemed in the beginning of the excerpt. It seems that Lisa thinks they agree that there are numerous reasons that OP does not read Danish literature as he did in high school, and Lisa volunteers various reasons for this; however, her last reason is not heard as affiliating by OP, who treats it as the opposite. Such a breach in each of the interactants' understanding of what they are building up together influences whether rapport is established as it is unlikely that they will feel a special connection with their interactional partner (cf. my definition of rapport in 5.3.1) if it becomes obvious that they do not have the same understanding of what they are doing in a given sequence.

One thing possibly indicates that Lisa might be aware that her inference is potentially problematic: The fact that she pauses and repeats several of the words (l. 50-54) displays uncertainty – at least, as to how she should formulate her point. She does downgrade what she is stating by including “bare” (l. 50; *just*) in her formulation, which could be yet another underlining of the fact that she intrudes on OP. Her doubts might be further increased by the absence of a reply by OP in the 0.8 seconds pause (l. 53), which makes her elaborate on her point (l. 54; “i din i din hverdag” (*in your in your everyday life*)). However, her surprise does not suggest that she should have expected anything but a positive response.

OP's rejection of Lisa's inference could be associated with earlier themes in their interaction. The fact is that this theme of different types of people (sorted according to occupation or interest) has come up several times during the interview – for instance, when they discuss lawyers as opposed to pastors (e.g., l. 142-181 in Appendix B, (0:07:34-0:09:22); l. 613-676 in Appendix B (0:31:16-0:34:33)). Already in the beginning of the interview when the theme is brought up for the first time, OP – although initially confirming that he and his brother, who is a pastor, have very different interests when it comes to work life (l. 142-163 in Appendix B) – rejects the idea of pastors and lawyers having different fields of interests in general (l. 178-181 in Appendix B). Thus, it seems OP makes several attempts throughout the interview to break out of a category into which Lisa seems to be putting him: A category of lawyers and what they do or do not do (cf. the mentioned examples; for instance, Blommaert (2005, p. 205) refers to such social categorisation as 'othering'). This reason for OP's reaction to Lisa's inference also seems to be confirmed in the theme of the rest of the interview after OP has asked about Lisa's background for her inference (l. 70; "kender du mange advokater"; *do you know many lawyers*): First, they continue the discussion of whether an interest in literature is compatible with being a lawyer; then, they – again – discuss whether it is a special background to have a father who is pastor and whether or not a pastor has a special influence on the local society (initiated by Lisa in l. 91 in Excerpt 5.2 and continuing for the rest of the interview).

It could be noted that there is a difference in their commitments to the situation in general. OP is in a powerful position to give a complaint in this situation: He has less at stake than Lisa. Lisa is, in practice, the one who is asking OP to render her a service: To participate in the interview. Furthermore, she is not only present as a private person, she is a representative of an institution, and she is carrying out a job on behalf of a research centre, which depends on the outcome of her work. Thus, the interview could be expected to be carried through on his terms and that she would act politely and gratefully no matter what the interview brings. However, I think it is quite obvious that Lisa cannot act strictly professionally in this case: The pauses and her lowered voice display (or rather 'give off' as Goffman (1959) would put it) that her personal face has been affected by this instance and that she does not have a professional tool for moving on in the interview quickly.

As demonstrated, it seems there is a discrepancy in the interactants's understanding of what a certain turn *does* in the sequence which changes the situation rather dramatically from being quite harmonious with the establishment of both mutual attentiveness, positivity, and some degree of coordination into a mere monologue – at least, in 11 lines (l. 55-65) – involving a direct face-threatening act. Therefore, it can be discussed whether the three components alone constitute the basis for rapport. From Excerpt 5.2, it seems that mutual understanding in the sense that the interactants experience that their turns in a sequence work in the same direction might also have an influence on the relationship established between two interactants – especially when it is revealed that such mutual understanding cannot be taken for granted. Furthermore, it seems that careful face work is a necessary condition for rapport to be established, which becomes obvious when faces are threatened – and is reacted to as such (unlike the Excerpt in 5.3.4 in which KK did not treat a potentially face-threatening act by Lisa as a case of face loss). I do not mean to suggest that mutual understanding of the direction and aim of a given sequence as well as face-work are components

equal to the three components described as the basis of rapport in 5.3.1 – e.g., these three components are all displayed. Rather, I argue that, if mutual understanding is obviously broken or if faces are threatened, it will work against the establishment of rapport. These latter two conditions must be taken for granted – if challenged directly, a special connection with an interactional partner like rapport will not occur.

It is Lisa's interview style to assess, comment, and give suggestions (more about this in Chapter 7), but it does not seem to work with OP, who wants neither to be seen through nor to open up his personal life. OP displays a resistance to the categories which Lisa seems to be putting him in and based on which she comments and asks questions. Both Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 clearly show how the interplay between the informant and the interviewer affects the outcome of an interview – and confirms that the interviewer has a powerful key to angle the interview (consciously or not) and, thus, plays a crucial role in setting the framework for an interview and what it can contain.

5.3.6 The usability of the operationalisation of rapport

The operationalization of the term 'rapport' was my way to study the relationship between the informant and the interviewer, which both of the two interviewers in the present study stressed as important for a good sociolinguistic interview. Defining and operationalising rapport is not an easy task and objections should be expected. However difficult it is to grasp, the importance of rapport should not be underestimated. The importance of rapport is certainly clear in a study such as Fogtman's (2007) in which one of the interactants has a gatekeeper function and the study of the interaction indicates that the establishment of rapport is crucial for the outcome of the gatekeeping. In the present study, I cannot prove direct causality between the establishment of rapport and a subsequent evaluation of the interview as "good" or "bad" by the interviewer; however, I suggest that there is such a relation, and I find that the analyses of the "telling cases" in Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 show that the basis for rapport is present in the case from Lisa's best interview but is spoiled in her worst interview.

As mentioned in 5.3 and 5.3.1 above, I see rapport as something that can be achieved in some sequences of an interaction in which all the three components are present, and the feeling of rapport can then disappear or simply not be established in other sequences. However, I will cautiously suggest that, despite this intermittent nature of rapport, the interviews in which it is achieved – or, perhaps, even more so the interviews in which rapport is spoiled – may be more likely to be recollected by the interviewers; this could, possibly, be due to the emotional significance of rapport (at least, research in memory confirms a strong connection to emotions/affect and that "affect tends to empower memory", cf. Leichtman, Ceci & Ornstein (1992, p. 194)). At least, it is curious that the interview Lisa remembers best and refers to most is her interview with OP and how awkward it was even though the interview was mainly about the good sociolinguistic interview. Thus, rapport and the relationship between the informant and the interviewer in general seem to be important factors for the evaluation of the interviewers.

In the last section of this chapter, I conclude the studies of rapport as well as the other points made by the two interviewers in the present study (cf. 5. above).

5.4 Conclusion

The first point mentioned in 5. above emphasised by both of the interviewers as an important aim for the good sociolinguistic interview is that the informant should speak more than the interviewer. In contrast to this, they also point out – as stated in the second point in 5. – that they sometimes had to speak to make the informants open up. Looking into simple word counts of each of the speakers in the interviews which the interviewers have pointed out as their best and worst shows there is a tendency for the interviewers to speak more in their worst interviews. However, comparing their two best and worst interviews with the seven other interviews remembered as either good or bad by the interviewers makes the picture less clear. Altogether, the word counts in Tables 5.1a and 5.1b do not unambiguously support the hypothesis that interviewers speak more in what they afterwards think of as a bad interview than in an interview they later evaluate as good. The conclusion from the study in 5.1 is that it seems that the distribution of words between the speakers does not determine how the interviewers evaluate the interview afterwards.

The second and third points mentioned by the interviewers (cf. 5. above) are about opening up the informants. I look into this in terms of initiatives. I see both the topic analyses inspired by Svennevig (1999) and looking into the number of interviewer questions as useful ways to study initiatives. Thus, the qualitative analysis of topics in the interviews and the counts of topic shifts, topic coherence (5.2.1.5), and interviewer questions (5.2.2) constitute the study of whether the interviewers succeed in making the informant open up.

As defined in 4.2 above, opening up an informant is not only a matter of the informants taking initiatives rather than the interviewers. Opening up the informant certainly also has to do with the content of the interview: Whether the informants are willing to talk about topics in great detail and give reflections which they would not usually confide to strangers. Thus, a qualitative study of the topics in the interviews is necessary to state whether the interaction achieves this qualitative goal. In 5.2.1.6, it was clear that both of the interviewers' best interviews can be said to be successful in terms of topics – although in rather different ways! – and that the worst two interviews are not successful when looking at topics – yet again, in different ways. Thus, all four interviews are, in fact, quite different when it comes to topics.

Altogether, the studies of initiatives show differences between the best and the worst interviews in the present study, and the results also point to clear differences between the two interviewers.

The interviewers' fourth point in 5. is about the relationship between the interviewer and the informant. In the beginning of this part (5.3), I asked whether rapport seems to be achieved better in the interviews described as the best compared to the worst according to the interviewers. Based on the qualitative analyses of the two excerpts in 5.3.4 and 5.3.5, my answer is that it seems that

rapport is established better in Lisa's best interview compared with Lisa's worst interview. Indeed, two interviews are a small data sample on which to base broader conclusions, although, as stated in the beginning of the analyses, I find the two excerpts to be telling cases (cf. 5.3.4). The results imply that it would be interesting to do more qualitative studies of interviews evaluated as good and bad by the interviewer to determine whether there seems to be a clear connection between the interviewer's relationship to the informant and her/his evaluation of the interview – I find it likely that there is.

Comparing the interviewers' points about the good sociolinguistic interview and what actually happens in their best and worst interviews reveal a great complexity. Each of the four interviews studied most intensely in this chapter are, in fact, quite different. Obviously, this should be expected from a dialogical point of view: No two conversations can be expected to be essentially alike. However, I still find that several of the studies support the claim that, in various ways, the two best interviews have more similarities with one another than with the two worst interviews. Yet, the complex insight is that, even though the best interviews are successful in several aspects, whereas the worst interviews fail in these, it turns out that success and failure are not just one thing. A consequence of this, naturally, is that it is not a straightforward task to judge whether the interviewers do what they state is characteristic for a good sociolinguistic interview. In fact, based on the studies above, I cannot clearly conclude that the interviewers follow their four retrospectively stated points about the good sociolinguistic interview which I have studied in this chapter. This does not mean the interviewers are being inconsistent with their own goals – rather, every interview is a new situation, a new context, and it is possibly simplifying it too much to try to state that the interviewers do or do not follow the four points they stressed about the good sociolinguistic interview. Each of the studies above contributes nuances and to the conclusion that it is all quite complex. And qualitative studies will reveal what is at play in each of the interviews.

Naturally, my summation of the interviewers' points about the good sociolinguistic interview is also simplified. I stressed the points given by both of the interviewers in my interviews with each of them, but – as I imply in my introduction – the interviewer's role in the outcome of an interview should not be underestimated. Thus, I should not pretend that my own questions did not play a great part in selecting the points given by the interviewers. Despite my loose, semi-structured interview (cf. 3.3) and aim at asking open questions, it would be naïve and against my initial point of the thesis to claim that I did not influence the interviews on which the points studied in this chapter are based.

So far, I have been seeking answers to the first cluster of research questions posed in the introduction, i.e., how the two interviewers behave in the sociolinguistic interviews they point out as their good or bad interviews and how this relates to their own ideals for the good sociolinguistic interview. In the next chapter, I focus on the first part of the question. I study a difference I find particularly noteworthy in the best and worst interviews conducted by the female interviewer when looking into her interview without letting my attention be guided by the interviewers' own points as in this chapter.

6. Analysing the actual "text"

In the preceding chapter, I have studied how the interviewers' characterization of a good interview correlates with the actual interviews. In the following, I will study what leaps to the eye when looking at the interviews in themselves, regardless of the interviewers' own comments on the interviews. Thus, I look at the "text" on its own. In this process, I use the classic conversation analytic (CA) approach, the so-called 'unmotivated looking' as discussed in the introduction to this part of the thesis (see Part II.B above).

Looking into the female interviewer's best and worst interview inductively, a noteworthy difference between the interviews emerged. It seemed that there was an obvious difference in the frequency of specific structures which are preferred and dispreferred. This inductively found difference is the basis for the study in this chapter. Thus, the female interviewer's best and worst interview are the objects of study, and the focus is on the difference between the two interviews.

In 5.3 above, I studied the term rapport, which is inseparable from emotions, and, therefore, I necessarily went beyond the explicit limits of both pure and applied CA (cf. 5.3.3). In this chapter, I use CA in the applied version (unless otherwise is stated). I study sequentiality and use several CA terms (e.g., preference and assessments). However, the analyses differ from many CA studies in one aspect: In CA studies, the collection of examples often constitutes the delimitation of the phenomenon being studied. In the present study, I have found the phenomenon inductively – as in most CA studies – but I have, then, formulated a definition based on the examples found and let that definition determine whether more examples should be included or some examples excluded from the collection if they were different from the rest of the examples. I find it the only way to avoid overlooking examples – and, furthermore, the only way to be consistent with the examples.

First, in 6.1, I explore the term preference. In 6.2, assessments are defined, and preferred and dispreferred responses to interviewer assessments are studied. The studies make it clear how preference and dispreference constitute a difference in Lisa's best and worst interview. In 6.3, I study how next turn repair initiators constitute a similar difference between the two interviews. Finally, I conclude in 6.4.

6.1 Preference

Schegloff (1988, pp. 453-455) distinguishes between structure-based preference and practice-based preference. The first is based on both adjacency pairs and studies which show that a first pair part projects a preferred next action – thus, a preferred response (e.g. Sacks, 1987); the latter use of the word preference is about how the participants enact a response in a preferred or dispreferred way (e.g. Heritage, 2012; Pomerantz, 1984). Boyle (2000) remarks that initial actions can be said to be dispreferred just as responses can be (more about that in 6.2.2 below).

In the following study, my point of departure is the structure-based preference. A preferred response is a way to align with the first pair part in an adjacency pair, whereas a dispreferred next action is a way to distance oneself from the proposition in a preceding turn (Schegloff, 2007, p. 59). However, I also look into their practice-based preference to see whether the design of any of the responses is particularly problematic.

Studies show that there is a preference for agreement (e.g. Pomerantz, 1984; Raymond, 2003; Sacks, 1987; Steensig & Drew, 2008), contiguity (Sacks, 1987), and self-repair (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Kitzinger, 2013; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Preference for agreement struck me as relevant in the present study as I found that dispreferred responses to the female interviewer's assessments seemed more frequent in her worst interview than in her best interview. The reason I find agreement to be particularly relevant in general is because it reveals the stance-taking towards the other (Hakulinen & Sorjonen, 2011; Stivers, 2008). A speaker reveals her/his stance towards given topics when speaking, and other participants can, then, show that they take the same stance by expressing agreement. Regarding preference for contiguity, I noted that next turn repair initiators as responses to the interviewer's questions appeared to be more frequent in Lisa's worst interview compared to Lisa's best interview, which I see as a sign of the contiguity being more "challenged" in Lisa's worst interview than in her best interview. In my study of next turn repair initiators, I will also touch on the preference for self-repair.

In many studies, it is between the lines that the dispreferred actions are more uncomfortable than the preferred actions (e.g. Heritage, 1984, p. 268; Pomerantz, 1984, p. 77; Schegloff, 2007), but only very few to my knowledge have studied it empirically in the scope of a whole conversation or situation. The exceptions are Fogtman (2007) and Fosgerau (2013). Naturally, pure CA would not study this; however, one could wonder why there are not more of these studies within applied CA as the evaluation of an entire situation is crucial in many contexts (e.g., job interviews). However, Heritage (1984, 2009) discusses the term social solidarity and connects this to preference when he states that "dispreferred format responses are largely destructive of social solidarity" (Heritage, 1984, p. 268). I suggest that, in a situation in which face-work would be expected (cf. 5.3.2) – like in the interviews in the present study – several dispreferred responses may be experienced as reluctance or lack of co-operativeness and have the potential to influence the interviewer's thoughts on the interview afterwards so that s/he is likely to assess it as a bad interview. Moreover, the practice-based use of the term preference may reveal how "bad" or uncooperative the dispreference may feel: A dispreferred response in a dispreferred practice-based design is not as bad as a dispreferred response performed in a preferred design. In the latter case, the response does not show any sign of acknowledgement of the response being dispreferred, whereas cases where the dispreferred response is designed as such at least acknowledges the dispreference of the response and thus may be experienced as less uncomfortable and less destructive of the social solidarity.

I think it likely that the interviewers' evaluation of an interview is – among other things – influenced by the way an informant has responded to her/his contributions; certainly, it is bound to have an influence on how the interviewer has felt in the situation in general. Indeed, I believe the responses of the informant show whether the informant is relaxed, has confidence in the

interviewer, and is thereby willing to open up which was an important point according to the interviewers (cf. 5. above).

In the following – due to the given empirical observations – I study structure-based preferred and dispreferred responses to two specified assessments (6.2) and next turn repair initiators as responses to the interviewer's questions (6.3) in Lisa's best and worst interview. I conclude in 6.4.

6.2 Assessments

Pomerantz (1984, p. 57) states that “with an assessment, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing.” However, in the data of the present study, the female interviewer often assesses the events the informants relate – i.e., the interviewer evaluates events she has not experienced first-hand. This is potentially problematic in terms of epistemics and who has the right to assess which events (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). However, assessments are a way for the informant and the interviewer to position themselves and take a stance relative to the other on a reported experience (Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Schegloff, 2007; Stivers, 2008). As Stivers (2008, p. 31) explains, “the teller provides the recipient with ‘access’ to an event and to the teller’s stance toward the event” and, thus, makes it possible for the listener to align or even affiliate³⁴ with the teller. Pomerantz (1984) shows that the structure of a first assessment may make one next action more preferable than another and that agreement is very often the preferred next action (exceptions are, for instance, self-deprecations (ibid.) and, as Schegloff (2007, p. 60) mentions, some types of offers have a preference for rejection).

Studying the data inductively, the informant's response to the interviewer's assessments struck me as a point where Lisa's best and worst interviews differ: They are distinct in the way the informant typically reacts to the interviewer's assessments of an event which only the informant has experienced first-hand. This is the reason I make these two interviews a special case study.

Stivers (2008) suggests there is a preference for affiliating with the position expressed by the teller when reporting an event. Naturally, it depends on the assessment of the interviewer whether the informant expresses agreement with it. In fact, Heritage (2002, p. 331) notes that it benefits a personal relationship to the informant if the interviewer follows the principle of recipient design, i.e., formulates the questions according to the specific informant and context. Thus, agreement depends on both the interviewer and the informant. On the one hand, it depends on the interviewer's skills in understanding what stance would be appropriate to express (or, rather, the skill to express the stance which has the effect wanted by the interviewer as s/he may, in some cases, want to provoke the informant; cf. 4. above). On the other hand, it depends on the informant's willingness to

³⁴ Steensig & Drew (2008, p. 9) note that the terms alignment and affiliation are used interchangeably. However, Stivers (2008) and Steensig & Larsen (2008) argue for a distinction between alignment and affiliation. Stivers (ibid.) illustrates the difference by showing that “vocal continuers” by the listener expresses alignment, i.e., agreement with the activity; whereas, when the listener nods, s/he expresses affiliation with the storyteller's stance toward the reported event. Naturally, in my audio data, it is not an option to demonstrate achieved affiliation by something non-verbal such as a nod; however, I still find it relevant to distinguish between aligning with an activity and expressing affiliation with a storyteller's stance and, as already shown in 5.3, I find that affiliation can also be expressed verbally.

agree and, possibly, co-operate; despite agreeing or disagreeing, there might be a personal preference for the informant to express something else in particular cases.

It is the informant's response to the interviewer's assessment of the report that is of primary interest here as I believe this may have an influence on the interviewer's experience of the interview as a whole and how she feels about the relationship to the informant. In fact, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000) hints at the importance of the interviewer's reactions to the informant when she states about the personal interview style (cf. 4.3) that:

[T]he interactional features that constitute a personal interview style are to be found in the interviewer's reactions to the respondents' answers.

(Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000, p. 130)

The fact that interviewer assessments occur in the sociolinguistic interviews in the present data is one thing that distinguishes them from other types of interviews. As Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 131) summarises, studies show that, at least in survey interviews, interviewers tend to refrain from assessing the replies to their questions. Some theorists of interview methodology even discourage interviewers to evaluate the things which the informants relate (e.g. "nonjudgemental" in Fowler & Mangione, 1990, p. 64). However, in a study by Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000) in which the interviewers have been picked for their "warm, friendly, and personal" (ibid. p. 129) interview style, the interviewers make noticeably many assessments. This could make you wonder whether it is, in fact, the assessments which make it possible for the interviewers to perform a 'warm, friendly, and personal' interview style.

Fogtmann (2007) also stresses the importance of the responses in third turn for the interviewer's subsequent evaluation of the interaction. As I study factors which may influence how the interviewer experiences the interview, I stick to the perspective of the interviewer and, thus, limit myself only to study how the interviewer's assessments are responded to, that is, how the interviewer's own contribution results in a given response by the informant.

Furthermore, it seems likely that it influences someone's assessment of whether they feel understood or not; naturally, the importance of feeling understood goes for the informants as well. The most direct way for the informant to know how their talk is understood is, naturally, in the interviewer's verbal and non-verbal responses. Stivers (2008, p. 32) remarks that storytelling makes it relevant for the listener to take a stance. Heritage (2011, p. 160) finds that, when it comes to reported experiences of emotive intensity, the listener is morally obligated to affiliate with the stance of the person who has experienced them. Moreover, Stivers (2008, p. 33) uses Sacks (1974) and Jefferson (1978) to argue that the preferred stance to be taken by the listener is the one that mirrors the storyteller's stance. Thus, the preferred action for the interviewer in response to the informant's story is to express agreement with the informant's stance.

Similarly, it is my impression that, especially, the female interviewer Lisa often displays agreement with the informant's stance by expressing the informant's stance in another way; the successive

response by the informant, then, often shows whether the interviewer “has got it right” according to the informant. It seems that Lisa's assessments are more often understood as affiliating with the informant's stance in her best interview than in her worst interview. Furthermore, a reason it seems there are generally more affiliating responses in the good interviews compared with the bad interviews might be that the good interviews touch upon more personal issues in which case it would be impolite and insensitive of the interviewer not to affiliate. In contrast, in cases in which the topics are less personal (as is the case in Lisa's worst interview), the interviewer can choose to make the informant talk by provoking her/him instead of affiliating with her/his stance in a given matter. Thus, affiliation is clearly connected as demonstrated in the analyses of rapport in 5.3 above.

In 6.2.1, I define the term ‘assessment’ and account for which examples I look into. In 6.2.2 I make Lisa's best and worst interview “telling cases”; as mentioned above, I find the assessments particularly interesting in these two interviews.

6.2.1 Defining assessments

The term assessment can be used about many statements. However, most studies of assessments do not give an actual definition of an assessment (e.g. Heritage, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984). As mentioned in 6. above, it is not in the methodology of CA to make definitions; rather, it is the examples in themselves which define and delimit a phenomenon. In Raymond & Heritage (2006, p. 681), the definition or, rather, limitation is “assessments (or evaluations) of state of affairs”. As an exception, Goodwin & Goodwin (1992) give an overview of the various uses of the term ‘assessment’ on different organisational levels. They (ibid.) specify that assessments can easily be grasped when phrased on a word level (cf. ‘assessment segment’) or have a very fluid delimitation when expressed, for instance, at the intonation level. Furthermore, assessments can be an action of a single person or an activity of multiple participants.

As mentioned, I do see the contradiction in applying an inductive approach and trying to make definitions. However, I think it is important after the inductive process to account for the characteristics of your collection of examples to clearly state what all the examples have in common – otherwise, anything could be gathered into a collection.

In the present study, I look into assessments which broadly fall into the categories described as ‘assessment activity’ by Goodwin & Goodwin (1992, pp. 154-156), sometimes initiated by an actual ‘assessment segment’ (e.g., as underlined in: “var du dygtig”; *were you good* (from l. 206 in Appendix A)). More specifically – as the response to the interviewer’s contributions has my particular interest (cf. 6.2) – I study assessments which are expressed by the interviewer and responded to by the informant. Moreover, I study assessments of events about which the interviewer is told and, thus, does not necessarily have first-hand experience with.

Studying the structure-based sense of the term preference (cf. 6.1), the preferred structure in the instances I study is that the interviewer takes a stance in her/his assessment which affiliates with the

position of the informant (Stivers, 2008) and, subsequently, the informant confirms or agrees with this interpretation in her/his response to the informant's assessment (Pomerantz, 1984). The dispreferred responses to assessments are cases in which the interviewer's assessment is disagreed with or, in other ways, treated as problematic by the informant in her or his response to the interviewer's assessment.

As mentioned in 6.1, practice-based preference is about the design of a given response and whether it is in accordance with its preference or dispreference in the context. If an informant acknowledges that a given response to an assessment is dispreferred by structuring the response as dispreferred (e.g., by delaying the response) it will probably seem less "destructive of social solidarity" (as Heritage (1984, p. 268) notes as a consequence of dispreference cf. 6.1) than if a dispreferred response to an assessment is designed as a preferred response. In the latter case, the response will seem more disaligned with the preceding turn than in the first case. However, the latter might also indicate that the informant found the interviewer's assessment to be disaligned and dispreferred (more about Boyle's (2000) observation of dispreferred initial actions in 6.2.2 below).

As mentioned in 6.2 above, the assessments in Lisa's best and worst interviews caught my attention. In fact, when studying the data in details, it turned out that the assessments could be said to fall into two specific categories determined by their content. In the following, I will define these two types of assessments. They can roughly be summarised as 1) assessing something as positive or negative and 2) assessing something as being either deviating from the norm or within what is considered standard or normal.

Assessing something as positive or negative

The first type can be defined as assessments in which the interviewer makes either a positive or a negative assessment of an event or of a person (present or absent) and/or his/her actions reported by the informant. Thus, I include examples in which the reported acts or statements of the informant her/himself are being assessed as well as examples in which the acts or conditions of people in the informant's life are being assessed; both assessing the things that are directly related to the informant and people who are close to her or him are acts which have the potential to make the interviewer affiliate with the informant's stories. However, these assessments also risk threatening the faces of those present. This category is illustrated in Ex. 6.1.

The interviewer's assessment is marked with a thin arrow → and the informant's response to the assessment is marked with a bold arrow ➔. Every line containing parts of an assessment is marked; thus, in some examples, there are several of one or both arrows.

Ex. 6.1

From Lisa's best interview (with KK). Time in interview: 0:19:58; l. 248-254 in Appendix A.

KK has told Lisa that her class in primary school was quite rebellious and did not treat the teachers very well.

1 Int: hvordan var det at de der lærere blev
how was it that those there teachers were
how were these teachers

2 (1.0)

3 Int: sådan (0.2) blev de blev de mobbet (0.2) decideret <mobbet>
[filler] (0.2) were they were they bullied (0.2) actually <bullied >
like (0.2) were they were they bullied (0.2) literally bullied

4 KK: < ja >
< yes >

5 KK: nogle blev mobbet ja
some were bullied yes

6 (1.2)

→ 7 Int: ej:
oh:

8 KK: det gjorde de ha
that were they ha
yes they were ha

9 (0.2)

→ 10 Int: det er frygteligt ha
that is terrible ha

→ 11 KK: ja ha ja det var! frygteligt
yes ha yes it was! terrible

In short, in Ex. 6.1, the interviewer assesses the actions of people related to the informant as negative (l. 10: "frygtelig"; *terrible*), and the informant responds with an agreement, even using the same word as the interviewer ("frygtelig") and mirroring her laugh. Thus, this is an example of the first category of assessments (evaluating something as positive or negative), which gets a preferred response.

Assessing something as standard or deviating

The second type of assessments I found in Lisa's best and worst interviews can be defined as cases in which the interviewer evaluates an act, condition, or event of which the informant has personally been part and the interviewer's assessment can be said to evaluate whether this deviates from the

norm or is just standard or normal.³⁵ I include examples in which it is acts, conditions, or events relating to the informant specifically or persons who have been in her or his life who are judged as either deviating or standard; I expect both to be potentially face-threatening (about face, see 5.3.2 above). Ex. 6.2 is an example of this category.

Ex. 6.2

From Lisa's worst interview (with OP). Time in interview: 0:15:23; l. 305-312 in Appendix B.

Prior to this, Lisa has reminded OP that he said in the previous interview which took place in the 1980s, that he had a girlfriend in upper secondary school [when pupils are approximately age 17]; this is what OP confirms in line 1.

1 OP: det er rigtig nok jeg kan godt øh jeg havde! en kæreste i: i anden G* ja
that is right enough I can well uh I had! a girlfriend i:n in second G yes*
that's right I can uh I did have a girlfriend in in the second year of "gymnasiet" yes*
*[*G = "gymnasiet", the last three years of secondary school]*

→ 2 Int: det var da også sådan °eller sådan° relativt tidligt at have en ↑kæreste
that was [MP] also [filler] °or [filler]° relatively early to have a ↑girlfriend
that was well also like or like relatively early to have a ↑girlfriend

3 (2.0) [sound of a bottle being opened]

→ 4 OP: ar:h er det ↑det
[exclamation] no: is it ↑that
no:t really is it?

→ 5 Int: ar:h men sådan
[exclamation] no: but [filler]
no: but like

6 (0.7) [sound of a bottle being placed on a table]

→ 7 OP: arh: ↑hva?
[exclamation] no ↑what
oh really

8 (1.2) [sound of something metallic being placed on a table]

9 Int: jah det kan godt være ha ☺det ikke er☺
yes that can very well be ha ☺it not is☺*

³⁵ Another example of differentiating for instance 'normality' is presented in the framework of SFL by Martin (2001).

yes well perhaps it isn't*

[* “yes” is pronounced in a deviating manner; one possible explanation could be that she displays a resistance to agree.]

→ 10 OP: hh (0.2) det vil jeg nu ikke sige (0.1) at det er relativt tidligt
hh (0.2) that would I [MP] not say (0.1) that it is relatively early
hh (0.2) well I wouldn't really say (0.1) that it's relatively young

In Ex. 6.2, the interviewer evaluates a condition of which the informant was personally part and assesses that it is relatively early to have a girlfriend in second year in high school. Thus, the interviewer assesses that the informant deviates from the standard of when in your life it is common to have a girlfriend. As is clear from the example, 'deviating' in this context also includes positive cases in which 'deviating' is rather meant as something 'exceptional', a compliment. However, the assessment is not agreed to by the informant. Thus, this is an example of the second category of assessments (evaluating something as deviating or standard) which get a dispreferred response.

I find that it makes sense to look at all assessments falling into the two types described above no matter their syntactic or intonational shape. As Heritage (2012) notes, declaratives can enact requests as well as interrogatives. Labov & Fanshel (2005, pp. 100-101) also observe that statements pronounced with declarative intonation may function as a request for confirmation.

In the following, I account for how assessments in the two categories are responded to in Lisa's best and worst interview, where they first attracted my attention.

6.2.2 The results: Interviewer assessments and how they are responded to

Having defined two types of assessments which seem to constitute a difference in Lisa's best and worst interview, I have made a collection of each of these assessment types and sorted them according to how they are responded to. Most of the interviewer's assessments are followed by a response by the informant; these responses can be divided into preferred and dispreferred responses (cf. 6.1). The preferred next action to an assessment is, usually, agreement (cf. 6.2). However, assessments and the following responses may develop as whole sequences, which may be a sign of dispreference following Sacks' (1987, p. 58) notes on contiguity. Only few assessments are not responded to (solely in the worst interview). The collections of assessments which fall into the two definitions given in 6.2.1 along with their responses and the contexts appear in Appendixes 5.a and 5.b.

Schegloff (1993) remarks that it does not always make sense to count the numbers of a given type of case (see a discussion by Schegloff (ibid.) in Haakana (2002)). Schegloff (ibid.) uses laughter to explain his point: Even though laughter could arguably be connected to sociability, it does not mean that a conversation with, for instance, four laughs per minute is more "sociable" than a conversation with one laugh per minute. Schegloff (ibid.) questions whether it is meaningful to relate laughter to time. Laughing is not something we do with a certain frequency; rather, we laugh when it is

appropriate in a conversation in terms of topic, stance-taking, relationship between the speakers, etc. Therefore, the number of cases of laughter should not be related to time but to the potential number of cases in which it would have been appropriate to laugh in a given conversation. Thus, the number of cases is only meaningful in relation to the potential number of the given case. Following this point, I have counted all the interviewer's assessments no matter how they are responded to by the informant, i.e., preferred or dispreferred responses as well as non-responses. The results for the two interviews are shown in Table 6.1a.

Table 6.1a

The type of response which Lisa's positive/negative and standard/deviating assessments receive in her best and worst interview.

Type of response:	Lisa's best interview (KK)			Lisa's worst interview (OP)		
	Preferred	Dispreferred	None	Preferred	Dispreferred	None
Positive/negative	14	2	0	4	8	2
Standard/deviating	10	0	0	4	6	0
Total	24	2	0	8	14	2

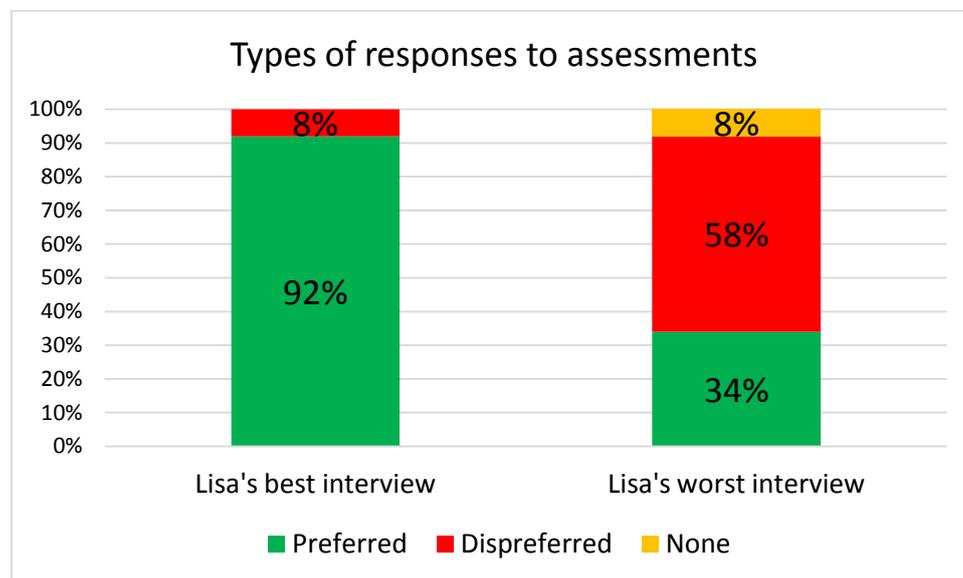
As shown in Table 6.1a, Lisa gives 26 assessments in total (following the definitions given in 6.2.1 above) in her best interview, whereas she gives 24 assessments in her worst interview. In the best interview, 24 of the 26 assessments are responded to with a preferred response, and 2 receive a dispreferred response. In Lisa's worst interview, 8 of the 24 assessments receive a preferred response and 14 a dispreferred; 2 are not responded to by the informant.

I do not mean to suggest that the number of preferred or dispreferred responses in one interview is comparable to the number of cases in another interview – if the duration of the interviews had been different, the exact numbers could have been different as well. However, I find it relevant to compare the share of preferred responses to the share of other responses in the same interview as well as in another interview since tendencies in responses might influence the interviewer's overall impression and, thus, her evaluation of the interviews. Such a comparison is in accordance with Schegloff's (1993) methodological reflections described above as the potential number is taken into account.

My main interest is the interviewer's assessments which receive a verbal preferred or dispreferred response by the informant. And, even though the assessments which caught my attention in Lisa's interviews can be defined in two different categories (cf. 6.2.1), I do not find them significant separately. What I find relevant to analyse are the percentages of preferred and dispreferred responses to both the assessment types relative to the potential numbers. These are shown in Table 6.1b.

Table 6.1b

The share of Lisa's assessments which receive a preferred response, a dispreferred response, or no response (none) in Lisa's best and worst interviews (based on the totals given in Table 6.1a above).



As is clear from Table 6.1b, Lisa's assessments in her best interview receive more preferred responses than her assessments in her worst interview. In Lisa's best interview, 92% of her assessments receive a preferred response and 8% a dispreferred response. In Lisa's worst interviews, only 34% of her assessments are responded to in a preferred way and more than half of them (58%) receive a dispreferred response.

In the following, I reflect on the percentages in Table 6.1b. However, in the dialogical spirit, I begin by stressing the importance of the context for the results in Table 6.1b. As mentioned, Boyle (2000, p. 589) notes it is not only responses which can be dispreferred, initial actions can also be dispreferred. As some informants respond to anything they are asked (and do not take any initial actions (i.e., questions or the like) as dispreferred), then it seems that, as a starting point, the interviewer is entitled to ask anything in some cases; whereas, in other interviews, the informant indicates in his/her responses that some interviewer questions are dispreferred. This may be part of the explanation for the many dispreferred responses in Lisa's worst interview compared to her best interview.

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that the assessments themselves are, in fact, also a type of response: At least, most of them are direct reactions to stories and reflections uttered by the informant. Thus, an informant's response to an interviewer's assessment naturally depends on whether the interviewer's assessment is aligned with the stance expressed in the informant's initial statement or not. The informant's reactions to the interviewer's assessment could be called the third turn (with the informant's story and the interviewer's assessment as the first and second turns, respectively) (cf. e.g. Fogtman, 2007, p. 174). However, this structure is not very clear in all cases: Sometimes, the interviewer's assessment is part of a question. Thinking dialogically, a question is

always somehow connected to the prior interaction; but, in some cases, it is not very obvious since a question might change the preceding topic rather radically and does not seem to be a reaction to what happened prior to it. Some questions simply seem to come out of thin air. Despite this, the principle of recipient design (cf. Heritage, 2002) is still preferred and, thus, it should be expected that the interaction prior to a given turn should give the interviewer an idea of how a question should be formulated in a specific context to give the desired response. It would seem that the female interviewer is more successful in assessing and asking questions which include assessments which suit the situation in her best interview than in her worst interview. Although it is not an assessment according to the two definitions I have outlined in 6.2.1, Excerpt 5.2 in 5.3.5 above is also an example in which Lisa seems astonished at the informant's reaction and, thus, does not seem aligned to his stance on the topic.

When looking more qualitatively at the assessments, it seems to be the case in the present study that many of the assessments which receive dispreferred responses are somehow framed in a negative way – they suggest something negative which the informant then rejects. This is the case for both of the dispreferred responses in Lisa's best interview and several in her worst interview (nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, and 21 in Appendix 5.b).

Ex. 6.3

From Lisa's worst interview (with OP). Time in interview: 0:04:26; l. 82-89 in Appendix B.

1 Int: øhm jo jeg tænkte mere på også øh:m hvordan var det
uh:m yeah I thought more of also uh:m how was it
uhm yeah what I really meant uhm was what was it like

2 i dit ↑hjem
in your ↑home
in your home?

3 (1.1)

→ 4 Int: altså var de:t nogle strenge forældre eller:
[filler] was i:t some strict parents or:
I mean did you have strict parents or?

5 (0.9)

→ 6 OP: nej det synes jeg ikke mine forældre var (0.4) øh:
no that think I not my parents were (0.4) uh:
no I don't think my parents were strict (0.4) uh

7 (1.0)

- 8 OP: de var meget (0.8) søde og venlige og:
they were very (0.8) sweet and kind and:
they were very (0.8) sweet and kind and
- 9 (0.7)
- 10 Int: mm
mm
- 11 (0.5)
- 12 OP: øh:m
eh:m
- 13 (2.1)
- 14 OP: nej jeg kan ikke sige de var strenge
no I can not say they were strict
no I can't say they were strict
- 15 (0.7)
- 16 OP: det synes jeg ikke
that think I not
I don't think they were
- 17 (1.0)
- 18 Int: nej hvordan og hvordan ø:h hvordan påvirk- påvirkede det din
no how and how u:h how affect- affected it your
no how and how uh how did it affect your
- 19 sådan (0.3) din opdragelse at (0.2) at din far var ↑præst
[filler] (0.3) your upbringing that (0.2) that your father was ↑pastor
(0.3) upbringing that (0.2) that your father was a pastor?

In Ex. 6.3, the interviewer, Lisa, offers a candidate answer in line 4 when no reply has been initiated by OP. She specifies what she means by giving a rather negative candidate answer although finishing the question with "eller:" (*or:*). Following Lindström (1999, p. 54), the use of the Swedish "eller" (*or*) in turn final position in yes/no interrogatives marks the turn as problematic – I would argue that the same goes for the Danish "eller". Lindström (*ibid.* p. 55) argues that it weakens what can be viewed as a preferred response and, thus, makes it easier to say no. After a pause, OP replies

(l. 6). His response is dispreferred. Moreover, it is designed as dispreferred due to the delay in response (i.e., the pause of 0.9 seconds in l. 5).

The negative candidate answer offered by Lisa could be said not to be designed for the recipient (cf. Heritage, 2002 as mentioned above). As it is one of Lisa's very first questions after the background interview (only 4 minutes 26 seconds after the recorder has been turned on), it could be argued that she still has no real basis for evaluating whether it would be appropriate to ask such a question as she knows nothing about OP's relationship to his family, for instance. However, opposing this argument, it would seem more obliging if Lisa had offered a positive candidate answer (for instance, "did you have nice parents?") or, at least, a more neutral question formulation (for instance, "do you think your parents were strict or nice or?"). Lisa's choice of candidate answer could make you wonder whether she would expect OP to confirm that his parents were strict. Going beyond the limits of pure and applied CA, it could be suggested that the question which follows in which she specifically asks how it influenced OP's upbringing that his father was a pastor (l. 18-19) could hint at such an interpretation as well. In any case, it would have been more accommodating if she had offered a positive candidate answer – unless she had reasons to believe he would be more likely to agree with a negative candidate answer – which would also have meant that OP could have given a preferred reply. Thus, in such cases, the dispreferred response to the interviewer's assessment is hardly surprising – the initial action itself is simply dispreferred (cf. Boyle, 2000).

