Interaction of Face and Rapport in an American TV Talk Show*

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This paper is concerned with some features of English spoken discourse which appear in an American TV talk show. It focuses on the conversational interactions between a host and guests in a particular context from a rapport management perspective. The paper discusses whether certain speech acts are related to face, and shows that managing rapport involving positive politeness also appears to be manifested. With particular reference to the speaker's role, this paper highlights the speakers' awareness of the role of the listener and the rapport with them by interpreting the use of deictic shift, repetition and acts which may, unintentionally, threaten face.

Keywords: face, face-threatening act, politeness, rapport management, cooperation, Gricean maxims

1. Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to analyse how spoken language is used in host-guest interactions in the discourse of a TV talk show. I will focus on several different functions of language and will discuss the reasons for particular linguistic choices. Using concepts from politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and rapport theory (Spencer-Oatey 2000), the paper examines how the speakers use language to manage discourse in a specific context. The excerpt I will be analysing is from *The Late Show with David Letterman*, which is an American talk show in which the host (Letterman) chats with guests, usually celebrities, in front of a live TV audience. The excerpt provides a good cross-section of the fea-

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tures of spoken English, and invites the listener to appreciate the different functions of language.

This paper is organised as follows. Section 2 presents theoretical concepts and issues related to face and rapport in communication. After a short discussion of the subcategories of face and rapport, section 3 examines how some of the talk show host's speech acts, and those of his guests in the excerpt, are related to face concerns, with reference to pragmatic principles and contextual factors. The participants' awareness of rapport matters (Spencer-Oatey 2000) with multiple listeners as well as the interlocutor will be highlighted through interpreting the host's interrogative methods and the use of deictic shift and repetition. The guest's cooperation, particularly from the audience's perspective, and the host's (mock) face-threatening act will also be discussed.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Face Politeness

In pragmatics, politeness refers to "the choices that are made in language use, the linguistic expressions that give people space and show a friendly attitude to them" (Cutting 2008: 45). It has been acknowledged that face is an important motivation for politeness. Face is defined as "the public self-image that every member" of society "wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). Brown and Levinson (1987) distinguish two kinds of face: *positive face* and *negative face.* The speaker's desire for positive face is defined as one's wish to be "approved of, liked or admired" (p. 62). The speaker's desire for negative face, in contrast, is defined as the wish to be "independent", and therefore not imposed on by others (p. 62). Brown and Levinson claim that face is "something that is emotionally investigated, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1987: 61). So during social interaction, interlocutors are conscious of face, and each participant attempts to avoid a loss of face. An act that threatens face is termed a *face-threatening act* (henceforth, FTA) (Brown

and Levinson 1987: 65). Examples of such acts are criticisms, orders, complaints and requests. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that by using a specific linguistic form, the speaker reduces the degree to which his/her speech act can be considered face-threatening. In their analysis, politeness is defined as "the means employed to show awareness of another person's face" (Yule 1996: 60).

In order to minimise the degree of an FTA, the speaker can use linguistic strategies: *positive politeness strategies* or *negative politeness strategies.* By taking into account the listener's positive face, the speaker uses a *positive politeness strategy.* Ways of doing so include showing *familiarity* as well as employing informal expressions, which may help establish intimacy with the listener. According to Brown and Levinson, a speaker using a positive politeness strategy seeks agreement, avoids disagreement and expresses sympathy. On the other hand, the speaker can take into account the listener's negative face by using questions, mitigating devices or hedging, which may help establish distance and in turn, respect. That is, a *negative politeness strategy* involves the provision of *deference,* meaning that speaker should be "conventionally indirect".[1] The choice to employ either negative or positive politeness strategies, however, depends on cultural preference (Mey 2001: 268-269; Spencer-Oatey 2000; Mills 2003; Thomas 1995).

Although the concept of face is universally applicable because humans want to be valued and considered, it is often unclear in some cases which aspects of face speakers attend to while conversing, and whose face a certain speech act helps manage. Face may or may not be the primary concern for certain speech acts in different situations because we do not always attend to face or distinguish and identify self-face and other-face as wholly separate entities. Furthermore, the use of positive

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1) Some examples of these politeness strategies are shown below (Brown and Levinson 1987: 102, 131).

