TURN TAKING IN TUESDAY LIVE AND CONVERSATIONS TALK SHOWS OF THE NIGERIAN TELEVISION AUTHORITY (NTA)

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Abstract
This study examines the use of turn taking in television talk shows aired by the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). The study strove to discover the underlying norms and practices that make interaction the orderly thing that it is. It sought to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk. The theory of conversational analysis as propounded by Harvey Sacks in collaboration with Emmanuel A Schegloff and Gail Jefferson was adopted for this research. Using the purposive/judgmental sampling technique, two programmes aired by the NTA were selected. The programmes include: Tuesday Live and Conversations. The simple random sampling technique was used to select one episode from each of the programmes. The hosts and the participants in these episodes constitute the population of the study. The study therefore concludes that some NTA talk show programmes are not well structured and organized and the rule of turn taking is not adequately applied in some of the shows.

Keywords: Conversational analysis, turn, turn taking, talk shows

Introduction
Conversation is an interactive communication between two or more people. It simply means people talking together. Levinson, S., defines conversation as "a type of talk wherein two or more participants freely alternate in speaking which generally occurs outside specific institutions like religious services, law courts, classrooms" (284). Nosfinger R.E. sees conversation as "…the process by which people interact in a moment by moment turn by turn basis" (10). It is an essential tool that promotes interaction between humans. Through conversation, knowledge is shared, trust is built and relationships are strengthened and sustained. In conversation, the speaker and the hearer must have a shared assumption or understanding of what is being said or discussed. One of the most noticeable features of conversation between two or more participants is that speakers take their turns to speak. Turn taking is "…the manner in which orderly conversation normally takes place" (Sacks et al. 676). This is evident in some talk show programmes. Talk shows are based on various forms of spontaneous talks. According to Oyeleye and Olutayo, "Talk show is a radio or television program where one person or group of people discuss various topics put forth by a talk show host" (149).

In some talk shows, two or more participants speak in overlap with one another. This makes the conversation room rowdy and impairs the understanding of the listeners/viewers. This study therefore examines how participants in NTA talk shows take their turns in the course of conversation so as to avoid impediments like overlaps that can obstruct the free flow of

conversation. It also explores the use of turn taking in NTA talk shows in order to ascertain how participants in these shows negotiate actions so as to achieve intersubjective understanding.

Understanding the Concepts of Turn and Turn Taking in Conversation
The organisation of taking turns to talk is fundamental to conversation as well as other speech exchange systems. These speech exchange systems according to Harvey et al "…include: regulating traffic at intersections, allocating political office, ordering moves in games, serving customers at business establishments, talking in interviews, debates, ceremonies, conversations and many others" (7).

Turn is a fundamental unit of description in conversational analysis. Jupp, Victor describes turn as "…the length of time a speaker holds the floor" (42). Jupp further states that, "…a turn can be anything from any audible sound to a single word, a clause, a sentence or a narrative." Goffman, J opines that, "A turn is an opportunity to hold the floor not what is said before holding it" (270).

In constructing a turn, Harvey et al proposed two components and a set of rules which operate on a turn by turn basis. The two components are: "the turn constructional component and the turn allocation component" (12). According to the authors, "Turn constructional components are the various unit-types which a speaker may set out to construct a turn. Unit types for English include: sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical construction" (12). Turn constructional component has two features which are summarized by Hutchby, I. and Wooffitt, R. (50) thus:

> First, they have the property of projectability. That is, it is possible for the participants to project in the course of a turn-construction unit, what sort of unit it is and at what point it is likely to end. This leads to the second feature which states that turn construction units bring into play transition relevance place (TRP) at their boundaries. In other words, at the end of each unit, there is the possibility for legitimate transition between speakers.

Liddicoat J. Anthony defines transition relevance places as "points where a speaker's talk is possibly complete and that at points of possible completion, speaker change is a possible next action" (90). Jupp also defines transition relevance place as "…the moment at which a change of speaker may take place" (42). Sacks et al observe that, "…appropriate starts by next speakers after turns can be composed of a single word, single phrase or single-clause constructions with no gaps for possible sentence completion" (702).

The second component is called the '**turn allocation component'** and it deals with the distribution of turns. According to Liddicoat, "Turn allocational component regulates turn change and assumes that only one speaker may speak at a time" (102). Harvey et al (703) divide the turn allocational technique into two groups: "…those in which the next turn is allocated by current speaker's selecting next speaker and those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection."