Moreover, in Lisa's best interview, she gives several assessments which can be said to be somehow affiliating with the informant's stance (nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 17, 20, and 21 in Appendix 5.a), which is naturally the preferred reaction to something the informant has told (Stivers, 2008, p. 32). Furthermore, it is in accordance with Houtkoop-Steenstra's (2000, p. 130) notion of the personal interview style as revealed in the responses to the informant. In Lisa's worst interview, she only gives two assessments which can be said to be affiliating (nos. 1 and 3), which both receive a preferred response, and one other instance, which could also be understood as affiliating (presented in Ex. 6.4 above), however, it receives a dispreferred response and, thus, is hardly understood as affiliating. This point might be connected to the fact that Lisa's best interview generally concerns more personal topics; as Heritage (2011, p. 160) states, the listener (i.e., the interviewer) is morally obligated to affiliate with the stance expressed when a speaker (i.e., the informant) has reported personal experiences³⁶. Naturally, this also has a direct influence on the counts of the preferred and dispreferred responses to assessments (cf. Tables 6.1a and 6.1b).

In other cases, it seems the informant in Lisa's worst interview is reluctant to confirm Lisa's assessments. In Ex. 6.4, the informant rejects the wording of Lisa's assessment and, shortly after, uses a word which is not unlike Lisa's suggestion.

³⁶ This is similar to the discussion raised by Butters (2000), who asks whether interviewers are morally obligated to respond to any emotions they may intentionally evoke in the informants in sociolinguistic interviews (cf. 2.2 above).

Ex. 6.4

From Lisa's worst interview (with OP). Time in interview: 00:36:43; l. 718-721 in Appendix B.

Lisa has asked whether OP was present when his wife gave birth to their son seven months ago. OP confirms that this was the case, and Lisa then asks the following question:

→ 1 Int: <det var vel ret en> en ret ekstrem oplevelse var det ↑ikke
<it was [MP] rather a > a rather extreme experience was it ↑not
I suppose it was rather a rather extreme experience wasn't it?

2 OP: < havde en: >
< had a: >

3 (2.0)

→ 4 OP: n- n:-

5 (1.4)

→ 6 OP: jeg ved ikke om det er en ekstrem! oplevelse
I know not if it is an extreme! experience
I don't know whether it's an extreme! experience

→ 7 men det er jo i hvert fal:d
but it is of course in any ca:se
but it is of course in any case

8 (0.7)

→ 9 OP: jo: men det er da det er da en voldsom oplevelse
yes: but it is [MP] it is [MP] an intense experience
yes but it is it is a very intense experience of course

→ 10 altså det er det da ø:h
[filler] it is that [MP] u:h
indeed it is uh

Lisa's question has a built-in candidate answer which makes agreement the preferred next action (Pomerantz, 1988; Raymond, 2003; Sacks, 1987). OP's reply is delayed: First, there is a long pause (l. 3) and, then, some sounds which are also the first sound of the word "nej" (l. 4; *no*) and another pause (l. 5) before he starts with "jeg ved ikke" (l. 6; *I don't know*) – thus, a clear dispreferred design (e.g. Sacks, 1987). The informant repeats the interviewer's phrase "ekstrem oplevelse" (l. 6;

extreme experience) and pronounces the word “ekstrem” with special emphasis and tone, which could display a distance or alienation from using this particular word in this context. However, after his initial rejection of the word, he does say “jo:” (l. 6; *yes*) – at least, in what could be called a ‘*yes, but...*’ construction (Steensig & Asmuss, 2005) – and uses the word “voldsom” (l. 9; *tremendous*), instead. Using “voldsom” (*tremendous*) could, possibly, be seen as a downgrade from the interviewer’s suggestion “ekstrem” (*extreme*) or simply a word he finds more suitable for this context. Naturally, words can be understood and applied very differently by individuals (indeed, dialogists find it to be so); however, a reply which would have been more aligned to the interviewer’s question could have been a rephrasing of the interviewer’s words in a more subtle manner. OP seems to do the opposite: First, he rejects the interviewer’s suggestion and, then, he says “jo:” (lengthened as if hesitant) and uses a word that may downgrade the choice of words of the interviewer but does not change the statement essentially.

Furthermore, OP could be said to make it a matter of deliveries in general as he speaks in present time in line 6-10, whereas Lisa – speaking in past tense – seems to be referring to the specific event of OP’s wife giving birth to their son. It could seem like there is a hidden fight about who is the primary owner of an experience – who has the epistemic right to assess a given event (e.g. Heritage & Raymond, 2005). At least, that could be why OP changes the grammatical tense and makes it a more general matter: Lisa does not have the epistemic right to assess how it was to be present when OP’s wife delivered a son, and OP does not fill her in on the details, so she could take a stance on the event of OP’s son’s delivery.

Overall, the structure seems to be “no, but yes”: OP rejects it at first; and he marks a distance to the words of the interviewer explicitly, but later he uses a word that is not essentially different from the interviewer’s expression. Thus, it would seem it is not a complete rejection. Thøgersen & Beck Nielsen (2009) remark that such a construction may imply that it is socially problematic to confirm a given statement; this could be the case here. At least, it cannot be ruled out that OP finds it socially unacceptable to describe his wife giving birth to their son as an extreme experience, or it might simply be that ‘extreme’ is not a word OP would use about anything. “No, but yes” is also the construction in another case (no. 23 in Appendix 5.b) in which the interviewer asks whether OP goes to the theatre *a lot* (“meget”), which is explicitly rejected by OP and then corrected to *more* (“mere”). In this case, OP emphasises the word he rejects (“meget”; *a lot*) and the word he employs instead (“mere”; *more*) similar to Ex. 6.4. In this case, I do not find OP’s rejection of Lisa’s wording to be potentially socially problematic. Going beyond the limits of pure and applied CA, it could be implied that the correction of the wording could be due to OP’s background as a lawyer which is a job in which exactness is of great importance, or it could just be that he cannot vouch for going “meget” (*a lot*) to the theatre. In contrast to this construction, a way to align to the interviewer would be a ‘*yes, but no* construction’ in which the informant confirms in a way simply by saying *yes* or the like and then describes the event or whatever else is talked about in her/his own words.

So, Ex. 6.4 and the similar example just mentioned are two instances in which OP’s response to Lisa’s assessment has been dispreferred even though the assessment had the potential to be understood in what I judge as a positive or neutral way or – in the case with his wife’s delivery –

even affiliating. Yet, this is clearly not how OP received these turns. In yet other cases, it seems Lisa tries to compliment OP, but OP seems reluctant to accept it (no. 19 (Ex. 6.2 above), no. 22 (Ex. 6.5 below), and no. 20 could possibly also be understood as a compliment in a way, cf. Appendix 5.b).

Ex. 6.5

From Lisa's worst interview (with OP). Time in interview: 0:54:15; l. 1015-1022 in Appendix B.

OP has told her that he is a managing partner in the company he works for, which makes Lisa arrive at the following assessment.

→ 1 Int: det er da også i en ung (0.3) alder er det ikke (0.4) eller hvor gammel
*that is [MP] also at a young (0.3) age is it not (0.4) or how old
 well isn't that a young (0.3) age [to be made a managing partner] (0.4) or how old*

2 ↑er det du er
 ↑is it you are
 are you?

3 (0.2)

4 OP: jeg er syvogtredive
*I am thirty-seven
 I'm thirty-seven*

5 (0.5)

→ 6 Int: så er det da (0.3) < i en: sådan >
*then is it [MP] (0.3) < in a: [filler] >
 well that's (0.3) a:*

→ 7 OP: <ne:j det det øh>
 <no: it it uh>

8 (0.5)

→ 9 OP: det er nu meget sådan altså jeg er selvfølgelig også en af de yngste
*it is [MP] quite [filler] [filler] I am of course also one of the youngest
 it's quite well of course I'm one of the youngest*

→ 10 partnere men men det er meget naturligt man bliver det der
partners but but it is quite natural you become that there

partners but but it's quite usual to become a managing partner at that age

→ 11 hhh<hh>hhhhhhh fra en femogtredive år og opefter [smask] < så :>
hhh<hh>hhhhhhh from about thirtyfive years and up [smacking sound] <so:>
hh from about thirtyfive and up [smacking sound] so

12 Int: < ja > <okay>
<yes> <okay>

In Ex. 6.5, Lisa assesses that OP has managed to become a managing partner in the company he works in at a fairly young age, which could be understood as a compliment on his work skills and success (l. 1). However, she finishes it as a question and adds another question to enquire about his age, which relates to her initial assessment (l. 2). After OP's reply to Lisa's question (l. 4), Lisa confirms her own assessment (l. 6) although in overlap with OP, who rejects her assessment; neither of them finishes their turn (l. 7). The overlap in their turns might be what makes both of them stop talking before having finished. After a pause, OP continues (while Lisa is silent) with what seems to be a confirmation of his rejection of the assessment (l. 9); however, he makes a self-interruption before finishing and accommodates somewhat to Lisa's assessment by saying that he is one of the youngest managing partners in the company (l. 9-10); thus, her assessment does not miss completely. Yet again, he adds that it is quite common to be a managing partner at his age (l. 11-12). As above – and, again, going beyond the limits of CA – it is tempting to suggest the possibility that OP's background as a lawyer might enforce this carefulness in him; but, naturally, such a suggestion remains unprovable.

There are no examples of Lisa giving a compliment to OP which receives a preferred response. In Lisa's best interview, she also gives three more or less direct compliments to the informant KK (i.e., nos. 10, 11, and 26 in Appendix 5.a) – these compliments are all received with a preferred response³⁷. The few compliments in Lisa's best and worst interview are a very limited basis for concluding anything; however, the clear difference in the responses to the compliments given in the best and worst interview is noteworthy. It seems that either Lisa gives compliments which cannot be agreed to by the informant in the situation in her worst interview or he is somehow reluctant to accept them; whereas, in the best interview, Lisa gives the "right" compliments in a suitable context, and KK is receptive in the situation.

In the preferred responses to Lisa's assessments, the extent of the agreement varies in her worst interview. In some cases, the informant, OP, more than agrees with Lisa's assessment and, in fact, "turns up" the degree of positivity implied in Lisa's assessment (nos. 3, 4, and 18 in Appendix 5.b). In other cases, OP downgrades Lisa's assessments (nos. 2 and 16 in Appendix 5.b). However, Lisa also gives some assessments with which OP agrees (nos. 1, 15, 17, and partly 18); yet, it seems they are disaligned more often than not.

³⁷ The most direct compliments (no. 10 and 26) are scaled down as is in accordance with Pomerantz (1978).

In Lisa's best interview, the informant, KK, also alters Lisa's assessment once by upgrading it (no. 6 in Appendix 5.a); other than that example, it seems that KK simply confirms or expresses agreement with Lisa's assessments. In several cases, KK even repeats a word or more used in Lisa's assessment to express her agreement, thus accommodating to Lisa on word level (i.e. nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, and 19). In Lisa's worst interview, the informant, OP, only uses Lisa's words in his response to an assessment to express agreement in two cases (nos. 2 and 4); whereas, in four cases (nos. 7, 8, 20, and 23), he repeats a word used by Lisa to mark a distance to the formulation (as noted in connection with Ex. 6.4) and, in two cases (nos. 12 and 19), to reject the assessment. Thus, there seems to be a clear difference in how the informant accommodates to the interviewer's assessment – or how aligned the informant finds the interviewer's assessment to be.

As noted in the beginning, I have also looked into the design of the response (cf. practice-based preference described by Schegloff (1988) cf. 6.1). It seems quite consistent that preferred responses are designed as preferred and dispreferred are designed as dispreferred. I only find one dispreferred response for which the dispreferred design is not very distinct. This is the sixth and last example of standard/deviating assessments in the interview with OP (no. 24 in Appendix 5.b); it is a continuation of Excerpt 5.2 (in 5.3.5 above) in which I showed that the possibilities of rapport were broken off (if even completely established); thus, the atmosphere is already tense. After a long turn by Lisa, there is only a pause of 0.3 seconds before OP takes a deep breath and starts his rejection, which is quite expanded. Indeed, the delay (0.3 seconds pause and breathing in) could signal that what will follow is a dispreferred response to the preceding turn (Pomerantz, 1984; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2012; Sacks, 1987); however, the delay and hesitation in other cases of dispreferred responses are much longer and, thus, more marked than is the case here. This is the least marked dispreferred design of the dispreferred responses to the assessments. Even though an interesting case in itself, it rather confirms how well all the rest of the cases follow the expected design in accordance with preference.

As shown, the examples of assessments and responses to assessments are rather different. This should be expected from the broad definitions based on the data (cf. 6.2.1 above). Furthermore, the data consists of spoken interaction; thus, diversity should be expected as the norm although, naturally, some similarities and patterns also emerge. Nonetheless, the variety in the data does not overrule the tendencies which emerge quite distinctly in the count in Tables 6.1a and 6.1b: The assessments which emerge in the best interview receive preferred responses by the informant, whereas many of the interviewer's assessments in Lisa's worst interview receive a dispreferred response.

In the above, I have shown how the tendencies for responses in Lisa's best and worst interview clearly differ. Before I make the final conclusions on preference in the two interviews, I will show the results of another study which touches on other types of preference: the preference for contiguity and self-repair.

6.3 Next turn repair initiators as response to the interviewer's question

Besides the differences in responses to assessments, I also found another particular kind of response to constitute a noteworthy difference between Lisa's best and worst interview when I studied these interviews inductively: Next turn repair initiators (Drew, 1997; Schegloff et al., 1977) uttered by the informant as the initial response to the interviewer's questions.

In the specific, local context in which a question is posed by the interviewer and responded to by the informant with a question, the preference for contiguity between question and answer (cf. Sacks, 1987) is challenged as the next turn repair initiators replace a response which would have been the preferred next action. Furthermore, it obviously challenges the preference for self-repair (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Kitzinger, 2013; Schegloff et al., 1977), as it is a case of other-initiated repair.

In Table 6.2a, the number of next turn repair initiators is listed. Full collections of the concrete instances in the two interviews appear in Appendixes 7.a and 7.b.

Table 6.2a

Number of next turn repair initiators in Lisa's best and worst interview.

	Lisa's best interview (KK)	Lisa's worst interview (OP)
Questions posed by the interviewer (total)*	123 ³⁸	117
Questions responded to with a next turn repair initiator	9	15

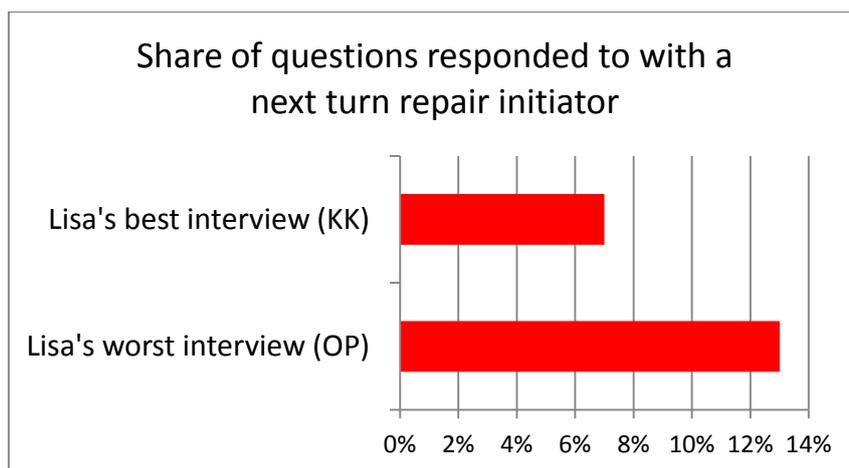
*Including questions asked in the background interview.

It is noteworthy that Lisa's best interview is more than fifty percent longer than Lisa's worst interview (cf. Table 5.2) and, yet, contains considerably fewer cases than her worst; thus, the difference in number and, thus, frequency of the next turn repair initiators is rather marked. In principle, any question asked by Lisa could be followed by a next turn repair initiator by the informant. Following Schegloff (1993) as reviewed in 6.2.2 above, all Lisa's questions together constitute the potential number of cases; the result of such a calculation appears in Table 6.2b.

Table 6.2b

The share of the questions posed by the interviewer responded to with a next turn repair initiator by the informant.

³⁸ In Table 5.5, the number of questions asked in Lisa's best and worst interviews appears excluding the background interviews: 105 and 98 respectively. Added to this, Lisa asks 18 questions in her background interview with KK (her best) and 19 questions in her interview with OP (her worst).



Thus, in 9 cases out of 123 potential in Lisa's best interview, her questions are responded to with a next turn repair initiator, i.e. 7%. In her worst interview, it is 15 questions out of 117 possible, i.e., 13%. The repair initiators might have various functions – for example, the informant might more or less directly ask for specification, clarification, repetition as s/he has not heard or understood the question, etc. I do not make a distinction between these. Either way, the results show that the response to more than one out of ten questions in Lisa's worst interview is delayed as the informant requests a repair by asking one or more questions.

In the following, I study two rather different examples from Lisa's worst interview. In the first, Ex. 6.6, the informant replies with half a sentence and then poses a question of clarification (marked with →). As is clear from this example – and true for several of the instances in the collection of interviewer questions responded to with next turn repair initiators by the informant – the function of the informant's reply which contains a question is not always clear.

Ex. 6.6

From Lisa's worst interview (with OP). Time in interview: 0:09:56; l. 195-199 in Appendix B.

Prior to this OP has been telling her about his work.

1 Int: er du: er du glad! (0.4) for for det
are you: are you happy! (0.4) about about it
do you like (0.4) it [your work]?

2 (0.6)

→ 3 OP: [synker noget væske] jeg er meget glad altså
[swallows something he is drinking] I am very happy [filler]
I'm very happy but do you mean

4 glad for mit ↑arbejde! eller <for> at være ↑her eller
happy at my ↑work! or < to > to be ↑here or
do I like my work? or do I like being here [i.e., in this company]? or

5 Int: < ja >
<yes>

6 (0.7)

7 Int: ja glad glad for dit arbejde=
yes happy happy about your work=
yes do you like like your work

8 OP: =ja! jamen jeg er rigtig glad for det [...]
=yes! yes but I am really happy about it [...]
well yes! I really like it

OP immediately starts to respond to the question posed by the interviewer, but then he stops and initiates a self-repair with “altså” (l. 3) to enquire about the object of the interviewer’s question (l. 4). However, the function of OP’s question is not clear. As he starts to reply to the interviewer’s question (beginning of l. 3), it seems he has an understanding of the question; hence, it is not a matter of non-understanding (cf. Rathje, 2004); nonetheless, he asks whether the interviewer means one of two candidate answers or means it in an unspecified third way suggested by “eller” (l. 4; *or*). It might seem he wants to make sure he understands and, thus, answers correctly although it is not certain whether his reply would have been any different if Lisa had replied that she referred to his work place. Another function of the question could be to point out the ambiguity of the interviewer’s question. Again – going beyond CA limits – it is tempting to suggest that the wish for exactness could, in part, be due to OP’s background as a lawyer. From a CA point of view, it can merely be stated that other-initiated repair is generally dispreferred (e.g. Schegloff et al., 1977).

In Ex. 6.7, the informant, OP, asks two questions (marked with →) immediately after the interviewer’s question before giving an actual response.

Ex. 6.7

From Lisa’s worst interview (with OP). Time in interview: 00:06:31; l. 119-131 in Appendix B.

1 Int: ø:h men du må gerne fortælle lidt mere om hvad du sådan
u:h but you can [filler] tell a little more about what you [filler]
uh but do tell me more about the things you

2 om du kan huske nogle særlige sådan episoder
whether you can remember some particular [filler] incidents

if you remember any particular incidents

3 (0.6)

→ 4 OP: fra <min barndom>
from <my childhood>

5 Int: < ø:h ja >
< u:h yes >

6 (2.2)

→ 7 OP: jamen episoder i hvilken retning sådan: i relation ti:l
*yes but incidents in what direction [filler] in relation to
yes but what sort of incidents like from (0.2)*

8 (0.2) min opvækst eller i rela<tion> til
(0.2) my childhood or in rela<tion> to

9 Int: < ja >
< yes >

10 OP: området eller:
the area or:

11 Int: ja også gerne til dine forældre eller til din bror
*yes also by all means to your parents or to your brother
yes you're also welcome to talk about your relationship to your parents or
your brother*

12 (0.8)

13 Int: eller noget i den stil
*or something in that style
or something like that*

14 (1.5)

15 OP: mm: jamen jeg kan ikke huske sådan eller jeg kan sikkert huske
*mm yes but I can not remember [filler] or I can probably remember
mm yes but I can't remember or I probably can remember*

16 masser af episoder men jeg ved ikke om der er nogle sådan specielle
lots of incidents but I know not if there are any [filler] special

lots of incidents but I don't know whether there are any special ones

17 at fremhæve ø:h
to point out u:h

18 (1.5)

19 OP: jeg var dengang og det er jeg jo stadigvæk ret tæt på min bror ø:h
I was then and that am I [MP] still quite close to my brother u:h
at that time I was and I still am rather close to my brother u:h

20 (0.9)

21 OP: så han var jo (0.5) ja! en væsentlig legekammerat
so he was [MP] (0.5) yes! an important playmate
so he was (0.5) definitely an important playmate

22 Int: ja
yes

In Ex. 6.7, it seems that the function of the next turn repair initiators is to clarify (l. 4) and specify (l. 7-8+10) the very broad and unspecific question posed by the interviewer (l. 1-2). OP's reply is still a bit hesitant (l. 15-17) until he pronounces the word "specielle" (l. 15; *special*), and his tone of voice seems to brighten up. The interviewer's question is only the fourth after the background interview and, on the surface, the broad question formulation seems to be unfortunate as it is followed by other-initiated repair. It seems that her specific mention of OP's brother (l. 11) is what OP builds on in his subsequent talk.

Ex. 6.6 and Ex. 6.7 show that the examples in the data with questions posed by the interviewer and responded to with one or two next turn repair initiators by the informant are a heterogeneous collection. However, one thing which can be suggested for all the examples of next turn repair initiators is that a question asked by the interviewer is treated as problematic since the eventual response is delayed, causing a break in the preferred contiguity (Sacks, 1987). Generally, it is also potentially more face-threatening that an other-initiated repair emerges rather than the informant trying to reply to the question or the interviewer initiating a self-repair if the informant does not initiate a response shortly after the question.

I see next turn repair initiators as a breach in communication. I do not blame either of the interactants: Indeed, it is both the responsibility of the speaker to formulate and express a message in a way and at a time which gives the listener the best chance of achieving a sufficient understanding, and it is the listener's responsibility to try her/his best to co-operate with the speaker in terms of receiving the message and trying to achieve an understanding sufficient to act on it.

6.4 Conclusion on the findings

As shown, preference is a relevant term when studying differences in Lisa's best and worst interviews. Boyle (2000, p. 589) observes that initial actions can be dispreferred. This seems to be the case when the interviewer frames her questions in a negative way without any reason to believe this will be agreed to by the informant. In such cases, a dispreferred response should be expected. Furthermore, the interviewer gives more affiliating assessments in her best interview than in her worst, which could be another reason more assessments are agreed to by the informant in Lisa's best interview than in her worst. I suggest that the latter could be due to the personal nature of her best interview.

In terms of the responses to the assessments, there are clear differences. In Lisa's best interview, the interviewer's compliments are accepted by the informant. Furthermore, in almost all cases of agreement to an assessment, the agreement is expressed unconditionally and, often, the informant even uses the words used by the interviewer, thus accommodating on the word level. In Lisa's worst interview, none of Lisa's compliments receive a preferred response. Moreover, of all the cases of agreement, around half of them are specified or altered (upgraded or downgraded), thus, displaying only partial agreement; and, in only two cases, OP uses the same words as Lisa to express agreement – in four cases, he uses the same word(s) as Lisa to express disagreement – thus, the responses are rarely accommodated to Lisa's assessments on a word level to express agreement as is the case in Lisa's best interview in several cases of assessment.

Following dialogism, both participants have an equal share in shaping a given interaction. However, it does seem as if one of the participants is the more direct or obvious cause than the other in some cases. For instance, in the cases in which the interviewer frames the question with a negative assessment as in Ex. 6.3, it seems the interviewer should expect a dispreferred response as the question or assessment in itself can be said to be dispreferred (Boyle, 2000). In other cases, it seems that the informant is hesitant to accommodate to a specific formulation (as in Ex. 6.4) or to accept a compliment (Ex. 6.5) and, thereby, is the one who chooses a dispreferred response when it is not necessarily obvious from the assessment – although, naturally, it might be for the informant. Indeed, Lisa and OP often seem disaligned – and, inevitably, this is what causes many dispreferred initial actions and dispreferred responses.

As with the responses to assessments in Lisa's best and worst interview, I find next turn repair initiators as responses to questions to constitute a characteristic difference between Lisa's best and worst interview. Next turn repair initiators have consequences for the contiguity of an interview and challenges the preference for self-repair. Therefore, it is noteworthy that there are more of these and also more extended ones (i.e., often more than one question or a question and a comment) in Lisa's worst interviews than in her best interview.

In line with the discussion of social solidarity (touched on in 6.1 above), I anticipate that the interviewer's evaluation could be influenced by the dominating type of response. It could be

suggested that both next turn repair initiation and dispreferred responses break the flow of the interview and, thus, affects the completion of the interview. Even more cautiously, it could be implied that next turn repair initiators as responses to questions as well as dispreferred responses to assessments could be experienced – if not rationally, then subconsciously – as resistant to the goal of the interviewer although the informant could hardly be blamed for not living up to a purpose s/he has not been made aware of (cf. 4.3). At least, a considerable share of next turn repair initiators which postpone replies to questions and dispreferred responses which express disagreement with an interviewer's assessment might be experienced as obstacles for a smooth interview by the interviewer and, thus, influence on her/his evaluation of it.

I do not mean to imply that there are good and bad informants; but, obviously it seems much easier or, possibly, more natural for some people than others to engage in an interaction like the sociolinguistic interview. Inevitably, the ones who find it easy also appear more willing to involve themselves in the interaction with the interviewer. Jasper mentions that interviewing was an easy task if the informant understood that s/he could basically say anything to the interviewer. Certainly, the relationship to the interviewer is important for the process (cf. 4.3), but it is also a simple fact that some people do not open up as easily and to anyone as others do.

Overall in Part II, I have studied how the interviewers actually behave in the sociolinguistic interview which they evaluate as their best and worst and how the interviewers' actual behaviour agrees with their ideals about the sociolinguistic good interview. Chapter 5 made it clear that the good and the bad interviews differ and, moreover, that the two interviewers put their otherwise similar ideals into practice in rather different ways. In this chapter – Chapter 6 – it has been shown that Lisa's best and worst interviews also have clear differences when it comes to preference. And, again, it has been made obvious how the interviewer as well as the interplay between the interviewer and the informant are important factors for the outcome of an interview.

In the next and last part of the thesis, I return to focus on the differences between the two interviewers as I will test a possible approach to explaining the variations in the interviewers' interview style.

Part III: The interviewers

A. Introduction to the Chapters 7 and 8

In Chapter 2, I discussed the sociological concept of 'roles'. It was made clear that interviews involve interactants who are assigned specific roles and thereby are met with certain expectations and are expected to fulfil certain obligations. Thus, the predetermined roles are one of the factors which influence the interview situation. Group dynamics is another factor at play in interviews. It was approached from the dialogical perspective in the analyses in Part II about the differences between the good and the bad interviews. The analyses showed that there are clear differences between the good and the bad interviews – but, indeed, also between the two interviewers. However, neither the roles in the sociolinguistic interview nor the dynamic between the interactants seem to come any closer to constituting an explanation of the differences between one interview and another. Thus, one possibility is yet to be explored: The same interviewers often conduct several interviews and can – on the surface – be seen as a constant in the sociolinguistic interview (see Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller's (1995) reflections on the interviewers as less of a constant variable than usually thought). If we turn the spotlight to focus on the interviewer particularly, we might be able to explain differences as arising from the individual interview style and the informants' reaction to this. This is what I intend to do in this last part of the thesis.

As is clear from the interviews, the interviewers often contribute knowledge and draw on personal observations and experiences from their private life even as they conduct the interview as professionals. As I quote in Extract 4.4 (in 4.2 above), the male interviewer notes that an interviewer enters the life of the informants "as a person with a history [...] and a job". Thereby, he juxtaposes his private person to his professional position: He makes his personal life a part of his professional task. In Extract 4.5 (in 4.2), the female interviewer makes a similar remark. She finds that she "exposed [her]self more" in certain cases; thus, she contributes things from her private life. The fact that both interviewers draw on their private experiences makes it clear that they are not only a professional 'self' or play a professional 'role' or however else it should be referred to – the interviewers are also present with their individual characteristics, experiences, and life histories, at least at times, during their performances as a professional interviewer.

In Chapter 5, I studied the differences between the best and the worst interviews by each of the two interviewers; and, in Chapter 6, I looked into differences which seemed peculiar in the female interviewer's best and worst interviews. As it emerged from the analyses, some features seem more prominent in the good interviews than in the bad ones and the other way around. For instance, the interviewers tend to ask more questions and be responsible for more topic shifts in the bad interviews compared with the good interviews. However, there is not just a fixed list of characteristics which, with their existence or non-existence, determines whether an interview will be evaluated as good or bad by the interviewer. But should this not be expected? At least, from a dialogical point of view, it would be naïve to think that ten interviewers in similar surroundings and with the same training interviewing the same person about the same thing would conduct the same interview. Any conversation with any two individuals is unique.

Indeed, in Chapter 4, it was made clear that Lisa and Jasper agree on several points about what makes a good interview. But the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 made it clear that the two interviewers realise the points in different ways. In the present study, one interviewer has even been trained by the other; yet, they still appear each to have their distinct interview style. How can it be explained that their realisations of the good interview differ? If it is not a matter of professional training, is it, then, a matter of what could be referred to as the personality of each of the interviewers?

To study whether the differences between the interviewers can be explained by looking at the individuals who conduct the interviewing task, it is necessary to study whether each of the interviewers has a consistent interview style. If they have no consistent interview style, it would not be possible to specify their differences as they would differ themselves from one interview to the next, and it would not be possible to approach an explanation of it. As with everything else so far, I refer to an interactional type of interview style.

When the (interactional) interview style for the interviewers has been studied, the challenge is to find a way to connect the interactional interview style to the person who conducts the interview task. To take up this challenge, I find it necessary to discuss theories with contradictory suppositions to explore a possible explanatory factor or, at least, reveal the area in which it would be relevant to look for one. As I consider interaction to be a kind of behaviour, i.e., verbal behaviour, I find that many so-called personality tests, in fact, offer such information – namely, tests made to reveal a person's personality, usually, to give insight into how a specific person would handle a certain task. Can such a test make it clear why the interviewers have such different interview styles in the present study and, possibly, how they are different?

Overall, in this third part of the thesis, I seek an answer to the question I formulated in the introduction:

How is it possible to approach an explanation for variations in interviewer behaviour?

I study the interactional consistencies in the two interviewers' interview styles in Chapter 7. Subsequently, I explore ways to describe and explain differences in interview style in Chapter 8.

7. Interview styles

Many factors could be expected to influence an interactional interview style; for instance, age and gender although it would not be easy to pinpoint how. Furthermore, the person's experience with interviewing could be expected to influence her/his interview style. From a dialogical perspective, the informant would naturally also be expected to influence the interview style. For instance, it could be expected that an interviewer would interview a child in one way and someone older than her/himself in another way; thus, the age and gender of the informant are also variables. However, as my interest in the following is to capture how the interviewers differ, I focus on which features seem to be characteristic of each of them; thus, recurrent and distinctive features may be found in several of their interviews and can be said to characterise each of the two interviewers' interview styles.

Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 128) also uses the term 'interview styles'. As mentioned in 4.3 above, she points to a distinction found in the survey literature between two interview styles (with reference to, e.g., Dijkstra (1987)): the 'formal' or 'task-oriented', which is the common style in survey interviews, in contrast to the style that is much more like the one in the sociolinguistic interview, namely, the 'person-oriented' or 'socio-emotional style'. Regarding the latter interview style, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000) makes it clear that the literature does not succeed in describing how it is actually achieved; as noted earlier, it is solely described with unspecific adjectives such as "personal", "warm", and "friendly" (cf. Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 128) with reference to Fowler & Mangione (1990, p. 64)).

In the following, I try to uncover the interview styles of the two interviewers in the present study – or more specifically, I try to note special characteristics which are recurrent and stand out as particular features of the interviewer. Keeping Houtkoop-Steenstra's (2000) critique of unspecific descriptions of interview style in mind, I look for concrete examples, so that the descriptions are not merely abstract phrases which hint at the interviewers' interview styles but evidence which can actually be pointed to in the interviews.

The point of departure for finding special characteristics of the two interviewers is to look for similar and recurrent actions which seem "marked" in the situation. Naturally, many things would be more or less the same for different interviewers, and many types of behaviours could be ascribed to the fact that they are conducting an interview. Only the things which stand out in the context of the sociolinguistic interview in general can reasonably be ascribed to a particular interviewer and her/his interview style. As noted in Chapter 2, the sociolinguistic interview is a peculiar situation as it takes place in the informant's home (or, at least, in the informant's "territory" as in the case of the interview with OP, which takes place in his office) and, therefore, certain general norms of interaction are supposed to apply. Indeed, it is to be expected that the interviewer respects the epistemic rights of the informant – since the interview mainly deals with events in the informant's life, the interviewer naturally does not have equal access to describing and assessing these events (Raymond & Heritage, 2006, p. 684). Moreover, the participants' faces (cf. 5.3.2 above) are expected to be protected carefully in the name of politeness particularly between people who are

strangers to one another – it is especially in the interest of the interviewer that the informant feels comfortable and relaxed in the situation due to, e.g., the observer's paradox as discussed in 2.1. Thus, in the following, I look for consistent interactional characteristics which stand out in the interview situation as a special feature of the particular interviewer's interview style.

More specifically, in 7.1, I explore special characteristics in Lisa's interview style; in 7.2, I explore what is distinct in Jasper's interview style. In 7.3, I conclude on their interview styles.

7.1 Lisa's interview style

Lisa has some rather consistent features which can be recognised in several of her interviews. Furthermore, they are characteristics which stand out as they are not expected in the interview situation and, thus, can be said to be particular for Lisa's interview style. What I refer to is not her deliberate strategy to mention information from the informant's former interview and, thereby, make it explicit that she has listened to the interview from the informant's youth (which Jasper never mentions explicitly in his interviews). Rather, Lisa has some distinct recurrent interactional features in her interviews on which I elaborate in the following. To find and confirm the recurrence of the features, I study her interviews with the following informants from the BySoc study:

- KK (best; female)
- OP (worst; male)

And in addition:

- KP (male)
- QL (female)

Besides the in the above often quoted interviews with KK and OP, Lisa has – among yet others – also interviewed KP and QL in the BySoc study. Lisa's interview with KP (male) appears in Table 5.1b as an interview she remembers as bad; KP is the brother of OP (Lisa's worst interview). The interview with KP was an obvious choice as it is also used in Chapter 5, and QL was an easy choice for the study of interview styles as I have worked with it before. The interview with QL (female) has not been used before in this study because Lisa does not remember this interview and, thus, she has not evaluated it as either good or bad like the interviews used so far. However, the evaluation of the interviews as either good or bad is irrelevant for this purpose; I just need a number of interviews in order to study consistent patterns in interview style and to have the consistency confirmed in several interviews.

Looking at the analyses in the preceding chapters of Lisa's best and worst interview and studying her interviews with KP and QL, three characteristics stand out as distinctive for her interview style since they are not expected to be something any interviewer would do in the situation of the sociolinguistic interview. As I will argue, certain features in Lisa's interview style cross the boundaries of epistemic rights and are potentially face-threatening; yet, they are recurrent in all of her interviews:

- 1) Assessments (as is clear from the study of assessments in 6.2).

- 2) Co-construction of stories told by the informant.
- 3) Delicate and personal questions.

In the following, I elaborate on each of the points in the order of the list, thus, in 7.1.1, 7.1.2, and 7.1.3, respectively.

7.1.1 Lisa's interview style: Assessments

As studied in 6.2 above, Lisa makes many assessments in both her best and her worst interviews. As mentioned, Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000, p. 130) finds that the interviewer's reactions to the informant's replies may be what constitutes a personal interview style. Certainly, that is the potential. However, assessments which are not aligned with the stance of the informant are potentially face-threatening as well as potentially in conflict with epistemic rights since the informant might not find that the interviewer has the proper knowledge to evaluate information the informant has given.

I shall not repeat the examples in 6.2.2 and Appendixes 5.a and 5.b, but I will add a couple to confirm their presence in the other two interviews used for the study in this chapter (KP and QL). The pattern is similar: Lisa assesses repeatedly, and she gets both preferred and dispreferred responses in return. To avoid overcrowding the chapter, the examples are presented in Appendix 8.

Example 7.1 (in Appendix 8) is an example from Lisa's interview with QL in which she gives an assessment which could potentially be face-threatening as she suggests that QL deviates from most girls (cf. the second type of assessments defined in 6.2.1). It can be considered to involve a certain risk to suggest that someone deviates from what could be expected; on the other hand, if the receiving party agrees with the assessment, it can be understood as an actual compliment to stand out from the crowd. In this instance, it seems to be well-received.

Example 7.2 (in Appendix 8) shows how Lisa also gives assessments in her interview with KP (cf. the first type of assessment defined in 6.2.1). In this instance, she assesses that KP might have days when his job is tough. In a way, it expresses affiliation (cf. Stivers, 2008); however, it also implies that he could have days when he does not do his work as well as he is supposed to. Indeed, the latter interpretation is potentially face-threatening. KP does not give a positive response to Lisa's assessment; thus, it seems he does not understand it as affiliating.

The two examples given show that Lisa gives assessments not only in her best and worst (as shown in 6.2) but also in the other two interviews which I have studied.

7.1.2 Lisa's interview style: Co-constructions

In addition to assessing the things told by the informant, Lisa also has a tendency to co-construct stories told by the informant. Even though Lisa has naturally not been part of the personal narratives

told by the informants, she still offers pre-emptive completions if the informants pause for a moment in their story, and she makes suggestions for what happened in a given situation although she was not present. As discussed with assessments just above (and, particularly, in 6.2), co-constructions are potentially problematic in terms of epistemics as they – indeed, as assessments – potentially constitute a breach of the common norms for who has the right to comment on which events, a right that is usually distributed in accordance with a person's knowledge of and/or first-hand experience with the given event. Co-constructions are a way to express a position and a stance as is the case with assessments (cf. Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Schegloff, 2007; Stivers, 2008). Lisa crosses the limit of what she has the epistemic right to suggest, and it is a characteristic feature which marks Lisa's interview style; as a comparison, Jasper does not make attempts to co-narrate when an informant is telling a story.

Thus, it should be expected that Lisa's suggestions for specific stories cause various reactions in different contexts and by different informants. As seen in Excerpt 5.1 in 5.3.4 above, Lisa offers suggestions for how to finish a sentence (pre-emptive completion) which the informant has started. One instance is in l. 50 of Excerpt 5.1, repeated here for convenience with the same line numbers (Lisa's suggestion (attempt to co-construct) is marked with an arrow):

Extract from 'Excerpt 5.1'

Prior to this example (cf. Excerpt 5.1), KK has related that her parents got divorced and that they had very different stories of what actually happened.

45 KK: min mor havde tilsyneladende planlagt det ☺ifølge min far☺ havde hun
my mother had apparently planned it ☺according to my father☺ had she
my mother had apparently planned it according to my father she had

46 (1.3)

47 KK: nogle altså bankbøger og ting og sager liggende klar! <ø:h til >
some so passbooks and all sorts of things lying ready! <e:h for>
some like passbooks and all sorts of things lying ready eh for

48 Int: < ha >
 < ha >

49 (0.4)

→ 50 Int: det store flugtforsøg
the big escape attempt
the big escape attempt

51 KK: til et bestemt tidspunkt ikke
for a certain moment not

for a certain moment right

Lisa naturally cannot know what happened except through what KK has already told her about the event. Yet, in l. 50, Lisa anticipates what happens next in KK's story and suggests an ending to KK's sentence (l. 47) after laughing and after a short pause. However, her suggestion is not confirmed by KK – it seems to be rather ignored – as KK finishes her sentence in a different way (l. 51). It would seem that her suggestion is not aligned with the story line and the wording KK uses in her narrative.

Example 7.3 (in Appendix 8) is an example from Lisa's interview with QL which shows Lisa's co-construction of an informant's personal narrative which is accepted by the informant. Even though Lisa has never met QL's friend, she takes the liberty to imitate her. It is a breach of common epistemic rights (e.g., Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 16); however, QL – who has personal experiences with the friend and thereby is epistemically entitled to tell about her – accepts Lisa's co-construction. QL laughs and confirms Lisa's contribution verbally. Thus, in this example, Lisa takes a risk by imitating a person she does not know, but who is known by her interactional partner, QL, and Lisa succeeds since QL accepts it.

Yet, in other interviews, Lisa's suggestion about what is part of the story is not received very well. In Example 7.4 (in Appendix 8), Lisa suggests that OP could not avoid his confirmation even if he wanted to because of his family's relation to the church. OP rejects Lisa's suggested perspective on the story, and he underlines this statement and, thereby, the rejection of Lisa's insertion by adding that he also wanted to be married in a church. Thus, in this example, Lisa is not successful with her insertion in his story since OP rejects it.

Thus, co-constructions stand out as a characteristic way for Lisa to involve herself in the interaction between the informants and her in the interviews. She does not always get a positive response (cf. Example 7.4); even though, on the surface, it seems that, in the example above and the Examples 7.3 and 7.4 in Appendix 8, she attempts to be funny. However, looking closer and noticing the frequency in some sequences (for instance, she is very active in her co-narration in the interview with QL), it might just be her way of showing engagement in the informants' stories. It could be that she finds she ought to contribute to the conversations and that this is her way of doing it. Either way, it is a noteworthy feature in her interviews. Indeed, it stands out as characteristic for her interview style as it is not encouraged in the genre but, in fact, conflicts with common norms of epistemic rights.

