

**Localization, Frequency, and Functions of Filled Pauses:  
Five American Politicians' Use of *er* and *erm* in the Talk Show  
*Larry King Live***

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Tämän pro gradu– tutkielman tavoitteena oli testata täytettyjen taukojen (*er* ja *erm*) esiintymistiheyttä, sijaintia kieliopillisessa rakenteessa sekä funktioita Kjellmerin (2003) korpus-tutkimuksessa. Materiaalina käytin viiden yhdysvaltalaisen poliitikon puhetta keskusteluohjelmasta *Larry King Live*. Tutkimuksessani sovelsin Kjellmerin tutkimusmenetelmiä, joita muokkasin huomattavasti suppeampaan materiaaliini sopiviksi. Lähestymistapani oli täten induktiivinen toisin kuin testatussa tutkimuksessa. Materiaalini oli tarkoituksellisesti rajattu, sillä halusin selvittää, kuvaavatko Kjellmerin laajaan materiaaliin perustuvat tutkimustulokset myös täytettyjen taukojen käyttöä suppeammassa materiaalissa.

Materiaalini (kokonaisuudessaan 101 minuuttia) transkriboin ortografisesti. Analyysissäni arvioin täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheyden puhujakohtaisesti ja koko ryhmälle suhteuttamalla täytettyjen taukojen lukumäärän kokonaissanamäärään. Tämän jälkeen tein perinteisen kielioppianalyysin rakenteista, joita edeltää tai joissa esiintyy täytetty tauko, ja täytettyjen taukojen sijainnin perusteella luokittelin ne sana-, lauseke-, ja lausetasolle. Lopuksi analysoin täytettyjen taukojen käyttöä soveltaen Kjellmerin ehdottamia funktioita (hesitaatio, vuorottelujäsennyksen merkitseminen, huomion herättäminen ja kontaktin luominen, korostus ja korjaus) ja niiden piirteitä omaan materiaaliini.

Tutkimukseni perusteella täytetyt tauot esiintyvät tutkitun viiden poliitikon puheessa suhteellisen usein. Puhujakohtaiset eroavaisuudet olivat kuitenkin huomattavat. Kieliopillisen luokitteluni mukaan sana-, lauseke- ja lausetasot eivät täysin kuvaa täytettyjen taukojen sijoittumista, sillä täytetyt tauot edelsivät mm. määrelauseita, jotka eivät vastaa lausetasoa englannin kielessä. Materiaalini funktioanalyysi osoitti, että täytetyt tauot yleensä vastaavat yhtä tai useampaa Kjellmerin ehdottamaa funktioita. Lisäksi tutkimukseni mukaan täytetyillä tauoilla on ainakin yksi rakenteellinen funktio. Analyysini perusteella Kjellmerin tutkimustulokset ovat siis pääosin sovellettavissa suppeampaan materiaaliin. Puutteiksi hänen tutkimuksessaan osoittautuivat funktioanalyysille tärkeän kontekstuaalisen informaation puute sekä keskittyminen täytettyihin taukoihin, jotka esiintyvät vain tietyissä kielioppirakenteissa. Yleisesti voin tutkimukseni pohjalta todeta, että täytetyt tauot ovat vielä vajaasti tunnettuja ja että kieliopillisen sijoituksen ja funktioiden lisätutkimus on tarpeellista.

Asiasanat: diskurssianalyysi; täytetyt tauot; frekvenssi; lokalisatio; funktiot

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## List of abbreviations

AdjP	adjective phrase
AdvP	adverb phrase
AG	Al Gore
BC	Bill Clinton
BO	Barack Obama
CC	coordinate conjunction
CS	subordinate conjunction
FP	filled pause
JC	Jimmy Carter
JM1	John McCain (interviewed in September 2009)
JM2	John McCain (interviewed in January 2010)
LK	Larry King
LKL	<i>Larry King Live</i>
NP	noun phrase
PP	preposition phrase
VP	verb phrase
/	pause
//	longer pause
///	long pause
[	overlap
=	latch
---	change of topic (after commercial break)
[...]	parts left out from the beginning, middle, or end of a turn
[inaudible]	incomprehensible speech
{ }	paralinguistic feature
< >	location, if the interview was not conducted in the studio

## 1. Introduction

Spoken language is characterized with a variety of hesitation phenomena, although repetitions, false starts, and silent and filled pauses, for instance, often go largely unnoticed by the hearer. The filled pause (henceforth FP) *er* or *erm*, in particular, intuitively appears as purposeless noise with no communicative meaning or function. Even after a larger scholarly interest in hesitation phenomena in the late 1950s and early 1960s, hesitation and FPs were, and in some respects still are, considered to be disruptive nuisance in communication. On the other hand, during the past 50 years linguists have shown that FPs do fulfill important functions in language and hence, they should no longer be viewed as distractions. The functions of FPs have not yet been fully established, which makes them not only interesting, but also important to study further. In my thesis, I therefore investigate FPs in English spoken interaction.

Previous research has been mainly conducted within phonetics and psycholinguistics with the main focus on the occurrence, perception, and production of FPs. Curiously, the majority of studies have investigated fabricated language, i.e., language produced for research purposes (e.g., Goldman-Eisler 1961; Chafe 1980; Arnold, Fagnano & Tanenhaus 2003; Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus 2007), while few have analyzed FPs in corpora (e.g., Clark & Fox Tree 2002; Kjellmer 2003), and even fewer have focused on data consisting of natural interaction, i.e., language used for an actual communicative purpose (e.g., O'Connell & Kowal 2005). Studies addressing even remotely the functions of FPs have often focused on the same, one or two functions, such as signaling pausing and problems in retrieving a word. One exception to this tendency is Kjellmer's (2003) analysis of the functions of *er* and *erm*; the aim of his study was to establish functions of FPs by analyzing the location and frequency of FPs in grammatical structures in a broad corpus of English, CobuildDirect. On the basis of his findings, he proposed five main functions for the FPs *er* and *erm* in spoken English.

The present study is founded on Kjellmer's (2003) study, since the material he used is representative of spoken English and therefore, his findings can be expected to apply to a variety of uses of English. His methods appear convincing, which is why the proposed functions seem well founded. The list of functions is not, however, exhaustive (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 182), which encourages further research into the functions of *er(m)*. Given the vast quantity of material (57 million words), his findings might also be very general, and disregard features of FPs that occur in certain contexts

only. There is thus an obvious need to test Kjellmer's study and findings, which has given rise to the following questions of the present study:

- 1) Are Kjellmer's (2003) findings of the FPs *er* and *erm* applicable to a narrower set of naturally produced interactive data?
- 2) Do *er* and *erm* fulfill other functions than those proposed by Kjellmer (2003)?

I will thus test Kjellmer's findings in another, considerably smaller set of data, namely in six talk show interviews of 14,700 words and 101 minutes of speech in total. The use of FPs is analyzed in the speech of five American politicians, including the presidential candidates John McCain (interviewed twice) and Al Gore, and the Presidents Bill Clinton, Barack Obama, and Jimmy Carter interviewed in *Larry King Live* between September 2009 and September 2010. The type of spoken material is represented in the corpus Kjellmer analyzed (Collins 2012), which justifies its use for testing. The advantages of the material are its size, the speakers and the speech situation. The interview material is sufficiently limited to allow the scrutiny of FPs in their larger (textual) context, while politicians are used to speaking in public and being recorded. Admittedly, the interviewees are trained speakers, but the talk show situation is less scripted than political speeches, for instance, which qualifies the use of the interviews.

The present study applies the methods used in Kjellmer's (2003) research. Consequently, the frequency of FPs is estimated by counting the proportional occurrence of FPs in the total word count. Given the small data set, both the speaker-specific and the average frequency are estimated. The locations of FPs are determined by a grammatical analysis of the structures in or before which the FPs occur. This is then complemented with an estimation of the frequency of FPs at their locations. On the basis of the locations and the characteristics of each function as proposed by Kjellmer, I allocate functions for the FPs. Here, context plays an important role too. Apart from Kjellmer's study, I also draw on findings from other research on FPs when appropriate. The analysis of FPs in the present study leads to following findings: Kjellmer's methods are by and large applicable to the interview material, and the majority of FPs have features that correspond to his five proposed functions. However, the findings also suggest that the use of FPs is idiosyncratic, and that FPs can occur in different locations with variable frequency. Additionally, FPs do appear to fulfill a structural function alongside the five proposed functions.

After this brief introduction, I move on to define FPs and explore Kjellmer's study more in more depth. I also discuss other previous studies and their findings. Then, I explain my method of analysis, which is slightly amended from that of Kjellmer due to the differences in material. The section on methods is followed by the presentation of political discourse and talk show, as they characterize the material. It must be noted that the present thesis neither focuses on political discourse nor on talk show per se – rather, these are only features of the material that must be acknowledged. Then, I move on to present *Larry King Live*, and the material in more detail. This is followed by the analysis of frequency, localization, and functions. Finally, in section 7 I discuss the findings of the study and sum up the research in the conclusion.

## **2. Filled pauses and their functions**

In this section, I briefly define the term *filled pause*, and present findings in previous studies. The first section (2.1) gives the definition and focuses only on the key characteristics of FPs. The other two sections introduce previous research and findings: the second section (2.2) is a detailed account of Kjellmer's (2003) corpus study, and the third one (2.3) introduces other scholars' research and findings. These two latter sections complement the definition in 2.1, and give a more profound overview of FPs.

### **2.1 Filled pauses defined**

Previous research often provides a brief and concise definition of the term *filled pause* (FP) and it tends to concentrate on the production of FPs alone. There are two possible reasons for this: firstly, the term is rather self-explanatory and secondly, many features of the phenomenon still remain uncovered, while purported characteristics are debated among linguists. For many scholars (e.g., Goldman-Eisler 1961: 24; Livant 1963: 1; Romero Trillo 1994: 499; Bortfeld *et al.* 2001: 130) FPs are, as the label suggests, silent pauses filled with vocal activity, or noise, i.e., non-verbal sounds, produced during speech. Other scholars (e.g., Kjellmer 2003; Fox Tree 2002) contend to refer to them simply as (filled) pauses and posit that the term and the transcription of the phenomenon – *er, uh, um, ah*<sup>1</sup> – alone explain the research subject. These two ways to define FPs are common in the literature on FPs as most scholars prefer either one of them –

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of the use of FPs by scholars in different decades, see O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 463).

occasionally even both. The first definition is more detailed, while the second can be equaled with the first, depending on the reading.

Regardless of their broad acceptance, these views are also contested. O'Connell & Kowal (2004) find not only the definition of FPs but also the term itself misleading. They put forward the idea that

[t]he phenomenon originally referred to by Maclay and Osgood (1959)...is neither a pause (i.e., the absence of vocalization), nor is it a period of time that has been filled by some kind of nonlinguistic vocalizations or "throwaways" (Erard, 2004, p. A 13). Instead, a "filler" such as *uh* in English constitutes an orderly and systematic verbalization, a conventional linguistic unit that is used in accord with very specific privileges of occurrence.

(O'Connell & Kowal 2004: 463)

In light of the findings from previous research on FPs (see sections 2.2 and 2.3), this definition seems reasonable, although the term *filler*<sup>2</sup> might not be the best option, since it is used for a variety of phenomena, such as hedges and discourse markers (see e.g., Stenström 1990: 215; Fox 2010: 1-2). The term is however used to refer to FPs by several more recently published scholars, including Corley, MacGregor & Donaldson (2007) and Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus (2007). Hayashi & Yoon (2010) introduce *interjective hesitator*, which is not any better as it suggests that FPs would be interjections, a claim O'Connell & Kowal (2005) criticize. Hence, in the lack of a better term, I use *filled pause*, or the abbreviation FP, for *er* and *erm*.

As the definition proposed by O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 463) already suggests, FPs are typical of (Stenström 1994: 1) and prominent in (Kjellmer 2003: 171) ordinary speech. Hence, they are natural features of spoken interaction. Like O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 460) note, many linguists (e.g., Schachter *et al.* 1991; Bortfeld *et al.* 2001; Corley & Stewart 2008) and ordinary speakers do consider FPs to be disfluencies, though, suggesting that FPs are some sort of a defect in speech. In light of my material, I disagree with this view and align with O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 460) and Fox (2010: 5) instead, who prefer to consider that FPs create fluency. It seems reasonable to think that FPs keep communication smooth throughout interaction, especially because only rarely do FPs actually distract the hearer or disrupt communication.

*Summary.* In this thesis, *er* and *erm* are defined following O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 462-463): they are neither pauses nor non-verbal vocalizations, but systematically used units. Slightly contrary to this, the term *filled pauses* (FPs) is used to refer to *er(m)*, as no better notion is currently available. Moreover, FPs are likely to

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<sup>2</sup> In fact, O'Connell & Kowal (2004) themselves alternate between the terms *filled pause* and *filler*.

create fluency rather than disfluency, which is why I view them as constructing verbal output. This brief overview of *er(m)* is complemented in the subsections 2.2 and 2.3.

## **2.2 Kjellmer's (2003) corpus study and proposed functions of *er(m)***

In order to provide a firm basis for the testing of Kjellmer's (2003) study and for the analysis of the interview material, I need to give a detailed account of Kjellmer's study on FPs. Moreover, Kjellmer's study gives important insight into several aspects of FPs, which is another reason for a minute presentation. Next follows a general discussion on the study and a summary of the results in the order Kjellmer presents them: first frequency and localization of *er(m)*, and then their functions within use.

### **2.2.1 A corpus study**

Kjellmer published his research results in *English Studies* in 2003. In his article *Hesitation. In Defence of Er and Erm*, Kjellmer presents his analysis of the FPs *er* and *erm* in CobuildDirect (at present WordBanks Online), a corpus consisting of 57<sup>3</sup> million words of spoken American and British English (HarperCollins 2012). The corpus is part of the larger Bank of English (ibid.) and includes a wide variety of spoken discourse ranging from private conversations to broadcast material (Collins 2012), which most likely incorporates talk shows. Importantly, as the title of the article already indicates, Kjellmer (2003: 171-172) focuses on the FPs *er* and *erm* alone and disregards other FPs (such as *uh* and *um*) as less frequent and of less interest. I, however, prefer Clark & Fox Tree's (2002: 75) view that the various labels (*er*, *erm*, *uh* and *um*) are different transcriptions of FPs in English, as they all occur in the literature. Due to consistency with Kjellmer, *er* and *erm* are used in the present study to denote all such FPs.

The core idea in Kjellmer's article is that FPs serve certain functions in speech, although speakers often regard them as disturbing factors in conversation (Kjellmer 2003: 170-171). His aim is thus to show that *er(m)* is not by any means a useless filler in speech. In order to do this, he divides his analysis of the corpus into three parts: i) the frequency of the FPs, ii) their localization at word, phrase, and clause level, and iii) the functions of FPs, presented in the subsections 2.2.2, 2.2.3, and 2.2.4 respectively. Maclay & Osgood (1959), Stenström (1990), and Bortfeld *et al.* (2001) also analyze frequency and localization, but their research on localization in particular is

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<sup>3</sup> Kjellmer (2003: 171) gives a more exact number of 57.4 million words.

difficult to reconcile with Kjellmer's work, as presented below in subsection 2.2.2 ff.: Maclay & Osgood base their study on a different grammar, Stenström mainly analyzes silent pauses, while Bortfeld *et al.*'s material consists of produced dialogues and they do not give the exact locations of FPs, but contend to locate them at the beginning or end of a turn, alone, or within phrases (cf. Bortfeld *et al.* 2001: 137). Though the three aspects i) – iii) are presented separately, they are strongly intertwined, as the functions of FPs are chiefly deduced from the FPs' frequency and location in grammatical constructions (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 181-189). Consequently, the wider textual and conversational contexts play a minor role in the study. Moreover, Kjellmer (2003: 171) does not observe the influence of prosody, silent pauses or pause lengths either, since these aspects are not transcribed in the corpus. Evidently, the results of his study might be incomplete. The material of the present study enables the inclusion of context and silent pauses in the study, and therefore a more detailed analysis of *er(m)*.

### 2.2.2 Frequency

Kjellmer (2003: 172) first analyzes the i) frequency of *er(m)* in CobuildDirect and demonstrates that *er(m)* is fairly common in spoken English: in the corpus, *er* occurs 98,315 times while *erm* somewhat less frequently, 84,154 times. The difference in frequency is thus not very notable. Kjellmer (2003: 172) remarks that these numbers are not completely accurate, though, as they include names and abbreviations, for instance, with identical spellings. I do not, however, consider these exceptions to distort his results to any great extent. The raw numbers allow Kjellmer (2003: 172) to estimate that in every 1000 words there are three FPs, i.e., the FPs represent 0.32%<sup>4</sup> of his entire data. Curiously, in the British subcorpus of CobuildDirect, *er(m)* represents 2% of the data (ibid.), suggesting that American English features few FPs. Kjellmer (2003: 173) further shows that the use of either *er* or *erm* appears not to be phonetically determined: in the corpus, both FPs collocate with subsequent vowel and consonant sounds almost equally often. Thus, *er(m)* does not seem to fulfill a phonetic function, although Kjellmer does not refer to functions at this point.

In connection with frequency, which is based on word count (see sections 4.3 and 6.2), it is relevant to point out that Kjellmer does not consider *er* and *erm* to be

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<sup>4</sup> The percentage is counted from the given raw numbers, i.e., the total number of *er* and *erm* 182,469 in proportion to the entire data of 57,4 million words.

words in the common sense of *word*. Kjellmer (2003: 190-191) reasons that in a verbatim repetition of an utterance with FPs the FPs are left out, and therefore, they cannot be words. This is a valid claim, though in my opinion the boundary between words and non-words is not as clear-cut given that FPs fulfill certain communicative functions and that they follow grammatical rules at least to some extent (see subsections 2.2.3, 2.2.4, and 2.2.5). The question as to whether FPs are words or not is intriguing, but cannot be addressed in this limited amount of space. Thus, to avoid taking a stance on the issue, I do not use *word* when addressing FPs. For an opposite viewpoint to that of Kjellmer in the debate, see Clark & Fox Tree (2002).

### 2.2.3 Localization

The second feature analyzed by Kjellmer, ii) localization of FPs, is an essential step toward the determination of their functions. It also serves to show that FPs tend to occur at higher unit boundaries. First, Kjellmer analyzes the location of *er* and *erm* with regard to their most frequent collocates, which then guide him to investigate FPs at different levels of language (word, phrase, and clause). In his search for the collocates, Kjellmer (2003: 173) uses the corpus' *picture by frequency*, a table showing the ten most frequent immediate collocates of *er(m)*, and twenty other frequent collocates, both before and after. Table 1 below presents only the immediate collocates of *er* and *erm*, as Kjellmer (2003: 173) does not discuss the other collocates:

and	<b>er</b>	I	and	<b>erm</b>	I
er	<b>er</b>	er	that	<b>erm</b>	and
the	<b>er</b>	the	but	<b>erm</b>	the
but	<b>er</b>	you	the	<b>erm</b>	but
that	<b>er</b>	and	of	<b>erm</b>	you
s <sup>5</sup>	<b>er</b>	a	to	<b>erm</b>	er
of	<b>er</b>	it	s	<b>erm</b>	it
erm	<b>er</b>	we	so	<b>erm</b>	so
to	<b>er</b>	in	er	<b>erm</b>	we
was	<b>er</b>	that	it	<b>erm</b>	a

**Table 1:** Immediate collocates of *er* and *erm* in CobuildDirect. The table is slightly amended from the original in Kjellmer (2003: 173).

As the table shows, both FPs are most frequently preceded by AND<sup>6</sup> and followed by I in the corpus, i.e., speakers tend to use FPs in combinations like *and er(m)* and *er(m) I*.

<sup>5</sup> The s refers to suffix *-s* rather than to a false start.

After AND and I, *er* co-occurs most often with ER and then with THE before and after it, i.e., *er er*, *the er* and *er the* are frequent in the corpus. For *erm* the respective collocates are different. The second most frequent collocates of *erm* in the corpus are THAT and AND before and after *erm* respectively, while BUT is the third most often used collocate before *erm* and THE after it. The immediate collocates allow Kjellmer to reason that

[o]ne main function of *er(m)* thus seems to be to introduce what I will loosely call a new ‘thought unit’, a word, a phrase and sometimes a whole clause...It often coincides with what Ford (1993: 48) and others term a ‘basic clause’ or ‘deep clause’, i.e. a verbal unit consisting of a verb, finite or non-finite, with its dependent elements (essentially a verb phrase), but it can thus also be a smaller element, a lexical word...The term ‘thought unit’ has been chosen so as to reflect the nature of elements that the speaker constantly finds himself in front of, elements that require some deliberation, some planning, which may range from very simple, such as finding an appropriate word, to quite complicated, such as deciding on which out of a great number of facts to communicate, and in what order.

(Kjellmer 2003: 173-174)

According to Kjellmer, FPs thus precede *thought units*, which are constructions of any size, that demand planning and thinking time provided by the FPs. It is not bound to prosody like *tone unit* (cf. Stenström 1990) is, but more directly related to the information structure. The introduction of a thought unit is the first proposed function of *er(m)*, although it is not included as such in the analysis of functions. I postpone the discussion about the status of this first function, and for the time being, I consider it as a function equal with the others.

Before localization (2.2.4) and functions (2.2.5) in particular, it is necessary to remark that Kjellmer (2003: 174) notes in a footnote that a FP is always between two, perhaps different kinds of elements, and that the importance of these elements is difficult to weigh when determining the location of a FP. This means that a FP should always be analyzed both with regard to the word preceding and the one following it. This is a valuable comment, but it is surprising that Kjellmer does not give more prominence to it and that he himself seems to ignore it at times: in the following presentation of thought units, I point out cases when the other collocate appears not to have been analyzed.

#### **2.2.4 Localization at word, phrase, and clause level**

In his investigation into the location of *er(m)*, Kjellmer (2003: 174) divides thought units into three subcategories each of which corresponds to one level of language,

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<sup>6</sup> Following Kjellmer, the collocates of *er(m)* are capitalized.

namely a) word, b) phrase, and c) clause. As Kjellmer devotes almost seven pages of the article to the analysis of the thought units, it is obvious that localization weighs very heavily for the entire study. It also suggests that the introduction of thought units is an important function that *er(m)* fulfills. To analyze localization, Kjellmer (2003: 174) is largely dependent on the corpus' property of being tagged. This means that the corpus enables searches for specific grammatical constructions with *er(m)* and that it provides estimates of the frequency of such constructions (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 174). It is thus possible for Kjellmer to investigate the location of *er(m)* in various constructions at word, phrase, and clause level, and to present several examples to support his findings.

*Word level.* Kjellmer begins the analysis of thought units at a) word level and estimates the frequency of *er(m)* before single lexical words. His focus is on nouns, adjectives, and adverbs within noun phrases (NPs) and adjective phrases (AdjPs), while some verb forms are addressed in the analysis of phrases. At word level, Kjellmer (2003: 174) searches for simple NPs, i.e., constructions with a determiner and a noun (*the garden*), and finds out that FPs more frequently precede the entire NPs than the noun alone. Likewise, *er(m)* tends to introduce NPs with a premodifying adjective (*a fine garden*) and AdjPs (*very nice*) rather than parts of the phrases (Kjellmer 2003: 175), i.e., the head or the premodifier. Hence, Kjellmer's (2003: 174) general claim is that a single word preceded by a FP is most often "semantically 'heavy'", i.e., marked and prominent in the context. As already mentioned, Kjellmer's data lack prosodic and contextual information, which both are intuitively central for the claim, and therefore, it is questionable whether he can claim that any element in the corpus is marked. In the material of the present study, I would argue, prominence is more easily detectable. Nonetheless, the results show that *er(m)* more often introduces phrases than words.

*Phrase level.* The findings at the second level of thought units, b) phrases, largely corroborate the findings at word level: FPs tend to precede phrases. Kjellmer (2003: 175-176) complements the findings for NPs established in the analysis at word level with a search for co-occurrences of *er(m)* with definite and indefinite articles. Their frequency supports the general tendency: the FPs tend to prefer the location before the article, although this pattern is more common with indefinite articles (Kjellmer 2003: 175-176). According to Kjellmer (2003: 176), this is due to the fact that indefinite articles introduce new information, which is more demanding to process. Consequently, it is apparent that *er(m)* can precede entirely new elements.

After NP and AdjP, Kjellmer analyzes verb phrases (VP) in present and past tense, and marked for perfective aspect<sup>7</sup>, and modal VPs; thus, only complex verb constructions are studied, while other verb constructions are left out. In this regard, the analysis of VPs appears to be incomplete and selective, particularly as Kjellmer does not justify his choices. The analysis of VPs like *had tried*, *has impressed*, and *must try*, reveals that FPs in the corpus tend to precede primary auxiliaries (*has*, *had*) instead of the main verb, while occur between modal auxiliaries (*must*) and their main verb (Kjellmer 2003: 176-177). Following Kjellmer (ibid.: 177), this difference depends on the individual meanings of the verbs: modal verbs are likely to be semantically heavier and more marked, and thus form a separate thought unit, while primary auxiliaries carry less meaning and construct a thought unit with the main verb and its complements. FPs in passive phrases, though, occur both before and after the auxiliary (Kjellmer 2003: 177). These figures and interpretations seem convincing and reasonable, but my concern is the excluded VPs, e.g., simple present (*agree*) and past (*made*), present progressive (*is growing*), and present tense perfect progressive (*has been feeling*) (see section 4.1 for the localization of simple VPs at phrase level). Another point is that, with reference to Kjellmer's comment above (see 2.2.3), the main verb could have more importance as to the location of *er(m)*, but more investigation is needed.

The two final phrase types to be analyzed are preposition phrases (PP) and *not*-phrases, i.e., the constructions *not er* and *er not*. Kjellmer's (2003: 177-178) findings suggest that *er(m)* more frequently follows than precedes a preposition, a pattern which differs from other phrases in which FP precedes the entire phrase. According to Kjellmer (2003: 177-178), this could be due to the grammatical construction of PPs: in complement constructions (*talk about the City of Culture*) where the preposition is closely tied with the complement (noun, adjective or verb), a FP cannot occur before the preposition and separate the two. In adjunct constructions (*we open now on April fifteenth*), on the contrary, the preposition is more closely tied with the adjunct and can thus be preceded by *er(m)* (Kjellmer 2003: 178). Unlike in the other phrases, syntax rather than semantics determines the location of FPs, though, naturally, in all localizations both meaning and grammar influence.

Syntax appears to be less involved in *not*-phrase constructions with *er(m)* as in PP constructions. Kjellmer's (2003: 179) searches with *not cum er(m)* reveal two

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<sup>7</sup> Kjellmer (2003: 176) refers to "perfect-tense and pluperfect constructions", which are more commonly known as *perfective aspect* (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 175, 188-189).

things: firstly, *not* co-occurs infrequently with either *er* or *erm*, but when it does, the FP tends to occur before *not* rather than after it. In the vast majority of the cases in the corpus, *not* co-occurs with a preceding finite verb, which leads Kjellmer (2003: 179) to suggest that *er(m) not* is a special use of *not*. A comparison of 50 samples of both *er not* and *not er* allow him to deduce that *er not* frequently introduces new information, often a reservation, while *not er* appears not to have any special uses (Kjellmer 2003: 179). The semantic content of *not*-phrases appears to influence the location of *er(m)* more than its syntactic structure. What is surprising of the analysis at phrase level is that although Kjellmer includes such an unconventional phrase as *not*-phrase in his analysis, he excludes adverb phrases (AdvPs). FPs in collocation with AdvPs (*actually, frankly*) do exist, however, as my material shows.

*Clause level.* Finally, Kjellmer analyses the c) clause, which is the largest thought unit in the study. Throughout the article, Kjellmer (2003: 180) anticipates his finding that FPs are most common at clause level, but he makes it evident by estimating the frequency for coordinating conjunctions (CC) and subordinating conjunctions (CS) in collocation with *er(m)*. The estimations give the three results. First, *er* strongly prefers the position after CC rather than before it, while *erm* occurs in both positions almost equally often, though slightly more often before CC (Kjellmer 2003: 180). As is evident, the uses of *er* and *erm* notably differ at clause level. Kjellmer (*ibid.*) further investigates the frequency of *and* in collocation with *er(m)*, because, as he notes, his results for CC cum *er(m)* differ from Stenström's (1990) finding that silent and filled pauses<sup>8</sup> precede CCs. Kjellmer's (2003: 181) findings hold: *er* tends to follow *and*, while the distribution of *erm* is more even. In my material, then, it will be interesting to see which pattern is more common.

The second finding at clause level is that both FPs occur somewhat more often after CSs than before them, and third, that FPs collocate much more frequently with CCs than with CSs (Kjellmer 2003: 180). Kjellmer (*ibid.*) takes the third finding as a support for his claim that FPs introduce new thought units, since CCs introduce coordinate clauses, i.e., independent elements, which like any new sentences are new thought units, while CSs introduce subordinate clauses, which are usually part of their matrix clauses' thought unit. It would be rather natural, then, if CSs and FPs did not co-

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<sup>8</sup> In fact, Stenström's (1990: 237-238) findings concern silent pauses alone: in her study, no filled pauses occurred between clauses (*ibid.*: 236), and only four occurred with conjunctions within clauses (*ibid.*: 235).

occur as often as CCs and FPs. Moreover, Kjellmer (2003: 181) investigates *er* and *erm* in relation to paragraph breaks, and it appears that the former tends to occur at the beginning of a clause (i.e., after the paragraph break) while the latter at the end (i.e., before the paragraph break). The numbers are low, though, and it remains unclear to what paragraph breaks actually refer and how they differ from other pauses.

After introducing the grammatical analysis in Kjellmer's (2003) study, I now move on to present the functions he proposes for the FPs *er* and *erm*. The grammatical analysis has already indicated some essential points regarding the functions, and the grammatical aspects will consequently be central in my analysis; the location of a FP in the overall structure is important to justify the functions.

### 2.2.5 Functions of *er(m)*

On the basis of the frequency and localization of *er(m)* presented in the previous subsections Kjellmer determines their functions. It is essential to notice that Kjellmer (2003: 182) does not claim to present an exhaustive list of functions, but only "some of the main functions" (ibid.). It is therefore likely, and perhaps even to be expected, that other functions exist and are yet to be found. In his study, Kjellmer (2003: 182-189) proposes five main functions of *er(m)*: 1) **hesitation proper**, 2) **signposting speaker turns**, 3) **attracting attention**, 4) **highlighting**, and 5) **correction**. As already hinted in subsection 2.2.3, Kjellmer does not include the introduction of a new thought unit among these functions, even though he classifies it as "[o]ne main function of *er(m)*" (Kjellmer 2003: 174). The question thus arises whether the introduction of a new thought unit should be regarded as a superordinate category that subsumes five more specific subfunctions, or whether it should be seen as one among them. I return to this question in subsection 2.2.6.

Kjellmer introduces each function by explaining what the function in question stands for in practice and then he gives evidence from the corpus for his claims. The first function, 1) hesitation proper, is, according to Kjellmer (2003: 182), the one that is generally associated with FPs alongside uncertainty. Four frequent collocates of *er* and *erm* allow Kjellmer to propose hesitation as a function. Firstly, FPs often co-occur with each other, i.e., the combinations *er er*, *er erm*, *erm er*, and *erm erm* are common, *er er* being the most frequent (Kjellmer 2003: 182). Secondly, Kjellmer (ibid.) finds out that FPs often precede, but rarely follow, false starts or repetitions,

which are phenomena that signal hesitation also by themselves. Kjellmer (2003: 182) views *false start* and *repetition* as synonyms, but following Bortfeld *et al.* (2001: 131) who study *restarts*, *repeats*, and *FPs*, I consider them to be separate phenomena.

The third collocation that Kjellmer (2003: 183) finds for *er(m)* is pause, which I interpret to be a silent one. The collocation is confusing, given that silent pauses are not transcribed in the corpus he uses (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 171), but evidently some type of pauses are transcribed, as a label for pause appears in the examples, though how these pauses are determined is not explained. One explanation for the silent pauses in Kjellmer could be that their length is so notable that it has had to be annotated. With reference to Ford (1993) Kjellmer (2003: 183) reasons that silent and filled pauses occur because the speaker has problems in finding a word or because, in the lack of knowledge in a difficult topic, he or she has “nothing substantial to say” (Ford 1993: 49, quoted in Kjellmer 2003: 183). Fourthly, and last, *er(m)* collocates with uncertainties that are marked as guesses by the transcribers (Kjellmer 2003: 183). Intonation probably plays an important role here, as the uncertainties are detectable only with the help of the annotations. Consequently, this is a more subjective criterion that might warrant some caution, though these kinds of uncertainties do not occur in the present material.

The second function that Kjellmer proposes for *er(m)* is 2) signposting speaker turns featuring three subfunctions, namely A) turn taking, B) turn holding, and C) turn yielding, and their D) co-occurrence. Kjellmer’s (2003: 183-184) material reveals that A) turn taking is a major function of the *FPs* as *er(m)* tends to occur at the beginning of a turn (cf. 2.2.4) to signal the speaker’s wish to take the turn and to co-occur with answering particles such as *right* and *yeah*. According to Kjellmer (*ibid.* 184-185), a *FP* signals B) turn holding when the speaker has not yet finished and wants to keep the turn, but needs to pause and plan a new information unit<sup>9</sup>. Kjellmer (2003: 185) further suggests that the more frequent occurrence of *FPs* after conjunctions than before is related to turn holding, and that such a collocation (e.g., *and er*) signals turn holding. It must be noted though that this seems to apply only to *CCs*, as Kjellmer (2003: 180) earlier argues that they alone introduce new thought units. Moreover, if *FPs*

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<sup>9</sup> Kjellmer (2003: 185) uses the term *information unit* with no further definition of the concept. I interpret that *information unit* and *thought unit* have the same referent, given that Kjellmer consistently uses *thought unit* elsewhere. This single use of *information unit* could however be used to indicate that only *FPs* between coordinate clauses can function as turn holders, and as such the term would be reserved for clause level alone.

alone do introduce thought units, I expect that also FPs *before* a CC indicate turn holding. What function FPs that occur with CSs fulfill remains unclear.

In C) turn yielding, on the contrary, the function of *er(m)* is the opposite of turn holding and the location is at the end of a turn. Kjellmer (2003: 185) notes that turn holding and turn yielding are difficult to distinguish, however, without prosodic information, regardless of the finding that hesitation and turn yielding overlap more often. These problems could be eliminated with the inclusion of intonation in the analysis, but due to the lack of accurate measurements, it is not accounted for in the present study. Finally, all these functions related to turn signposting can co-occur (Kjellmer 2003: 186). This co-occurrence labeled as one subfunction (D) is parallel with the other subfunctions, and therefore it should not be seen as an infrequent exception. Importantly, as Kjellmer's (2003: 186) examples from the CobuildDirect reveal, it can be hard to determine which of the subfunctions the FPs fulfill.

The third function of *er(m)* that Kjellmer establishes is 3) attracting attention. Although not included in the label, the function also covers the use of FPs to establish contact and, quite naturally, FPs fulfilling this function are located at the beginning of a turn (Kjellmer 2003: 186). Kjellmer's (ibid.) examples suggest that FPs with this function occur only at the beginning of a turn mainly with a vocative when another (previously unknown) person is explicitly addressed for the first time. This excludes for instance FPs co-occurring with a vocative within a turn. Furthermore, Kjellmer (2003: 187) claims that hesitation rarely overlaps with the function of attracting attention. This should, in my view, be further investigated in material with prosodic information, since intuitively, attracting attention can involve hesitation depending on the situation and the person addressed.

The fourth function, 4) highlighting, relates to the emphasis a FP gives to elements that are considered to be "important, semantically heavy" (Kjellmer 2003: 187). For Kjellmer (ibid.), these elements are mainly single words, as already his analysis of FPs at word level indicates (see section 2.2.4), and he supports this claim with Quinting's (1971: 43-46) finding that FPs tend to precede lexical words rather than function words. Nonetheless, he does refer to "words" in plural as well (Kjellmer 2003: 187) leaving the question open as to how large elements can be highlighted. Since Stenström (1990: 241), who is also quoted in the study, argues that a certain word or "a string of words" can be preceded or followed by a pause for emphasis (ibid.), I expect that elements more complex than single words can be highlighted. It must be noted,

however, that Stenström (1990: 241) is not precise about whether her finding concerns both silent and filled pauses or silent pauses alone, as she studies both but focuses on silent pauses, and that the highlighted structures are below clause level. As hinted in 2.2.4, another puzzling feature in Kjellmer's (2003: 187) study is that he claims that FPs mainly highlight infrequent words without specifying what such words are. Whether a word is infrequent or not needs larger contextual basis than he offers in the study. This applies also to Kjellmer's (2003: 187) further affirmations that FPs are used to signal inappropriate and ironic uses of words, as well as disapproving understatements. I do not claim that these findings would not be true; it only seems that more contextual foundation would be necessary to prove them to exist. In general, highlighting seems to be highly contextually bound and justifiable on the basis of context.

Finally, the fifth function, 5) correction, ties in with 4) highlighting. In the corpus, Kjellmer (2003: 188-189) notes that *er(m)* signals that the speaker has just produced an error or a slip and that he or she is about to repair it. Hence, it appears that the FPs have a two-way function here: they inform both about what just happened and what is to be expected. In this respect, correction differs from the other four functions, as it is the only one that is analyzed with regard to elements both before and after *er(m)* (cf. 2.2.3). Following Kjellmer (2003: 188-189), correction can concern any level of language preceding the FP from one word to constructions above sentence level, but the problem is that *er(m)* does not always reveal the level on which the correction takes place. According to Kjellmer's analysis, then, *er(m)* signals all types of corrections similarly and it is up to the hearer to deduce which level the repair concerns.

### **2.2.6 Comments on the study**

At the end of his article, Kjellmer acknowledges some problems in the analysis of FPs. First of all, Kjellmer (2003: 189) notes that it is not always easy to determine which function a FP fulfills, as they tend to overlap, and that hesitation in particular frequently overlaps with the other functions. Secondly, Kjellmer (2003: 190) underlines the importance of prosody in the interpretation of FPs. There is thus a request for further analysis of *er(m)*. Finally, Kjellmer (2003: 190) concludes that *er(m)* is on the one hand helpful to the speaker in that they give time to think and construct the message, while on the other hand, they guide the hearer in the interpretation of the speaker's contribution.

The study thus proves that FPs are essential communicative devices, despite the shortcomings noticed in the material and methods.