Harvey et al (704) propose a set of rules that account for the allocation of turns at transition relevance places so as to minimize gap and overlap. These rules include:
1.   a) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit;

b) If the turn-so far is so constructed as to involve the use of a current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; others do not have such rights or obligations and transfer occurs at that place.

c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not be instituted; first starter acquires right to a turn and transfer occurs at that place.

d) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

2. If at the initial-transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated and following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a –c reapplies at the next transition-relevance-place and recursively at each next transition-relevance place until transfer is effected.

These rules comprise instances of what may happen at transition relevance places. The next speaker may be selected or the next speaker may self-select. If none of these happens, the current speaker may continue. These rules explain how the conversational floor is managed during a conversation.

In the field of conversational analysis, turn taking is a way of approaching social order. It is a locus for social interaction where speaker change recurs or occurs, parties talk at a time and transitions with no gaps and no overlaps are common. This orderliness exhibited by speakers is simply what has been described by sacks et al as 'turn taking.' Turn taking is therefore "…the manner in which orderly conversation normally takes place" (Harvey et al. 676). These authors establish a systematic method for analysing turn taking. They note a set of facts that can be observed in any conversation. The facts include:

1. Speaker change recurs or at least occurs.
2. Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
3. Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common but brief.
4. Transitions (from one turn to the next) with no gap and no overlap are common together with transitions characterized by slight gaps or slight overlaps. They make up the vast majority of transitions.
5. Turn order is not fixed but varies
6. Turn size is not fixed but varies.
7. Length of conversation is not specified in advance.
8. What parities say is not specified in advance.
9. Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance.
10. Number of parities can vary.
11. Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
12. Turn allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to a next party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk.
13. Various turn-constructional unit are employed e.g. turns can be projectedly 'one word long' or they can be 'sentential in length'.

14. Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn taking errors and violation. E.g, if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble (700).

Television Talk Shows

Television is an important medium of communication used for educating, entertaining, persuading and giving out a wide range of information. "It is a major source of information acquisition, companionship and a relaxation tool as it provides millions of people with free leisure strategies and opportunities" (Koblowe Obono & Oluchi Madu 75). Television talk show according to Oyeleye, Albert Lekan and Olutayo, Omolara Grace, "is a radio or television program where one person or group of people discuss various topics put forth by a talk show host" (149). Ilie, Cornelia sees talk shows as "a particular kind of face-to-face conversation" (214). Oyeleye and Olutayo opine that "Television talk shows sometimes feature a panel of guests usually consisting a group of people, who are learned or who have great experience in relation to whatever issue is being discussed on the show" (149).

Principles of Talk Shows

Bernard, Timberg (4) notes the principles governing effective talk shows. The first principle according to him is that:

1. It is anchored by a host (or team of host) who is/are responsible for the tone and direction and for guiding and setting limits on the talk that is elicited from guest on the air.
2. The second principle of the television talk show is that it is experienced in the present tense as "conservation". Live, taped or shown in returns talk shows always maintain the illusion of the present tense. The audience should feel fresh as if they are happening at the moment of speaking even if the show is a longer-old-return.
3. A third principle is that television talk is a product- a commodity competing with other broadcast commodities. Television talk shows have over time proven to be a valuable commodity and talk shows hosts themselves are valuable commodities.
4. The fourth principle is that talk shows though spontaneous must be highly structured.

Features of Talk Shows

Ilie notes that, "talk shows bring together, through a mediation of a host, a guest panel (experts and lay participants), a studio audience and occasionally an audience of callers" (490). Some of the key features of talk shows as stated by Ilie (490) include:

1. As audience-oriented mediatized events, talk shows target simultaneously a multiple audience made up of the directly addressed audience of interlocutors, the on-looking studio audience and the over hearing audience of TV viewers.
2. Both experts and lay people are often present as show guests. Most of the focus of the program has to do with the interchange between them.
3. The show host, usually a media personality, monitors most of the discussion by stimulating, guiding and facilitating the participants' and contributions to the programme.

4.   Each episode of the program focuses on a particular topic of social, political or personal concern. Confrontation or conflicting opinions are guaranteed by the selection of topics and of participants.

5.   Personal experience and common sense have considerable status and increasingly appear as forms of knowledge that are opposed to expertise and to dominant discourses (of power, race, and gender).

6.   The discursive strategies of talk shows are: interview, narrative, debate, game, confession, testimony.

7.   These programs are usually inexpensive to produce particularly because they are not part of prime time broadcasting.