7.1.3 Lisa's interview style: Delicate and personal questions

A final characteristic feature of Lisa's interview style that clearly stands out is her tendency to ask delicate and personal questions. It is not that such questions are completely unexpected when you know the aims of the sociolinguistic interview (cf. 2.1). However, they are potentially face-threatening as they might force the informant to give dispreferred responses; for instance, they may find it necessary to say explicitly that they do not want to answer this type of question. Furthermore,

the interviewer risks that the informant will be suspicious of the intentions and the purpose of the interview. Indeed, the success of Lisa's delicate and, potentially, face-threatening questions varies. By comparison, Jasper does not generally ask questions of such a personal and or delicate nature – at least, not as directly as Lisa does.

From a dialogical point of view as well as from a conversation analytic perspective, a delicate question is defined by the way it is responded to: Thus, a delicate question is recognised if it is treated as a delicate matter, e.g., if the informant is hesitant to answer or explicitly notes a problem with answering. However, to study how delicate questions are responded to by the informant, I will also have to look at potentially delicate questions, i.e., questions which could be considered to have a delicate content or to threaten personal boundaries in some context but which are, for some reason, not treated as delicate in an interview in the present study. Questions which are treated as delicate often concern what could be called delicate or sensitive topics. Linell & Bredmar (1996) notes the potentially face-threatening nature of such topics, which they define as:

A *sensitive*, or interactionally *delicate*, topic may be defined as one that cannot be addressed directly or explicitly by the speaker without endangering the interactional harmony of the encounter by threatening the listener's face.

(Linell & Bredmar, 1996, pp. 347-348)

Thus, Linell & Bredmar (ibid.) argue that delicate questions put "the interactional harmony" at risk. What strikes me as characteristic of Lisa's interview style is that, at times during the interviews, she asks questions which I would consider going beyond normal limits – especially, when it comes to interactions between two people who are strangers to each other from the beginning. Naturally, personal limits differ from one person to another, but I would expect that the fact that these direct questions are often answered means that the informants allow or, possibly, even expect such questions from Lisa (by virtue of her status as the interviewer) and, maybe, that Lisa has, in fact, become an intimate stranger. However, in cases in which the questions are not answered, it indicates that Lisa's limits as to what it is appropriate to ask about at a certain time and place are wider than common social norms – or, at least, than those of the specific informants to whom she poses the questions in a given context. In these cases, it could be said that the harmony in the interaction is, indeed, at risk (cf. Linell & Bredmar above) if the interaction does not move on to another topic rather seamlessly.

In my interview with Lisa, I ask her how she felt about asking the informants very personal questions. Lisa replies that she was fine with that and that she has, in fact, always been rather 'shameless' (she actually uses the English word) and that she used to ask people what she wanted to know, not only in the interviews but in her own social life in general (at 1:01:12-1:03:18 in my interview with Lisa). She found that people could simply reject a question if they did not want to talk about it. However, it could be argued that preference for certain structures and certain content might actually make it hard for an informant not to answer a question. Lisa admits that she has only recently realised that she may have been considered quite shameless because of, e.g., her direct questions, but she finds that it was a help in conducting the interviews. Possibly because she was

truly unaware of her shamelessness at the time and, therefore, could "perform" a genuine curiosity, people usually received it well.

Lisa does display empathy and often affiliates with the informant in her way of interviewing (cf., e.g., no. 6 of her assessments in Appendix 5.a). However, she seems to have other social norms than some of the informants about which questions it is appropriate to ask a stranger – and when. Or, possibly, she does not always have a clear impression of what the informant would be willing to talk about at a given moment. Yet again, it might be because she counts on people themselves to object if they do not want to speak of a certain topic.

In Example 7.5 (in Appendix 8) from Lisa's worst interview, she asks a delicate question very early in the interview. Only six minutes and thirteen seconds into Lisa's interview with OP, three and a half minutes after they have finished the formal part (the so-called background interview), she asks a very delicate question. She asks how OP has felt after his father's death, and from what she says, it seems that she is aware that it was rather recent. Thus, Lisa tries to change the topic into a rather delicate kind. It is soon clear that OP has no wish to speak about this topic; in fact, OP immediately refuses to talk about it. Lisa's awareness of the delicacy of the matter is indicated by her hesitant pronunciation of the question with several pauses and rephrasing. Yet, the question is asked without any warning since Lisa introduces the topic immediately after they talked about his plans for education when he was younger. This abrupt change of topic may not encourage OP to attempt to give a response. And, indeed, the delicacy of the question is confirmed as OP refuses to talk about it. Thus, the time in the interview and the lack of warning of the introduction of the topic may be reasons for OP's rejection. It could also be argued that the fact that OP has only agreed to meet with Lisa in his office makes it likely that he is simply not prepared to make the interview very personal.

However, Lisa is not reluctant to ask personal questions after OP's reaction, and she continues steadily: She asks about his old girlfriends, how he met his wife, what it was like to be present when his wife gave birth to their son, and so on. In contrast to the delicate question presented in Example 7.5, OP does answer these questions despite their personal nature, but he does not relate many details or express any personal or emotional stance on the topics. Thus, despite his resistance by means of rather discouraging responses, Lisa does not change her interview style.

In an episode in Lisa's best interview (with KK) quoted in Example 7.6 (in Appendix 8), this characteristic interview feature of hers is received quite differently. Lisa asks a question which most people might think too personal to share with a stranger. She asks whom KK slept with her first time. They have been talking about KK's boyfriends prior to the lines quoted in Example 7.6, and KK has told that she was involved in a group in the church after her parents' divorce and, therefore, did not believe in sex before marriage. Even though they have touched upon this topic before the question is asked an hour and ten minutes into the interview, it could still, potentially, be a delicate question to ask when she had sex for the first time. For instance, having refused to have sex before marriage could mean that KK had her sexual debut rather late, which could be embarrassing to admit. Nonetheless, it is not treated as a delicate question since KK answers it without a long hesitation.

Many factors influence whether the informant is willing to answer a delicate question or refuses to reply. Indeed, in the specific cases, several things could explain why KK is sympathetic to answering Lisa's potentially delicate questions, whereas OP, in general, is not. In the specific Examples 7.5 and 7.6, an obvious reason is that the questions are different: Lisa's question to OP is potentially painful to answer, whereas Lisa's question to KK may, rather, cause emotions such as embarrassment or, possibly, shame. As argued, people may differ in what they are willing to disclose to strangers; thus, the overall content of the question might be of great importance for the informant's willingness. Another factor could be the place: The interview with OP takes place in his office – thus, a place, it would be presumed, he associates with business talk and work-related topics and, most likely, not an obvious place for him to expose his private life. The interview with KK, on the other hand, takes place in her home – thus, very much where her private life takes place. It could also be suggested – although, surely, some people would reject it – that women in general and, possibly, especially when speaking to another woman find it easier to reveal confidences than men. Cautiously – and as prejudiced as it may sound – it could be suggested that it would take something extraordinary for a man to confide in a younger woman in his very office, whereas it is less hard to imagine a woman confiding in a another woman not much younger than herself while sitting comfortably in her own sitting room. Finally – and also prejudiced to some degree – it could be suggested that a lawyer and a psychologist have different approaches and are differently accustomed to speaking about things of a personal nature.

Furthermore, the two questions are also introduced differently: The question to OP is raised rather suddenly, whereas the question to KK, at least, is related to a preceding topic in their talk (cf. Appendixes 4.b and 4.a, respectively). Thus, the timing of the question could be an important factor. In addition to that, the time in the interview is very different: OP is asked about his father's recent death after only six minutes of interviewing (Example 7.5), whereas KK is not asked about her experience with sex (Example 7.6) until one hour and ten minutes into the interview. This last point could suggest that Lisa is not always right about when – and whether – it is appropriate to ask a particular informant a delicate question and to expect the informant to answer. In one way, it may be viewed as an advantage for an interviewer that she is comfortable with asking all sorts of questions. It might even be that some informants find it more embarrassing to refuse to answer a question than it is actually to respond to a personal or somehow delicate question (due to common preferences in interaction (cf. 6.1) and the obligations of the ascribed roles in the interview (cf. 2.3)). In another way, asking a delicate question might mean risking that it is regarded as a breach of confidence. Nonetheless, the delicate questions most often work for Lisa – only rarely does an informant (like OP in Example 7.5) refuse to respond.

7.2 Jasper's interview style

For the study of Jasper's characteristic interactional features, I have studied the interviews with the following informants from the BySoc study:

- UF (best; male)

- KL (worst; male)

And in addition:

- BU (male)
- FB (female)

The best and the worst interview were obvious choices. For the two additional ones, I could, admittedly, have chosen any interview conducted by Jasper and, except for a wish to have a male and a female informant, the choice of the interviews with BU and FB is rather random.

One topic could be said to be a recurrent feature of Jasper's contributions in the BySoc interviews: That is, the mention of his purchase of a flat. However, this can hardly be ascribed to a consistent behaviour or reaction which is special for Jasper in the interview situation. Rather, it seems that the topic "Jasper's new flat" was current in his life at the time he conducted the BySoc interviews and, therefore, it was an obvious topic to talk about. Moreover, it seems that buying a flat is a topic that most informants can somehow relate to, take an interest in, or be curious about, which speaks in favour of Jasper's repeated mention of this particular topic. However, this recurrent feature cannot be said to be a characteristic of Jasper's as it is perfectly probable in the genre. Other than revealing something about Jasper's own life, it is not a topic which can be said to be risky or daring as discussed about Lisa's characteristics in 7.1. The topic is not potentially face-threatening nor does it challenge common norms of epistemic rights. The topic is not a private matter or delicate in any way. Rather than being a feature which stands out as particular to Jasper, it seems to be a useful strategy when no other topic is suggested (for instance, he only mentions it once in his best interview as part of another topic).

Furthermore, in several of Jasper's interviews, in fact, he shares quite a few experiences from his own life with the informant. However, this is not a recurrent feature, either, as the extent varies a lot and, in his best interview, for instance, it only happens once in the entire interview that a part of Jasper's life and experiences is topicalised (at a point where he compares it with something UF tells about his life). Thus, Jasper's life and experiences play a rather large part in some interviews (e.g., in his worst interview) but not in all.

On the surface, Jasper has no features which stand out as particular to him which are not part of the interviewer role: He has no consistent characteristics which leap to the eye such as, e.g., face-threatening or features which break with the common norms of epistemic rights as is the case with Lisa's assessments, co-constructions, and delicate questions. None of these three characteristics are salient in Jasper's interviews: He does not frequently make assessments of the informants' stories; he does not suggest new actions or perspectives as part of the informants' stories; and he does not ask direct, delicate or personal questions. As nothing seems immediately particular to Jasper's way of interviewing, I will have a thorough look at the results found in Chapter 5 to see if there are any traces of a pattern to be found here.

There seems to be no clear pattern as to how much Jasper speaks in his interviews; he utters between 18% and 41% of the words in his interviews, cf. Tables 5.1a and 5.1b (in comparison, Lisa, in contrast, has less variance since she utters between 21% and 30% in her interviews, although

admittedly these percentages are based on fewer interviews). If Jasper always spoke as much as 41% of the words in his interviews, it would probably be a fair characterization to call him a very talkative interviewer since interviewers would not normally be expected to talk that much. Furthermore, it would probably be experienced as impolite by some informants if they expected him to act like a standard interviewer role, i.e., a person who does not produce much more than questions and, otherwise, listen. However, the word counts show that Jasper speaks much less in other interviews. Thus, Jasper cannot be said to be either a very talkative interviewer or a rather silent interviewer: He can be both.

Moreover, no pattern is obvious as to how often or in what way Jasper takes the initiatives in his best and worst interview (cf. Table 5.2). For instance, it would stand out as something unexpected for the genre if Jasper often initiated new topics at places which are not a 'topic transition relevance place' (non-TTRP; cf. 5.2.1.2). It is potentially face-threatening to change a topic when there is no sign that the informant finds that the topic is exhausted, and it would probably be experienced as impolite. Nonetheless, Jasper does initiate a considerable number of his topics at non-TTRPs in his best interview (17 times; he does it 27 times at TTRPs; the informant does it at non-TTRPs 58 times). However, Jasper only initiates topics at non-TTRPs three times in his worst interview although the informant does it six times as often. Thus, this interactional behaviour cannot be said to be a recurrent feature of Jasper's interview style but, rather, something he does frequently in some interviews and rarely in others.

The share of initiatives in the total number of topic shifts does not draw a clear picture of Jasper's interview style, either. It varies. He can take more initiatives to change the topic than the informant or he may take fewer initiatives, as shown in Table 5.4. Admittedly, two interviews are too small a sample to draw conclusions. Lisa varies just as much, except that she takes by far the most initiatives in both her interviews. However, Jasper's best and worst interview indicate no clear tendency in how many initiatives to topic shifts Jasper takes compared to his informants.

Finally, Jasper does not seem to be consistent in how often he asks questions, at least, in his best and worst interview (cf. Table 5.5). He asks questions more than twice as frequently in his worst interview than he does in his best interview. Admittedly, asking many questions would hardly be considered characteristic of an interviewer as it is part of the "role" of being the interviewer (cf. 2.3). But, for instance, asking many questions without listening to the replies of the informant before posing a new question would be considered problematic – interviewing entails both asking questions and listening to the replies. What it means to ask many questions is relative: Generally, interviewers would be expected to ask many questions, but the number of questions would also depend on the interviewer's assessment of the informant's ability to come up with topics without the interviewer constantly asking questions. On the surface – on the slender basis of two interviews – it would seem that Jasper makes such a judgment; at least, he asks questions much less frequently in his good interview in which the informant is very talkative compared with the frequency of questions in his worst interview (Lisa has the same pattern though less distinct). Thus, the data show that Jasper does not consistently ask questions either frequently or rarely – he may do either.

In conclusion, none of the quantitative or qualitative analyses in Chapter 5 reveals any consistencies in Jasper's interview style. Apparently, Jasper does not have an interview style: No recurrent characteristics can be said to stand out as unexpected in the genre or as particular to his interview style in the same way that Lisa has unexpected features which are face-threatening and challenge common epistemic rights. The analyses show no consistency in Jasper's interview style at all. If anything, the analyses can be said to support that he seems to adapt his interview style to the informant he is interviewing.

Indeed, Jasper has a very flexible interview style. He seems to accommodate his approach and decode how it is suitable for him to act in the situation. This skill of being an interviewer "chameleon" might be ascribed to his extended experience as an interviewer; at the time of the BySoc study, he had conducted various research interviews. It can also be considered a rare, personal skill to read what seems appropriate in any given situation and act upon it. In any case, Jasper is not easily recognised as the interviewer across different interviews as he accommodates his interview style to whomever he is speaking with. However, this flexible and accommodating interview style also implies that he does not take risks, i.e., he does not directly try to make the informants confide in him. In my interview with Jasper, he makes it clear that he thought there are limits as to what you may ask of someone in their own home if you want to have the opportunity to come back.

Extract 7.1

My interview with Jasper (0:23:53-0:24:20)

Jasper is telling about an informant in one of his interviews. He has stated that it was a bit boring as the informant did not have much to tell; however, as is clear in the following, Jasper has his own limits as to what he wants to ask questions about.

- 1 Jasper: he doesn't sit and tell me about what the hell he is doing in Thailand
- 2 it's <just not>
- 3 Int: < no > that ha ha
- 4 Jasper: it is not necessarily I mean there I also had some limits to what I wanted to
- 5 probe into
- 6 Int: yes okay # what was that for instance
- 7 Jasper: I: could not think of asking if he went there to buy bit<ches>
- 8 Int: < no >
- 9 Jasper: or whether it was to sit with a small boy on his lap or something like that
- 10 Int: yes <no>
- 11 Jasper: <that> I simply had no wish to know ha <ha ha ha ha>
- 12 Int: <no no ha ha> yes yes # yes
- 13 Jasper: in that case I would of course also have been asked to leave straightaway wouldn't I
- 14 Int: yeah you're probably right³⁹

³⁹ Jasper: han sidder jo ikke og fortæller mig om hvad fanden han laver i Thailand altså det <er ikke>

Such statements explain that it is a conscious choice on Jasper's part not to risk controversial and delicate topics. Yet, the choice has the consequence that it is up to the informant to make the interview personal as Jasper does not have a direct or pro-active approach to making the informants share confidences or confessions. Jasper's flexible and accommodating interview style is his way of contributing to a framework and building up an atmosphere around the sociolinguistic interview, which in itself is supposed to inspire confidence and make the informant open up.

7.3 Conclusion on interview styles

As shown, Lisa has three features which stand out as characteristic for her interview style: 1) Giving assessments, 2) suggesting co-constructions for or perspectives on the informant's personal narratives, and 3) asking delicate and personal questions. Common to all of these three features are that they are all potentially face-threatening: If assessments are disagreed with, if co-constructions seem to miss the point in a story, or if delicate questions are asked in a context in which the informant is reluctant to reply, they can all cause a loss of face for one or both interactants. Basically, these figures constitute a rather risky interview style – and, as shown, the informants have different reactions to this interview style.

In contrast to this, Jasper's interview style can be described as flexible and accommodating to the specific informant. A topic seems to be recurrent – his new flat – but this is an interview strategy rather than a feature which stands out as specific to his interview style (for instance, it is only mentioned once in Jasper's best interview; thus, it seems he only employs the strategy if the informant runs out of topics). The analyses in Chapter 5 showed no consistent tendencies in Jasper's interview style, and no consistent features stand out as particular to his interview style, which is unexpected in the genre as is the case with Lisa's consistent, face-threatening characteristics. In my interview with him, Jasper states that he does not want to ask too personal questions because he wants to leave the informant with a positive impression, which means that the project may come back to collect more data if needed.

Indeed, the sociolinguistic interview is set for a relaxed conversation about the informant's life from cradle to grave (cf. 2.4 above). However, both of the informants also make a point of opening up the informant. To accomplish this, they have rather different approaches. Lisa takes risks: She fires

Int: < nej > det ha ha
 Jasper: det er heller ikke nødvendigvis altså der jeg havde også nogle grænser for hvad jeg ligesom borede i
 Int: ja okay # hvad var det for eksempel
 Jasper: je:g kunne ikke finde på at spørge om at han tog derned for at købe kællin<ger>
 Int: <nej>
 Jasper: eller om det var for at sidde med en lille dreng på skødet eller sådan noget
 Int: ja <nej>
 Jasper: <det> havde jeg simpelthen ikke lyst til at vide ha <ha ha ha ha >
 Int: < nej nej ha ha > ja ja # ja
 Jasper: så var jeg selvfølgelig også blevet bedt om at gå ikke
 Int: jo det var du muligvis ja

away questions (cf. Table 5.5 above) and is not reluctant to ask questions with a delicate and personal content. It seems she takes the instructions in the interview guide (cf. Appendix 1) rather literally and asks very direct questions about the topics suggested in the manual. Jasper, on the other hand, does not take the same risks. He plays it safe, accommodates, reads the situation and the informant and decides what is needed to make the interview go smoothly; and he makes sure no one loses face. Jasper does not tackle the topics suggested in the interview manual as directly as Lisa; although he states that it is to maintain a good relationship with the informants, it could also be suggested that he has some personal limits in that regard (as is suggested from his remark in Extract 7.1). Lisa, on the other hand, says in my interview with her that she used to be quite shameless (cf. 7.1.3) and sincerely curious about other people. Jasper says nothing of the kind. In some interviews, he shares several stories from his life with the informants, even rather personal ones, but he rarely asks the informants directly to do the same. Telling stories himself seems to be his (indirect) way to encourage the informant to do the same; he is setting an example, so to speak, and thereby creates a possible room for sharing confidences.

From a dialogical point of view, it is naturally also important to underline that the informants influence the outcome of the interviews and, most certainly, the relationship between the interviewer and the informant is an important factor. As mentioned, informants react very differently to Lisa's direct and potentially face-threatening interview style. OP gives relatively many dispreferred responses to Lisa's questions (cf. Tables 6.1a and 6.1b), whereas KK usually responds to them and ignores the few suggestions that she does not agree with (for instance, as in the extract of Excerpt 5.1 quoted in 7.1.2). Even in his worst interview, Jasper is able to speak for more than two hours with the informant, who does not really have much to say (as is obvious from the selection of topics in Appendix 4.d). Jasper manages to make the informant talk, and the informant even makes many of the topic shifts himself (cf. Tables 5.2 and 5.4). Even though the result may be boring, the interview still works somehow. And, in Jasper's best interview, he simply gives UF a microphone and a stage and acts the role of an interested audience. It would be an interesting experiment if I had had the chance to see how the interviewers would act if they swapped informants: How would KL, from Jasper's worst interview, react to Lisa's personal and direct questions? And would Jasper have more success with opening up the private person behind the lawyer in Lisa's worst interview? Would Lisa have encouraged UF, from Jasper's best interview, to take as much control of the interview as he does with Jasper, or would UF have been stopped by her assessments or co-constructions? And would Jasper have been able to encourage such confident and delicate topics and reflections if he had interviewed KK from Lisa's best interview as is the case in Lisa's interview with KK?

In conclusion, Jasper's interview style could be called a safe bet. The fact that he can make an interview last for almost two hours even though there seem to be no actual stories to find is a rather telling case; if he can do that with him, he can make a conversation work with anyone he sets his mind to. Lisa's interview style, being more risky, potentially face-threatening, and less flexible, as shown, does not work with everyone; for one, OP – a lawyer in his office – resists Lisa's interview style. However, when Lisa's interview style is welcomed by the informant, it has the potential of bringing out very personal stories that might not have come if she had not shamelessly asked

delicate questions – taking the risk of either opening the informant up or silencing her/him. The reaction to the interview style might also depend very much on the informant's expectations. And, ultimately, the preferred interview style is a matter of what is expected from the data collection.

There is not just one way of performing the role of an interviewer in the sociolinguistic interview. Jasper and Lisa are two rather different examples – and many others could be imagined. In fact, it seems likely that, even when taught directly by another interviewer, any individual would have her/his interpretation and conduct the interview in her/his own way. This is what I explore next.

In the following chapter, I explore whether the interviewers' individual characteristics in their interview style seem to be reflected in the results of a personality test and, thus, approach an explanation of why the interviewers differ when they have the same point of departure.

8. Seeking an explanation for the interviewer differences

In the preceding chapter, I have described what stands out as recurrent, characteristic features of each of the two interviewers in the present study. In this chapter, I wish to see whether these differences in interview style can somehow be explained.

As shown, the fact that one interviewer has taught another interviewer the craft of interviewing does not necessarily mean that the two interviewers end up with a similar interview style. It seems the sociolinguistic interview may be approached in different ways despite common aims and a shared interview guide (cf. Appendix 1). Having ruled out that being trained by another interviewer leads to an equivalent interview style, I find it a reasonable next option to suggest that an explanation for recurrent interactional interview features might be found in something that is fairly consistent for the interviewer her/himself. Looking at the individuals who conduct the interviews to search for an explanation makes it relevant to discuss how we speak of these individuals. What is a useful term for the interviewers and what they do in the sociolinguistic interview? Are the interviewers personalities or identities?

Based on the findings in Chapter 7 – the fact that Lisa has and Jasper does not have recurrent, interactional features characteristic of their respective interview styles – it seems a reasonable starting point for further study that something is stable. Thus, it seems as if the term personality rather than identities is the relevant term here. A theoretical discussion is, however, a necessary foundation for the next step: The aim of the experiment in the last part of the chapter is to explore whether a personality test can uncover or explain some of the individual differences uncovered in the analyses.

In 8.1, I look into ways to approach the individual at a general level. In 8.2, I explore different ways to approach what is referred to as personality. In 8.3, I describe how the testing in the present study was carried out. In 8.4, I compare the special characteristics of the interviewers' interview styles (cf. Chapter 7) with the results of each of the interviewers' personality test. In 8.5, I make my conclusions and, in 8.6, I discuss them.

8.1 The individual

There are several ways to approach the individual, the person, who takes up the role as the interviewer. Some claim that we have something like “a core” which secures the continuity of an individual being; some call it a self (James, 1950; Mead, 1962), and others refer to it as a personality (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 2008; Mischel, 2004). Others argue that individuals are free to construct themselves as they want to. They suggest that the continuity we experience with ourselves and others is not substantial; it is not an entity but may be ascribed to a discursively constructed self (Harré, 1998) or a relational self (Gergen, 2009). McCrae & Costa (2008) and McAdams (1992) are from a tradition in which persons are thought to be more or less consistent from one situation to the next; Harré (1998) and Gergen (2009), on the other hand, belong in a tradition of constructivism in

which many speak of a person in specific situations as 'doing identities'. As I elaborate in 8.1.2 below, I refer to the first tradition as realism and the latter tradition as constructivism.

In 8.1.1, I explore some of the vast literature on personality and compare this with points in literature about identities which I find to be an opposing yet contemporary term. In 8.1.2, I discuss the presuppositions of the personality term in contrast to identities. In 8.1.3, I discuss what personality testing is for in the present study.

8.1.1 'Personality' in contrast to 'identities'

As it seems that, at least, one of the interviewees has recurrent characteristic features and thereby displays some stability, the point of departure is in theories in which stability is the central point.⁴⁰ Within such theories, individuals are thought to have a core which can be referred to as a personality. Implying personality necessitates a definition of the term; however, I will postpone this quest temporarily to approach some theories and studies from personality psychology to look into what they presuppose about the entity they refer to as personality.

Personality psychology consists of a range of different approaches – e.g., trait, cognitive-affective, socio-cultural, narrative, behavioural, humanistic, psychoanalytic, type psychological, integrative approaches. However, my point of departure here is the trait tradition as this is a representative of the personality approach which uses tests to describe an individual's personality (more about that below). The trait theory can be viewed as one extreme as it claims that an individual's personality is fairly stable and independent of situational factors (as opposed to, e.g., the cognitive-affective approach, which I discuss below). After a discussion of the trait tradition, I compare this with notes on the identity approach.

The trait tradition

McCrae & Costa (2008) and Costa & McCrae (2008) belong to the so-called trait tradition in which personality is seen as a matter of a fixed number of traits which a person displays to a greater or lesser extent. McCrae & John (1992) refer to the literature, stating that the trait theory is "the dominant paradigm in European personality psychology" (ibid. , p. 199) and has been an important part of American psychology since Allport (see 8.2.2 below).

Many researchers within the trait tradition have the Five-Factor Model (also known as the Big Five) as their point of departure. According to McCrae & John (1992, pp. 181-184), the Five-Factor Model builds on a lexical study by Allport & Odbert's (1936) and, later, work on synonyms and rating scales by, e.g., Cattell (1946); basically, all the lexical items in the English vocabulary which may be associated with personality traits have been collected and gradually reduced to five traits. Thus, this approach is based on the hypothesis that a vocabulary will eventually develop words for all the observed personality traits in a given culture and that they can be reduced to a number of broad traits.

⁴⁰ A moot point is whether Jasper's flexible interview style may profitably be seen as characteristically stable.

McCrae & Costa (2008) make it clear that the Five-Factor Model as such is not a theory of personality since it does not explain, for instance, the origin of personality. However, they suggest such a theory in their text: *The Five-Factor Theory of Personality* (McCrae & Costa, 2008). According to this theory:

[T]he course of personality development is determined by biological maturation, not by life experience

(McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 167)

Thus, they (*ibid.*) state that personality traits are not developed as a result of the environment in which we are raised but as a result of biological dispositions. Personality traits are endogenous (*cf.* McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 165), so to speak, i.e., they have an internal cause. McCrae & John (1992) also remark that trait theorists expect consistency and "enduring individual differences" (*ibid.*, p. 199). However, results presented in McCrae et al. (1998) suggest that change in the cultural environment might influence people's personality.

Furthermore, McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 164) – with reference to, e.g., a study by McCrae & Terracciano (2005) – claim that the five factors are universal and, hence, not culture-specific. However, as noted by McCrae & John (1992, p. 185), cultures other than English-speaking ones may turn out to have a different vocabulary for personality traits and, thereby, turn out to have five – or, possibly, more – traits but not necessarily traits which correspond entirely to those found in the English vocabulary. McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 170) specify that age and gender differences across cultures seem not to challenge this statement.

According to McCrae & Costa (2008), the traits can account for the following:

[T]raits point to more-or-less consistent and recurrent patterns of acting and reacting that simultaneously characterize individuals and differentiate them from others, and they allow the discovery of empirical generalizations about how others with similar traits are likely to act and react

(McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 160)

Thus, they argue that traits show consistent patterns in people's actions and reactions and, hence, how they are characterised as individuals and are different from other individuals. Presumably, the trait approach assumes that two individuals whose test results show the same traits to the same extent would act the same; however, to my knowledge, such studies have never been carried out. McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 174) state, though, that every individual is like no one else. At the same time, it is clear that they focus solely on the traits, and they state that the theory cannot say much about the uniqueness of the individual. Rather, from a trait perspective, this is considered error variance (*cf. ibid.*).

McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 171) themselves mention that they do not explain why they find there are five factors rather than, for instance, six and why they call them what they do, but they remark that it would be quite a feat if they did and they claim it is not actually necessary for scientific understanding. McCrae & Costa (2008) claim that hundreds of studies which employ the Five-Factor Model "both presume and confirm that personality traits exist" (ibid., p. 160). However, a new study by Gurven, von Rueden, Massenkoff, et al. (2013) suggests that the Five-Factor Model may not be universal as their study of a largely illiterate, indigenous society in the Bolivian Amazon does not support the FFM. (See McCrae & John (1992, pp. 189-192) for a discussion of studies which suggests more or fewer factors than five.)

A challenge to the stability described by McCrae & Costa (e.g., 2008) in the trait tradition is e.g. the cognitive-affective approach developed by, e.g., Mischel & Shoda (1995) and Mischel (2004). In this approach, the classical stability – a kind of average behaviour specified for a given individual – is also included as in the trait tradition. Yet, Mischel (ibid.) describes another type of consistency in which the specific situation is taken into consideration in predicting behaviour. This type of consistency relies on stable 'if... then...'-patterns – i.e., if A happens in the situation, then the person does X; if B happens, then the same person does Y. Thus, Mischel (2004) argues that the situational context must be taken into consideration to find consistency in an individual's behaviour. Thus, individual variance is not necessarily seen as "error", as McCrae & Costa (2008) see it; and, unlike McCrae & Costa (2008), Mischel (2004) has no problem with studying specific situations. It should be noted that some other personality psychologists find that looking into situational factors is destructive of the field of personality psychology (e.g., McAdams & Pals, 2006). Consequently, McAdams & Pals (2006) do not consider a theorist such as Mischel to be a personality psychologist at all.⁴¹ Variability in behaviour is viewed as a result of an underlying system which also produces the average of the individual's behaviour. The personality system is explained as follows:

According to this model, the personality system contains mental representations whose activation leads to the behavioral consistencies that characterize the person. These representations consist of diverse cognitive-affective units or CAUs, which include the person's construal and representations of the self, people, and situations, enduring goals, expectations-beliefs, and feeling states, as well as memories of people and past events.

(Mischel, 2004, p. 11)

Thus, Mischel (ibid.) clearly finds that personalities have a more complex origin than simply dispositions, as McCrae & Costa (2008) advocate.

Mischel (2004) finds that looking at both the individual and the situation makes it possible to account for both the stability in personality and the variability of the individual's behaviour in different situations. Mischel (2004, p. 4) suggests that this could be the solution to the dispute between personality psychologists and social psychologist. That is, stating it in a very simple way, personality psychologists, on one side, traditionally look for consistency in persons without

⁴¹ Mischel (2004, p. 18) is aware that other psychologists have that view of his work and, particularly, his book *Personality and Assessment* from 1968 (New York: Wiley) to which McAdams & Pals (2006) also refer.

considering the situation, and social psychologists, on the other side, traditionally focus on the importance of the situation (cf. Mischel, 2004, p. 4). Mischel proposes that the theory makes it possible to look at both structures and dynamics, not an either-or, and to see both sides as aspects of the same underlying system. However, there are no widely-used tests built on the cognitive-affective approach as there is in the trait tradition.

McCrae & Costa's (2008) clear focus is on traits (although they do mention influences from a broader context in their model (see *ibid.*, p. 163)). But not everyone finds the focus on traits to be the full solution to the research area of personality psychology. McAdams & Pals (2006) acknowledge the contributions of the trait tradition and, in particular, the "Big Five" (which I referred to above as the Five-Factor Model) to modern psychology and behavioural and social sciences. However, they (*ibid.*) still find that personality psychology has not fulfilled its mission: "to provide *an integrative framework for understanding the whole person*" (McAdams & Pals, 2006, p. 204; italics in original). With reference to Kluckhohn & Murray (1953), they note that to achieve this, personality psychology must be able to account for how individuals are like everyone else (i.e., characteristics of our species), like some (i.e., individual variety in common characteristics), and like no one else (i.e., every individual is unique in some ways).

Thus, McAdams & Pals (2006) plead for an even more integrative approach to personality than for instance Mischel (whom they do not recognise as a personality psychologist at all, as noted above). McAdams & Pals (2006) suggest an integrative framework which they find that any psychology of the individual should have as its point of departure. They state that:

A full accounting of a person's life requires an examination of the unique patterning of dispositional traits, characteristic adaptations, and life narratives that characterize that life, all grounded ultimately in the evolutionary demands of the species and, at the same time, complexly influenced by culture.

(McAdams & Pals, 2006, p. 210)

Thus, they mention five factors – and, exploiting the widely-known "Big Five" (cf. above) in psychology, they refer to their points as "A New Big Five". As included in the quotation, they find that any theory should address 1) what all humans have in common (human nature), 2) the dispositions all individuals have (cf. personality traits), 3) the characteristic adaptations everyone makes related to time, place, and social contexts, 4) the narratives which individuals construct to make meaning and create identities and, finally, 5) cultural effects. As can be seen, McAdams & Pals (2006) include the personality traits as part of their model (the second point); however, they plead for an integrative theory of the individual, which captures a wider range of factors than the trait tradition. McCrae & Costa's (2008) Five-Factor Theory of Personality does not include as many perspectives (even in their model, *ibid.*, p. 163).

To sum up, the personality psychologists in the trait tradition look at individuals as having consistent personality traits which are determined by biology rather than environmental factors. Many believe the Five-Factor Model to be the right point of departure for a description of

similarities and differences in different individuals. Many studies also claim to prove the validity of the five factors cross-culturally although the five factors in one culture may not correspond completely to the traits in another. This view of personality makes it possible to develop tests to reveal an individual's personality in terms of traits (more about this in 8.2.2 below).

Defining personality

As seen above, the term personality is referred to in many different ways; thus, it is not a simple quest to define 'personality'. McAdams & Adler (2006, p. 469) note the term has been defined in at least a hundred ways – even several different ways by the same author. I will approach the issue rather pragmatically. For the purpose of the present study (i.e., testing the interviewers to see whether that would be a way to throw light on individual tendencies in terms of interview style), it makes sense to define and use the term personality very broadly about the personal, stable factors which the interviewers seem to display in the interview situation and which can somehow be observed in the interviewers' verbal behaviour. Said in another way, partly inspired by Mischel (2004): I use 'personality' about any distinctive features or personal, recurrent pattern of reaction which makes an individual distinct from other individuals.

In the following, I compare the reflections above with the term 'identities'. I will also touch on other, similar terms (e.g. role and positioning); however, I find that 'identities' are what replaces the term personality in the constructivist tradition, which is why I find that the term 'identities' rather than the other terms is the relevant term to compare with 'personality'.

'Identities' compared to 'personality' as described in the trait tradition

Indeed, some find personality to be a hopelessly old-fashioned term. In many branches of social sciences, it is much more in the spirit of the times to speak of identities constructed in situated time and place. However, it is interesting how we – at least, within the humanities – speak more and more about identities and constructions of ourselves (e.g., within psychology, Gergen (2009); within sociology, Berger and Luckmann (1966); within gender studies, Butler (e.g. 1988, pp. 520-521, with reference to Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Simone de Beauvoir); whereas, at the same time, it has become very common in the world outside universities to use personality tests for recruitment, team building, employee development, etc. Thus, outside the university walls, another discourse flourishes: It seems that we find one description of a given person to be better than others.

I write 'personality' in singular and 'identities' in plural. Personality, as defined above, is something of which we merely have one, whereas the term 'identities' is usually used in the plural. The latter term is inspired by a constructivist tradition and defined within this tradition, e.g., by the sociolinguist Blommaert (2005), who sees identities as:

[P]articular forms of semiotic potential, organized in a repertoire

(Blommaert, 2005, p. 207; italics in original)

Thus, Blommaert suggests that we each have a repertoire of semiotic resources from which we can construct potential identities. Furthermore, Blommaert (*ibid.*) argues that identities are not something we have; rather, he claims to speak on behalf of most authors within identity studies when he states that:

[P]eople don't *have* an identity [...] identities are constructed in practices that *produce, enact, or perform* identity

(Blommaert, 2005, p. 205; italics in original)

Thus, individuals have different potentials to enact identities. In that way, identities are clearly dissimilar to the personality term described in the trait tradition. Identities are produced, enacted, or performed in a given situation whereas the trait tradition speaks of a personality which is fairly stable and, indeed, something a person *has*.

Furthermore, identities must be recognised by others to be established (cf. Blommaert, 2005, p. 205); thus, much of the work on identities is carried out by others. It could be noted that this presents a problem to the analyst. It implies that, if an identity is not addressed explicitly, it may be hard to know for sure whether it has been recognised by others. As mentioned in 5.3.3 above, Blommaert (2005, p. 206) actually criticises CA for assuming that recognition must show in the data, i.e., be addressed explicitly, to be part of the analysis, but he gives no solution to this issue and does not suggest how analysts can otherwise be sure of the recognition of an identity. I have no solution to this issue. However, when analysing identities in a piece of data, I think it is important to be aware of the fact that it is hard for an analyst to prove whether an identity can be said to be recognised and, thus, established, when Blommaert (*ibid.*) states that identities are not necessarily addressed explicitly and, thereby, recognition may only be implied or not indicated at all. In contrast, personality in the trait tradition is regarded as endogenous personality traits (cf. McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 165); thus, it is obviously irrelevant for their existence whether they are recognised or not.

Blommaert's way of looking at identities is the typically postmodern way; however, earlier theorists have hinted at similar views. For instance, Mead (1962, p. 142) finds that we have many different 'selves', each referring to the acquaintances we have. The 'self' is momentary – but is experienced as a whole. And, before Mead, James (1950)⁴² writes:

[A] man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him.

(James, 1950, p. 294; italics in original)

Mead's and James' ways of speaking of selves differ from the postmodern way of speaking of identities in that the latter refers to them as constructions. Mead (1962) refers to momentary selves but the experience of them as one whole, and James (1950) refers to a man – a person – who has social selves; thus, they both have a more essentialist way of speaking of the self than as something

⁴² First published in 1890.

constructed (as is the case with postmodern 'identities') in which it is unclear what "essence", if any, constructs or decides on a construction in a given situation.

Fogtman (2007, p. 268) speaks of institutional versus personal identities in conversation. She suggests that the persons in her study who had a function that could be referred to as interviewing, could either contribute to a conversation solely as an institutional representative – performing an institutional identity – or add another level in which they involved themselves as a personal, non-institutional identity. She refers to Harré's (1998) term 'personal identity', which is a mere construction. A trait approach to personality, however, necessarily implies that individuals cannot repress the expression of their biological dispositions, i.e., playing the role of an interviewer does not mean they can escape their personality traits (I return to that in my discussion in 8.6).

Another term which is comparable with identities is Goffman's (1959) term 'roles'. Both terms are used about the performance of an individual in a given situation. On the surface, it seems that 'roles' are a good description of the participants in a sociolinguistic interview in which one person acts the role of an interviewer and another fulfils the role of an informant. However, the ideal of the sociolinguistic interview is that these roles should dissolve and change into a more equal relationship, so that the participants cannot be said to play the roles of an interviewer and an informant – at least not in all sequences of the interaction. Fogtman (2007, p. 62) notes that identities can be seen as a more dynamic alternative to roles.

Langenhove & Harré (1999, p. 14) suggest 'positioning' as yet another more dynamic alternative to roles. Any utterance can be said to position, at least, the speaker her/himself and the one being addressed and, possibly, also third parties. Thus, the term is very dynamic as the positioning of the interactants can potentially be changed by any act or reaction. Fogtman (2007, p. 62) also notes that positioning is more dynamic than roles.

Both the terms 'role' and 'positioning' are obviously different from 'personality'. Clearly, I have used the term 'role' in a way which is not comparable to 'personality' as understood in the trait tradition. I have used role about the overall distribution of tasks in the setting, namely that one person is present in the situation with the status or role of an interviewer and the other of an informant. These roles may be performed more or less openly, and they are not always obviously oriented towards; however, from my point of view, they underlie the situation even if they engage in what could be characterised as a friendly conversation or if the informant starts to question the interviewer. The roles are the condition for the situation to have come into being at all, no matter how the actual performance of the roles takes place.

Goffman (1959) notes that we can "act out of character" if we act in ways that are very far from the expectations of our surroundings (see Brinkmann (2010) for a comparison of the terms 'character', 'personality', and 'identity'). Garfinkel's (e.g., 1967, pp. 47-49) breaching experiments with his students certainly confirm that we have expectations of each other. This is not far from Blommaert (2005), who states that identities are limited in the sense that, "for an identity to be established, it must be *recognised* by others" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205; italics in original). Thus, an individual

cannot just act like a street boy if those around him consider the boy a nerd. At the same time, Goffman's notion of 'acting out of character' and Garfinkel's breaching experiments both remind us that we see each other as fairly stable – we have expectations about each other's character. Our everyday perception of our self and others is that we are somewhat stable individuals with a fairly predictable pattern of reactions, which could be called personality. In a way, theories of identity construction also adhere to some degree of stability when Blommaert (2005, p. 205) claims that identities must be recognised to be established. At least, the consequence of this is that we hold each other to the expected behaviour.

In the next section, I discuss the underlying differences in the presuppositions of the two terms, personality and identities, by comparing the underlying, in many ways, contrasting traditions (cf. realism and constructivism, respectively).

8.1.2 The presuppositions of personality and identities

The terms personality and identities derive from two different traditions. Personality originates in a tradition in which it is believed that there is a reality which exists independently of any consciousness about it; that is, there is a reality which exists regardless of whether it is perceived by someone's consciousness or not. Despite this, or because of this, it is believed that we can achieve knowledge about the world around us; thus, this tradition is concerned with the ontological level of knowledge. I refer to this as 'realism', the belief that there is something "real" out there.