In my view, Kjellmer's study on *er(m)* appears convincing and useful. The analysis of frequency provides a solid basis for the study by showing that FPs are relatively frequent in speech. The localizations, then, and the frequency of selected constructions with *er(m)* reveal patterns that allow to anticipate certain functions. Considering the data used and the advantages of the tagging property of the corpus, I find the functions well-founded and I expect them to generally apply to spoken English. My criticism is directed towards certain aspects, some of which recur rather frequently. Firstly, Kjellmer's division of functions is confusing, as he is not clear about whether the introduction of a new thought unit is a function in its own right. On the basis of the construction of the study and the strong relation between localization and the functions 1-5, I expect that the introduction of a new thought unit is the superordinate function of the five others, since 1-5 can all be seen to introduce new thought units. Secondly, Kjellmer is mainly concerned with elements *following* FPs despite his own comment on the importance of FPs' location *between* two elements. Thirdly, some of Kjellmer's claims would need prosodic information to which he has no access and additional contextual information, which he might have but does not sufficiently incorporate. In the present study, the aim is to test Kjellmer's results from his corpus analysis and supplement it with findings from more firmly contextualized material, though limited to one discourse type: namely talk show talk. In order to set my study within the frame of the larger research tradition of FPs, other previous studies are presented next.

### **2.3 Previous research**

In this review, my main focus is on studies in spoken English, since Shriberg (2001: 167) claims that hesitation is language specific, while Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 92-93) argue that FPs are also dialect specific. Any other languages used in the studies are therefore indicated. Kjellmer's (2003) study on FPs is not new as a topic in linguistics, quite the contrary. Hesitation phenomena – referring not only to FPs but also to silent pauses, repetitions, and false starts – have been studied since the mid-1950s from a variety of perspectives mainly within psycholinguistics and phonetics in linguistics (see e.g., Ford 1993; O'Connell & Kowal 2004). Scholars' main interest has been in the cause(s) and function(s) of hesitation, which they have investigated both with the focus

on speech production and comprehension. Meaning(s) alone have not elicited studies, but some suggestions have arisen in research regarding their possible function(s). The majority of linguists working on hesitation have analyzed material produced in laboratory conditions instead of naturally occurring speech, and very often, they (e.g., Hawkins 1971; Cook, Smith & Lalljee 1974; Swerts 1998; Shriberg 2001; O'Connell & Kowal 2005) have borrowed the methods of analysis from syntax and phonetics. It is therefore possible that findings in these kinds of studies do not apply to natural speech.

Another feature that might affect the applicability of the finding from previous research is that most of the previous studies investigate *hesitation*, and not FPs per se. Considering Bortfeld *et al.*'s (2001: 142) study suggesting that FPs deviate from repetitions and false starts this is even highly likely. However, for an overview of the field, it is necessary to briefly discuss more general studies on hesitation as well. Except for the few studies focusing purely on FPs, previous research clearly provides limited knowledge of them. As becomes evident in the following subsections and as O'Connell & Kowal's (2004) research overview shows, studies in hesitation and FPs are generally heterogeneous, lacks unity, and leaves questions open. In this section, I present previous research in hesitation with the emphasis on FPs. First, I discuss the material used in the studies in order to provide the basis on which the linguists propose their findings. This is followed by a more detailed presentation of the findings.

### **2.3.1 Spoken material in previous studies**

Linguists studying FPs either in themselves or alongside other hesitation phenomena oftentimes analyze material elicited in controlled circumstances where variables can easily be held constant or manipulated. Particularly monologues involving various tasks, such as explaining the content of cartoons (Goldman-Eisler 1961), creating a narrative (Hawkins 1971), retelling a movie clip (Chafe 1980), and describing paintings (Swerts 1998<sup>10</sup>), are frequently used. Other material that is produced for research purposes includes for instance small-scale discussions with the researcher (Cook 1971), task-oriented conversations in laboratory settings (Bortfeld *et al.* 2001) and organized but free telephone conversations (part of Shriberg's 2001 corpus). More recently, the influence of hesitation on comprehension has been tested through computer-mediated tasks. In these studies, the listeners are asked to perform a task (e.g., click on the

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<sup>10</sup> Swerts (1998) studies *uh* and *um* in Dutch.

mentioned picture) on the basis of manipulated instructions with or without hesitation (Arnold, Fagnano & Tanenhaus 2003; Watanabe *et al.* 2005<sup>11</sup>; Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus 2007). As this brief presentation reveals, hesitation phenomena including FPs are largely analyzed in spoken language elicited in very controlled conditions.

Intuitively, speech produced in controlled situations does not represent speech occurring in ordinary contexts of conversation, and therefore the produced hesitation phenomena may not be representative of their actual uses. Admittedly, laboratory conditions enable the investigation of dual-tasking (as in Swerts 1998) for instance, a situation difficult to observe in natural conversations. However, in my opinion, the findings from such studies should be viewed with slight caution, whereas research in naturally produced data appears more plausible. The few studies on natural speech include analyses of corpora (Romero Trillo 1994; Clark & Fox Tree 2002; Kjellmer 2003), samples of different spoken material (Stenström 1990), and lectures (Schachter *et al.* 1991). There is only one study on material similar to mine: the use of FPs in television and radio interviews of a politician (O'Connell & Kowal 2005). There clearly is call for more research on natural speech in the field of study, and one of the aims of the present study is to answer to this call. Despite the slight paradox between the linguistic phenomenon and material analyzed in previous studies, their findings are valuable in the sparsely investigated field, as will be shown in the next subsections.

### **2.3.2 Findings proposed in previous research**

Studies on hesitation phenomena and their results can be broadly divided into those related to the causes (reasons behind the use of FPs) and those to the functions (what the FPs do in speech) of FPs. This division is overly simplistic and artificial, but provoked by the approaches to FPs in research (cf. Clark & Fox Tree's (2002: 75-76) division of research into those viewing FPs as symptoms and others as signals). As it appears, these two approaches are in fact the two sides of the same coin: if a FP is elicited by a delay, for instance, then one of its functions is probably delaying (for FPs signaling delay, see Clark & Fox Tree 2002 or Fox 2010: 1). First, I introduce the suggested causes of FPs and then their proposed functions; meaning(s) are discussed with functions.

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<sup>11</sup> Watanabe *et al.* (2005) studies the comprehension of FPs in Japanese.

Linguists propose a variety of causes to explain hesitation phenomena in general or FPs alone. Goldman-Eisler (1961: 21-23), Cook, Smith & Lalljee (1974: 13), and more recently Shriberg (2001: 157) establish that FPs tend to precede longer clauses, a finding which is corroborated on several occasions, though with slightly different focus and terminology. Hawkins (1971: 283-284) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 94, 97), for instance, reveal that FPs occur more frequently at higher syntactic boundaries, i.e., before clauses rather than phrases or words. Chafe (1980: 174) shows that this applies also to hesitation more generally, and suggests that structural locations of hesitation phenomena indicate different reasons for using them (*ibid.*: 178-179). According to him, hesitation *between* clauses or phrases is caused by the problem of knowing what to say next, whereas hesitation *within* these structures is caused by the problem of knowing how to say it (Chafe 1980: 178-179). This means that both the content and the manner of expression can elicit FPs. Given that hesitation and FPs are structurally located in a similar way, I interpret Chafe's findings to apply to FPs as well. The relation between location and function gives also additional support to Kjellmer's (2003) and, consequently, my analysis.

The causes presented above are related to the syntactic structure of speech. Other scholars, on the contrary, focus on contextual and cognitive factors. Schachter *et al.* (1991) reveal a correlation between the topic discussed, the number of options or possible interpretations a topic has, and the rate of FPs. The scholars' analysis of lectures in different faculties proposes that lecturers in subjects that are more open to interpretation (humanities) produce more FPs than those who discuss hard facts (science) (Schachter *et al.* 1991: 463-464). The results from this study do not, however, indicate that individual or demographic differences would cause FPs (*ibid.*: 464-465), whereas other studies claim that both FPs (Maclay & Osgood 1959: 34-35; Goldman-Eisler 1961: 21-25) and hesitation (Shriberg 2001: 157-158) are individual speech phenomena. Likewise, Bortfeld *et al.*'s (2001) study on several individual and contextual variables suggest that hesitation increases with age (*ibid.*: 138), a leading speaker role in the speech situation, unfamiliar topics and longer turns (*ibid.*: 135), as well as with the lack of expertise (*ibid.*: 142). Furthermore, according to Bortfeld *et al.* (2001: 139; cf. also Shriberg 2001: 159), men appear to use more FPs than women. These findings indicate that the context of conversation and differences between the speakers must be acknowledged in an analysis of FPs. For the present study, this means

that both the talk show *Larry King Live* (see 5.1) and the interviewees whose speech is analyzed (see 5.3) need to be discussed in detail.

The functions proposed by other linguists are often very closely related to the causes of FPs and at times the two aspects of FPs are difficult to distinguish. This reminds of the artificiality of the bipartite division made only for practical reasons. Scholars propose several functions for FPs, and many of them are very similar. Particularly during the past decade, the most discussed function of FPs has been that of delaying speech. Most recently, Fox (2010: 1) claims that, among other hesitators, FPs are used to delay the following word as well as to guarantee progressivity in speech (Fox 2010: 5), i.e., to make speech fluent by covering delays. Prior to Fox, Clark & Fox Tree (2002) have analyzed the lengths of silent pauses co-occurring with FPs, and they suggest that the FPs *uh* and *um* signal minor and major delay respectively. O'Connell & Kowal's (2004: 471) research also indicates that FPs signal delay, although the nature of delay has remained unsolved. Even on Clark & Fox Tree's finding of minor and major delay doubts are cast, as O'Connell & Kowal's (2005: 562) results do not indicate a correlation between the form of FP and the length of the following delay. Any finer definitions of the delay(s) FPs signal are thus yet to be uncovered.

Apart from delay, research on FPs has established that FPs signal problems of various kinds in speech, such as preparedness and planning problems (O'Connell & Kowal 2004: 471). From Chafe's (1980: 178-179; cf. above) viewpoint, this function is caused by the speaker's problems in knowing what to say next or how to say it. As this connection shows, there is an obvious relation between cause and function, and occasionally the categorization of a study to either group is merely a matter of interpretation. With regard to Kjellmer's (2003) study, the function of signaling problems is included in his findings, though most likely within several of the proposed categories. Alongside the function of signaling problems, the functions of FPs in turn constructions have been discussed before Kjellmer. Even in the 1960s, Livant (1963: 4) claimed that FPs are turn holding devices. In line with Livant, Shriberg (2001: 156) relates a high frequency of FPs at turn beginnings with turn taking, while Bortfeld *et al.* (2001: 142) propose that FPs have interpersonal functions, i.e., they coordinate and structure the conversation between speakers. This means that FPs have functions related to turn-management and they are devices to hold, take and yield turns (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). Hence, alongside their function of signaling problems, FPs are proposed to have an essential role in interaction.

The functions of FPs presented above – signals of delay and problems, and turn constructors – are relatively general in nature and do not reveal any detailed aspects of the use of FPs like Kjellmer (2003) does. In this respect, Clark & Fox Tree's (2002) study is an exception in the field. Encouraged by James' (1972) study, they investigate whether FPs are interjections “commenting on a speaker's on-going performance” (Clark & Fox Tree 2002: 76) and on the basis of their findings, propose that FPs indeed are interjections, i.e., conventional English words. This would mean that FPs share at least some of the functions that interjections fulfill. However, O'Connell & Kowal (2005: 658) disprove Clark & Fox Tree's (2002) claim that FPs signal minor and major delay, stating that FPs are words, but in the lack of sufficient linguistic knowledge, they cannot be shown to be interjections. The main arguments against Clark & Fox Tree (2002) are that FPs and interjections are structurally very different, and that FPs do not convey information about emotions like interjections do (O'Connell & Kowal 2005: 568). As already mentioned in section 2.2.2, Kjellmer does not consider FPs to be words even, which illustrates the large disparity among scholars as regards not only the function(s) but also the status of FPs.

The debate on whether FPs are interjections or not is the only explicit reference to the meaning(s) of FPs in the literature. The relation between function(s) and meaning(s) seems strong, since according to Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 79), the basic meaning of FPs is that of signaling minor and major delays, i.e., the same as their function, whereas other meanings are implicatures in the Gricean sense (Grice 1975, 1978). Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 79) claim that implicatures arise from the causes of, i.e., the reasons behind, the delay and therefore, they are retrievable only in their context of use. O'Connell & Kowal (2005: 572) are on the same lines as they argue that the verbal context determines the meaning of a FP. As it appears, these scholars' reasoning makes the complex relation between cause, function, and meaning in the study of FPs ever more evident. The three aspects are separated with difficulty, which makes the analysis of only one of the aspects problematic, if not impossible, though as in the present study, all the aspects are often with difficulty combined in one study due to their complexity.

Before the conclusion of this section I briefly introduce one additional aspect of the FPs: the hearer's perception of FPs. Studies in comprehension can shed light on the functions, as well as support the already presented uses of FPs. Arnold, Fagnano & Tanenhaus (2003) and Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus (2007) study

whether and how FPs in instructions impact on the hearer's performance of a task, and conclude that FPs indicate new information to the hearer. This result parallels Kjellmer's (2003: 174) suggestion that FPs introduce a new thought unit and his proposed function of turn holding. Additionally, Bailey & Ferreira (2003: 197) claim that FPs help understanding and might disambiguate syntactic structures, whereas Corley, MacGregor & Donaldson (2007: 666-667) conclude that FPs have short and long term influences on comprehension; elements co-occurring with FPs are stored in memory better than those without FPs. From the speaker's viewpoint, this finding supports the function of highlighting (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 187-188; see also 2.2): information highlighted with FPs is considered as important. These research results give important support to Kjellmer's findings, as they indicate that the functions he proposes have corresponding effects in the hearer.

*Summary.* FPs are studied from a variety of aspects using different material produced in different contexts. In my opinion, it is justified to question whether findings in material produced for research purposes can be taken to apply to ordinary speech. Nonetheless, I do think that the findings concerning the causes, function(s), and meaning(s) need to be acknowledged, partly because they are the only findings so far, and partly because they are relevant in the presentation of the field. Furthermore, shortcomings in previous research in FPs and other hesitation phenomena shows that it is necessary to investigate FPs in particular in more depth and preferably, in naturally produced speech material and dialogues. Considering these aspects, my study is justified and makes a relevant contribution to the field of study.

### **3. Method of analysis**

After the presentation of Kjellmer' (2003) corpus study and other previous research, I turn to present the method of analysis of the present study. Given the aim of my study to test Kjellmer's (2003) research and findings, it is natural to apply the same or similar methods; a very different approach would not necessarily prove to be comparable with Kjellmer's study. To a large extent, the methods are thus taken from Kjellmer, though some of them – particularly those related to the grammatical analysis – are partly amended to suit the smaller data set. The section is divided into three: the first subsection (3.1) deals with the analysis of frequency, the second (3.2) with the grammatical analysis, and the third subsection (3.3) with analysis of functions.

### 3.1 Analysis of frequency: Principles of word count

In order to estimate the frequency of FPs in relation to the total number of words used by each speaker in the interviews (see section 6.2), I conduct a word count. I make a broad classification of *word* in this part of the analysis and include a variety of produced sounds, such as *eh* and *uhhuh*, in the word count, regardless of whether they are actually words in the traditional sense or not (cf. 2.2.2). Incomplete words (e.g., *Leb*, *c*) and minimal responses (e.g., *mhm*) are also counted as words. I base these choices on Kjellmer's (2003) study and the corpus he uses. Considering the examples he presents, it is likely that the CobuildDirect includes all transcribed chunks in their word count, and hence it seems reasonable for me to do similarly.

In addition to these conventions, I count contractions such as *we're* as two words, while any combination of repetitions of first syllables or sounds of a word and the intended word (e.g., *th-th-the*, *i-it*, or *I-I*) as one single word if the sound or syllable is not clearly pronounced separately from the word. These two classifications might appear contradictory, but as regards contractions, they actually consist of two words, whereas the repetitions are parts of one word. Finally, and rather naturally, I count *er* and *erm* as words in order to be able to estimate the proportions the FPs make up in the speech of the interviewees. I want to emphasize, however, that I do not wish to take part in the debate whether they are words or not (see also section 2.2.2); my choice to include them as words in this part of the analysis is purely practical.

As regards the realization of the analysis of frequencies more specifically, I count the total of FPs and of the occurrences of *er* and *erm* both separately for each interviewee and for all the interviewees together. I also estimate the total of words used by each interviewee and by them all together. To give an idea of the amount of material in minutes, I measure the length of each interview by excluding all extra clips from Congress sessions and the like. Larry King's contributions are included, although not analyzed, since it would be difficult to measure the lengths of the interviewees' contributions alone, given the numerous overlaps with King. The interview lengths are therefore slightly distorting, but they do provide an overall picture of the total amount of material. In contrast, Larry King's speech is excluded from the word counts. With the aid of the total number of FPs – both together and separately – and the word count, I am able to analyze the FPs in relation to the total number of words used by an interviewee. By this means, I can compare the individual speakers and their uses of FPs.

### 3.2 Grammatical analysis

The grammatical analysis of the material is based on the principles of traditional grammar and focuses on three levels of language – word, phrase, and clause – as in Kjellmer (2003: 173-181; cf. also sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4). In this subsection, the analysis of FPs at each level is separately discussed, first clause, then phrase, and lastly word. I begin with the principles in Kjellmer’s study, and then I discuss the particularities of the present material. This subsection is heavy with regard to the functions, but being the foundation of the functions, the grammatical analysis must be on a clear basis.

In the structural analysis, I begin by defining the larger grammatical entities in which the FPs take part in order to then be able to locate the FPs with regard to the overall structure. In practice, this means that first I determine the clauses, which Kjellmer (2003) considers as the largest unit, whereafter I proceed toward a subtler analysis of the level on which the FPs occur, i.e., whether the *er* or *erm* in question is located at clause, phrase, or word level. Apart from Kjellmer’s principles, the (larger) textual context is also acknowledged to locate the elements accurately. Following Kjellmer (2003: 180-181), I interpret any FP to work at *clause level*, if the FP co-occurs either with a CC or CS introducing a clause, or if the FP alone precedes a clause, i.e., an independent structure, without a conjunction. The following examples from the interview material present FPs that occur at clause level: the first example (1) with conjunctions, the second (2) without. The code after the example numbers indicates the turn number in the interview in question and the speaker’s initials<sup>12</sup>. The entire transcripts can be found in the Appendices 1-6.

- (1) (9) JM2 absolutely and **er** that’s one of the reasons why we lost elections / maybe also because not so great a candidate but / **er** the point is that [...]
- (2) (58) BO [...] **erm** here’s what we’ve got / **er** you got a situation in which / Israel has legitimate security concerns when they’ve got / missiles raining down on cities [...]

FPs preceding independent structures introduced by adverbials like PPs are similarly analyzed at clause level. By this I mean that regardless of the element starting a clause, I analyze any FP at the beginning of a clause as occurring at clause and not phrase level, if it clearly introduces the entire structure. This is illustrated in the examples below: in (3) and (4), the FPs precede PPs and begin a clause, which is the

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<sup>12</sup> In examples from McCain’s speech, the number after his initials (JM) indicates the interview in question: JM1 refers to September, JM2 to January.

larger element, and hence the FPs is located at clause level. Similarly, in (5), the FP both precedes an AdvP and introduces a clause:

- (3) (33) BC [...] if you look at the long term strategic trends / there ought to be a peace agreement / **er** from the point of view of the Palestinians they have been too poor too long [...]
- (4) (6) AG [well of course I ne er yes I never would have thought either one of those things w-would have happened / **er** fo-for for me personally the experience has simply been / er feeling very passionately [...]
- (5) (5) JM1 [...] **er** frankly<sup>13</sup> er some tests on medical malpractice reform [...]

As these examples indicate, the textual context is also important in the analysis of the location of FPs, and not only the immediate syntactic elements. Arguably, the FPs in the examples (3) - (5) do introduce phrases too, but I prefer to view them as having their main location at clause level. For a FP to introduce a phrase, the phrase must occur within a clause, rather than at the beginning of it. This remark mainly concerns PPs functioning as adverbials, which can be rather freely moved in the clause. Unlike in the examples above, in (6) below, the FP introduces the PP *during hurricane season* within the clause, and is thus located at phrase level:

- (6) (17) BO [...] because this is an area that already got battered / **er** during hurricane season / and / er this is an area that [...]

As a final point on clauses, I want to note that all FPs occurring at turn takes, i.e., at the beginning of turns, are analyzed as functioning at clause level. I opt for this principle even though some turn beginnings are elliptical as in (7) (*yes [it did move me]*) and (8) (*yes [the solutions are being listened to] more and more*) below. Even though the turn beginnings are incomplete, they represent clauses in my view:

- (7) (4) LK that had to move you did it not  
(5) JM1 w **er** yes and I-I do believe that it's an important aspect [...]
- (8) (13) LK and solutions that are being listened to  
(14) AG yes **er** more and more / but political leaders around the world / er have still not crossed the the tipping point [...]

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<sup>13</sup> The adverb *frankly* is in fact isolated by two FPs and it could hence be argued that the first FP actually precedes only the adverb and is located at phrase level (cf. the analysis of premodifiers preceded by FPs). Such an analysis would however lead to consider the adverb to be a separate element from the clause, since unlike premodifying adjectives that are constituents of the phrase, AdvPs are immediate constituents of the clause. Thus, the FP before *frankly* is located at clause level.

Without ellipsis, the turn beginnings would form clauses, and therefore, I see no reason preventing me from investigating these constructions as clauses, and the preceding FPs as functioning at clause level. Were the elements analyzed as phrases, they would not be equal with the other elements and structures I have categorized as phrases.

FPs that occur within clauses and precede units of words function at *phrase level*. I categorize all phrases similarly, by which I mean that FPs preceding both embedded phrases and phrases that are immediate constituents of the clause are classed at phrase level. Kjellmer opts for the same classification, though he does not discuss the difference of phrases. FPs that precede phrases like the following are both classed at phrase level

(9) (18) BC [...] because he's been **erm** / kind enough to you know ask me [...]

(10) (66) BO [...] what we have to do is take on that federal responsibility by / working with er Border States on border security [...]

despite the fact that in (9), *erm* precedes an adjective phrase that is an immediate constituent of the clause, i.e., the phrase is an independent part of the clause, while in (10), *er* is actually located within a PP before the preposition's NP complement. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 43-44), both phrase types are equal in the hierarchy of the levels of language, i.e., word, phrase, and clause in Kjellmer's study, which justifies the categorization. Dividing the phrase level into subcategories would thus go against the Quirk *et al.* view and it would notably differentiate my method from Kjellmer's. Therefore, clause initial phrases except, any phrase introduced by a FP represents the phrase level irrespective of the type of constituent it is in the clause.

The basic criterion for categorizing elements at phrase level is quite straightforward, but the material of the present study feature cases of phrase structure that need to be discussed separately. Single word phrases, for instance, are often introduced by FPs, and they are accordingly located at phrase level. To make a clear division between FPs introducing words and single word phrases, I follow the principle that any element below clause level that occurs alone, i.e., the FP does not separate the head from its determiner(s) and/or modifiers, and is an immediate constituent of a clause is analyzed as a phrase. Below, the FP precedes a NP and not a single noun in example (11), since *people* alone forms the phrase. In example (12), the FP occurs before a simple verb (*went*) forming a VP, and an AdvP (*obviously*) in example (13):

(11) (4) AG [...] the good news is Larry all over the world / **er** people are

beginning to come to grips with it [...]

(12) (43) JC [...] a lot of people that were // families of those men who'd / a-and a few women I think / who **er w-went** to Canada [...]

(13) (5) JM1 [...] and this is / I think **er obviously** a viable way to address [...]

I have opted for this division between words and phrases, since all phrases except for PPs, i.e., NP, VP, AdvP and AdjP, can be structured with the head alone (for a brief summary of phrase structures, see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 62-63). In my view, it would be distorting to analyze these single elements as words, since in the overall picture of the clauses, they function as phrases and do not equal with words that are parts of phrases. Kjellmer (2003) disregards these kinds of elements, as he focuses on longer phrases, like NPs with determiners (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 174). It is thus even more important not to categorize such single elements as words, but to view them as phrases.

Another case that occurs in my material but that Kjellmer (2003) does not discuss is proper nouns. My material presents few cases where a FP introduces and/or precedes parts of a proper noun, which is why the basis of their analysis must be clarified. I apply the same principle to them as to elements to be classed as phrases discussed above and words (to be discussed in due course). This means that FPs preceding the entire proper noun regardless of the number of elements are analyzed to occur at phrase level. On the contrary, FPs within a proper noun, i.e., between first name and surname, for instance, occur at word level. In the example below, I interpret *Aijalon Gomes* to form a noun phrase, whereas *Aijalon* and *Gomes* are nouns forming the phrase. Hence, both FPs in example (14) occur at word level:

(14) (49) JC [...] I went over there to get one of our young men / from Boston / Aijalon er Aijalon er Gomes / who walked across a frozen river from China into North Korea [...]

Had there been only one FP before the entire name, I would have located the FP at phrase level. As to NP structures with common nouns in which there is a FP both before the premodifier and the head, I consider the premodifier as a separate word, and the preceding FP to occur at word level. Consequently, in example (15), the FPs are located at word level, as a FP introduces both the adjective *hand-held* and the noun *Dictaphone*. Together, however, the words form a NP *hand-held Dictaphone* within a larger NP:

(15) (10) JC [no I dictated I had a little small Dic **er hand-held er / Dictaphone** [...]

I would analyze the second FP to occur at word level in any case (cf. examples (17) – (19) below), but the first FP could be seen as to precede the entire NP. In my view, though, the first FP precedes the adjective alone, since it isolates the adjective with the second FP. This principle is in line with my view of FPs within proper nouns where the first name is seen as the premodifier of the surname being the head. In cases where there is no FP before the head but before the premodifier, the FP occurs at phrase level; had there not been a FP before *Dictaphone* in example (15), the first FP had occurred at phrase level. This categorization might seem contradictory to the principle to analyze FPs before clause introductory AdvPs at clause level, but the relation of the elements to the clause is different, which justifies the different categorizations (cf. footnote 11).

Compound noun is also a complex structure worth discussion. FPs before compound nouns are located at word level, because compound nouns function as a unit and because Carter & McCarthy (2006: 320) state that they should be viewed as one head. Consequently, in (16), the FP before *election campaigns* occurs at word level, even though two nouns follow it. Like single nouns analyzed as words, the compounds analyzed as words must have determiners and/or premodifiers. In this example, the compound is premodified by the adjective *American*:

- (16) (11) JM2 [...] what are we gonna do about foreign owned corporations being / involved in American er election cam[paigns] [...]

I argue that this principle of analysis of compounds is the most suitable, because compounds function like words rather than phrases. Apart from the structural unity of their elements (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 320), I have defined compound nouns on the basis of their stress pattern (i.e., in compounds the main stress is on the first element (Quirk et al. 1985: 1568)). Kjellmer (2003) does not discuss compound structures in his study, but because my material presents such structures, the principles of locating them at word level need to be specified for an optimal analysis of frequencies. Moreover, a detailed account of the variety of structures with FPs indicates that the localization of FPs is not as clear-cut as Kjellmer's (2003) suggests.

Finally, I categorize an element – whether a noun, verb, an adjective or adverb – as a word, i.e., the preceding FP occurs at word level, only if the single element occurs within a phrase. This means that the element introduced by a FP needs to function as the head of a phrase and have identifiable determiners (NP), modifiers (NP, AdjP, and AdvP), or modal or auxiliary verbs (VP). The FPs in the examples

below occur at word level, since in example (17), the FP is located between the determiner *this* and the NP head *policy*, while in (18), it occurs between the determiners *some of thee* and the NP head *manuals*, which also includes the postmodifying PP *in the Veterans Administration*. In example (19), the head *authorized* forms a VP with the auxiliary [*ha*]’*ve*, and the FP separates the two, i.e., precedes the head:

- (17) (22) JM2 [...] as to whether this **er** policy needs to be modified or not [...]
- (18) (20) JM1 [...] some questions about / some of thee er manuals in the Veterans’ Administration [...]
- (19) (29) BO [...] we’ve er authorized the activation of 17,000 national guardsmen [...]

I locate the FPs in these examples at word level, because the FPs occur between the head and the elements before it. In (18), the FP could be analyzed as preceding also the postmodifier, but since Kjellmer (2003) does not address noun postmodifiers which are part of their heads introduced by FPs, I will consider the FP to precede the head alone. As to Kjellmer’s categorization, at word level, he explicitly discusses nouns and adjectives alone, and only implicitly refers to some main verbs (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 174-177). I analyze all lexical words, since within phrases FPs can precede any word.

At this point, a few comments on the type of grammar chosen are necessary. As was indicated in the introduction to this subsection, following Kjellmer (2003), I apply in the analysis a grammar of written language. The application of written grammar to the analysis of spoken language is however slightly problematic and it can be questioned whether it is appropriate, because written and spoken English differ from each other in many respects. Next, I briefly mention some of the features of spoken English that are particularly salient with regard my thesis. For a more thorough description, see Carter and McCarthy (2006: 164ff.).

First of all, according to Carter & McCarthy (2006: 165), speech often consists of small units, i.e., words and phrases rather than complete sentences as in accepted written language. It also features minimal responses by other speakers, such as *yeah* and *right*, as well as incomplete utterances (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 166), like *when they say like er er some...have said*, and elliptical constructions (ibid.: 167), e.g., *yes er more and more*, which, as indicated in the previous paragraphs, need not directly fit into written language categories. Carter & McCarthy (2006: 166) further acknowledge that the relation between main and subordinate clauses need not be obvious in spoken language, and that it might feature structural ambiguities. However,

they do notice that spoken and written language share many features (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 167-168), which suggests that written language grammar is partly applicable to spoken language. In contrast, as Carter & McCarthy (ibid.) note the structures that are considered ungrammatical in written language grammar might well be accepted in spoken language grammar. I find it important to underline these aspects, since they pose problems in the analysis of spoken language according to written language grammar, as already hinted at in this subsection. There are many more differences (see Carter & McCarthy 2006: 164ff.), but they are less central for the present purposes. An analysis following the rules of spoken English grammar would provide a more precise picture of the language used in the interviews, but since I am testing Kjellmer's study (2003), I have disregarded that option.

*Summary.* I divide the grammatical structures in which *er* and *erm* occur in my material into three categories – clause, phrase, and word – according to Kjellmer's division. The only difference is in the approach due to the material: the present study is inductive, as I analyze features and constructions that the material *gives* me. Kjellmer's study, on the contrary, is deductive: he *searches* for the constructions (e.g., VPs or collocations of conjunctions and FPs) he intends to investigate. Despite this, I would consider the approaches to be complementary and to give comparable results, as they are the reverse processes of the same method. It must be noted, though, that the applied grammatical analysis is mainly aimed at written language, and that consequently, its application to spoken discourse is not always problem free. Kjellmer's material is also spoken, but unlike me, he is able to control the structures to be analyzed as he chooses them. Given this, it is likely that my material presents structures that do not represent any of the levels presented above. If such structures turn up, I will discuss them separately and try to find a possible pattern to explain them.

### **3.3 Analysis of functions**

On the basis of the locations of FPs, I allocate functions for the FPs in the present material. With the support of the locations, Kjellmer's proposed characteristics for each function (see Table 2 below) enable me not only to allocate functions to the FPs, but also to analyze the possibility of a superordinate<sup>14</sup> function of FPs (see 2.2). The five

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<sup>14</sup> Note that this division (superordinate vs. subordinate) is my interpretation of Kjellmer's (2003) proposed functions.

functions Kjellmer proposes serve as the starting point of my analysis, and I categorize the encountered FPs accordingly if possible. I use the textual characteristics that Kjellmer gives for the functions, such as frequent collocations and locations, as criteria for the categorization. Kjellmer’s evidence is plausible, since his corpus is large and representative. In cases where the criteria are not fulfilled or a given FP does not fit into a category, I propose another function based on the textual and/or situational context. It is likely that FPs fulfill other functions (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 182), and hence, it is entirely feasible that Kjellmer’s categories turn out to be inadequate. Nonetheless, his method remains at the forefront of my analysis: I only complement it with aspects he could not incorporate or appears not to have taken into account. Table 2 below summarizes the functions and characteristics proposed by Kjellmer (2003, see also 2.2.5).

Function		Characteristics
Hesitation proper		FPs collocate with each other FPs co-occur with false starts and repetitions FPs co-occur with (silent) pauses FPs precede uncertainties marked as guesses
Signposting speaker turns	Turn taking	FPs as turn initiators/introducers FPs co-occur with answering particles FPs occur at turn beginning
	Turn holding	FPs co-occur with coordinating conjunctions Turn holding FPs are also hesitant Turn holding FPs can be located at the end of a proposition Turn holding FPs introduce new thought units
	Turn yielding	FPs is located at the end of a proposition (Intonation)
Attracting attention to oneself/establishing contact		The FP <i>er</i> ( <u>not</u> <i>erm</i> ) is located at the beginning of a turn
Highlighting		FPs precede important, semantically heavy elements, “infrequent words” in particular FPs occur before implications and innuendos, before ironic and disapproving understatement
Correction		FPs occur in connection with reformulations and repairs

**Table 2:** Functions of FPs and their characteristics collected from Kjellmer (2003: 182-189).

*Summary.* In my analysis of the functions of FPs, I apply Kjellmer’s (2003) method and findings to my material. This means that on the basis of the locations of FPs and the characteristics Kjellmer provides for each of his five functions, I allocate functions to the FPs. In the analysis of functions, I also rely on the textual and situational context in which FPs are used, particularly in cases when the five functions turn out to be insufficient. The novel input of the analysis is thus not only the bottom-up

grammatical analysis, but also the consideration of the larger textual context as well as the situational and social contexts. My material (see section 5) is particularly apt for an analysis that pays attention to the larger context, since it is relatively restricted and narrow. The material of the present study is introduced next: first general (section 4) and then more specific (section 5) features.

#### **4. Spoken material in the present study**

The material to which I apply the methods presented in the previous section has two major characteristics: it is political discourse in broadcast talk show interviews. In the two following subsections, I define both these concepts in order to provide the frame for the data of the study. In light of the criticism of the material used in previous research presented in section 2.3.1, this section aims at illustrating the features of the naturally produced spoken English of the present study. Political discourse (4.1) is presented first, and then talk shows (4.2). The presentations are not intended to be exhaustive, as my focus is neither on political discourse nor on talk shows per se, but on FPs in spoken English; political talk show interviews merely provide the data.

##### **4.1 Political discourse**

The concept of *political discourse* is multidimensional and differently defined depending on the perspective. This is made evident by Vigsø (1992: 10-11) who gives a tripartite division of current approaches to political discourse: it is seen as institutional (i.e., discourse of political institutions), topical (i.e., political lexis and style), or “political” (i.e., related to power). Vigsø (1992: 15) himself, however, prefers to characterize political discourse as speaker strategies and hearer’s interpretations. In contrast, for Lakoff (1990: 12, 21-22), Chilton & Schäffner (2002: 5-6), and Chilton (2004: 3-4) political discourse has not only an institutional (macro), but also an individual (micro) level of which the former refers to political institutions and politicians, while the latter relates to everyday conversations. As is already evident from these views, and as Chilton & Schäffner (2002: 16) and Lauerbach & Fetzer (2007: 4) note, contextual factors largely affect the definition. In this respect, political talk show interviews, such as those in *Larry King Live*, represent institutional political discourse (cf. Chilton & Schäffner 2002: 5, 22; Chilton 2004: 4), or more precisely, it is a combination of institutional, media and political mediated discourse (Lauerbach &

Fetzer 2007: 14). Linguistically this means that cooperativeness, politeness, and validity claims (Chilton & Schäffner 2002: 10-15), as well as speech acts (ibid.: 10-11; cf. also Fetzer 2002) are specific features of the speech analyzed (for a detailed account of linguistic features of political discourse, see e.g., Chilton 2004: 30-65).

The linguistic aspects are not however of focal interest in the present study. A more essential characteristic is that, following Lauerbach & Fetzer (2007: 20), the political discourse in *Larry King Live* is *presentation* of politics and not production, while it is persuasive in nature in order to attract the divided audience, in this case the electorate. Another important aspect is that silence in politicians' speech is not well received. Lauerbach & Fetzer (2007: 18-19) note that silence indicates the politician's inability to inform the audience (i.e., the electorate) and suggests that he or she is having problems. In public speech more generally, it is the participant's obligation to answer a question and he or she cannot remain silent (Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007: 18), and therefore, it is possible that politicians use FPs to cover these embarrassing silences. Even though the aim of the present study is not to analyze politicians' but individuals' use of FPs, the potential relation between silence and FPs in their speech is worth bearing in mind. Leaving political discourse at a very general level, I now consider talk shows, which comprise the other aspect of the studied material.

## **4.2 Talk shows**

As with political discourse, it is difficult to give a uniform definition of *talk shows* since it refers to television broadcast discussion programs that take various forms and follow different formats. The vast majority of research focuses on only one, though perhaps the most common kind of talk shows, namely the ones with a studio audience. Other talk show formats like *Larry King Live* (see section 5.1) with no studio audience have gained less attention. The presentation of talk shows is therefore very general and it only provides the background for the material. Due to the research focus, the emphasis is on the features of talk in talk shows.

Talk shows can be divided into i) news talk, ii) entertainment talk, and iii) socially situated talk according to Erler & Timberg (2002: 198), who base their division on the purpose of talk and the show, the rhetorical modes (e.g., panel discussions and interviews), the format, broadcast time, the target audience, and the host. Curiously, Timberg (2002: 6-7) gives a slightly different categorization, also with the focus on

broadcast time and the purpose of the show: a) the late-night entertainment talk show, b) the daytime audience-participation talk show, and c) the morning magazine-format show. With the support of Ilie (2001: 210, footnote 1), *Larry King Live* can be classified as a late-night entertainment talk show with features of news talk. The categories are very broad though, and cannot reveal much about talk shows. Particularly regarding talk, talk shows vary immensely, which previously made it difficult to view them as a separate genre (Timberg 2002: 1-2). The setting and format affect the language used in a talk show (Haarman 2001: 34-35), i.e., talk in a morning show hosted by a panel (e.g., *The View*), in an audience-participation talk show (e.g., *Oprah Winfrey Show*), and in a late-night talk show (e.g., *Larry King Live*), for instance, is different. However, as Haarman (2001: 32) notes, all talk shows do share the feature that their talk is “substantially different from everyday conversation” (ibid.); language in *Larry King Live* is thus not representative of ordinary speech, despite some initial resemblance.