Theoretical Framework
The theoretical framework upon which this study is anchored is the Conversational analysis theory as propounded by Harvey, Sacks in association with Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Conversational analysis "…is a method of investigating the structure and process of social interaction between humans" (Perakyla, Anssi 1). Liddicoat sees it as:

> an approach within the social sciences that aims to describe, analyse and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life. …It is a set of methods that involves the use of video or audio recordings made from naturally occurring interaction. It is the analysis of real world situated contextualized talks. (8)

In the words of Sidnell, Jack, **"CA** is an approach within the social sciences that aims to describe, analyze and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life" (10). To put it another way, "The objective of CA is to uncover the often tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction." Conversation analysis seeks to discover and describe (formally and in a rigorous, generalisable way) the underlying norms and practices that make interaction the orderly thing that it is. Sidnell also notes that "CA seeks to uncover the organisation of talk not from an extraneous viewpoint, but from the perspective of how the participants display to one another their understanding of 'what is going on" (10).

Malmkjaer, Kristen states that, "Conversational analysis aims to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus on how sequences of actions are generated" (118). Heritage, John notes that, "The central goal of conversational analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible social organized interaction" (303). Conversational analysis therefore seeks to understand these shared procedures which participants in an interaction use to produce and recognize meaningful action.

Methodology
This study is descriptive in nature. The qualitative research was used to generate the textual data that were analysed in this study. The population of this study comprises the hosts and the guests in "Tuesday Live" and "Conversations" talk show programmes aired on the NTA between December, 2017 and May 2018. "Tuesday Live" is aired every Tuesday from 10:30pm to 12:00 am. The programme is always anchored by a host. The number of guests on this programme ranges from two to six. "Conversations" is aired every Monday and Wednesday, from 9:30am to

10:30am. The number of guests on this programme ranges from three to five. The programmes, "Tuesday Live" and "Conversations" were selected using the purposive or judgemental sampling technique. The simple random sampling technique was used to select two episodes from the arrays of episodes aired on these programmes. The selected episodes were uploaded by the NTA on the YouTube for easy access. For "Tuesday Live," 'Curbing Insecurity in Nigeria' anchored by Omini Oden was selected while in "Conversations" 'Personal Safety' anchored by Nike Adeyemi was selected.

'Curbing Insecurity in Nigeria' was aired on the 16th of January, 2018. It comprises the host (Omini Oden) and four guests (Habila Jeshak, General Sani Usman Kokachika, General Nuhu Ambazo, Baba Usman Ngelzarma) while 'Personal Safety' was aired on the 13th of December 2017. It comprises the host (Nike Adeyemi) and three guests: Zainab, Kelvin and Devan.

Data Presentation and Analysis
Here, the episodes chosen from the selected NTA programmes were presented and analysed. The episodes include: 'Curbing Insecurity in Nigeria' and 'Personal Safety.'

The Use of Turn Taking in Tuesday Live - Curbing Insecurity in Nigeria
In constructing a turn, two components were proposed by Sacks et al (12). These components are: the turn constructional component and the turn allocation component. The turn constructional components according to Sacks et al "…are the various unit types which a speaker may set out in constructing a turn. These unit types may be sentential, phrasal or clausal" (12).

In this episode, the researcher observes that the host uses the sentential unit type in constructing a turn. An instance of this can be seen in:
Excerpt 1

Omini	Okay, I said it is a general question. E:::h let me e:::h take on Brigadier Usman.
Usman	Well e:::m I believe th…e DIG…

From the above, it can be deduced that the host, Omini made use of the sentential unit type in constructing a turn. The host asked a general question but he decided to start with Brigadier Usman. He said thus: "Okay, I said it is a general question. E:::h let me e:::h take on Brigadier Usman". At the end of Omini's turn, the next speaker was able to project that Omini has completed his turn and speaker change is a possible next action. So, Usman immediately took up the next turn and said, "Well e:::m I believe th…e DIG….This is known as Transition Relevance Place (TRP). The TRP occurs where a speaker's talk is possibly complete and at points of possible completion, speaker change is a possible action. Other instances of the sentential unit type can be seen below:
Excerpt 2

Omini	Hello Abdul Kadiri, you are on to Tuesday Live.
Abdul	Yeah, Good evening sir.