Positive politeness strategies	Negative politeness strategies
Attend to the hearer's interests, wants.	Be conventionally indirect.
Exaggerate interest, approval, sympathy.	Question, hedge.
Seek agreement.	Minimise imposition.
Avoid disagreement.	Give deference.
Assert common ground.	Impersonalize the speaker and the hearer

politeness strategy is not always born out of concerns regarding positive face. The same can be said about negative politeness strategy. These are issues that this paper addresses.

2.2. Rapport

Spencer-Oatey (2000) develops and modifies Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of face by distinguishing between face needs and sociality rights. She views these aspects from two perspectives: personal (independent) and social (interdependent). For Spencer-Oatey, face is de-fined as "personal/social value, and is concerned with people's sense of worth and identity,.. Sociality rights, on the other hand, are concerned with personal/social expectancies, and reflect people's concerns over fairness, consideration, social inclusion/exclusion" (p. 14). Spencer-Oatey (2000) claims that there are differences in perceptions of face and in the sensitivity of different aspects of face. She proposes the term *rap-port management*, in contrast to the face management of independent self and other, to reflect concern for "a balance between self and other" (p. 12). The concept of rapport (harmony) management is based on two main components: the management of *face* and *sociality rights*.

Spencer-Oatey (2000) distinguishes two aspects contained in the con-cept of face: *quality face* and *identity face*. Quality face is rooted in a desire for a sense of self-esteem derived from acknowledgement of other people. Identity face, in contrast, is concerned with positive perceptions of an individual in his or her capacity as a member of a group or of society at large. Identity face is defined as "a desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles" (p. 14). She points out that Brown and Levinson's concept of negative face is more related to our sense of sociality rights rather than face concern.[2]

There are two aspects of sociality rights: *equity rights* and *association rights*. Equity rights refer to the idea that we are entitled to fair treatment, while association rights refer to the idea that we should have an appro-

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2) Quality face and equity rights correspond to positive face and negative face in Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, respectively.

priate degree of association with people according to our relationship with them (p. 14). She distinguishes two types of association rights: *interactional association*, in which people want to be involved with one another rather than independent, and *affective association*, in which people want to share interests and feelings. This means that considering the appropriate amount of conversational interaction (not focusing on self) or sharing emotions is important.

Spencer-Oatey argues that a combination of these components (quality face, identity face, equity rights, association rights) is important in fully accounting for the various social interactions in real life situations, and that speakers' intentions may focus on different aspects of these components. This complements Brown and Levinson's face management approach to politeness. Spencer-Oatey identifies the major strategies to manage rapport in the illocutionary domain, discourse domain, and communicative style domain (2000: 21-29). In the illocutionary domain, the rapport management strategy refers to the speaker's selection of semantic components such as head act and mitigator (modifier), the degree of directness/indirectness, and the type and amount of upgraders/downgraders. The strategies in the discourse domain refer to the use and amount of phatic talk, turn-taking, and frequency of overlaps. What these components are differs depending on the speech act concerned.[3] The strategies in the communicative style are related to precise/ambiguous communication, genuine/purposeful communication, and choice of tone. Rapport management strategies differ according to speakers' environment and culture: contextual variables, sociopragmatic conventions and "culturally-based sociopragmatic preferences" can influence people's choice of strategies (pp. 31-40).

3. Aspects of Politeness between Host and Guests

This section analyses politeness aspects of certain speech acts in terms of face and rapport that are present in a TV talk show by considering

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3) For examples of the semantic components of requests, see Spencer-Oatey (2000: 23-24).

social-contextual factors that may influence language use.

3.1. Politeness Strategies and Rapport

Attending to the interlocutor's desire to save face is essential under the assumptions of politeness theory. This phenomenon is shown in the excerpt from the talk show data (see Appendix for transcription conventions).