One contrast to realism is what I refer to as 'constructivism': Human beings only perceive the world through concepts which are created by society or in human interaction; thus, we cannot know for sure whether an 'objective' world exists – a world independent of human perception – we can only know what we perceive. This tradition is concerned with the epistemological level of knowledge. Thus, we cannot state whether we have an enduring personality, either; we can only perceive what we construct in different situations which may be more or less true in our memories of what we "have been" before and what is expected of us. This is the approach behind a term such as 'identities'.

The personality psychologist Hofstee (1994, p. 150) explicitly dissociates himself from the constructivist tradition. He states that human beings "do not have direct access to reality" (Hofstee, 1994, p. 150). Thus, in one way, this quotation acknowledges constructivist thought, namely, that human beings only have perceptions. However, it is clear that like personality psychologists, he believes that there is something real or true, whereas constructivists argue that we only know for sure that we have the perceptions.

A continuum

There are theories within each of these two traditions which are moderate and others that are more extreme. Therefore, I suggest viewing these two traditions or approaches as a continuum with realism at the one end and constructivism at the other. For instance, some personality psychologists

could be positioned at the radical end of realism. They claim that an individual has certain personality dispositions which form the basis of her/his behaviour; hence, personality is seen as stable. McCrae & Costa (e.g., 2008) are representatives of this. McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 174) acknowledge the uniqueness of every individual; however, they make it clear that their Five-Factor Theory cannot reveal anything about this aspect of a person, nor do most other personality theories, they claim. Generally, individuality is considered error variance within their theory of personality traits, and they argue that it takes actual biological changes to alter one's personality (i.e., as in the case of Phineas Gage, who got a metal bar through his head in 1848 and, afterwards, supposedly changed his personality (cf. McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 168)). A less extreme view which still leans towards realism is, e.g., Mischel & Shoda (e.g., 1995) and Mendoza-Denton, Ayduk, Ozlem, et al. (2001), who claim that behaviour depends on personality as well as situational factors.

At the radical end of constructivism, we find the American social psychologist Gergen (2009). Gergen rejects the existence of a personality in the classic sense and replaces it with a self which is solely relational – he speaks of a 'relational self' (cf. Gergen, 2009). He is a proponent of what he terms social constructionism⁴³ and explains how everything that is commonly connected to personal/individual consciousness can be explained in terms of relations. A less extreme approach within constructivism is Harré.

Positioning the present study on the continuum, I find that some kind of personal stability is a plausible and realistic point of departure due to the recurrent interview features of the two interviewers found in Chapter 7. Nonetheless, I consider it beyond the aims of the present thesis to argue which form a personality has or does not have. I will not argue whether personality is a construction maintained by our own and others' insistence, whether it is due to a need for or an expectation of consistency or whether it is rooted in brain structures, genes, or something else as claimed by, for instance, McCrae & Costa (2008). Thus, I presume a personal stability which may change gradually over time but, at least, not from one day to the next. However, I do not deny that it is just as real a sensation or experience of our every day perception of life that we have different sides, different facades, or whatever else we may refer to it as, all of which still seem like they are part of us. We may display one face or one side of ourselves in relation to family and another with a group of friends, though some characteristics still seem fairly general. Thus, I consider the present study to be positioned at the moderate end of realism.

It may seem contradictory to position a thesis which is declared dialogical at the end of realism in the continuum in which the point of departure is personality. Dialogism might seem more consistent with a constructivist approach in which an individual's behaviour is shaped in dialogues with surroundings. However, I will argue that dialogism and personality are not incompatible. Indeed, dialogism does not reject individuality; rather, it is in agreement with the term 'situation transcendence' which is central to dialogism as described by Linell (2009, p. 50), who explicitly acknowledges the individual point-of-view "as a result of his or her *biographical experiences*"

⁴³ Gergen refers to constructivism within the field of psychology as 'social constructionism' to distinguish it clearly from other fields in which it is called constructivism; for example Perregaard (2007, p. 18) – discussing narrativity – calls Gergen's theory more radical and narrow than social constructivism.

(Linell, 2009, p. 53; italics in original). This is not to say that we act autonomously (Linell, 2009, p. 13), only that we are deeply influenced by our past experiences and not only what happens in the present context. Consequently, this stance deviates from radical theories (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 2008): for instance, in this more moderate, dialogical perspective, life experiences are stressed as important for an individual, in contrast to the radical view in which mainly biological dispositions are thought to determine personality.

Given this description of the present study and how it relates to the term personality, it should be clear that the study is not either positioned at the extreme end of realism in the described continuum. Yet, the tests I consider for the experiment in the following are indeed positioned at the radical end as they presuppose that an individual's personality is essentially stable throughout her/his life time. As described in 8.1.1, this is simply the point of departure for most tests – and with good reason, it is tempting to add, as it is obviously less complicated to elaborate tests which, largely, do not take the time aspect and external factors into account. In defence of the approach in tests, it seems logical that tests must be, at least, somewhat generalising as it would be difficult if not impossible to take unique personal experiences into account. More about that in 8.2.2; suffice it to say here that I acknowledge the discrepancy yet still see the relevance of testing whether personality tests – despite their presuppositions about the restricted changeability of an individual's personality traits – can point to an explanation for the differences in interview styles.

In the following section, I discuss the use of personality testing in the present study.

8.1.3 What is personality testing for in the present study?

Throughout the design of the study, the interviewers have been the centre of focus as they have pointed out the good and bad interviews which constitute the data of the present study. When exploring the differences in interview style, it seems to make sense to maintain this focus: that is, to have the two interviewers' personality tested and see if the results of the test somehow reflect the differences observed in their interview styles.

One objection could be that from a dialogical perspective, the interviewer and the informant have an equal share in what they make of an interview situation. Therefore, it could be argued that it would make sense to obtain information about the personalities of both the informants as well as the interviewers. However, this is not a premise in the tests which is widely used these days and which I shall also use here (as I return to below). If considered at all, it is, at least, not part of the tests that an individual's personality should be influenced, i.e., expressed differently, whether in one type of company or another or depending on the particular personality traits of this or that company. No studies show that, for instance, an individual with a low degree of extroversion would be either more or less extroverted in the company of a friend who scores high on the extroversion dimension. It is simply not in the scope of personality testing in the trait tradition that traits would depend on the context and, thereby, the specific traits of other individuals present. Besides, if I did compare the interview style with features of the informants, I would only have one interview for each of the

informants to point out special characteristics, whereas I have the special features of the interviewers confirmed in several contemporary interviews.

Besides potentially reflecting consistent features in interview style, the results of a personality test could possibly also throw light on another level of individual disparity: An interviewer's preference in terms of what s/he would say is characteristic of a good or a bad interview. However, as is evident from Chapter 4, there is – at least, on the surface – no big difference in what the interviewers aim at in their interviews. Yet, despite the interviewers' similar aims, it was shown in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 that they apparently have rather different realisations of the aims. Consequently, it seems that the interviewers' stated preferences are not what is relevant to explain – it is, rather, the differences in their realisation which are curious. Therefore, I merely focus on exploring whether a personality test can explain the differences in their interview styles.

I should note that the presuppositions of the personality test – at least, if used for, e.g., recruitment – is that it may suggest which of several candidates can be considered the best at doing a given task. An assessment of the interviewers would require clear aims or expectations for interviewer behaviour; such aims have possibly been clear when the interviewers were engaged, but they are not explicit in the interview guide or anything else to which I have had access. However, most importantly, as stated from the beginning in relation to the interviews, the aim of the thesis is not normative; this also applies to the personality testing in the present study: The aim is not to point out the best interviewer or what a good interviewer personality is. Besides, as has already been seen, various interview styles may still result in good interviews.

In the following, I explore two personality psychological approaches to gain knowledge of an individual's specific personality – i.e., as concrete as personality can be made – in terms of traits.

8.2 Ways to approach personality

There are different ways to approach the task of uncovering a person's personality. Most personality tests to date are based on introspective⁴⁴ tests. An alternative to this is to look at the language use of a person to uncover an individual's personality. In the former, the result of a personality test is built on a questionnaire, which is actually a range of statements that is usually evaluated by the person in question; in the latter, the personality profile is based on actual behaviour (i.e., language use).

On the surface, it seems an obvious choice to explore personalities based on language use as the data in the present study consist of spoken and transcribed language use. I discuss the possibilities of this option in 8.2.1. However, the introspective test method is much more widely used; in 8.2.2, I explore the personality test based on self-reporting. In 8.2.3, I account for the personality testing in the present study.

⁴⁴ I understand introspection in a way inspired by James (1950), who defines introspection as: "[T]he looking into our own minds and reporting what we there discover." (James, 1950, p. 185). Thus, I use the word interchangeably with self-reporting.

8.2.1 A theory about personality and language

As noted, traditionally, personality psychologists speak of personality in the singular. However, challenges to this are suggested and discussed in a study by Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006). In connection to language, Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006, p. 99) raise the question: "Do bilinguals have two personalities?", meaning one personality associated with each of the two cultures of the bilingual. Thus, the very existence of a personality is not questioned; yet, the authors present a study which shows that some bilinguals vary significantly in some of their personality features, depending on the culture-specific cues they are influenced by. In the study by Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006), even linguistic cues from one of the native languages of the bilinguals are supposedly enough for some of the informants to trigger the specific personality associated with that culture. Accordingly, Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006) claim that language is closely connected to culture and that personality is influenced by the norms of the culture.

The claims in Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006) stem from a tradition in which Pennebaker could be said to be in the lead. Pennebaker and colleagues invented the computer programme LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count). The computer programme was developed to determine individuals' personality (for a thorough description, see Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). It was developed and especially designed to study features in written language about people's bad life experiences in relation to health, although, subsequently, it has been tested more widely (e.g., Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003, p. 553). The basis is that all words in the English vocabulary fit into one of the two categories: 'content words' (e.g., nouns, regular verbs) and 'style words' (e.g., pronouns, prepositions, articles) (cf. Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010, p. 29). Tausczik & Pennebaker (*ibid.*, p. 29) explain that the content words convey the content of what is said and the style words reveal how a person communicates this content. Thus, the style words are thought to be particularly interesting as they are assumed to indicate a person's psychological state. According to the theory behind the programme, a speaker's use of style words can be connected to traits of her/his personality. The approach is to analyse the language use of a specific individual by means of the computer programme, which can, then, state the personality of the person whose language output it has been fed.

The presupposition of this approach is that every individual has a personality – or, rather, one for each of their native languages – and that this personality can be defined by means of the language use of the individual. This is a rather radical approach. Looking at interaction and personality together as in the present study naturally builds on the assumption that personality will somehow affect an individual's interview style; however, relying on context-free, quantitative measures of word use as the only source to predict a personality may be said to belong at the extreme end of so-called 'realism' in the continuum I explained in 8.1.2 above.

The programme LIWC has been widely used to predict personality on the basis of different social media (e.g., Twitter (Golbeck, Robles, Edmonson, & Turner, 2011), blogging (Yarkoni, 2010), text messaging (Holtgraves, 2011)). Furthermore, Holleran & Mehl (2008) show that very private

information – i.e., twenty minutes stream-of-consciousness essays – is a good basis for judges to evaluate personality rather accurately. However, there are also critical voices with respect to personality judgments based on language use as I account for in the following.

Critique of the LIWC approach

Pennebaker & King (1999) see the LIWC programme as the first step to determine to which degree linguistic style is a valid strategy to study personality. It could even be seen as more objective than studies based on self-reports (more about this in 8.2.2 below) since it is based on actual behaviour, i.e., language use, although, arguably, the actual behaviour may have the purpose of collecting data for the test.

Tausczik & Pennebaker (2010) admit that the computer programme miscodes instances of irony, sarcasm, and idioms since it cannot take context into account. However, the fact that it cannot take contexts into account causes more problems than those mentioned by the developers themselves. For instance, I find it problematic that some of the same stimuli are taken to mean a range of different things. For example, frequent use of "I" is interpreted in terms of age, gender, and honesty. Besides, from a dialogical perspective, it is not expected that words are used with the same meaning every time. The meaning of a word depends on the context, the way it is said, etc.

Schegloff (1993) also makes a general point (see 6.2.2 above) which is relevant in this regard: Even though Schegloff is concerned with the study of interaction in particular, the point that not everything can be quantified meaningfully is pertinent for word use as used in the case of the above-mentioned LIWC programme. Building on Schegloff's point, it seems a reasonable claim that the use of words will, for the most part, rely on the topic. An actual description of an individual's report of her/his own mental state or personal characteristics or the like seems a reasonable source for identifying, at least, some personal characteristics. However, at the homepage (i.e., the front page of www.liwc.net), it is stated that the LIWC programme can deal with, for instance, "emails, speeches, poems, or transcribed daily speech"; as I see it, the word use in all of these cases seems likely to depend on the topic. It could be imagined that the language use of a single person including emails, speeches, poems, and daily speech – as mentioned on the homepage – could all be about one topic – for instance, the environment. It seems unclear whether such a constitution of language data is thought to be able to accumulate an actual personality profile or whether self-reflective or other kinds of language data about personal affairs must be included in addition to possible professionally-discussed topics. Not all the words, such as "I" or references to people, which are analysed in the LIWC programme are necessarily relevant to apply frequently in talk about, e.g., the environment. Therefore, it can be questioned whether it is possible to quantify language in this way because the relevance of using specific words depends on the content of the interaction.

As hinted above, the approach to language behind the LIWC programme does not match the dialogical approach of the present study in which word meanings are not stable – as presumed in the LIWC programme – but specified as a result of a concrete interaction between individuals. Naturally, I cannot use a method that goes directly against the declared perspective on language of

the present study. I admit that a comparative study of the results of a personality test and the results of an analysis carried out by the LIWC programme would have been interesting. It would have been tempting to suggest that this could even be a solution to the shortcoming of the present study: As a personality test was not an option for the informants (as mentioned in 8.1.3 above), I would, instead, have had the spoken data from the informants to find out about their personality traits by means of the LIWC programme and, thereby, gain the opportunity to compare the personality of the interviewees and the informants (without consideration for the ethical issues connected to such an approach). It could be suggested that, whereas most personality tests are based on introspection guided by a range of statements to be evaluated, the LIWC approach is based on actual behaviour (i.e., the person's verbal behaviour). However, Pennebaker & King (1999) show that there is only a moderate correlation between the LIWC factors and the Big Five dimensions (more about these five traits in 8.2.2.1 below). This is problematic for both of the tests as it seems impossible to determine which test would give the most correct description of an individual's personality.

I conclude that the approach to personality suggested by Pennebaker and colleagues by way of the LIWC programme is incompatible with the dialogical approach, fundamentally problematic for several reasons as reviewed above, and certainly unsuitable for the present study. In the following, I reflect more on personality testing based on self-reporting.

8.2.2 Personality testing based on self-reporting

Approaching the interviewer with personality tests broadly used for recruitment implies that one person should be able to fulfil the role of interviewing better than another – the personality tests should help in the process of finding "the right person to do interviewing". This is quite in line with what appears to be a trend in our part of the world: It seems widely acknowledged that personality tests can tell who will be the right person to carry out a certain job. For instance, two of the biggest job data bases in Denmark – jobindeks.dk and jobzonen.dk – offer a free personality test for job applicants to prepare them for tests in the process of employment and to make people aware of their own preferences and patterns. However, testing is not only used for recruitment; personality tests in various versions are used for such diverse purposes as employee development, couples therapy, testing people applying for adoption, testing suitability for the military, predicting automobile driving accidents (Hilakivi et al., 1989; Trimpop & Kirkcaldy, 1997), and as a clinical instrument dating back to the sixties when, e.g., homosexuality was considered a diagnosis (cf. Cattell & Morony, 1962). And this is not an exhaustive list. All these uses support the claim that personality testing is widely acknowledged as a way to find facts about individuals for many different purposes and in many different contexts.

Many tests are developed within personality psychology. The American psychologist Allport worked to separate personality psychology from social psychology and sociology (cf. Barenbaum & Winter, 2008). Furthermore, he pleaded for and, thus, established the trait tradition within personality psychology. However, Allport (e.g., 1961, pp. 3-15) certainly acknowledged the

uniqueness of the individual and argued that it was not only a matter of traits⁴⁵. Alternatives to the trait tradition are, e.g., Freud's psychodynamic approach and Jung's type psychology in which all persons are considered to be one of a range of specific types. Furthermore, as mentioned, the point of departure in traits is also challenged by, e.g., integrative and cognitive-affective approaches (e.g. McAdams & Pals, 2006; Mischel & Shoda, 1995). These traditions can be said to be contemporary although the trait tradition has largely superseded the type theory.

The different traditions naturally rely on how the individual human being is perceived. Freud (e.g., 1887, p. 209) argued that human beings are shaped by their infantile sexuality in the first years of their life. In the type tradition, human beings are considered a specific type (e.g., Myers-Briggs's Type Indicator inspired by Jung (assessed in, e.g., Carlyn, 1977)). As a reaction to this, in the trait tradition, it is argued that human beings have different degrees of the same traits. In this chapter, I have limited myself to account for the current trait tradition. In the following, I will narrow the discussion down to one test within the trait tradition. For a discussion and critique of trait psychology in general, see e.g. Bandura (1999).

Within the trait tradition, there is some disagreement as to how many traits we have: Eysenck (1983), e.g., suggests three; as reviewed above, McCrae & Costa (2008) propose five (taking their point of departure in the Five-Factor Model (cf., e.g., McCrae & John, 1992)), and Cattell & Morony (e.g., 1962) sixteen. Assessing how many personality traits any individual can be ascribed presupposes that individuals have personalities and, as mentioned, I consider that discussion to be beyond the range of the present thesis. Suffice it to say in this context that the trait models share the view that everyone has all the traits – our individuality (or personality) emerges as a result of our having the different traits to various degrees. However, to explore the use of personality tests, it is necessary to settle on one of them.

I considered several tests for the present study. If a personality test should stand the chance to explain differences in interview style, it seems that the most relevant test would be one that is used for both recruitment as well as pure personality testing (so the recruitment part does not overshadow the personality part), and a test that is so-called scientifically proven and, certainly, widely-used. For the purpose of the present study, I have, therefore, chosen the NEO-PI-R Personality Test. Moreover, I have chosen the extended version, which includes a business part in addition to the clinical personality part.

The NEO PI-R test is one of the most validated personality tests. The test is translated into several languages. The Danish version is continuously updated as psychologists who use the test are encouraged to give feedback about the test. Furthermore, I discussed the choice of NEO PI-R with the psychologist in the present study (more about the concrete process in the present study in 8.3 below), who confirmed this test to be appropriate for my purpose.

⁴⁵ For instance, Allport (1961, p. 139ff) speaks of the unconscious and, thus, can be said to include a psychodynamic perspective although he does not take it to the same extent as Freud or Jung.

NEO PI-R is short for NEO Personality Inventory Revised; NEO refers to three of the five traits in the test – Neuroticism, Extroversion, Openness. As other psychological tests, it is often referred to as an inventory rather than a test in order to stress that its result is not a grade, a value, or the like. It is stated explicitly that one test result is not considered better than another. However, I continue to refer to it as a test (hence, the NEO PI-R test) because, for any of the mentioned purposes of psychological tests, some results are considered better or more appropriate than others for the position in question (that may be a job, an adoptive parent, suitability for military service, driving safely, etc.). Therefore, I consider it a test and refer to it as such, despite the insistence by NEO PI-R and other psychological tests that there are no values indicated in the results.

In the following, I account for the NEO PI-R test more specifically.

8.2.2.1 The NEO PI-R test

The NEO PI-R test is based on the international Five-Factor Model (also known as the Big Five), which builds on the trait tradition (see McCrae & Costa (1997) for a full account of the Revised NEO Personality Inventory). Following the Five-Factor Model (e.g., McCrae & John, 1992), we have the following five traits (I note the Danish translations in parentheses as the test and the feedback are given in Danish; the Danish translations are from the feedback report):

- Neuroticism (Emotionelle reaktioner; literally, *emotional reactions*)
- Extroversion (Ekstroversion)
- Openness (Åbenhed)
- Agreeableness (Venlighed)
- Conscientiousness (Samvittighedsfuldhed)

Each factor has six facets and eight statements in the test; thus, the test consists of $5 \times 6 \times 8 = 240$ statements. For each statement the respondent has to decide to which degree the statement is true of her/himself (or the person in question if filled out on someone else's behalf). The answers are ranged on a Likert scale with the following options: 'Meget uenig' (strongly disagree), 'uenig' (disagree), 'neutral' (neutral), 'enig' (agree), 'meget enig' (strongly agree).

To ensure validity and reliability, the replies in the test are evaluated with regard to different tendencies. For instance, it is assessed whether the test person has a particular tendency to agree or disagree with the statements in the test; the test results may not be considered reliable if a person simply agrees with any statement. Furthermore, it is assessed whether the test person tends to display her/himself in a remarkably positive or negative way (it is easy to imagine the first to be tempting – possibly, subconsciously – if a job is at stake). Moreover, the time it takes for the respondent to answer each of the statements in the test is measured and it is noted in the programme if the person goes back and changes some of her/his replies; supposedly, these pieces of information are taken into account in the validity scale in the computer-generated feedback report.

As accounted for in 2. above, the interviews in the present study were conducted in 2005-2007. The interviewers filled out the personality test in 2012 (cf. 8.3 below). That means the test carried out in 2012 is supposed to be valid of the interviewers' behaviour 5-7 years earlier and, thereby, presupposes that personality is rather consistent. Several sources argue that it is. According to Roberts, Wood & Caspi (2008), empirical evidence supports the idea that the structure remains throughout a life time. However, they (ibid., pp. 387-388) do point out that changes in work or family experiences can cause changes in someone's personality traits.

Furthermore, therapy can change people, at least, to some degree (Costa & McCrae, 1986). According to Roberts, Wood & Caspi (2008, p. 380), it is especially between the ages of 20 and 40 that people are likely to change. Studies also show that people do not change considerably after the age of 50. Changes usually occur because of social pressure (Roberts et al., 2008, p. 390) – so personality traits are not the direct cause of changes; personality traits are merely altered by the changes we experience in our life. Moreover, some personality traits might be more easily changed. And how likely a person is to change might depend on the personality traits they have (according to Roberts et al., 2008, p. 381). Roberts et al. (ibid.) remark that the fact that personality traits can change does not mean they necessarily will.

As mentioned in 8.1.1 above, the Five-Factor Model (FFM) has been found by means of the lexical approach. McCrae & Costa (2008) argue for the validity of this approach as follows:

Personality traits are recognized by laypersons, who have a rich vocabulary for describing themselves and others (e.g., *anxious, bold, curious, docile, efficient*)
(McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 160; italics in original)

McCrae & John (1992, p. 184) argue that there are several reasons for searching for personality dimensions in the natural language; for example, this is how laypersons understand themselves and other individuals, and there is a wealth of English vocabulary to describe personality traits. However, McCrae & Costa (2008) comment that the lexical hypothesis may be too strong (referring to the fact that some languages only have words for two different colours without implying that the speakers can only see these two colours), but they do not take the consequences of this hypothesis by suggesting an alternative or finding other proofs of the traits. They refer to research that has been carried out in other cultures and, so far, most research confirms that the traits of FFM exist in these cultures and that the traits are all related in similar ways (an exception is, e.g., Gurven et al., 2013). McCrae & Costa (2008) mention the possibility that some cultures could have special traits though they feel rather confident that such traits, as they put it, "would probably be interpretable as characteristic adaptations within FFT [i.e., Five-Factor Theory]" (McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 169); however, they do not mention the possibility that the lexical hypothesis limits the exploration of traits in different cultures.

Within trait psychology, there are different opinions about who has the best access to an individual's personality and, thus, who should actually answer the test to make the result as valid as possible. Hofstee (1994) asks the question: Who owns the definition of personality? He (ibid., p. 150)

declares that he agrees with McCrae, who stated in a personal conversation that personality belongs to reality, not any operationalisation of the term, although the latter is all we have access to as we do not have direct access to reality. However, Hofstee (1994) and McCrae & Costa (2008) do not agree on which approach is the best to get the most correct picture of an individual's personality. Hofstee (1994) argues that we get the best view of personality by asking others to be the judges, i.e., fill out a test with statements relevant for personality traits formulated in the third person singular for a person they know well. He (ibid., pp. 150-151) finds that both reliability and validity benefit from this approach in which personality traits are found as a result of an average of several judges (with or without the person in question included) rather than solely the person her/himself as in self-reporting. McCrae & Costa (2008, pp. 161-162) respond to the critique of self-reports by stating that people are very good judges of personality traits. They (ibid.) base their arguments on the assumption of rationality and that laypersons know the language of traits very well as it is important for us to be able to express social judgments. As I return to below, it is only the interviewers themselves who will fill out the test in the present study; this is also a common way to use personality tests, for instance, in recruitment, and it seems a sufficient approach for the purpose of the experiment in the present study.

On the positive side, it can be said about the test that it offers an operationalisation of personality. It suggests a way to simplify a very complex and intangible phenomenon, so to speak. It offers a possibility to compare one individual with another at an otherwise rather abstract level. However, several points of critique can be raised of the test.

Critique of the NEO PI-R test

There is a range of problems in connection with assessing the statements which constitute the test. Some of these are related to the introspective method for testing personalities. For instance, it seems obvious that it influences an individual's replies in a personality test what they think of themselves. A person with a high self-esteem may draw a more positive view of her/himself than an individual who lacks in self-confidence. It could be argued that self-confidence is part of the personality; however, I would guess that, from a trait perspective, self-confidence – if spoken of at all – would be considered to be easier to change than actual personality traits. As mentioned, the test rules out some tendencies in the replies, but both a person with high and a person with low self-esteem may still present a reliable picture of themselves according to the test though with a small tendency to the positive or negative side. However, this may not give a comparable measure for a hiring committee, unless it could be said that it is universal that people with a high self-esteem will always be preferable to someone with a low self-esteem.

Another factor which is likely to influence a person's evaluation of the statements in the test would be what the person believes others think of him. At least in part, one could imagine that, when assessing some of the statements in the test, the test person would take into consideration how others have reacted to her/him in different situations. With many of the statements in the test, it makes sense to think of different situations in which the test person has once been, but it might be a bit random what memory comes to her/his mind when s/he evaluates the statement. If the test person has experienced different reactions to her/himself in specific situations in the past, the most

memorable of the reactions or persons might more or less unconsciously be the one to influence her/his reply.

Moreover, it seems only plausible that we are influenced by our personal wishes for how we would like others to see us. Social desirability cannot be ruled out in this kind of testing and certainly not when the personality test is part of a process which entails an approval (or the opposite), e.g., when applying for a job or for the right to adopt a child. In a similar way, cognitive dissonance could be thought to mark the test in one way or another as it is not unlikely that individuals behave in one way, even though their expressed ideals are different, which means there might be an incongruence between what people say in the test and how they actually act (pointed out as dissonance by Festinger, 1962, pp. 1-2).

Finally, the test results necessarily depend on the individual person's understanding of the statements in the test. This could ultimately have consequences for the comparability of the test results as the statements may be understood differently by different individuals. However, it is impossible to know the extent and consequences for the comparability of the results due to this – differences in understanding may influence one person in one direction and someone else in another or the differences may be outbalanced by the various formulations measuring each of the traits (cf. above). From a dialogical point of view, it is expected that any two individuals and even the same individual in different situations may interpret and, thus, respond differently to the statements in the test. Therefore, one could wonder whether the test results can be understood and compared with other person's test results if they are not weighed against the test person's own explanations of her/his understandings and, possibly, also the reasons for her/his assessments.

In general, the use of tests are often criticised for not knowing whether the subjects understand the statements in the test and that we cannot know whether the subjects actually have the self-understanding to report on their own personality. McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 161) seem to regret that researchers do not bother to report these parts of their research.

Another problem with the NEO PI-R test is that it seems to reject the importance of context. The statements in the test are vaguely formulated, so that everyone – supposedly – can relate to the statements, at least, to some degree. But it makes it hard to think of concrete situations which could be the basis for an answer. McAdams (1992, p. 350) also notes about the rating procedure that things must be formulated in a very straightforward manner to be understood by anyone; this means that it is impossible to describe any nuances of the situations on which the ratings are based. Furthermore, he (*ibid.*) points out that it is problematical that the test persons are supposed to rate themselves which means they necessarily imagine an average with which they compare themselves.

Furthermore, the validity of a personality test based on self-reporting relies on several circumstances. For instance, the validity depends on the individual's ability to reflect on her/himself and her/his behaviour. Thus, in relation to the personality test, it is the test person's task to respond to each of the statements in the test and decide whether s/he feels the statement is a suitable description of her/him or not and to what degree. In that way, the test results are not any stronger

than the skills for introspection or observation of the person who fills out the test. Some people are very self-reflective, whereas others are rather oblivious of their own behaviour; differences between the individuals' capability to answer the questionnaire should be expected. Even though Roberts, Wood & Caspi (2008, p. 393) are proponents of a stable personality, which they claim to prove in their studies, they still acknowledge that studying personal change by means of self-reporting relies on individuals' own skills to recognise changes in themselves. Moreover, it is important that the individual fills out the test thoroughly and conscientiously. A careless completion of the task does not give a valid result.

Another important factor for the validity of the result of the test is that it relies on the presupposition that it is possible to access "deeper psychological entities". According to the five factor theory (cf. McCrae & Costa, 2008, p. 163) – which is supposed to explain the foundation for the five traits – traits are neither an individual's pattern of behaviour nor the "plan" behind the behaviour; rather, the traits are deeper psychological entities. These entities cannot be observed, nor can they be accessed by private introspection; they can only be inferred from the behaviour and experience on which self-reports are based. One could question how it is possible to infer traits from self-reported behaviour – and, the other way around, how it is possible to know for sure that such traits exist when they cannot be observed directly but only be inferred.

A final note on validity: it seems reasonable to expect at the very least that a personality test should be validated by the person in question: Test results cannot be considered valid if the person tested does not recognise, at least, parts of the personality described in the results (except in cases of self-denial naturally). However, an identity between a person's perception of her/his own personality and the results of a personality test based on self-reporting should not be an unreasonable demand. In fact, it should be expected. Even though the test feedback is phrased in more general terms and in a more technical language than the more plain formulations of the statements to which the individual is asked to respond in the test, it is still the individual her/himself who is usually asked to fill out the test and, thereby, directs the result.

On a deeper level, McAdams (1992) criticises several fundamental flaws of the Five-Factor Model on which both the NEO PI-R test and McCrae & Costa's (2008) theory are based. He notes that the model cannot say anything about personality beyond the traits; for instance, it gives no description of how personality actually "works", nor does the model account for how the person her/himself is organised in the model. Furthermore, he states that the model cannot predict concrete behaviour or give a full description of an individual's way of conducting her/his life. Thus, McAdams (1992) stresses the limitation of the model, which is that it can only describe, not explain. Besides, the model excludes factors such as the situation, the culture, and the historical context completely and, thereby, it presumes that the individual shows the same degree of any of the five traits, no matter the specific context, culture, and historical frame.

In addition to McAdams (1992), Dreier (1999) also gives a general critique of the approach to personality with no thought for the context. He argues that theories on individual subjectivity and, thus, also of personality must be developed on the basis of the person as a participant in social

practice. Furthermore, Dreier (1999) stresses the importance of the concept of 'participation'. And he (*ibid.*, p. 11) criticises personality theorists for underestimating the complexity of the personal social practice and for neglecting the important fact that people live their lives in complex structures of social practice (*cf.* Dreier, 1999, p. 29). This critique is, naturally, in agreement with the dialogical perspective of the present study: An individual's behaviour at a given time is shaped by the individual's reaction to and interaction with others and the environment. However, it does not explain Lisa's consistent shamelessness.

Commenting on the lexical approach, it is a rather strong hypothesis that a language will necessarily find a word for anything that can be seen as a personality trait; there could be taboos or traits which for other reasons are not lexicalized. Hofstee (1990) criticises the fact that everyday language is made the essential source to reveal personality traits. Indeed, it could be questioned whether everyday language should constitute the basis for scientific reliability.

Finally, the test itself – as well as the trait tradition more generally – leaves several questions unanswered. Do the traits mean you are similar to everyone else who has the same score in the five dimensions? How can it be certain that having recognised and argued for five personality traits means that all the relevant traits have been identified? What is the effect of culture on the individual in contrast to the effects from the individual's personality?

To sum up, it should not be overlooked that there are – at least – four layers involved in testing for personality: 1. The actual behaviour of the person in question. 2. The person's experience of her/his own behaviour (self-experience) or the behaviour of the person in question. 3. The reporting of the behaviour of the person in question. 4. The traits of the person in question – which, supposedly, can be inferred from points two and three. It may be questioned whether point one is, in fact, stable and whether it may be clarified by traits. What I study in the present study is behaviour (*i.e.*, interactional behaviour in interviews) based on the interviewers' report – or best estimate – of their own general behaviour. Despite the potential discrepancy, this seems to be the premise for the experiment of exploring whether personality test results may throw light on characteristics in interactional data.

It is clear from the above-mentioned critique that numerous factors influence the result of a concrete test. Thus, both the validity and the reliability of test results are at stake: That is, it could be questioned what a concrete test result, in fact, reflects (social desirability? A low self-esteem? Etc.) and whether the same test carried out at another time by the same informant would show exactly the same thing. The consequence of the critique seems to be that the result of the NEO PI-R personality test is, perhaps, best described as somewhere between the test persons' experience of themselves, how they think others see them, their desires for the way others should see them, and in any case influenced by their skills to see themselves, their mood, and their general tendency to look at themselves with optimistic or pessimistic eyes. And this is clearly with no mention of the other problems mentioned, *e.g.*, the lexical approach, how traits can be inferred from reported behaviour, etc.

Despite all the criticism, I still use the test. This may be viewed as an inconsistent decision; nonetheless, as stated above, I take the prevalent use of this particular test to be a strong argument for "testing" this personality test in order to explore what it has to say about the participants in the present study. This is what I explore in the following. First, I account for the way I approach personality testing in the present study (8.3); then, I explore whether the personality test results seem to reflect the interviewers' interview styles (8.4).

8.3 The concrete testing

As mentioned in 8.2.2 above, there is a clinical version of the NEO PI-R test, which can be extended with a business/recruitment part. Naively, I thought the business version of the test would entail a separate section in the test with statements directly addressing work processes. It could have been interesting with specific statements on which the interviewers could have reflected on their behaviour when conducting interviews. Therefore, I compared a printout of both the tests. Comparing the 240 statements in the tests, I learned that the business version and the so-called clinical version had the exact same statements presented in the exact same order. The business/recruitment appendix is solely an extra sheet in the feedback papers exclusively focusing on the test person's skills as a leader. After having seen the results of each of the interviewer's tests, it was clear that this appendix in the test results was of no avail for my purpose; therefore, I concentrate on the main part of the results, namely, the actual personality traits and, particularly, their facets (all the facets are listed in McCrae & Costa (1997)).

As mentioned, an authorised psychologist who has experience with the NEO PI-R test was in charge of the testing in the present study. By agreement with the interviewers, the psychologist e-mailed a unique link to the personality test to each of them. When the test was filled out, the answers were sent to the psychologist automatically. A few days after they had filled out the test (at home), I met with each of the interviewers and the psychologist in the psychologist's private clinic. I was present and tape-recorded the interaction in the psychologist's clinic when the interviewers got the feedback from the test. Despite my presence and the actual purpose of the tests (i.e., the present study), I told the interviewers that the time with the psychologist was for them to administer. There were two reasons for this choice: 1) At the time, I thought it could potentially be interesting for me to see what the interviewers stressed when they talked with the psychologist to find out, for instance, what they would find particularly interesting and what they might dispute; these utterances would show whether the interviewers confirmed or doubted particular parts of the results. 2) It was a chance for me to give the informants something in exchange for the time they had spent on the project (the interview with me, filling out the test, meeting with me and the psychologist, and, then, another interview with me after the meeting with the psychologist as I return to below).

The conversation with the psychologist was scheduled for one and a half hour.⁴⁶ The psychologist was paid for the two tests and the hours she spent on it. Unfortunately, she seemed a bit distracted by the fact that I was present. She made several direct requests to me during the interviews. It makes perfect sense as she knew that the purpose of the situation was to contribute to my study and, therefore, she probably wanted "to give me what she thought I wanted" for the money she was paid. However, I would have preferred to be a fly on the wall – observing, without being noticed. I feared the interruptions would make the interviewers more reluctant to engage in conversation with the psychologist about things of their choice – which it might have, I cannot know for sure. However, listening to the recordings afterwards, I do not think the situation was very disturbed by these meta-talk interruptions; at least, the focus was in general on the interviewers and their test results, which was the aim of the meeting.

After each of the feedback conversations with the interviewers, I interviewed them about their experience and assessment of the test and the conversation with the psychologist (see my question guide in Appendix 9). Furthermore, I interviewed the psychologist about the test. What I learned from the conversations with the interviewers after the feedback conversation in the psychologist's clinic was that it is a source of error in the results of the test that they had both been in doubt as to whether the statements in the test should be evaluated from a private or a work-related perspective. Naturally, the psychologists behind the test would say that this should not be an issue; however, this was not the experience of the interviewers. They both expressed that they had actually mainly evaluated the statements from a private perspective. Other than that, both of them confirmed the results although with some remarks; I shall refer to these when relevant for the final experiment.

The processing of the NEO PI-R test in the present study was carried out by a programme made by Hogrefe Psykologisk Forlag (this is the name of the Danish publishing house). The test results are gathered in a report. The psychologist who handles the test is advised only to hand out parts of the report to the tested person, e.g., a short text about the test and the overall scores of the five dimensions in different graphs, including short texts about the traits. Furthermore, the feedback must be given face-to-face by an authorised psychologist to make sure the results are understood correctly and do not cause undesirable reactions in the person tested. The following is based both on the material that may be handed out to the person being tested and the parts that may not (to which I have been granted access).

However, most of the material about the concrete test is under copyright and cannot easily be accessed by non-professionals (i.e., they are not for public use; cf., e.g., Domino & Domino, 2006, p. 11). Because of the copyright, I can neither quote nor reproduce parts of the statements in the test or the test results themselves. To give an idea of the type of statements in the test, I have formulated a few statements which are similar to the ones in the test but which are not actually in the test. Thus, the statements which the test persons are asked to note on a Likert scale (cf. above: 'Meget uenig' (strongly disagree), 'uenig' (disagree), 'neutral' (neutral), 'enig' (agree), 'meget enig' (strongly agree)) are of this kind: "I usually trust the people I meet." "I am often the one who takes the initiative."

⁴⁶ Even though the conversations between the psychologist and each of the interviewers was tape-recorded, it is not disclosed in the present thesis; I find the information to be too personal to make public.

"Some people consider me to be arrogant and a know-it-all." And "it only takes small things to upset me." I repeat that none of these are in the test, but they give an idea of the types of statements test persons are asked to consider.

In the following, I reveal the results of the interviewers' personality test and explore whether they seem to fit the interviewers' actual behaviour as studied in the previous chapters. In 8.5, I conclude on the results and, in 8.6, I discuss them.

8.4 The results of the NEO PI-R test

According to the tests building on trait personality theories, everyone will exhibit all of the traits to a greater or lesser extent. As the test results are calculated on the basis of an average of previous replies to the questionnaire (cf. 8.2.2.1 above), it is assumed that those scores of a test person which are not close to the average for a particular trait constitute a special characteristic of that person, something that makes the person stand out from the crowd. For instance, if a person scores very high in the Extroversion trait, it should be expected that this person is much more extroverted – defined according to the test – than the average person, i.e., the average of the persons whose test replies have been used to calculate the average.

The test results both produce an overall score for each of the five traits and a score for each of the traits' six facets. The scores for each of these traits and facets are positioned on a scale in the test results: The scale extends between 'very low' – 'low' – 'average' – 'high' – 'very high'. In that way, the scores throw light on whether a person is, for instance, very extroverted (i.e., positioned very high in Extroversion) or not extroverted at all (i.e., a very low score in Extroversion).

Due to this, if the interviewers' interactional behaviour as described in the previous chapters were somehow to be reflected in the test results, it would be expected to be in the unusual test scores. Therefore, I find it irrelevant to report all of the results from the interviewers' personality tests. In the following, I solely comment on the results when their scores differ significantly from the average; that is, those scores which are within the area labelled 'very low' or 'very high'⁴⁷. This is, furthermore, in accordance with the feedback given by the psychologist who accounted for the test results of the two interviewers in the present study – she almost exclusively focused on the very low and very high scores.

Yet, it is not an easy task to compare interactional behaviour with the personality traits as revealed by the NEO PI-R test. The descriptions of the traits and facets solely consist of single words or short phrases of a rather abstract nature. McAdams (1992) for example criticises the Five-Factor Model (i.e., the five factors used in the NEO PI-R test) for not being able to predict concrete behaviour. As discussed in 8.2.2.1 above, the test usually relies on the person's experience and

⁴⁷ Due to copyright – and also because I find it to be confidential material – I do not report the tables from the test feedback in which the interviewers' results are given. I only report which facets for which the two interviewers have unusually low or high scores.

thoughts of her/his own behaviour and, therefore, one would think it could be connected to – at least, perceived – behaviour. However, no one to my knowledge has studied and described the connection between traits and concrete behaviour (except Pennebaker and colleagues, who connect traits and language behaviour, however, in a way which is incompatible with the present study, cf. 8.2.1). As mentioned above, McCrae & Costa (2008, p. 163) also claim in their theory of personality that traits "can be *inferred* from behaviour and experience", but they do not explore this claim by connecting concrete behaviour with the five traits they speak in favour of. Furthermore, McCrae & Costa (2008) do not specify how test persons are supposed to produce their responses to the statements in the test.

The analyses in the following are based on the two to five keywords or phrases of each facet given in the above-mentioned scale in the test results, slightly more detailed facet descriptions following the scale in the test results (which I cannot reproduce to its full extent due to copyrights), and brief descriptions of the facets given in Costa & McCrae (2004) (all of them in Danish, translated into English in the following). Therefore, I must stress the exploratory and tentative nature of the following.

One more challenge should be noted before the "experiment". In the previous chapters, the general interactional behaviours and specific characteristic interview styles have been studied from a dialogical perspective. Due to the dialogical perspective, I also address how the various features are responded to. In the following analyses, it is attempted to compare these dialogically-based features with the above-mentioned keywords and short descriptions of the personality traits and facets. However, many of these descriptions are monologically based, i.e., the point of departure is a person's actions, not how it is reacted to or dialogically played out. As the test is based on the belief that a person is not influenced by the context (and, thereby, not by her/his interactional partners), the personality traits and facets are naturally described in ways which are independent of others – although the realisation of some of the keywords for some of the traits necessarily include others, for example, being empathic and kind must refer to a person's relation to others. Consequently, some of the dialogical analyses must be reconsidered or, at least, seen in a new light.