Another feature common for all talk shows according to Timberg (2002: 3) is that they represent television talk, which is unscripted and appears spontaneous, though it is always planned and anchored. In addition to this, Tolson (2001b: 3) claims that talk show talk is always highly organized and performed for an audience, i.e., the conversation is deliberately conducted before an audience. In *Larry King Live*, then, the host and the guest are not involved in a casual conversation, but in an interview supposed to be heard by an audience. Apart from the presented common features, all talk shows share some focus on talk, they feature a host who is in control of the speech event, a guest or guests, and potentially a studio audience (Haarman 2001: 32). For instance, *Larry King Live* has no studio audience and mainly features only one (prominent) guest, while *Oprah Winfrey Show* invites ordinary people to talk in the presence of an audience. As these examples show and as Haarman (2001: 34) notes, the contexts of talk shows vary and present different language uses and linguistic behaviors.

As the discussion has already hinted, many scholars (e.g., Tolson 2001c: 27; Haarman 2001: 31), often define talk shows as institutional discourse given their setting and prearranged nature, and consider talk show talk to have no relation with ordinary conversation. Ilie (2001), on the contrary, argues that talk shows do feature both institutional and conversational discourse, and that they consequently are semi-institutional. This suggests that talk show talk ought to be viewed on a continuum between the two discourse types. According to Ilie (2001: 219-242), the type of talk (spontaneous/purposeful), the topic and turn taking (negotiated/monitored), the roles of

the host and guest(s) (real-life/institutional), and the orientation of talk (interlocutor/message/audience) are the most salient aspects when locating a talk show on the continuum. Given that the interviewees whose speech is analyzed are politicians and the discussion in section 4.1, it seems safe to consider the interviews in the present research to represent the institutional end on the continuum, not least because all the interviewees have an institutional role in the talk show. This and the other aspects of talk shows are in direct relation with the language used, and by extension with FPs.

*Summary.* Talk shows feature an immense variety of formats and language usage, and the individual shows can be categorized on the basis of their features, such as the type of talk and broadcast time. Talk in talk shows never represents ordinary casual talk, though, as it is always scripted and performed. The institutional character of talk show talk varies, depending on the talk and speakers in the talk show. Given these aspects, the interviews from *Larry King Live*, as instances of political discourse must be viewed as institutional and structured, though in some respects free, but performed. This obviously has potential repercussions on the analysis of FPs.

## **5. Material**

In my thesis, I analyze interviews from six episodes from the American talk show *Larry King Live*. My focus is on interviews with high-profile political figures in the United States discussing current affairs with Larry King. In those six episodes, Larry King interviews (in the order of broadcast date) John McCain twice, Bill Clinton, Al Gore, Barack Obama, and Jimmy Carter. In subsection 5.1, I present the talk show and explain why this particular program is chosen as material. In 5.2, I discuss my method of collecting the material and in 5.3 I briefly present the interviewees.

### **5.1 *Larry King Live***

Among a wealth of English talk shows, *Larry King Live* (henceforth LKL) presents certain characteristics that make it appropriate for the present study. It is one of the oldest and longest broadcast talk shows in the United States. The first episode of the talk show hosted by Larry King was aired in 1985 on CNN and the last one at the end of 2010 (CNN 2010a). During the years, LKL established itself in television and gained popularity with its style, prominent guests and the variety of topics (ibid.). Moreover, the CNN webpage (CNN 2010a) states that Larry King has profoundly influenced the

entire genre of news reporting and television due to the many years of LKL and Larry King's other activities in broadcasting. The interviews more specifically are serious in tone and concern current topics, while entertainment is left little room. There is no studio audience, which is essential to my study, since as Tolson (2001a: 3) notes, it participates in and affects the discussion of talk shows. The face-to-face interviews in LKL are thus more appropriate for my study, than those with a studio audience.

The history of LKL features a number of guests representing various fields from entertainment to politics and sports. For the current purposes, it is noteworthy that Larry King has interviewed all the late-20<sup>th</sup> century presidents of the United States and many other high-profile American politicians (CNN 2010a). This enables me to find recent spoken material of several prominent politicians in one talk show. Additionally, the *Turner Broadcasting System* (Time Warner 2011) managing CNN states to be impartial, which makes it safe to surmise that LKL and CNN are officially neutral. Intuitively, neutral ground is less prone for control over expression, but except for this suggestion, political affiliation is not addressed in the analysis. I want to emphasize that this thesis has no interest in the political aspects of the interviews; the focus on politicians is merely based on practical considerations, as will be explained below.

## **5.2 Selection and collection of the material**

Considering previous findings on the frequency of FPs in speech (e.g., Kjellmer 2003: 172), I selected six interviews with American politicians in LKL in order to obtain data that would be representative enough of the use of FPs. The interview material consists of 101 minutes and 1 second of speech produced by five informants, namely the incumbent President Barack Obama (since 2009), the Presidents Bill Clinton (1993-2001) and Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), and the presidential nominees John McCain (the elections of 2008) and Al Gore (the elections of 2000). Larry King's speech is excluded from the analysis, as it is at least partly scripted. Politicians' speech is apt for the study of FPs, because they can be expected to use the same 'dialect', i.e., the standard variety, in public appearances (cf. Clark & Fox Tree 2002: 92-93) and because they are used to speaking in public and being recorded, which makes their speech fairly natural. The atmosphere is not strictly formal in LKL, which is why the material can be considered to represent more casual official political discourse, though it always is institutional and to some extent planned (cf. section 4.2). The interviews cover very similar subjects

limiting the variation of topics which could affect the use of FPs (cf. Schachter *et al.* 1991), while the time frame of one year (the interviews were aired between September 2009 and September 2010) minimizes any diachronic changes.

The interviews are all podcast editions available for free online. The episodes were downloaded from the online television program provider *Clicker* (Clicker 2011; The Larry King Podcast 2009a-c, 2010a-c) and transcribed orthographically (see Appendices 1-6). Silent pauses were annotated on the basis of auditory perception, but all prosodic information was excluded. Paralinguistic features (e.g., laughter) were transcribed when considered necessary for the analysis. The finished transcripts were verified by a native speaker of English. CNN provides transcripts of the episodes of LKL (CNN 2011; CNN 2009a,b; 2010b-e), but they are insufficient for my purposes as they lack filled pauses. Additionally, their representation of speech is inaccurate, since the transcripts are in the form of written language with punctuation marks. Thus, they served for verification alone. The CNN transcripts do reveal that, except for the episodes with McCain, the podcasts mainly include only one solid part of an entire interview (cf. e.g., CNN 2009a, CNN 2009b and Appendices 1, 3). Nonetheless, I do expect the clips to adequately represent the interviewees' habitual style of speech in public, while I do not consider the lack of entire episodes to threaten my study. In fact, the short clips are an advantage in that I can include more informants than if I focused on the interviews in their entirety.

One further comment on pause annotation needs to be added. The annotation is based on two principles: only substantial pauses of 0.6-0.8 seconds as defined by Brown, Currie & Kenworthy (1980: 56) or longer are transcribed, and, following Stenström (1994: 7), the pauses are differentiated into one-unit, two-unit, and three-unit long pauses. In line with Cruttenden (1986: xiv), the unit pauses are labeled with slashes (/, //, and /// respectively). I interpret that a pause of 0.6-0.8 seconds is such as to be perceived by the interlocutor, and hence an appropriate measure for transcripts made on perceptual basis. Cruttenden (1986: 36) among others consider pauses to be speaker-specific, and therefore the one-unit pause referring to the speaker's "standard" length of a pause (Stenström 1994: 7) is taken to represent each speaker's style of pausing. In sum, very short pauses (i.e., under 0.6 seconds) are not annotated, while pauses of different lengths are estimated on the basis of the speakers' style of pausing. O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 465-466) criticize this type of annotation based on perception alone, and forward instrumental identification. This was impossible for the

present study, and therefore the pauses may not be completely accurate. Thus, although silent pauses are used in the analysis (see sections 6.4 – 6.8) to support the function of hesitation (cf. Table 2), their influence on FPs should be viewed with caution.

Regarding the list of the chosen informants, it must be admitted that this is slightly incomplete: it does not include interviews with the former Presidents Gerald R. Ford<sup>15</sup> (1974-1977; presidential nominee in 1976), Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), George H. W. Bush (1989-1993; presidential nominee in 1992) or George W. Bush (2001-2009). The list also lacks the presidential nominees Walter Mondale (the elections of 1984), Michael Dukakis (the elections of 1988), Bob Dole (the elections of 1996) and John Kerry (the elections of 2004). There are two reasons for this. First and foremost, interviews with Ford, Reagan, George W. Bush, Mondale, Dukakis, Dole or Kerry are not available as podcasts. The list of the CNN transcripts of LKL (CNN 2011) reveals that, except for George W. H. Bush, these politicians have not been interviewed in the past two years. Older interviews, if available, would not be comparable with the more recent interviews within current constraints. Secondly, the available interview with George H. W. Bush is very different from the selected ones, because it features his wife and is rather personal in nature. In order to form an optimally coherent collection of interviews conducted within a limited period of time, it seems reasonable to focus on the speech of the five interviewees introduced above. I present them next.

### **5.3 Presentation of the interviewees**

The three presidents and the two presidential nominees represent different generations, different political parties, and they come from different backgrounds. These factors may have an influence on their speech or explain certain aspects of it, which is why they need to be acknowledged. In the following paragraphs, I briefly present the five interviewees in LKL. I introduce them in the order of broadcast date, thereby beginning with John McCain. This is followed by the presentations of Bill Clinton, Al Gore, Barack Obama, and Jimmy Carter.

The first and the third interview are conducted with John McCain, a Republican Senator from Arizona (Congress.org 2011). He was born in 1936 and entered a career as a Naval Officer (ibid.). He served in the Vietnam War whereafter he continued his naval career in the United States until 1981 (United States Senate 2011a).

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<sup>15</sup> Larry King has interviewed all the presidents of the United States since Gerald Ford (CNN 2010a).

In 1982, McCain was elected into the House of Representatives and since 1986, he has worked in the United States Senate (ibid.). McCain has thus a long career in politics. He was the presidential nominee of the Republican Party in 2008, but eventually, he was defeated by Barack Obama. In the LKL interviews from September 10, 2009 and January 28, 2010, McCain mainly comments on the health care reform that has been one of the main topics in the Senate and the House of Representatives during the past two years. Unlike the other guests, McCain is not interviewed face-to-face in the studio, but from Capitol Hill via video connection. The interviews are short, only 8 minutes and 18 seconds and 10 minutes and 33 seconds long respectively.

After McCain, Bill Clinton (Democrat) gave an interview on LKL on September 22, 2009. Clinton, the 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States, was born in 1946 in Arkansas and studied law at Yale University (The White House 2011a). After graduation in 1973, Clinton sought a career in politics and stood in the Congress elections in 1974, though he was not elected (ibid.). In 1978 and in 1982, however, he was elected as the Governor of Arkansas, and served until the presidential elections of 1992 (ibid.). After two terms in office (1993-2001), Clinton has continued to actively engage in society and politics. In the interview clip of 20 minutes and 20 seconds, Clinton discusses a variety of topics with Larry King, such as his own organization (Clinton Global Initiative), the health care reform, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Barack Obama's presidency, the Middle East, and (right-wing) Conservatives.

Al Gore (Democrat) was interviewed on November 13, 2009 in LKL. Gore was born in 1948 in Washington D.C., though his home state is Tennessee (Al Gore Support Center 2011). Gore studied government at Harvard University and law at Vanderbilt University law school (ibid.). Like McCain, he also served in Vietnam during the war, though not as a soldier, but as an army journalist (ibid.). Gore has been politically active for long. He was elected to the Congress in four consecutive elections, in 1976, 1978, 1980 and 1982, and to the Senate in 1984 and 1990 (Al Gore Support Center 2011). After the years in the Congress, Gore worked as the Vice-President of the United States during Clinton's presidency (ibid.). In the presidential elections of 2000, Gore himself stood for president, but was declared defeated against George W. Bush. After the elections, Gore has devoted himself to the campaign against climate change (Al Gore Support Center 2011). In the podcast edition of 29 minutes and 26 seconds, Gore discusses a wide variety of topics including the climate change and Gore's recent

book, Barack Obama's presidency, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, a shooting incidence at a military base, the health care reform, and party politics in the USA.

The two last politicians were interviewed in 2010. On June 4, Larry King visited the White House to interview the incumbent President Barack Obama. Obama (Democrat) was born in 1961 on Hawaii, but he later moved to Chicago, Illinois (The White House 2011b). After his studies at the Harvard University law school, he was elected to Illinois State Senate (*ibid.*). From 2005 to 2008 he represented Illinois in the US Senate (United States Senate 2011b), until he defeated the Republican nominee John McCain in the 2008 elections, and became the first African-American president of the United States. In the clip of 20 minutes and 20 seconds, Larry King interviews Obama on his 500<sup>th</sup> day in office. They discuss the recent oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico and the oil company's responsibility for the accident. Other topics are the problems in the Middle East, illegal immigrants entering the United States and Obama's presidency.

The most recent interview is with Jimmy Carter from September 21, 2010. Jimmy Carter (Democrat) is the 39<sup>th</sup> President of the United States who was in office from 1977 to 1981 (The White House 2011c). He was born in 1924 in Georgia and entered a short career as a Naval Officer before taking over his parents' farm (Hochman 2011). In 1962, Carter engaged in state politics and in 1970, he was elected the Governor of Georgia (The White House 2011c). In the presidential elections of 1976, Carter defeated Gerald Ford, but did not succeed in being reelected in 1980 (*ibid.*). After the years in the White House, Carter has remained very active in society and politics. In 1982, he founded the Carter Center and he still engages in various peace and development projects (The White House 2011c). The main reason for Carter's visit in LKL is his new book about his presidency, which Larry King and Carter discuss to a large extent. Carter is also invited to discuss Iran and the arrests of US citizens by Iran and other countries, the health care reform, the right wing, and President Obama. All in all, the interview clip lasts for 17 minutes and 18 seconds.

As is evident from the presentations above, all the interviewees have been and still are politically active. They have similar educational backgrounds and have vast knowledge of politics in the United States. Except for Clinton and Gore, all interviewees are born in different decades and thus they may be viewed to represent three different generations. The interviewees also represent different states and parts of the United States. Clinton, Gore and Carter come from the South, Obama from the Midwest, while McCain from the Southwest. These geographical and generational

differences can have linguistic consequences and need to be born in mind. It can further be noted that, among the five politicians, only McCain is Republican, while the others are Democrats. This need not be a problem, as the focus of this study is not political, but purely linguistic. The main concern of the analysis is not on the comparison of the interviewees, and therefore, these aspects will not be addressed in any length. The information is provided only to set the scene and to show the extent to which the interviewees can be viewed as a coherent group.

## **6. Filled pauses in *Larry King Live***

I have now set the scene for the present study and I move on to apply the methods of Kjellmer (2003) in the interviews from LKL. In this analysis section, I begin by estimating the frequency of FPs in the material (section 6.1). This is followed by the analysis of the localization of FPs in grammatical structures (6.2) and the frequency of FPs in these locations (6.3). After this, I allocate functions for the FPs in the five interviewees' speech separately (sections 6.4 – 6.8).

### **6.1 Frequency of filled pauses**

In my material of six interviews, the five interviewees produced 14,700 words in total. Of these words, 459 were FPs (3.12% of all used words; see Table 4), whereof 439 were *ers* (2.99%) and 20 *erms* (0.14%) as illustrated in Table 3; the FP *er* was thus clearly more frequent than the other FP *erm*. These numbers gave an average frequency of 2,940 words and 91.8 FPs, and of 87.8 *ers* and 4 *erms* per speaker. The individual differences were important, though, as can be seen in Tables 3 and 4 below. Clinton used the least FPs (31 FPs; 26 *ers*, 5 *erms*), 6.75% of all FPs used, although his speech comprised the second largest amount of words (3,363 words) closely following Gore (3,658 words), who used approximately four and a half time more FPs (138 FPs; 134 *ers* and 4 *erms*), 30.07% of all FPs used. Curiously, Obama's speech consisting of 2,965 words (the third largest number among the interviewees) included the most FPs: 148 *ers* and 4 *erms*, making together 152 FPs, or 33.12% of all FPs. Carter, then, who produced the second least words (2,587 words) during the interview uttered 71 FPs (70 *ers*, 1 *erm*), 15.47% of all FPs, while McCain, who produced the least words (2,127 words including both interviews) used 67 FPs (61 *ers*, 6 *erms*), 14.60% of all FPs, which was only slightly less than Carter's total. Importantly, the interviews varied notably in

length, from 16 minutes and 10 seconds (McCain) to 27 minutes and 48 seconds (Gore) (see Table 4), which is why the numbers above should not be taken at face value. Proportional frequency, i.e., the number of FPs in relation to the total word count, presented next was thus more reliable and rendered the numbers comparable.

<b>Interviewee<sup>16</sup></b>	<b><i>er</i></b>	<b>%</b>	<b><i>erm</i></b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Words tot.</b>
McCain <sup>17</sup>	61	2.87	6	0.28	2,127
Clinton	26	0.77	5	0.15	3,363
Gore	134	3.66	4	0.11	3,658
Obama	148	4.99	4	0.13	2,965
Carter	70	2.71	1	0.04	2,587
<b>Total</b>	<b>439</b>	<b>2.99</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>14,700</b>

**Table 3:** Frequency of *er* and *erm* in relation to the total number of words used by the interviewees. The percentages on the last row (*Total*) are averages. The percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

Table 3 and Table 4, respectively, present the proportional frequency of *er* and *erm* as used by the interviewees. In Clinton’s speech, only 0.92% of the words were FPs, whereas they made up 5.13% of Obama’s total use of words. Clinton and Obama represent the opposite ends as to the frequency in the use of FPs in the material studied, while the other three interviewees cluster more evenly around the average amount of FPs in relation to the words used (3.12%). After Obama, Gore used the second most FPs (3.77% of the total of his word use), and McCain the third most and closest to the overall average (3.15% of the total of his word use). In Carter’s speech, the FPs were somewhat less frequent, making 2.74% of his total word count. As is evident, the distribution of the individual use of FPs in relation to the total of words varied notably.

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>FPs</b>	<b>Word count</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>% of all FPs</b>	<b>Length<sup>18</sup></b>
McCain	67	2,127	3.15	14.60	16 min 10 sec
Clinton	31	3,363	0.92	6.75	20 min 20 sec
Gore	138	3,658	3.77	30.07	27 min 48 sec
Obama	152	2,965	5.13	33.12	20 min 06 sec
Carter	71	2,587	2.74	15.47	16 min 37 sec
<b>Total</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>14,700</b>	<b>3.12</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101 min 01 sec</b>

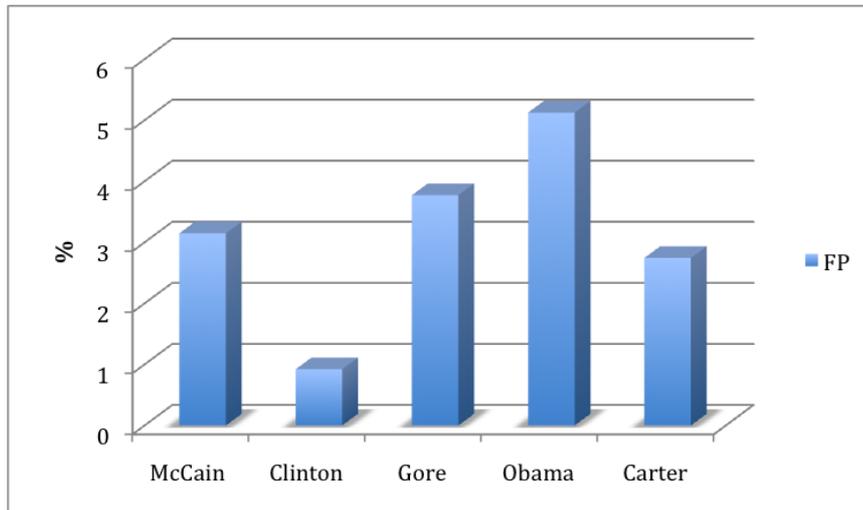
**Table 4:** Frequency of FPs in relation to the total number of words used by the interviewees individually. The percentage on the last row (*Total*) is the average. The percentages are rounded off to two decimal places. The average length of an interview was 16 minutes 50,17 seconds.

<sup>16</sup> The interviewees are listed in the order of broadcast date.

<sup>17</sup> The numbers for McCain in Table 3 and Table 4 include both of his interviews combined.

<sup>18</sup> The lengths of the interviews include the speech of both the host and the guests, but excludes any video clips or interruptions consisting of music.

The distribution of FPs in relation to the individual speaker's word use is further illustrated in Figure 1 below. The figure presents even more clearly the differences between the speakers as regards their use of FPs.



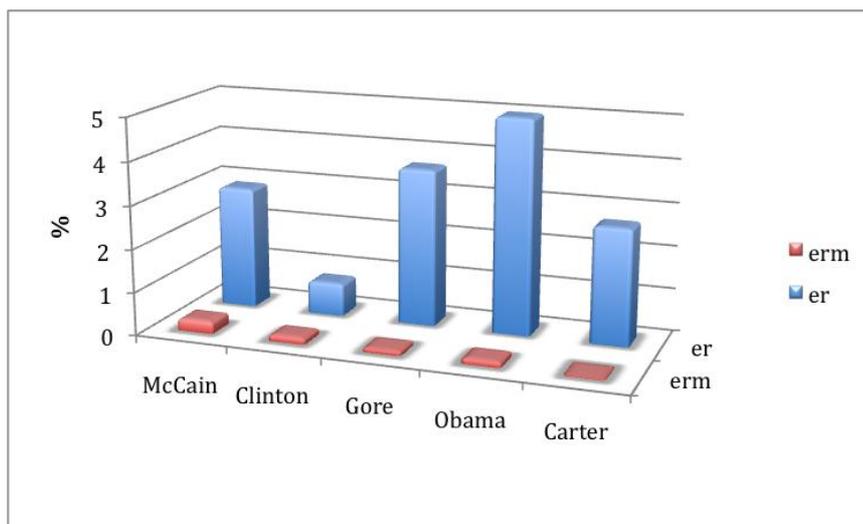
**Figure 1:** Distribution of FPs in relation to the total number of words used by the individual speakers.

Apart from the percentages of the FPs together, the proportions of *er* and *erm* separately in relation to the total word count (see Table 3) presented interesting findings. First of all, *er*, representing on average 2.99% of all the words used, was notably more frequent than *erm* that gave an average of just 0.14% of all words. The differences between the interviewees in their relative use of *er* were similar to their relative use of both FPs discussed above: 4.99% of Obama's words were *ers*, whereas *er* represented only 0.77% of Clinton's word count. The respective percentages for Gore, McCain, and Carter were 3.66%, 2.87%, and 2.71%. Again, three interviewees' use of *er* clustered close to the average, while the opposite ends were remotely located from it.

The picture slightly changed when the relative frequency of the FP *erm* was analyzed. On average, *erm* represented 0.14% of the total word count, whereas the speaker-specific percentages ranged from 0.04% to 0.28%. The surprising aspect here was that McCain who ranked third in most *ers* relative to his word use used most *erms* in relation to the total of words (0.28%), and Clinton, who used not only the lowest number of *ers* but also FPs in general, used the second most *erms* (0.15%). Obama and Gore were very close to Clinton, as in their speeches, *erm* represented 0.13% and 0.11%

respectively of the total amount of words they used. Carter used the least *erm*s (0.04% of his total word count). It must be noted, however, that the frequency for *erm* was very small and therefore, it cannot give any conclusive results.

The distribution of *er* and *erm* in the individual interviewees speech is further illustrated in Figure 2. As the figure shows, there were notable individual differences in the use *er* in particular, while *erm* presented more even distributions.



**Figure 2:** Distribution of *er* and *erm* in relation to the total number of words used by the individual speakers.

Given the differences in the frequency of *er* and *erm*, I investigated whether the first sound after the FP affected the choice between *er* and *erm* (cf. also Kjellmer 2003: 173). The interview material did not present any correlation between the choice of a FP and the following sound. Of the 439 occurrences of *er*, 251 preceded a consonant sound (57.18% of all *ers*), while 182 a vowel sound, (41.46% of all *ers*). The sound after six *ers* could not be identified due to their location at the end of a speaker’s turn. Of the 20 instances of *erm*, 9 preceded a consonant sound (45%) and 11 a vowel sound (55%). This distribution is illustrated in Table 5 below.

FP	+ consonant	%	+ vowel	%	total of FPs
<i>er</i>	251	57.18	182	41.46	439
<i>erm</i>	9	45.00	11	55.00	20

**Table 5:** Distribution of *er* and *erm* before consonant and vowel sounds. The percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

As Table 5 shows, the FP *erm* was practically equally frequently used before consonant and vowel sounds, while *er* presented a slight preference for consonant sounds. The difference between *er* before consonant and vowel sounds was not very important, however, being only 15,72 percentage points (69 *ers*).

*Summary.* In the five interviewees' speech, *er(m)* represented a relatively small proportion of the total word count, and the FP *er* was notably more frequent than the FP *erm*. Moreover, the individual speakers notably varied in their uses of FPs. The analysis indicated that Obama used the most FPs, and Clinton the least, while Gore, Carter, and McCain located themselves closer to the average in their uses of FPs. The frequency for *er* and *erm* separately revealed that the former replicated the pattern of the overall use of FPs, while the latter presented a different distribution: McCain used most *erms*, and Carter least, while Clinton, Gore, and Obama (in descending order) were closer to the average. As to the relation between the FPs *er* and *erm* and the following vowel and consonant sounds, it turned out that the sound had no or minor influence on the choice of the FP. These patterns are further discussed in section 7.

## **6.2 Location of filled pauses in grammatical structures**

In the interview material, most FPs were located at clause level, somewhat fewer at phrase level, and least FPs at word level. The majority of FPs could be categorized at these three levels, but there was a smaller group of FPs that could not be located at any of them on the basis that Kjellmer (2003; see also section 2.2) defines them. The section is introduced by an analysis of the clearest cases beginning with the highest level (clause), while those FPs that did not fit into any of the three categories are dealt with at the end of the section. For the time being, I strictly focus on the locations, while the frequency of the FPs at each level is analyzed in section 6.3.

The interviewees produced FPs most often at clause level either before co-ordinate or subordinate clauses. The following extracts from the interviews exemplify clause level structures introduced by either an *er* or *erm*. The location of silent pauses in relation to the FPs could give indications of whether the FP introduces a thought unit, as Kjellmer (2003: 174ff.) promotes, or actually closes it. However, since the silent pauses were not instrumentally established, and therefore are not fully reliable, this possibility is not further investigated, but remains to be studied in future. In these and all

subsequent examples only the relevant FPs are in bold. Please refer to appendices 1-6 for the entire transcripts.

In the first example, (20), the FPs occur with CCs (*and*, *but*) and CSs (*that*), which explicitly indicate the clause beginning (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 180-181). Likewise, in (21), the second and third FPs directly collocate with a CC (*and*) that introduce a clause, while the first *er* is separated from the CS *that* to which it is related. Nonetheless, *er* introduces a clause. In (22), on the contrary, there are no conjunctions, but the interpretation of the overall grammatical structure reveals that both *er* and *erm* introduce a new clause, and are hence located at clause level. On the same basis, the FP *er* in (23) alone introduces a clause that begins with a PP.

- (20) (9) JM2 absolutely **and** **er** that's one of the reasons why we lost elections / maybe also because not so great a candidate **but** / **er** the point is that that **that** **er** we let spending get out of control under the Bush administration we Republicans [...]
- (21) (92) BO [...] he's got to / make sure **that** he's got a / a team around him and a coach that he respects / he's bought into a team concept / **er** he's willing to be coached / **erm** **and** **er** **an-and** if they if he does that [...]
- (22) (24) BC well first of all I have no direct knowledge of it **erm** / the governor is a friend of mine and Hillary's / **er** I know he's in political trouble but he's done a better job than he's got credit for [...]
- (23) (25) AG well he's done an awful lot Larry **er** within a month of taking office he passed this large stimulus a large percentage of which was committed to a green / stimulus [...]

It is evident that in the interviews both FPs indicate the beginning of a new clause, either alone or with CCs and CSs. It can be noted though, that *er* most often co-occurs with conjunctions, while *erm* does so less frequently (see section 6.3, Table 8).

FPs occurred before a variety of phrases and phrasal constructions in the speech of the five interviewees. The examples below present constructions that were categorized following the principles introduced in section 3.2. In example (24), both FPs precede PPs that are immediate constituents of the clause. The second example, (25), illustrate several phrase types: the two first *ers* precede simple VPs in present tense that are embedded in a postmodifying clause determined by the NP *American citizens*. The fourth *er* is similar in that it precedes a simple VP, though the VP is an immediate constituent of the clause. The third *er* also occurs at phrase level as it precedes an AdvP that is an immediate constituent. Example (26) illustrates two FPs preceding present and past tense VPs respectively. The first *er* expresses simple and the second progressive aspect. Extract (27) is a further illustration of VPs preceded by FPs, though in this case the VP corresponds to Kjellmer's (2003: 176) VPs in past tense and

perfective aspect. In examples (28) - (30), the FPs precede NPs instead. In (28), both *ers* precede NPs, but whereas the first one occurs before an immediate constituent of the clause, the second one precedes two coordinate NPs embedded within a PP and postmodified by another PP (*with whom we disagree*). Example (29), on the contrary, features a premodified NP introduced by *er*. Finally (30) exemplifies a FP introducing an NP embedded in another NP that is also preceded by a FP.

- (24) (58) AG way back **er** / during the New Deal days Franklin Roosevelt / according to the histories **er at first** intended to include some form of national health insurance in the New Deal package / and at the last minute he pulled it out [...]
- (25) (64) BO [...] I think this // puts / American citizens / **er who** / **er look** Hispanic / **er are** Hispanic / **er potentially** in a / unfair situation [and and more importantly / it also / **er creates** the prospect of 50 different laws / in [...]
- (26) (44) AG [sighing] the investigations **er wi-will take** some time and from all the evidence thus far available i-it does look as if this was the act of a single person / but the evidence showing that he had been in contact with this **er radical** / cleric who **er wa-was** / **urging** violence against America is ve-ve-very troubling [...]
- (27) (90) BO [...] you know that that's a town that **er has has had** some tough times [...]
- (28) (49) JC well first of all I think we ought to keep **er maximum communication** with **er leaders and their nations with whom we disagree** [...]
- (29) (5) JM1 [...] we've got to provide / health and **er available and affordable health care** to all Americans [...]
- (30) (58) BO [...] I've been to those towns and seen / **er the holes that were made by missiles coming through** / **er people's bedrooms** [...]

As is visible in the examples, FPs occurred before phrases regardless of their position in the clause of which they were constituents. Furthermore, as indicated by the examples FPs introduced not only past tense VPs (*er has has had*), but also present tense VPs (*er creates*) and VPs in progressive aspect that were ignored by Kjellmer (2003: 176-177), as well as embedded VPs (*who er look...er are...*). The interview material thus suggests that any kind of phrase, embedded or not, can be preceded by either *er* or *erm*.

FPs at word level often introduced nouns and verbs, but rarely adjectives and adverbs given the principles of categorization of elements at word and phrase level as discussed in section 3.2. The phrases within which FPs occurred were short and simple, or rather long and structurally complex, as the examples below illustrate. In all these examples, the FP occurs within a phrase and precedes its head indicating that the FP works at word level. In (31), the FPs occur before the NP head *aspect* and the VP head *perpetrated*. The FP before *Broadcasting* is also located at word and not at phrase level, since the noun is part of a larger NP being a proper noun (cf. section 3.2). Like in

example (31), in (32) the FP occurs before a VP head (*growing*), and being part of a phrase, the head is analyzed as a word. In (33), the FP occurs between the determiner and the compound noun head, which is considered as one unit (cf. section 3.2) and thus the FP is located at word level. Finally, in (34) and (35), there are three complex cases of *er* before a word. In (34), the noun *routine* preceded by *er* has both a premodifier and a postmodifying relative clause, while in (35) both the FP before the premodifying adjective *multiple* and the one before the NP head *crises* also followed by a postmodifying relative clause work at word level, as the two FPs isolate the adjective.

- (31) (94) JC [...] and I think the negative er aspect to it is because of the total distortion of the news / that Fox er Broadcasting has er perpetrated on the American people [...]
- (32) (18) BC [...] but I think he's also er / growing into the job [...]
- (33) (42) AG sure well I-I-I have a lot respect for the people he has brought into the / er cabinet room to advise him on this
- (34) (3) JM2 [...] it seems to me quickly ra-lapsed into the BIOB / that's blame it on Bush er routine / that is growing a little tiresome [...]
- (35) (76) BO [...] we've had er multiple / er crises er that have cropped up [...]

The FPs in the interviews occurred in any phrasal structures, as the examples show. It is noteworthy that the structures were multiple in comparison with those in Kjellmer (2003), and that the presence or absence of pre- and postmodifiers indicated no difference in regards the use of FPs within phrases. Most importantly, perhaps, Kjellmer (2003: 174-177) did not directly discuss cases of FPs within VPs to occur at word level, but as the examples show, they were not infrequent in the interviewees' speech.

The grammatical analysis of the interviews so far was rather clear and easily complied the three levels of language: word, phrase, and clause. Problems arose, however, with FPs introducing postmodifying structures that did not seem to correspond to any of the levels. Examples (36) - (41) illustrate these locations of FPs. In (36), the FP *er* is located between the head noun (*job*) and its postmodifying *ing*-clause, i.e., a non-finite dependent clause. Similarly, in (37), the noun head (*proposals*) is modified by a non-finite dependent clause that includes PPs (*ranging from...to...to...*), though *er* occurs only after the third preposition and introduces the preposition's complement *ing*-clause. Example (38) also features a non-finite dependent clause, in this case a *to*-clause, which is part of the AdjP the head of which is *irresponsible*. The two following examples, (39) and (40), illustrate FPs preceding relative clauses. In the former, the FP precedes a relative clause beginning with the relativizer *who* that qualifies the NP *voters*

that is left out in the elliptical construction *out of hundreds [of voters] who*. In the latter, *er* occurs between the NP head *health care reform* and its postmodifying relative clause beginning with *that*. Finally, in (41), the FP occurs within a non-finite dependent *to*-clause in which it separates the adjective *clear* from its complement *wh*-clause.

- (36) (53) BC [...] but you make a commitment to do a better job / er protecting the population centers and you give the CIA a little more juice [...]
- (37) (7) JM2 [...] I don't know how they missed it that we have many / er proposals ranging from medical malpractice reform which there's none in the Democrat proposal / to buying insurance cross state lines to rewards / for wellness and fitness to / er establishing risk pools for those with pre-existing conditions / to hh to encouraging house savings account [...]
- (38) (49) BO [...] until that happens / i-i-it would be irresponsible of me / er to lift that moratorium
- (39) (110) JC [...] no other president has ever faced such a polarized Congress / where you can hardly get one or two votes / you know / out of hundreds / er who are Republicans in the House and the Senate [...]
- (40) (119) AG [...] I think that if the / Congress er s-suc-succeeds in passing historic / health care reform / er that brings down costs and gives coverage to / more families and rains in some of the horrible abuses about the health insurance / companies [...]
- (41) (61-63) BC [...] so / what I think President (63) Obama will wanna do is to let this election / settle down make it clear / er what the victory is [...]

In these six examples, the FPs were intra-phrasal, that is, they were located between the head of the phrase and the head's postmodifier, or within the postmodifier. The structures could be complex and the FPs embedded within phrases that themselves were embedded. The common feature in these structures was that the FP introduced a postmodifying clause, a location that Kjellmer (2003) did not analyze.

As is evident from the examples and the discussion above, FPs preceding a clause functioning as a postmodifier could not be categorized according to the tripartite division of language levels. The FPs could not be classed as clauses in the sense that Kjellmer (2003: 180-181) defines a clause – beginning a new thought unit and often introduced by a CC or CS – since these clauses were not immediate constituents of the clause, but embeddings within phrases. Rather, FPs preceding post-modifying clauses located themselves somewhere between word and phrase. At this point, I contend to note that there were structures that did not correspond to any of the three levels of language, and I postpone the deeper exploration of this finding to the discussion part of the thesis in section 7. Importantly, this finding may have an impact

on the analysis of the uses of *er(m)*. It must be further noted that a few FPs occurred at the very end of a turn, and thus did not precede any structure.

*Summary.* Applying Kjellmer's (2003) method of analysis adjusted to the present material (see section 3.2), I analyzed the structures introduced by FPs into word, phrase, and clause level. The analysis indicated that the majority of structures could be located at the three levels, though the structures differed in complexity. For instance, clause level included independent and elliptical structures, while phrases could be both embedded and instant constituents of the clause, and single or complex words. Only single elements within complex phrases were categorized at word level. Additionally, the analysis revealed that FPs could also introduce postmodifiers that did not fit into any of the three categories. I now turn to analyze the frequency of *er(m)* in these locations.

### **6.3 Frequency of filled pauses in relation to their locations**

Replicating the pattern in Kjellmer's (2003) study, I estimated the frequency of FPs at word, phrase, and clause level. Due to the additional category found in section 6.2, I included the frequency of FPs located in the fourth category. This level was labeled *other*<sup>19</sup>. In Kjellmer's (2003) study, FPs turned out to be least frequent at word level, while more frequent at phrase level (*ibid.*: 174) and clause level (*ibid.*: 180). Already Hawkins (1971: 283-284), Cook (1971: 138), and Chafe (1980: 174)<sup>20</sup> claimed that FPs occur more frequently at higher levels of language, i.e., FPs occur more often at clause and phrase levels than at word level, and more frequently at clause than at phrase level. Consequently, it was intriguing to analyze the distribution of FPs in the interviewees' speech in *Larry King Live*. The overall distribution of FPs in all the interviewees' speech was analyzed first, and then the speaker-specific distributions.

In the speech of the five interviewees, the average distribution of FPs at the four levels was as follows: FPs occurred most often at clause level (45.10%), second most often at phrase level (34.20%), third most often at word level (13.73%), and least often at other level (6.97%). For the first three levels, the distribution thus corroborated the earlier findings. Considering the distributional differences, it can be noted that FPs

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<sup>19</sup> As indicated in section 6.2, this level includes a variety of constructions, such as relative and complement clauses. I analyze them together as all of them represent postmodifiers, i.e., the same level, within phrases. For practical reasons, this level also includes the few cases of FPs that were turn final and the following structure remained unidentifiable.

<sup>20</sup> Of these three scholars, only Cook (1971) focused on FPs, while Hawkins (1971) on both silent and filled pauses, and Chafe (1980) on hesitation in general. Thus, the findings of the latter two need not apply to FPs.

at clause level were notably more frequent than those at word level, the difference being approximately 31 percentage points between the two. The difference between word and phrase level was also important (approximately 20 percentage points), while it was less so between clause and phrase level (nearly 11 percentage points). On average, FPs occurred two and a half times more often at phrase level than at word level and over three times more often at clause level than at word level. For comparison, FPs occurred nearly twice as often at word level than at other level, the difference being 6.76 percentage points. This overall distribution is illustrated in Table 6 below.