Excerpt 3

Omini	Okay, let me:: go tuh::: Baba Usman… When you mention Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, a good number of persons out

	there imagined violence, trouble… Is Miyetti Allah e:::: Cattle Breeders Association a violent group…?
Usman	E:::h, this is a wrong notion. E:::h, we have been misunderstood by the general public ((coughs)) but an average Fulani man peaceful…

Excerpt 4

Omini	[But…let me get tuh::: e:::h] Deputy Inspector General of police, Habila Jeshak. Aaah how true are the factors that are responsible for bad leadership. Some people are saying that part of this problem is bad leadership, corruption, illiteracy, wrong ideology and other pre-deposing factors…
Jeshak -	They may remotely but I disagree that its e::m, bad leadership…

Excerpt 5

Omini -	Okay… We have so much of physical security in Nigeria and some people feel that this is part of the problem... Let me start with you sir.
Angbazo -	Okay, a:::m, well…in the Nigerian army, we have a department of transformation and innovation….

In the above instances, the sentential unit type was used by the host in constructing the turns. The next speakers assumed the floor at each transition relevance place. According to Sacks et al (703), "…**the turn allocation component** can come in two groups; those in which the next turn is allocated by current speaker selecting next speaker and those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection." In this episode, the turn allocation component applied is that of those in which the next turn is allocated by current speaker selecting the next speaker. The episode is organized in such a way that the host has the sole responsibility of selecting the next speaker. This enables the speakers attain oneness of thought. Instances can be seen in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 6

Omini	Okay, I said it is a general question. E:::h let me e:::h take on e:::h Brigadier Usman
Usman	Well, e:::m, I believe the DIG has spoken and he spoke very well…

Excerpt 7

Omini	Okay, let me go to Baba Usman…
Baba Usman	A:::h well…I am a layman as far as insecurity is concerned…

Excerpt 8

Omini -	…he raised two major concerns, the political leaders and the media. I will leave that to kukashika but let me take on e:::h Nihiti Allah…The people have a role to play here. As a Nigerian, what role should the people play?
Baba	A:::h definitely, the public has a role to play…

Excerpt 9

Omini	Thank you very much. Let take on e:::h Jeshak. One of them talked about justice. And talking about justice, are there people who are untouchable in Nigeria or sacred cows? When they commit, they walk away. Nothing happens to them.
Jeshak	There is nobody that is untouchable…

From the above, it can be seen that the next turn is allocated by current speaker selecting the next speaker. In the above instances, the host Omini, uses the names of his guests and sometimes the

positions they occupy to allocate turns to them. The host also uses names to allocate turns to callers on the show. This can be seen in the instances below:

Excerpt 10

Omini	… Lets take this call from Sani, calling from Kaduna. Hello Sani
Sani	(0.5)
Omini	Hello Sani, you are on the Tuesday Live
Sani	Good evening
Omini	Good evening

Excerpt 11

Omini	Lets take this call from Iba calling from Kano. Hello Iba
Iba	(0.3) Hello, good evening
Omini	Good evening Iba

Excerpt 12

Omini -	[Lemme] just hold it there sir. E:::h Abdul Kadir is calling from Kaduna, is on to Tuesday Live in Kaduna. Hello Abdul Kadir.
Abdul -	(0.7)
Omini -	Hello Addul kadir, you are on to Tuesday Live.
Abdul -	Yea, good evening sir

In some cases, the host does not use names to allocate turns to the next speaker. He sometimes makes use of non-verbal cues like the eye contact and a slight raising of the hand. This can be seen in;

Excerpt 13

Omini	Okay
Angbazo	Yeah. A:::h just to add little to what my colleagues have really mentioned…

In the above instance, the host did not mention the name of the next speaker. Rather, he used eye contact to summon the next speaker (Nuhu) who immediately took the floor without any gap, overlap, silence or interruption. Another instance can be seen in:

Excerpt 14

Omini	Okay… Let me start with you sir
Angbazo	Okay a:::m, well let me start by…

The Use of Turn Taking in Conversations - Personal Safety
In this episode unlike the previous episode, the turn constructional component is not used by the host in constructing a turn. This stems from the fact that the allocation of turns to the guests is not done by the host. It is rather done by self-selection. In this episode, anybody can speak when he or she wants to. The next speaker can even cut into a speaker's turn without waiting for him or her to get to the TRP. For instance, in the introduction of the conversation, the host says:

Excerpt 15

Nike	Alright, so safety, which can mean a lot of things for a different people. For me, I tried to be a safety advocate because I have young children running around in the house… I don't let my kids in the kitchen as a rule… things like a::m the handle of pots, I always make sure it's turned

	in. when I walk into someone's house and I see the frying pan handle, I'm like (hh)-
Devan	Especially the handle pan because that has the longest hands...