To see whether Lisa's and Jasper's respective interview styles seem to be reflected in the results of their personality test, I will begin the "experiment" by summarising what we have learned about each of the interviewers' interview styles from the studies in the previous chapters. Subsequently, I account for the scarce descriptions of the traits and facets in which they have unusual scores and, finally, look into whether their unusual test scores seem to be interpretable in ways which reflect their verbal behaviour. I explore whether Lisa's interview style (cf. 7.1) seems to match her test results in 8.4.1 and whether Jasper's interview style (cf. 7.2) and test results match in 8.4.2. I discuss an alternative approach in the discussion in 8.6 below.

8.4.1 Lisa's interactional characteristics

It has been found that Lisa takes considerably more initiatives in terms of topics in both her best and her worst interviews compared with the respective informants (cf. Table 5.4 in 5.2.1.5); in that way,

she could be said actively to play her role of the interviewer much of the time in her interviews by initiating the topics talked about. In terms of the timing of the topic changes, Lisa takes most of her initiatives at a topic transition relevance place (TTRP) (cf. Table 5.2 in 5.2.1.5); in fact, none of her initiatives in her worst interview are taken outside TTRPs. Furthermore, her initiatives in terms of topics are, most often, related to the preceding topic (cf. shifts to topics which have a non-focal or non-local relation to the prior topic rather than shifts with no connection to the prior talk; see details in Appendixes 4.a and 4.b). Thus, her way of initiating the topics is conversationally unproblematic and can hardly be considered "risky". However, around every fifth of Lisa's topic shifts in her worst interview are changes into a topic which has no connection to what is preceding (cf. Table 5.2). Such topic shifts might be experienced as rather abrupt as there are no signs which anticipate the initiation of the topic; therefore, they may be problematic and considered risky as I return to below.

Of the more – at least, potentially – risky features, it has been shown that Lisa frequently assesses the informants' stories even though this – especially, in her worst interview – is responded to with dispreferred responses (cf. 6.2.2). Besides assessments, co-construction is another recurrent feature in Lisa's interview style (cf. 7.1). Both assessments and co-constructions potentially threaten the interviewer's as well as the informant's face. Thus, it seems that Lisa, in some respects, breaks with common norms of interaction in that she gambles with her own and the informant's face and, potentially, goes beyond the informant's personal limits in terms of which role the interviewer is entitled to play in the informant's narratives of her/his private life. Moreover, Lisa's assessments and co-constructions of the informant's private stories also potentially constitute breaches as to common epistemic rights. As concluded in Chapter 7, these are features which stand out and are some of the reasons her interactional behaviour could, at times, be considered risky.

Moreover, Lisa asks questions relatively frequently (cf. Table 5.5). And she also tends to ask rather personal and delicate ones. As discussed in 7.1, this is another characteristic feature of hers which is potentially face-threatening. It seems that her notion of what may be talked about in the interview situation differs at times from that of the informants who are not always willing to discuss or go into detail with a topic Lisa has suggested and are thereby forced to reject the topic directly or somehow avoid it. For instance, in the analyses of preference structures, it was obvious that Lisa's questions do not always receive a preferred answer. One case is Example 7.5 in Appendix 8 in which Lisa and the informant OP have been talking about OP's plans for an education in his youth when Lisa suddenly asks how OP has been lately after his father's recent death. There is no warning of this delicate topic, which Lisa furthermore introduces only a few minutes after the interview has started and the question receives a dispreferred response. It happens other times as well that Lisa plunges into a completely new topic with no warning although it seems that, most often, one topic is finished before she jumps to another (e.g., she does not frequently return to topics which have been discussed because a new question related to a former topic comes to her mind and the informants usually accept her topic shifts).

It can hardly be disputed that asking many questions could be expected of an interviewer. However, the informant may not agree with the way Lisa does it or disapprove of the content of the questions she asks. The informants may find it to be different from the interview they had expected; perhaps,

Lisa takes up her role of the interviewer differently than they had anticipated – for instance, by asking very personal questions.

Lisa's test results

Lisa has a score close to average in all traits except one: Conscientiousness. Overall, her score in this trait is in the area labelled 'very low'. A very low score in the personality trait Conscientiousness is briefly described as a person who is spontaneous, unstructured, and prefers flexible plans. However, the very low score is mainly due to two of the facets of this trait with respect to which her score is in the low end of the area 'very low': These facets are "Ordentlighed" and "Følelse af ansvar" ('Order' and 'Dutifulness', respectively, cf. McCrae & Costa, 1997, p. 513). There is also a third score which is in the area labelled 'very low': the facet of "Selvdisciplin" ('Self-Discipline', cf. McCrae & Costa, 1997); however, the position of this score in the area labelled 'very low' is much less radical than the other two (i.e., it is closer to average); therefore, I will concentrate on the first two facets as they – if any – should be where Lisa's interactional characteristics would most likely be reflected or explained by her personality. Thus, in the following, I briefly account for each of the two facets and, then, look at whether her interactional behaviour as described in the previous chapters matches the result.

A very low degree of the facet 'Order' is explained with keywords such as disorganised, unsystematic, and unstructured in the test results. Furthermore, it is elaborated that persons with a low degree of Order prefer not to make plans, so that there is room for spontaneity; they are people who plunge into things without a plan, and they work very well without too many rules and procedures.

The other facet which stands out in Lisa's test result is her very low score in Dutifulness. This facet is briefly described as someone who prefers to be free from obligations both in terms of assignments as well as people and, thereby, someone who may seem unreliable at times. It is elaborated that persons with a low degree of Dutifulness may seem uncommitted and irresponsible because they place great emphasis on their own individuality and having freedom to do what they want to. A low degree of this facet is also connected with feeling a limited obligation to follow ethical principles.

As is clear from the descriptions, they are rather broad, and it can hardly be expected that all the features in the descriptions influence the interview style. What I can do to see whether their interview style are somehow reflected in the personality test scores is to look at the noteworthy interactional phenomena described above and see whether they seem to agree or disagree with the descriptions of the traits and facets in which the person tested has unusual scores.

Is Lisa's interview style reflected in her test results?

As summarised above, I concluded in Chapter 7 that Lisa's interview style is risky. Such a risky behaviour could cautiously be suggested to be reflected in features connected to a low degree of the facet Order such as plunging into things without a plan and being unstructured. Furthermore, asking

whatever comes to mind at a given time could be referred to as unstructured. For instance, plunging into a very personal and delicate question such as losing a parent (as was seen in Example 7.5 above) could be called unstructured. The choice of topic, the lack of a smooth introduction in the direction of this delicate topic, and the timing of the topic (as mentioned above, abrupt shifts may potentially be problematic) could be said to display a lack of planning on her part. If she had planned the topic and approached the topic one small step at a time, her chances of getting a reply might have been better.

Furthermore, a topic shift which has nothing to do with the preceding topic could be said to be in line with spontaneity, which is part of the description of a low degree of Order. Lisa makes several of these in her worst interview but not so many in her best interview. However, there are limits to her spontaneity as she does take most of her initiatives at topic transition relevance places (TTRP). In that way, Lisa's topic shifts can be said to be less abrupt, although they may still be experienced as quite a jump and even sudden, as in the example in which Lisa suddenly asks how the informant has felt after his father's recent death after they have been talking about early career plans.

Lisa's overall risky interview style could also be said to be reflected in her very low score in Dutifulness. At least, she does not seem to feel strongly committed to following ethical principles of what it may be considered polite to ask. As quoted above, at the time of the interviews, she rather shamelessly (to use her word; cf. 7.1.3) asked questions and only later learned that some people may have experienced such questions as somewhat offensive. However, reading the interview guide (Appendix 1) makes it quite clear that Lisa follows the suggestions and, possibly, even carries out the instructions quite literally in terms of asking the personal questions that are given as inspirational ideas. In that way, her questions could be interpreted in the opposite way: Rather than showing a lack of Dutifulness, it would seem she is, indeed, committed to her task. It could be argued that she feels more obligated by her duties as an interviewer than her task as a stranger in someone else's home: That is, it could seem she is more concerned with conducting the interview task (including asking delicate questions) than paying special regard to the informant and making sure no one's face is threatened, e.g., by crossing the informant's personal boundaries.

Thus, it seems unclear whether a very low score in Dutifulness is quite in line with Lisa's "performance" in her interviews. Changing perspective for a moment, it is actually curious that a professional interviewer has a very low score in Dutifulness. At least, some of the features in the summary of a low degree of Dutifulness – such as irresponsibility and lack of commitment – are not exactly compatible with conducting professional interviews. Consequently, it could be suggested that the test is wrong – or, perhaps, that Lisa might vary in her commitment from one situation to another and the interviews are examples of situations in which she displays a high commitment (although such a suggestion goes directly against the presuppositions of the test). The discrepancy urges the question: Could it be that a given professional task may overrule personal characteristics which are incompatible with the success of the task? Possibly – at least, the results put forward in connection with Dutifulness could suggest this. However, the claim that, for instance, a professional task alone may decide a person's behaviour – as, e.g., constructionists would claim (see 8.1.1) – is not in agreement with the consistent features found in Lisa's interviews which stand out in the

interview genre as discussed in 7.1. It seems that, at least, some personal features are recurrent; that is, features are not avoided or overruled even if it could be argued that they would be advantageous in some situations (as in the interview with OP in which Lisa's interview style is not generally well-received as concluded in 5.3.5).

In conclusion, Lisa's risky interview style could be said to be reflected in her overall very low score in the trait Conscientiousness as such a score is connected with spontaneity, being disorganised, and having a preference for flexible plans. In terms of facets, Lisa's risky interview style could be said to be reflected in her low score in Order. At least, plunging into things without a plan and being unstructured are features which – as shown – can be said to be recognised in Lisa's interviews. Furthermore, as discussed in 7.1, Lisa's characteristics which cross the boundaries of epistemic rights and are potentially face-threatening could be said to be reflected in Lisa's very low score in Dutifulness to the degree it is reasonable to connect this with feeling only slight commitment to ethical principles in interaction with others. However, as discussed, it is much more complicated to interpret whether Lisa's characteristics can be said to be reflected in her score in Dutifulness – at least, a low degree of Dutifulness is described with words such as irresponsibility and lack of commitment, which are quite unlike Lisa's actual behaviour: She conducts the interviews both professionally and with personal involvement.

In the following, I explore the connection between Jasper's interactional behaviour and his test results.

8.4.2 Jasper's interactional characteristics

As concluded in 7.2, Jasper does not have any features which stand out as unusual or particularly noteworthy for the genre. In fact, it is quite an achievement to even pinpoint just one recurrent feature which is somehow unexpected for an interviewer and, therefore, special and personal for Jasper's way of conducting interviews. It goes for most of Jasper's interviews in this study that he mentions his recently purchased flat; however, as argued above, this is a strategy rather than a particular interactional pattern. In his best interview, for instance, he only mentions it once, and that is in relation to another topic (cf. 7.2). Furthermore, Jasper often tells about experiences from his own life but, in his best interview, his experiences are only topicalised once. Telling about his own life seems to be his indirect way of encouraging the informant to do the same; thus, it could be argued that this strategy is not necessary and, therefore, not applied in his best interview in which the informant is already very talkative at his own initiative.

Furthermore, Jasper can be both a talkative and a silent interviewer (cf. 5.1). He generally asks fewer questions than Lisa but poses questions more than twice as frequently in his worst interview than in his best – thus, again, great variation (cf. 5.2.2). Jasper initiates relatively many topics in both his best and his worst interview, but so do his informants (cf. 5.2.1.5). Jasper does not have the same risky interview style as Lisa: He does not frequently assess or try to co-construct when the informant is relating a narrative and, as shown in Extract 7.1 (discussed in 7.2), he seems to avoid asking particularly personal or delicate questions. In these ways, Jasper's interview style is quite the

opposite of Lisa's: He is flexible, accommodating, and is careful not to cross the informant's boundaries or threaten anybody's face. And it seems to work. Even his worst interview results in almost two hours of data even though he and his informant never manage to find a topic they can keep going for very long (cf. Table 5.3, it is the interview with the most frequent topic shifts) – most of the topics are rather brief although returned to many times.

Jasper's test results

Like Lisa, Jasper also scores close to average in most of the dimensions. In fact, he does not score either very high or very low in any overall traits in the same way Lisa does in Conscientiousness. Jasper only scores very high in one of the facets in the trait labelled 'Openness'; this facet is 'Ideas' (cf. McCrae & Costa (1997); in Danish, "Intellektuel nysgerrighed" (*Intellectual curiosity*)). However, as he scores low in some of the other facets of the same trait, the overall score for the trait falls within the average area; thus, it seems less characteristic or significant than Lisa's very extraordinary score in Conscientiousness. Furthermore, Jasper's score in Ideas is not as extreme as Lisa's scores in the two facets interpreted above; in fact, Jasper's score is only on the border between the area 'high' and 'very high'.

A high degree of the facet Ideas is described with keywords such as open-minded, curious, and exploring ideas. Elaborating on the facet, it says that persons with a high score are original, innovative, and creative although some of their ideas might be incomprehensible to others. They can be thought of by others as persons with no opinions themselves as they are always willing to hear what others think.

Even though it is only a single facet of a trait and only on the border to be an unusual score, it is all that has a significant score, and I will, therefore, try to see whether this single facet somehow reflects his interactional behaviour, or again maybe be seen to explain it in terms of his personality.

Is Jasper's interview style reflected in his test results?

Both Jasper and the informants in his best and worst interview contribute topics; thus, it seems Jasper is both open to listen and to contribute new topics. The fact that many topics are discussed in his best interview could be said to be in line with a high degree of Ideas.

However, there seem to be limits to his open-mindedness and his curiosity, which is in contrast to the description of a high degree of Ideas. As quoted in Extract 7.1 in 7.2 above, Jasper mentions in my interview with him that there were things which he did not want to talk about in his interviews⁴⁸. Furthermore, it is not Jasper's interview style – as it is Lisa's – to ask very personal questions; in that sense, at least, there is a limit to his curiosity. It is unclear, though possible, that curiosity should be understood as general curiosity, not as curiosity including an urge to meddle in other people's lives. Looking at Jasper's approach, it could be suggested that the limits of his curiosity are mostly determined by the limits of the informant. I have found no examples in which

⁴⁸ Besides private details such as those mentioned in the quotation, he also mentions that he avoided debates about attitudes to various things, e.g., immigration (mentioned at 1:14:43 onwards in my interview with Jasper).

Jasper rejects or ignores a topic suggested by the informant – thus, it seems he is open to talk about anything; he is just not himself willing to ask about or initiate whichever topic. This could be understood as being open-minded: He let the informant decide what s/he wants to talk about; thus, he is open to whatever evolution a topic takes although he would not insist on leading the informant in a particular direction. Furthermore, Jasper frequently contributes with his own view or experiences (except in his best interview in which he lets the informant talk) but without playing the expert about a story or an experience told by the informant; such features could also be said to be reflected in the description of a high degree of Ideas.

It is hardly surprising that someone who has chosen a job in academia has a high score in Ideas. Overall, the fact that Jasper generally has a flexible interview style could be said to match this score rather well; he is open to speaking with anyone, which might be a reason he convincingly "blends in" anywhere. Furthermore, the fact that he does not score in the very high or very low end of the scale when it comes to the general traits – only in the facet Ideas, which does not result in a noteworthy score in the superior trait Openness – could also be said to match the fact that he seems to be able to speak with anyone: He is not radical or risky in any way as Lisa can be said to be in some ways. He is not set on one interview style.

In conclusion, Jasper's flexible interview style could be said to be in line with a high score in Ideas; but, in some ways, there seem to be limits to his consistency. He seems open-minded; at the same time, he appears to have certain limits to his open-mindedness and curiosity with respect to topics. However, listening and letting the informant take the lead in the conversation could also be taken as a sign of open-mindedness. It could be argued that, for instance, suggesting many ideas in terms of topics or asking many questions, which could be one interactional display of a high degree of Ideas, may not always be relevant, e.g., if the informant is very talkative. In that sense, a high degree of Ideas might be a suitable description of Jasper even though it is not necessarily displayed interactionally.

8.5 Conclusion

As accounted for in 8.2.2 above, personality tests are used very broadly. That was what made me inclined to think that they could be a help in answering my second question (after rejecting the otherwise convenient but, from a dialogical perspective, unsuitable method suggested by Pennebaker and colleagues, cf. 8.2.1):

- How is it possible to approach an explanation for variations in interviewer behaviour?

As is clear from the above, studying whether interview styles seem to be reflected in the unusual scores in a personality test is, indeed, an exploratory and tentative business. Nonetheless, on the basis of the material available, the approach used is how I find it feasible to approach a study of whether interactional differences may be reflected in different scores in personality facets (however, I discuss another approach in the discussion in 8.6 below). More testing of the traits' and facets'

concrete behavioural and interactional display would be necessary to verify the results and to constitute a more valid and reliable approach to such research. I merely see the experiment above as a test of whether a connection might be found. In that regard, I have surely not found very convincing evidence; however – perhaps, more importantly – I have certainly not disproved it, either!

The interactional behaviour in the interviews and the special characteristics of the interviewers as they are described in the extreme scores in the test are not a perfect match; yet, some interactional interview features could be said to be reflected in the personality descriptions.

Furthermore, it is not surprising that the two interviewers' overall test results were not the other way around. Jasper's flexible interview style – an interview "chameleon" who can make an interview work with anyone because he is not fixed on one interview style but capable of following anybody's ideas of how to proceed – could be said to match quite well with a high degree of Ideas. For instance, it seems to be in line with keywords such as 'open-minded' and people who appear to have no opinion on their own because they are open to listening to everyone else's perspectives. In contrast, a person with a risky interview style is hardly someone who would go along with anybody's ideas but, rather, someone who plunges into things without thinking of the consequences (e.g., low Order) and does not feel obligated by strict, ethical principles (e.g., low Dutifulness).

Looking at the test results in the present study, it should be kept in mind that the test was filled out by the interviewers several years after the behaviour (i.e., the interviewing) on which the results of the personality test is supposed to throw light (cf. 8.2.2.1). As mentioned, McCrae & Costa (2008) acknowledge that, for instance, changes in family might affect personality traits. This means they should be open to the possibility that Lisa's and Jasper's traits could have been influenced by the fact that they have both experienced changes in their family life between the interviews and the test: Lisa had a baby a few weeks before the personality test, and Jasper had a child four years before the test. When I interviewed Jasper after the feedback conversation with the psychologist, he remarks that he has probably become more worried after having a child. In fact, he questions whether the test would have shown the same scores at the time when he carried out the interviews. He comments that he was probably more carefree before he had a child. However, this might not influence his high score in Ideas – it seems reasonable to expect that being worried is rather reflected in his score in a trait such as Neuroticism. As regards the present study, the pertinent question is whether the interviewers have experienced anything which seems likely to have changed their scores in the facets I have explored due to their unusual scores in the test. It is impossible to ascertain. If anything, it could be speculated whether becoming a mother would not lead to a moderate if not high score in Dutifulness and, possibly, Neuroticism, too (as Jasper's statement would suggest); however, this does not seem to be the case with Lisa. Thus, it remains speculation, and I would not be able to prove any changes as I have no personality scores for comparison from the point in time when they conducted the interviews.

In general, the descriptions of the traits and facets are not very specific – it seems the aim of the descriptions are to make them interpretable broadly enough to suit anyone with the consequence

that it is, in fact, hard to connect them with concrete behaviour. Nonetheless, the tests are widely used for, e.g., recruitment; thus, it seems to be assumed that the abstract notions indicate how a given person will act in more specific contexts. I do not mean to suggest that the personality test is not based on a very thorough piece of work: There is no doubt the test has been developed on the basis of a lot of testing, adjusting, and testing again. However, I do mean to imply – based on the present study – that the extended use of the test for various purposes with no consideration for the context and situational factors (e.g., the lack of concrete, basic details in the descriptions of the situation framed in the statements in the test and in the descriptions of the traits and facets) is problematic as it might produce results that are inapt for specific purposes.

As seen, the experiment does not unambiguously point to the test as the right way to explain variations in interviewer behaviour. However, the result of the NEO PI-R personality test may with caution be interpreted to throw light on the interviewers' behaviour in the interview situation and as such could be said to indicate that it is potentially fruitful to connect the two disparate disciplines of interaction studies and personality psychology. It is too early to say which way the argument goes, though: Can we see the results of the NEO PI-R test as revealing in this context only because we have access to the results of the interaction analyses?

8.6 Discussion

As mentioned above, I could think of one other approach to linking the interview styles and the test results. If the descriptions had been more concrete in terms of behavioural features, it could, perhaps, be possible to study the connection the other way around, that is, with the personality traits and facets as the point of departure. Presupposing that unusually high and unusually low scores will somehow be displayed in a person's interactional style (as Pennebaker and his colleagues argue, cf. 8.2.1), a systematic study of much more data than in the present study could, perhaps, reveal how each of the personality traits and facets may be expressed in a person's interview style – if they are all relevant for interview style and if it is even approximately the same for anyone with the same unusual scores in certain traits and facets. Indeed, there are many unknowns.

As noted, the discrepancy between the description of a very low score in Dutifulness (i.e., irresponsibility and lack of commitment) and the fact that Lisa has conducted interviews professionally urges a question such as: Could a professional task such as interviewing overrule personal characteristics such as irresponsibility and lack of commitment? It seems to be the case with Lisa. In fact, one would think it would have severe consequences if it was not possible in this case as there would hardly be any job description in which irresponsibility and lack of commitment would be an advantage. So, can anyone change their personality characteristics if a task demands it? And can any personality trait be changed? As mentioned, it would seem that it is not the case for all characteristics since Lisa sticks to several features (cf. 7.1) even though they are, at times, problematic for the task. Are they, perhaps, not problematic enough to be changed? And what determines which personal features may be suppressed and when? May situational clues also have influence on personality traits? The latter suggestion is against personality psychologists mentioned

above, e.g., McCrae & Costa (2008), who are behind the NEO PI-R test and McAdams & Pals (2006), but it is in line with Mischel (2004), cf. 8.1.1. The experiment obviously stimulates such questions; however, it does not provide answers to them.

As presented in 8.2.2.1, several points of critique can be raised against the NEO PI-R test. I do not mean to overrule this critique by using the test. As stated in 8.2.2.1, I chose to "test" the usefulness of the NEO PI-R test because this particular test is widely applied and accepted. However, due to the extensive critique given, though still accepting that individuals are stable to some degree and accepting that the test is one way to throw light on this stability, it seems most likely that the test will indicate only tendencies. The exact scores should probably not be taken at face value. Due to the points of critique, which argue that many factors can influence the exact outcome of the test scores, it seems more accurate to take the scores as indicators of personality tendencies rather than exact and fixed values. For instance, it may be small differences which make a test person choose 'agree' or 'strongly agree' (and, possibly, even a difference which, in itself, could be said to relate to one or more personality traits) which will affect the final outcome. And if the same person filled out the test twice, even just with a few days between, s/he might not give the exact same responses. Therefore, it could be discussed whether the interviewers' interactional behaviour ought to have been compared with other facets in the test results. I have looked solely at the most unusual scores to see whether their interactional characteristics seem to be reflected, but it is uncertain what a particular score which is close to one of the ends in the scale means in contrast to a score which is just a little closer to average.

Reviewing the experiment from a dialogical perspective, it seems an obvious inference that the test does not take the interactional partner and the context into consideration. However, as noted in 8.4, it has been part of the experiment to relate some of the dialogically displayed features in the analyses to the descriptions of the stable personality traits. As mentioned in 8.1.2, dialogism does not reject the individual perspective; indeed, a person's biographical experiences influence a person's behaviour (Linell, 2009, p. 53). As argued, I do not see dialogism as incompatible with a position in moderate realism (cf. the continuum in 8.1.2), which is the point of departure for the experiment due to the recurrent features of the interviewers. I do not find the results to be inconsistent with this position, either: The study confirms that, at least, the interviewers' overall interview style could be said to be reflected to some degree in their personality test results. Thus, the interviewers are influenced by their interactional partner to some degree (as is obvious from Jasper's flexible interview style); but, in other respects, they have features which are recurrent and mark each of their personal interview styles (most marked with the features in Lisa's risky interview style).

9. Throwing light on the complexity of interviewing

Usually, the focus of an interview is on the person being interviewed or on the topic that the interview is about. The interview object is the purpose of doing the interview. In the sociolinguistic interview, the focus is on the speech of the informant. However, in the present study, I turn the spotlight in another direction: I focus on the interviewer and her/his perspective on the sociolinguistic interview. I maintain a dialogical approach (and, thereby, naturally include the informants in the analyses), but the qualitative as well as quantitative analyses are all fashioned to throw light on the interviewer perspective and the interviewer's actions when interviewing.

In the first two parts of the thesis, I focused on these questions:

- How do two interviewers behave in the sociolinguistic interviews which they themselves classify as good or bad interviews? And how does this relate to their own ideals for the sociolinguistic interview?

The two interviewers in the present study go along with my suggestion that some sociolinguistic interviews are better than others. In my interviews with the two interviewers, they both stressed four points as important for the success of the sociolinguistic interview: 1) The informant should speak more than the interviewer; yet, 2) the interviewer's verbal contribution and support of the informant's speech can be crucial to keep the informant talking and, thus, both the interviewers stress the importance of giving contributions in terms of offering personal experiences and knowledge. 3) The interviewers point out the importance of opening up the informant and making the informant comfortable with opening up and sharing the things they themselves come up with as relevant for their personal story of their life from cradle to grave. 4) Finally, both of the interviewers stress the importance of a good relationship with the informant to be successful with the sociolinguistic interview.

Studying the first two points above, a comparison of the number of words uttered by the interviewers and informants in eleven interviews shows that the share of words is not systematically distributed; it is not consistent that the interviewer, for instance, speaks more in the bad interviews than in the good interviews. Studying the third point above, the best and worst interview by each interviewer show a tendency for the interviewers to take relatively more initiatives in their worst interview than in their best interview both in terms of changing the topic (cf. Svennevig, 1999) and asking questions. There is a clear difference between the female and the male interviewer, though; the female interviewer generally changes the topic and asks questions more frequently than the male interviewer both in the good and the bad interviews. Studying the realisation of the fourth point above through CA inspired analysis, I show that *rapport* – inspired by Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal (1990) – is accomplished, at least, once in the female interviewer's best interview, whereas it fails in her worst interview. I see *rapport* as an expression of a good relationship (not unlike what is in focus in the personal interview style in Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000, pp. 128-130), and the fact that *rapport* is accomplished in the female interviewer's best interview but fails in her worst interview may be seen as a rather telling case, suggesting that the relationship between the interactants is

crucial for the evaluation of an interview. Furthermore, face-work (Goffman, 1972) is also carried out more carefully in the best interview compared with the worst interview.

When approaching the data in a rather inductive way, inspired by CA, another point proves to be salient. It turns out that, in the female interviewer's best and worst interview, assessments made by the interviewer (e.g., Pomerantz, 1984) are rather prominent and that the informants' reactions to these assessments are quite different. In the female interviewer's best interview, the informant – with only a few exceptions – responds to the questions with a preferred response (e.g., Schegloff, 1988). In the worst interview, on the contrary, the assessments by the interviewer get a dispreferred response in more than half of the cases.

Furthermore, it turns out that there is a noteworthy difference in the number of next turn repair initiators (e.g., Schegloff et al., 1977) as responses to the female interviewer's questions in her best and worst interviews: In her worst interview, her questions are responded to by a next turn repair initiator fifteen times, whereas in her best interview, which is more than fifty percent longer than her worst, the number is only nine. Overall, it gives a picture of a better co-operation between the interviewer and the informant in her best interview compared with her worst interview: In her best interview, the female interviewer's assessments are usually agreed with, and she asks questions that are understood and responded to without the postponement of a request for repair in the informant's responding turn. In her worst interview, the female interviewer produces several assessments to which the informant chooses to give a dispreferred response, and the interviewer's questions are met relatively often with a request to ask them again or to specify what is meant.

The empirical studies show differences between the good and bad interviews as well as between the interviewers; and, thus, it does not result in a clear set of features that hold for all the good interviews and another list of things that are relevant for all the bad interviews. As the dialogical perspective anticipates, the studies confirm that different things are going on in the so-called good and bad interviews, but they do not explain the source of the difference between the interviewers.

Interviewer differences

The empirical studies suggest that, even though the two interviewers have the same theoretical background and express the same ideals for the good sociolinguistic interview, their realisation of these ideals differ. Therefore, in the third part of the thesis, I ask:

- How is it possible to approach an explanation for variations in interviewer behaviour?

To approach an answer to my question, I seek to specify their individual characteristics as interviewers. The female interviewer has some interactional characteristics that can be said to be recurrent when looking at several of her interviews. It turns out she has, at least, three recurrent features: 1) She makes many assessments of information given by the informant (as mentioned above in the CA-inspired approach). 2) She often offers suggestions or gives contributions when the informants are telling stories from their life and, thereby, involves herself in co-construction of the informants' stories. 3) She asks personal and rather direct questions, which might force the

informants to give dispreferred responses. Common to all of the three features is that they are rather risky since all of them are potentially face-threatening for the informant and/or the interviewer, and they may be considered as crossing the boundaries of epistemic rights.

In contrast to the female interviewer, the male interviewer turns out to have a very flexible interview style; in fact, it is hard to find any features that are recurrent in several of his interviews. It could be mentioned that he often introduces a certain topic, namely, that he bought a flat shortly before the interviews, and that he often shares experiences from his own life; however, neither of these are consistent for all of his interviews; thus, he adapts his interview style. Furthermore, studying four of his interviews and looking into the word counts, his shares of initiatives, and question counts made earlier in the study, I was unable to discover any recurrent features which stand out as unexpected in an interview. Overall, the male interviewer can be said to be less risky in his interview style as he accommodates to whomever he is speaking with.

As a way to seek an explanation for the male interviewer's flexible interview style and the female interviewer's risky interview style, I discuss different terms to describe the individual and her/his behaviour. Due to the stability found in their interview styles, I take a position in what I call moderate realism (as opposed to constructivism) as the point of departure for further studies. To explain consistency in interview styles, I find it an obvious choice to turn to methods used by personality psychologists who hold the view that we all have consistent personality traits. Furthermore, many tests have been developed within personality psychology, and these tests are widely used to find the right person for, e.g., a specific job. I, therefore, explore whether one of the most validated tests within this genre, the NEO PI-R personality test (cf. Costa & McCrae, 2008), may be a means to explore the differences between the interviewers' interview styles. In addition to the term personality, I find that Goffman's (1959) term roles can account for the pre-defined "duties" to and expectations for the interactants in the situation, i.e., one is ascribed the role as an interviewer and the other is to be the informant.

The NEO PI-R test, which is used in the present study, indicates a person's degree of the five personality traits (based on the person's own responses): neuroticism, extroversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness. Each of the five traits consists of six facets, i.e., subcategories. The tested person's "level" of each of the five traits and their six facets is ranged between very low – low – medium – high – very high. In particular, scores close to the extremes in the continuum – i.e., very low or very high – are thought to be especially characteristic of a given person. The test relies on self-reporting in the sense that the interviewers themselves evaluate their agreement with the statements in the test.

The results of the tests in the present study show that the female interviewer scores in the area 'very low' in one of the five traits in the test: Conscientiousness. A very low score in two of the six facets of this trait decreases the total score of this trait; these are the facets Order and Dutifulness (in Danish: 'Ordentlighed' (*orderliness*) and 'Følelse af ansvar' (*sense of responsibility*), respectively). The female interviewer does, at times, plunge into topics with no warning and she shows signs of disorganisation; thus, she has features which may be said to be reflected in a low score in Order.

Furthermore, her overall risky interview style could be said to be reflected in a very low score in the trait Conscientiousness as it is described as a person who is spontaneous, disorganised, and prefers not to plan too much. However, it is less clear how her interview style could be said to be reflected in a low score in Dutifulness – certainly, she does not act irresponsibly or in an uncommitted manner in her interviews as the facet would suggest. It could be discussed whether a professional task may overrule personal characteristics here.

The male interviewer, in contrast, scores neither very low nor very high in any of the five traits in the test. His only test result in one extreme of the scale is his very high score in the facet of Ideas (in the Danish test called: "intellektuel nysgerrighed" (*intellectual curiosity*)), which is one of the six facets within the trait of Openness. The male interviewer seems open-minded in his approach to the informants, which could be said to be reflected in his high score in Ideas. However, it is clear from his interviews – and he also remarks in my interview with him – that he had his limits as to what he wanted to ask the informants; thus, there is a limit to his curiosity, which is another keyword in the description of a very high score in Ideas. The fact that the male interviewer has no extreme scores in the test could be said to be in line with his flexible interview style. As he shows no extreme characteristics in the test, it could be said to match the fact that he can be many things in the interviews. On the other hand, there is nothing in the test results that indicate he would have the special talent for a particularly flexible interview style, either.

Taking the extended critique given of the test into account, the scores in the test results should probably not be taken at face value. And, as noted, the point of departure of the NEO PI-R test is a more radical view on the stability of a person's personality than the moderate position of this dialogical study. However, due to the consistencies found in interview styles in the present study, it seemed a logical consequence to test whether a test focusing on stability could be an explanation for the interviewer differences. The theoretical background and the concrete preparations showed not to be all that matters for the actual conduct of the interviews. Therefore, personality seemed to be a relevant place to look when exploring individual differences in interview styles. The interviewers are different individuals, and this might, in fact, be part of the explanation for the variety in the interviews. The interviewers enter the interview situation with each their experiences and also what seem to be their habits or routines in interviewing. The test may not give the tool to point out specific explanations for interviewer differences but, at least, it seems to be confirmed that personality matters to a certain degree. However, it would take further studies to reveal how personality psychology might throw light on interactional studies of specific situations.

The thought of personality as a variable or determinant in the sociolinguistic interview is not new. Heegaard, Hvilshøj & Møller (1995, p. 7) point to personality traits as one of the factors which influence our linguistic behaviour in a given situation. The present study confirms that personality is a determinant in the sociolinguistic interview and the effect of it should be taken into account and studied.

Discussion

I stated in the beginning that I consider the discussion of good and bad data to be beyond the aim of the present thesis. The conclusions of the observations and analyses made throughout the thesis are not meant to emphasise features as either good or bad, and the interviews used for the study are not enough for general conclusions. Most of all, the present study reflects that the sociolinguistic interview is a very complex genre in which both overall good and overall bad interviews can vary to a great extent.

However, having the sociolinguistic interview as the object of study, one note on good and bad data seems obvious to make based on the observations made in the present study. Whether an interview is good or bad data depends on the aims of the data collection. The aim of the data collection in the LANCHART study is to collect various styles of speech. In addition, from the interview guide and inspired by Labov, it seems that informants should not only talk a lot but, preferably, also open up and talk about things they had not anticipated they would be talking about with a stranger. With an eye to that, it could be implied that an interview such as the male interviewer's worst interview would not constitute good data: Even though the informant talks quite a lot, the interview never touches on any personal or emotional issues or topics; there are no personal reflections, nor does it seem very relaxed at any point. Rather, the informant and the interviewer move in circles around the same few topics with no disruptions to change the course, thus the interview does not contain great, overall variation. In addition, the female interviewer's worst interview has a similar insufficiency: It never becomes personal or emotional; if anything, it varies in how the informant reacts to the interviewer's questions, which seem to range from tolerating them to trying to get round them without answering directly. Furthermore, the structure remains the same throughout the entire interview: The female interviewer initiates all the topics – with only a very few exceptions – and the informant never becomes deeply involved in any of the topics suggested. In contrast, both of the interviews evaluated as being their respective best interviews include topics of a personal and emotional nature, personal reflections. The informants are involved in the topics and, at times, take initiatives to influence the content of the interview. These reflections on specific interviews are not meant to imply that there would always be agreement between what is considered a good interview and what is considered good data – however, naturally, it may well be that the interviewers' impressions are influenced by such considerations even though they do not comment on, e.g., the variety of styles in their interviews in my interview with them (admittedly, I did not ask them, either). However, these notes suggest that it is arguable whether the two best and two worst interviews studied most thoroughly in the present study can, in fact, be considered comparable speech events.

Furthermore, admittedly, the results of the present study would possibly have been rather different if it had not been for Lisa's interview with OP. And it should be noted that the span between Lisa's best and worst interview could be said to be larger than the span between Jasper's interviews as Lisa's worst interview is more problematic than Jasper's worst. However, as I ask in 3.4: Should we not expect a deviating interview or two in all big data collections? As remarked, the comparability between the interviews, when used for various types of analyses, may be debatable; however, in a

study such as this, I see no reason to leave out the interview mentioned as it has been pointed out by the interviewer on equal terms with the other interviews.

An obvious continuation of the remarks on the quality of data is a discussion of how the two interview styles studied in this thesis contribute to obtaining such data. When analysing the interview styles, I concluded that the male interviewer's flexible interview style was "a safe bet". He can keep a conversation going with anyone for a long time, and thereby he is sure to bring home a lot of speech data. However, he expresses in my interview with him – it can be observed as well in his interviews – that he would not ask any question whatsoever; he has his limits when it comes to personal and potentially delicate questions and, thus, he does not actively press informants on personal topics. His strategy is to tell something about himself and thereby encourage the informant to do the same, but it does not work every time. The female interviewer, on the other hand, does not hold back when it comes to asking direct, personal questions. And it often works: Many informants do reveal personal matters and experiences when she asks them directly. However, it happens (as in her worst interview) that her strategy fails. Her risky interview style makes some people react with dispreferred responses when confronted with her controversial questions. Thus, taking a risk may make the informant talk about personal topics, which is the aim in the sociolinguistic interview, but also seems to risk working against the trust that is fundamental for making the informant open up to the interviewer. In that way, there are both advantages and disadvantages to both interview styles. Either interview style may produce a good interview, or they may result in bad data. Indeed, it could be argued that it is always an advantage to be flexible, thus, not fixed on one interview style; however, interesting results may also come from testing various individuals' reactions to a risky interview style. I repeat: Ultimately, the preferred interview style is a matter of what is expected from the data collection. And how the interview style works naturally depends on the dialogical interplay between the interviewer and the informant.

Suggestions for further research

A clear limitation of the present study is the fact that I have a dialogical approach, but it fails to present personality test results for the informants, whom I claim play just as great a role in shaping the interviews as the interviewers. Indeed, from a dialogical point of view, it would be interesting to have the chance to compare the interviewer's and the informant's personalities. However, as I argue, I wish to approach the sociolinguistic interviews from the point of view of the interviewers as I find this to be largely overlooked (although, e.g., Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000) does it for survey interviews; Fogtman (2007) for police officers interviewing persons applying for Danish citizenship; Kirilova (2013) for job interviews). Furthermore, just as it is difficult to find an approach to or a theory about the link between interactional style and personality traits (the approach described in, e.g., Tausczik & Pennebaker (2010) is the only one I know of; and, as I argue, that is incompatible with a dialogical approach), I cannot imagine that a theory which describes how two different personalities influence one another when interacting will emerge any time soon. Personality psychologists such as McCrae & Costa, who are behind the NEO PI-R test (e.g., Costa & McCrae, 2008), would claim that such an experiment is not relevant at all as personalities are unaffected by others. From a dialogical and interactional point of view, such an experiment would be interesting, but the way to approach the issue would be rather complex as it

involves yet another variable in an experiment which already has uncountable unknowns. Despite the complexity, I hope that, sometime and somehow, someone approaches this challenge.

Furthermore, as noted by Sandoval & Adams (2001, p. 1), *rapport* – the good relationship – is relevant for all interviewing. Some characteristics are shared for different types of interviews. The point made by the interviewers in the present study about 'opening up the informant' could be said to be essential not only when interviewing a witness but also in an interview with an employee or in an interview made for a documentary throwing light on a social issue, and it seems only likely that rapport is also crucial for the success of a job interview. Looking at rapport as interactionally established (as done by Fogtmann (2007)) is certainly another area that would benefit from more attention.

I do not claim that I have found the key to reveal a causal connection between interview styles and personal characteristics. However, I do argue that interview style has to do with something consistent which can possibly be related to personal characteristics that may change slowly over time but may be said to be enduring, at least, for a period of time. It would be interesting if future research carried out further studies of the interviewer as a determinant in interviews and the link between personal characteristics and interview style.

Finally, it would be interesting to study how the interviewers can, in fact, vary their interview style. The male interviewer is an obvious example although it would also be interesting to see how far the female interviewer would be able to differ from what seems to be her particular interview style. The focus of the present study is, obviously, the constant characteristics of the interviewers; however, looking at their flexibility would be another equally valid option.

The dialogical point

However highlighted the interviewers have been in the preceding chapters, it is an important point in the present study that it is not solely the interviewer who determines whether a sociolinguistic interview succeeds or fails. There are (at a minimum) two participants in an interview – and, as Bakhtin would say, far more "voices" than those present. Although I – with the present study – mean to problematize that analysts are often far too absorbed exclusively in the person being interviewed or the topics discussed in an interview to notice that the interviewer has a great say in setting the framework, the limitations, and the perspective of the interview, I do not mean to state that it is nothing less than a co-operation. Interviews are dialogues. Both of the interactants are indispensable. As the interviewers in the present study point out, the relationship between the interviewer and the informant is crucial for the outcome. Nevertheless, the particular focus on the interviewer combined with the dialogical approach of the present study may, hopefully, throw light on the importance of the situational conditions and the advantages of a more "holistic" approach to the sociolinguistic interview in particular and, maybe, interviews more generally.

It should be noted that the interviews I conducted with the two interviewers to learn their opinion about the sociolinguistic interview are, naturally, also shaped dialogically – and within the frameworks I set up for the interviews. I strove to ask open questions and not to point in fixed

directions before the interviewers had selected their good and bad interviews. However, as an interviewer and, subsequently, an analyst, I have naturally focused on the things I found particularly noteworthy and marked the analyses accordingly. After all, I should not pretend that I have not also played a considerable part in shaping the focus of the analyses even though I turned the spotlight on the interviewers – if I did, I would neglect an important point of the thesis.