Level of language	Distribution of FPs	%
Word	63	13.73
Phrase	157	34.20
Clause	207	45.10
Other	32	6.97
<b>Total</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 6:** Overall picture of the distribution of FPs at word, phrase, clause, and other level. The final decimals are rounded off to two decimal places.

The speaker-specific distributions of FPs were separately analyzed in order to view whether they reproduce this general pattern. In the following, I shortly discuss each speaker separately and provide an overview of the distribution of FPs in the individual informants' speeches. First, I present distributions that follow the general pattern, and then, I move on to discuss the patterns which deviate from the average. Table 7 illustrates the speaker-specific distributions. The distribution of FPs in McCain's interviews separately can be found in Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix 7.

Level		McCain <sup>21</sup>	Clinton	Gore	Obama	Carter
Word	n	14	1	16	14	18
	%	20.90	3.23	11.59	9.21	25.35
Phrase	n	14	4	56	59	24
	%	20.90	12.90	40.58	38.82	33.80
Clause	n	36	24	55	69	23
	%	53.73	77.42	39.86	45.39	32.39
Other	n	3	2	11	10	6
	%	4.48	6.45	7.97	6.58	8.45

**Table 7:** Speaker-specific frequency of the localization of FPs at word, phrase, clause level, and other level. The label *n* stands for the raw number, % for the proportion of the location in relation to the total of the speaker's FPs. The percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

<sup>21</sup> The column includes the distribution of *er(m)* in both of McCain's interviews.

The distribution of FPs strictly followed the general pattern in which clause level attains most FPs and the other level least only in Obama's and McCain's (interview in September) speeches. The distribution in Obama's speech was as follows: 45.39% of FPs occurred at clause level, 38.82% at phrase level, 9.21% at word level, and 6.58% at other level, while the respective percentages for McCain were 44.83%, 34.48%, 17.24%, and 3.45% (see Table 1, Appendix 7). Two points must be made. Even though both of these individual distributions were relatively close to the average, it should be noted that McCain's first interview contained rather few FPs (totaling 29), and it was relatively short (cf. Table 4), which is why the distribution is not necessarily representative. Obama's speech, on the contrary, contained most FPs (152 in all) and his numbers are thus more convincing. A more representative picture of FPs in McCain's speech was formed when his interviews were viewed together. For comparison, though, I first present the distribution in his second interview.

McCain's second interview (in January) presented a very different distribution of FPs from that in the first one. The vast majority of FPs (60.53%) did occur at clause level, but only 10.53% at phrase level, whereas 23.68% at word level, and 5.26% at other level (see Table 2, Appendix 7). The pattern was thus reversed at word and phrase level when compared with the first interview. However, the total number of FPs was quite low (38 in total) also in this short interview (cf. Table 4). Taken together, then, the interviews gave a more representative amount of FPs (totaling 67) and the interview length became comparable. The interviews combined, the pattern of distribution diverged from the interview specific tendencies as well as from the average pattern: FPs were most frequent at clause level (53.73% of the FPs), while they were equally common at word and phrase level (20.90% of the FPs), and least common at other level (4.48% of the FPs). As it appears, in McCain's interviews the general pattern was repeated only in the first interview, while the second interview and the interviews together presented deviating patterns at word and phrase level.

The distributions differed from the general pattern also in the speeches of Clinton, Gore, and Carter. In Clinton's interview, clearly most FPs occurred at clause level (77.42% of all FPs), while notably less at phrase level (12.90%), at other level (6.45%), and at word level (3.23%). As the difference between the two last levels was only one FP, they practically attained equally frequently FPs. It is essential to note though that Clinton's speech featured only 31 FPs, which might have affected the result. In spite of this, it is worth noting that this was the only speech in which other level

attained more FPs than word level. In contrast, in the speeches of Gore and Carter, it was the distribution at phrase and clause level that differed from the general pattern, as FPs practically occurred equally often at both levels. In Gore’s speech, 40.58% of the FPs occurred at phrase level, while 39.86% at clause level, 11.59% at word level, and 7.97% at other level. The respective percentages in Carter’s speech were 33.80%, 32.39%, 25.35%, and 8.45%. For both speakers, phrase level attained only one more FP than clause level, which makes the frequency nearly equal.

The patterns in Gore’s and Carter’s speech were noteworthy in two respects. First of all, Gore’s speech featured second most FPs (totaling 138) and the most words. The numbers for his speech can therefore be considered to be representative and thus, the result important. Secondly, the distribution of FPs in Carter’s speech was even: the differences between clause, phrase, and word level were not very important in percentages. Arguably, the number of FPs in his speech (totaling 71) was comparatively low, though closer to the average than the respective numbers in Clinton’s or McCain’s speeches. The only common feature for all the differing patterns was that either phrase or clause level attracted the most FPs.

Encouraged by Stenström’s (1990) and Kjellmer’s (2003) opposing findings on the frequency of the collocations of FPs with CCs (see section 2.2.4) I conducted the same analysis in my material. In the interview material, FPs collocated with CCs 71 times whereof 68 involved the FP *er*, and only three the FP *erm*. Curiously, *er* occurred equally often both before and after the CC, which goes against both Stenström’s and Kjellmer’s findings. When I further estimated the frequency of the CC *and* in collocation with *er* and *erm*, I found out that the collocation *and er* (25 occurrences, or 48.10%) was slightly less frequent than *er and* (27 occurrences, or 51.92%). *Erm and* and *and erm* both occurred only once, which is why the pattern can be disregarded. The distribution of FPs in relation to CCs and *and* is illustrated in Table 8. These findings are further discussed and compared with other research in section 7.

Collocation	Frequency	Collocation	Frequency
CC <i>er</i>	34	<i>and er</i>	25
<i>er</i> CC	34	<i>er and</i>	27
CC <i>erm</i>	1	<i>and erm</i>	1
<i>erm</i> CC	2	<i>erm and</i>	1

**Table 8:** Distribution of FPs in relation to coordinating conjunctions and to the coordinating conjunction *and* given in raw numbers.

*Summary.* In my material, FPs generally tended to occur most frequently at clause, phrase, word, and other level in descending order. The speaker-specific distributions of FPs deviated however from this pattern. Clinton's speech apart, the least FPs occurred at other level, but clause level alone did not necessarily attract the most FPs. FPs were practically equally frequent at phrase level in two interviewees', i.e., in Carter's and Gore's speech, while FPs occurred equally often at word and phrase level in one interviewee's, i.e., in McCain's speech. Of five interviewees' speech, only one, i.e., Obama's speech, followed the general pattern. The diversion with regard to the general pattern was thus obvious. Regarding the location of FPs in relation to CCs and *and*, it turned out that *er* was equally frequent both before and after the CC *and*, while the occurrences for *erm* with CC and *and* were too few to have any importance.

#### **6.4 Proposed functions of filled pauses in the speech five American politicians**

After the analyses of frequency and localization, I turn to the analysis of functions of FPs in the interviewees' speech. The grammatical structures and Kjellmer's criteria presented in sections 3.2 and 3.3 respectively served as the basis of the analysis. First, I analyzed FPs according to the characteristics Kjellmer (2003) presented for hesitation, turn taking, turn holding, and turn yielding, attracting attention, highlighting, and correction. Then, I focused on problematic cases and on FPs that appeared to fulfill a function not proposed by Kjellmer. This structure is identical in all the speaker-specific analyses in sections 6.4 – 6.8. As already mentioned, throughout the analyses, it must be born in mind that the silent pauses need not be accurate and that they only support or are weak indications of the function of hesitation. I present the analyses of the interviews in the order of broadcast date, hence beginning with John McCain.

##### **6.4.1 John McCain**

I analyzed the functions of FPs in both of John McCain's interviews together in order to keep the analyses comparable. With regard McCain, it is worth bearing in mind that the interview situations were different from the other interviews, since they were conducted through video connection from Capitol Hill (first interview) and inside the Capitol (second interview) after congressional sessions. Due to the location, there is some, but not disturbing, background noise. In addition to the location, unlike the other interviewees, he discussed only one topic, namely the health care reform.

The vast majority of FPs in McCain’s speech appeared to correspond to Kjellmer’s (2003) category of hesitation. On the basis of the characteristics of hesitation (Kjellmer 2003: 182-183; see also Table 2, section 3.3), FPs that co-occurred either with silent or filled pauses, false starts or repetitions were analyzed as hesitant. For the most part, the characteristics of FPs used by McCain corresponded to several of the functions Kjellmer (2003) proposes, but there were FPs whose features indicated only hesitation. The three examples below illustrate hesitating FPs only. In the first example, (42), *er* co-occurs with a silent pause, and with the repeated relativizer *that*. The second example, (43), features collocating FPs, in this case two *ers*, as well as an interrupted word (*the pre[sident]*), and the repeated *I*. Kjellmer does not in fact account for an interrupted word as a feature of hesitation and the repetition does not strictly co-occur with the FPs (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 182), but these could support the function. Like in the two first examples, in (44), the FPs (*erm* and *er*) collocate, and there is repetition (*that*), but additionally, the FPs precede a false start (*that that’s you know*). The three examples hence present one or several of the features of hesitation proposed by Kjellmer (2003):

- (42) (13) JM1 [...] and there are a number of things that **er** / that we can agree on [...]
- (43) (18) JM1 [...] so / look I’m not challenging **er er** the pre I-I think it was an unnecessary comment and did nothing to contribute to bipartisan dialogue
- (44) (7) JM2 [...] the other issue that that I I really was disappointed in was ... to put it all on on a webpage **erm** / **er** that that’s you know we all know what earmarking and pork barreling does [...]

As already mentioned, it was more common for FPs in McCain’s speech to carry features of hesitation and another function, i.e., hesitation frequently overlapped with other functions. Kjellmer (2003: 189) does point this out, but the overlap of different functions was recurrent in McCain’s speech, which is why overlapping is continuously referred to in the analysis. It seemed, though, that in cases of overlap, one of the functions was more dominant, i.e., the characteristics of a FP corresponding to one function were more distinct than those referring to the other. In (45) and (46) below, for instance, hesitation is indicated by a silent pause, but it appears minor to highlighting which is suggested by the context. In (45), the NP *the fact that it’s gonna be tough* is semantically heavy (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 187) as it refers to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This interpretation is further supported by the repetition of *tough* and the intensifier *really* in the following clause. In comparison, in example (46), the FP could highlight backwards (Stenström 1990: 241) and underline the vast amount of

options already available. Occasionally, however, it was impossible to determine which of the overlapping functions would be more dominant, as in example (47), in which the silent pause with the repetition *and I and I* corresponds to the function of hesitation, while the collocating CC *and* to turn holding. Finally, example (48) illustrates a case of a FP corresponding to the features of three functions, namely hesitation indicated by a silent pause, turn holding as the FP introduces a new thought unit, and highlighting, given the AdvP that is underlined in the context.

- (45) (24) JM2 [...] I also would have liked to him emphize emphasize / a little more / **er** the fact that it's gonna be tough / beginning in March it's gonna get really tough [...]
- (46) (8) JM1 [...] and another point here is is will / thee government option have an unfair advantage / if it doesn't then it's just one of / 1500 or more / **er** health insurance policies availab / the health insurance plans available to Americans [...]
- (47) (13) JM1 [...] there are a number of things that er / that we can agree on / **er** and I and I think that the American people obviously want that [...]
- (48) (5) JM1 [...] but we are very concerned about the cost we are very concerned about this quote public option / **er** frankly er some tests on medical malpractice reform doesn't get it [...]

In McCain's speech, the function of hesitation quite naturally combined with turn holding, whose one defining characteristics is hesitation (Kjellmer 2003: 185), and highlighting, though hesitation appeared to be in a minor role. The FPs also fulfilled the functions of hesitation, highlighting and turn holding simultaneously.

Alongside hesitation, the FPs in McCain's speech presented characteristics of other functions, such as turn taking and holding, highlighting, and correction, although to a lesser extent. The four functions are illustrated in the examples below. In (49), the introduction of a turn with a FP is a feature of turn taking, as it indicates the speaker's wish to take the turn. Turn holding, on the contrary, is exemplified in (50): the first *er* collocates with the CC *and* signaling that the speaker has not finished his turn, although King's question was already answered with *absolutely*. The second *er* collocating with *but* has the same function, but it could also be interpreted as hesitation after a self-ironic comment (*maybe also because not so great a candidate* referring to himself) when McCain returns to the topic. Finally, McCain's use of *er* in (51) meets the characteristics of correction: it is located between an interrupted NP (*health and*), and corrected to *available and affordable health care*. In (52), the context suggests that the FP is highlighting, since the verb *intimated* was used in connection with the health

care bill that could possibly involve a death panel<sup>22</sup>. The wording suggests that the concept of death panel was not explicitly stated in the bill, but that such an interpretation was possible, and hence the word is underlined. Another reading could be that the other FPs indicate hesitation in the turn, though I would argue that hesitation is minor to highlighting.

- (49) (16) JM1 **er** I think that **er** that the president **er** made an unnecessary comment there w- which was bipartisan / in nature [...]
- (50) (9) JM2 absolutely and **er** {laughter} that's one of the reasons why we lost elections / maybe also because not so great a candidate but / **er** the point is that that that **er** we let spending get out of control under the Bush administration we Republicans [...]
- (51) (5) JM1 w **er** yes and I-I do believe that it's an important aspect obviously we've got to provide / health and **er** available and affordable health care to all Americans [...]
- (52) (20) JM1 no / I do know that portions of the House bill were removed or one of the / bills that's winding around here which may have **er** / intimated **er** such a thing but **er** and we know [...]

As these and the other examples illustrate, the FPs McCain's speech did carry features of the functions proposed by Kjellmer (2003). The functions were rather easy to determine, and the FPs fell quite neatly and clearly into the categories of five functions.

McCain's speech did feature less clear cases as well. Some FPs presented certain features of a function, but nonetheless they seemed to lack sufficient basis for categorization. For instance, the FP in (53) features no clear characteristics of any of Kjellmer's functions: it is not in my view semantically heavy in the context and the repetitions do not strictly co-occur with the FP. The other FPs could indicate toward hesitation, or McCain could simply be searching for a word and hesitate. Likewise, in (54), the context neither presents characteristics of hesitation, nor is the noun *call* a central element of the clause. However, as the FP is located at word level (cf. section 3.2), and as McCain's second interview in particular features FPs before words that seem to be chosen with care, the FP could highlight the word choice. Despite a similar structure of a FP within a NP, in (55), the FP does not seem to highlight the noun *policy*, since it is already mentioned twice in the previous turn. However, even though there is no indication of hesitation, it could be that McCain must recall the topic of the discussion and hence use a FP to hesitate.

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<sup>22</sup> The term *death panel* refers to a group of bureaucrats who would decide whether an uninsured person could get health care.

- (53) (16) JM1 er I think that er that the president **er** made an unnecessary comment there w- which was bipartisan / in nature [...]
- (54) (3) JM2 well I appreciate the president's **er** call for / bipartisanship [...]
- (55) (22) JM2 well I would rely on the ju the Joint Chiefs of Staff our military leadership [...] and have them do a study and have them come up with recommendations / as to whether this **er** policy needs to be modified or not [...]

The analysis of the FPs in the three preceding examples approaches speculation, since the allocation of functions cannot be founded on solid basis. The analysis of these cases would need more knowledge about the cognitive activity of the speaker, as textual evidence is insufficient. These aspects will be further discussed in section 7. As a final point in this section, I present an alternative analysis of some FPs.

Viewed in the larger textual context, some of the FPs could be interpreted to serve structural functions alongside the other ones already discussed. In McCain's speech, FPs occurred at the end and the beginning of a quote as if to demarcate them. In (56) below, the FP indicates the end of a quote (the contents of the Republicans' message to president, beginning with *stop*), while in (57) the FP indicates the beginning of a quote (what the speaker had hoped to hear from the president, beginning with *on next Monday*). The other elements used to demarcate the quotes – the explicit statement *and that is* and the speaker's comment on the outcome *he didn't do that* respectively – support this interpretation.

- (56) (3) JM2 [...] I had hoped that he had heard the message in Massachusetts on health care and that is / stop / let's start all over / and let's have some real bipartisan negotiations / **er** obviously he didn't get that message
- (57) (18) JM2 I hope that the president will / ss er I would love to have heard him say tonight / on **er** on might next Monday I'm gonna call Republicans and Democrats over to the White House and we'll sit down / and try and address some of these issues together / he didn't do that er / but [...]

Apart from these proposed structural functions, the characteristics of the FPs in the immediate textual context correspond to the functions of highlighting in (56), and hesitation in (57), as proposed by Kjellmer (2003). The larger textual context did indicate, however, that the FPs might fulfill other functions above these two. These complementary functions will be further discussed in section 7.

The analysis of FPs in McCain's speech revealed that the characteristics of *er(m)* largely corresponded to the categories of the functions proposed by Kjellmer (2003). Hesitation was the most common, while also other functions, such as turn holding, turn taking, highlighting, and correction were fulfilled. Most of the FPs had

overlapping functions, and hesitation was also in these cases the most common function alongside another one. Finally, the FPs McCain used appeared to fulfill structural functions in addition to those proposed by Kjellmer (2003), as they demarcated quotes. After this analysis, I move on to investigate the FPs in the speech of Bill Clinton.

#### 6.4.2 Bill Clinton

The interview with Bill Clinton on LKL was conducted in the studio and aired after the first interview with John McCain. In the interview, Clinton discussed the Clinton Global Initiative, the health care reform, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Obama's presidency, the situation in the Middle East, and (right-wing) Conservatives. The analysis follows the structure introduced under 6.4: I begin with the functions proposed by Kjellmer (2003) and proceed from the more common towards less frequent functions. Then, I discuss potentially unclear cases and additional functions.

As in McCain's speech, most FPs in Clinton's speech corresponded to the function of hesitation, though only rarely was hesitation the only function, but overlapped with turn holding. Likewise, the other frequent function of turn holding most often overlapped with hesitation. Consequently, I present both cases together. In the first example, (58) below, the FP indicates hesitation given the repetition (*there's there's*) and the silent pause next to the FP. Clinton is also in the middle of a long turn, which may increase the use of FPs (e.g., Cook, Smith & Lalljee 1974: 13), and explain hesitation. Additionally, the *er* could also introduce a new thought unit, though it occurs within the repetition of the first word of the new clause. In (59), on the contrary, the FPs correspond both to the function of turn holding and to that of hesitation, since the first *er* collocates with the CC *and*, and is followed by the repetition of *I*, while the second *er* separates thought units and occurs next to a longer silent pause.

- (58) (22) BC [...] he's still got a lot of other issues you know there's still a lot of economic issues still left to deal with there's *er* / there's this whole energy / question [...]
- (59) (24) BC [...] I think in some ways he's gotten he got really hurt by all that mess with our legislation / and *er* // I-I think given the unusual circumstances under which he took office and the terrible conditions / *er* he's really done some good things for which I hope he gets credit whether he runs for the election or not [...]

The most common characteristics of hesitation in the overlaps with turn holding was silent pause, which suggests that turn holding was in a major role, in particular because hesitation is a feature of turn holding (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 185), and because the silent

pauses were not necessarily accurate. The immediate textual context very rarely indicated other characteristics of hesitation, like repetition or co-occurring FPs, or other coexisting functions for turn holding than hesitation.

Apart from hesitation and turn holding, Clinton's speech featured FPs that indicated correction and turn taking, though these cases were relatively rare. Correction is illustrated in example (60), and turn taking in (61). In the first example, the FP indicates the correction of a phrase (*the Afghans* is changed to *the Taliban government*), though the FP can be interpreted as hesitant as well, since it co-occurs with a silent pause. In the second example, the FP indicates turn taking, because the FP *er* occurs next to the answering particle *well* and is located at the beginning of a turn.

- (60) (51) BC [...] particularly if you supported it in the beginning as the president did [...] after / at the Afghans gave **erm** / the Taliban government gave sanctuary to Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden / after 9/11 [...]
- (61) (20) BC well **er** not necessarily because he got a lot of experienced people around him [...]

Although correction and turn taking were rare in the material, it was essential to present them in order to show that FPs did fulfill these functions in the speech of Clinton. Regarding the function of turn taking, it must be noted that in both cases of this function, the FP was not the first element of the turn, but followed an answering particle. As Kjellmer (2003: 184) accepted both locations for turn taking FPs, I see no hindrance of categorizing the FPs as corresponding to the function of turn taking.

The interview material also revealed instances of FPs the characteristics of which corresponded to the function of highlighting, either of a word or a phrase. The examples below illustrate these FPs. In many cases, the analysis demanded a larger contextual knowledge, while in other cases, the immediate context sufficed. For instance, in examples (62) and (63), it appears that both the NP *1400 commitments* and the NP *the main thing* are semantically heavy in the narrower context of the examples; the FP in the first example highlights the large amount of commitments, whereas the FP in the second example the most important part of his contribution which is about to come. In (63), the FP could arguably also be turn holding given the new thought unit, though I would consider highlighting as the main function in the context.

- (62) (2) BC [...] after the first four years we've / had **er** 1400 commitments [...]

- (63) (20-22) BC [...] he'd been in Congress long [but he never (22) governed anything / **er** the main thing is // for every president / to make an honest assessment of what your strengths and weaknesses are [...]

In the following two examples, the situation is somewhat different and the analysis needs more contextual information. In (64), for instance, Clinton refers to his wife, Hillary Clinton, with her title, which obviously is a marked choice and thus to be highlighted. Clinton's smiling and King's comment (*I've heard of her*) support this reading. It must be noted that in another context (see (68)), Clinton refers to his wife by her first name, which does not create any similar reactions. Naturally, the address terms are determined by the context, but only the marked one is highlighted. In (65), on the contrary, the VP head *growing* following *er* is contrasted with the upcoming clause *nobody just shows up ready to be president*. This suggests that the FP is used to highlight the fact that it is a process to become a president. The location of the FP between the auxiliary and the head (see section 3.2) further supports this interpretation. Finally, in (66), the FP precedes a noun complement clause that introduces an implication that civilian protection in Afghanistan is inadequate, which is a rather sensitive comment. Hence, with the FP, Clinton could seek approval of the upcoming clause (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 188). Hesitation is also present, given the silent pause.

- (64) (39) BC well what he and **er** / { smiling } the secretary of State [and  
(40) LK [I've heard of her =
- (65) (18) BC [...] but I think he's also **er** / growing into the job as I did as nearly everybody does nobody shows up just ready to be president
- (66) (53) BC [...] the third thing you can do is try to do a better job with what you've got that is you keep essentially the numbers / you've got / but you make a commitment to do a better job / **er** protecting the population centers [...]

As the five examples of highlighting indicate, FPs that were analyzed as highlighting presented very different characteristics. Closer textual as well as larger situational information was indispensable for the analysis.

In addition to the relatively clear cases discussed above, also Clinton's speech featured FPs whose function was difficult to establish with certainty. Example (67) illustrates a more complicated case of FPs. In the example, the FP *er* could be hesitant given the silent pause, the repetition (*I-I*), which is a bit remote though, and the false start. Another reading is that Clinton is uncertain in commenting on to the president's potential act with an elliptical answer, i.e., *ask him* is left out. However,

King's question does not directly question on the uncertainty as to whether the president had asked the governor, but rather, he refers to Clinton's stance. Therefore, the first clause appears incomplete ending in *if he did*, and the second clause as the corrected version with *what the facts are*, which introduces Clinton's personal viewpoint.

- (67) (25) LK [were you surprised = if true were you surprised that the President would ask him [the Governor of New York] to do that / would you [would you have done that =  
 (26) BC [well = I-I  
 don't know if he did **er** / I don't know what the facts are [...]

Regardless of the reading, the *er* most likely is hesitant, though it could be turn holding, too. The actual function cannot however be found without knowledge of the cognition of the speaker, and not even the context suffices to the reveal the function.

In addition to the functions already discussed, some of the FPs Clinton used could be analyzed as having the function of signaling the (argumentative) structure of a turn (cf. also (63)). Like highlighting, the analysis of such a function demands the interpretation of FPs in a larger textual context. In (68), the FP *er* indicates the answer of Clinton. He is asked a question about the presidency's impact on the incumbent president (*how...the presidency...has worn on him*) and then he takes the turn and frames his answer by explaining the position from which he sees the situation. After a rather long explanation, Clinton inserts a FP before his answer (*it has worn on him*) so as to point it out. Curiously, Clinton does not actually answer the posed question *how*, but rather *whether* the presidency has worn on Obama. The second example (69) is somewhat different and the use of FPs is more directly related to the argumentative structure. The first *er* indicates turn taking, since it co-occurs with *well* and it is located at the beginning of a turn, while the adverb *first* next to *er* introduces a basic statement of the situation and suggests that the speaker plans to structure his turn in parts. The two other central parts of the structure are indicated by the second and the third FP: they introduce the two opposite parties' viewpoints on the situation in the crisis: *from the point of view of the Palestinians* and *for the Israelis*.

- (68) LK (15) = how do you think the presidency in this shorter period of has worn on him  
 BC (16) well I-I see him in a little different context you know because =  
 LK (17) = you've been there  
 BC (18) I've been there because Hillary is in the Cabinet / because he's been erm / kind enough to you know ask me to come down to give a briefing about my trip to North Korea / because he asked me to lunch last week and we talked about m-m-mostly the economy / and **er** / I can tell that it has worn on him [...]

- (69) BC (33) well I **er** first it's more up to them than it is up to President Obama / I mean / the parties make peace [...] if you look at the long term strategic trends / there ought to be a

peace agreement / **er** from the point of view of the Palestinians they have been too poor too long and they're only poor at home [...] and if the Israelis and the Palestinians ever cooperated together based on the performance of / Palestinians in other parts of the world / they maybe be the power house of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the Middle East / **er** for the Israelis I think it's important because / the numbers are moving against them [...]

These two examples show that FPs could have other functions above the five proposed by Kjellmer (2003). The analysis of the FPs in the bigger picture revealed that, apart from having other functions, such as turn holding ((68) and (69)) and turn taking (69), the FPs can indicate the construction of the argumentative structure.

The FPs in Clinton's speech were categorized as representing four of Kjellmer's five functions by using the evidence Kjellmer gives for the functions and by viewing the FPs in relation to their locations in the grammatical structures. According to the analysis, most FPs appeared to signal the speaker's hesitation and turn holding, whereas highlighting, and correction and turn taking in particular were less frequent. No FP appeared to have the function of attracting attention to the speaker. In contrast, the analysis revealed potential additional functions of building up the argumentative structure of a turn. Any further evidence for such a function must be sought in the other interviews, and thus, I move on to analyze the functions of FPs in Gore's interview.

### 6.4.3 Al Gore

During the interview in LKL, Al Gore discussed or touched upon the following topics: climate change, Gore's personal involvement in the prevention of global warming, his recently published book *Our Choice*, Afghanistan, a shooting at Fort Hood, the right wing in the US, the health care reform forwarded by Obama, Obama's presidency, the Nobel Peace Prize, and the elections to the US Senate and the House of Representatives in 2010. First, I analyze FPs signaling hesitation, since it is the most common function of the FPs used by Gore. This is followed by (in the order of frequency) turn holding, highlighting, turn taking, turn yielding, and correction. At the end of the section, I address problematic cases in the allocation of functions to FPs.

Hesitation was by far the most common function of FPs in the speech of Gore during the interview, though as with McCain and Clinton, the FPs often presented features of other functions as well. With respect to the other interviewees' speech, there was, however, a relatively large number of FPs whose characteristics corresponded to hesitation alone. Next, I focus on these FPs (examples 70-72), and I return to the cases of overlap in due course. In the first example, (70), the co-occurrence of the two FPs

and the repetition of the indefinite article *a* correspond to the features of hesitation as Kjellmer (2003: 182-183) proposed. Similarly, in (71), the co-occurring FPs and the repetitions indicate hesitation, but as opposed to (70), the FPs precede a rather personal question in the public context (the age of King's children), and Gore is apparently uncertain (he asks for verification) in the turn. These features can be considered to support the function of hesitation. In comparison, it is the false start expressing uncertainty (*I'm not sure that*) preceding *er* that indicates hesitation in (72).

- (70) (25) AG [...] and wind energy from the Mountain Corridor / er his EPA has now enacted **er** / **er** a a regulation that requires reductions of CO<sub>2</sub> [...]
- (71) (131) AG [...] and y-you have two kids **er er** Lar[ry th-they're what are they ten and [nine now
- (72) (36) AG well I'm not sure that **er** first of all he had a a different / stance on Afghanistan [than he did

These FPs were analyzed as hesitant, because their textual context provided clear indications of their functions, as suggested by Kjellmer (2003: 182-183). There were no indications that the FPs would fulfill any other functions. I now turn to those cases in which the FPs presented features of other functions alongside hesitation.

In Gore's speech, hesitation mainly overlapped with the functions of highlighting or turn holding. In the examples (73-75), the co-occurring FPs, false starts, and repetitions suggest that hesitation predominates, while features of highlighting and turn holding have a minor role. In the example (73), the repetitions (*w-well* and *i-i-it's*) suggest that *er* is hesitant, while the AdjP *entirely new* referring to the rise of the right wing in the US is prominent in the contexts. The location of *not* after *er* does however suggest that *er* does not introduce a particularly salient element (Kjellmer 2003: 179), which is why it can be considered to be less dominant. In (74), there are three instances of FPs with overlapping functions. The first two FPs are hesitant precisely due to their co-occurrence, but they also highlight the adjective *pluralistic*, which gains prominence in the discussion about the consequences for Muslims of a shooting by a Muslim at a military post. Repetition, false start, and potentially the silent pause close to the second FP indicate hesitation, while the conjunction *and* suggests turn holding. Finally, the third *er* is hesitant given the repetition, although the context explained above could indicate that it also highlights the AdjP head *balanced*. In (75), hesitation is again indicated by the co-occurrence of FPs and repetition, while the introduction of a new thought unit at clause level is characteristic of turn holding.

- (73) (52) AG {laughter} yeah / er w-well yeah i-i-it's not **er** entirely new in American politics we have had a a strain like this er / in our politics for a long time [...]
- (74) (48) AG oh sure we're **er er** a pluralistic er / diverse country / **er** and I-I yeah I think that by and large the the reaction in the country has been / pretty balanced / **er** balanced with an appropriate focus on what we can learn from this / er in order to prevent anything like it from happening again
- (75) (64) AG I don't know th er his history on that particular / issue **erm erm** I-I think that it's consistent with what he said in in recent years as far as I know so / er

In these examples, the FPs appear to fulfill two functions: hesitation and turn holding or highlighting. As the textual evidence suggests, the function of hesitation seems to dominate in each case, in (74) and (75) in particular. Both turns are overall hesitant as there are several FPs, which I take as an indication of a more general hesitation in the turns and as a support for the proposal that the FPs' main function here is hesitation.

After hesitation, turn holding was the most frequent function of FPs in Gore's speech. Following the characteristics Kjellmer (2003: 184-185) presented for turn holding, namely collocations of FPs and CCs, and thought units separated by FPs, it was rather easy to interpret certain FPs to be turn holders. As with hesitation, the majority of turn holding FPs also featured characteristics of other functions, and hence, all the FPs in the examples below fulfill overlapping functions. In (76), the FP introduces a new thought unit, which indicates turn holding, but at the same time, the *er* seems to emphasize *within a month* that refers to the short period of time within which Obama took action to deal with the climate change. In contrast, the second example, (77), illustrates the overlapping of turn holding and hesitation: the FP *erm* is not only located between thought units, which refers to turn holding, but it also co-occurs with a silent pause suggesting hesitation. Gore's uncertainty is revealed by the explicitly stated need for time, which can be seen as an additional indication of hesitation. Hesitation frequently overlapped with turn holding, given that many silent pauses co-occurred with FPs indicating turn holding, either with a CC, (78), or without, (79).

- (76) (25) AG well he's done an awful lot Larry **er** within a month of taking office he passed this large stimulus [...]
- (77) (82) AG well I'd have to think about that **erm** / you know from the outside it's always er [easy to
- (78) (8) AG it wasn't being so I decided to to get involved and / **er** i-it has just led to a greater and greater involvement =

- (79) (32) AG [...] and because Pakistan has a a nuclear / arsenal and is experiencing troubles of its own / **er** it is one of the most complex foreign policy national security challenges any president has ever faced [...]

In Gore's speech, FPs showed characteristics of turn holding in different constructions. All the FPs were located between thought units, a location in which they could occur either alone or in collocation with silent pauses and CCs. Regardless of the structure, all FPs simultaneously presented characteristics not only of turn holding, but also of another function, mainly hesitation or highlighting.

The case was similar with highlighting: most FPs that were primarily analyzed as highlighting could be interpreted to fulfill also another function on the basis of the textual context. Again, hesitation was the most common coexisting function, since highlighting FPs often co-occurred with silent pauses. One example of highlighting is found in extract (80) below. The FP emphasizes the following clause that rejects the potential implicature to which the preceding clause might give rise. The location of *not* after *er* suggests the same: the clause carries special meaning (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 179). Alongside highlighting, the features of *er* correspond to the characteristics of hesitation (silent pause) and turn holding (new thought unit). In the second example, (81), the FP seems to highlight Gore's word choice: he comments on the shooting at a military base in the US, and uses the adjective *radical* when he refers to a potential Muslim contact of the shooter. He might also seek acceptance for the term that is not necessarily well received by all hearers. The FP could also be hesitant, because of the other FP and repetition in the immediate context. A different type of highlighting is illustrated in the third example, (82). In the turn, Gore discusses the health care reform being debated and through "facts" shows why he thinks the reform is necessary. The necessity is then expressed in the VP *should lead*, which consequently is contextually important and to which the FP *er* gives prominence. Arguably, the FP occurs after a long explanation, which could suggest hesitation (cf. Shriberg 2001: 157).

- (80) (111) AG = you know I think thee off-year elections in Virginia and New Jersey / are always a sign great significance for about a week after they take place / and then people largely forget about 'em / **er** not that they are not important I don't mean to imply that but [...]
- (81) (44) AG [...] but the evidence showing that he had been in contact with this **er** radical / cleric who *er* wa-was / urging violence against America is ve-ve-very troubling and I'm sure they'll get to the bottom of it
- (82) (58) AG [...] *er* and the fact that we have so many tens of millions / of American families that do not have / health insurance is terrible the fact that we spend so much more than

any other country and do not get better / health outcomes **er** should lead us to make the kind of common sense reforms that President Obama has called for

The FPs that indicate highlighting were rather different from each other as the examples show. The context was essential in determining the function(s) of these FPs, and in explaining why they highlighted a particular element. Only rarely was highlighting the only function of a FP, while it was much more common for FPs to have multiple functions in these cases. However, as in the examples above, the context often suggested that highlighting was the main or the more prominent function of the FP.

Hesitation, turn holding, and highlighting were the most common functions of FPs in Gore's speech; the functions of turn taking, turn yielding and correction were clearly less frequent. Unlike the three already discussed functions, turn taking usually was the only function of a FP, and only rarely did hesitation overlap with it. In Gore's speech, a FP signaling turn taking was either turn introductory, i.e., the very first element of a turn, or the second element after an answering particle. The example (83) illustrates the former, while (84) the latter possibility. Answering particles could also follow the turn introductory FP, like in example (85). Occasionally, the turn taking FP had an additional function, as in (86), where *er* co-occurs with three answering particles (*yeah, well*), while it also precedes repetition that indicates hesitation. These cases were not extremely frequent, but they did occur.

(83) (72) AG **er** Rodale is the publisher of the book er er Meltzer Media er helped produce er the book [...]

(84) (78) AG well **er** he hasn't even completed his first year [and and most of his

(85) (62) AG **er** well he's a friend and we remain friends I strongly disagree with a lot of his positions others I / er a-agree with his pos [on other po-positions I agree with him

(86) (52) AG {laughter} yeah / **er** w-well yeah i-i-it's not er entirely new in American politics [...]

In Gore's speech, the turn taking FPs were variously located, as they were either the first or the second element of the turn. Moreover, turn taking FPs rarely fulfilled several functions simultaneously, but when they did, the other function was hesitation.

During the interview, Gore least often employed FPs to either yield the turn or for correction. Being very marginal, I present these two functions together: turn yielding in example (87) and correction in (88). In (87), the FP is located at the very end of the turn, which suggests that its function is turn yielding. This, however, is not a sufficient criterion for turn yielding, as it is difficult to know whether a FP at the end of

a turn is yielding or actually holding the turn (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 185). The context, on the contrary, appears to support my interpretation of the FP in (87) to be turn yielding: Gore has given a dispreferred (non-)answer (Levinson 1983: 332-336) that could be interpreted as reluctance to continue. The other FPs, the silent pause, and Gore's general uncertainty in the turn make it hesitant, which also suggest turn yielding (Kjellmer 2003: 185). In the second example, (88), the features of *er* refer to correction: Gore is quoting Churchill when he makes an error and forgets parts of the quote. The error is signaled by *er* which is then followed by an insert of the correct version in the quote.

- (87) (63) LK [are you surprised that he is against the public option  
 (64) AG I don't know th er his history on that particular / issue erm erm I-I think that it's  
 consistent with what he said in in recent years as far as I know so / **er**
- (88) (76) AG = well sure and Winston Churchill has the classic line er that democracy is the  
 worst political system er ever tried **er** of all except for every other system that's ever been  
 tried [...]

After these relatively clear cases of functions as proposed by Kjellmer (2003), I move on to analyze some more complicated cases. The lack of functional characteristics of FPs in the textual context rendered the analysis problematic, and the FPs open to various interpretations. Only two functions permit such openness, namely hesitation and highlighting. In (89), for instance, the function of the FP could be hesitation, given the silent pause, but it could also be backward highlighting (Stenström 1990: 241) when Gore answers the question whether the solutions to the climate crisis are recognized. However, the NP *political leaders around the world* does not seem to be the central element here. In my view, neither of these possibilities is convincing, and thus the function of *er* remains unclear. The case is similar in (90). The immediate textual context lacks any indications of a function, and only after the FP there is repetition that could suggest hesitation, though it is quite remote. The turn relates to King's question whether Gore will campaign in the upcoming elections, and in this light, the relative clause could be highlighting: it includes the reason for his participation. Again, however, this does not seem credible.