(1) ***Context:*** Speaker 1 and speaker 2 are talking about speaker 2's latest film premiere in New York City.[4)] Speaker 2 is recalling the premiere of her new film, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hollows-Part 2.*

1 S1: ah so tonight is the premiere the here in New York City right?[5)]
2 S2: yes
3 S1: now it will be different than the London premiere or are they are the same
4 S2: erm it will be different it's always different because it's a very different (.) its different audience um the London audience tends to be a bit more reserved (.)
5 S1: Americans are dumb right?
6 S2: NO (.) no they are a lot warmer you know you know sort of audience members will come up saying um well that was (.) that was very good and then (.) you know you will get the American audience that was AWESOME [S1: yeah] (.) (audience laughs) that was AWESOME (audience laughs) (.) as much as I love being in the UK (.) THAT's the kind of response you wanna get to your movie [S1: yeah]
7 S1: awesome=   = meaning actually inspiring AWE
8 S2:   =people= (.) [inaudible]   yes [laughs]

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4) Speaker 1 is the host of the show, David Letterman; speaker 2 is the guest, Emma Watson (Broadcasted on July 11, 2011, accessed on November 10, 2012).
5) Ungrammatical ("the here") or half-completed utterances are a common feature of spoken discourse (Paltridge 2006).

9 S1: now I heard when you showed up at the theater people went
crazy

10 S2: they um I mean it was pretty crazy (.) I mean there were (.)
there were I think sort of like twelve thousand people who
showed up um and no that's a serious number I'm not even
exaggerating that it was crazy it was crazy crazy crazy I think
people identify with what they feel (.) like it was a part of their
lives (.) and their childhood (.) and they feel like that's over
for them as well (.) so it's weirdly emotional for them too um
(.) I think [S1: erm] try to try to analyse it [S1: yeah] under-
stand

11 S1: now how how many films are we talking about in the whole
series?

12 S2: eight

13 S1: that's crazy, isn't =   =it?

14 S2:   =it is=isn't it?

15 S1: I mean [laughs]

16 S2: yeah

Unlike in casual conversation, the speakers in this context do not have
an equal opportunity to elaborate on their conversation, due to their pre-
determined roles. The topic shift is controlled by speaker 1 (the host),
who signals the change by using the discourse marker 'now' (lines 3,
9, 11). The host controls the continuity and cohesion of the exchange.
The guest is in the position to take her turn and elaborate on that topic,
with the permission of the host. The participants observe an adjacency
pair (question-answer) paradigm, though it is not rigidly followed.

Many of the host's utterances can be analysed in relation to Brown
and Levinson's (1987) positive politeness strategies. Although there is
a clear difference between *social distance* and *relative power* in this context,
both speakers tend to express positive politeness.[6] The host initiates the

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6) Speakers choose a particular politeness strategy (either positive or negative) by con-
sidering *social distance* and *relative power*, as well as taking into account the ratio of
impositions in their particular culture (Brown and Levinson 1987: 71-81).

conversation by asserting shared knowledge (line 1) and frequently uses "yeah" (lines 6, 10) to express strong interest (White 1989), understanding or acknowledgment. These backchannel responses of the host are often phatic expressions. When "yeah" is placed at the end of an utterance, its function is primarily that of a *solidarity-building device* (Fung and Carter 2007: 432). Reactions like the host's seem to reduce the psychological and cognitive distance between interlocutors. The guest also expresses agreement by responding with "yes" (line 8) and "yeah" (line 16), although the degree of closeness exhibited may differ. Here, the host is the first to use "yeah" and goes on to use it several times. The guest follows his lead, and uses it later. The host, as a powerful figure in the entertainment world, may express unique influence in a context in a less constrained way. The "subject position - roles and identities" created by context can influence different ways of speaking (Marshall and Werndly 2002: 101; Mey 2000; Culpeper 1996; Gumperz 1983). In this situation, when the guest tends to accept the authority of the host, she may be more likely to respond to him by using a more polite form of "yes" than "yeah". There is also a likelihood that an age-related prestige-based relation between the host and guest is to some degree a factor.[7]

The host assists the guest by reinforcing her use of "awesome", specifically by exaggerating its intended meaning (line 7). The host manages the guest's positive face by using the 'addressee-inclusive *we*' (line 11).[8] The linguistic choices on the part of the host are shown below:

(2) a. *Seeking acknowledgement, agreement*
        yeah
    b. *Exaggerated interest*
        awesome meaning actually inspiring awe
    c. *Asserting common ground*
        tonight is the premiere the *here* in *New York City* right

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7) Some listeners from Eastern cultures can think that this aspect distinguishes the mature host from his younger guest.