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Appendixes 1-9

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2. Question guide: My preparation for the interviews I conducted with the interviewees about their interviews and interview practice
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8. Examples revealing characteristics of interview style
9. Question guide: My preparation for the interviews I conducted with the interviewees about the personality tests

Non-public*

- A. Topic analysis of Lisa's best interview (with KK)
- B. Topic analysis of Lisa's worst interview (with OP)
- C. Topic analysis of Jasper's best interview (with UF)
- D. Topic analysis of Jasper's best interview (with KL)

* The BySoc interviews are confidential and therefore cannot be made public; therefore, only the assessment committee has access to these.

Appendix 1

Interviewguide

Forberedelse til interview

Inden man tager ud for at optage en informant, skal man lytte den gamle optagelse af vedkommende igennem, for at få et indtryk af, hvordan man bedst genskaber situationen (så vidt det nu er muligt).

Ved gennemlytningen af interviewet er det godt at være opmærksom på følgende:

1. Hvilke emner interesserer informanten? Kan de bruges som basis for det interview, man skal lave med dem?

Vi skal ikke nødvendigvis gøre noget for at skjule, at vi har hørt interviewene med dem... Faktisk kan vi bruge det som et trumfkort at la "Jeg er meget interesseret i at møde dig, fordi jeg allerede har lyttet til en optagelse med dig, og det du fortæller er meget spændende". Det vil formentlig være en skønssag, hvordan man skal benytte det, om ikke andet vil der være mange emner, man ved, interesserer informanten, som man kan komme ind på, uden at der skal refereres til den tidligere optagelse.

(*Kun for Bysoc*: Hvis man afslører, at man ved en del deres familieforhold eller andre sociale relationer, så skal man som minimum sørge for, at man har styr på personernes navne, og hvilken relation de faktisk har til informanten.)

Interviewspørgsmål

Den gennemgående tråd i interviewoplægget er "*fra vugge til grav*". På den måde får man både talt om informantens barndom, opvækst og opdragelse, samt hvad der optager informanten lige nu, og hvilke forestillinger vedkommende har om fremtiden. Denne model er imidlertid ikke en model som skal følges slavisk. Man kan altså i princippet godt tale om fremtiden, før man taler om barndommen.

De nedenstående forslag til spørgsmål er ikke opdelt skarpt efter denne linje og skal betragtes som inspiration.

Minimale demografiske oplysninger

Spørgsmålene i denne kategori er blevet formuleret i et mere formelt sprog og skrevet ind i et formelt udseende skema. Intentionen er at øge chancerne for at få en mere formel sekvens med hjem, sådan at vi kan sammenligne informantens formelle og uformelle sprog. Her sigter vi altså til en mere institutionel samtalsituation med samtalestrukturen spørgsmål-(kort)svar. Informanten må meget gerne se skemaet (som ark eller på computeren), netop for at illudere det formelle.

Når skemaet er udfyldt lægger intervieweren skemaet væk og læner sig eventuelt tilbage i stolen for at signalere et skift i samtalsituationen. Det vil være naturligt at spørge uddybende til de personlige informationer, man lige har fået. Det kunne være nogle af spørgsmålene herunder:

Uddybende spørgsmål:

9. Hvor længe har I været gift?
10. Hvordan mødte I hinanden
11. Har I børn?
- 11.a. Hvor mange, hvor gamle er de, hvad laver de, hvor bor de...
- 11.b. Har du børnebørn?
12. Er du glad for dit arbejde? Fortæl lidt mere om dit arbejde
13. Hvad er dine fritidsinteresser?
14. ...

I projektet ligger der krav til emner, som vi helst som et minimum skal få informanten til at tale om. Det drejer sig om *forandringer i socialiseringspraksis, urbanisering, internationalisering*.

Oplysninger om socialisering

1. Hvordan var det at vokse op der/her?
2. Hvordan var din skoletid?
3. Hvordan blev du opdraget, gjorde du som dine søskende, så du op til dem?
4. Kan du huske en gang, du har fået skæld ud?
5. Hvordan blev dine venner opdraget?
6. Vil du selv opdrage/opdrager du dine egne børn på samme måde?
7. Hvordan er dit forhold til dine forældre i dag?
8. Tror du, der er forskel på at være barn/ung dengang og i dag?
9. ...

Oplysninger om lokale og regionale forhold

(Ikke alle spørgsmål kan bruges i København)

1. Hvordan har udviklingen været byen/kvarteret (i Nyboder efter at det ikke er forbeholdt flåden)?
2. Har der været flere butikker (hvilke?)
3. Hvilken by tager I til?
4. Hvad bruger I den til (Tager I til Århus festuge, Herning teaterfestival usw.)
5. Hvilke tilbud har de der, som I ikke har her? (uddannelsesmæssigt, kulturelt...)
6. Hvor tager man hen for at studere/Hvor tager man hen, hvis man vil have en uddannelse som dit barnebarns?
7. Flytter folk så tilbage, når de har taget uddannelsen et andet sted?
8. Hvordan er forholdet til Jylland/København?
9. Hvordan vil du beskrive dit lokalområde?
10. Hvad er det for nogle mennesker, der bor her i området? Er der mange tilflyttere/fremmede?
11. Er der meget kriminalitet?

12. Kan man godt bevæge sig ud efter mørkets frembrud her?

Lokal vs. global orientering

1. Hvor og hvordan ville du helst bo, hvis du selv kunne bestemme?
2. Hvor bor dine venner/familie, hvor tit besøger du dem?
3. Hvor køber du ind, går i biografen, i svømmehal, på restaurant, osv.?
4. Har du langt til arbejde eller arbejder du i nærheden?
5. Er du medlem af nogen lokale foreninger? Skoleråd, andels- eller (grund) ejerforeningen, kulturelle foreninger (evt. partier, men ofte vil den slags vel komme frem i diskussionen af sprængfarlige emner).
6. Hvor siger du, du kommer fra, når du præsenterer dig andre?
7. Er du flyttet flere gange, hvis ja, hvorfor og hvor har du boet? Hvis nej, har du aldrig følt dig fristet til at flytte?/Hvordan ville du have det med at skulle flytte?
8. Er du medlem af nogle støtteforeninger som fx Amnesty, Red Barnet, Greenpeace?
9. Hvad synes du om den effekt globaliseringen har herhjemme, f.eks. flytningen af bestemte typer arbejdspladser fra Danmark til udlandet? Er det et trist tab/en nødvendig udvikling i markedet til gavn for både os og dem?
10. Rejser du meget? Hvorhen og hvordan rejser du? Er det daseferie, shoppingture, kulturelle storbyferier...
11. Rejser du i forbindelse med dit arbejde? Hvis ja, hvorhen, hvor ofte...

Mere overordnet syn på verden:

1. Hvad synes du om udviklingen (i samfundet/verden)?
2. Oplever du en polarisering? (IKKE ET GODT ORD I JYLLAND☺)
3. Synes du det er en positiv udvikling?
4. Gør du noget for at få indflydelse på sagerne?

Ud over at tale om socialisering, urbanisering og internationalisering kan man spørge til følgende emner:

Fremtidsdrømme:

1. Tror du, du vil fortsætte i det samme job resten af dit arbejdsliv?
2. Hvad kunne du ellers tænke dig at lave, hvis du ikke var (job)?
3. Hvad med din familie, hvordan forestiller du dig den ser ud?
4. Hvis du har børn: Har du særlige ønsker for dine børn?
 - a. Er der noget, du frygter på deres vegne?
 - b. Er der ændringer i samfundet, du frygter, vil have konsekvenser for dem?
5. Hvis du ikke har børn: Vil du gerne have børn? Hvis ikke, hvorfor?
6. Har du gjort dig nogen forestillinger om et liv som gammel?

Emner som Projekt Bysoc. mente førte til uformel stil

1. Dramatiske episoder
 - a. Personlige: skilsmisse, ulykker, første barn, nabokrige...

- b. "Globale": terror, efterløn (evt. indvandring, men det kan være et brandfarligt emne at bringe op, vent hellere til informanterne bringer det op)
- 2. Kærlighed/kærester/sex – strejfes under spørgsmål om personlige forhold, men man kan selvfølgelig bore mere i det i løbet af samtalen.
- 3. Familie-/personlige problemer – jf. forslag til diskussion af opdragelse.
- 4. Sladder – kræver vel et vist kendskab til lokalområdet, men kan selvfølgelig også handle om "de kendte".
- 5. Socialisation – ud over opdragelse og skoletid kan man måske spørge til opfattelsen af statens indblanding i den enkeltes liv, uden nødvendigvis at skulle have dem til at definere sig på skalaen liberalist-kommunist (højreorienteret - venstreorienteret).

Desuden

Bør man sørge for at følge med i dagspressen, høre radioavis hver morgen inden feltarbejde, især vejrudsigten, skimme avisernes forsider og forsøge at få fat i det seneste nummer af den husstandsomdelte lokalavis.

Sprogholdningsdelen

Afspilning af tre ekstreme sprogprøver...

Spørgsmål

1. Kan du huske om dine lærere talte på samme måde som dig?
2. Talte du og dine klassekammerater ens? Hvis ikke var det noget, I talte om? Kan du fortælle om en episode?
3. Er du nogensinde blevet drillet/gjort nar ad pga. den måde, du taler på? Kan du fortælle om en episode?
4. Har du selv været med til at drille/gøre nar ad nogen pga. deres sprog?
5. Er du nogensinde blevet rettet af dine lærere, fordi de mente, du skulle tale anderledes?
6. Blev dine klassekammerater rettet?
- 6.a. Hvis ja, hvordan blev det gjort, synes du, det var/er i orden?
- 6.b. Og hvorfor tror du, de gjorde det?
7. Taler du anderledes, når du er på arbejde, end når du er hjemme?
8. Er der nogen på dit arbejde, der kommenterer, hvordan du taler?
9. Har I en sprogpolitik på arbejdet?
10. Har I en "sprogpolitik" hjemme?
11. Retter du dine børns udtale? Eller... Hvis du får børn, vil du så rette deres udtale?
12. Lægger du nogle gange mærke til, hvordan de taler i fjernsynet? Hvad synes du om det?
13. Er der ord, som I siger anderledes her?
14. Taler du på den samme måde til alle mennesker? Hvis nej, giv eksempler.
15. Hvordan talte de "hårde drenge"/"smarte piger" i din barndom?

Til dem der er flyttet fra deres hjemegn

1. Taler du anderledes, når du taler med dine forældre/din familie, end du gør til dagligt? Hvis ja, er det noget andre lægger mærke til, og er det noget, der sker bevidst fra din side?

2. Kommenterer din familie dit sprog? Synes de, du taler anderledes, end du gjorde, da du var yngre? Hvis ja, driller de dig med dit sprog? Driller du dem med deres sprog?

Indledere der kan bruges, så det ikke virker alt for interviewagtig:

- vil det sige at...
- det har du egentlig ret i, men...
- har jeg forstået det korrekt, at...
- det bliver du nødt til at forklare lidt nærmere, det forstår jeg simpelthen ikke (om faglige emner)...

Appendix 2

The question guide I prepared for my semi-structured interviews with the interviewers about their good and bad interviews

As described in 3.1, the interviewers sent me an e-mail before the interview where they e.g. listed the interviews from the BySoc study which they remembered as good or bad.

-
- Hvad år er du født?
-

["Hukommelsesøvelse" hvor jeg giver diverse fakta og evt. fortæller bemærkelsesværdige ting om forskellige informanter og interviewene med dem som måske kan få interviewererne til at huske noget, men UDEN at for meget afsløres – de skal selv kunne huske det!]

- Husker du denne informant som.../dette interview hvor...?
-

Nævnt i min mail:

Godt interview:

- [Navn + de detaljer interviewereren nævnte i sin mail til mig] – hvorfor var det godt?

Dårligt interview:

- [Navn + de detaljer interviewereren nævnte i sin mail til mig] – hvorfor er det et dårligt interview?

➤ Hvis du kommer i tanker om nogen eller nogen passager i løbet af vores snak så sig endelig til!

- Er der nogle af interviewene vi har snakket om her som du har lyttet til eller arbejdet med siden du lavede dem?
-

Som du nok har gennemskuet i min mail, er jeg interesseret i interviews som opleves – eller huskes – som enten særligt gode eller særligt dårlige interviews.

[Professionelt versus personligt]

- Hvad der vurderes professionelt
- og
- Hvad der opleves personligt
-
- Hvad mener du er godt professionelt? [Centrets interesser... Labov?]
 - Hvad "lærte" eller talte I om på centret ift. hvordan interviewene skulle foregå?
 - Hvad mener du er godt personligt – hvad er godt for dig? [Når du selv er aktiv? Bestemte typer personer? Position i interviewet? Interesser? At have noget til fælles?]

 - Er relationen vigtig for dig? (Professionelt? Personligt?)
-

[Vægten mellem professionel og privatperson]

- Når man kommer hjem i folks hjem og man skal have en samtale til at køre med et menneske som man aldrig har mødt før – jeg kunne forestille at man også må give et stykke af sig selv...
 - Kan du huske at der er nogle ting du synes, er særligt interessante at høre om i dine interviews – og er der nogle ting som slet ikke kan interessere dig? Lader du altid som om du er interesseret?
 - Har du nogen gode råd til andre interviewere om hvad man skal gøre for at lykkes med sine interviews?
-

[Om informanterne]

- Kan du huske noget særligt om nogen af informanterne?
- Jeg forestiller mig at man kan blive ret forskelligt modtaget i folks hjem – har du nogensinde følt dig diskrimineret eller dømt på forhånd? [For ung? For gammel? Køn? Akademiker? Udseende?]

- Har du nogen gange tænkt på hvordan informanterne mon har oplevet et interview enten når I er midt i det eller bagefter?
-

[Lidt mere ind til benet..]

- Ville du sige om dig selv at du er sådan én der pleaser folk når du taler med dem?
 - Hvordan har du det med at blive rettet på? (Kommer det også an på hvem det er der gør det?)
 - Generer det dig når nogen ryger i nærheden af dig? [Til Jasper:] Det kan selvfølgelig være det har ændret sig efter du har fået barn, men hvordan havde du det med det tidligere?
-

[Din spørge-strategi]

➤ **Spørgsmål til Jasper:**

- Du nævner i din mail at det krævede en vis professionalisme at lave interviewet med et par som havde en slet skjult politisk holdning (som er en anden end din) – siger du hermed at der har været andre interviews hvor du har følt at du kunne være dig selv og måske ligefrem glemme professionalismen for en stund?
- Er du sådan en der godt kan lide at komme tæt på folk?
- Det sker også at du byder ind med historier eller erfaringer fra dit eget liv – hvordan var det?
- Hvordan foregik "oplæringen" i at interviewe på centret? Var der møder, studiegrupper i Labov eller andet?
- Er det rigtig forstået at du delvist oplærte Lisa?

➤ **Spørgsmål til Lisa:**

- Jeg har lagt mærke til i dine interviews at du tit eksplicit inddrager det du har hørt i de gamle interviews – kan du huske hvad din plan med det var?
- Nogle gange stiller du nogle ret personlige spørgsmål – hvordan havde du det med at gøre det? Er du sådan en der godt kan lide at komme tæt på folk?
- Det sker også at du byder ind med historier eller erfaringer fra dit eget liv – hvordan var det?

[Frie spørgsmål som jeg reflekterede over forud for interviewene, men ikke havde med på papir under selve interviewene]

Om interviewerrollen:

- Hvad ændrer du bevidst som interviewer?
- Føler du at du må lave om på dig selv som person for at være en god interviewer?
- Er der noget du bevidst ændrer som interviewer?
- Er det din egen oplevelse at nogen informanter har særlige forventninger til hvordan du er som person når du kommer hjem til dem som interviewer?
- Hvad er dine succeskriterier til et interview? (Tillægsspørgsmål: Tror du det har noget med din egen rolle og/eller jeres relation at gøre hvorvidt et interview ”føles godt” bagefter?)
- Er der nogen personlige egenskaber eller personlige træk som du vurderer, at det er en fordel for en interviewer at have for at lykkes med sine interviews?
- Hvad er dine råd til andre interviewere hvis deres interview skal ”lykkes”?

Personen bag interviewerens

- Føler du at du må lave om på dig selv som person for at tilpasse dig den enkelte informant?
- Tænker du over hvordan du snakker til informanten?
- Tænker du over hvordan du snakker sammen med informanten?
- Laver du bevidst om på dit sprog efter hvem du snakker med eller snakker du ens med alle?
- Snakker du anderledes til informanter end du gør til folk du møder i andre situationer?

- Mener du selv at du er tilbøjelig til at please dem du taler med? Gælder det også dine informanter? Går du op i at interviewet også skal være en god oplevelse for din informant?
- Hvad betyder relationen til informanten for oplevelsen af interviewet?

Om informanterne

- Hvis vi lige skal glemme alt om politisk korrekthed og ideologi et øjeblik – er det så din oplevelse at man kan tale om gode og dårlige informanter? Hvad kendetegner en god informant i dine øjne? (Er det en professionel eller personlig vurdering?) Hvad kendetegner en dårlig informant i dine øjne? (Er det en professionel eller personlig vurdering?)
- Ud fra de interviews jeg har hørt, er der nogen informanter der er åbne fra starten, mens andre forbliver lukkede interviewet igennem, men der er også en midtergruppe som åbner sig op i løbet af interviewet. Er det din oplevelse at det ofte er ét bestemt spørgsmål eller emne som bliver bragt på banen, der skal til for at åbne intervieweren op, eller er det typisk noget der sker langsomt i løbet af interviewet? [Måske lidt ledende spørgsmål]
- Er der nogle bestemte personer som du husker at have et særligt indtryk af? Altså hvordan de var som personer? Eller hvordan I havde det sammen/hvilken relation du oplevede at I fik bygget op?
- Husker du at du nogensinde har følelsen af at du er blevet "diskrimineret" eller talt ned til?
- Føler du at du må lave om på dig selv som person for at tilpasse dig den enkelte informant?
- Fokuserer du på om det er en god oplevelse for informanten at deltage i interviewet?

Om interviewene generelt:

- Nogen informanter er åbne fra starten, andre forbliver lukkede interviewet igennem, men der er også en midtergruppe som åbner sig op i løbet af interviewet. Er det din oplevelse at det ofte er ét eneste træk fra dem selv eller dig [et bestemt spørgsmål eller emne] der skal til for at åbne intervieweren op, eller er det typisk noget der sker langsomt i løbet af interviewet? [Måske lidt ledende spørgsmål]

Definition af godt og dårligt interview:

- Hvad er efter din mening et godt interview professionelt set/hvis du skal tænke på hvad LANCHART søgte efter af data?
- Hvis du så skal lægge de "professionelle kriterier" til side og bare fokusere på hvad du selv synes, har været gode interviewoplevelser for dig personligt, hvad har de så indeholdt? Hvilke personer har du nydt at tale sammen med? Er det informanter du har haft noget til fælles med, fx interesser, emner der for dig har været vedkommende? Har du tænkt over om det nogle gange har været en bedre oplevelse for dig når du selv har været aktiv i interviewet? Hvad kendetegner et interview som giver dig en god oplevelse?

Interesser

Spørg ind til deres personlige interesser – dem som de har haft fra før 2006 også! Hvad optager dem? Og er der noget de kunne komme på som ville være forfærdeligt kedeligt at høre om (– eller afhænger det i virkeligheden af hvem der taler om det)?

Appendix 3

Transcription conventions

The interviews from the BySoc study have been transcribed using two different systems; consequently there are some slight variations between the two. For instance, audible in- or exhalation (transcribed: hh) was only employed in the transcription conventions used for the interviews conducted by Jasper; it was omitted in the later interviews conducted by Lisa and others. However, none of the symbols has different meanings in the two transcription conventions.

In my study, the transcriptions may be coarse or fine depending on the amount of detail required for the specific purpose. For instance pauses have been measured only in the interview sequences which have been thoroughly analysed. Similarly, intonation and voice quality have only been indicated in the transcriptions in the actual thesis, not in the transcriptions which appear in the appendix only. Furthermore, only the transcriptions in the thesis have been translated into English.

:	Prolongation of the sound (several signs signifies a long prolongation)
- or [/]	Interruption of a word
°	Spoken at low volume
! or [!!]	Said with emphasis
—	Syllable pronounced with emphasis
.	Each letter pronounced separately when separated with this sign
☺	Beginning or end of one or more words pronounced with a smiling voice
↑	Rising intonation
↓	Falling intonation
< or [<]	Overlap begins
> or [>]	Overlap ends
# or (x.x)	Pause; duration not indicated / Pause shown in seconds
=	There is no break between the words in this line and the next/previous line
[abc]	Comment or description of a sound which is not a word
[...]	The sequence continues, but is not transcribed here
hh	Audible in- or exhalation
ha	Laughter
() or ??	Uncertain transcription
xxx	Words or sounds which are difficult or impossible to understand or recognise

When the interviewers refer to “the Centre”, this means the LANCHART Centre.

Notes on the translation:

[MP] = modal particle

[filler] = words which are hard to translate into English because they do not always have an inherent meaning. The meaning emerges from the context.

The second line in each translation is added only if the word-for-word translation incomprehensible.

Appendix 4.a

Topics in Lisa's best interview with the informant KK.

Topic shifts initiated by the informant are highlighted to give an easy overview of the distribution of initiatives:

Initiatives by the informant (KK)

Initiatives by the interviewer, Lisa (Int)

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix A.

No.	Line	Initiator	TTRP/non	Coherence	Topic (keyword)
1	13	Int	TTRP	No connection	Background interview
2	97	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Nyboder
3	185	KK	TTRP	No connection	Meta-talk about the content of the interview
4	193	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK's childhood friend
5	206	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK and the basic school
6	223	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK's class was hard on the teachers
7	254	KK	TTRP	Non-focal	An incidence with the physics teacher who got angry
8	271	KK	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK explains how she took her own way in basic school
9	293	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Incidences which manifested that some had power
10	346	Int	TTRP	No connection	The roles of KK's father and mother in her childhood
11	388	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Places KK has lived in Nyboder
12	427	KK	TTRP	Non-focal	The significance of KK's parents' divorce
13	447	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK's parents had foster kids
14	480	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KK's parents' divorce
15	538	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK's relations to her sister and brother
16	572	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KK's relation to her mother
17	591	Int	non-TTRP	Non-local	KK's relation to her father
18	602	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The lies that KK's parents must have told
19	648	KK	TTRP	Non-focal	Stability of KK's parents
20	684	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KK's parents' new husband/wife
21	743	KK	TTRP	Non-focal	An incidence where KK's father hid his new girl friend
22	766	KK	TTRP	Non-local	Reflections on her parents' new husband/wife
23	784	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	KK was a swimmer in her younger years
24	848	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	When KK stopped swimming
25	863	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Comments on when Lisa and her husband met
26	884	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Missing out on parties in high school
27	907	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK became a Christian after her parents' divorce
28	964	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The environments' reactions when KK became Christian
29	990	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	KK and the boys in her youth
30	1022	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK used to be goal-oriented
31	1054	KK	TTRP	No connection	KK asks about the format of the old recording
32	1062	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KK's first boyfriend

33	1119	KK	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK reflects on her attachment to Christianity
34	1142	Int	TTRP	Non-local	The first time KK slept with someone
35	1170	KK	non-TTRP	Non-local	KK reflects on her double life: church & boys
36	1180	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	When KK met her husband
37	1186	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK chose to study psychology
38	1214	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The highschool KK attended had Christian pupils
39	1277	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Places KK has lived in Copenhagen
40	1287	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Moving from the city to a suburb
41	1327	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Where KK's brother and sister live now
42	1339	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KK's distance to work place
43	1345	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK's work and how she feels about it
44	1366	KK	TTRP	Non-focal	KK's particular interests in psychology
45	1378	KK	TTRP	No connection	Meta-talk about the situation
46	1383	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Having her own practice
47	1395	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KK's husband's work
48	1409	Int	TTRP	No connection	Introducing the voice test
49	1498	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Focus on language in KK's younger years
50	1520	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK's parents' take on language when KK was raised
51	1543	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	KK's opinion of language in upbringing her children
52	1571	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK's upbringing of her children
53	1599	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KK have a qualified background for raising children

Appendix 4.b

Topics in Lisa's worst interview with the informant OP.

Topic shifts initiated by the informant are highlighted to give an easy overview of the distribution of initiatives:

Initiatives by the informant (OP)

Initiatives by the interviewer, Lisa (Int)

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix B.

No.	Line	Initiator	TTRP/non	Coherence	Topic (keyword)
1	3	Int	TTRP	No connection	Background interview
2	44	Int	TTRP	No connection	Nyboder
3	82	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Parents/upbringing
4	98	Int	TTRP	No connection	Career dreams expressed in the old interview
5	113	Int	TTRP	No connection	Current situation + meta-talk about the interview
6	119	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Childhood
7	136	Int	TTRP	Non focal	OP's brother and differences between OP and him
8	164	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	How OP gets to see his brother nowadays
9	182	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	OP's job
10	195	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Whether OP likes his job
11	202	Int	TTRP	No connection	What happened after high school
12	220	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	First job
13	230	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Advantages of the company OP works in
14	263	Int	TTRP	No connection	Studying abroad
15	277	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Friends from OP's stay in Oxford
16	284	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	OP got married recently
17	292	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	OP's old girl friend
18	334	Int	TTRP	Non-local	OP's wife and house
19	348	OP	TTRP	Non-focal	Where OP and his wife live now
20	361	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Places where OP has lived in Copenhagen
21	369	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	A specific street in Copenhagen
22	384	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Places where OP has lived in Copenhagen
23	408	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Thoughts on moving out of the city
24	446	Int	TTRP	No connection	Travelling
25	459	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Where does OP go on holiday
26	483	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Hypothetical trips
27	496	Int	TTRP	Non-local	What OP experienced at a specific trip to Sicily
28	528	Int	TTRP	No connection	Current everyday life
29	548	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Hunting
30	584	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Shooting animals
31	613	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	OP's connections to go out hunting
32	625	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The prevalence of hunting

33	636	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The expenses of hunting
34	652	OP	TTRP	Non-focal	OP asks Lisa about her experience with hunting
35	677	Int	TTRP	Non-local	What is done with the bag
36	690	Int	TTRP	No connection	Becoming a father
37	703	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The planning of the addition to the family
38	713	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The birth of OP's son
39	740	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The kids of OP's brother
40	761	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Why OP's brother moved to Germany
41	781	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Christianity
42	806	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	His father's sermons
43	814	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	OP's brother was the pastor at OP's wedding
44	821	Int	TTRP	No connection	The voice test
45	900	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Language in OP's own upbringing
46	916	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Dialects
47	939	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Language issues when bringing up his own son
48	981	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Paternity leave
49	993	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Information about babies today
50	1003	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	OP's career
51	1039	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Serving on a board
52	1070	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Go to the theatre
53	1080	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Offers of culture
54	1088	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Literature
55	1120	OP	TTRP	Non-focal	OP asks Lisa about her knowledge about lawyers
56	1132	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Having a father who was a pastor
57	1160	Int	TTRP	No connection	Closing the interview

Appendix 4.c

Topics in Jasper's best interview with the informant UF.

Topic shifts initiated by the informant are highlighted to give an easy overview of the distribution of initiatives:

Initiatives by the informant (UF)

Initiatives by the interviewer, Jasper (Int)

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix C.

No.	Line	Initiator	TTRP/non	Coherence	Topic (keyword)
1	27	UF	TTRP	Non-focal	The focus of the interview
2	64	Int	TTRP	No connection	Background interview
3	239	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Nyboder
4	264	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's childhood friend
5	309	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The father of UF's childhood friend
6	328	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to UF's childhood friend
7	354	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The first flat in Nyboder
8	367	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	General organisation of the flats
9	432	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The fire risk in Nyboder
10	452	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	The last flat they had in Nyboder
11	488	UF	TTRP	Non-focal	Back in Nyboder after years away
12	507	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The size of a Nyboder home
13	516	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The whole houses in Nyboder
14	553	UF	TTRP	Non-local	The environment in Nyboder
15	619	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The school in Nyboder
16	659	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Conditions of the middle class
17	696	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to the school in Nyboder
18	701	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The rent in Nyboder
19	727	Int	TTRP	Non-local	UF's home with a father who was away a lot
20	768	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's upbringing
21	786	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Upbringing then and now
22	803	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Food then and now
23	819	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Similarities in upbringing (father-son relation)
24	904	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's son
25	955	Int	TTRP	No connection	About the phone conversation UF has (excluded here)
26	988	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Contact information about UF's brother
27	997	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	About UF's brother
28	1020	UF	TTRP	Non-local	Back to the father theme
29	1032	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The navy then and now
30	1047	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's father in contrast to other fathers in the navy
31	1097	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Stories about the father's trips
32	1105	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The income in UF's childhood home

33	1113	UF	TTRP	Non-focal	The conditions for his father when he was sailing
34	1127	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	UF's home when the father was away and home
35	1162	UF	TTRP	Non-focal	To buy goods out of bond
36	1303	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	What UF's father brought with him when he came home
37	1393	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Where they moved after Nyboder
38	1397	UF	TTRP	Non-local	The family's economy (wages) in UF's childhood and youth
39	1425	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Cars which UF's father bought
40	1509	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to talk about economy and wages at the time
41	1542	UF	TTRP	Non-focal	In the air force
42	1568	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's wishes after the air force
43	1592	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The advantages of being an engineer in the air force
44	1599	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's position as an engineer in the air force
45	1636	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to the advantages of being engineer in the air force
46	1644	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Aircrafts and their radios
47	1675	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The types of aircrafts they had in the air force at UF's time
48	1748	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	The air force wanted UF to become a sergeant
49	1815	UF	TTRP	Non-local	Some work which UF got while in the air force
50	1838	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	UF's popularity in the air force
51	1850	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to the work and how he got it while in the air force
52	1925	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	About the project he got hired to be part of
53	1960	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	How and why UF ended his work on the project
54	2049	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Next job in a big company making electronic devices
55	2083	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Interest in taking photos
56	2093	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Opportunity to get a job in another company
57	2118	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Playing in a band was UF's way to find dream work place
58	2137	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	"Pigtråd" (translates to barbed wire, in music: electric pop)
59	2153	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to the story of the band he was in
60	2174	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	What was "a lot of money" back in the 1960s
61	2210	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	How to earn money for the equipment for the band
62	2414	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The company was a good work place
63	2432	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Applying for a job in the company UF had found was nice
64	2446	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Two job offers
65	2527	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The company where UF served his apprenticeship
66	2547	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to how UF's skills were appreciated in the air force
67	2558	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Praise of UF's time as an apprentice
68	2565	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Development in UF's work interests
69	2646	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	How things went with the band
70	2778	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	How the american band member ended up in Denmark
71	2884	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The jobs the band had
72	2949	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Playing (guitar) today
73	2976	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	What UF does instead of playing guitar
74	2991	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	UF's political position in his youth
75	3051	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The 1960s was a boom period like now
76	3066	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Jobs as TV photographer (contradicting what he just said)

77	3097	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	How jobs are distributed in the company nowadays
78	3150	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The company as a work place nowadays
79	3237	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The end of monopoly
80	3289	Int	non-TTRP	Non-local	How the leaders feel about the changes
81	3297	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	The decision-making behind relocating the company
82	3331	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	A hypothetical story of a party who wanted a monument
83	3345	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	A real party's thoughts on building a modern monument
84	3556	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The reactions and consequences for the employees
85	3669	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF had no absence due to illness during two years
86	3678	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The work environment in the company today
87	3732	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The economy behind the project of moving the company
88	3794	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Jasper's experience with the company UF's tells about
89	3803	UF	TTRP	Non-local	Meta-comments on the truth of the story UF has just told
90	3838	Int	TTRP	No connection	UF and his wife and how they moved in together
91	3888	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's car
92	3897	Int	TTRP	Non-local	UF and wife married
93	3919	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's illness
94	3938	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	UF stresses the importance of assuring his younger wife
95	4013	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper compares UF's story with his (assuring girl friend)
96	4133	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Teaching
97	4207	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	UF's son
98	4218	UF	non-TTRP	Non-focal	When UF's friends had children many years ago
99	4247	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	UF's young wife
100	4312	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	UF's thoughtson having a child and how it actually is
101	4419	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Children's dependency
102	4559	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	The language part of the interview
103	4577	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	UF's plans for the future
104	4787	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Hobbies
105	4857	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	The importance of being well-prepared as a teacher
106	4873	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Getting ready for the voice test
107	4894	Int	TTRP	No connection	About the content of the declaration of consent
108	4947	UF	TTRP	Non-local	The voice test
109	5176	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Language in UF's childhood
110	5210	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Language change
111	5239	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Completing the interview
112	5274	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	UF's brother
113	5336	UF	non-TTRP	Non-local	Finishing the interview

Appendix 4.d

Topics in Jasper's worst interview with the informant KL.

Topic shifts initiated by the informant are highlighted to give an easy overview of the distribution of initiatives:

Initiatives by the informant (KL)

Initiatives by the interviewer, Jasper (Int)

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix D.

No.	Line	Initiator	TTRP/non	Coherence	Topic (keyword)
1	8	Int	TTRP	No connection	The old interview
2	37	Int	TTRP	No connection	Background interview
3	70	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	The family house after Nyboder
4	95	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Back to the background interview
5	160	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's sister
6	177	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Nyboder
7	207	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Sharing one toilet in a whole house in Nyboder
8	226	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	KL's work
9	258	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	A conflict within KL's line of business
10	293	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	In Prague they cheat
11	300	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	KL's education related to future
12	310	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The character of KL's work
13	319	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Concrete about KL's current job
14	336	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	The area where KL lives
15	339	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's family (niece)
16	395	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	How KL has had the house improved
17	424	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper's own housing situation
18	434	KL	TTRP	Non-local	The interior of KL's house
19	523	Int	TTRP	Non-local	The area where KL lives
20	532	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL asks where Jasper lives
21	549	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Back to the area where KL lives
22	562	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	The unknown name of the neighbourhood
23	578	Int	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL's house
24	593	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Work in the garden
25	603	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's sister's garden
26	626	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's sister's dog
27	638	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The rabbit of Jasper's girlfriend's daughter
28	651	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper's new flat
29	684	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Presents for Jasper's girlfriend's daughter
30	711	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	A former neighbour of KL's father
31	725	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	KL's niece who lives downstairs in KL's house
32	748	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's use of his education today

33	781	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL's family (brother)
34	824	Int	TTRP	No connection	Leisure time/hobbies
35	834	KL	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Meta-talk about the situation
36	869	KL	TTRP	Non-local	KL's family (brother)
37	881	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL's family (sister)
38	915	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Travelling
39	941	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's house
40	959	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	A specific trip (Malta)
41	1009	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	What KL noticed in Malta
42	1023	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Relics in Malta
43	1052	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Trips to Ibiza
44	1161	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The time frame for KL's trips to Ibiza
45	1177	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	A couple KL met on Ibiza
46	1212	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Jasper's trips to Spain
47	1236	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	A friend who preferred DK to Spain
48	1263	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	About not feeling at home (Jasper's years in Japan)
49	1290	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Going abroad-dreams
50	1366	Int	TTRP	Non-local	KL's relation to his family
51	1396	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's brother tries to help KL's nephew, but makes trouble
52	1418	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's brother (and his job)
53	1439	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Military
54	1458	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-local	KL's jobs (former to current)
55	1485	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	Complain about a change at a former job
56	1538	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The content of KL's former job
57	1628	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	Another job on Friday evenings
58	1656	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Specifics on KL's current job
59	1721	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper's student job
60	1746	KL	TTRP	Non-local	KL's job
61	1752	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	Danish TV show called Taxa
62	1770	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Tricks in KL's job
63	1845	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Specific night on KL's job
64	1906	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Work in a pub
65	1972	Int	non-TTRP	Non-focal	Rumours of specific pubs
66	1986	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	The location of a specific pub
67	2013	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Where KL goes to town
68	2051	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Goods and presents
69	2064	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper's new flat
70	2101	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL compares Jasper's handyman skills with a TV show
71	2113	Int	Non-TTRP	Non-local	Back to talk about Jasper's new flat
72	2134	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's house (the floor)
73	2193	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	About the research project
74	2220	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL is often asked whether he is from Bornholm
75	2242	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Mention of the voice test
76	2263	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Jasper's flat (what he meant by 'projects' before)

77	2296	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	The area where Jasper has just moved
78	2329	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Preparing for the voice test
79	2345	KL	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	The old interview
80	2373	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Nyboder
81	2441	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	The house where KL lives now compared to Nyboder
82	2474	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	KL's family (whether KL's father was away much)
83	2518	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	Contemporary memories of his father's work place
84	2567	Int	TTRP	Non-local	The voice test
85	2889	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Whether KL knows anyone who speaks like the voices
86	2913	Int	TTRP	Non-local	Dialects
87	2941	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Language in KL's school
88	2950	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Change of language
89	2981	Int	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Contact info about the brother
90	3078	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Being siblings
91	3016	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's sister and brother in school
92	3099	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's father lived in the house with KL until his death
93	3124	Int	TTRP	No connection	Declaration of confidence
94	3137	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper's work
95	3174	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	The old interview
96	3194	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Nyboder
97	3257	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	KL's father's decision about moving away from Nyboder
98	3312	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	KL's mother's feelings about the new place
99	3356	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	The area where KL lives
100	3375	KL	TTRP	Non-local	KL's house
101	3413	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper owns a flat
102	3440	KL	TTRP	Non-local	KL's house
103	3487	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Jasper considered buying a more expensive flat
104	3499	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	Houses in KL's area
105	3510	Int	TTRP	Non-focal	Nyboder
106	3530	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	How they played around a specific statue
107	3558	KL	TTRP	Non-focal	The school in Nyboder
108	3584	KL	Non-TTRP	Non-focal	The lunch packages served at school in Nyboder
109	3610	KL	TTRP	Non-focal/non-local	Completing the interview

Appendix 5.a

Collection of assessments in Lisa's best interview (with KK)

The assessments in the examples below are marked as follows:

→ = Interviewer's assessment

➔ = Informant's response to interviewer's agreement

Whether the design of a given response is preferred or dispreferred is indicated after each example (cf. practice-based preference as described in Schegloff 1988).

The assessments are listed in the following order:

- Assessments (positive/negative) which receives a preferred response: No. 1-14.
- Assessments (positive/negative) which receive a dispreferred response: No. 15-16.
- Assessments (positive/negative) which are not responded to: No examples.
- Assessments (standard/deviating) which receives a preferred response: No. 17-26.
- Assessments (standard/deviating) which receive a dispreferred response: No examples.
- Assessments (standard/deviating) which are not responded to: No examples.

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

Line numbers are in accordance with Appendix A. As the transcriptions below are more detailed than in Appendix A what is referred to as three lines in Appendix A might take up for instance seven lines below. However, the length of the pauses is only measured where I find it relevant for the analyses of preference; elsewhere they are simply marked with # (cf. Appendix 3).

Assessments (positive/negative) which receive a preferred response

1.

Time in interview: 0:17:43; 1. 206-208

Int: hvordan var du i skolen

(2.0)

KK: <[smask]>

→ Int: < var > du: dygtig

(1.6)

→ KK: ha ja og en var kongen og hh øh de boede så i et øh # i [street name] ja der var også øh nogle # ja militærbolig et eller andet kompleks hh boligkompleks hvor flere af børnene kom fra som så # gik på Nyboder Skolen

Int: <ja>

KK: <så>

Design: preferred (mirroring laughter + confirming).

5.

Time in interview: 0:26:26; l. 371-381

KK: hun har gået hjemme med os da vi var små # vi gik i sådan en øh halvdagsbørnehave # også i Nyboder øh # hh ø:h < fra::: >

→ Int: <det har> da også været meget rart at være meget hjemme

→ KK: < ja >

→ Int: <altså> sådan ikke at skulle <være i> institution fra: ni til fem eller sådan noget

→ KK: < ja >

→ KK: hh nej altså der er ikke nogen af os der har været i vuggestue for eksempel og

Int: mm

→ KK: og så var det sådan nogle korte dage i børnehaven ikke hh men jeg tror aldrig altså jeg

→ blev aldrig sådan rigtig institutionsbarn altså: jeg tror aldrig sådan at jeg # nød meget at

→ komme i børnehave altså

Design: preferred.

6.

Time in interview: 0:29:15; l. 420-431

Int: hvad så med

KK: hh min søster < # ø:h> kom med min mor til Jylland #

Int: < mm ja >

KK: min mor flyttede tilbage til hendes # forældre

Int: okay

KK: ja

(1.8)

→ Int: det har været da været # lidt af en # ja en omvæltning # der # < i tolvårsalderen>

→ KK: < ja: jamen >

→ KK: det var en kæmpe! omvæltning # altså # det var et

(1.0)

Int: < altså også>

KK: < et større > brud kan man sige ikke altså # det er skilsmisser jo i det hele taget men hh men altså mine forældres skilsmisse var # var meget bra:t! og meget voldsom

Int: ja

Design: preferred.

7.

Time in interview: 0:35:01; l. 516-524

KK: altså dagen efter flytter min mor med # med min søster # og det er sådan set det # så det var bare # bang! ha fra den ene dag til den anden

→ Int: det var ikke noget # børn # nu skal I høre < ha ha ha >

→ KK: <nej ha der var ikke noget pædagogik i det> eller

→ KK: nogen der satte sig ned og forklarede stille og roligt eller hh nej sådan foregik det ikke (0.5)

→ Int: ej det var har da været ret vildt (0.3)

→ KK: ja (0.2) < det var ret vildt >

Int: < hvorfor valgte > din mor så [...]

Design: preferred (KK repeats Lisa's words although changing the grammatical tense to past where Lisa has used the more distancing present perfect).

8.

Time in interview: 0:47:13; l. 723-732

KK: [...] han nu har han heller # aldrig nogensinde lært at lave mad eller prøvede heller ikke at sætte sig ind i det og sådan så det var jo svært at invitere nogen og # og sådan så så han øh hans verden blev faktisk også meget lille # ø:h # så: # ja: # men så: så har han jo altså alligevel en dag mødt # mødt en ny dame ikke #

→ Int: det er da meget godt gået # uden at kunne lave mad o:g #

→ KK: ja ha

Int: ha #

→ KK: ha det var meget godt gået #

Int: hh ja #

Design: preferred (KK repeats Lisa's assessment although changing the grammatical tense: Lisa makes a more general assessment in present tense whereas KK makes it more specific for that event by using past tense).