- (89) (14) AG yes er more and more / but political leaders around the world / **er** have still not  
 crossed the the tipping point [...]
- (90) (121) AG I probably will after a lifetime in / politics I have so many friends **er** who /  
 asked me to to help them I-I-I probably / [will]

The other two examples below are perhaps even more complicated, since they do not have any even remote characteristics of a function as the examples above do. The FP precedes the promotion of a web page, which could be dispreferred in the context of a public interview in (91) below. Therefore, Gore could be hesitating, as he knows that he is doing something that he probably should not. Further support for this interpretation can be seen in the permission he asks for the promotion (*if I may*). Moreover, the FP could signal turn holding, since it introduces a new thought unit, or it could be highlighting the noun phrase *the website for that organization* which is the important part. I would prefer the first interpretation, although it does not have any of the characteristics Kjellmer (2003: 182-183) presents for hesitation. In comparison, in (92), there are two FPs with unclear functions. As to the first one, it could be that Gore is simply searching for a word, and thus hesitates, or he could be highlighting the choice of *proposing* when referring to the verbal action of the president. Nonetheless, neither of these options has clear support in the context. The second *er* is similar: it could be a question of word choice, i.e., the way Gore conceives of the situation Obama has to deal with, or it could be that he is looking for the word, and thus hesitates.

- (91) (135) AG I-I'd I'm donating all of the profits from this book to the Alliance for Climate Protection a non-profit / er Tipper and I did the same thing with An Inconvenient Truth / and by the way **er** the website for that organization if I may =
- (92) (84) AG [...] but looking at the / situation he faces with er with the Congress / particularly with er Senate where there're only 58 / Democrats and two In-Independents / and not all the Democrats always agree with what he's **er** proposing / so i-it's a difficult set of challenges that he faces [...] er I think he's getting a grip on these **er** problems / but you know naturally the jury is still out because as I say [he hasn't even

In cases of this kind, the difference between hesitation and highlighting was confusing and it was difficult to determine the function(s) the FP fulfills, or if it fulfills either of them. As already hinted, this problem boils down to the lack of indications in the textual context upon which Kjellmer (2003) heavily relies. I return to this issue in section 7.

Following the characteristics of the functions of FPs that Kjellmer (2003) presented, the FPs in Gore's speech appeared to be mainly hesitant. Other frequent functions were turn holding and highlighting, while FPs were less commonly used to signal turn taking, turn yielding, or correction. It turned out, however, that in the vast majority of cases, FPs fulfilled two or more functions simultaneously, but that they usually had one predominant function, i.e., they fell into one category more neatly than into another. Moreover, the analysis revealed that not all FPs could be clearly

categorized, but that they were more or less open to interpretation due to the lack of textual indications, such as repetition for hesitation or conjunction for turn holding. These findings are further discussed in section 7.

#### **6.4.4 Barack Obama**

In the order of broadcast date, I analyzed the FPs in the speech of Barack Obama after Al Gore. It must be recalled that Obama was not interviewed in the studio, but in the White House, and that the topics he discussed on LKL included the recent oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico and the oil company's responsibility for the accident, the problems in the Middle East, illegal immigrants entering the United States and Obama's presidency. Another aspect worth bearing in mind is that Obama used the most FPs (see section 6.1) and thus provided the most material to test the Kjellmer's (2003) functions. As in the three previous subsections, I first discuss the most common function and then the less frequent ones. This is followed by an analysis of the more problematic cases and the proposal of a new function.

Following the general pattern taking form in the three preceding analyses of functions, and the pattern Kjellmer (2003: 183) forwards, FPs in Obama's speech most frequently fulfilled the function of hesitation. Only rarely, however, hesitation was the only function of a FP, but rather, it often overlapped with another function or other functions simultaneously. The first two examples below illustrate FPs analyzed as only hesitant, while the latter two present FPs with functions that coexist. Example (93) feature two characteristics of hesitation: repetition of the indefinite article and the first sounds of the following noun (*a a bl-blow out*), and a silent pause preceding the FP. In contrast, in (94), the false start (*l-l-let me tell you the*) and the co-occurring FPs indicate hesitation. Unlike Kjellmer (2003: 182) claims, these examples suggest that there is no greater tendency for FPs to precede rather than follow false starts and repetitions in Obama's speech. In comparison, the FPs in (95) and (96) have characteristics of hesitation and another function. In (95), the co-occurrence of FPs suggests hesitation, while the context of the sub-ordinate clause introduced by the FPs renders the clause highlighted. In his turn, Obama counters an implication that his poll numbers are low and brings up the background against which the numbers should be viewed, and underlines it. In Obama's speech, hesitation also overlapped with turn holding, as in

(96). The function of hesitation is evident from the repetition of the first sounds in *here*, while the introduction of a new thought unit indicates turn holding.

- (93) (49) BO [...] and the problem I've got is until I've got a review / that / tells me A what happened / B how do you prevent / **er** a a bl-blow out of the sort that we saw [...]
- (94) (94) BO = er l-l-let me tell you the **er er** I think er that was one of the highlights er that Michelle's had is when / Paul McCartney sings Michelle
- (95) (74) BO y-yo-you know what er the truth of the matter is that **er / er** given everything we've gone through / er my poll numbers are doing alright {laughter} [it's er
- (96) (58) BO [...] I think that the Israelis are going to agree to that er er an investigation of international standards because they recognize that this / can't be good for Israel's long term security / **erm** h-h-he-here's what we've got [...]

In Obama's speech, the FPs thus featured characteristics of hesitation alone, as well as of other functions simultaneously with hesitation. In the cases of overlap presented in examples (95) and (96), the characteristics of hesitation (co-occurring FPs, repetition) appeared more prominent, while the features of the other functions were secondary.

As hesitation, also highlighting was frequently analyzed as a function of FPs in Obama's speech. Some FPs were interpreted as only highlighting, though overlap with other functions was more common. All the FPs in the examples below were analyzed as highlighting the element closely following them, while some of them were considered to fulfill also another coexisting function. For instance, the context of the recent recession suggests that the NP *the biggest job growth*, the PP *in years*, and the NP *last month*, which refer to positive changes in the economy and to the time frame within which they have taken place, are highlighted in (97). The recurring FPs support this interpretation, as highlighting can be repeatedly used (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 188). In comparison, the overlap of highlighting and hesitation is illustrated in (98) and in (99). In the former, the silent pause and the co-occurring FPs are features of hesitation, while the recent oil spill in the Gulf suggests that the FPs give prominence to *horrible* and *environmental disaster* in order to underline the severity of the spill. The highlighting function of the collocating FPs is even more evident as they isolate the premodifying adjective with the third *er*. In the latter, repetition and other FPs precede the FP in bold, which can be taken as a characteristic of hesitation, even though they are not strict collocates of *er*. I argue, however, that the FP highlights the NP *the best job on earth*, as it is Obama's answer to the question whether he still likes his job.

- (97) (78) BO [...] we had **er** the biggest job growth **er** in years **er** last month [...]

- (98) (49) BO [...] I am supportive of offshore drilling if / it can be done safely and it doesn't result in these / kinds of **er er** horrible / **er** environmental disasters and the problem I've got [...]
- (99) (72) BO = oh I er er th-this is **er** the best job on earth I mean it's er / it's an extraordinary privilege to be able to wake up every day / and know that [...]

The examples above show that FPs could highlight different structures of various sizes and that the highlighting was purely dependent on the context. What needs to be noted in the examples (98) and (99) is that the FPs also featured characteristics of hesitation, but that in these cases highlighting appeared more prominent, given the context and the FPs' location. Arguably, hesitation is strong in (98), but the location of the FPs before the semantically heavy words suggest that highlighting is nonetheless more prominent.

The third frequent function of FPs in Obama's speech was turn holding. Turn holding FPs often featured characteristics of hesitation as well, i.e., the FPs were not only located between thought units or collocated with CCs, but simultaneously co-occurred also with silent pauses. In the first extract below, (100), the first *er* has features of both hesitation (silent pause) and turn holding (location between thought units), whereas the second *er* collocates only with the CC *or*, and thus indicates turn holding alone. Like the second *er* here, the FP in (101) occurs next to a CC (*and*), but it also collocates with a silent pause and thus potentially fulfills two functions: turn holding and hesitation. The FPs in (102) do also feature characteristics of turn holding (the CC *and*) and hesitation, but unlike in the two previous examples, there are no silent pauses, but the close collocation of *ers* could be interpreted as an indication of hesitation.

- (100) (35) BO = well / BP / caused this spill / **er** we don't yet know exactly what happened / but whether it is a combination of human error / them cutting / corners on safety / or **er** a whole other variety of variables / they're responsible [...]
- (101) (17) BO [...] and my commitment / has always been for the last / 40 some'n days / to make sure that we are doing everything we can / to mitigate the damage / to help / cleanup / help recover / because this is an area that already got battered / er during hurricane season / and / **er** this is an area that i-is concerned not only for the economy / of the Gulf but also for an entire way of life =
- (102) (64) BO you know I'm not gonna comment on that Larry because that's really the job of the Justice Department **er** and **er** yo I made a commitment early on that I wouldn't be / putting my / ha er my thumb on the scales er when these kinds of decisions are made [...]

Even though hesitation is prominent particularly in example (102), I would consider that the CC *and* is a stronger characteristic, and consequently, that turn holding is the main function. In the other two examples, turn holding is more clearly the dominant function,

given that hesitation is only indicated by silent pauses that were not necessarily accurately allocated in the transcripts (cf. section 5.2).

Contrary to hesitation, highlighting, and turn holding, FPs featured clearly less frequently characteristics of turn taking and correction. Turn taking was indicated by the FP's location at the beginning of the turn and, most often, by the collocation of the FP and an answering particle (e.g., *well* or *you know*), as in (103) and (104) below. In both examples, hesitation is also present, given the repetition in the former and the false start and the other FP in the latter. As the examples show, the FPs need not be the very first element of the turn, but can come in second position, after the answering particle. The other less frequent function of correction is illustrated in examples (105) and (106). In (105), the FP is located between two NPs, namely *recovery efforts* and *mitigation efforts*, and it seems that Obama alters his word choice and specifies the information he wishes to convey. As Obama discusses the oil spill in the Gulf, the FP could also be highlighting in the sense that, unlike *recovery efforts*, *mitigation efforts* suggests that the situation in the Gulf will not be normalized after the oil spill, which is why Obama could focus the listener's attention on the phrase (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 187). Another type of correction occurs in (106) in which the FP is inserted after the beginning of a clause that conveys erroneous information, namely *him*, which Obama corrects in the following clause into *Marv Albert*, the person to whom he actually spoke. Given the repetition (*I-I-I*) and the silent pause, the FP is also hesitant.

- (103) (43) BO [s-so = well **er** th-they have felt / the anger [...]
- (104) (76) BO [**er** you know the er we've gone through the worst recession since the Great Depression [...]
- (105) (37) BO [...] what we have the responsibility for is to make sure that thee recovery efforts / **er** mitigation efforts along the coastline / making sure that / fishermen and and businesses that are being affected are getting paid promptly [...]
- (106) (90) BO [...] what I said to him was / **er** I-I-I didn't say it to him I said it to er Marv Albert [...]

Despite the overlaps with hesitation and highlighting, the features of turn taking and correction respectively are clear enough to be more dominating. It is important, though, to note that according to Kjellmer (2003: 184), the overlap of turn taking and hesitation is rare, or even non-existent. Additionally, in the present material, both functions were relatively infrequent in the speech of Obama, but they did occur.

Despite the strong presence of overlapping, the analysis of FPs so far was quite clear, and the functions of FPs rather neatly fell into the five categories of functions that Kjellmer (2003: 181-190) suggests. As in the preceding analyses of functions (sections 6.4 - 6.6), also the analysis of Obama's speech presented more demanding cases of FPs the function(s) of which were difficult to interpret. Highlighting in particular was a function that could match with the context of several FPs, depending on the reading. For instance in (107), the FP is turn holding because of the collocating CC *and*, and probably hesitant given the silent pause, but whether it also highlights the following clause is debatable. On the one hand, the FP could be interpreted as to introduce a contextually heavy message, namely a confession, but on the other hand, the most important information appears to be introduced after the next *er*, and the first *er* would only be a turn holder.

- (107) (13) BO well / this is an unprecedented oil spill we haven't seen li / er anything like this before / and that's why / er the minute that the rig / blew up and then sank down to the bottom of the ocean I called in my entire team / **er** and I have to tell you Larry that / **er** the worst case scenario was even worse than what were are seeing now / er becau[se

Likewise, in (108), the function of the FP is unclear. Regardless of one of Kjellmer's (2003: 174, 187) proposals that FPs at word level are highlighting, the NP head with the complement (*wells that we placed the moratorium*) is not semantically heavy, as in the context the prominence is on *deepwater* as opposed to *shallow water wells*, on which drilling can continue. The repetition and false start, though remote from the FP, could be weak indications of hesitation, or Obama could simply be looking for the word. In contrast, in (109), there are no textual indications of the function. The NP *Border States* could be read as a semantically heavy element, though *federal responsibility* seems more central in the context. Thus, it is doubtful that the FP would highlight the NP. It could, though, indicate hesitation, if the speaker is looking for the word.

- (108) (49) BO it's it's only the it's only the deepwater **er** wells that we placed the moratorium [...]

- (109) (66) BO [...] what we have to do is take on that federal responsibility by / working with **er** Border States on border security [...]

Whatever the interpretation in these three examples, none of the functions can be allocated with certainty on any clear basis. Thus, there was room for interpretation as regards some uses of FPs, which caused problems for the analysis. This, with the other analyses on functions, start to indicate certain shortcomings in the characteristics that

Kjellmer (2003: 182-190) proposes for the functions. Before any further discussion on this in section 7, I analyze the use of FPs in the speech of Jimmy Carter. Prior to that, though, there was one more aspect in the use of FPs in Obama's speech that need to be presented, namely the potential structural function of FPs.

In Obama's speech, some of the FPs appeared to demarcate the structure of an utterance and parentheticals, i.e., additional information that breaks the clause structure, in clauses. For instance, FPs mark the end of inserts in (110). The first FP occurs before a relative clause (*where we got the report...*) that is separated from the NP it modifies (*a Situation Room meeting*) by a PP (*about a week and a half ago*) which is an insert in the clause. The second FP takes part in a similar structure: the speaker begins a new clause (*it turns out that*), but then interrupts it with a parenthetical (*a-and now these are...*) after which he reintroduces the clause (*it turns out that a big powerful hurricane...*) and utters a FP before it as if to mark the end of the parenthetical. The FPs could arguably be simply hesitant when the speaker picks up the long, interrupted clause. Another case is found in (111) where the FP occurs before the parenthetical (*as frustrating as...*), which I take as a stronger indicator of the structural function. It could be, though, that *the banks* is only a preface repeated by the pronoun *they* and the parenthetical a subordinate clause preceding the main clause, but as the utterance is not planned, this option is unlikely. If the FP is taken to precede a parenthetical, it supports my suggestion that some FPs in Obama's speech could have a structural function.

- (110) (19) BO = you know w-w I did I had a Situation Room meeting about a week and a half ago / **er** where we got the report that this could be a more severe than normal hurricane season / and I asked well / ho-how does / er a potential oil spill / interact with a hurricane er and / er it turns out that / a-and now these are all estimations and probabilities / **er** it turns out that a big powerful hurricane / ironically is probably [...]
- (111) (80-82) BO [...] [I mean GM is now / **er** turning a profit and hiring again (82) and / the banks **er** as frustrating as er yo the situation having to erm bail them out was / they've / er are repaying that money [...]

The analysis of FPs in Obama's speech revealed that, as already hinted at in the preceding analyses, most often a FP has two or more overlapping functions. In Obama's speech, the majority of FPs featured characteristics of hesitation, turn holding, and highlighting, whereas turn taking and correction were less frequent. Moreover, the three most common functions overlapped most often. The analysis further revealed that some FPs were difficult to allocate a function, and that the function was dependent on the interpretation. This means that, on the basis of how the criteria for and the

characteristics of each function are read in the context, the function of a FP could be supported or questioned. Finally, the analysis suggested that some FPs in Obama's speech fulfilled a structural function that is not proposed by Kjellmer (2003). After this analysis, I turn to investigate the functions of FPs in the speech of Carter.

#### 6.4.5 Jimmy Carter

In this last section of the analysis, I focus on the interview with Jimmy Carter and on his use of FPs. When analyzing his speech, it is worth remembering that he is a still socially and politically active former president of the US and that he is the eldest of all the interviewees. During the interview with Larry King, he discussed his recently released book *White House Diary*, the current situation in Iran and his relations with the country, the health care bill forwarded by the incumbent president Obama, the extreme right in the US, and President Barack Obama himself. As in the previous sections, I begin with the most common function, hesitation, and thereafter discuss the other functions the FPs appeared to fulfill less frequently, including turn holding, highlighting, correction, and turn taking. I also deal with overlapping functions and problematic cases.

In Carter's speech, the features of the FPs most commonly corresponded to the function of hesitation. Hesitation often coexisted with other functions, although occasionally, the FPs Carter used indicated hesitation alone, as the example (112) below illustrates. In (112), the repetition of the proper noun *Aijalon* and the close collocation of FPs both suggest that the FPs are hesitant. Moreover, it appears that Carter is searching for the name, which is a further indication of hesitation (Kjellmer 2003: 183). In contrast, examples (113) and (114), illustrate the overlapping functions of FPs in which hesitation is the more prominent one. The first *er* in bold has characteristics of both hesitation and turn holding, given that the conjunction *and* indicating turn holding is repeated in (113). The two following FPs in bold also fulfill two functions: hesitation is indicated by the co-occurrence of the FPs, while correction by the change of the referent from *they* to *some of the leaders* and verb tense from present to past. Moreover, the FPs could be highlighting *some of the leaders* because it is a specification to the preceding statement: not all, but some. In (114), the false start (*Nixon President Nixon*) is characteristic of hesitation, while *er* appears also to be turn holding after King's minimal response. In addition, *er* could be used to highlight the PP *after I became governor* and underline the moment Carter met Nixon.

- (112) (49) JC [...] I just got back from North Korea you may know I went over there to get one of our young men / from Boston / Aijalon **er** Aijalon **er** Gomes / who walked across a frozen river from China into North Korea and he was arrested [...]
- (113) (102) JC [...] but there has been a deliberate effort / again referring to Fox / Broadcasting / to inject the race issue into it / **er** they've actually called / Obama a racist on television / and **er** and when they s-say like **er** / **er** some of the leaders of the Republican Party have said that he's **er** epitomizing / the tribal influence of his father from Kenya [...]
- (114) (31) JC = no kidding I had never f I was just out of the peanut fields I had / I met Nixon / President [Nixon  
 (32) LK [aha  
 (33) JC **er** after I became governor so / I was new at the presidential level and **er** it was kind of startling to me to be called president =

As suggested above and as these examples illustrate, FPs in Carter's speech during the interview could feature characteristics of hesitation alone or of hesitation and other functions simultaneously. The dominance of hesitation in the cases of overlap in the examples above is evident.

After hesitation, the most common function of FPs in Carter's speech was turn holding. Both types of turn holding were represented in the material, i.e., FPs co-occurring with CCs and those that alone separate thought units. FPs are located between thought units and alone – without CCs – hold the turn in example (115). Here the FPs clearly demarcate the structure of Carter's reasoning and attempt to hinder any turn takes. The first *er* in bold in (116) also illustrates the use of FPs as turn holders without a CC: the FP separates two thought units, and introduces a new one. Arguably, though, the FP could additionally highlight the following clause given the context: the speaker's decision was very controversial. In contrast, the second *er* in (116) features characteristics of turn holding alone, suggested by the collocating CC *and*. In the final example of turn holding, (117), the FP *er* can be interpreted to fulfill three functions simultaneously: turn holding, since it is located between two thought units, hesitation, as it collocates with a silent pause, and highlighting given the context. Carter is comparing the current situation with the one in the 19<sup>th</sup> century wartime, and therefore, *no other president* becomes semantically heavy and gains prominence.

- (115) (62) JC well I think he's / deliberately tries to be provocative he tries to say whatever he can to attract **er** attention to himself / **er** I think within certain bounds he stays within within thee wishes of the religious leaders who are actually superior beings / politically speaking in Iran / **er** he makes some obnoxious statements obviously on occasion / **er** maybe just to be **er** controversial [...]
- (116) (37-39) JC [...] you know immediately had to make [m (39) make official / **er** things that I had decided to do / **er** one of the things I did w-was was among the most controversial I

ever did and that was to pardon / the so-called draft dodgers who had escaped into Canada / and **er** I did that before I ever began to walk down toward the Oval Office

- (117) (110) JC [...] and I would even include / Abraham Lincoln as we l-led up to thee / war between the States / **er** no other president has ever faced such a polarized Congress / where you can hardly get one or two votes / you know / out of hundreds / er who are Republicans in the House and the Senate [...]

As the examples show, FPs were frequently used by Carter to signal turn holding. They could co-occur with CCs, which are clear signals of turn holding, or only separate new thought units. Moreover, these examples indicate that turn holding overlapped with other functions.

Alongside hesitation and turn holding, a large number of FPs could be analyzed as highlighting. As already indicated in the preceding analyses, highlighting is bound to the importance of the element closely following – or preceding – the FP; the context indicates whether a FP is highlighting or not. In (118), for instance, the speaker seems to highlight *Democratic*, as he first mentions *president* and then specifies the referent to *Democratic president*. In light of localization (cf. section 3.2; Kjellmer 2003: 174-176, 187), it could be argued that the entire NP is emphasized, but the context does not support this view. Alternatively, the FP could indicate correction, but as with the preceding claim, it seems more plausible that the speaker gives prominence to the adjective. Likewise, there are several alternatives for *er* in (119), though it most likely is highlighting. First, the main verb *epitomizing* appears semantically heavy, given Carter's reference to "racist connotations" in the following clause. Second, if the persons referred to (*some of the leaders*) actually used this specific wording, Carter could either emphasize their word choice (i.e., highlight) or search for the word they used (i.e., hesitate). In the context of racism, I would suggest that Carter highlights *epitomizing*, rather than shows uncertainty about the word, and so hesitates.

- (118) (29) JC well / you know I had been a peanut farmer I had no / yo-you you know who the first president **erm** Democratic president I've ever met /// Bill Clinton

- (119) (102) JC [...] and er and when they s-say like er / er some of the leaders of the Republican Party have said that he's **er** epitomizing / the tribal influence of his father from Kenya / you know that obviously has er political connotations so I think I mean racist connotations so I think some of it / is racist [...]

Occasionally, highlighting FPs in Carter's speech appeared to occur in relation to his personal views, although somewhat remotely at times. One such a case is illustrated below, in example (120). In the turn, Carter discusses the US – Iran relations and Iran's potential nuclear weapons, which are rather sensitive topics, and refers to and

labels the leader(s) in Iran. In an earlier turn (see (115) above) he suggested that Iran's president complies with the religious leaders' wishes at least to some extent, and hence the president does not hold the power. This is Carter's personal interpretation of the situation, as signaled by *I think* in (115) and *I would say* in (120), and therefore, the FP before *ultimate* could be used to seek acceptance for the term and its implication (that the religious leaders have the power). Even if the explicitly stated speaker's stance were disregarded, *ultimate* would appear emphasized, since it carries the suggestion that the president is not the actual leader of the country.

(120) (72) JC [...] so I think / communicate with them and stop threatening / that we're gonna attack them because if there are / I would say moderate / **er** ultimate leaders in the religious circles of Iran / who were doubtful about weather or not to have a nuclear weapon / the more we threaten them / and isolate them / from us the more likely they are to go with a nuclear weapon =

It must be noted that the interpretation of the FP *er* in example (120) is only made possible through the larger textual context and by viewing the interview as a whole. The importance of the big picture is hence even more visible in such cases of highlighting as illustrated in (120), even though it is essential for other cases of highlighting as well.

The three functions discussed above were the most common ones in Carter's speech. Only rarely did a FP signal correction (twice) or turn taking (once). Example (121) illustrates the former, while (122) the latter. In (121), there are actually two instances of correction: the first *er* indicates the correction of *to* into *fa-*, which is further corrected into *November*, signaled by the second *er*. In (122), the FP is turn introductory and co-occurs with the answering particle *well*, which is why *er* is analyzed as fulfilling the function of turn taking.

(121) (98) JC well it's fair I my guess is that thee // Tea Party will be very influential in the upcoming election / in the midterm election / this coming to **er** fa **er** November [...]

(122) (35) JC **er** [well I had to get into that first day because [...]]

As already indicated, these two functions were infrequent in the studied interview material, but nonetheless, they were included in the analysis in order to show that the functions did occur in Carter's speech. Another point worth mentioning is that the functions of attracting attention and turn yielding did not occur in this interview. This absence is further addressed in section 7. Prior to that, I analyze problematic cases in the analysis of the functions of FPs in Carter's speech.

Occasionally, just like the previously analyzed interviewees speech, Carter's speech presented less clear cases of FPs lacking textual cues. Three examples below illustrate the problem cases. In the first one, (123), the FP does neither meet the characteristics of highlighting, because the main verb *dictate* before which *er* occurs is not semantically heavy in the context, nor does the textual context give any indications of hesitation. The main verb could be classified as a new thought unit after a modal verb (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 177), but I am reluctant to agree with this, since *dictate* is not new in the context. Carter could simply be searching for words, but this cannot be stated with certainty without any knowledge of his cognitive activity. Likewise, in (124) the FP does not appear to be highlighting (especially since Carter repeats *Gingrich* three times) or signaling turn holding (as there is no new thought unit). One possible interpretation is that Carter hesitates due to the repetition of the name he would want to avoid. Finally, two problematic cases can be found in (125). Despite that the first FP occurs at word level (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 174, 187), it does not seem to highlight *aspect*, as the noun is not particularly important. The emphasis could though be on *negative*, i.e., the FP would highlight backwards (Stenström 1990: 241). Alternatively, Carter could be looking for an appropriate word and hence hesitate, but this cannot be backed up with any textual cues. In comparison, the second *er* could indicate a specification of reference and consequently highlight *Broadcasting*, but that seems unlikely. The many FPs, on the other hand, could suggest that the FPs, as well as the entire turn, are hesitant. This is feasibly the most likely reading.

- (123) (10) JC [no I dictated I had a little small Dic ha er hand-held er / Dictaphone so I / when I finished up a tape I just threw it in the outbasket I never looked at it again I put a new / tape in / and six or seven times every day I would **er** dictate my latest thoughts [...]
- (124) (106) JC [yeah I was talking about Gingrich / you know I think the Gingrich of five years ago would be embarrassed at what **er** Gingrich is saying today and doing today
- (125) (94) JC [...] and I think the negative **er** aspect to it is because of the total distortion of the news / that Fox **er** Broadcasting has er perpetrated on the American people / when they hammer away day after day after day / er that his er health / program will kill old people and things of that kind [...]

These examples reveal that the analysis of FPs was not always straightforward in Carter's speech. Some uses presented debatable cases the interpretation of which was quite dependent on the reading. As the analysis shows, the justifications for functions were merely speculative and could be based on very few, if any, textual cues. I will discuss these cases in more depth in section 7.

This analysis of FPs in Carter's speech revealed that for the most part the FPs could be allocated a function on the basis Kjellmer's (2003) findings. Hesitation was the most common function, followed by turn holding and highlighting. Correction and turn taking played a minor role in the use of FP in Carter's speech. Most often, the features of a FP corresponded to the characteristics of two or more functions simultaneously and a FP had only rarely one function alone. In the cases of overlapping, hesitation was very often one of the functions. These findings in the analysis of FPs in Carter's speech and in the other interviewees' speeches, as well as the analyses of frequencies will be more thoroughly discussed in the next section.

## 7. Discussion

The aim of the present study was to test Kjellmer's (2003) research into the frequency, location, and functions of FPs. This was conducted by applying the same methods Kjellmer (2003) uses, namely frequency estimation, grammatical analysis of the locations of FPs, and then by allocating functions to the FPs on the basis of their locations and features, and how they corresponded to the categories of functions Kjellmer (2003) proposes. In this section, I discuss the results of the analyses (sections 6.1 to 6.4), and compare them with Kjellmer's (2003) study and other previous findings. The order is identical to the analyses: the overall frequency of FPs and the location of FPs in grammatical structures and their frequency are discussed first, and then the analyses of functions in the five interviewees' speech. These are followed by general comments on the present study.

*Frequency of FPs.* The analysis of frequency of FPs in the interview material (see section 6.1) gave results that partly corresponded with the previous studies that analyze frequency. In Kjellmer's (2003: 172) analysis<sup>23</sup>, *er* and *erm* made up to 0.32% of the total word count in the corpus, while in Stenström's (1990: 218) study<sup>24</sup>, the average frequency was 0.67%, and the speaker-specific frequency ranged from 0.24% to 3.66% (ibid.: 217). Already Maclay & Osgood (1959: 34)<sup>25</sup> established the average of FPs to be 3.87% of the total word count, whereas the individual speaker's

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<sup>23</sup> Kjellmer (2003: 172) expressed the frequency of *er* and *erm* as 3 FPs per 1000 words.

<sup>24</sup> Stenström (1990: 217) presented the frequency in the form of words per FP. The lower ratio was 416.7 words per 1 FP and the higher 27.3 words per 1 FP. The average was 149.6 words per 1 FP (ibid.: 218). For comparison, the percentages were calculated from these numbers and rounded off to two decimal places.

<sup>25</sup> Maclay & Osgood (1959: 34) presented the frequencies in form of rates per 100 words.

frequency ranged from 1.54% to 7.21%. The speaker-specific variation (between 0.92% and 5.13%) in the present study slightly differed from these earlier findings, whereas the average frequency of FPs in relation to the total word count (3.12%) notably deviated from two of the more recent studies, namely that of Kjellmer and Stenström. On the basis of their findings, both Maclay & Osgood (1959: 34-35) and Stenström (1990: 216) suggested that FPs are individually constrained. My findings, both as to the average frequency and to the speaker-specific use support this claim. Other scholars, too, have noted this individuality, including Goldman-Eisler (1961: 23-24) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 97-98) for FPs, and Shriberg (2001: 157) for hesitation in general.

One aspect to be taken into account when reflecting on the individual differences, and particularly in the material of this study, is age. Bortfeld *et al.* (2001: 138) claimed that hesitation phenomena increase in speech with age. However, in my material, the tendency appeared to be the opposite: the eldest interviewee (Carter) used the second fewest FPs in relation to his total word count (2.74%), while the youngest interviewee (Obama) used the most FPs in relation to his total word count (5.13%). The other two elder interviewees (McCain and Clinton) used less FPs (3.15% and 0.92% respectively) than the youngest interviewees (Obama and Gore, 5.13% and 3.77% respectively), who used the most FPs of all. Moreover, it can be noted that the age difference between Clinton, using the least FPs, and Gore, using the second most FPs, is only two years. Thus, in this material age did not correlate with the number of FPs used, and support Bortfeld *et al.*'s (2001) findings. It is more difficult to estimate whether the topics (familiarity) influenced the use of FPs (Bortfeld *et al.* 2001: 135), as no measures of the interviewees' knowledge of the topics could be conducted. However, it is safe to surmise that the interviewees were more or less equally familiar with the topics, given that they all are still actively engaged in politics. Moreover, there were no important differences in the topics covered either, which could have explained the variation in the use of FPs. The speakers' experience and current status appear to be the only possible explanation in addition to general individual differences: incumbent president vs. opposition politician vs. previous elder presidents.

Apart from individuality and age, differences in the frequency of FPs could be due to turn length (Bortfeld *et al.* 2001: 135) or clause length (Cook, Smith & Lalljee 1974: 13). This is an unlikely factor, however, given that all the speakers were given long turns, and they structured long and complex clauses. No estimations of average turn or clause lengths were made, but the transcripts (see Appendices 1-6) do

give strong indications that there were no important differences in turn length. For instance, Obama and Gore, who produced the most FPs, did not produce longer turns than Clinton, who produced the least FPs. Even McCain, whose interviews were brief, did embark on long turns. Therefore, turn or clause length does not explain the differences in frequency, although they might have affected the production of individual FPs by the interviewees.

Apart from the frequency for the FPs together, also the frequency for *er* and *erm* separately in the present study deviated from those in Kjellmer (2003: 172). The FP *er* was vastly more frequent (2.99% of the total word count) than *erm* (0.14% of the total word count), while the respective percentages in Kjellmer's (2003: 172) study<sup>26</sup> were 0.17% and 0.15%. No other study on FPs has estimated frequency for the FPs separately, even though Clark & Fox Tree (2002), for instance, studied *uh* and *um* separately and concluded that they fulfill different functions. The notable difference in frequency could not be explained by the following sound, as both *er* and *erm* frequently occurred before both consonant and vowel sounds; there appeared to be no division of labor in this regard. The FP *er* had a slight preference for consonants (57.18%), but *erm* occurred practically equally often before both sounds (45% vs. 55%). The case was similar in Kjellmer's (2003: 173) study: *er* did not prefer consonants and *erm* vowels. It must be noted though that in his study both FPs were clearly less frequent before vowels. Given the lack of information of silent pauses and their lengths after FPs in my material, it is impossible to know whether the pause length after *er* and *erm* affected the choice of FP, as Clark & Fox Tree (2002) suggested. As the FP *erm* was infrequent in the present material, the FP could simply be randomly used by the interviewees. These findings do, however, encourage further investigations into the uses of *er* and *erm*.

As a final point on the frequency of FPs, I want to discuss the possibility that the interviewees had selective control over their use of FPs (Clark & Fox Tree 2002: 98-99), and that the speech situation and speaker relations affected the frequency (Stenström 1990: 216). Schachter *et al.* (1991: 365) suggested that speakers produce less FPs in formal contexts (in their study, lectures), while more in informal situations (private recorded face-to-face interviews). Although I did claim in section 5.2 that the speech situation in *Larry King Live* is not strictly formal, I do believe that it is formal enough for the interviewees, experienced politicians, to control their speech and to use

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<sup>26</sup> Kjellmer (2003: 172) presented only raw numbers for the frequencies of *er* and *erm* in the entire corpus. The presented percentages were thus calculated on the basis of the raw numbers by the author.

less FPs, since hesitation can negatively influence their public image as it is stylistically dispreferred in more formal contexts (Lakoff 1990: 43-44) and it signals difficulties (Fairclough 2010: 153-156, 158). Importantly, also silence is frowned upon by the electorate (Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007: 18-19), which in contrast could encourage the use of FPs. Whether the interviewees' use of FPs depended upon the speech situation can however only be revealed in a comparative study. Apart from a study on the use of FPs in different situations, i.e., private vs. public, it could be interesting in future to investigate whether the type of talk show affects the speaker, i.e., whether the interviewees' use of FPs varies in talk shows with or without studio audience. As to the relation between the interviewee and the interviewer, it seemed to be familiar for most of the interviewees, given that many of them have been interviewed by Larry King before (see section 5.1). This does not mean that the relationship would necessarily be intimate, but intuitively, it could have positively affected the atmosphere and made the speech situation less formal.

*Localization.* The analysis of the location of FPs in grammatical structures revealed two things. First, the categorization of the structures in which FPs were used was not as easy and clear as Kjellmer (2003) suggested. Second, the three categories he proposed for the structures – word, phrase, and clause – were inadequate. The interview material presented several cases that demanded justifications for categorization at one level or another, justifications that Kjellmer's (2003) study did not provide. In this regard, his study appeared to be selective, leaving out certain phrases (AdvPs), or phrase structures (simple VPs, VPs in present tense, progressive aspect, and NPs without a determiner), as well as certain clause types (relative, complement, and postmodifying clauses). FPs introduced all these structures in the studied material. Stenström (1990: 235) did incorporate a larger variety of structures in her analysis of localization, but it mainly focused on silent pauses, and was thus not comparable with the present study. Moreover, Kjellmer (2003) was not entirely clear about the terms *word*, *phrase*, and *clause*, i.e., what elements he categorized as words, phrases, and clauses. In order to conduct an optimal analysis of frequency at the levels of language, it was necessary to explain categorization of the elements in the present material.

Clauses, for instance, were constructed in various manners and they were not necessarily introduced by a conjunction, which was the only clause structure analyzed by Kjellmer (2003). In the interviews, FPs preceded clauses that were not introduced by conjunctions, as well as clauses that were introduced by prepositional

phrases, for instance, that in another location would function at phrase level. As the focus was on the largest unit the FP preceded, it was the clause rather than the phrase the FP introduced. FPs occurred also before elliptical structures which would be clauses in their complete form. None of these three clause structures was addressed in Kjellmer's (2003) study, which casts doubts on the completeness of his analysis of FPs in clause structures. Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 94-95) addressed FPs at larger unit boundaries without conjunctions, but they focused on sentences, i.e., a different and larger unit of analysis. Comparison was problematic, because the sentence is a unit of written language (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 165), and it consists of clause(s) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 47-48), i.e., clauses are intra-sentential. The vast corpora<sup>27</sup> used by Kjellmer (2003) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002) naturally set limitations on the rigorosity of their analyses, and they were unable to study all potential structures.

Alongside FPs before clauses, also the location of FPs within clause structures needed to be specified. While Kjellmer (2003: 175-179) analyzed only a selection of phrase structures and words with FPs, the interview material featured a wider variety of structures, such as single word phrases, compound nouns, and premodified NPs including a FP and/or preceded by FPs. Single word phrases in particular proved interesting, as a FP before such a phrase could be analyzed to occur at word or phrase level, and thus potentially to have different functions depending on the categorization. If, following Kjellmer (2003: 174, 187), only FPs at word level could be highlighting, then, depending on the category of a single word phrase, it could be analyzed as highlighting or to fulfill another function. Another structure that occurred in the material, but which was not addressed by Kjellmer, was a phrase with two FPs, i.e., one before the head and one before its premodifier. These localizations affected not only the analysis of frequency, but also the allocation of functions. An additional problem occurred with VPs in present tense and with progressive aspect, as Kjellmer (2003: 176-177) only addressed VPs in past tense and perfective aspect, and present modal VPs. Evidently, the location of a FP before a single VP, for instance, can have different repercussions on the analysis of functions than their locations in the VPs addressed by Kjellmer (2003).

Regardless of the clarifications to localization, not all FPs could be neatly placed into the categories of word, phrase, and clause. In the interview material, a fairly

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<sup>27</sup> Kjellmer's (2003: 171) corpus consisted of 57,4 million words, while Clark & Fox Tree's (2002: 80-81) entire material of four corpora consisted of approximately 2,9 million words.

small, though important, minority of FPs introduced relative and complement clauses, and other postmodifying clauses. Only one of Kjellmer's (2003: 180) examples included a subordinator – a complementizer – introducing a complement clause, but otherwise he focused on conjunctions introducing main and subordinate clauses, i.e., the highest structures of language in his tripartite division. Postmodifying clauses cannot be categorized into clause level, however, as they are in close relation with their head – noun, adjective, or verb – and they are part of the respective phrase (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 65). Thus, I categorized them into *other* level, which included relative clauses, complement clauses, and postmodifying non-finite clauses, as well as unidentifiable FP locations. As it appears, this is an essential category that needs to be added to the ones used by Kjellmer. Such a category admittedly raises the question of whether other structures with FPs like embedded phrases should also be dealt with differently. However, unlike the postmodifying clauses and the category of clauses, the embedded phrases fit quite neatly into the category of phrases.