8) 'We' can also mean the plural 'people', which excludes the listener. This is called the *we-exclusive-of-addressee* (Levinson 1983: 69).

    d. *Attending to the guest's interests*

       I heard when you showed up at the theatre people went crazy

    e. *Inclusion of guest and host*

       how many films are we talking about in the whole series?

The situation shown above differs from casual conversation where both external and internal modifiers (mitigators) are commonly used (Alcón Soler and Safont Jorda 2007). Throughout the conversation, when the host requests information he uses an internal modification device such as the *appealer* "right?" (lines 1 and 5).[9] This modification induces the guest to respond: "Right" in line 1 is used to initiate a positive response from the guest, whereas "right" in line 5 prompts her to speak by providing information. The host does not use external modifiers such as "Could you V?", "Can you V?", "Can I V?", "Would you mind V-ing?", or "please", which are commonly employed to signal politeness (cf. Alcón Soler and Safont Jorda 2007). (These types of expressions are conventionally indirect requests and belong to negative politeness strategies.) This may be expected in relation to contextual factors in that the host, as interviewer, is preconditioned to ask questions.

  A particularly influential venue for the effect of face on discourse is TV talk shows. In a talk show setting, we are less likely than elsewhere to expect the interviewer's questions to focus on managing the guest's negative face (desire for dissociation). The host often uses a declarative form (noninterrogative form), but it has the illocutionary force of eliciting information rather than asserting a state of affairs since the host has authority to commit this specific illocutionary act and the goal in this particular context is to share personal thoughts and feelings about the event. The host encourages the guest to go into more detail about her experiences by using *amplificatory probes* (cf. Richie and Lewis 2003) as shown in line 9:[10]

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  9) See Alcón Soler and Safont Jorda (2007: 17) for this typology.

10) Amplificatory probes are the utterances that seek to reveal information by means of probes, which are "responsive, follow-up questions designed to elicit more information description" (Richie and Lewis 2003: 148).

(3) I heard when you showed up at the theater people went crazy

In Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, a request is regarded as an FTA because it threatens the listener's negative face. However, in this situation, the host's request such as (3) is not an FTA at all as it does not threaten the listener's freedom (the right not to be bothered by other). Rather, it provides an opportunity to enhance the listener's positive face by highlighting her popularity, as shown in line 10. In this context, the guest's desire for endorsement is based more on concern with public recognition than on personal self-esteem. Thus, (3) can also be understood as a way of endorsing his guest's position in society - what Spencer-Oatey calls *identity face*, the desire for our social identity to be endorsed by others. The host's speech acts in (2) create a sense of intimacy or solidarity with the guest which, in turn, can contribute to rapport between host and guest. In the illocutionary domain the utterances are direct with less modifiers and with upgraders ("actually", repetition of certain words).

The topic of discussion here is the guest's film premiere in New York City. She develops a discourse, which seeks to include conversation about the audience response, and her utterance expresses her desire to establish an interrelation with the host and audience:

(4)
You know you know sort of audience members will come up saying um well that was (.) that was very good and then (.) you know you will get the American audience that was AWESOME that was AWESOME (.) as much as I love being in the UK (.) THAT's the kind of response you wanna get to your movie

Although the guest is talking about her film and her feelings about the fans' reaction, she uses "you" and "your" instead of "I" and "my" ("you wanna get to your movie"). In this case, however, it is unclear whose face might be targeted and whose would be saved. The guest does not refer to the host or audience directly, nor does she have a specific person

in mind. Here, the use of "you" and "your" ('empathetic' *you*, Grundy 2008: 25; Levinson 2006: 108) is related to maintaining rapport, and although it arises from concern for face, it is more concerned with *affective association* rather than individual face.