9.

Time in interview: 0:50:54; l. 806-814

KK: nu kommer jeg i tanke om # [name of girl] der ø:h # klassens dronning ha

Int: ha

KK: der dengang sagde til mig hh # nå! hh du vælger svømningen frem for os eller sådan et eller andet ha dengang ha

→ Int: ☺meget hvor gammelklogt også☺

➔ KK: ha ☺jo ja☺ tænk at hun var så toneangivende ikke hh # ja #

Int: ha #

KK: så det var # det var hun sådan lidt fornærmet over ja

Design: preferred (they both mirror laugh and smiley voice while speaking).

10.

Time in interview: 0:52:20; l. 834-839

→ Int: <hvor god var du>

KK: < hh:.....> hh:.....

KK: øh:: hh:: hvor god var jeg altså øh jeg var med til Danmarks_mesterskaberne og min bedste placering har været nummer ni

(1.1)

→ Int: det er da meget <godt>

KK: < så: >

➔ KK: ja < ja altså det > var da det var da meget fint #

Int: < °altså også° >

KK: hh og vi var i virkeligheden en klub der

Design: preferred (delay and scaling down a compliment is in accordance with Pomerantz (1978)).

11.

Time in interview: 1:03:14; l. 1020-1026

KK: jeg havde jo nogle stærke holdninger også sådan om altså #

Int: det kan jeg < godt huske fra det: >

KK: <hvad hvad jeg syntes> at jeg <ville>

Int: < ja >

KK: o:g nå okay har jeg sa- snakket om <det dengang>

→ Int: < ja du lød >

→ Int: meget målrettet # og sådan

➔ KK: ja det vil jeg godt tro ha

→ Int: og du syntes de andre de va:r # de var ikke: ambitiøse nok

➔ KK: okay ja # ja det var sjovt

Int: ha

Design: Preferred.

12.

Time in interview: 1:06:07; l. 1070-1080

KK: [...] selvom at j:eg # jo levede i

(1.3)

Int: kristent og svømningen

(0.4)

KK: ja:: <hh i sådan en> sammenblanding og sådan så havde jeg jo alligevel

Int: < ha::::: >

KK: de sådan meget stærke holdninger om at ø:h # først at ville gå i seng med nogen når jeg var gift # hh så ø:h # så det endte jo altså med at ødelægge ha

Int: ha < ha >

KK: <☺ødelægge> det forhold☺ ha <ha>

Int: <ha>

→ Int: nå <det er meget> sødt

KK: < ja: >

(1.1)

→ KK: # ja # det var vel egentligt meget sødt (0.7) jeg har nok altid syntes det var lidt pinligt

Design: preferred as KK agrees, although she then adds that she always thought about it differently.

13.

Time in interview: 1:14:25; l. 1214-1217

→ Int: det har også været sådan lidt meget # altså måske et gymnasie som var sådan hh # lidt

→ lettere at <at le>ve med det kristne der

→ KK: < ja >

→ KK: ja jamen det var det < ja >

Int: < ja >

Design: preferred.

14.

Time in interview: 1:17:44; l. 1280-1288

Int: hvor boede du mens du læste

KK: der boede jeg på [name of student hostel] # på [name of neighbourhood in Copenhagen]
#

Int: nå:

KK: ja

→ Int: det er et meget fedt kollegie

→ KK: ja

→ Int: jeg har været til en del fester der < ha >

→ KK: < ja >

- KK: det var et godt kollegie
(0.4)
Int: ja

Design: Preferred – both agreement on general assessment and again when Lisa justifies her statement by telling her background for assessing as she does.

Assessments (positive/negative) which receive a dispreferred response

15.

Time in interview: 0:31:24; l. 460-464

- Int: var det ikke mærkeligt # blev du ikke jaloux # eller sådan:
→ KK: hh # nej jeg blev ikke jaloux # hh altså der va:r altså vi vidste altså # jamen der var en
→ eller anden forskel vi vidste jo klart at det var os der var # børnene ikke # altså hh #
→ plejebørnene var jo så hjemme hver anden weekend og sådan og #

Designed as dispreferred (due to delay and hesitation) thus the speaker knows the response is dispreferred and mark it as such.

16.

Time in interview: 0:45:1, l. 684-694

- Int: har de så fundet nye
KK: ja #
Int: koner og mænd #
KK: ja
→ Int: det var da også # må da også have været # mærkeligt #
→ KK: øh ne:j altså der gik altså med min far! gik der rigtig mange år
Int: ja
→ KK: så: så det var egentlig ikke så mærkeligt det var måske i virkeligheden meget rart # da han # fandt en hh
Int: ja
KK: og med min mor! der ved jeg ikke altså

Designed as dispreferred (delay and hesitation).

Assessments (positive/negative) which are not responded to

There are no examples of this category.

Assessments (standard/deviating) which receive a preferred response

17.

Time in interview: 0:28:35; l. 409-414

KK: da de så blev skilt # der ø:h # ja der der havde vi så ikke plejebørnene mere # og så flyttede vi ti:l # til igen sådan en af de der mere traditionelle <gule> <huse> derinde ikke

Int: <mm> < ja >

(1.4)

→ Int: okay det er da også <rimelig me>get at flytte rundt

KK: < så: >

→ KK: # hh # ja # ja: # altså jeg synes mest af alt har jeg jo boet i det der grå hus eller der har jeg boet fra jeg var seks til jeg var tolv ikke

Design: Preferred.

18.

Time in interview: 0:30:23; l. 442-458

Int: okay så det var nå: # okay det var jer der havde pleje eller dine forældre der

KK: <mine forældre havde> plejebørn ikke

Int: < havde plejebørn >

Int: så I havde sådan nogle # ekstra søskende <nær>mest

KK: < ja >

KK: det havde vi # ja # ja #

→ Int: det var da et sjovt valg også eller # ja jeg har hørt! om det før men # så har det som regel

→ været når # der var nogen der kun havde et # et! barn eller sådan noget #

→ KK: ja

→ Int: og så li:ge # kunne de godt klare et ekstra #

→ KK: ja # ha ja # hh ja jeg ved ikke rigtigt hvad der # hvad der # har drevet dem # altså hvad

→ det er de:

(0.9)

→ Int: nej

(1.0)

→ KK: gerne ville med det egentlig

Design: Preferred (agreement/confirmation).

19.

Time in interview: 0:42:24; l. 636-647

KK: jeg tror heller ikke min far har vidst præcis altså <# hvor meget> og sådan noget <altså>

Int: < omfanget > < nej >

KK: hh # så: # men # nogle af de eksempler han nævnte var mere sådan noget med at # [bump] at hun kammede over til fester o:g og blev sådan helt umulig at få hjem igen og altså altså # ha altså mistede situationsfornemmelse for # <hvor>dan og hvorledes ikke # så:

Int: < ja >

Int: ha

KK: ja

→ Int: det er jo klassisk ha

→ KK: ja #

→ Int: egentlig <ha>

→ KK: <ja> det er nok klassisk ha <ikke> # hh ja

Int: < ha >

Design: Preferred (confirmation).

20.

Time in interview: 0:51:46; l. 824-833

[They are talking about how much time KK spent on swimming when she was younger]

→ Int: det har da også

KK: <ja>

→ Int: <øh> altså fyldt virkelig meget # altså hver dag # træning det er jo # det er heftigt #

→ KK: ja

(0.5)

→ Int: hvor mange timer så

→ KK: det var to timer

(2.0)

→ KK: hh # i starten to en halv ja så blev det til to # ja! men det var! meget og

→ # og vi havde også noget træningsfællesskab med [name of suburb] så # så der cyklede jeg jo

→ til [name of suburb] der var gået meget tid med det svømning ikke og så svømme de der to en

→ halv time og cykle hjem igen og ha #

Design: Preferred.

21.

Time in interview: 0:54:02; l. 864-876

Int: nå så I mødtes trods alt ikke dengang < du gik i gymnasie >

KK: <nej det er ikke en barndoms>kæreste ha
 KK: ha trods alt ha hh det er det ikke # der kendte jeg ham ikke dengang nej # nej han er også noget ældre
 (1.0)
 Int: hvor gammel er han #
 KK: han er [year of birth] og jeg er [year of birth] ikke # det er jo ikke fordi han er meget ældre men det betyder jo meget i svømning altså så ligger man jo og svømmer mod sin årgang eller årgangen ældre eller sådan #
 Int: nå: <ja ja>
 KK: <så så> man kender jo ikke < ligefrem nogen >
 Int: <og det er jo også>
 KK: der er fem år ældre < eller sådan så >
 Int: <jamen hvis man>
 → Int: hvis man er seksten så er det jo også # meget at være fem år ældre ikke
 → KK: ja # ja
 Int: ja

Design: Preferred (Lisa makes KK's comment "han er også noget ældre" relevant which KK has also commented on the relevance of herself when saying: "det er jo ikke fordi han er meget ældre, men det betyder...". KK confirms by "ja").

22.

Time in interview: 0:57:27; 1. 931-934

[KK has told that she became Christian after her parents' divorce)

→ Int: det var da en # en ø:h # en usædvanlig reaktion alligevel eller det er måske ikke så underligt # hvis # dine bedsteforældre har været <kristne>
 → KK: < hhhh >
 → KK: nej altså jeg kendte jo til det fra dem i <forvejen>
 Int: < mm >

Design: Preferred (Close to problematic due to the first potentially face-threatening part of the assessment, but is then turned into unproblematic as Lisa gives another candidate answer which KK agrees on).

23.

Time in interview: 0:59:40; 1. 964-972

Int: hvordan reagerede dine omgivelser # på det # altså # at at du lige pludselig begyndte at komme i # sådan nogle ungdomsgrupper og så videre #
 (2.0)
 KK: jamen
 Int: <altså kan det> ikke godt være sådan blandt sådan nogle unge # sådan lidt #

- KK: <(det er rig-)>
 Int: ej okay # kom nu drik nogle øl #
 KK: < ha ha ha >
 Int: <eller sådan:>
 KK: hh
 → Int: du blev <ikke>
 KK: < ja: >
 → Int: stemplet som hende der var kedelig og kristen
 → KK: jo det tror jeg h- min øh folkeskole at jeg blev
 (6.0) [skramlen i baggrunden]
 → KK: hh det blev jeg i min folkeskoleklasse det er jeg sikker på

Design: Preferred (confirmation of assessment).

24.

Time in interview: 1:07:09; l. 1087-1093

- Int: nå nå men jeg mener # altså med ham der <den første>
 KK: < nå::: >
 KK: jamen altså det har været et halvt års tid eller sådan noget
 (0.4)
 → Int: det er da også lang tid
 → KK: ja:
 → Int: for sådan en attenårig dreng (hvis han har været) <atten år ha>
 → KK: < ha ha >
 → KK: ha ja # altså han var selv jomfru jeg ved så ikke lige af hvilken # årsag han var det # men
 ø:h # men det var han i hvert fald

Design: Preferred (agreement).

25.

Time in interview: 1:08:36; l. 1113-1122

- KK: det <gik jo> ikke vel <fordi altså> man er jo heller ikke klar til at blive gift med en efter
 Int: < ja > < nej ha >
 KK: kort tid vel # så # så øh altså enten så måtte jeg jo finde en der var kristen som havde
 samme # mening om at det kunne man vente med eller også så måtte jeg jo give lidt køb på #
 på de regler der
 (0.4)
 → Int: det er da også sjovt # den kommunistiske dreng og den kristne pige
 → KK: hh < ja > # det er egentlig sjovt # hh og i folkeskolen der blev jeg også forelsket
 Int: <xxx>
 KK: i: en satanist

Int: ha

KK: og han var meget forelsket i mig # faktisk

Design: Preferred.

26.

Time in interview: 1:35:50; 1. 1599-1607

→ Int: det er da også nogle # eller du må da tænke # xxx # at tænke måske mere kvalificeret

→ eller end de fleste # når man <når man også> tænker på dit job og så vi<dere>

→ KK: < ja > < hh >

→ KK: jamen det gør jeg da nok # det gør jeg nok # men jeg vil så også sige at ø:h # at ø:h # at

→ det jo så også noget andet når man er # privatperson ikke altså så falder m- f- kan jeg jo også

→ tage mig selv i at falde tilbage i

Int: <ha>

→ KK: <hh> øh nogle ting jeg kan genkende fra øh altså ikke # så det er jo ikke fordi jeg sådan

→ går og overvejer nøje # hvert skridt jeg tager eller sådan

Design: Preferred (KK scales down the compliment by making reservations which is in accordance with Pomerantz (1978)).

Assessments (standard/deviating) which receive a dispreferred response

There are no examples of this category.

Assessments (standard/deviating) which are not responded to

There are no examples of this category.

Appendix 5.b

Collection of assessments in Lisa's worst interview (with OP)

The assessments in the examples below are marked as follows:

→ = Interviewer's assessment

➔ = Informant's response to interviewer's agreement

Whether the design of a given response is preferred or dispreferred is indicated after each example (cf. practice-based preference as described in Schegloff 1988).

The assessments are listed in the following order:

- Assessments (positive/negative) which receives a preferred response: No. 1-4.
- Assessments (positive/negative) which receive a dispreferred response: No. 5-12.
- Assessments (positive/negative) which are not responded to: No. 13-14.
- Assessments (standard/deviating) which receives a preferred response: No. 15-18.
- Assessments (standard/deviating) which receive a dispreferred response: No. 19-24.
- Assessments (standard/deviating) which are not responded to: No examples.

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

Line numbers are in accordance with Appendix B. As the transcriptions below are more detailed than in Appendix B what is referred to as three lines in Appendix B might take up for instance seven lines below. However, the length of the pauses is only measured where I find it relevant for the analyses of preference; elsewhere they are simply marked with # (cf. Appendix 3).

Assessments (positive/negative) which receives a preferred response

1.

Time in interview: 0:12:24; 1. 246-251

→ Int: så var det også rigtig godt at komme herind # eller altså når de fusionerede fusionerede

→ altså det er jo blevet et kæmpe sted ikke ha

OP: hh

→ Int: <og med> mange

OP: < jo jo > sådan muligheder # i forhold ti:l hvad man vil lave
(0.6)

➔ OP: <det er helt klart>

Int: < xxx >

Design: Preferred (agreement).

2.

Time in interview: 0:17:17, l. 348-359

OP: [...] så # flyttede vi # ved årsskiftet # ud på [name of neighbourhood in Copenhagen]

(1.1)

Int: i:

OP: < i: en >

Int: < lejlighed >

OP: øh villalejlighed

Int: villalejlighed

OP: ja

Int: ja # okay

(0.7)

OP: < så: >

→ Int: <nå det er da lækkert>

➔ OP: ja! det er

→ Int: altså stadigvæk at bo i byen og så

➔ OP: og så stadigvæk have lidt grønt

Int: ja ja præcis

➔ OP: en lille smule grønt ha

Int: ja

OP: så:

Design: Preferred (agreement).

3.

Time in interview: 0:42:12, l. 814-819

Int: øh blev du viet a:f

OP: jeg <ble:v>

Int: <°ja°> viet af min bror ja

Int: ?min? bror

OP: mm

→ Int: nej det må også have været # ja # fint

(0.4)

➔ OP: ja! det va:r det var rigtig hyggeligt det vil jeg sige # så: # det er jo en fordel ved at have

➔ en # bror der er præst ha <ha>

Int: <ha> ha ja

(0.5)

OP: <så:>

Int: <ha >

Design: Preferred (agreement).

4.

Time in interview: 0:52:38, l. 983-988

Int: hvor lang tid havde du barsel

OP: i fjorten dage

(1.8)

→ Int: det var vel # hyggeligt <ha >

→ OP: <det> va:r utrolig hyggeligt o:g < utroligt rart >

Int: <måske lidt hårdt ha> ha

Design: preferred (agreement).

(The assessment in the overlap in the last line is listed below with the examples which get dispreferred response.)

Assessments (positive/negative) which receive a dispreferred response

5.

Time in interview: 0:04:26; l. 82-88

Int: øh jo jeg tænkte mere på også øh hvordan var det i dit hjem #

→ altså var det nogle strenge forældre eller

(0.8)

→ OP: nej det synes jeg ikke mine forældre var ø:h # de var meget # søde og venlige og

Int: mm

→ OP: ø:h # nej jeg kan ikke sige de var strenge # det synes jeg ikke

(0.9)

Int: nej

Designed as dispreferred – as agreement is usually the preferred; however, it should be noted that the dispreferred response is certainly interactionally constructed as the interviewer should pose questions with respect to the context following the principle of recipient design mentioned in e.g. Heritage (2002): "Ad Hoc Inquiries: Two Preferences in the Design of Routine Questions in an Open Context" in: *Standardization and tacit knowledge: Interaction and practice in the survey interview*. New York: Wiley. p. 326.

6.

Time in interview: 8:29; l. 164-181

Int: hvordan får I så set hinanden øh

(1.5)

OP: jamen ø:h # jeg er relativt tit øh sådan relativt tit i [city in Germany] at besøge

Int: ja

OP: min bror # ø:h # forlængede weekender eller i forbindelse med # fester eller

Int: ja

OP: godt komme forbi # det er kun [nogle] timers kørsel herfra så #

hh så <jeg får set> ham alligevel # og så får jeg talt en del telefon med ham

Int: <er det det>

(0.9)

Int: ja

→ Int: det er da ret ø:h # det er da godt ha

➔ OP: <ja! ja ja> men det er det er jo også meget hyggeligt

Int: < ha ha >

→ Int: nå men når man sådan lige tænker # advokaten og præsten # så kunne det godt være

→ bare s- # hver sin retning

➔ OP: hh [smask] # ja jo det er da rigtig nok men altså nu er det jo ikke fordi man # altså

➔ man som advokat ikke kan have noget med andre folk at gøre der ikke er advokater og

➔ det <samme som præster> kan vel også godt have ha så: # nej det synes jeg ikke er et problem

Int: < ha ha nej >

First preferred response, but Lisa seems to signal (with laugh and "nå men...") that OP does not understand what she means and then explains it to him. Thus, what seems to be Lisa's intended assessment is disagreed to by OP in a response designed as dispreferred due to the delay and the initial, hesitated confirmation which is afterwards turned into a disagreement.

7.

Time in interview: 0:30:12; l. 593-599

→ Int: er det sådan øh det har jamen jeg jeg synes også det er noget underligt noget

OP: < ha >

→ Int: <med> det der med ha at at skyde # ø:h # dyr for sjov og sådan noget # øh men

→ øh # altså er det også er det sådan du har det med det eller

(2.0)

→ Int: eller hvordan

➔ OP: nej men jeg har det ikke underligt med hvad skal man sige man skyder dyr

➔ for sjov! det kan man vel godt kalde det men altså man spiser det jo også bagefter

➔ så <det er jo ikke sådan> øh

Int: < ja ja ja >

Designed as dispreferred due to delay; furthermore, OP acknowledges that you could say what Lisa says, but argues why it is not the way Lisa makes it sound.

8.

Time in interview: 0:36:43; l. 718-721

- Int: det <var vel ret en>
- OP: < havde en: >
- Int: en ret ekstrem oplevelse var det ikke
(2.1)
- OP: n- n:- # [støn] jeg ved ikke om det er en ekstrem! oplevelse men det er jo i hvert fal:d #
- jo: men det er da det er da en voldsom oplevelse altså det er det da ø:h

Designed as dispreferred with a delayed reply.

9.

Time in interview: 0:38:25; l. 750-752

- Int: men dem får du jo ikke set # så meget # eller
(0.5)
- OP: [smask] hh nej jeg får jo selvfølgelig ikke set dem så meget som da de boede lige om
- hjørnet i København <men>
- Int: <nej >
- OP: ø:h men altså de er også rimelig tit i København og så som sagt øh vi rimelig tit dernede
- så: # jo jeg synes da jeg får set dem

Design as dispreferred due to the delay in response.

10.

Time in interview: 0:48:55, l.

- Int: hvad med ø:h [synker] altså har du selv tænkt over ting # sådan i forhold ti:l [smask]
- altså om der der er nogen du kender der taler på en # en underlig måde som du bider
- mærke i og
(0.6)
- OP: nej men jeg er sindssygt dårlig ti:l jeg kan heller i- jeg har aldrig hørt dialekter og jeg
- kan aldrig høre hvor folk er fra

Designed as dispreferred because of the pause and actually OP sort of rejects his own capability of answering this question.

11.

Time in interview: 0:49:28; l. 926-930

- Int: der har heller aldrig været nogle øh # sådan lidt ø:h sådan nogle skægge ting med # din
- kone der nu er fra [city in Denmark] # at hun siger tingene på en # (en) sjov måde

(2.1)

- OP: nej! jamen altså det vil sige halvdelen! af de mennesker der er i det her hus de kommer fra Jylland og jeg må indrømme jeg tænker aldrig over det

Designed as dispreferred due to the delay; again OP rejects his capability of answering this question.

12.

Time in interview: 0:52:38, l. 983-990

Int: hvor lang tid havde du barsel

OP: i fjorten dage

(1.8)

Int: det var vel # hyggeligt <ha>

OP: <det> va:r utrolig hyggeligt o:g < utroligt rart >

- Int: <måske lidt hårdt ha> ha

(1.0)

- OP: nej det var ikke hårdt det var rigtig hyggeligt det vil jeg sige # det vil jeg da anbefale folk
- hh ø:h og det var da også rart når alt er nyt øh # vi så kunne være samlet # så:

The assessment marked with arrow is a dispreferred response and is designed as such.

(The first part of the assessment is listed above with the examples which get a preferred reply.)

Assessments (positive/negative) which are not responded to

13.

Time in interview: 0:14:13; l. 281-287.

OP: de bor i London primært dem < ø:h > jeg ser

Int: <okay>

(0.7)

OP: ø:h og en enkelt bor i: tror jeg i Tyskland nu P_T # men øh der er s- tre! jeg stadigvæk ser # og <som var med til mit bryl>lup her # i september

- Int: < det er da meget sjovt >

(1.1)

Int: nå du blev gift i september

OP: jeg blev gift i september ja

Int: tillykke og og med barn og alt muligt

OP: ja ja # det

(Possibly, Lisa's assessment is simply not heard as it happens in overlap.)

14.

Time in interview: 0:25:33; l. 507-515.

Int: så man sad me:d

OP: sad med alle m- eller du sad med de gæster som der var måske tyve eller sådan noget det sted der og så spiste alle klokken halv otte eller otte om aftenen og hh ved et langt bord og så kom de med alle retterne efterhånden og # <så kunne>

Int: < nå >

OP: man jo vælge at være social eller ikke social altså men det # <så:>

Int: <ja >

→ Int: det er meget sejt ha

(0.7)

OP: og så: den anden uge var vi i øh i: Sydøst- # -sicilien # helt ude ved vandet

(When listening to the audio it does not seem weird that there is no response to Lisa's assessment – the assessment in itself seem to round off what they have just talked about and seem a natural place to get back to the concrete answer to Lisa's question in l. 496: "What did you see in Sicily?")

Assessments (standard/deviating) which receive a preferred response

15.

Time in interview: 0:15:43; l. 312-318

OP: < så: >

Int: <jamen har det>

Int: var det et alvorligt forhold

OP: hh jamen det varede i en fem års tid

(1.2)

→ Int: det er lang tid

→ OP: ja

(1.6)

Int: ja

Design: Preferred (agreement).

16.

Time in interview: 0:16:58; l. 342-347

OP: så fik vi: [name of son]: i: maj måned # og så giftede vi os her i september måned # den lidt omvendte rækkefølge men ha

Int: <ha>

→ Int: jamen <det er sådan> s- det er sådan noget man godt må gøre nu ha

OP: < så: >

→ OP: ja ja det er i hvert fald ikke usædvanligt længere <så øh>

Int: < nej >

(0.4)

OP: [synker] så det er fint nok

Design: Preferred (agreement).

17.

Time in interview: 1:01:07; l. 1154-1158

→ Int: jeg synes godt kunne virke sådan meget øh # sådan ø:h # mytisk! eller sådan #

→ en præst # < og nu har jeg endda v- altså >

→ OP: <ja ja men det der er jo også sådan>

→ OP: et eller andet # overnaturligt i de:t så <så det er> jo ikke så underligt hh ø:h

Int: <ja netop>

(2.8)

Int: ha

Design: Preferred (agreement).

18.

Time in interview: 0:19:31; l. 394-398

OP: ja jeg boede øh tilbage i den lejlighed s- hvor mine forældre boede

(0.7)

→ Int: nå: det har det var da spøjst eller <det er så>dan sjovt at flytte ind i

→ OP: < ja >

→ Int: sine forældres < gamle > lejlighed

OP: <[mundlyd]>

→ OP: jamen det var meget hyggeligt det var en dejlig lejlighed

Design: Preferred (initial agreement although use of different words than the interviewer when explained in the end).

Assessments (standard/deviating) which receive a dispreferred response

19.

Time in interview: 0:15:23; l. 305-312; Ex. 6.2 in the thesis.

- OP: det er rigtig nok jeg kan godt øh jeg havde! en kæreste i: i anden G ja
→ Int: det var da også sådan °eller sådan° relativt tidligt at have en ↑kæreste
(2.0) [*sound of a bottle being opened*]
→ OP: ar:h er det ↑det
→ Int: ar:h men sådan
(0.7) [*sound of a bottle being placed on a table*]
→ OP: arh: ↑hva'
(1.2) [*sound of something metallic being placed on a table*]
Int: jah det kan godt være ha ☺det ikke er☺
→ OP: hh (0.2) det vil jeg nu ikke sige (0.1) at det er relativt tidligt

Designed as dispreferred (delay in response, hesitating disagreement).

20.

Time in interview: 0:24:05; l. 483-493

- Int: men du ville ikke # tage til Tenerife
(0.4)
OP: jo det ville jeg sådan set også gerne bare der er varmt og bare man ikke lige lander midt i en turist- øh hh -fælde ha
Int: <nej det gider> du ikke
OP: < så >
OP: nej # det tror jeg ikke der er nogen af os der har lyst til # så:
(1.0)
→ Int: nej du vil helst ø:h sådan # m- hen øh til nogle lidt mere sådan # ikke uopdagede steder
→ men sådan
(0.9)
→ OP: [synker] for min skyld behøver de ikke at være uopdagede bare det ikke er sådan at man
→ står i kø og alle taler dansk altså # så:
Int: ha
(0.7)
OP: så er jeg sådan set ret fleksibel vil jeg sige
(0.7)
Int: ja

Designed as dispreferred.

21.

Time in interview: 0:32:21; l. 636-651

[Prior to this they have been talking about hunting and the fact that OP a few times a year goes on a hunt]

- Int: ø:h jeg forbinder det meget med sådan en øh en overklasesportsgren ligesom øh # hh ja
 → nej det golf er det jo ikke rigtig mere
 OP: ha
- Int: men men at ø:h eller det må være sådan en særlig slags mennesker altså det er jo også en
 → dyr sport # på den måde at sådan sådan <en riffel er da>
 → OP: < n-: >
 (0.8)
- OP: ø:h ja men det ved jeg ikke om det er meget dyrere end at køre en mountainbike du kan
 → sagtens altså jeg har jeg kunne finde mange mountainbikes der var dyrere end # e- end min
 → haglbøsse hh så så: udstyrs<mæssigt> er det jo ikke dyrt altså o:g jo nogle af jagter og hvis
 Int: < ja >
- OP: man # vil betale for dem o:g gå på de der meget store jagter så kan det være meget dyrt
 → men men man kan jo også sagtens gå på jagt ø:h # som jeg gør hvor det ikke er sådan #
 → nødvendigvis at man skyder # en hel masse # i løbet af dagen # og så behøver det ikke
 → nødvendigvis at være specielt dyrt
 (1.4)
- OP: det er tidskrævende
 (2.3)
- OP: altså <det er jo> ikke
 Int: < ja >
- OP: sådan noget man lige kan gøre en time om aftenen # ha # som at spille badminton ha
 Int: ha ja ha

Designed as dispreferred (delay and even an initial yes and a long explanation of why it is not as the interviewer has said).

22.

Time in interview: 0:54:15; l. 1015-1022

- Int: det er da også i en ung # alder er det ikke # eller hvor gammel er det du er
 OP: jeg er syvogtredive
 → Int: så er det da < i en: sådan >
 → OP: <ne:j det det øh>
 → OP: det er nu meget sådan altså jeg er selvfølgelig også en af de yngste partnere men men det
 → er meget naturligt man bliver det her <hh> fra en femogtredive år og opefter [smask] < så: >
 Int: <ja> <okay>

Designed as dispreferred (hesitation and self-interruption to express partial agreement so the dispreference seems less bad).

23.

Time in interview: 0:57:00; l. 1069-1072

- Int: men ga- går du selv meget i teatret
(0.4)
- OP: [smask] hh: n- -ej jeg vil ikke sige jeg går meget! i teatret men jeg går da mere! i teatret
- efter jeg # men det er jo så # ja fem år siden # jeg startede øh i bestyrelsen der

Designed as dispreferred (delayed, hesitating reply).

24.

Time in interview: 0:59:48; l. 1131-1152; the beginning of this is part of Excerpt 5.2 in the thesis.

- Int: men nu har du så også den baggrund # me:d # <din far> der var præst
OP: < ja ja >
- Int: det er måske også altså # atypisk eller det ved jeg ikke æh v-
→ hvad man kan sige # <der er da ikke mange der>
OP: < f- og så blive advokat > bagefter eller hvad ha
- Int: nej men der er jo ikke mange der har altså det er i hvert fald en lidt specielt baggrund
→ med en # med en far der er præst # altså det er jo sådan en # der kommer sådan en hel ø:h # ja
→ det må du have oplevet at altså # din far var jo præst og det dine kammerater gik jo til præst
→ hos ham og sådan noget # han va- han var s- # og det v- det var det var sådan en helt særlig #
→ position at have i sådan et et samfund
(0.3)
- OP: hh: a:h det tror jeg er overdrevet vil jeg sige # jeg ved ikke om det er så meget anderledes
→ end hvis ens far var læge og # ens kammerater gik til læge hos ham altså eller var skolelærer
→ o:g hh man havde vedkommende som lærer altså: og hvis det jeg tror det de:t ø:h jeg tror ikke
→ at det s- nej jeg vil ikke sige det det jeg synes ikke det er nogen speciel! baggrund altså nu
→ kender jeg jo selvfølgelig også en del hh præster og lignende og jeg synes jo ikke ø:h jeg
→ synes ikke det er så meget anderledes så mange andre jeg ved godt hvis man ikke er vant til at
→ [smask] omgås: # præster eller hvis man ikke vant til at øh # have med kirken at gøre at så f-
→ så kan det godt være man synes at fordi det er fremmed så virker det også anderledes # men
→ men men det synes jeg nu ikke altså # og det er ikke noget jeg sådan tænker over
Int: mm

Almost designed as preferred, but still some hesitation and a long explanation of the disagreement.

Assessments (standard/deviating) which are not responded to

There are no examples of this category.

Appendix 6.a

Questions in Lisa's best interview (with KK)

The questions in the background interview are excluded.

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix A.

The two columns to the right indicate whether a given question coincides with a topic shift and, if so, the topic coherence and the timing (whether at a Topic Transition Relevance Place (TTRP) or not (non-TTRP)) is indicated. These are used in Table 5.6.

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

	Line	Question	Topic coherence	TTRP/non-TTRP
1	100	vil du også have te	÷	÷
2	102	skal jeg hælde op	÷	÷
3	114 og 117	og du havde ikke så mange ø:h # sådan # begrænsninger eller du blev ikke ø:h der var ikke mange regler eller hvad ... eller hvad var det du sa- mente me:d	÷	÷
4	126	har du nogen søskende	÷	÷
5	175	nå okay # nå der er ikke en til kommet ind så	÷	÷
6	188 og 191	bare om dig o:g # hvad du kan huske # sådan derfra # sådan # du ba:re # altså hvordan var det # var kvarteret ... kan du huske nogen # særlige du legede med	÷	÷
7	193	hvem var det	non-focal	TTRP
8	200	var det også var det også efter du var # var kommet i skole eller var det	÷	÷
9	206	hvordan var du i skolen ... var du: dygtig	non-focal	TTRP
10	219	hvornår var det	÷	÷
11	226	I havde sådan # kørt lidt på nogle lærere eller et eller andet	non-focal	non-TTRP
12	230	hvordan hårde	÷	÷
13	248	hvordan var det at de der lærere blev # sådan # blev de blev de mobbet # decideret mobbet	÷	÷
14	258	hvordan forholdt du dig midt i alt det	÷	÷
15	268	var du den eneste!	÷	÷
16	270	hvordan	÷	÷
17	272	var du lidt en enspænder ... e- eller var det kun der til sidst	÷	÷
18	293	hvordan kom det til # til udtryk sådan kan du huske nogle ø:h bestemte episoder	non-focal	TTRP
19	304	hvornår var det	÷	÷
20	325	blev hun også ved med at være dronning sådan da: hh da I kom op i de større	÷	÷

21	346	hvordan var det så øh # hjemme hos jer # øh altså nu var siger du din far han var officer ikke # i søværnet	no connection	TTRP
22	349	øh var han væk meget eller	÷	÷
23	361	og din mor hun va:r	÷	÷
24	365	og så har hun så taget # den der # ø:h social_og_sundheds-xxx	÷	÷
25	388	hvad så da dine forældre blev skilt # hvor kom du så til at bo henne	non-focal	TTRP
26	417	så boede du så der sammen me:d ø:h # di:n	÷	÷
27	420	hvad så med	÷	÷
28	439	havde de også pleje plejebørn	÷	÷
29	460	var det ikke mærkeligt # blev du ikke jaloux # eller sådan	÷	÷
30	465	hos deres ø:h	÷	÷
31	467	hvorfor var de så plejebørn	÷	÷
32	480	hvorfor be- hvorfor gik det galt med dine forældre # og såda:n # så galt at de skulle skilles	non-local	TTRP
33	501	hvad er kvartalsdranker	÷	÷
34	524	hvorfor valgte din mor så lige at # at det skulle være [navn på KK's søster] og ikke enten din bror eller dig	÷	÷
35	538	har har det betydet noget ø:h # i forhold # ti:l # de relationer du har til din bror og din søster er du tættere på din bror end du er på din søster fordi # altså hvis hun har boet øh # hun har boet i Jylland så	non-focal	TTRP
36	549	hvad hvor gammel var er er din søster	÷	÷
37	572	hvad med din mor # ser du hende # tit	non-local	TTRP
38	591	har du så haft dem med din far # sådan noget me:d # hvor lang tid # må jeg blive ude o:g # sådan noget ... nu har du været den ældste # og været pi:ge og sådan noget	non-local	non-TTRP
39	602	mm # hvad med dit # det # øh at din mor sagde at din far han havde han havde været voldelig over for hende ... fandt du nogen- har du nogensinde fundet ud af det	non-focal	TTRP
40	607	det er sådan det har I ikke # rigtigt ... du har ikke konfronteret din far med det # eller sådan:	÷	÷
41	632	var din mor begyndt at drikke	÷	÷
42	635	man ku- man lagde meget mærke til eller	÷	÷
43	655 og 657	var din far så mere sådan stabil eller	÷	÷
44	684	har de så fundet nye ... koner og mænd	non-local	TTRP
45	695	vil du også have	÷	÷
46	697	lidt hurtigt eller hvad	÷	÷
47	710	er hun så stadig sammen med ham	÷	÷
48	712	og og hvordan ø:h har du det med ham	÷	÷
49	714	og de bor # deromkring [bynavn]	÷	÷
50	716	hvad med din far hvor lang tid gik der med ham	÷	÷
51	739	lugtede ... I ikke luntten	÷	÷

52	752	så I så I havde s- set	÷	÷
53	755 og 757	altså det var hende som løb væk	÷	÷
54	762	ej mon ikke også hun gerne ville møde ha jer altså sådan efter flere ha år	÷	÷
55	784	du svømmede også meget	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
56	829	hvor mange timer så	÷	÷
57	834	hvor god var du	÷	÷
58	848	hvornår holdt du så op ... medmindre du altså stadig ha	non-focal	TTRP
59	853	nå så er du alligevel fortsat hele vejen i:	÷	÷
60	867	hvor gammel er han	÷	÷
61	884 og 887	hvad med i # gymnasiet har synes du så ikke at du også # altså # du har vel givet afkald på nogle ting ... altså i forhold til sådan fester	non-local	TTRP
62	907	blev du kristen	non-focal	TTRP
63	909	altså er du også det nu	÷	÷
64	920	ja det der K_K_R	÷	÷
65	928	er det [navn på KK's søn]	÷	÷
66	951	jamen blev det så: ø:h kom! du så ind i sådan noget kristent sådan sådan noget ungdoms-	÷	÷
67	964	hvordan reagerede dine omgivelser # på det # altså # at at du lige pludselig begyndte at komme i # sådan nogle ungdomsgrupper og så videre	non-focal	non-TTRP
68	990	hvad så hvornår begyndte du så på det der # med drenge udover end at # når de skulle sætte kryds # i ja_nej_måske	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
69	997	der i slutningen af folkeskolen eller	÷	÷
70	1004	kan du huske # nogle af dem	÷	÷
71	1008	hvordan ø:h I sådan mødtes o:g eller det var så på svømmeholdet men ... hvis du kan huske noget	÷	÷
72	1040	måtte man det	÷	÷
73	1047	hvornår fik du så din ø:h din første rigtige kæreste	÷	÷
74	1048	hov der er den anden kat # vist vil den også ind tror du	÷	÷
75	1064	efter gymnasiet eller	÷	÷
76	1085 og 1087	men hvor lang tid varede det ellers ... nå nå men jeg mener # altså med ham der den første	÷	÷
77	1142	hvem var det så du var kæreste med der # som ø:h # du var i seng med første gang	non-local	TTRP
78	1145 og 1147	og kom aldrig til at kende eller hvad	÷	÷
79	1180	hvornår mødte du [navn på KK's mand]	non-focal	TTRP
80	1187	og så der læste du så psykologi	non-focal	non-TTRP
81	1188	har du vidste du det altid at du ville læse psykologi	÷	÷
82	1197	altså studiet ... på universitetet	÷	÷

83	1240	det fylder alligevel også meget gør det ikke det på [navn på skole]	÷	÷
84	1278	hvor lang tid har I boet her	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
85	1280	hvor boede du mens du læste	÷	÷
86	1288	hvordan var det så # at ø:h # rykke fra byen # og så herud	non-focal	TTRP
87	1307 og 1309	ja men du du savner ikke byen ... sådan mere og alle dens # tilbud altså sådan kulturtilbud og sådan noget	÷	÷
88	1327	og hvad med dine søskende hvor bor de henne	non-focal	TTRP
89	1339	jamen hvor er det du arbejder	non-local	TTRP
90	1345	men hvad er det du arbejder med # det er børne- # - psykologi	non-focal	TTRP
91	1347 ... 1351	men du er ... du er ø:h # psykolog ... og ikke ... psyki- # psykiatri hvad	÷	÷
92	1362	er du glad for det	÷	÷
93	1383	men du kunne ikke tænke dig at have din egen praksis	non-local	TTRP
94	1395	hvor arbejder øh [navn på KK's mand] henne	non-local	TTRP
95	1399	D! _M	÷	÷
96	1477	hvorfor	÷	÷
97	1482	hvor ville du gætte på de var fra	÷	÷
98	1498	men hvordan # har du det sådan me:d ø:h # altså kan du huske nogle episoder fra enten da du voksede op eller # øh efter du er blevet voksen hvor du # hvor der har sådan # du har bidt mærke i nogle ting altså er der nogle der sådan er blevet drillet i skolen med at de snakkede anderledes # o:g # altså nu for eksempel # at du har haft en # en søster der flyttede til Jylland # lagde du mærke til # sådan for eksempel at hun begyndte at tale anderledes	non-focal	TTRP
99	1506	hvad tænkte du så der	÷	÷
100	1520	hvad med øh # dine forældre da # da I blev opdraget # var der ting I ikke måtte sige og sådan	non-focal	non-TTRP
101	1524 og 1526	mm kan du give et eksempel ... med på at # I har fået skældud elle:r	÷	÷
102	1542	hvad me:d dine egne børn ... sådan om du om du ø:h # retter på dem # hvis de siger noget der er forkert	non-focal	non-TTRP
103	1552	men er der også # ord som # som de samler op # ve:d institutionerne sådan hh som # I helst ikke ser # at øh # de bruger	÷	÷
104	1571	hvordan ø:h # hvordan opdrager # I jeres børn # altså sådan noget # har I nogle sådan # eller det har man jo selvfølgelig # nogle retningslinjer # men sådan # hvad er det I # gerne vil have dem til at vokse op og blive # for en slags mennesker	non-focal	TTRP

105	1617	det er ikke sådan at du går rundt # og og kommer til sådan at hh teoretisere # ø:h # din egen # opdragelse af dine egne børn	÷	÷
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Appendix 6.b

Questions in Lisa's worst interview (with OP)

The questions in the background interview are excluded.

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix B.

The two columns to the right indicate whether a given question coincides with a topic shift and, if so, the topic coherence and the timing (whether at a Topic Transition Relevance Place (TTRP) or not (non-TTRP)) is indicated. These are used in Table 5.6.