On the basis of the present study applying Kjellmer's (2003) methods, it is obvious that Kjellmer's (2003) analysis of structures and his categories present certain shortcomings. Most likely, it was his material that made it difficult to address all the aspects mentioned above, since details are less easily studied in a broad study of a large corpus. Apparently, the method of tagging forced him to be selective, though he never explicitly justified his choices. On the basis of the present study, I cautiously suggest that for a detailed and rigorous investigation of FPs in grammatical structures a smaller set of data is more suitable material than a large corpus. A smaller data set, such as the limited number of interviews, allows a more profound study of any possible locations of FPs, and not only of certain, chosen structures. Moreover, the locations are more easily determined when the entire material can be scrutinized, and not only certain parts of it. The location of FPs before postmodifiers was only uncovered because of the material, and in a larger data set it had remained unfound.

*Frequency of FPs in relation to their locations.* In the present study, not only did the FPs' locations indicate a need for a fourth category, but also their frequency at the different levels varied from the findings in previous research. The average frequency for the interviewees corroborated the findings in Kjellmer's (2003) study even though a fourth category was added. Hence, clause level attracted the most FPs, phrase level the second most, word level the second least, and the category of other the least. Before Kjellmer, Cook (1971: 138) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 94-95)

established that larger units attract more FPs, while Hawkins (1971: 283-284) suggested similar results for silent and filled pauses, and Chafe (1980: 174) for hesitation phenomena in general. However, in the interview material of this study, it was only the average frequency that replicated this earlier established pattern, while the individual, speaker-specific frequency gave different results. When taking into account the category of other, the FPs were located most frequently at clause level and least frequently at other level only in Obama's speech; all the other interviewees presented deviations from this pattern. As the analysis indicated (see section 6.3), FPs could occur equally often at clause and phrase level, as well as at phrase and word level, i.e., clause level did not necessarily attain the most, and word level the least FPs. Moreover, although the category of other registered the least FPs in the majority of speeches, it could be equal with word level. These findings can be explained by the individual variations in the use of FPs (cf. e.g., Goldman-Eisler 1961: 23-24; Clark & Fox Tree 2002: 97-98).

At clause level, the frequency of CCs and the conjunction *and* collocating with FPs gave unexpected results compared with previous research findings. Practically, both CCs and the conjunction *and* occurred equally frequently before and after the FPs. Both Hawkins (1971: 282) and Stenström (1990: 237-238) established that silent and filled pauses occur more often before conjunctions, while Kjellmer's (2003: 181-182) results indicated the opposite, i.e., FPs occur after CCs and *and*. It must be noted that Hawkins (1971) and Stenström (1990) studied silent and filled pauses, which could explain the similarity of their results, while Kjellmer (2003) was only concerned with FPs. The finding that FPs are equally frequent on both sides of the CC and *and* is thus important in light of the previous findings. Additionally, it supports my suggestion in section 2.2.5 that not only FPs *after* a CC but also *before* a CC correspond to Kjellmer's (2003: 184-185) category of the function of turn holding. On the basis of his finding that FPs occur after CCs, Kjellmer (2003: 185) proposed that only FPs after a CC indicate turn holding. In line with Kjellmer's (2003) reasoning, then, the equally frequent location of FPs before and after the CC suggest that, if the function of turn holding is related to CCs, both FPs before and after a CC indicate turn holding.

The findings regarding the frequency of FPs in relation to their locations present notable differences to Kjellmer's and other researchers' findings. The reasons for this can be multiple, but one important factor is the data. Kjellmer (2003) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002) analyzed material consisting of millions of words, which demand a different, deductive approach to the phenomenon. Cook (1971), Hawkins (1971), and

Chafe (1980), on the contrary, studied FPs in a smaller set of data, but the material was produced for research purposes, i.e., it was not natural in the sense that the recording situation was an artificial situation of communication. Stenström (1990), too, worked with material that was more feasible for detailed scrutiny, but for the localization, she had deliberately chosen one part of her material that featured very few FPs, since her focus was on silent pauses (Stenström 1990: 232). My material was considerably smaller than that of Kjellmer (2003) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002), and somewhat more limited than the material used by Cook (1971), Hawkins (1971), and Chafe (1980); only Stenström's (1990) data for the analysis of localization was smaller than mine. Evidently, the occurrences are less frequent and the findings less open to generalization in the kind of material used, and thus studies on a larger sample do provide more conclusive results. Nevertheless, although my findings do not corroborate the earlier established result, the deviations should not be regarded as unimportant anomalies, but encourage further investigations.

*Functions of FPs.* In the discussion of the functions in the interviews, I take a twofold approach: the interviews are discussed together to give a general idea of the findings, while the comparisons of the separate interviewees will bring up the individual features of each speaker. The discussion is not divided into two, but rather, comparison is brought in when found appropriate. First, I discuss general aspects of the analysis and findings, mainly relating to Kjellmer's (2003) research as that was the study to be tested. Then, I move on to discuss some of the functions in more detail. After this, I relate my findings to other previous research findings.

What could be observed in all the five interviewees' use of FPs, is that, for the most part, the FPs featured characteristics that corresponded to one or the other of the functions Kjellmer (2003: 181-190) proposed for FPs, namely hesitation proper, turn taking, holding and yielding, attracting attention, highlighting, and correction. As Kjellmer (2003: 182-183) suggested, FPs could most often be categorized as hesitation in all interviews according to Kjellmer's criteria, i.e., FPs often co-occurred with each other, with false starts and repetitions, or with silent pauses. Turn holding and highlighting were other frequent functions, while correction and turn taking were the least frequent. In the material, no FPs presented clear characteristics of turn yielding or attracting attention. As to the former, this can be due to the difficulty in the allocation of a function to a FP at the end of a turn, as it could be both turn holding and yielding (Kjellmer 2003: 185). The nonexistence of the latter, on the contrary, could depend on

the type of material and speech situation: only two persons participated in the interview and the need to create contact was less important, while Kjellmer's (2003: 186-187) examples illustrated situations in which several speakers were involved and in which it was quite possible to need to create contact by using FPs.

It became evident in the analysis that, unlike the preliminary discussion above suggests, the characteristics of the FPs did only rarely correspond to one function alone, but rather, overlapped with one or more functions. Kjellmer (2003: 189-190) did discuss this aspect, but, hesitation apart, he seemed to view it more as an occasional feature of the functions. On the basis of the findings in the present study, I suggest that the overlap of any of the functions is a rule rather than an exception. Furthermore, in cases of overlap, certain features of the FPs appeared to be more prominent than others. By this I mean that characteristics corresponding to one function were more dominant, and a FP would mainly fit into one category of functions, although carrying some characteristics of others as well. Consequently, I analyzed the majority of FPs as having one major function, presented the FPs within the frames of its main function, and only pointed out the minor function(s). The finding suggests that FPs have more 'dominant' characteristics making them more apt to fulfill one and not the other function, though it must be stressed that this 'dominance' is artificial; what function is eventually more prominent cannot be judged without any knowledge of the speaker's cognitive activity.

Moreover, the categories and the characteristics of functions proposed by Kjellmer (2003) turned out to be inadequate in the analysis of the interviews. Obama's speech (see section 6.4.4) in particular featured several FPs the function of which remained unclear, as the context did not feature clear and unified characteristics of any of the functions. In these so-called problematic cases the FPs could be considered to represent one or the other function – mainly hesitation or highlighting – depending on the reading. Therefore, the analysis was merely speculative as to these FPs. This finding indicates that Kjellmer's (2003) categories of functions are inadequate and that the characteristics he mentions for each function are limited and not necessarily exclusive. It is worth remembering that Kjellmer (2003: 182) did not claim to account for every function of FPs, but rather for some of the main functions. Hence, this inadequacy also indicates that there are functions that are yet to be discovered. The reason why Obama's speech featured most of these cases could be the simple fact that he used FPs the most. The speaker-specific differences in these so-called problematic cases could also indicate that not only are FPs per se used individually (e.g., Maclay & Osgood 1959: 34-35;

Goldman-Eisler 1961: 23-24; Stenström 1990: 216; Clark & Fox Tree 2002: 97-98), but also that their uses, i.e., functions vary according to the speaker.

Apart from the functions discussed above, some FPs in the speech of McCain, Clinton, and Obama appeared to be used to demarcate the structure. FPs introduced quotes (McCain), indicated the argumentative structures (McCain, Clinton), the structures of answers (Clinton), and parentheticals (Obama). The analysis of these demanded a larger contextual and situational knowledge, which Kjellmer (2003) obviously lacked. He did refer to the “structuring effect of functions” (Kjellmer 2003: 189-190), but this was more related to the smaller textual context he used in his analysis, and the structures he referred to were the functions, i.e., correction and highlighting, for instance. Likewise, Bailey & Ferreira (2003: 197) focused on the close textual context when they concluded that hesitation phenomena could disambiguate syntactic structures. Of the suggested structural functions only FPs in relation to quotes had been noted earlier. Hawkins (1971: 282) proposed that a small proportion of silent and filled pauses occur “before the first item of a clause in quoted speech” (*ibid.*), i.e., silent and filled pauses introduce quotes, which my findings corroborate. In contrast, O’Connell & Kowal (2005: 569) established that FPs never introduce a citation. This is particularly intriguing, given that their material consisted of talk show interviews with a prominent American politician. The contradictory findings in similar material suggest that further investigations are certainly welcome.

Alongside the introduction of quotes, the other proposed structural functions revealed two things. First, the larger textual and situation context are essential in the study of FPs: the immediate textual context can present evidence for one or more functions, but a wider perspective and knowledge of the situation and the speakers can reveal additional functions. Second, following on from this first statement, research on FPs in a smaller set of data, i.e., material that is feasible for a minute and detailed analysis is necessary. The present study aimed at this kind of analysis, and thus with contextual information, other possible functions were revealed. As already mentioned, the deviation from Kjellmer (2003) and other previous research might be due to the type and amount of material used, which can also potentially explain the absence of the proposed structural functions in other, larger samples of data. This need not be a problem, however, but is a possibility worth keeping in mind.

The characteristics of FPs analyzed as hesitant, highlighting, and turn holding revealed certain aspects that need to be elaborated. One of Kjellmer’s (2003:

183) criteria to allocate a FP the function of hesitation was that it co-occurs with a silent pause, a characteristic that could not be properly addressed in the present study. In the analysis, any transcribed silent pause was used as an indication of hesitation regardless of the pause length; it was difficult to reliably differentiate between short and longer pauses due to the lack of possibility to instrumental measurement. To observe silent pauses and to analyze functions on a firmer basis, a division between juncture and hesitation pauses, i.e., between very short, nearly unobservable pauses that do not interrupt speech and longer, notable pauses that interrupt speech (Maclay & Osgood 1959: 20), is necessary. O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 465-466) criticized the reliability of perceptually noted pauses, and emphasized the importance of instrumental measurement. Kjellmer (2003: 183) did not define the silent pause he used as a criterion, but it is doubtful that juncture pauses would be transcribed in CobuildDirect. The fact that I ignored the differences in pause lengths is an obvious shortcoming of the study, though I do not consider it to undermine the analysis, since pauses were the only indication of a function in very few cases. For future studies, this means however that instrumental measurement of pauses should be considered, since it gives more reliability for the allocation of functions.

The other characteristics of hesitation as proposed by Kjellmer (2003) presented features that also need to be addressed. In the present study, repetitions, false starts, and other FPs frequently occurred close to the FP studied, i.e., it did not strictly co-occur with repetition, for instance, but they were separated by one or two words. Nonetheless, the FP appeared hesitant due to the collocation(s). Likewise, turns with many FPs that carried characteristics of hesitation made the entire turn hesitant. On the basis of these findings, it appears that also close collocations of FPs could be analyzed as indicating hesitation, and that hesitation could be expressed through repeated use of FPs. According to Kjellmer (2003: 188), FPs can be repeatedly used to only express highlighting; he did not mention a similar possibility for hesitation (cf. *ibid.*: 182-183). My findings, however, point in this direction.

FPs introducing a single element showed an important difference between FPs that signal word search (hesitation) and those that signal word choice (highlighting), which was partly complicated in Kjellmer's (2003) study in the lack of clear differentiation between words and single word phrases. The distinction was not always clear in the present study either, though often either function was more likely, given that the speakers were politicians. In McCain's speech (see section 6.4.1), for

instance, FPs recurrently occurred before words that qualified or were related to the incumbent president. The choice of an appropriate expression in such a context is particularly important, since the politicians need to appeal to the voters (Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007: 20; cf. also Chilton 2004: 85). Kjellmer (2003) related word search to hesitation (ibid.: 183), while highlighting to a semantically heavy element that “is being chosen circumspectly” (ibid.: 187-188). This definition of highlighting does implicitly capture word choice, but it is worth extra emphasis in the present material. According to Chafe (1980: 178-179), hesitation phenomena are caused by problems in knowing what to say next (content) and how to say it (form). The choice of form directly relates to the choice of word, although it could be interpreted to incorporate word search as well, as content decisions are made *between* phrases and clauses, while decisions of form *within* phrases and clauses (Chafe 1980: 178-179). This definition of form is not explicit either, though it does lend itself more easily to word choice.

If Chafe’s (1980) findings are compared with those of O’Connell & Kowal (2005), the form – word choice relation becomes more evident. O’Connell & Kowal (2005: 471) proposed three functions for FPs including signals of planning and preparedness problems, which can be related to word search. The distinct nature of highlighting of word choice gains even more credibility in light of the findings in perception studies. According to Corley, MacGregor & Donaldson (2007: 666), hearers process words introduced by a FP differently than those without a FP and they relate the use of FPs to the predictability of the following element; hearers may thus perceive (unexpected) word choices differently. Eventually, however, the separation is artificial, since it is difficult to determine whether a speaker is looking for a word, emphasizing a word choice, or doing both; knowledge of cognitive activity of the speaker is essential in this respect. Without this knowledge, it is merely a question of interpretation of the material and the context (e.g., a politically sensitive topic) in which the FP occurs. On the basis of this reasoning and the analysis in the present study, it is safe to surmise that unlike Hayashi & Yoon (2010: 42) propose for Japanese, word search is not a function in its own right, but part of hesitation, just like word choice is part of highlighting.

Another noteworthy aspect of highlighting brought up by the interview material was the location of the highlighted element(s). Occasionally, a FP did not relate to the *following* element(s), but to the *preceding* one(s), i.e., it did not highlight the element after, but before it. Stenström (1990: 241) explicitly pointed out this possibility as she claimed that silent or filled pauses could highlight forward and backward. This is

not directly contradictory with Kjellmer's (2003) study, given his suggestion in a footnote that both the element before and after a FP are equally important (*ibid.*: 174). Eventually, however, this remark did not gain much attention in his analysis, and, admittedly, it has not been given enough credit in this research either, due to the point of departure of the study: testing and applying Kjellmer's (2003) study. The scope of FPs should however be given more prominence in research on FPs.

Additionally, context was essential for the allocation of the function of highlighting. As the present study suggests, FPs cannot be categorized as corresponding to the function of highlighting without any knowledge of the larger textual context, or even the situational context. Consequently, Kjellmer's (2003: 187) finding that infrequent words tend to be highlighted is doubtful, given the limited context his examples provided; his material did not seem to allow to determine whether a word is infrequent or not. Naturally, his corpus of 57 million words considerably limited the contextual knowledge that was available and possible to take into account. In this respect, the present study with a material of 14,700 words had an advantage in that both the textual and situational contexts were more easily analyzable, and consequently, given a firm contextual basis, the FPs could be allocated the function of highlighting.

Regarding the functions relating to turn construction, it was not particularly surprising that FPs often had features that correspond to the function of turn holding, given that the existence of the function has long since been established by Livant (1963), and later by Bortfeld *et al.* (2001: 142), and Shriberg (2001: 156). Compared with Kjellmer's (2003) study, there was an important proportion of FPs whose features corresponded to the characteristics of the function of turn holding as proposed by Kjellmer (2003: 184-185), but that did not co-occur with a CC. Kjellmer (*ibid.*) mainly focused on the collocation of FPs and CCs, and his analysis could be interpreted as to suggest that the FPs indicating turn holding more often co-occur with a CC, than fulfill the function alone. This was not the case in the present study, however. Hence, there appears to be no need to expect FPs signaling turn holding to necessarily occur with CCs.

In sections 2.2.5 and 2.2.6, I suggested that the function of introducing new thought units as proposed by Kjellmer (2003: 174) is a superordinate category of the functions of FPs, and the five other functions (hesitation proper, turn taking, holding, and yielding, attracting attention, highlighting, and correction) are subordinate functions. The findings from the analysis of functions suggest that this is the case: they

gave no indications that a FP would introduce new thought units only. First, just like in Kjellmer's (2003) study, the FPs were located before certain units of language, i.e., at word, phrase, and clause level, which is the criteria on which Kjellmer (2003: 174) bases the function, as well as included in the category of other. Secondly, the functions were not strictly tied to one particular level. Consequently, if words, phrases, clauses, and elements at other level are considered as thought units, then, the introduction of new thought units could be seen as a superordinate function, i.e., a function always overlapping with the five subordinate functions.

In contrast, research in the perception and comprehension of FPs could contradict the claim of a superordinate function. Arnold, Fagnano & Tanenhaus (2003) and Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus (2007) established that FPs indicate new information to the listener, which could be interpreted as a function per se, since it does not cover correction and the functions related with turn structure, for instance. As an example, FPs indicating correction do not inform about contextually new information to which the study results above refer, but about an error the speaker has made. However, although the discourse new information could be one function, it must be noted that both Arnold, Fagnano & Tanenhaus (2003) and Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus (2007) specifically focused on old versus new information, and that the test task was to follow instructions with or without a FP and then to click one or the other picture on a computer screen. I do not intend to undermine the studies, but to suggest that their findings are somewhat limited in application.

Compared with other previous research generally, the findings regarding functions in the present study were relatively minute and detailed. Only Kjellmer (2003) and Clark & Fox Tree (2002) have paid more attention to the detailed analysis of functions, while other previous research have tended to provide rather general functions that leave room for more specific functions. Many of the functions proposed in this study can therefore be seen as part of a more general function. Chafe (1980: 171) related FPs to problems in speech, a function that covers not only correction, but also hesitation and turn yielding, for instance. The main function that Clark & Fox Tree (2002: 75) proposed for FPs was planning problems, which could correspond to hesitation and correction, while the functions of signaling minor and major delays (*ibid.*: 82-86), or simply delays (O'Connell & Kowal 2004: 471) could not be accounted for by this study due to the lack of instrumental measurement of pause lengths. Fox

(2010: 2) also referred to the delaying function of hesitation phenomena, which could represent many, if not all, of the functions as proposed by Kjellmer (2003: 181-190).

*General features.* The present study has brought up important aspects in Kjellmer's (2003) study and novel knowledge of FPs. As the discussion so far indicates, by applying Kjellmer's (2003) methods to a smaller set of data of 14,700 words with a different approach (i.e., inductive vs. deductive), the study has revealed certain shortcomings in the tested research. As already hinted, corpora are very large sets of data in which a minute analysis is impossible and in which smaller features of FPs, such as structural locations, vanish. These, however, are mainly due to the material chosen for analysis; grammatical analysis and contextual aspects lend themselves more easily to investigation in a smaller set of data. Quite naturally, such a data – like the interviews in the present study – do reveal detailed aspects of the FPs and their functions, and enable more exclusive criteria for the functions when extensively used in the research in FP. For the time being, the criteria are rather loose and can cover many different FPs, though it cannot be stated with certainty that any exclusive criteria can ever be determined. The present study does however show that Kjellmer's (2003) functions indeed exist, and that, by and large, his methods work. His research is no doubt an important contribution to the field of study, and to pragmatic, natural spoken language studies in particular.

An obvious shortcoming of the present study is the exclusion of prosody in the analysis of functions. As Kjellmer (2003: 185, 190) noted, prosody can inform on the uses of FPs, and therefore it had been essential to take it into account in the study. However, given the confines of the present study and the lack of reliable methods and instruments for the annotation of intonation, for instance, prosody was left out. Given that prosodic information valuable for the analysis of FPs, it should be incorporated in future studies. It is highly likely that for instance the analysis of the structural functions proposed in this study could gain support from intonation. On the basis of observations in the present material, the function of highlighting, for instance, could potentially be backed up by stress patterns, given that speakers may use stress to emphasize. Prosodic information could thus provide firmer basis for this function.

Furthermore, it must be noted that since FPs are spoken language phenomena studied in spoken language, the applicability of written language grammar to studies on FPs is debatable. As the analysis of grammatical structures indicated, written language grammar is at times with difficulty applied to spoken discourse. This is

due to the nature of spoken discourse, filled with incomplete structures, false starts, repetitions, and pauses (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 166, 168). In future studies, it could be tested whether another grammar, such as Sag, Wasow & Bender's (2003) context dependent grammar, would turn out to be more useful and better represent spoken language. In the analysis of FPs, such a grammar could be valuable and bring up important information about localization and other features of FPs. Since the aim of this study was to test Kjellmer's (2003) research, the application of another grammar was out of the question – the present study would not have been testing, but applying an entirely new type of approach altogether.

Another aspect that could be focused on in future research is meaning(s) of FPs. On the basis of the findings in the present study, it could be proposed that meaning equals with function: e.g., a FPs signaling hesitation carries the meaning of hesitation, that is, uncertainty, for instance. This is a mere suggestion to which the material gave rise. It relates to Clark & Fox Tree's (2002: 87-90) suggestion that the meanings of FPs are implicatures, i.e., the cause of a FP implicates its meaning. In a similar manner, O'Connell & Kowal (2005: 572) claimed that the meaning of a FP can be found when viewing the FPs in the surrounding context. Thus, for these scholars, too, the meaning is bound to the causing factors of FPs. The importance of context could bring in Blakemore's (2002) procedural meaning theory as a potential line of investigation. *Procedural* (contextual) *meaning*, as opposed to *conceptual* (literal) *meaning*, refers to information about how to interpret an utterance in context (Blakemore 2002: 3-4). In the present material, discourse markers, which encode procedural meaning (cf. Fraser 2006), and FPs co-occur relatively frequently, which gives indications of the applicability of Blakemore's theory. If FPs encode the meaning of the relationships between linguistic elements, as the procedural meaning theory would allow to expect, the meaning(s) of FPs would be determined by their functions. As it appears, this approach could be useful in future research on FPs.

Viewing the analysis of the functions in the present study, it is obvious that FPs are by no means superfluous, extra elements in speech, but quite the contrary. FPs appear to have certain functions in speech and they do seem to be necessary features of communication. This way of thinking has been promoted already in earlier research. Chafe (1980: 170), for instance, claimed that FPs enable successful communication, and related the use of FPs to the online production and creativity of speech. O'Connell & Kowal (2004: 460) and Fox (2010: 5) have also forwarded the

idea of progressivity in speech created by FPs. Analyzing the interview material from this viewpoint of progressivity, Obama's speech featuring many FPs compared with the other speakers would be seen as fluent, as opposed to disfluent. He would thus create fluency in a different manner than Clinton, whose speech features very few FPs, but both speakers' speech would be fluent. Consequently, they would use FPs differently and for different purposes.

Finally, it can be discussed whether the amount of material (14,700 words and approximately 100 minutes of speech) was too extensive for the scope of the present study. As is evident, the material gave the possibility to analyze and discuss more aspects than could be included in the research, and many were only briefly mentioned. I argue, though, that an even smaller set of data would have proven too limited in terms of occurrences of FPs as well as of the context. As the frequency analysis revealed, FPs are relatively frequent, but for a representative sample of FPs in the research material, the data cannot be very small. Without the material of the size used, any findings would have been extremely limited and inconclusive. Therefore, the present material that also presents limitations due to its size turned out to be necessary.

*Summary.* The localization of FPs, their frequency, and functions in the present study gave slightly different results than those proposed by Kjellmer (2003). Some of the differences can be explained by the different materials used, while other simply call for further investigation. What is evident is that with a smaller set of data it was possible to conduct a more detailed and minute analysis than Kjellmer (2003), and to better take into account the context in each instance. The context, then, allowed a deeper analysis of functions. These aspects and the findings indicate that the present study did provide some new information on *er* and *erm*, and their use. Several aspects do still remain to be further investigated in future. Research in the meaning(s) of FPs is one of the features of FPs that could shed some light on the use of FPs in speech, as their functions and meaning(s) appear to be related.

## **8. Conclusion**

The present study tested Kjellmer's (2003) research on FPs and their functions in talk show interviews with five American politicians in *Larry King Live*. Three aspects of FPs were analyzed: i) their overall and speaker-specific frequency, ii) their localization in the grammatical structures and their frequency in the found locations, and iii) their

function(s). The methods of analysis for the three aspects included simple word count, grammatical analysis of the structures introduced by FPs, and the application of Kjellmer's proposed characteristics of each function. The analysis of functions in particular was complemented with larger textual and situational information of the discussion, topic, and the interviewees.

The analysis of frequency revealed that on average the interviewees' used relatively frequently FPs, though, clearly more often than Kjellmer's results indicated, but that the speakers notably differed in their individual uses of FPs. The analysis of localization suggested that Kjellmer's tripartite division of elements introduced by FPs – word, phrase, and clause – were insufficient, and that FPs also occur before postmodifying clauses. Additionally, FPs were not consistently most frequent at clause level and least frequent at word or other level, as earlier proposed; also phrase level could attain most FPs. Finally, the analysis of functions indicated that in the majority of cases, FPs featured characteristics of the five functions (hesitation, turn holding, taking, and yielding, attracting attention, highlighting, and correction) Kjellmer proposed. The interview material also presented FPs whose location and context suggested of a structural function such as the argumentative structure of a turn or the introduction of a quote. In contrast, the material did not present indications that the introduction of a new thought unit would be a function alongside the others, but rather, it appeared that it is a superordinate function of FPs.

The small data set used in the present study enabled the inclusion of contextual aspect into the study, as well as the revelation of the structural function. The size and type of the material did however limit the generalizability of the findings, and the silent pauses based on perception alone rendered certain aspects of the analysis of functions less accurate. Additionally, the present investigation also fell short in terms of analyzing prosodic features. The study did show, though, that Kjellmer's methods are at least partly applicable to other material than corpora and it did open both new questions to be studied in future, such as the meaning of FPs and the grammar used to study them, and brought up older questions worthy of re-examination, such as the frequency and localization of FPs. Research in these aspects and comparative studies on the use of FPs in different situations are certainly more than welcome in the future, in order to uncover the nature of FPs the understanding of which is still only in its infancy.

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## **Appendices: Transcripts of interviews on *Larry King Live***

### **Appendix 1: John McCain (September 10, 2009)**

00.00 – 08.18

**(1) LK:** joining us now on Capitol Hill from the Russell Rotunda our friend Senator John McCain Republican of Arizona / he **er** was the standard-bearer of his party last year n' a member the Health Education Labor and Pensions Committee / first your overall impression how was the speech

**(2) JM1:** well I thought the president i-is eloquent **er** I thought he had a lot of passion **erm** / I think it was more partisan than / than I had **er** expected **erm** but and and there's a lot of questions that remain unanswered I think **er** / but he did give some more specific **er** / **er** aspects of his of his overall proposal but small example is that he says if you like your health insurance policy / you'll be able to keep it the Congressional Budget Office says / that if your employer / goes to the health option / and the emp-employer / the health p-policy that the government is providing / and then / you are gonna lose the policy that you have / with your employer that's 10 million Americans according to the Congressional Budget Office / certainly there are questions about / how you're gonna pay for this as well that will be explored / in days to come

**(3) LK:** the president cited one of your proposals Senator tonight as he made up **er** as he made his case watch

--- (01.23-02.02 a clip from Obama's speech earlier the same evening)

**(4) LK:** that had to move you did it not

**(5) JM1:** w **er** yes and I-I do believe that it's an important aspect obviously we've got to provide / health and **er** available and affordable health care to all Americans and one of the biggest problems is those / that have the quote pre-existing conditions and this is / I think **er** obviously a viable way to address that issue / I'm glad the president mentioned it / and there are a lot of things we can agree on Larry there's many things that we can agree on / and work together / Republicans want reform we know that the system is broken particularly Medicare / but we are very concerned about the cost we are very concerned about this quote public option / **er** frankly **er** some tests on medical malpractice reform doesn't get it / hundreds of billions of dollars have been wasted / in defensive medicine [and medical malpractice reform / than requirement for it

**(6) LK:** [what

**(7) LK:** what is what is wrong Senator what is wrong with / we have the Postal Service and FedEx / what's wrong with the public option / on health / what's wrong with giving the Americans ok / if you can't afford this / we'll give you that

**(8) JM1:** well the the Postal Service is {laughter} is is going broke it has about a seven billion dollar deficit no matter what FedEx does / **er** and another point here is is will / thee government option have an unfair advantage / if it doesn't then it's just one of /

1,500 or more / **er** health insurance policies availab / the health insurance plans available to Americans / if it has an unfair advantage then / obviously Americans are gonna gravitate in that direction / and private health insurance will be more expensive / so / **erm** th-there either has to be some advantage here / for people to leave their health insurance policy / and that would be a government health option in my view and / [people would gravitate out of it / out of public **er** out [of the private health insurance

(9) **LK:** [is [is there any

(10) **LK:** is there any good reason Senator in a government in a nation this rich / why anyone / anyone / should go without health needs

(11) **JM1:** there's no reason why there should not be affordable and available health insurance for and health care for all Americans / the question is / are you going to have the quote public mandate are you going to have / costs which escalate to over a trillion dollars and no way to pay for it / despite what the president said tonight / there is still no in the in the estimate of the Congressional Budget Office / a way to pay for this trillion dollar added burden / onto the already 9 trillion dollars w in deficits we're gonna have over the next ten years anyway / it's it we cannot sustain this kind of deficit it has to be paid for / the president pledged to so far his numbers don't add up

(12) **LK:** alright now play politics with me is he going to get a bill

(13) **JM1:** I hope he gets a bill I hope we can sit down together and do the things that all of us agree on and there are a number of things that **er** / that we can agree on / **er** and I and I think that the American people obviously want that / I don't know what the administration and the Democrats will insist on / facts are stubborn things / the bills so far have had no bipartisanship associated with it / they were drawn up by Democrats and Republican amendments / were rejected so there's gonna have to be an entire change of atmosphere here in order for us to get something done / in a bipartisan basis

(14) **LK:** concerning all thee complaints on the right **er** the president pointed out some tonight in fact / Sarah Palin your your **er** vice-presidential candidate raised the death panel issue today in a article in the Wall Street Journal / and the president dealt a little with that seeming to take it a dig at her watch

--- (05.52-06.32)

(15) **LK:** what did you make of that Senator did did you agree with Sarah's **erm** / th-the former governor's article today

(16) **JM1:** **er** I think that **er** that the president **er** made an unnecessary comment there w-which was bipartisan / in nature / look the president keeps saying / that if you like your health policy you can keep it no matter what / the Congressional Budget Office / says you can't / because if the g [if your employer

(17) **LK:** [I know but did you

(18) **JM1:** goes to another / so / look I'm not challenging **er er** the pre I-I think it was an unnecessary comment and did nothing to contribute to bipartisan dialogue

(19) **LK:** but / you don't believe there'll be a death panel though do you

(20) **JM1:** no / I do know that portions of the House bill were removed or one of the / bills that's winding around here which may have **er** / intimidated **er** such a thing but **er** and we know there's some questions about / some of the **er** manuals in the Veterans' Administration but / **er** look **erm** / i-it instead of doing that can't we sit down together / and work together / that might be =

(21) **LK:** = eh =

(22) **JM1:** = a thought

(23) **LK:** one / one other thing / Congressman Joe Wilson / Republican of South Carolina we have found out was the / gentleman if it can be called that who yelled out you lie / when the president made a refer-referral to **er** / **erm er** non-citizens getting coverage of health insurance illegal aliens / what did you make of that of that / congressman doing that / and your thoughts on that subject

(24) **JM1:** totally disrespectful no place for it in in that setting or any other and he should apologize immediately

(25) **LK:** Senator thank you so much as always for joining us every time we call on you you're right there we appreciate it

(26) **JM1:** thank you for having me on Larry

## Appendix 2: John McCain (January 10, 2009)

00.00 – 10.33

(1) **LK**: now special podcast edition of Larry King Live

--- (00.03-00.07 music)

(2) **LK**: joining us now is Senator John McCain Republican of Arizona he was of course the / 2008 GOP presidential nominee / Senator what did you / d-did you like anything in tonight's speech

(3) **JM2**: well I appreciate the president's **er** call for / bipartisanship I appreciate the / his support for / our efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan but / **er** it seems to me quickly r-lapsed into the BIOB that's / blame it on Bush **er** routine that / is growing a little tiresome and / I had hoped that he had heard the message in Massachusetts on health care and that is / stop / let's start all over / and let's have some real bipartisan negotiations / **er** obviously he didn't get that message

(4) **LK**: speaking of health care the president did put it up to the Republicans tonight to act / watch this and then le-let [me have your comment

(5) **JM2**: [uhhuh

--- (01.03-01.54 Obama's speech)

(6) **LK**: alright senator what's your response to that challenge

(7) **JM2**: well if the president or the Democrats had invited us over to sit down and seriously negotiate they would have heard and I don't know how they missed it that we have many / **er** proposals ranging from medical malpractice reform which there's none in the Democrat / proposal to buying insurance cross state lines to rewards / for wellness and fitness to / **er** establishing risk pools for those with pre-existing conditions / to hh to encouraging house savings account I can give you / a long list Larry of the proposals that we have / that get at the issue of cost of health care / what the president and the Democrats have proposed and has been rejected / not only in Massachusetts but around the country / is a very big government takeover and despite what the gov the president said / adding two and a half trillion dollars to the debt / the president's proposal the Democrats' proposal / the the taxes and the benefit cuts start immediately / and the benefits don't start for four years / that's / that's Bernie Madoff accounting / the other issue that that I I really was disappointed in was the president's / **er** solution to the earmarking and pork barreling / was to put it all on on a webpage **erm** / **er** that that's you know we all know what earmarking and pork barreling does / and finally / his proposal for next year 2011 / to eliminate / 15 million billion dollars in spending / and meanwhile is proposing another / stimulus bill that ranges between 80 and 115 billion dollars / additionally on the debt / it doesn't / it doesn't work

(8) **LK**: you mentioned earlier that he keeps criticizing the Bush administration you have to admit John in all fairness / that Obama inherited / quite a set of problems

(9) **JM2**: absolutely and **er** {laughter} that's one of the reasons why we lost elections / maybe also because not so great a candidate but / **er** the point is that that that **er** we let spending get out of control under the Bush administration we Republicans and we paid a heavy price for it / but the president also promised / that he would go line by line that he would veto bills that there would be transparency I mean / tonight when he said that he was gonna put further restraint on the lobbyists / after the deals that they've been cutting in the White House with the special interests and the / pharmaceutical companies and others / I mean there was two reasons why th-the people have rejected / health ca the president's health care reform / one is because the product they don't like because of / it's a two and half trillion-dollar-debt on the future Americans but also the process the / the cornhusker kickback and the / Louisiana purchase and all that unsavory stuff that's been going on / it amounts to bribery

(10) **LK**: Senator **er** there was a part of speech I wonder if you enjoyed it when he criticized the Supreme Court / for overturning / portions of McCain/Feingold your treasured legislation / how did you react to that

(11) **JM2**: well **er er** obviously I agree {laughter} I agreed with the president / **er** I / tried to get a look at thee **er** Supreme Court justices who st {laughter} **er** down there but i-i-it is what it is and **er** I think the president did raise a legitimate point and / what are we gonna do about foreign owned corporations being / involved in American **er** election cam[paigns I think that is an issue of some concern

(12) **LK**: [uhhuh

(13) **LK**: the president challenged both parties tonight to do a better job he had this message / I'll I'll show it to you and I wa [and I want you to comment / watch =

(14) **JM2**: [uhhuh = uhhuh

--- (05.25-05.52 a clip from Obama's speech)

(15) **LK**: is that a good point or not John

(16) **JM2**: well **er** I think it's important to recognize that the president campaigned on a change in the climate in Washington / that he would have C-SPAN cameras in that there would be transparency / that there would be bipartisan negotiations / I can assure you / that has not happened / and so having been shut out of the process / of course we resist / legislation being jammed down our throats / and so / my suggestion is / as the American people have said / stop your health care reform go back from the beginning / and fix the biggest problem which is the cost / sit down across the table and negotiate seriously / that has not happened / and therefore the climate has not changed in Washington in fact / it's gotten worse

(17) **LK**: are you optimistic that based on this and the election in / in Massachusetts that it will change

(18) **JM2**: I hope that the president will / ss **er** I would love to have heard him say tonight / on **er** on might next Monday I'm gonna call Republicans and Democrats over

to the White House and we'll sit down / and try and address some of these issues together / he didn't do that **er** / but I think we Republicans have our work cut out for us we got to propose a positive / **er** agenda for America we have to be / careful stewards of our / of the dollars and / practice fiscal responsibility we / we've got our obligations but we wanna work with the president and with the Democrats so let's start / all over again / and see if we can do it and we could begin / by starting all over with health care reform

(19) **LK**: do you favor throwing out Don't Ask, Don't Tell

(20) **JM2**: I think it it is a serious mistake **er** we're in two wars / **er** Don't Ask, Don't Tell has **er** been a a very / affective policy and one that has worked a / the evidence of that is the best trained best equipped most professional military we've ever had / and **er** / I-I-I just think i-it would be a very serious mistake when we're in two wars to make an abrupt policy change

(21) **LK**: would you change it down the road

(22) **JM2**: well I would rely on the ju the Joint Chiefs of Staff our military leadership those are the ones we / entrust the lives of our young men and women / and have them do a study and have them come up with recommendations / as to whether this **er** policy needs to be modified or not / I would place great credence on that right now / **er** the military leaders I know say that thee policy is working / and they don't want it changed

(23) **LK**: alright he said that the war in Iraq is coming to an end / and the troops are coming home and he said in Afga-Afghanistan he's confident they will succeed / I gather you agree with him in both of those areas

(24) **JM2**: well I would have liked to have said we have achieved victory in Iraq {laughter} and / the surge succeeded / **er** in Afghanistan I also would have liked to him emphize emphasize / a little more / **er** the fact that it's gonna be tough / beginning in March it's gonna get really tough / and the fact is that we're gonna stay the course there **erm** / our allies and / people in the region are very nervous about his statement that / in the middle of 2011 / we would be withdrawing I think / they need some reassurance 'cause as you know / they have to stay in the neighborhood if we left and we left once before