This reducing the separation between self and other can be seen in another excerpt:

(5) ***Context:*** Speaker 2 is talking about his most recent film. He plays two characters in the film and explains the difficulties of such a role.[11]

S1: […] you find yourself behaving differently for that variation
S2: […] one character is very timid and […] the other very confident […] if you're working with really

The guest uses "you" instead of "I" even though he is talking about his own situation. "You" does not refer to the host. Instead, it is used in a similar way to "one" and "oneself".

In (4) the guest's use of "you know" implies shared knowledge (Fung and Carter, 2007: 415) and encourages the host's involvement: The illocutionary forces of this appeal may help the host gain a sense of inclusion. Alternatively, the appeal may be little more than a speaking habit. The guest emphasises the subtopic, the American reaction to the film, by fronting the object and saying "that's the kind of response". After the guest finishes speaking, the host switches the subtopic to the film series. He manages *interactional association* with the guest by using "we" when he asks, "how many films are we talking about in the whole series?" in line 11).

When the guest describes an event where her fans were present, she expresses the fans' thoughts and feelings:

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11) Speaker 2 is the guest, Jesse Eisenberg (Broadcasted on May 13, 2014, accessed on July 25, 2014).

(6)

I think people identify with what they feel (.) like it was a part of their lives (.) and their childhood (.) and they feel like that's over for them as well (.) so it's weirdly emotional for them too um (.) I think try to try to analyse it

This example shows the guest's emotional reaction, and seems more related to affective association than reducing threats to the audience's face. It suggests a degree of empathy with her fans, and is likely to enhance the affective association between them. The repeated use of "I think" serves an interpersonal function (Fung and Carter 2007: 418) rather than denoting the speaker's cognitive processes. The expectation of the observance of the Brevity maxim by the interlocutor does not exist, and the violation of it from the perspective of the audience is hardly perceived in this context. Suspending or violating the maxim of Manner (Clarity and Brevity) in certain situations can be related to the speaker's potential face and rapport concerns.

Using hedges is considered to be a negative politeness strategy in Brown and Levinson's framework in that the speaker hesitates to give their opinion, which creates distance from the listener (1987: 272). However, when "I mean" is uttered in reply to the guest here,

(7)
S1: that's crazy, isn't=   =it?
S2:   =it is=isn't it?
S1: I mean [laughs]

it seems to have a positive politeness function in that it helps avoid disagreement (Brown and Levinson 1987: 116). However, although this act is considered a positive politeness strategy, the host seems to be displaying mutual support through the use of "I mean" as the speakers echo each other's amazement. The host's previous utterance ("that's crazy") reveals his understanding of the listener's situation, and his tag ("isn't it?") here is not used to check information but rather to help manage

face by creating a friendly and casual atmosphere (cf. McCarthy and Carter 1995; Carter and McCarthy 1997). The guest's tag does not demand a response from the host, but expresses mutual understanding, which can boost their rapport. As the interaction proceeds, the host may attend less to the (interlocutor's) face. In this stage of the interaction, further face-saving is not a primary concern.

Consider other examples that are intended to reduce the distance between interlocutors:

(8)
S1: now I heard when you showed up at the theater people went crazy
S2: they um I mean it was pretty crazy (.) I mean there were (.) there were I think sort of like twelve thousand people who showed up um and no that's a serious number I'm not even exaggerating that it was crazy it was crazy crazy crazy

Here, the guest switches the deictics from "they" to "it". This shows that the interaction is rooted in the shared assumptions of the interlocutors. As the host has done before, the guest wants to focus on the fans at the premiere. She uses "it", which normally refers to impersonal things, to evoke the situation rather than referring to the fans directly. But this is not intended to achieve distance from the listener (negative politeness). On the contrary, it is used to reduce the distance between self and other, which is related to rapport. The guest's motivation for using "it" may be due in part to her wish to avoid misunderstanding. If the guest had said "they were crazy", it may have been taken as conveying impoliteness implicature. The listener is able to perceive that the tone of the discussion is light-hearted and friendly, partly because of the guest's frequent repetition of the host's lexis though. In this context, the implicature of the guest's utterance, "crazy", could be a humble acceptance of the host's compliment, and is targeted to the audience in the studio or the viewer at home.[12]

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12) As the reviewer points out, although the literal meaning of the utterance with "crazy" is the same, its implicature can be perceived differently by the listener.