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

	Line	Question	Topic coherence	TTRP/non-TTRP
1	82	hvordan var det i dit hjem # altså var det nogle strenge forældre eller	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
2	88	hvordan og hvordan ø:h hvordan påvirk- påvirkede det din sådan # din opdragelse at # at din far var præst	÷	÷
3	113	hvad med øh # hvordan har det været her # på det sidste # de sidste ja hvor lang tid er din far døde	no connection	TTRP
4	119	øh men du må gerne fortælle lidt mere om hvad du sådan om du kan huske nogle særlige sådan episoder	non-local	TTRP
5	150 og 152	v- men hvordan kom det til udtryk dengang # da I va:r sådan teenagere kunne altså var det noget ... han ville	÷	÷
6	164	hvordan får I så set hinanden øh	non-focal	TTRP
7	182	hvad er det så du laver nu	non-focal	TTRP
8	195 og 198	er du: er du glad! # for for det ... ja glad glad for dit arbejde	non-focal	TTRP
9	202	prøv at fortæl noget om ø:h altså efter du gik ud af gymnasiet hvad skete der så	no connection	TTRP
10	220	hvor blev du så f- hvor blev du øh fuldmægtig	non-focal	TTRP
11	230	hvad hvad var det # det hed! før det blev til [virksomhedsnavn]	non-focal	TTRP
12	233	det var da også stort var det ikke	÷	÷
13	238	og # hvad er det de hedder [virksomhedsnavn]	÷	÷
14	265	du har også været øh # ude at læse kan det passe	no connection	TTRP
15	270	hvordan var det	÷	÷
16	277	har du fået nogen v- venner sådan for livet fo:r fra fra øh	non-focal	TTRP
17	280	som bor ø:h	÷	÷
18	290	hvor har du mødt din ø:h din hustru	÷	÷
19	314	var det et alvorligt forhold	÷	÷
20	318	og xxx nåede I at: at flytte sammen og så videre	÷	÷
21	320	# men det var en fra en du gik i klasse med eller	÷	÷
22	322	du havde bare mødt hende på # på gymnasiet	÷	÷

23	334	og hvad med hvad me:d din kone havde du mødt her i København	non-local	TTRP
24	336	hvorhenne	÷	÷
25	338	og hvor hvor lang tid siden er det	÷	÷
26	340	kan du prøve at fortælle om det da: da i mødte hinanden	÷	÷
27	361	men hvor har du boet ellers	non-local	TTRP
28	394	så du har også boet i [navn på gade]	÷	÷
29	408	hvad så med øh altså du har aldrig overvejet altså nu når # I har fået børn og sådan # at øh skulle flytte # ti:l # [name of suburb] i et stort hus eller et eller andet # eller har du sådan en særlig forhold til byen nu når du også er vokset op her	non-focal	TTRP
30	422	ja # men hvad øh hvad med din kone hun e:r # så fra [bynavn]	÷	÷
31	424	men har boet i København i: i lang tid eller hvad	÷	÷
32	428	så det har ikke været nogen # sådan # altså hun har ikke haft lyst til måske at # at være l:idt mindre tæt på centrum	÷	÷
33	446 og 448	hvad har du rejst meget ... jeg synes du sagde du: var meget på skiferie der i gymnasiet	no connection	TTRP
34	459	men ferierne hvor hvor går de hen	non-focal	TTRP
35	464	men hvor har du været henne	÷	÷
36	469	me:d med den lille	÷	÷
37	483	men du ville ikke # tage til Tenerife	non-focal	TTRP
38	496	hvad så I på: Sicilien	non-local	TTRP
39	507	så man sad me:d	÷	÷
40	516	var I så sociale	÷	÷
41	519	er det noget I sådan # ø:h eller sådan # når når du er ude at rejse om du sådan # snakker med folk eller	÷	÷
42	528	hvad får I ellers sådan tiden til at gå med	no connection	TTRP
43	535	hvordan er det at gå på jagt	÷	÷
44	538	hvorhenne	÷	÷
45	548	hvordan foregår det sådan en dag med jagt	non-focal	TTRP
46	556	hvad er det	÷	÷
47	584	har du skudt mange dyr	non-focal	TTRP
48	587	er det fordi du ikke har lyst # eller er det # fordi	÷	÷
49	591	er det sådan du faktisk ikke har lyst til det	÷	÷
50	595	altså er det også er det sådan du har det med det eller # eller hvordan	÷	÷
51	613	men hvad er det for ø:h # hvad er det for folk som inviterer dig på jagt	non-focal	TTRP
52	619	hvor hvor bor de så henne	÷	÷
53	625	er det noget der bliver dyrket meget jeg jeg ved slet ikke noget om det	non-focal	TTRP
54	677	men så spiser du så # de fasaner e- # eller hvad	non-local	TTRP

55	690	hvordan var det så # at blive far	no connection	TTRP
56	703	men var det planlagt	non-focal	TTRP
57	705	nej ikke fødslen men graviditeten	÷	÷
58	713	og du var med til fødslen	non-focal	TTRP
59	718	det var vel ret en en ret ekstrem oplevelse var det ikke	÷	÷
60	730	nå og det var sådan det gik godt og sådan noget	÷	÷
61	740	har din bror børn	non-focal	TTRP
62	742	hvor hvor gamle er de	÷	÷
63	746	men han er da ikke særl- er han ikke kun et par år ældre end dig	÷	÷
64	750	men dem får du jo ikke set # så meget # eller	÷	÷
65	755	hvorfor er de i København er de n- ovre me:d	÷	÷
66	761	men hvorfor valgte han at tage ti:l [city in Germany]	non-local	TTRP
67	781	v- hvordan har du det selv med # kristendom og # så videre	non-focal	TTRP
68	783	er du konfirmeret og	÷	÷
69	790	og du er også altså er du # du er kristen # eller vil du kalder du dig selv for kristen eller # hvordan øh # ja: det s- det s- det er et tungt spørgsmål	÷	÷
70	803	hvor tit # er det juleaften	÷	÷
71	806	men du kom aldrig og hørte din far	non-focal	TTRP
72	814	øh blev du viet a:f	non-focal	TTRP
73	841	og hvabehar	÷	÷
74	883	nå: # [smask] hh hvad siger du til det	÷	÷
75	900	ø:h hvordan ø:h # [smask] hh # m- der da da da: da du blevet opdraget # var der så nogle særlige # ting omkring sprog altså sådan der var ting I ikke måtte sige # at I fik at vide sådan # I må ikke bande	non-focal	TTRP
76	916	men hvad med ø:h [synker] altså har du selv tænkt over ting # sådan i forhold ti:l [smask] altså om der der er nogen du kender der taler på en # en underlig måde som du bider mærke i og	non-local	TTRP
77	926	der har heller aldrig været nogle øh # sådan lidt ø:h sådan nogle skægge ting med # din kone der nu er fra [city in Denmark] # at hun siger tingene på en # (en) sjov måde	÷	÷
78	936	hvad med når du nu skal opdrage din søn # sådan # vil du så også ø:h # have sådan nogle ting # med	non-local	TTRP
79	942	ja men eller hva- hvor vil din grænse gå o:g # altså når	÷	÷
80	945	så vil du måske være glad bare han siger et også hvis det er et rigtig grimt ord	÷	÷
81	966	nej eller # tale med dig eller	÷	÷
82	981	havde du barsel	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
83	983	hvor lang tid havde du barsel	÷	÷
84	986	måske lidt hårdt ha	÷	÷

85	993	nej men m- kan man ikke godt få en næsten ha eller sådan øh ha alt muligt hvad er det det hedder # netbaby D_K ha eller et eller andet	non-focal	TTRP
86	1003	hvad med øh din karriere # sådan # hh er du sådan øh # hh karriere- # -minded	non-local	TTRP
87	1008	hvor er du så henne nu # i din karriere	÷	÷
88	1015	er det ikke # eller hvor gammel er det du er	÷	÷
89	1030	hvad er det så for nogle ting	÷	÷
90	1038	du synes altså for eksempel sådan noget bestyrelsesarbejde er # er spændende	non-focal	TTRP
91	1042	hvor er det ... har du nogle poster	÷	÷
92	1049	hvad er det for et teater	÷	÷
93	1053	hvordan øh # hvordan ø:h hvordan laver man bestyrelsesarbejde # der	÷	÷
94	1069	men ga- går du selv meget i teatret	non-focal	TTRP
95	1079	hvad er det så for nogle # sådan kultur- # -tilbud du: # du benytter m- dig # af sådan # i byen	÷	÷
96	1090	er du stadig det # eller v- er det	non-focal	TTRP
97	1098	men du har aldrig overvejet sådan hh at læse litteratur altså på universitetet	÷	÷
98	1104	nu havde du også en far der var # eller han var vel også ret in- litteraturinteresseret	÷	÷

Appendix 6.c

Questions in Jasper's best interview (with UF)

The questions in the background interview are excluded.

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix C.

The two columns to the right indicate whether a given question coincides with a topic shift and, if so, the topic coherence and the timing (whether at a Topic Transition Relevance Place (TTRP) or not (non-TTRP)) is indicated. These are used in Table 5.6.

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

	Line	Question	Topic coherence	TTRP/non-TTRP
1	239	kan du huske noget fra din barndom i Nyboder	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
2	294	hvad hvad øh hvad hedder han	÷	÷
3	305	så hvornår øh hvor langt går det tilbage så	÷	÷
4	354	så så startede I i en af de der lejligheder med øh femogtyve øh kvadratmeter eller sådan noget	non-focal	TTRP
5	507	har du prøvet at være inde i i en af de små der i:	non-focal	TTRP
6	619	var den god # Nyboder Skole øh der	non-focal	TTRP
7	726	hvordan var jeres hjem da: din far var var meget ude at rejse siger du og sådan	non-local	TTRP
8	767	nå nej jeg spurgte også om hvordan det var og hvordan I blev opdraget og sådan noget og ja	non-focal	non-TTRP
9	785	hvad hvad er forskellen på hvordan at I blev opdraget og så hvordan du opdrager øh [navn på UF's søn] der	non-focal	TTRP
10	956	var det arbejde?	no connection	TTRP
11	992	så jeg vil prøve at spørge dig om du tror det er okay at vi kontakter ham og om du så har et telefonnummer på ham	non-focal	TTRP
12	1473	nu skal jeg lige være med hundrede toogfyrre det var i det var en firserbil i ø:h	÷	÷
13	1539	hvornår flyttede du hjemmefra i øh	÷	÷
14	1563	ja du kunne godt tage dine kammerater med derude me:d	÷	÷
15	1573	nej men nej var var det efter din læretid eller	÷	÷
16	1590	nå men der havde du taget øh d- teknik øh	÷	÷
17	1675	hvad var det for nogle fly I havde I fået F_seksten dengang elle:r	non-focal	non-TTRP
18	1781	jeg vil også meget gerne lige låne dit toilet engang hvis det er okay	÷	÷
19	1786	har du har du selv lavet meget af det her i øh huset er øh	÷	÷
20	1826	vi skal tilbage til øh # efter militæret måske	÷	÷

21	2016	var han der	÷	÷
22	2018	var det ikke kedeligt at sidde i:	÷	÷
23	2060	øh det eksisterer i dag ikke øh computere øh og øh	÷	÷
24	2114 og 2116	ja hvad hvad skete der der det va:r kameramand øh ... var det sådan en gammel drøm eller hvordan var det	÷	÷
25	2125	der har du været seksten år eller sådan noget d-	÷	÷
26	2138	pigtråd er det sådan noget ligesom heavy i dag eller hvad øh	÷	÷
27	2313	nå [navn på sted] eller hvad ø:h	÷	÷
28	2463	du fik to stillinger eller hvad	÷	÷
29	2528	[navn på virksomhed] hvad laver de de laver højtalere og sådan noget øh	non-focal	non-TTRP
30	2540	jeg synes det siger jeg synes jeg har set grammofoner med [navn på virksomhed] på og sådan noget kan det passe	÷	÷
31	2647	hvordan gik det med det der musik der # det der øh pigtråds	non-focal/non- local	TTRP
32	2666	var det Hank Hank Marvin eller ham der	÷	÷
33	2724	altså James Brown o:g der	÷	÷
34	2884	der har sgu da heller ikke været så mange negre på det tidspunkt har der	non-focal	non-TTRP
35	2950	spiller du stadig stadigvæk eller hvad øh	non-focal	non-TTRP
36	2956	har du stadigvæk Höffner_guitaren eller hvad	÷	÷
37	2992	dengang var du var du så sådan hvordan placerede du dig med sådan noget med Vietnamkrig og havde du langt hår og sådan noget ja	no connection	TTRP
38	3098	hvordan er det på [virksomhedsnavn] med så- altså får I tilbudt at være med i nogle programmer øh kan kan kan dem der producerer programmerne sådan ligesom håndplukke nogle tv_fotografer eller	non-focal	non-TTRP
39	3103	skal du have noget mere ledning til den her	÷	÷
40	3151	hvordan er den som arbejdsplads [virksomhedsnavn] der øh	non-focal	non-TTRP
41	3155	hvorfor er de:t	÷	÷
42	3238 og 3240	er det noget med ... med mono- nom- monopoltiden eller hvad som er blevet øh	non-focal	TTRP
43	3290	er det også i din nærmeste ledelse eller hvad at du kan mærke det eller er det	non-local	non-TTRP
44	3322	hvorfor # hvad var øh	÷	÷
45	3840	hvor lang tid har du kendt din kone	no connection	TTRP
46	3842	hvornår øh blev I så hvornår fandt I sammen så	÷	÷
47	3889	er det din B_M_W der står derude øh eller	non-focal	non-TTRP
48	3898	men så øh så blev I gift	non-local	TTRP
49	3920	hvad har du fejlet øh	non-focal	non-TTRP
50	4042	er det at få tinglyst eller hvad øh nej	÷	÷

51	4134	hvordan hvordan har det været at begynde at undervise efter alle de år [virksomhedsnavn] der	non-focal	non-TTRP
52	4169	ja men kan du godt lide den det der på [navn på skole] o:g og sådant noget	÷	÷
53	4208	hvordan har det været at få [navn på UFs søn] # har det været øh ø:h	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
54	4313	har det været hårdt eller: øh	non-focal	non-TTRP
55	4560 og 4565	nu er der noget du skal nu her eller: # har du nu er vi gået lidt over tiden jo ... skal vi lige kigge på den der sprogdæl der så øh	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
56	4788	men hvad laver du i fritiden i øh	non-focal	TTRP
57	4807	altså her i øh omegnen eller hvad i	÷	÷
58	4877	jeg kan se du har et anlæg stående der må jeg spille den her på det fordi a:t det her det er lidt	non-local	TTRP
59	5173	skal jeg slukke det igen her	÷	÷
60	5177	var det noget I snakkede om da: i: dit øh barndomshjem der med øh med sprog og hvordan man skulle tale og rigtigt og nej!	non-focal	TTRP
61	5200	ja: dialekt eller hvad f-	÷	÷
62	5211	tror du du har ændret dit sprog øh sådan i løbet af dit liv	non-focal	TTRP
63	5284	tror du det er bedst om aftenen eller om dagen	÷	÷
64	5305	han er noget miljøteknikker eller sådan noget øh ja	÷	÷

Appendix 6.d

Questions in Jasper's worst interview (with KL)

The questions in the background interview are excluded.

The line numbers refer to those in Appendix D.

The two columns to the right indicate whether a given question coincides with a topic shift and, if so, the topic coherence and the timing (whether at a Topic Transition Relevance Place (TTRP) or not (non-TTRP)) is indicated. These are used in Table 5.6.

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

	Line	Question	Topic coherence	TTRP/non-TTRP
1	8 og 12	hvordan var det at være med sidst ... var det okay eller hvad	no connection	TTRP
2	160	men hvad hun boede også her ikke	non-focal	TTRP
3	177	hvordan øh hvordan var det at flytte fra Nyboder	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
4	201	og så og det delte I alle sammen alle sammen	÷	÷
5	207	hvordan hvordan fungerede det altså	non-focal	TTRP
6	216	din far var den første	÷	÷
7	222	det var også en anden tid var det ikke i dag så ville børnene måske være de første i øh	÷	÷
8	226	så er du øh hyrevognsbranchen	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
9	230	kører du så for et øh selskab eller	÷	÷
10	234	er det godt	÷	÷
11	238	kører du så også nat eller er det mest om øh	÷	÷
12	244	er det ikke pisseirriterende # at køre med øh	÷	÷
13	258	kører du også på [kvarter i København] så e-	non-focal	TTRP
14	300	men # så du har aldrig lyst til at gå tilbage til at være konditor eller sådan noget	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
15	310	men det passer dig okay det er meget stillesiddende men øh	non-focal	TTRP
16	319	har der været sådan nogle episoder når du har kørt taxa	non-focal	TTRP
17	326	kan du godt lide at snakke med dem eller	÷	÷
18	336	hvad synes du om at bo her på: på [kvarter i København]	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
19	384	hvor gammel er hun	÷	÷
20	405	der er en etage mere ovenpå	÷	÷
21	455	har de også # sat det op eller har du selv lavet det	÷	÷
22	523	hvad synes du om kvarteret # er det	non-local	TTRP
23	578	hvor gammelt er det her	non-focal	non-TTRP
24	593	kan du godt lide at arbejde i haven eller hvad	non-focal	TTRP

25	725	men hva:d de har ikke nogen små neden- øh nedenunder eller	non-focal	TTRP
26	737	hun er fulgt i øh onkels fodspor eller:	÷	÷
27	748	hvad laver du stadigvæk nogen kager så eller:	non-focal	TTRP
28	758	ja så det bliver sprødt eller hvad	÷	÷
29	788	nej men var det ikke kun dig og din søster der var med i øh	÷	÷
30	824	hvad øh har du l- har du så noget øh tid til noget andet øh når du # har du nogen fritids øh ting du laver eller sådan noget	no connection	TTRP
31	839	hvad	÷	÷
32	880	men l har det godt sammen alligevel eller hvad	÷	÷
33	892	hvad spiller l så	÷	÷
34	915	hvor tit er du øh sådan på ferie eller sådan	non-focal	TTRP
35	959 og 961	hvad lavede l så der på Malta ... hvad lavede l på Malta	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
36	1006	er der meget af sådan noget barmiljø eller barkultur på Malta egentlig	÷	÷
37	1023	er der så stadigvæk nogen levn fra kulturen med det der med	non-focal	TTRP
38	1081	hvordan kan det være l så godt kunne lide øh Ibiza der hvordan øh	÷	÷
39	1106	og så der er sådan to byer er det ikke rigtigt der er San Antonio og så er der Ibiza by	÷	÷
40	1137	var det så sådan en lokal fisker eller hvad	÷	÷
41	1155	og hvad så og så var der noget natteliv dernede også eller	÷	÷
42	1161	hvornår var du der sidste gang	non-focal	TTRP
43	1168 og 1170	hvad var du der i fyrrene eller sådan noget ... i fyrrene eller xxx	÷	÷
44	1203	nå det var det var stamstedet eller hvad	÷	÷
45	1221	kender du det	÷	÷
46	1351	har du overvejet eller hvad	÷	÷
47	1359	kunne du forestille dig at flytte herfra eller hvad	÷	÷
48	1381	men hvad og det er jo så det er så [KLs søster] eller hvad øh	÷	÷
49	1418	hvad laver han i lufthavnen	non-focal	TTRP
50	1439	men du valgte uden om øh militærkarrieren der i	non-focal	TTRP
51	1445	hvordan var det	÷	÷
52	1538	hvad for noget hjælp kunne det være de skulle	non-focal	TTRP
53	1553	døgnplejen # er det er det kun gamle eller xxx	÷	÷
54	1555	alle der skal medicineres eller:	÷	÷
55	1623	men det stoppede eller hvad med da de da de fik gratis kørekort	÷	÷
56	1650	giver folk drikkepenge sådan fredag:	÷	÷

57	1656	hvor kører du så her på [kvarter i København] eller:	non-focal	TTRP
58	1770	men er der nogen tricks at lære sådan når du har kørt i elleve år så:	non-focal	TTRP
59	1775	altså kører på gaden eller hvad og så øh	÷	÷
60	1817	kørte du i fredags eller hvad	÷	÷
61	1851	ja ind ad Strandvejen eller hvad	÷	÷
62	1856	på Østerbrogade eller	÷	÷
63	1902	så det er hyggeligt nok	÷	÷
64	1959	har du været der eller	÷	÷
65	2013	var du øh kommer du nogensinde ind til byen når du: når du har fri	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
66	2111	det var slemt eller hvad	÷	÷
67	2157	hvis det er okay	÷	÷
68	2329	men sk- sk- vil du prøve at høre de der stemme	non-local	TTRP
69	2350	jeg synes jeg så et eller andet sted at øh der også var noget fra Holmen # kan det ikke passe # der var øh der der var noget fra Holmen også	÷	÷
70	2373	men altså det er jo også # igen med Nyboder det var rigtigt øh det var sådan noget charmerende noget ikke men øh	non-focal	TTRP
71	2425	står m- man står og vasker sig i køkkenet også eller:	÷	÷
72	2474	hvad med hvad med din far var han væk nogen gange eller hvad når han øh var i søværnet der eller	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
73	2495	og kunne det tage flere dage eller hvad hvis at:	÷	÷
74	2514	og så var det sådan en øh isbryder eller sådan noget xxx	÷	÷
75	2544	var du med din far derude da du da han arbejdede derude eller hvad	÷	÷
76	2554	der er ikke nogen af de der der har nogen militærbesøgende i dag er der øh Flagfortet og: xxx	÷	÷
77	2567	nå skal vi se på Kalorier her	non-local	TTRP
78	2667 og 2671	vil du prøve at høre dem igen eller ... kan du kan du huske dem	÷	÷
79	2678	kunne du høre noget øh nogen forskel på dem de her stemmer her	÷	÷
80	2697	hvad med øh og der var ikke en du sådan var tættere på end øh de andre	÷	÷
81	2704	vil du lige prøve at høre de to første igen så	÷	÷
82	2747	hvad med nummer to var den tættere på din eller hvad	÷	÷
83	2755	hvordan synes du øh hvordan synes du den første lyder	÷	÷
84	2760	kender du nogen der taler sådan eller	÷	÷
85	2806	nej: okay # men men mere som: øh som to og tre end som øh som et og fire	÷	÷
86	2818	men # men kan jeg overtale dig til at prøve at sætte et eller andet # er det så tættest på: to eller på tre eller på # i midten kan du jo også hvis at	÷	÷

87	2889	kender du nogen der taler sådan eller	non-focal	TTRP
88	2891	kender du nogen fra fjernsynet eller noget i øh	÷	÷
89	2904	hvad med hvad med toeren der er den øh	÷	÷
90	2906	men det var # det var svært at	÷	÷
91	2913	men hvad også hvis at # synes du også selv at du taler lidt bornholmsk eller hvad	non-local	TTRP
92	2941	hvad med hvad med i skolen var der var der talte I anderledes øh:	non-local	TTRP
93	2950	nej nej ha # er der nogen sådan tidspunkter hvor at: # du ændrer dit sprog # for eksempel	non-focal	TTRP
94	2953	ja ja ja i øh forskellige sådan sammenhænge eller og på arbejdet	÷	÷
95	2959	har det ændret sig tror du siden du flyttede til [kvarter i København]	÷	÷
96	2975	hvad synes du så måske med din søster # har hun øh ændret sprog i	÷	÷
97	2981	men hv- hvad øh nå ja også lige mens jeg husker det jeg vil f- faktisk rigtig gerne have: navnet på og og nummeret på din bror hvis at	non-focal/non-local	TTRP
98	2993	bor han også her på [kvarter i København] siger du eller	÷	÷
99	3033	nå der var simpelthen øh sådan trip trap træsko med et år i øh	÷	÷
100	3074	har hun sagt det til læreren siger du eller til din bror	÷	÷
101	3078	var det dejligt at: at være søskende der i øh var I meget sammen dengang også eller hvad	non-focal	TTRP
102	3099	hvad siger du din far han boede her indtil:	non-focal	TTRP
103	3108	det er også en meget: god måde at gøre det på var det ikke det at bo sammen i øh ja ja	÷	÷
104	3302	og så skulle der arbejdes i starten eller hvad	÷	÷
105	3307	skulle I lave lidt i haven og:	÷	÷
106	3400	er det tofamilies nu eller hvad eller	÷	÷
107	3513	hvor gammel er Nyboder er det to hundrede: en to tre hundrede år gammelt eller sådan noget	non-focal	TTRP
108	3549	var der ikke nogen af jer der skvattede ned	÷	÷
109	3567	nej det er vel blevet lidt aftyndet eller med med børn i øh	÷	÷
110	3589	hvad var det for nogen	÷	÷

Appendix 7.a

Next turn repair initiators in Lisa's best interview (with KK)

The informant's next turn repair initiators are marked with →

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

Line numbers are in accordance with Appendix A. As the transcriptions below are more detailed than in Appendix A what is referred to as three lines in Appendix A might take up for instance seven lines below. However, the length of the pauses is only measured where I find it relevant for the analyses of preference; elsewhere they are simply marked with # (cf. Appendix 3).

1.

Time in interview: 0:01:11; l. 23-26

Int: ø:h # [snøft] hvor er du født

→ KK: på: # altså hvilket hospital! # eller ha # <i København altså Sankt Joseph>

Int: < ja:: i København ja >

Int: jeg skriver København

2.

Time in interview: 0:16:25; l. 180-182

Int: den er kælen

→ KK: ha hvad ja

Int: ha

3.

Time in interview: 1:02:18; l. 1004-1012

Int: kan du huske # nogle af dem #

KK: ja ja jeg kan godt huske dem

Int: prøv at fortælle

→ KK: altså fortælle om dem eller hvad <ha>

Int: <ja>

Int: hvordan ø:h I sådan mødtes o:g eller det var så på svømmeholdet men #

KK: <ja ja men det var så sådan noget>

Int: < hvis du kan huske noget >

KK: med at (jeg) så # var den første det var så sådan noget at # at så øh fulgte han mig jo hjem # fra svømning ikke altså

4.

Time in interview: 1:05:20; l. 1054-1059

KK: nå men hvordan har du det andet interview med er det på bånd eller

Int: jamen jeg har det ikke med

→ KK: har du det ikke med!

Int: nej

KK: uh det sagde du du ville # <tage det med>

Int: < Gud ja >

Int: det har jeg glemt # ej ved du hvad jeg sender det til dig

5.

Time in interview: 1:25:00; l. 1416-1420

Int: nu afspiller jeg de her fire # øh for dig # og så skal du så i forhold til # måden de taler # øh prøve at sætte et kryds på # hvor du ligger

→ KK: <hvor jeg selv ligger>

Int: < xxx > ja hvor din e- din egen udtale ligger # måden du du <selv ta>ler på

KK: < ja >

6.

Time in interview: 1:25:26; l. 1427-1431

Int: så kan du for eksempel hvis du nu hh mener at du ligger mellem et og to

Int: <og du ligger lige>

→ KK: < altså jeg ligner > mest deres stemmer er det <sådan ja>

Int: < ja alt>så ik-

Int: ikke stemmen < men måden de taler på ikke>

KK: <nej ikke stemmen men måden> de taler på ja

Int: så sætter du den selvfølgelig her

7.

Time in interview: 1:30:02; l. 1506-1510

Int: hvad tænkte du så der hh

→ KK: altså hvad jeg tænkte om! at hun talte an<derledes> # [snøft] nå men det ved jeg

Int: < ja >

KK: egentlig ikke hvad jeg tænkte om altså: det blev jo bare mere århusiansk # [Int skriver] at lytte til ikke # og

Int: mm #

8.

Time in interview: 1:30:52; l. 1520-1528

Int: hvad med øh # dine forældre da # da I blev opdraget # var der ting I ikke måtte sige og sådan

→ KK: nej v- altså vi måtte ikke sige bandeord # [Int skriver] hvis det er sådan noget du mener

Int: mm kan du give et eksempel

→ KK: på et bandeord

Int: med på at # I har fået skældud eller

KK: ø:h jamen altså [Int rømmer sig] jamen jeg kan da huske altså de slog da hårdt! ned på hvis de hørte os sige et bandeord

9.

Time in interview: 1:32:16; l. 1542-1548

KK: det tror jeg er opdraget med < ja >

Int: <hvad> me:d dine egne børn

→ KK: med bandeord #

Int: <ja men (altså) sådan om du om du> ø:h # retter på dem #

KK: < ha ha ha ha >

Int: hvis de siger noget der er forkert

KK: ø:h ja men altså der har jeg jo # lært af tale_hørepedagoger altså at # man skal ikke rette på dem men skal så efterfølgende sige det hh rigtigt

Appendix 7.b

Next turn repair initiators in Lisa's worst interview (with OP)

➔ = The informant's next turn repair initiators

All transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

Line numbers are in accordance with Appendix B. As the transcriptions below are more detailed than in Appendix B what is referred to as three lines in Appendix B might take up for instance seven lines below. However, the length of the pauses is only measured where I find it relevant for the analyses of preference; elsewhere they are simply marked with # (cf. Appendix 3).

1.

Time in interview: 0:02:39; l. 44-47

Int: okay # øh hvis du bare vil starte med at fortælle # sådan lidt om din barndom hvad du kan huske # derfra # fra Nyboder

➔ OP: fra Nyboder

Int: ja

2.

Time in interview: 0:06:29; l. 118-130

Int: ja ja det kan vi sagtens ø:h men du må gerne fortælle lidt mere om hvad du sådan om du kan huske nogle særlige sådan episoder

➔ OP: fra <min barndom>

Int: < ø:::~:~:h >

Int: ja

➔ OP: jamen episoder i hvilken retning sådan: i relation ti:l # min opvækst eller i rela<tion ti:l>

Int:

< ja >

➔ OP: området eller

Int: ja også gerne til dine forældre eller til din bror # eller noget i den stil

OP: mm: jamen jeg kan ikke huske sådan eller jeg kan sikkert huske masser af episoder men jeg ved ikke om der er nogle sådan specielle at fremhæve ø:h # jeg var dengang og det er jeg jo stadigvæk ret tæt på min bror ø:h # så han var jo # ja! en vigtig legekammerat

3.

Time in interview: 0:09:56; l. 195-199

Int: er du: er du glad! # for for det

OP: [synker] jeg er meget glad

➔ OP: altså glad for mit arbejde! <eller for> at være her eller

Int: < ja >

Int: ja glad glad for dit arbejde

OP: ja! jamen jeg er rigtig glad for det

4.

Time in interview: 0:14:44; l. 292-300

Int: ja # jeg kan også huske øh der det gamle interview der var der også det blev nævnt meget meget kort # noget med en kæreste

OP: ja

Int: men der blev ikke <sagt andet end at> øh at hun va:r # ø:h #

OP: < i anden G >

Int: omkostningstung eller et eller andet < ha ha >

→ OP: <omkostningstung>

Int: ja det var i forbindelse med du arbejdede der øh øh på [name of street] eller i i en biograf

OP: i [name of cinema]

5.

Time in interview: 0:16:33; l. 334-337

Int: og hvad med hvad me:d din kone havde du mødt her i København

OP: ja

Int: hvorhenne

→ OP: hvad siger du også gennem fælles venner

6.

Time in interview: 0:17:42; l. 361-366

Int: men hvor har du boet ellers

→ OP: hh ø:h sådan helt tilbage eller hvad

Int: nej du boede i Nyboder jo

OP: jeg boede i Nyboder o:g fra Nyboder flyttede jeg med mine forældre til [name of street]

og fra [name of the same street] flyttede jeg til # da jeg flyttede hjemmefra til: [name of street] på [name of neighbourhood in Copenhagen]

7.

Time in interview: 0:26:03; l. 516-518

Int: ja # var I så sociale

OP: social # hvad tænker du på det <første sted> der

→ Int: < der > ja

OP: ja ja det syntes jeg vi var vi snakkede da med hh med dem vi sad omkring

8.

Time in interview: 0:27:16; l. 535-540

Int: hvordan er det at gå på jagt

OP: det er egentlig okay jeg er ikke specielt fanatisk med det jeg gør det heller ikke særlig meget hh

Int: hvorhenne

→ OP: hvor! jeg går på jagt <henne>

Int: < ja >

OP: # jamen det kommer lidt an på hvor jeg bliver inviteret hen

9.

Time in interview: 0:27:51; l. 548-550

Int: hvordan foregår det sådan en dag med jagt

→ OP: hvordan det foregår

Int: ja

10.

Time in interview: 0:31:55; l. 625-632

Int: et det noget der bliver dyrket meget jeg jeg ved slet ikke noget om det

→ OP: om det bliver dyrket meget at gå på jagt

Int: ja:

OP: ne:j det tror jeg ikke men altså det er jo ikke sådan # det er jo ikke en sportsgren på den måde der er altså jeg v- jeg ved ikke hvor mange jægere faktisk der er # men det er d- # altså det er jo ikke ualmindeligt vil jeg sige f- og mange af mine venner går da på jagt men men det er meget få af dem der går meget på jagt

Int: ja

11.

Time in interview: 0:36:02; l. 703-708

Int: men var det planlagt

(1.2)

→ OP: fødslen

Int: nej ikke fødslen men graviditet<teten ha>

OP: < ja ja >

OP: ja ha fødslen kommer du ikke uden om når f- graviditeten først er

Int: ha <OP: ha>

OP: så:

12.

Time in interview: 0:50:12; l. 939-944

Int: hvad med når du nu skal opdrage din søn # sådan # vil du så også ø:h # have sådan nogle ting # med

→ OP: [smask] at han ska:l lade være med at bande og tale pænt til folk

Int: ja men eller hva- hvor vil din grænse gå o:g #

OP: nu skal vi <jo lige have ham>

Int: < altså når xxx >

OP: til at tale først jo altså ha han er kun syv måneder

13.

Time in interview: 0:51:19; l. 960-966

Int: [mundlyd] jeg tror der er nogle der gør det ha < ha > ha <hh> eller sådan

OP: <okay> <ha>

Int: # der er n- der er nogle der tale meget om det ikke # altså det kan også være din din kone måske hun # det ved jeg ikke det kan godt være det er sådan så tænker jeg det er måske et kvindeligt træk at tale meget om # det der med opdragelse af børn # altså sådan at prøve at italesætte det i hvert fald

→ OP: altså tale ø:h med! barnet om opdragelse el<ler øh generelt al- ja ja >

Int: <nej eller # tale med dig eller>

OP: hh jamen det har vi nu ikke gjort

14.

Time in interview: 0:56:02; l. 1053-1056

Int: hvordan øh # hvordan ø:h hvordan laver man bestyrelsesarbejde # < der >

→ OP: <i et teater>

Int: ja

OP: jamen de:t det er også en en en noget mere speciel omgang # ø:h hh ø:h jamen eller nej! det er det jo ikke

15.

Time in interview: 0:59:48; l. 1131-1136

Int: men nu har du så også den baggrund # me:d <# din far> der var præst det er måske også

OP: < ja ja >

Int: altså # atypisk eller det ved jeg ikke æh v- hvad man kan sige #

Int: < der er da ikke mange der >

→ OP: <f- og så blive advokat bagefter > eller hvad ha

Int: nej men der er jo ikke mange der har altså det er i hvert fald en lidt specielt baggrund med en # med en far der er præst

Appendix 8

Examples revealing characteristics of interview style

All the following examples are referred to in Chapter 7.

Transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 3.

➔ = Examples of special features of an interview style (cf. Chapter 7).

Example 7.1

Prior to the following, Lisa has asked QL whether she was good in high school.

- 1 QL: men der var jo nogle ting selvfølgelig # jeg var bedre til og interesserede mig langt!
- 2 mere for end andre ikke # sådan er det vel for alle # < i bund og grund >
- ➔ 3 Int: <og du var sådan ø:h>
- ➔ 4 Int: meget atypisk for # fo:r pigerne
- 5 QL: ja! vi var jo ikke så mange i den der grenklasse der
- 6 Int: nej
- 7 QL: ø:h # hvad var der atten drenge og var vi fire piger # der gik matematisk-fysisk linje
- 8 # dengang ha

Lisa's assessment in Example 7.1 (l. 3-4) of QL as an atypical girl is confirmed by QL (l. 5) and explained (l. 7). Lisa's assessment is agreed to and thereby the response can be said to be preferred.

Example 7.2

Prior to line 1, KP has told about his work as a pastor, the advantages and disadvantages of administrating your own time, and some of the tasks he is assigned as a pastor.

- ➔ 1 Int: men men du kan vel også godt have sådan en lidt off day hvor du # sådan
- 2 er det så ikke hårdt at skulle sådan være der sådan for folk <der>
- 3 KP: <jo::>
- 4 KP: men det ha ja man kan have en off day hh det kan man jo selvfølgelig godt
- 5 men det må det må man jo bare lade træde i baggrunden det øh det kan man jo
- 6 ikke sidde og sådan [smæld med tungen] jeg har det ikke så godt i dag eller jeg
- 7 er ikke helt klar til at tale med sådan en altså det så må man jo bare køre det igennem
- 8 Int: ja
- 9 KP: det er da # ja nej det kan man ikke
- 10 Int: som præst

- 11 KP: det det det synes jeg heller ikke andre mennesker kan
 12 Int: det er da <bare det tror jeg der er mange>
 13 KP: <jeg synes det er noget pjattet>
 14 Int: der sådan
 15 KP: ja: <jeg ved det godt> og så
 16 Int: < der mener >
 17 KP: uha nej nej det går ikke lige i dag og sådan noget nej hh nej det er sådan lidt pylret

In Example 7.2, Lisa suggests that KP can have days where he feels "off" and that it must be hard to be there for others in such cases (l. 1-2). KP immediately express agreement by "jo:." (l. 3; *ye::s*) but he then repeats her expression "en off day" (l. 4; *an off day*) with a peculiar pronunciation (which I hear as hinting sarcasm) and, thus, distances himself from that phenomena; i.e. he acknowledges that you can feel like that but he finds it "pylret" (l. 17; *whimpering*) if you cannot do your job properly because of it. Thereby, he does not reply to the affiliating perspective of Lisa's assessment as he does not respond to her suggestion that his job must be hard at times. This example shows that Lisa's assessments are not always received in an unconditionally positive way.

Example 7.3

Prior to this example, QL has started to tell about a friend of hers from high school stressing that lately they have become very different and that she is considering whether to keep her as a friend or not. QL tells that her high school friend has got some very snobbish friends who felt sorry for QL until she bought a flat in a fancy neighbourhood in Copenhagen which turned her into someone cool among the friends of her high school friend. The change from before and after buying the flat is what she tells in l. 1-2 (Lisa's suggestion – a caricature – is marked with arrows):

- 1 QL: men og og d- sådan var det lige indtil vi købte den her
 2 lejlighed fordi
 3 Int: åh < nej det er bare ikke det >
 4 QL: <nu bor jeg jo [i dyrt kvarter]>
 → 5 Int: i <en lækker>
 6 QL: < åh::: >
 → 7 Int: lejlighed og så er det bare så er du bare nej men så min
 → 8 veninde <hun har> ((karikerer veninden))
 9 QL: < ja >
 → 10 Int: sådan en rigtig <lækker lejlighed> ((karikerer veninden))
 11 QL: < ja præcis > ((griner))

Lisa imitates QL (l. 5+7-8+10). QL laughs and confirms Lisa's contribution verbally with "ja præcis" (*yes exactly*). QL accepts (l. 9+11).

Example 7.4

Prior to this, they have talked about OP's brother who works as a pastor; Lisa then moves on to ask how OP feels about Christianity as follows:

- 1 Int: v- hvordan har du det selv med # kristendom og # så videre # ha
- 2 OP : jamen jeg har det da jeg har det bestemt fint med kristendommen ha
- 3 Int: er du konfirmeret og
- 4 OP : hh jeg er døbt og konfirmeret og gift # i en kirke # o:g # vi skal da også have [søns
- 5 navn] # ø:h døbt her nu # så:
- 6 Int: du kunne ikke komme uden om at blive konfirmeret hh
- 7 OP : n- jamen det havde <jeg nu ikke noget > ønske om at komme <uden om >
- 8 Int: < i i din familie > < nej >
- 9 OP : at blive konfirmeret ø:h og jeg øh havde da også et ønske om at blive gift i en kirke
- 10 og # så: så på den måde # er jeg da hh [suk]
- 11 Int: og du er også altså er du # du er kristen # eller vil du kalder du dig selv for kristen
- 12 eller

Lisa suggests that OP could not avoid his confirmation even if he would have wanted to because of his family's relation to the church (l. 6+8). OP rejects Lisa's suggested perspective on the story (l. 7+9) and underlines his statement and thereby the rejection of Lisa's insertion by adding that he also wanted to be married in a church (l. 9+10).

Example 7.5

Prior to this, they have been talking about OP's thoughts about education when he was younger and what he actually ended up doing; afterwards, Lisa tries to change the topic to talk about something that has no relation to this:

- 1 OP: jeg tror jeg besluttede mig endeligt i tredje G eller sådan noget for at læse jura # så øh
- 2 og det har jeg så fortsat med # og og blevet i # i juraverdenen lige siden
- 3 Int: mm
- 4 OP: så:
- 5 Int: ja
- 6 OP: så indtil videre har jeg opgivet tanken om om handel [mundlyd]
- 7 Int: ha ja # ha #hvad med øh # hvordan har det været her # på det sidste # de sidste ja
- 8 hvor lang tid er din <far døde >
- 9 OP: < [smask] >
- 10 Int: # det er < vel >
- 11 OP : < hh > oh jeg <har ikke> lyst til at tale om det
- 12 Int: < ikke så >

- 13 Int: nej det det er fair nok
14 OP: så så hvis vi kan holde os sådan til til mig
15 Int: ja ja det kan vi sagtens

Lisa tries to change the topic into a rather delicate kind (l. 7-8 + 10 + 12). It is soon clear (from l. 11) that OP has no wish to speak about the topic Lisa suggests.

Example 7.6

Prior to this, KK has told that she lost one of her first boyfriends because she did not want to sleep with him (at the time she did not believe in sex before marriage).

- 1 Int: hvem var det så du var kæreste med der # som ø:h # du var i seng med første gang
2 KK: hh altså ham jeg var i seng med første gang kendte jeg ikke særlig meget
3 Int: og kom aldrig til at kende #
4 KK: hh
5 Int: eller <hvad>
6 KK: < nej > det blev ikke til sådan særlig meget
7 Int: hh
8 KK: hh altså: #

KK then goes on to talk about her feelings about her "first time".

Appendix 9

The question guide for my interviews with the interviewers about the personality tests

Jeg vil gerne høre om dine tanker om resultatet og om at udfylde testen – lad os starte med dét psykologen lige har siddet og snakket om..

Testresultatet

Synes du testen giver et godt billede af dig?

Gav den dig indblik i noget du ikke vidste i forvejen?

Var der noget i resultaterne der overraskede dig? – Positivt eller negativt?

Er der noget i testen du ikke synes passer på dig?

Om at udfylde testen

Hvordan havde du det med at udfylde testen?

Hvordan svarede du på de enkelte spørgsmål? Tænkte du på konkrete situationer eller prøvede du at tænke generelt?

Var spørgsmålene svære at svare på? Var der noget der undrede dig (fx specifikke spørgsmål)?

Var du ofte i tvivl om hvad du skulle svare?

Kan du huske hvilket humør du var i da du udfyldte den?