(25) **LK**: why the beginning of March

(26) **JM2**: because the weather gets a lot better / and the Taliban activities will be stepped up unfortunately

(27) **LK**: Senator a-are you going to be / a you always were the kind of bipartisan person who put **er** / principal above party and the like and there are some who say that you've been in this first year of Obama contrarian / [you think that you've been a little aggressive on the

(28) **JM2**:

[[laughter]

(29) **LK**: other side

**(30) JM2:** well the stakes are very high but **er** you know just yesterday Senator Evan Bayh and I had s a package of proposals to / to reduce the deficit to eliminate earmarks and pork barrel spending and get / our financial ship right I worked with Senator Levin on / defense acquisition reform I continue to work with / **er** Democrats on committees and on a number of policies **er** / ranging from / Indian affairs to national defense so / I'm I'm very proud of my record **er** but / **er** I-I-I again say that when you / are in a / in a majority and you do and you do not respect / the views and input of the minority / you get a predictable reaction Larry

**(31) LK:** mhm / thanks as always Senator see you down the road

**(32) JM2:** thank you my friend

### Appendix 3: Bill Clinton (September 22, 2009)

00.09 – 20.29

(1) **LK:** good evening it's always a great pleasure to welcome the 42<sup>nd</sup> president of the United States to Larry King Live Bill Clinton / he established the William Jefferson Clinton Foundation after leaving the White House launched the Clinton Global Initiative back in 2005 and we've attended it / every year he opens the 5<sup>th</sup> annual meeting / tomorrow / right here in New York / **er** how's that done how's you your overall appraisal

(2) **BC:** it's eh succeeded beyond my wildest dreams you know we started this meeting // it just sort of grew out of an idea that we had that / at the opening of the UN every year / you'd have all the political leaders from around the world and you could bring business leaders and non-governmental / groups charitable groups together / but instead of just having another talking meeting we should actually / all commit to do something people were dying to be asked to do something at least that was the gamble / and it turned out to be right after the first four years we've / had **er** 1400 commitments / and only 20 per cent of them are complete now la a lot they are multi-year commitments / but already they've touched 200 million lives in 150 [countries / [it's pretty big deal =

(3) **LK:** [huh [we're gonna =  
you talk a lot more about it later / alright the president is going to address the opening session tomorrow / he did five Sunday talk shows this weekend / is he running a risk of being over-exposed

(4) **BC:** well e-e-e-[e you know

(5) **LK:** [I mean he's everywhere =

(6) **BC:** = if he did it every week he would but what he is doing now is / trying to regain control over the health care debate and trying to remind people / of the big things / that we pay 50 percent more for health care than any other country / really by twice as much as any other country / that we unlike all other wealthy countries don't insure everybody that anybody who has insurance has no control over the costs or whether they'll have the insurance next year / and we don't have the best health outcomes so the worst thing we could do is nothing he's trying to make the case for change / while Congress / works through / the options to see if we can pass I think that it was a right thing to do to try to gain the control of this debate [because we

(7) **LK:** [you'd have done it

(8) **BC:** well I-I would certainly have been v-visible as he was and I think / he may think he is making up for lost time that he let the thing drift a little bit while they were / basically performing reverse plastic surgery on it keep in mind / health care is c-complex so it's easy to misrepresent it's deeply personal so it's easy to s-squar-spark fear / and there's lots of money in it / and a / lot of it doesn't go to better health care and the people that get that money don't wanna give it up so it's hard to change but I th I think were gonna get a bill this time =

(9) **LK:** = you do =

(10) **BC:** = I do because =

(11) **LK:** = you got 60 votes =

(12) **BC:** = yeah we got the the the main thing is / we have 60 votes and **erm** / it's gonna be much harder to filibuster than it was for me / when Senator Dole decided that / he would try to kill any healthcare measure / a-all he had to do was hold 41 of 45 Republicans / now thee they have to hold a 100 percent of Republicans and get somebody else assuming there'll be a Senator appointed to replace Senator Kennedy

(13) **LK:** hmm / so you h-he's gonna get one

(14) **BC:** that's what I think I'll be shocked if we don't get it =

(15) **LK:** = how do you think the presidency in this shorter period of time has worn on him

(16) **BC:** well I-I see him in a little different context you know because =

(17) **LK:** = you've been there

(18) **BC:** I've been there because Hillary is in the Cabinet / because he's been **erm** / kind enough to you know ask me to come down to give a briefing about my trip to North Korea because / he asked me to lunch last week and we talked about m-m-mostly the economy / and **er** / I can tell / that it has worn on him he he knows it's it's a very difficult job and it's a deciding job / and all the easy decisions get made before you they give you one page and you check off / so you only get to make the hard decisions and / and he's got a lot of hard ones / but I think he's also **er** / growing into the job as I did as nearly everybody does nobody shows up just ready to be president

(19) **LK:** is his inexperience showing a lot more than others' though / he's never governed a state

(20) **BC:** well **er** not necessarily because he got a lot of experienced people around him and **er** // you know I-I think that he's he worked like crazy and he is very smart / I mean you know / President Kennedy never governed anything / he'd been in Congress long [but he never

(21) **LK:** [hmm

(22) **BC:** governed anything / **er** the main thing is // for every president / to make an honest assessment of what your strengths and weaknesses are // and then try to appoint people // who will complement your strengths / by compensating for your weaknesses / and that's what we all try to do / and you really can't tell 'til you know like a couple of years pass it's how it all works / but it looks to me like he's working through this pretty well I think / he's still got a lot of other issues you know there's still a lot of economic issues still left to deal with there's **er** / there's this whole energy / question and whether

we can get climate change legislation that grows the economy and reduces our green house gas emissions / but but he's highly intelligent he's well motivated he's trying to do the right thing / and he can keep a lot of balls in the air at the same time which is exceedingly important in a complicated time =

(23) LK: = now let's discuss some other things / a-according to everything we've heard he has asked the governor of New York not to seek / election he wasn't elected he was lieutenant governor you are a citizen of New York what do you make of that

(24) BC: well first of all I have no direct knowledge of it **erm** / the governor is a friend of mine and Hillary's / **er** I know he's in political trouble but he's done a better job than he's got credit for I think in some ways he's gotten he got really hurt by all that mess with our legislation / and **er** // I-I think given the unusual circumstances under which he took office and the terrible conditions / **er** he's really done some good things for which I hope he gets credit whether he runs for the election or not / but in the end that's a decision that he has to make // and I think he will m-m-do what he thinks is right [for the people of New York =

(25) LK: [were you surprised = if true were you surprised that the president would ask him to do that / would you [would you have done that =

(26) BC: [well = I-I don't know if he did **er** / I don't know what the facts are / so until I do it's hard to comment I-I think /// the only thing I ever did // look the president is the leader of the Democratic party the Democratic party / has an interest / nationally in progressives generally don't wanna lose the governorship of New York for goodness sake / I get that / **er** / and these are tough conditions for incumbents to run in / but my / w-when I was involved th-the most I ever did was to say if somebody decided not to run / and they wanted to continue in public service I'd find something for 'em to do / **er** because I think there're a lot of good people / who for reasons beyond their control can't be re-elected

(27) LK: so [are you saying you'd offer Patterson a quid pro quo [like if he was

(28) BC: [and [yeah but I don't think he wants that / he has given no indication // that he is looking for that

(29) LK: hmm =

(30) BC: = but I think you'd have to be careful // **er** / you know e-e-e the race is in a funny way trying to clear out the way for the Senate and the House I think people understand the White House being more active there / than in a state race like the governorship but the truth is / **er** I can't criticize either one of them I think Patterson's in a tough spot but he's done a better job than he's gotten credit for / alright he's done some good things / I think that / he will do what he thinks is right for the people of New York in the end and for himself / I think the president / understandably wants to hold on to the [governorship of the fourth biggest state in the country =

(31) LK: [uhhuh

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(32) LK: = here we go / how many meetings you had / predecessors / people after you / are we ever gonna get / something concrete / in the Middle East =

(33) BC: = well I er first it's more up to them than it is up to President Obama / I mean / the parties make peace I got a lot credit for making the peace in the Middle East / I mean in Northern Ireland / what I did was to try to create the conditions that made peace possible and to minimize the risks of doing it same thing we did in Bosnia / but in the end only the parties can make peace /// if you look at the long term strategic trends / there ought to be a peace agreement / er from the point of view of the Palestinians they have been too poor too long and they're only poor at home every time they go anywhere else in the world they do great / so if they had their own state and they had stability and peace and investment / they'd do great there / and if the Israelis and the Palestinians ever cooperated together based on the performance of / Palestinians in other parts of the world / they maybe be the power house of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the Middle East / er for the Israelis I think it's important because / the numbers are moving against them if they don't create a Palestinian state then s-sooner rather than later / they'll have to make a decision well is Israel no longer be a majority Jewish state / or will they disenfranchise the Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza and make it / a non-democracy / furthermore these rockets which led to thee incursion into Gaza / were maddening and frustrating / to the Israelis but frankly they weren't very accurate / it's only a matter of time 'til their accuracy improves so the technological trend line is not in favor of / Israeli intransigence [they need

(34) LK: [so there's [interest in both of them =

(35) BC: [yeah = they need a partner in the Middle East the Israelis do / and they need a world committed to their security [so

(36) LK: [and what

(37) BC: that for those reasons / you know I-I think there's a fair chance we'll get a peace agreement

(38) LK: what part does Obama play

(39) BC: well what he and er / {smiling} the secretary of State [and

(40) LK: [I've heard of her =

(41) BC: = and er / George Mitchell the envoy what they all have to do / is keep looking for thee formula that will get the negotiations started again / that is they recognize what the problems the Palestinians'll have what the political problems the Netanyahu government has the prime minister / and they recognize that both sides will try to get as much they can out of the US and anybody else that's in the quartet that the EU the Russians whoever trying to get them in there / I-I think if we if we just can get them to start talking again around / the two state solution around / restoring a sense of normalcy in creating the Palestinian state / er / I think you'd be surprised / how quickly at least they would come down to all the same issues that they were down to in 2000

when I made my proposal and / then Prime Minister Barak now the defense minister said yes and / mister Arafat didn't I mean there's there's not a nickel's worth of difference in what the options are here / it's just a question of whether they are ready to take 'em

(42) **LK:** alright switching gears / Congressman Joe Wilson he yells you lie since then **er** President Carter says racism is at the bottom of all this / uproar / where do you what do you feel

(43) **BC:** I believe that / some of thee right wing extremists / which oppose President Obama / are also racially prejudiced / and would prefer not to have an African-American president / but I don't believe that all the people that oppose him on health care and all the Conservatives / are racist / and I believe if he were white every single person who opposes him now / would be opposing him then / therefore / while I have devoted my life to getting rid of racism / I think this is a fight that / my president and our party / this is when we need to win on the merits / and so I understand why it's / frustrating because the the congressman was from South Carolina {swallowing} / South Carolina is noted in the Republican party for having / Bob Jones University and / [for the

(44) **LK:** [the  
Dixie flag

(45) **BC:** the Dixie flag the messy primary with John McCain and President Bush in 2000 / but I really think th / that we should disaggregate / lingering problems of discrimination / from the attacks to which the president is subject you know the ones that have a race obvious racial overtone / you can see that's coming from / an extreme right-winger who also has racial prejudices / but we have to win this health care fight on the merits and that's what the president said he's absolutely right about it / **er** I respect President Carter for his concern about this / but this is a fight about whether / we're gonna / basically keep making excuses / for wh for being the only wealthy country in the world that can't figure out / how to insure everybody can't figure out how to get decent health outcomes compared to our competitors / and insist on paying twice as much as anybody else does / now if we wanna keep doing that we can do it / I'd rather have that fight right now and that's the fight President Obama wants / and I think he made the right decision =

(46) **LK:** = so was President Carter / wrong

(47) **BC:** there's no wrong or right on this I think that / if you are a white southerner and you've been involved as long as // Jimmy Carter has as long as I have / if civil rights was essentially the cause of your life that drove you into politics / you're exceedingly sensitive / to anything that sounds / racially prejudiced / but you can't // but if you're president // you have to be exceedingly sensitive to the fact / that not everybody who disagrees with you on health care / has a has a racist bone in their body / some of the extremists do / but most of them don't this / le-let me put it this way / if Barack Obama were a white president I believe / virtually 100 percent of the people who oppose him on health care / today would oppose him on health care / anyway / so I-I don't wanna say that President Carter is wrong about / there being some / still racial prejudice involved in the o-opponents of President Obama / but this fight is a fight which would

exist / no matter what the color of his skin is because of the / look what happened in 93 and 94 to me I mean th-th-the right has never wanted they didn't want Medicare they didn't want Medicaid they didn't want =

(48) LK: = they didn't want [social security

(49) BC: [the Children's Healthcare Program they didn't want social security / and they somehow believe that miraculously we should be the only rich country in the world that can't figure out how to cover everybody / and keep sh-shoveling literally 900 billion dollars a year / at health care / you know you think about how much our deficit is today / think about how much we are at a competitive disadvantage with other countries / in manufacturing / we're throwing 900 billion dollars a year at health care that has nothing to do with good health and doesn't even cover everybody / so / the people that are getting the big chunk of that money don't wanna give it up and they are willing to stoke all these fires / that's the fight Barack Obama wants he wants to fight this on the merits and I respect that and he's right about it

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(50) LK: Afghanistan / first they're calling it Obama's war now / two / the Washington [inaudible] Post reports that the US commander / General McChrystal says we need more forces there apparently the president / is taking a step back on that / what should we do

(51) BC: well **erm** first / in any situation like this when you inherit an ongoing / military conflict / and particularly if you supported it in the beginning as the president did / as the secretary of State did / as I did / as overwhelming majority of the American people did after / at the Afghans gave **erm** / the Taliban government / gave sanctuary to Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden / after 9/11 / you always you ha you basically always got / a version of three options / you can ramp up your presence politic militarily and politically and economically / and if **er** if he does that it really clearly then becomes his war / and you run the risks that // it won't work / and in the end you'll still have to withdraw / or you can / cut down you can say this is not gonna work because local people have to win this fight / if you do that right now in all probability it'll create a vacuum and / the Taliban influence will certainly increase / and if you do that you run the risk that you lose leverage in dealing with Iran and dealing with the Middle East peace process and / having other people think you are serious =

(52) LK: = so =

(53) BC: = and you may create a greater /// opportunity / for the Taliban / and the Al-Qaeda particularly to come back and operate in Afghanistan / and have more options to plan / unfettered actions against the United States Europe and others / the third thing you can do is try to do a better job with what you've got that is you keep essentially the numbers / you've got / but you make a commitment to do a better job / **er** protecting the population centers / and you give the CIA a little more juice [which is what they've been doing =

**(54) LK:** = you've laid out the case well = [[inaudible]

**(55) BC:** = yeah [so

**(56) LK:** [what do you do when you're president [when your General says we need

**(57) BC:** [so

**(58) LK:** more

**(59) BC:** well what I think what I ex think he is doing now / is saying ok I hear you // but // w-we learned one thing / the surge worked in Iraq why / because thee local Iraqis were sick of the Al-Qaeda in Iraq / sick of them / and the Anbar revival happened because / our surge dovetailed with the locals' [efforts ok / so / my guess is that he will /// say

**(60) LK:** [yes

**(61) BC:** y-y-you may be right general but // **er** we still have this ongoing election count / let's wait until that happens let's have it let's see what the new government's gonna be let's see if both of the top two finishers are gonna be in the government which is a possibility / **er** and if that means there's gonna be more broad-based support because we got everybody together after the election was over / then / it's clear that more soldiers will be even more effective / **er** keep in mind the le the real lesson of Vietnam I think that is somehow been lost a lot of people think that it's / we lost in Vietnam / because we quit because we didn't up the ante enough we didn't send another 100 000 troops in or whatever / the real lesson I always thought is you can't be somebody with nobody / in other words the the / grassroots people / who embraced the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese or at least didn't fight against them or weren't willing to put their lives on the line to beat 'em / did not believe they had a / local government South Vietnam that was sufficiently better / [to run the risk of that / so / what I think President

**(62) LK:** [yes

**(63) BC:** Obama will wanna do is to let this election / settle down make it clear / **er** what the victory is and if the if President Karzai is declared the victor with notwithstanding the allegations of irregularities / what he does with his main challenger / and where we go from here / then I think he'll be in a better position / to pick between those three options / so my guess is / that what he's saying is not to the general I don't think he's said no / look all I know about this is what I read in the paper

**(64) LK:** mhm

**(65) BC:** look I should tell you I've not gotten any / personal inside from either the president or the secretary of State on this / but just reading the paper my guess is he's not decided on no / he just / wants to hold his fire a little bit / 'til he sees how what the political lay of the land is in Afghanistan and where we can go and what our leverage is / this is not going to be won by military force alone / a-and you've got the CIA going all

out there doing everything they can do / and I think we're gonna be better at development than we've been at the past / and I think we'll get more support among the Afghans / but before he commits more soldiers and the obvious consequences that that entails / my guess is he just wants to see what's gonna be possible / to do with the political climate

## Appendix 4: Al Gore (November 13, 2009)

00.06 – 29.32

(1) **LK:** good evening were are so honored to welcome back Al Gore to this show the former vice president of the United States / and the Nobel Peace Prize laureate and the best-selling author [all in one person / his new book is Our Choice / there you see it it's

(2) **AG:** [laughter]

(3) **LK:** a plan to solve the climate crisis and it is / brilliantly / put together three years since An Inconvenient Truth you've done well an Oscar and all this / what do you make of all of this happening to you

(4) **AG:** well it's not about me it's about this crisis that we've got to come to grips with and the good news is Larry all over the world / **er** people are beginning to come to grips with it [we're still

(5) **LK:** [but are you are you surprised at what's happened to you though I mean hear did you A-Academy Award / [Nobel laureate

(6) **AG:** [well of course I ne **er** yes I never would have thought either one of those things w-would have happened / **er** fo-for for me personally the experience has simply been / **er** feeling very passionately a-a-about something th-that / I'm called to / do something about it just feels like **er** I've got to do it and / **er** you know I-I-I never intended this to be such a cause in my life I walked into a classroom more than 41 years ago / and learned from one of the great scientists of this whole field Roger Revelle first person to measure CO<sub>2</sub> in the / earth's atmosphere and I just assumed that this would have been addressed and solved long since but [as time wore on

(7) **LK:** [uhhuh

(8) **AG:** it wasn't being so I decided to to get involved and / **er** i-it has just led to a greater and greater involvement =

(9) **LK:** = for want of a better term have you become obsessed with it

(10) **AG:** **er** well I no I wouldn't use that word [then

(11) **LK:** [well what word would you use

(12) **AG:** w dedicated to it / dedicated to it I-I'm committed to doing everything I can to trying to / to get a solution to this and that's why I wrote the book / you know th-three and a half years ago An Inconvenient Truth both the book and the movie / focused mainly on the nature of the crisis the causes of it the impacts / **er** and about ten per cent on the solutions / n public opinion around the world has moved dramatically / and this book is 90 per cent on the solutions there are solutions that's the good news we have more than enough solutions / for three or four climate crises [and the good news is we only have to solve one =

**(13) LK:** [and the solu  
= and solutions that are being listened to

**(14) AG:** yes **er** more and more / but political leaders around the world / **er** have still not crossed the the tipping point some countries are really addressing it effectively / **er** others a-a-are still kind of circling the problem and the big / conference **er** aimed at getting a a treaty or a pol a binding political agreement in Copenhagen next month will be a real turning [point

**(15) LK:** [are you going

**(16) AG:** oh yes I'll be there

**(17) LK:** w-would you name tell me a country that's really way ahead in this

**(18) AG:** most people would say in response to that probably Sweden is **er** / the country doing the best job o-of this and they are prospering economically by the way they have a CO<sub>2</sub> tax and / they cap and trade program both / and it's helping their economy and it's doing the right thing for our kids =

**(19) LK:** = the book is Our Choice A Plan to Solve the Climate Crisis the author is Al Gore and we'll be coming back to that and to a lot of other topics now it's always great to see you

**(20) AG:** well thank you for not being inappropriate

**(21) LK:** {laughter} and he won't let go of it

**(22) AG:** {laughter}

**(23) LK:** you met with Barack Obama last December to talk about climate change here's some of what the then President elect said about the issue watch

--- (03.35-03.54 a clip from Obama's speech from 2008)

**(24) LK:** has he lived up to that commitment

**(25) AG:** well he's done an awful lot Larry **er** within a month of taking office he passed this large stimulus a large percentage of which was committed to a green / stimulus we are now starting to build this super grid / around the country that'll make it possible to bring solar energy from the Southwestern deserts / and wind energy from the Mountain Corridor / **er** his EPA has now enacted **er** / **er** a a regulation that requires reductions of CO<sub>2</sub> all large emitters are gonna have to / give public **er** notice and accounting of their global warming / pollution / emissions and he's made lots of changes to policy that move us in a right direction now the bad news is the health care debate has consumed / so much time this year that the schedule's been / pushed back but we but w-we really have seen a sea change under President Obama / more needs to be done / but he is definitely moving into right direction

(26) **LK:** we'll come back to that in a while Afghanistan / you're not surprised I'm gonna ask you about that

(27) **AG:** [aaa big challenge big challenge =

(28) **LK:** [no

(29) **LK:** = should the president deploy 40 000 more troops as General McChrystal wants there are other experts saying don't others say pull out where where / where does Al Gore stand

(30) **AG:** well {grunt} I think he's doing the right thing in =

(31) **LK:** = by thinking about it

(32) **AG:** and taking the time not just to think about it but to get the best information available / to have his war cabinet involved with him in deep deliberations / and to focus on what the exit strategy / will be / in some ways this is more about Pakistan than it is about Afghanistan / and that border region between the two countries is where the / the real source of the trouble from the Taliban / **er** is originating and because Pakistan has a a nuclear / arsenal and is experiencing troubles of its own / **er** it is one of the most complex foreign policy national security challenges any president has ever faced / and taking the time to get it right including / with an appropriate focus on what the exit strategy is / would that president Johnson / so many years ago would have taken this care and time / before getting us into the Vietnam War

(33) **LK:** you see an end gain

(34) **AG:** well that's what he is searching for now and **er** there's I'm sure there's one out there but he has to proceed / very / carefully in order to get it right and I support him taking the time to do that

(35) **LK:** but he ran a campaign about Iraq and somewhat Afghanistan of pre-pretty much saying let's go let's leave [inaudible] timetable and we're gone

(36) **AG:** well I'm not sure that **er** first of all he had a a different / stance on Afghanistan [than he did

(37) **LK:** [that's true in Iraq

(38) **AG:** in Iraq and he's keeping his / pledge o-on both / **er** he has set a time table o-o-on Iraq and he always said we have to leave in a responsible / way and of course one of the reasons why Afghanistan is so difficult now is that / s ou-our troops and intelligence **er** assets and resources were diverted / from the chase for Osama bin Laden and sent to Iraq that's that's really one of the principal reasons why it's su-such a difficult challenge today

--- (07.13-07.18 music)

(39) **LK:** we're back with Al Gore by the way I've learnt through a secret source that this book Our Choice A Plan to Solve the Climate Crisis / will debut at number two on the New York Times best sell list / one week from Sunday / Al Gore is our special guest we'll get back to more on the book / first on Afghanistan John McCain said an advocate John McCain said an advocate of deploying more troops he is / he said half measures will be the worst thing / do you agree with that statement

(40) **AG:** well hhh I-I don't think that's what the president is considering i-in any way / **er** if it were just a debate about numbers alone and splitting the difference then / that critique might have some application but I think their focus is very much on what the exit strategy is / what the relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan / **er** really is and how we can / protect our national security objectives here / and again / this is a time when the president's got all of the military and civilian advisors who specialize in this / feeding information i-in order to / to get the decision right

(41) **LK:** are these the kind of advisors you would have called upon

(42) **AG:** sure well I-I-I have a lot respect for the people he has brought into the / **er** cabinet room to advise him on this

(43) **LK:** now thoughts on Fort Hood / **er** / a lot of finger printing going on a lot of questions / warning signs should have known / what's your read

(44) **AG:** {sighing} the investigations **er** wi-will take some time and from all the evidence thus far available i-it does look as if this was the act of a single person / but the evidence showing that he had been in contact with this **er** radical / cleric who **er** wa-was / urging violence against America is ve-ve-very troubling and I'm sure they'll get to the bottom of it

(45) **LK:** are these things / in your opinion / preventable

(46) **AG:** {breathing in deeply} again I-I'd like to await the results of the investigation but it **er** / the preliminary evidence **er** has convinced a lot of people that there were / some warning signs that should have been / heeded where this individual / was concerned within **er** the military / many factors **er** involved and hindsight is always 20 / 20 / so I-I-I'd prefer to wait until they get it all in perspective

(47) **LK:** are you concerned though about backlash against the Muslims

(48) **AG:** oh sure we're **er er** a pluralistic **er** / diverse country / **er** and I-I yeah I think that by and large the the reaction in the country has been / pretty balanced / **er** balanced with an appropriate focus on what we can learn from this / **er** in order to prevent anything like it from happening again

(49) **LK:** what do you make of the rise of of the right-wing these rallies and / dealing with health care we'll move to health care in a minute / right-wing talk on radio

(50) **AG:** yeah [yeah

(51) **LK:** [they take you on pretty good

(52) **AG:** {laughter} yeah / **er** w-well yeah i-i-it's not **er** entirely new in American politics we have had a strain like this **er** / in our politics for a long time / and their extreme voices are all along the ideological / spectrum / and we just have to focus on building the the health and strength of our democracy / a-and hope that **er** the voices of reason and deliberation will prevail

(53) **LK:** do you think they have impact

(54) **AG:** I-I think sometimes it's overstated at the very time when they were / having what they claimed was one of their / biggest rallies the House of Representatives was / voting to to pass health care reform / **er** a-and I think that was a a pretty good **er** statement

(55) **LK:** why have we never had / refor or most of the civilized world AI / takes care of its population

(56) **AG:** yeah [and

(57) **LK:** [wh wh what happened here or didn't happen here

(58) **AG:** way back **er** / during the New Deal days Franklin Roosevelt / according to the histories **er** at first intended to include some form of national health insurance in the New Deal package / and at the last minute he pulled it out / **er** and in all the years since then we have seen the the growth and development of an employ-employer / based plan / that leaves a lot of people out and puts a burden on / **er** business / **er** and the fact that we have so many tens of millions / of American families that do not have / health insurance is terrible the fact that we spend so much more than any other country and do not get better / health outcomes **er** should lead us to make the kind of common sense reforms that President Obama has called for

(59) **LK:** you're confident of that

(60) **AG:** well I think that at the end of the day we will get a reform package yes I think the Senate w-will probably have the votes to pass it early next year

(61) **LK:** are you disappointed in your former running mate

(62) **AG:** **er** well he's a friend and we remain friends I strongly disagree with a lot of his positions others I / **er** a-agree with his pos [on other po-positions I agree with him

(63) **LK:** [are you surprised that he is against the public option

(64) **AG:** I don't know th **er** his history on that particular / issue **erm erm** I-I think that it's consistent with what he said in in recent years as far as I know so / **er**

(65) **LK:** but you're still friends

(66) **AG:** yes we're still friends [**er**

(67) LK: [we're talking about Joe Liebermann by the way

(68) AG: yeah yeah I-I-I have er a lot of respect for Joe even though I strongly disagree with him on a lot of things {laughter}

--- (12.56-13.02 music)

THE FOLLOWING TOPIC DOES NOT DIRECTLY FOLLOW ON FROM THE PREVIOUS ONE

(69) LK: the book is Our Choice what a brilliantly put together / whoever [worked on this

(70) AG: [thank you

(71) LK: Rodale published other people involved too

(72) AG: er Rodale is the publisher of the book er er Meltzer Media er helped produce er the book Charlie Meltzer was the producer Karen Rinaldi my editor did a terrific job of editing / and i-it took me three years to research and write this book I / [had more than / thank you thank you

(73) LK: [it shows

(74) AG: I appreciate it

(75) LK: now back to the health care issue Bill Clinton went to Capitol Hill spoke to Democrats / and said don't let perfect be the enemy of good on this issue / you agree with that line =

(76) AG: = well sure and Winston Churchill has the classic line er that democracy is the worst political system er ever tried er of all except for every other system that's ever been tried {laughter} / and er in order to get things passed in a democracy / er our / senators and congressmen ha-have to find er ways to get a majority so / that can be frustrating but over the long haul it's the best way to go

(77) LK: alright a year into his presidency you supported him that was a dramatic time in that campaign when you came out for / Barack Obama / how is he doing there's there's thee experts are calling it mixed

(78) AG: well er he hasn't even completed his first year [and and most of his

(79) LK: [yes we're short of it  
yes

(80) AG: most of his major er proposals are still being processed / by the Congress but by my lights I think he is doing an e an extraordinarily / good job / er what he inherited and I know people / don't necessarily like to hear continued references to the deep hole that we were in when he took over / but it's a fact we had the deepest er / economic

downturn since the Great Depression / really our whole economic system was teetering on the brink / and now the recession is technically / **er** over / the new jobs numbers released today offer further encouragement / that even though the recovery is gonna take quite a long time we're definitely heading / in the right direction I think he was right to have / a large **er** stimulus / I-I-I think that most of the proposals he's followed have been / **er** absolutely the right ones / I'm focused on the climate and energy / legislation which I think is by far the most important challenge that we / face and that has now passed the House of Representatives and / **er** a couple of committees i-in the Senate / **er** Senators John Kerry and Barbara Boxer with Harry Reed and Senator / Lindsey Graham and Joe Lieberman / are putting together a a draft that I think is likely to get 60 votes / **er** it'll probably be probably be announced **er** before Copenhagen I hope it will be / and then voted on **er** sometime in the first part of next year

(81) **LK**: has anything he done put him on the negative side to you / has anything surprised you

(82) **AG**: well I'd have to think about that **erm** / you know from the outside it's always **er** [easy to

(83) **LK**: [easy

(84) **AG**: to say I-I wish he'd moved faster and / bolder on this that or the other / but looking at the / situation he faces with **er** with the Congress / particularly with **er** Senate where there're only 58 / Democrats and two In-Independents / and not all the Democrats always agree with what he's **er** proposing / so i-it's a difficult set of challenges that he faces / I think he has a commitment to bipartisanship and a style that's **erm** / aimed at bringing people together / **er** I think a lot of his initiatives have already changed the tone already changed for the better the / relationship between the US a-and the rest of the world / **er** I think he's getting a grip on these **er** problems / but you know naturally the jury is still out because as I say [he hasn't even

(85) **LK**: [[inaudible]

(86) **AG**: completed ten months

(87) **LK**: there were **er** a couple of firsts about **er** / Clinton and Gore / and / other things about that hooked together people but I think you'd be be maybe the first vice president / who then has a president that follows and both win the Nobel Peace Prize I don't think that's ever happened

(88) **AG**: **er** d [not that I know of =

(89) **LK**: [probably not yeah = ok =

(90) **AG**: = not that I know of =

(91) **LK**: = were you surprised that President Obama got one

(92) AG: well I think it was well deserved I don't think anybody **er er** was expecting it simply because **er** it hadn't been / speculated on **er** prior to that but think it was well deserved

(93) LK: were you surprised =

(94) AG: = yeah I was

(95) LK: how did when how did you react when you got it

(96) AG: oh **er** {nervous laughter} I was thrilled / [**er**

(97) LK: [surprised too

(98) AG: yes I was / there had been some speculation prior / **er er** to the to when they awarded it to me / and so it wasn't a complete and total surprise but I / I really didn't think it was going to happen / and maybe I'd convinced myself of that to protect against disappointment but I really didn't think it was gonna happen so it was a a surprise and just / a-a very pleasant surprise [obviously

(99) LK: [what's it like to go to Oslo

(100) AG: it was a wonderful ceremony / Larry **er** they they do a terrific job of that / and of course the tradition **er er** is / w-what it is it was it was a wonderful experience and / we were there for several days and **er** it was really a a highlight

--- (18.22-18.27 music)

(101) LK: were back with the Nobel laureate and former vice president of the United States Al Gore he's also the Academy Award winner / God what's left

(102) AG: {laughter}

(103) LK: **er** his new book is Our Choice A Plan to Solve the Climate Crisis / the former vice president unlike the former president George Bush who's been rather quiet on things

(104) AG: uhhuh

(105) LK: Dick Cheney is publicly slamming this administration I'm sure you've heard it the / critics the criticism what do you make of it

(106) AG: well I he has a right to speak out / it's his it's his decision I-I have heard more than a few Republicans who say they wish that he wouldn't do that but he has a right to / to speak his mind

(107) LK: are you surprised that he is

(108) AG: a little bit / yes

(109) LK: **er** you lost t- / the Democrats lost two gubernatorial races but won a big one in the congressional race in [upstate New York what's your analysis of the recent election =

(110) AG: [yeah

(111) AG: = you know I think thee off-year elections in Virginia and New Jersey / are always a sign great significance for about a week after they take place / and then people largely forget about 'em / **er** not that they are not important I don't mean to imply that but / they fill a vacuum in an off-year and I-I-I think / usually too much significance is assigned / to them =

(112) LK: = how about the congressional race

(113) AG: well I think that **er** a-and I'm not just saying **er** that has more significance because {laughter} / my party won / those an-and not the others / but I think it has significance for s **er** for this for this reason / **er** that result was driven in part by / a deep division within the Republican party / and now there are right-wing primary challenges to lots of candidates / for the House and Senate and / for governorships and / it remains to be seen whether / this schism inside the Republican party / will produce more results like the one in the 23<sup>rd</sup> district of [New York

(114) LK: [his-historically the Democrats have had to deal with schisms

(115) AG: both parties have had this **er** from from time to time / **er** but this appears to be a part of the cycle where the Republican Party / is facing a challenge from within / by purists / who do not want moderates in in the Republican Party / **er** a-and I-I if I was a Republican I would argue that that's a mistake [for them

(116) LK: [because

(117) AG: because both of our two major political parties / have been more successful / when they have a a-a broad tent and debates with-within the party / rather than a determined effort to exile those who don't follow some / ideological **er** line

(118) LK: you think next years elections / all the House running and / it's gonna be based on **er** the economy is stupid

(119) AG: I think probably the economy will be the biggest issue just because {laughter} it almost always is / and I think that much will depend upon the outcome of these pending struggles **er** in the / Congress I think that if the / Congress **er** s-suc-succeeds in passing historic / health care reform / **er** that brings down costs and gives coverage to / more families and rains in some of the horrible abuses about the health insurance / companies / you know we pay so much more as I said earlier / so much of it for unnecessary / paperwork **er er** i-i-it really does need to be changed / if it is changed I think the historic / nature of that victory will certainly **er** / **er** help President Obama and / the Democratic Party / but I'm really not comfortable / focusing on on that so much as the fact that our country needs it we really do need it / in order to become more competitive in the global economy and for the same reason / we need to pass this

climate and energy legislation / to get the millions of good new jobs that will be created here in the United States / if we take the lead and transitioning / away from these carbon based / fuels and such a heavy dependence on foreign oil it's ridiculous and it's hurting / our economy / the the the economic crisis the national security crisis linked to our dependence on the Middle Eastern oil / and the climate crisis / are all linked by a common thread which is our absurd overdependence on carbon based fuels you pull that thread / all three of these crises unravel / and we have the answer in our hand / shift to renewable energy sustainable / agriculture and forestry and much higher levels / of efficiency and get those jobs here =

(120) LK: = do you expect to campaign for candidates

(121) AG: I probably will after a lifetime in / politics I have so many friends er who / asked me to to help them I-I-I probably / [will

THE FOLLOWING TOPIC DOES NOT DIRECTLY FOLLOW ON FROM THE PREVIOUS ONE

(122) LK: [Al Gore [or how s-succintly would you put it to someone who says / how does

(123) AG: [[inaudible]

(124) LK: this affect me

(125) AG: global warming

(126) LK: yeah

(127) AG: well we're beginning to see thee impacts of global warming all over the world with the deeper droughts / bigger floods / the beginnings of sea level rise which could become catastrophic if the large i masses of ice in Greenland and =

(128) LK: = what about =

(129) AG: = West [Antarctica

(130) LK: [me or the bus driver in Miami or the / housekeeper in / Moline Illinois

(131) AG: well we're we're paying the e-extra cost o-of this heavy dependence on foreign oil and the solutions to the climate crisis allow us to use domestic renewable energy sources / as a substitute / and y-you have two kids er er Lar[ry th-they're what are they ten and [nine now

(132) LK: [uhhuh / [nine

(133) AG: er I remember a few years ago I was here er with them / er and if / those of us alive today / just took the benefits of all the work and sacrifices of previous generations and fully exploited them in our lifetime and gave the back of our hands to

those who come after us / it would be the most immoral act of any generation that has ever lived / we're beginning to see the disaster / cost in every country including our own / we are / also **er** missing presently the opportunity to stimulate our economy even more / w-with the m-millions of good new jobs that'll come from investing in / renewable energy and sustainable agriculture the super grid much more / efficiency / and most importantly of all / this is a moral issue not a political issue / the scientific community is saying to everybody / in the world alive today / we can't continue putting 90 million tons of this global warming pollution into the atmosphere every day / without risking an unprecedented catastrophe that could threaten the future of human civilization

**(134) LK:** {breathing out loudly} **er** d you get all the proceeds of this book

**(135) AG:** I-I'd I'm donating all of the profits from this book to the Alliance for Climate Protection a non-profit / **er** Tipper and I did the same thing with An Inconvenient Truth / and by the way **er** the website for that organization if I may =

**(136) LK:** = sure =

**(137) AG:** = is repoweramerica dot org =

**(138) LK:** = one word

**(139) AG:** repoweramerica one word dot org / and you'll see on that site a video wall / and many tens of thousands of people are putting their videos up there just with their little webcams on the computers / saying why they wanna solve the climate crisis and I would urge your viewers to go to / repoweramerica dot org

**(140) LK:** repoweramerica dot org

**(141) AG:** thank you

**(142) LK:** are you optimistic about all this

**(143) AG:** I am optimi I choose to be optimistic I-I am optimistic / because all over the world I see a growing determination to solve this / perhaps especially among young people / **er** thee opinion **er** breakdown among young people is just overwhelming in favor / o-of of solving this / I remember when I was 13 years old Larry hearing / President John F. Kennedy / issue the challenge to put a man on the moon and / bring him back safely in 10 years and I remember how many people said that was impossible / but eight years and two months later Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon / and on that day at mission control in Houston Texas there was a great cheer that went up and the average age of the systems engineers was 26 / which means their average age when they heard that challenge was 18