The guest repeats the host's term "crazy", and she does not observe the maxim of Manner ("be brief", Grice 1975: 46) in this part.[13] Strictly speaking, this utterance illustrates a suspension of the maxim because "there is no expectation on the part of any interlocutor that they must all be fulfilled" (Thomas 1986: 44, cited in Bousfield 2008: 24). However, the guest's frequent repetition of the host's word reflects spontaneous cooperation: It expresses an interest in the interlocutor and a willingness to share his expressed feelings at an interpersonal level (for discussion regarding linguistic and social cooperation, see Leech 1983). The guest contributes to the conversation by conforming to the second maxim of Quality ("do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence", Grice 1975: 46) in that she reaffirms the truth of her previous statement: "I'm not even exaggerating that". "I think" is seemingly used when she is uncertain about what she wants to say (Channell 1994: 182). Her use of "sort of" can be understood as revealing her desire for exemption from a commitment to the truth of the proposition (Carter and McCarthy 1997: 19). This can be related to awareness of linguistic cooperation, the first maxim of Quality ("do not say what you believe to be false", Grice 1975: 46).

The host sometimes switches deictics according to the point he is focusing on, as shown in the excerpt below:

(9) **Context:** Speaker 2 is talking about her film. Speaker 1 asks about her personal family life, and about being both an actress and a mother.[14]

S1: when you go to work on a film like this (.) the the kids they don't

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Initially, the host's utterance might be taken to express a reaction of amazement or surprise: It most likely means something like <people loved it>, while the guest could mean <I can't believe how many people showed up to the premier> or <I couldn't have imagined this>. Some listeners may interpret it as "of unsound mind" (Primary entry for 'crazy' in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Hornby and Wehmeier 2002: 294), meaning that <the fans were of unsound mind>, which can be perceived as an FTA.

13) Repetition is prevalent in spoken discourse because speakers choose their words very rapidly in real time (Paltridge 2006: 18).

14) Speaker 2 is the guest, Catherine Zeta Jones (Broadcasted on January 11, 2013, accessed on July 25, 2014).

know anything about her urm know about it
  S2: they do know about it because certain things my kids can see

Initially, the host focuses on the guest's identity face (her role as a British commander in the film) by using "her", but switches his focus to the association with the film by using "it" for acknowledging the audience's quality face too. This may help reduce potential face threats leaving more space regarding recognition for her work.

The explicit expression of the relationship between the interlocutors, along with the reciprocity between them can relate to rapport politeness:

(10) ***Context:*** When speaker 2 is discussing her film, speaker 1 gives his impression of the film, and speaker 2 comments on the meaning of the film.[15]

S1: I did watch it and I love it [⋯] the cast what a wonderful cast
S2: yes I'm in it
S1: [⋯] like the Kennedy years that I found that particularly touching
S2: because what was going on as we all know we are we you and I actually lived through that year
S1: [⋯] you mentioned something about you have been meditating how long have you been meditating?
S2: I had brought meditation to my whole company just [⋯] because [⋯] did you meditate? I can tell you though never mind just you know I'm just being polite

After emphasising their common generational background by using "we you and I", the guest continues talking about her interests in meditation and recent business. And during her talk she shows interest toward the host by asking about his interest in meditation although she knows that he has no real interest in it. This is a clear example of a rapport management strategy.

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15) Speaker 2 is the guest, Oprah Winfrey (Broadcasted on August 1, 2013, accessed on July 26, 2014).

3.2. Sensitivity of Face and Association Rights

Consider the host's utterance:

(11) Americans are dumb right?