From the above, it can be seen that while the host was still speaking on how she tries to be a safety advocate in her own home, Devan cuts in without waiting for the host to get to the TRP. Hence the symbol (-) which indicates that the utterance is cut off mid-flow. Another instance can be seen below:

Excerpt 16

Zainab	In the course of what he said, there's no quality control… Every time you want to fuel your car at the petrol station, you will see a sticker, 'no phones allowed.' How many people have done that?-
Kelvin	You know, sorry to cut you short Ajia… I've actually watched the mid-busters on discovery channel proving that it wasn't true your phones will explode at the filling stations… The African public is actually less educated when it comes to things we use within our environment-

In the above instance, it can be deduced that while Zainab was talking about people who do not adhere to instructions as regards the use of phones at fuel stations, Kelvin cuts in and explains that the assertion has been proved to be false by mid-busters. It can therefore be seen that Kelvin's turn was not allocated by the current speaker Zainab, neither was it allocated by the host Nike. Rather, it was allocated by self-selection. Other instances include:

Excerpt 17

Devan	…I was using a boiling ring to heat water when NEPA struck… I totally forgot to remove it from the socket or put it off the switch. I just removed it from the bucket and laid it on the wooden frame of my bed and came to work, closed late… got home, the wooden frame caught fire and the fire was localized in only one spot…=
Nike	=Did you come home to meet light?...=
Devan	=No, by the time I came home, there was no light…=
Zainab	=No but even so, it would have ignited…
Kelvin	God just helped you

Excerpt 18

Kelvin	… I lost a colleague last month a:: who went to cook in the kitchen and ended up being completely consumed with from the cylinder. Her phone rang, so she picked up the phone. She didn't know there was leakage and the entire kitchen [including]-
Devan	[wait wait] I've had whatsapp messages about this thing… I don't understand the link between the mobile phone, the gas cylinder and [I don't understand all these things].

Excerpt 19

Kelvin	=we are less educated… you buy a thing, you just want to use it straight away. You buy a [phone]-
Devan	[I] think most of us are guilty of that=

Excerpt 20

Devan   [yeah it's true] the same thing goes to the point he's making, there's [this, it's better to be safe than sorry]

Zainab   [Yeah, there's this carelessness]… I've seen somebody… she wanted to put a fuel e::m fuel in her generator, it was a hair dressing saloon and there was no light

Excerpt 21

Zainab   [can you hear it? So so so] –

Nike   [how do you know that Devan]?

Devan   [I'm a child of God]

Kelvin   [you know, apposition] right…

Zainab   okay, [I just want to]

Kelvin   [I know a few things] that I'm talking about today because of what I learnt in my primary [school days]

In the above instances, the various turns by the participants were all allocated by self-selection. This therefore leads to lots of overlapping talks as more than three participants can begin to speak at the same time. Hence, the use of the single left ([) and right (]) bracket which signifies the beginning and end of overlapping talks as seen in excerpt 21 above. This therefore makes the conversation room rowdy and the conversation incoherent to the hearers or listeners.

Conclusion

Turn taking is one of the major features in CA and if not adequately used in conversation, the conversation becomes disorderly and rowdy. The episode analysed in "Tuesday Live" reveals that actions are negotiated in turns and the sentential unit type is the predominant turn construction component used in constructing a turn. The allocation of turns is done by the host who uses the first speaker select next technique in allocating turns to the speakers and this occurs when the current speaker gets to the transition relevant place. The host in this programme determines the length of time a speaker holds the floor. He also determines when to cut into a speaker's turn in order to give the other speakers the opportunity to hold the floor. This therefore makes the conversation orderly and organized and less rowdy.

On the contrary, the episode analysed in "Conversations" 'Personal Safety' reveals that the allocation of turns is scarcely done by the host. In this episode, anybody can speak when he or she wants to. The next speaker can even cut into a current speaker's turn even before the latter gets to the TRP. The host does not regulate the length of time at which a speaker holds the floor. When a speaker takes a turn, he continues to speak until another speaker cuts into the conversation. This however leads to lots of overlaps as more than two speakers begin to speak at a time. The resultant effect is that the conversation becomes disorganised and rowdy.

In conclusion, it can therefore be deduced that not all NTA talk shows are well structured and organized. The researcher therefore suggests that the rule of turn taking should be adopted by conversationalists in order to have a more organized and less rowdy conversation.

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