This utterance can be perceived as an FTA because clearly, the proposi-
tional content is critical and the act is *bald-on-record.* (11) violates the
Approbation maxim ("minimize dispraise of *other*", Leech 1983: 132)
and it threatens the quality face (intellectual ability) of other Americans,
to which most of the studio audience are likely to belong. In fact, (11)
is a joke. Joking is regarded as a positive politeness strategy in Brown
and Levinson's work. However, it seems unconvincing to suggest that
the motivation for the host's speech act in this case is due solely to face
concern, given the demographics of the audience. The audience is likely
to be predominantly American, and the effect of this speech will not be
to save their face. There seems no reason to threaten anyone's face in
a non-adversarial, public on-air setting like this one.

In the talk show environment, speakers may have different motiva-
tions and goals, and some of their speech acts may not be accountable
simply by reference to face-saving strategies. In the present context, the
host leads and develops the discourse by encouraging a response from
the guest. The speaker, as host, is expected to ask questions that the
audience are likely to be interested in, and the speaker, as guest, tries
to provide answers accordingly. The ultimate goals of the host and the
guest, in this context, are to strengthen their social identity through the
show, and they are aware of the listener's role. Not only the guest but
also the audience constitute *potential contributors*, in that they "provide
responses which aim to correspond to those of the wider audiences
watching at home" (Marshall and Werndly 2002: 63). The host treats
them as such by satisfying their interests (curiosity) as well as their ex-
pectation of validation by the celebrity guest, when compared to her
English fans at the London premier. The host's goal is to keep the audi-
ence engaged and hold their attention, despite the fact that they are not

allowed to speak with the celebrity. The host and guest are each other's direct *addressees* (interlocutors), and the audience in the studio are *side participants*. The audience at home are *bystanders*, but they can become side participants if they participate (for instance, through SNS) (see Verschueren 1999 for the discussion of the types and roles of hearers).[16] The host is responsible for achieving harmony with the studio audience and home viewers as well as the guest. Performing (11) is partly related to accomplishing particular goals.

When the guest is asked about the difference between English and American audiences, however, her initial response is vague:
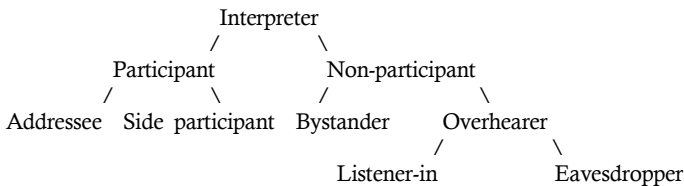
(12)
S1: now it will be different than the London premiere or are they are the same
S2: erm it will be different it's always different because it's a very different (.) its different audience um the London audience tends to be a bit more reserved (.)

Although she asserts the common assumption (positive politeness), the guest's replies in terms of propositional content may not be informative enough to the audience present in the studio (New York audience). Her vagueness when using "different" violates the maxim of Manner, namely, "be perspicuous" (Grice 1975: 46) and "will be liable to mislead" (Grice 1975: 49). This leads the host to encourage her to talk more and clarify her meaning for the audience. However, from the guest's per-

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16) Hearers as well as speakers have many roles (cf. Verschueren 1999; Clark and Carlson 1982). Verschueren (1999: 85) presents the following Figure to show different roles of hearers ("interpreters" in Verschueren's term). (Among the contents some parts unrelated to this paper are deleted.):

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                    Interpreter
                   /          \
            Participant      Non-participant
           /         \        /         \
    Addressee  Side participant  Bystander    Overhearer
                                            /         \
                                     Listener-in      Eavesdropper
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spective, she has to compare the responses of two groups of people, British and American, both of whom are her fans. Her obscure way of speaking could be understood as a way of avoiding unintended offence to either of the two groups. Not mentioning one group is a way of avoiding an FTA (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987) to that group; However, it can threaten the association rights of the listener (one group, here, American audience), which in turn, is a rapport-neglecting act.

The American host, Letterman shares another aspect of group identity with the audience in that he is also American and the audience in the studio is mostly American too. Based on the assumption of the existence of rapport with them, his peculiar speaking style here can engage the audience in the conversation and maintain their attention. (11) is not targeted at American audiences in a personal way, but is intended to trigger a more specific response from the guest for the benefit of multiple listeners. In cases where the audience is not satisfied with the guest's response, the host may employ what could be called a quasi-offensive utterance or a mock FTA on their behalf. The host may be echoing a possible assumption made by a *virtual listener* (cf. Verschueren 1999) who may be eager to hear some comments about the American audience themselves from the guest. (11) may appear impolite on the surface, but is better seen as a type of *mock impoliteness* in that offence is not intended, even though it may appear scornful to some extent (Culpeper 1996: 352-353).[17] An *overhearer*, who is unaware of the full context of this conversation, might interpret it differently.

The guest may be more sensitive to preserving the face of the present audience, and (11) is forcing the guest to reconsider her previous in-

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17) As opposed to 'inherent' or 'genuine' impoliteness (Culpeper 1996). My term 'mock FTA' is close to Culpeper's concept of 'mock impoliteness'. He defines mock impoliteness as "impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence" (p. 352). Impoliteness is the utterances or acts that are intended to "attack face" and "cause social disruption" (Culpepper 1996: 350; Bousfield 2008: 83). I prefer the term 'face-threatening' to 'impoliteness' because 'threaten' is not equivalent to 'attack', in that "threaten denotes a conditional speech act, *ie* the sense of '*s* threatened *h* with *X*' is roughly '*s* undertook to see to it that something unpleasant (*X*) would happen to *h*, if *h* did not do some act *A* desired by *s*" (Leech 1983: 226-227).

sufficient response. She not only expresses recognition of the audience's association want, but also demonstrates her preference for the American audience's reaction to the British audience's reaction. She conforms to the Approbation maxim ("maximize praise of *other*", Leech 1983: 132) of positive politeness. This transformation is achieved by the violation of the Brevity maxim. She repeatedly says "that was awesome" emphasising the American audience's reaction by fronting it:

(13)
S1: Americans are dumb right?
S2: NO (.) no they are a lot warmer you know you know sort of audience members will come up saying um well that was (.) that was very good and then (.) you know you will get the American audience that was AWESOME (.) (audience laughs) that was AWESOME (audience laughs) (.) as much as I love being in the UK (.) THAT's the kind of response you wanna get to your movie

Finally, the host has succeeded in eliciting a positive evaluation of the American audience, and the audience's laughter expresses their non-verbal support as well as their amusement, as opposed to offence or embarrassment.[18] When we consider this sequence as part of the whole conversation, rather than as a series of isolated speech acts (one utterance at a time), the host's utterance ("Americans are dumb") can be seen as a strategy for resolving a rapport sensitive situation. Consequently, it can be seen as providing an opportunity for the guest to manage the *affective association* between herself and the audience.

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18) The audience does not seem to focus on the semantic content (factual information) of the host's utterance but rather on the guest's reaction. Utterance comprehension is driven by relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995; Wilson and Sperber 2004), and the audience is more likely to pay attention to the guest's utterances because they generate more positive cognitive effects to the audience.

4. Conclusion

This brief examination of the language used on an episode of *The Late Show with David Letterman* has revealed various ways in which language may be utilised to express, or reflect, face and rapport concerns. The paper has analysed the speakers' linguistic choices and certain aspects of their speech acts in relation to *politeness* and *rapport management strategies*. The host's request for information is shown to provide an opportunity to enhance the *identity face*, and to construct an *affective association* process, in which both guest and audience are involved. It would appear that when focusing on face or association wants, the role of the listeners and the situation are influential. In particular, it is pointed out that the use of repetition, deictic shift, and the guest's suspension or violation of the maxim of Manner could be related to managing rapport with the audience as well as the interlocutor.

Although the paper shows that Spencer-Oatey's (2000) rapport management concept can be applied to clarify the complexities of potential face concerns that occur when speaking in particular contexts, further research will be necessary to explore the orientation and contents of face from a broader perspective according to the relevant media discourse.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions (cf. Culpeper 1996)
S1   Speaker 1
S2   Speaker 2
(.)   Pause
?   Rising-intonation
CAPS   Loud speech
=   Overlap
[S1]   Back-channel by speaker 1
[laughs]   Laughter

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