--- (26.44-27.03 music and short clips of speeches given by Al Gore and images of him)

**(144) LK:** the book is Our Choice / our remaining moments coming up with Al Gore you are using pop culture to get the point across / let's take a look at you and Stephen Colbert of the Colbert Report watch

--- (27.14-28.17 a clip from the Colbert Report with Al Gore)

(145) AG: {laughter}

(146) LK: our friend Stephen Colbert it was a lot of fun no not many people and we often say this maybe you should have shown it more you have a great sense of humor / you ever think I should have shown it more in the campaign [even though you won {chuckling} =

(147) AG: [well  
= I benefit from low expectations =

(148) LK: [I forget you won  
= what

(149) AG: I benefit from low expectations

(150) LK: well why don't you / u-u-use that humor more really politically / B on the on the other side Bob Dole also / made a [[inaudible]

(151) AG: [yeah he's a he's a [very funny guy very funny  
guy / Stephen

(152) LK: [very funny guy

(153) AG: Colbert is a brilliant comedy [writer / w-were you there for his White House

(154) LK: [really

(155) AG: Correspondents Dinner [speech

(156) LK: [ah it was hysterical

(157) AG: {laughter} one of the best things I've ever seen / in either humor or politics

(158) LK: and it's great to do a show did you have fun

(159) AG: I did have fun er a-a-and yes I did [[inaudible]

(160) LK: [you also did Saturday Night Live

(161) AG: [er

(162) LK: [did you like that =

(163) AG: = I've done it several times i-in the past and I-I enjoyed it a lot I-I've had / yes I-I really had fun there

(164) LK: how is Tipper

(165) **AG:** doing great thank you [and

(166) **LK:** [kids grandchildren =

(167) **AG:** = **er** everybody is fine and I was **er** happy to catch up with / the **er er** the fact that Shawn and your family you're doing well

(168) **LK:** [everybody is good / you stay well my friend =

(169) **AG:** = thank you very much Larry for having me on

(170) **LK:** the book is Our Choice A Plan to Solve the Climate Crisis the guest Al Gore

## Appendix 5: Barack Obama (June 4, 2010)

00.23 – 20.43

(1) **LK:** <in the studio> President Obama faces enormous challenges on his 500<sup>th</sup> day in office / I sat down with him at the White House today to discuss some of them / and we began by talking / about an environmental disaster / that has no end in sight

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(2) **LK:** <at the White House> mister President thank you for being with us on our 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary week

(3) **BO:** Larry congratulations on 25 wonderful years =

(4) **LK:** = thank you it's been a special honor [too

(5) **BO:** [unbelievable

(6) **LK:** and an honor to be here and be with you =

(7) **BO:** = thank you

(8) **LK:** I know you're going down to the Gulf again and

(9) **BO:** [uhhuh

(10) **LK:** [but there's a question that / that a lot of us are pondering / after this is over =

(11) **BO:** = right

(12) **LK:** what about / hurricanes / what about // oil raining down / have we thought about what we're gonna do / when it's over

(13) **BO:** well / this is an unprecedented oil spill we haven't seen li / **er** anything like this before / and that's why / **er** the minute that the rig / blew up and then sank down to the bottom of the ocean I called in my entire team / **er** and I have to tell you Larry that / **er** the worst case scenario was even worse than what we're seeing now / **er** becau[se

(14) **LK:** [this is worse than what you pl-thought would be =

(15) **BO:** = no no no what I'm saying is it could [have / been even worse so we realized right away

(16) **LK:** [oh

(17) **BO:** this was gonna be / a big event / a big problem and that we had to put everything we had into it / **er** so right away we started mobilizing / **er** our / Coast Guard

making sure that we are putting pressure on BP to activate / their response / **er** eventually we ended up sending **er** our top scientists we now have about a hundred of the top scientists from th around the world in our national labs / to look over BP's shoulders in terms of figuring out how they're going to plug the **er** well / and we also knew though that / ultimately the only way to relieve the well safely / **er** is to **er** / drill what they call these relief wells now BP and / other oil companies traditionally just drill one / we said drill two in case one of 'em doesn't work / but that takes some time it takes about three months / in the meantime / they've been experimenting with a whole bunch of / other / ways that they can capture the oil / but we've had a big spill / and we know that it's going to be / **er** a long / response / a long cleanup / and my commitment / has always been for the last / 40 some'n days / to make sure that we are doing everything we can / to mitigate the damage / to help / cleanup / help recover / because this is an area that already got battered / **er** during hurricane season / and / **er** this is an area that i-is concerned not only for the economy / of the Gulf but also for an entire way of life =

(18) **LK**: = have the scientists discussed what about a hurricane =

(19) **BO**: = you know w-w I did I had a Situation Room meeting about a week and a half ago / **er** where we got the report that this could be a more severe than normal hurricane season / and I asked well / ho-how does / **er** a potential oil spill / interact with a hurricane **er** and / **er** it turns out that / a-and now these are all estimations and probabilities / **er** it turns out that a big powerful hurricane / ironically is probably / **er**

(20) **LK**: good =

(21) **BO**: = less / **er** damaging / with the respect to the oil spill / **er** because it just / {waving his finger} disperses everything and the oil breaks up / and and degrades more quickly / **er** i-it's those tropical storms and tides that would just wash stuff into the marshes / that would really be an ecological disaster **er** but look **er** / we-we've got a couple of tasks right now number one / BP has to shut down this well now the only guaranteed shut down is the relief well and that's gonna take / a couple of months in the meantime we hope that / by cutting the riser / putting a cap on this thing they can funnel up the oil / and that will help / in the meantime we've still got all these barrels of oil that are slashing around in the Gulf / they move with the currents we don't always now where they are but what we can do is make sure that our response / doesn't hold anything back that [we put everything we've got / into / **er** / Louisiana which has been

(22) **LK**: [Se

(23) **BO**: hardest hit so far / Alabama / Mississippi / **er** and / Florida =

(24) **LK**: = S-Senator Nelson wants / the Defense Department he says more fully involved

(25) **BO**: uhhuh

(26) **LK**: more troops

(27) **BO:** yeah y-y-y-you know I think there-there's a a mistake in **er** understanding / first of all the Coast Guard / is part of our armed services / and they're responsible for **er er** thee coordinating / **er** along with the responsible party in this case BP to make sure that recovery efforts are / top notch / **er** and what I've said to Thad Allen / who's the national incident / coordinator and / **er** is somebody who has been dealing with oil spills for 39 years now / is whatever you need you will get

(28) **LK:** so if he says troops [he will get troops

(29) **BO:** [if he i-if if he says that there's equipment that's / helpful in dealing with this problem / he will get it / but keep in mind that all this stuff has to be coordinated / right now we've got / **er** over 20 000 people who are working there we've **er** authorized the activation of 17 000 national guardsmen / **er** we've got 1700 vessels already in the water / and y-ye what you don't want is a situation where / everybody is stepping on each other and not doing the best possible job in coordination with the state and local levels

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(30) **LK:** <in the studio> President Obama rips into BP next

--- (06.06-06.08 music)

(31) **LK:** <in the studio> President Obama makes no bones about who is responsible for the oil spill pointing a finger of blame squarely at BP / that was during our conversation today / at the White House

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(32) **LK:** <at the White House> what part of it is your baby

(33) **BO:** uhhuh

(34) **LK:** what part of it is / the country and not BP =

(35) **BO:** = well / BP / caused this spill / **er** we don't yet know exactly what happened / but whether it is a combination of human error / them cutting / corners on safety / or **er** a whole other variety of variables / they're responsible / so they've gotta pick up th-the the tab / for / the cleanup / the damages / fishermen who are / **er** unable to fish / right in the middle of their most important season / **er** and / wh my job is to make sure that they are being held accountable / that we get to th-the bottom of how this happened / that they are paying what they're supposed to be paying / that they cap this well / in terms of / actually / solving the problem / BP has particular expertise when it comes to capping the well / they've got the equipment that / that our Defense Department first thing I asked was / d-do we have some equipment that they don't have and

(36) **LK:** [inaudible]

(37) **BO:** and they along with other oil companies had the best equipment / have the best technology to deal with / the well at the bottom of the ocean / what we have the

responsibility for is to make sure that thee recovery efforts / **er** mitigation efforts along the coastline / making sure that / fishermen and and businesses that are being affected are getting paid promptly / **er** making sure that local people are being hired / all those efforts / **er** are ones where / we can do it better / and so what we've said is you're gonna pay / y-you will coordinate BP / **er** with us but ultimately if we say that you need to / deploy folks over there or you need to compensate such and such here or / you need to / for example most recently **er** help to dredge up and create some barrier islands / in some selective areas / of Louisiana / in / accordance with **er** some of the ideas that the state had down there / **er** then you need to do it

(38) **LK**: some I know you you appear so calm

(39) **BO**: {laughter}

(40) **LK**: are you angry at BP =

(41) **BO**: = hh y-you know I-I-I am / furious at / this entire situation / because this is an example of where / somebody didn't think through / **er** the consequences / of / their actions / **er** and it is imperiling not just / **er** a handful of / people / this is this is imperiling **er** an entire way of life / and an entire region / for / potentially / years =

(42) **LK**: = has [the company felt your anger =

(43) **BO**: [s-so = well **er** th-they have felt / the anger / but what I haven't seen as much as I'd like / is the kind of / rapid response / now / **er** they wanna solve the problem too 'cause this is cost-costing them a lot of money/ and the one thing that I-I think is important **er** to underscore is that / **erm** / I would love to just spend a lot of my time venting / and yelling at people / **er** but / that's not the job I was hired to do my job / is to solve this problem / and ultimately this isn't about me and how angry I am / ultimately this is about / the people down in the Gulf who are being impacted / and what am I doing to make sure that / they're able to / salvage they're way of life and that's gonna be the main focus that I've got / **er** in the / w-weeks and months ahead

(44) **LK**: **er** Governor Jindal the governor of Louisiana / he's asked you to he's got concerns about this impact of stopping or the moratorium you have on drilling and now that's been extended to / to the shallow waters as well / what would you say to him =

(45) **BO**: = well actually the moratorium is not extended to the shallow waters =

(46) **LK**: = no =

(47) **BO**: = [it's only

(48) **LK**: [it's wrong

(49) **BO**: it's it's only the it's only the deepwater **er** wells that we placed the moratorium / look / **er** we've just seen an environmental disaster / that's come about because / these oil companies / said they had a plan to deal with the worst case scenario and / obviously wasn't a very good plan / 'cause it's not working Larry / and / nobody is

being impacted more than the citizens of Louisiana / **er** Bobby Jindal's state / so / **er** I have said in the past that / we need to transition / **er** to a more clean energy future / but we're not gonna do that overnight / we've gotta have domestic oil production / and / I am supportive of offshore drilling if / it can be done safely and it doesn't result in these / kinds of **er er** horrible / **er** environmental disasters and the problem I've got is until I've got a review / that / tells me A what happened / B how do you prevent / **er** a a bl-blow out of the sort that we saw C / if / even if it's a one-in-a-million chance that something like this happens again that we actually know how do deal with it until that happens / i-i-it would be irresponsible of me / **er** to lift that moratorium

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(50) **LK**: <in the studio> for the record / just before I sat down with the president there was a report / that the Minerals Management Service had stopped issuing permits for new oil and gas drilling in the Gulf of Mexico regardless of the water depth / hence my question to the president / the Interior Department has since denied that it did extend thee drilling freeze / to include / shallow waters

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(51) **LK**: <in the studio> the turmoil over Gaza / whose side is the president on / his answer ahead

--- (11.48-11.50 music)

(52) **LK**: <in the studio> President Obama addressed the situation in Gaza during our interview today and the immigration debate in this country

(53) **LK**: <at the White House> couple of things former President Carter

(54) **BO**: uhhuh =

(55) **LK**: = has condemned the Israeli raid / against those ships in the fl the flotilla / trying to break the blockade of Gaza

(56) **BO**: right

(57) **LK**: where do you stand in that / a former American president has condemned it =

(58) **BO**: = well **er** yo / the United S-States with the other members of the UN Security Council / **er** said very clearly that we condemned all the acts that led up to this violence / it was a tragic situation **er** you got loss of life / that was unnecessary / **er** and so we are calling for an / a effective // investigation of everything that happened / **er** and **er** I think that the Israelis are going to agree to that **er er** an investigation of international standards because they recognize that this / can't be good for Israel's long term security / **erm** h-h-he-here's what we've got / **er** you got a situation in which / Israel has legitimate security concerns when they've got / missiles raining down on cities / along **er** thee Israel-Gaza border **er** I've been to those towns and seen / **er** the holes that were made by missiles coming through / **er** people's bedrooms / so / Israel has a legitimate concern there on the other hand you've got a blockade up / that is preventing / **er** people

/ in Palestinian Gaza / from / having job opportunities and be able to create businesses and engage in trade and have opportunity for the future / **er er** I think what's important right now is this that we break out of the current impasse use this tragedy as an opportunity / so that we figure out how can we meet Israel's security concerns / but at the same time / start / opening up opportunity for Palestinians / work with all parties concerned the Palestinian authority / the Israelis / the Egyptians / and others / **er** and I think Turkey can have a positive voice in this whole process **er** once we've worked through that this tragedy / and bring everybody together to figure out how can we get a two state solution where Palestinians and Israelis can live side by side / in peace and security

**(59) LK:** premature then to condemn Israel

**(60) BO:** well I-I think that we need to know what all the facts are / but / it's not premature / to say to the Israelis / and to say to the Palestinians / and to say / to all the parties in the region that the status quo is unsustainable we have been trying to do this piecemeal / for / decades now and it just doesn't work you've got to have a situation in which the Palestinians have real opportunity and / Israel's neighbors / recognize Israel's legitimate security concerns and are committed to peace =

**(61) LK:** = you met with the Arizona governor today =

**(62) BO:** = uhhuh

**(63) LK:** will the administration bring a legal challenge to that law

**(64) BO:** you know I'm not gonna comment on that Larry because that's really the job of the Justice Department **er** and **er** yo I made a commitment early on that I wouldn't be / putting my / ha **er** my thumb on the scales **er** when these kinds of decisions are made / I have expressed a personal opinion which is that / although I understand / the frustration of the people of Arizona when it comes to / **er** the inflow of of illegal immigrants / I don't think this is the right way to do it / I think this // puts / American citizens / **er** who / **er** look Hispanic / **er** are Hispanic / **er** potentially in a / unfair situation [and and more importantly / it also / **er** creates the prospect of 50 different laws / in 50

**(65) LK:** [but you're not going to [inaudible]

**(66) BO:** different states when it comes to immigration this is a federal job / what we have to do is take on that federal responsibility by / working with **er** Border States on border security and I told Governor Brewer that / we've already put more resources into border security than we ever have we have got more border guards / in Arizona than / we ever have / we've got / we just made **er** decisions to put in additional National Guard / but without comprehensive immigration reform / that is congress' responsibility / we are not gonna solve this problem / and that's what we have to do

**(67) LK:** <in the studio> he's got the toughest job in the world / how does President Obama size it up / now that he's been at it for 500 days / plus / he's got some advice for LeBron James / next

--- (16.29-16.31 music)

(68) **LK:** <in the studio> being president of the United States has aged every man who's had the job / I asked the president how he's doing so far

(69) **LK:** <at the White House> come for the quick things because I know we have a little bit of a time limit but =

(70) **BO:** = yeah =

(71) **LK:** = first you still like this job =

(72) **BO:** = oh I **er er** th-this is **er** the best job on earth I mean it's **er** / it's an extraordinary privilege to be able to wake up every day / and know that / **er** you have the opportunity to serve the American people and and make their lives a little bit better or maybe it's the next generation's lives a little bit better **er** and =

(73) **LK:** = no matter what the poll says

(74) **BO:** y-yo-you know what **er** the truth of the matter is that **er** / **er** given everything we've gone through / **er** my poll numbers are doing alright {laughter} [it's **er**

(75) **LK:** [that alright [it's 48 percent is

(76) **BO:** [**er** you know thee **er** we've gone through the worst recession since the Great Depression / we've got **er** two wars going on right now **er** we've had **er** multiple / **er** crises **er** that have cropped up and people still haven't / fully recovered **er** in terms of their yo job losses in terms of =

(77) **LK:** = mhm =

(78) **BO:** = what's happening in housing / so / th-the people I think understandably are frustrated but what they're starting to see is that the economy is getting better / we had **er** the biggest job growth **er** in years **er** last month and I think we'll have decent job [rates

(79) **LK:** [tomorrow

(80) **BO:** this month yeah tomorrow we'll get **er** announcement / businesses are starting to invest again manufacturing is stronger than it's been / the investments that we made / **er** early on some of which were controversial / are paying off you look at ju-just give you one example the auto industry / [I mean GM is now / **er** turning a profit and hiring again

(81) **LK:** [mhm

(82) **BO:** and / the banks **er** as frustrating as **er** yo thee situation having to **erm** bail them out was / they've / **er** are repaying that money / th and so a lot of the decisions that are being made are starting to pan out but / we're not out of the woods yet / people are

still hurting and yo it is a great privilege for me / to have / the most interesting job [in the

**(83) LK:** [mhm

**(84) BO:** world and one where every once in a while I'll get a letter from somebody you know **er** I-I was traveling through Iowa / woman comes up to me says you know what that healthcare bill you passed I'm a small business woman / I'm gonna take advantage of that credit this year **er** this is gonna help me and I might be able to hire somebody else because **er** you just gave me **er** the chance to get decent health care =

**(85) LK:** = one other thing LeBron James is with us tomorrow night we pre-interviewed him / and he says all things being equal he's / probably leaning towards [Cleveland that's where he

**(86) BO:** [right

**(87) LK:** grew up in Akron but he grew up a Bull fan / you want him to go to Chicago right =

**(88) BO:** = no no no no I-I- [I-I-I-I-I wanna be clear what I what I said to him =

**(89) LK:** [what did you say = clear it up =

**(90) BO:** = first first of all Le-LeBron **er** I've had the chance to meet him / wonderful young man / amazing talent / **er** what I said to him was / **er** I-I-I didn't say it to him I said it to **er** Marv Albert / **er** he needs to be in a place where / he's got **er** a coach / and a team around him that can do what / Phil Jackson the Bulls did for Michael Jordan / Michael Jordan couldn't win a championship on his own / it's all about / having a team concept that works **er** and he hasn't quite gotten that yet / and he needs to find that situation I-I'll be honest with you an-and my folks in Chicago may be mad at me thi **er** for saying this / but I think it'd be a wonderful story if LeBron says you know what I'm gonna s-stay here in Cleveland you know he's from Ohio / you know that that's a town that **er** has has had some tough times / for [him to say I'm gonna make a commitment to this city / y-you

**(91) LK:** [wow

**(92) BO:** know I-I think would be a wonderful thing but // he's got to / make sure that he's got a / a team around him and a coach that he respects / he's bought into a team concept / **er** he's willing to be coached / **erm** and **er** an-and if they if he does that he'll have **er** / **er** an even more remarkable career that he's having [right now

**(93) LK:** [I saw you singing to Michelle last night with with Paul McCartney that was / pretty nice kick huh =

**(94) BO:** = **er** l-l-let me tell you thee **er er** I think **er** that was one of the highlights **er** that Michelle's had is when / Paul McCartney sings Michelle

--- (20.26-20.34 clip from the night before)

**(94) BO:** to her you know **er er** when she was a little girl growing up on south-side Chicago I suspect she didn't think [that was ever going to happen

**(95) LK:** [[inaudible]

**(96) LK:** thank you mister [President

**(97) BO:** [thank you Larry appreciate you

## Appendix 6: Jimmy Carter (September 21, 2010)

00.08 – 9.08

(1) **LK:** good evening / we're in New York / with Jimmy Carter / the 39<sup>th</sup> president of the United States / the Nobel Prize laureate and co-founder of the Carter Center / best-selling author and his new book / is White House Diary an extraordinary collection / **er** published by Farrar Straus / and Giroux / you kept a diary and now you reveal it

(2) **JC:** well / I thought I'd wait 30 years and do it {laughter}

(3) **LK:** really why wait why wait

(4) **JC:** {clearing throat} well i-it's it was highly personal when I wrote it I never / thought I would let it be published / but **er** I re-read it a few years ago and I saw that there were so many things that were pertinent today / the same issues that I faced that Obama's having to face today / and also I thought it was good to have somewhere / o-on the historical record / just the actual day by day thoughts and and **er** dreams and ideas and failures and successes / and impressions of other people that are still **er** quite f-fresh in people's minds / so those are the main things that I wanted to point out =

(5) **LK:** = were you before the presidency a diary keeper =

(6) **JC:** = no // I never did / as a matter of fact the first time I thought about doing a diary was when I was a governor / and we went up to the White House to the governors' conference and we met Richard Nixon who was the / first president I ever met / he was standing there with Billy Graham / and Richard Nixon // he kind of ignored me / [and he reached over and shook my

(7) **LK:** [mhm

(8) **JC:** wife's hand and said young lady / are you keeping a diary and she said no I don't he said well / you're a governor's wife and you ought to keep a diary / so we talked about it and so when I became president I decided well why don't I keep a diary // so it was really Richard Nixon who ta {laughter} talked me into keeping [a diary {laughter}

(9) **LK:** [what a great story / well did you just write it in pen [[inaudible]

(10) **JC:** [no I dictated I had a little small Dic ha **er** hand-held **er** / Dictaphone so I / when I finished up a tape I just threw it in the outbasket I never looked at it again I put a new / tape in / and six or seven times every day I would **er** dictate my latest thoughts about what I was planning what I had succeeded in doing / d-an and what **er** my impressions were of people who'd just left the office / so I tried to put down in **er** / in my diary things that wouldn't come out in the public print you know every / Friday / there was published every word that the president says every question that he answers every th-statement that he / [makes

(11) LK: [in public =

(12) JC: = in public =

(13) LK: = mhm

(14) JC: but so I tried to put in my diary things that weren't gonna be in that public diary / so when I got home I never s-looked at it again / but when I got home I had 5,000 pages of diary notes that had been typed up / and I still have those they don't one of two copies in the world one in my room / at home my study / and the other one at the Carter Presidential Library / so / this is about 20 percent of the total words in my original er [diary

(15) LK: [if you go to diary can you read it all if you go to the Center

(16) JC: after after a year I think when the / when the paperback of this book comes out / I'm going to make it available to scholars and news reporters to go to the / Presidential Library and read the original // taped [original

(17) LK: [I'm told that if you are a diarist / that's what they call [them / you

(18) JC: [yeah

(19) LK: must write every day no matter how bad the day

(20) JC: I [do that =

(21) LK: [true = you did [that

(22) JC: [yeah / [well I-I think I probably wrote more in the bad days than

(23) LK: [you did dictated every day

(24) JC: I did during the good days / because that was more memorable more emotional for me / and I wanted to get down how I felt about things and issues and people / more than I did what I actually / you know what I actually did / in activities

(25) LK: we're going to have you read one exc a couple of [excerpts from the book but this is from

(26) JC: [[inaudible]

(27) LK: Inauguration Day January 20<sup>th</sup> 1977 and we / [printed it out to make it easier =

(28) JC: [[inaudible]  
= good

--- (03.40-04.11 JC reading the excerpt)

(29) **JC:** well / you know I had been a peanut farmer I had no / yo-you you know who the first president **erm** Democratic president I've ever met /// Bill Clinton

(30) **LK:** no kidding =

(31) **JC:** = no kidding I had never f I was just out of the peanut fields I had / I met Nixon / President [Nixon

(32) **LK:** [aha

(33) **JC:** **er** after I became governor so / I was new at the presidential level and **er** it was kind of startling to me to be called president =

(34) **LK:** = how long did it take to get into the job

(35) **JC:** **er** [well I had to get into that first day because / **er** I had a lot do when I came off

(36) **LK:** [for you

(37) **JC:** the reviewing stand you know immediately had to make [m

(38) **LK:** [I remember you  
walked

(39) **JC:** make official / **er** things that I had decided to do / **er** one of the things I did w- was was among the most controversial I ever did and that was to pardon / the so-called draft dodgers who had escaped into Canada / and **er** I did that before I ever began to walk down toward the Oval Office

(40) **LK:** wow / did that come up in the campaign that issue =

(41) **JC:** = no it never did / no

(42) **LK:** but you knew you were gonna do it =

(43) **JC:** = yes I knew I was gonna do it a lot of people that were // families of those men who'd / a-and a few women I think / who **er** w-went to Canada an-and they were they [inaudible] wanted to come back home / so I just issued a blanket pardon for 'em I got some criticism obviously because **er** a lot of folks saw it as draft dodgers should be / executed for treason and [so forth =

(44) **LK:** [mhm = it's funny that not funny but that you would be here on the opening day of the annual UN opening =

(45) **JC:** = yes =

(46) LK: = that your book would be published at the same time / and that Iran {laughter} is always in the news we're gonna be talking to President Ahmadinejad on Wednesday =

(47) JC: = alright

(48) LK: and now we have this lady held more than a year on the spying charges and / Iran says they want f-eight arrested Iranians released / what do you make of all of this

(49) JC: well first of all I think we ought to keep er maximum communication with er leaders and their nations with whom we disagree // and er // I know that President Obama promised he was gonna do that when he went into office / but I think that's important / and / I don't know I don't know / w-w-what charges are against the eight Iranians I understand they violated the / the sanctions against Iran somehow or another / but I hope that the two that are still remaining over there her fiancée and her friend / would be released / I just got back from North Korea you may know I went over there to get one of our young men / from Boston / Aijalon er Aijalon er Gomes / who walked across a frozen river from China into North Korea and he was arrested / he was sentenced to eight years in prison and fined er 700,000 US dollars / so I just got him out / but he made a mistake and he admitted it that he shouldn't have gone into North Korea so / er she they th-they say that they didn't know they were crossing the border =

(50) LK: = we have the one woman out would you go there to try to get the other two

(51) JC: if [I was ask

(52) LK: [if they asked you

(53) JC: if I was asked to go I would but you know I'm not the most popular person still in Iran

(54) LK: {laughter}

(55) JC: er {laughter} so I-I although a-as soon as the shah / fell I left er Iran against my wishes / though I immediately established diplomatic relations with thee revolutionary government under the Ayatollah Khomeini / so we had full diplo[matic

(56) LK: [mhm

(57) JC: relations and full communications / so and those were my diplomats over there / under the revolutionary government that were er captured

(58) LK: we can never go a time without President Carter {chuckling} making news [{laughter}

(59) JC: [{laughter}

(60) LK: and he has some harsh words in this book for Ted Kennedy about health care very surprising / we'll talk about it ahead don't go away

--- (07.39-07.41 music; end of commercial break)

(61) LK: what's your read on on Ahmadinejad / we've done him we've interviewed him twice this will be number three

(62) JC: well I think he's / deliberately tries to be provocative he tries to say whatever he can to attract **er** attention to himself / **er** I think within certain bounds he stays within within thee wishes of the religious leaders who are actually superior beings / politically speaking in Iran / **er** he makes some obnoxious statements obviously on occasion / **er** maybe just to be **er** controversial / I think he it's very doubtful that he actually won his last election [although he [inaudible]

(63) LK: [can we take him seriously or not

(64) JC: I think you have to take him seriously because within as I said within bounds he speaks for the ultimate authorities in Iran and when he says something / he couldn't get too far removed from what they / want him to say

(65) LK: alright / **er** do you think Iran / today / more or less a threat

(66) JC: I [thi

(67) LK: [are you are you concerned about them

(68) JC: I [am

(69) LK: [nuclear weapon

(70) JC: yes I am / because they feel isolated from the Western world sec first of all / and and we make **er** constant threats that we're gonna bomb them as you know if they don't **er** comply with our wishes on thee nuclear / proposals I think they / my own belief is that they are planning to make a nuclear / w-weapon / a nuclear explosive they claim they are not / so that's of great concern to me because it will disturb thee status quo in the Middle East region =

(71) LK: = so what do we do though

(72) JC: I would like to see us have more / easy communication with them // **er** to negotiate directly with them talk to them and that's what Obama promised before he was president / so far we haven't been able to do that effectively / and they haven't responded very favorably either so I think / communicate with them and stop threatening / that we're gonna attack them because if there are / I would say moderate / **er** ultimate leaders in the religious circles of Iran / who were doubtful about weather or not to have a nuclear weapon / the more we threaten them / and isolate them / from us the more likely they are to go with a nuclear weapon =

(73) LK: = **er** we have a new health care bill =

(74) JC: = yes =

(75) **LK:** = first one ever passed in / 75 years =

(76) **JC:** = right =

(77) **LK:** = and in your book Ted Kennedy is generally perceived as the creator of this he certainly inspired it =

(78) **JC:** = of course

(79) **LK:** and in your book you say that the late Senator killed the health care reform back in 1978 you described him as having an irresponsible and abusive attitude essentially / accusing him of blocking health care out of personal spite

(80) **JC:** well you know let me / point out once more / that that / that **er** actually was written 31 years ago / and Kennedy was [**er**

(81) **LK:** [those were your feelings at that time =

(82) **JC:** = yeah / and he was actually running against me for president =

(83) **LK:** = uhhuh =

(84) **JC:** = you know I was I was holding office he was trying to take my office away from me / and and he and five other // chairmen of the key committees dealing with health care / all worked with me in preparing the proposal that I put forward / and so // the other five leaders / stayed with me but at the last minute / Ted Kennedy withdrew his / support for what he had had to draft / and killed it in effect because he was a powerful and influential senator at that time / and he was **er** I think he had two motivations I'm guessing now / one he didn't want to give me a great success / since he hoped to knock me off as as a p-president / and secondly I think he saw that if he could kill my bill / then maybe later on when he became president which he hoped to do in 1981 / then then he could put his own bill forward / as a much more complete bill =

(85) **LK:** = and actually that was written as you said 31 years ago [because former Chief of Staff

(86) **JC:** [yeah

(87) **LK:** Larry Horowitz has called the criticism that you did / in the book sad classless / clearly embittered / you could have chosen to leave that out

(88) **JC:** well / you know I didn't leave out anything that I thought was pertinent / even though it was // very frank and **er** although I had great admiration for Pre for for Senator Kennedy as a as one of the most wonderful / and successful senators we ever had / and I would say that after I left office he and I became adequately reconciled / he worked very closely with my wife Rose on mental health / legislation and that sort of thing / so we were basically friends after I left office =

(89) **LK:** = so it's just an honest that's what it was =

(90) **JC:** = that's what [happened it's all in the record and I actually quote the the the laws // that I

(91) **LK:** [that's

(92) **JC:** put forward / that would give would have given **er** catastrophic coverage to everybody in America would add 16 million people / **er** that would have complete health insurance / and in four years it would have given comprehensive health coverage to every person / in America / and it was killed

(93) **LK:** Barack Obama signed the health care bill six months ago what did you think of it and why are you supri or are you surprised that more op more Americans opposed it than favor it

(94) **JC:** well I was **er** delighted when it passed / I thought it c-could possibly have been much more aggressive with maybe a single payer sys simple system that's what I personally preferred / but he did the best he could under / extremely difficult circumstances with no / Republicans helping him / and I think the negative **er** aspect to it is because of the total distortion of the news / that Fox **er** Broadcasting has **er** perpetrated on the American people / when they hammer away day after day after day / **er** that his **er** health / program will kill old people and things of that kind / a lot of gullible folks in the United States actually believe what Fox puts forward as facts when most of it is just complete / distortions / a-and it they've also at-attempted to twist around wh-what his religious faith is and whether or not he is / an American and so forth so I think that's a **er** / new version of **er** / cable news / that was not there thank goodness when I was there / but I would I would attribute most of the negative / **er** attitude not to the facts / but but to the distorted facts that comes out of Fox =

(95) **LK:** = what do you make of all of this Tea Party Fox **er** the Glenn Becks of the world / what do you make th-this phenomena in a sense =

(96) **JC:** = well I'm very disturbed about it I-I-I can't really criticize the Tea Party people because I came into the White House pretty much / on the same basis that they have become pop-popular / that is dissatisfaction with the way things are going in Washington and / and a disillusionment and a discouragement about the government / but **er** that's what happened before I ran for president had it not been for that feeling in the country / I would not have been elected / **er** for instance we were just out of / the embarrassment of Watergate / and the defeat in Vietnam and the fact that a lot of people lied about what was going on / in Vietnam the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. / a-a-and and and both of the Kennedy brothers / and the re-revelation about the Frank Church Committee that the United States' government and the CIA / in some presence had actually perpetrated murder in other countries / all of that had brought about a feeling among the people that something was wrong / **er** in our government and I think that's what's / being utilized by thee / Tea Party people / to arouse [animosity

(97) **LK:** [so are you saying all is fair

(98) **JC:** well it's fair I my guess is that thee // Tea Party will be very influential in the upcoming election / in the midterm election / this coming to **er** fa **er** November / my

guess is that they'll soon be absorbed in or / each other will absorb / the Republican party and the Tea Party movement / so a couple of years from now maybe in the 2012 when the presidential election comes on / I think the Tea Party will be / not a-a unique / startling / newcomer on the political scene but the kind of old hat stuff =

(99) LK: = Bill Clinton said that the Tea Party supporters have good impulses / calls the movement a general revolt against bigness

(100) JC: well I think it's a general revolt against something that er / that many of them don't like yes

(101) LK: how much of it do you think is racist / we have a black president

(102) JC: I-I don't think the Tea Party people are racist / except maybe a tiny portion of 'em / but there has been a deliberate effort / again referring to Fox / Broadcasting / to inject the race issue into it / er they've actually called / Obama a racist on television / and er and when they s-say like er / er some of the leaders of the Republican Party have said that he's er epitomizing / the tribal influence of his father from Kenya / you know that obviously has er political connotations so I think I mean racist connotations so I think some of it / is racist but I don't blame the [the Tea Party movement [for [inaudible]

(103) LK: [mhm [what do you make of Gingrich's recent sugges[tion

(104) JC: [I was talking [about

(105) LK: [[inaudible] Kenyan but also anti-coloni[alist

(106) JC: [yeah I was talking about Gingrich / you know I think the Gingrich of five years ago would be embarrassed at what er Gingrich is saying today and doing today

(107) LK: why is it embarrassing today

(108) JC: I think he's / has ambitions to be a presidential candidate and he thinks that to go hard right er / and to appeal to the extreme even Tea Party / movement members / may be beneficial to him politically

(109) LK: how what is what is your read on Obama

(110) JC: I think he's a good solid intelligent man / who is suffering from perhaps the worst / Washington environment of any president in the history and I would even include / Abraham Lincoln as we l-led up to thee / war between the States / er no other president has ever faced such a polarized Congress / where you can hardly get one or two votes / you know / out of hundreds / er who are Republicans in the House and the Senate / so he has had to overcome that and I think he has had remarkable success / er th in in in in light of that er handicap

**Appendix 7: Localization of filled pauses and the frequency of filled pauses' locations in John McCain's interviews separately**

<b>Level of language</b>	<b>Distribution of FPs</b>	<b>%</b>
Word	5	17.24
Phrase	10	34.48
Clause	13	44.83
Other	1	3.45
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 1:* Localization of filled pauses and their frequency in John McCain's September 2009 interview. The percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

<b>Level of language</b>	<b>Distribution of FPs</b>	<b>%</b>
Word	9	23.68
Phrase	4	10.53
Clause	23	60.53
Other	2	5.26
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 2:* Localization of filled pauses and their frequency in John McCain's January 2010 interview. The percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

## Appendix 8: Finnish summary

### Täytettyjen taukojen *er* ja *erm* esiintymistiheys, kieliopillinen sijainti ja funktiot viiden amerikkalaispoliitikon puheessa keskusteluohjelmassa *Larry King Live*

#### 1. Johdanto

Puhutun kielen ominaispiirteisiin kuuluvat tauot, toistot sekä muut hesitaation muodot. Varsinkin täytettyjä taukoja, kuten *er* ja *erm*, pidetään kuitenkin usein turhina ja jopa häiritsevinä puheen lisinä, vaikka 1950-luvulta lähtien hesitaation ja täytettyjen taukojen tieteellinen tutkimus on osoittanut päinvastaista. Tutkijoiden mukaan täytetyillä tauoilla on oma tehtävänsä puheessa, minkä vuoksi ne pitäisi siis nähdä tarpeellisena ja olennaisena osana puhetta. Tutkimusta on kuitenkin toistaiseksi tehty suhteellisen vähän ja jokseenkin yksipuolisesta näkökulmasta. Tämän pro gradu - tutkielman tarkoitus on täydentää täytettyjen taukojen tuntemusta tutkimalla taukojen esiintymistä ja käyttöä puhutussa englannin kielessä.

Useimmat tutkijat ovat analysoineet täytettyjä taukoja psykolingvivistisestä tai foneettisesta näkökulmasta käyttäen varta vasten tuotettua puhetta materiaalina, kuten laboratoriossa puhuttuja monologeja. Lisäksi kiinnostus on usein rajoittunut taukojen foneettisiin piirteisiin ja kognitiivisiin tekijöihin jättäen pragmaattisten näkökulman ja funktioiden tutkimuksen marginaaliin. Tästä poiketen Kjellmer (2003) analysoi täytettyjen taukojen *er* ja *erm* esiintymistä, kieliopillista sijaintia sekä funktioita CobuildDirect-korpuksessa. Laaja materiaali (57 miljoonaa sanaa) sekä uskottavat metodit tekevät tutkimuksesta luotettavan. On kuitenkin mahdollista, että Kjellmerin tulokset ovat varsin yleisiä ja laaja-alaisia, eivätkä päde suppeampaan materiaaliin. Tämän vuoksi aion testata Kjellmerin tutkimuksen ja sen tulokset seuraavien tutkimuskysymysten avulla:

1. Ovatko Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimustulokset sovellettavissa suppeampaan englanninkieliseen luonnollisesti tuotettuun dialogiseen puhemateriaaliin?
2. Onko täytetyillä tauoilla *er* ja *erm* muita funktioita kuin ne, jotka Kjellmer (2003) löysi tutkimuksessaan?

Käytän tutkimusmateriaalinani viiden amerikkalaisen poliitikon haastattelua keskusteluohjelmassa *Larry King Live*, jotka on ortografisesti transkriboitu. Materiaali mahdollis-

taa laajemman tekstuaalisen näkökulman ja tilannekontekstin huomioimisen tutkimuksessa sekä induktiivisen lähestymistavan. Toisin kuin maallikot, poliitikot ovat tottuneet puhumaan julkisuudessa, joten heidän puheensa on luonnollista, eikä nauhoitustilanteen sinänsä pitäisi vaikuttaa puheeseen.

Tutkimuksessani käytän samoja metodeja kuin Kjellmer (2003). Ensin arvion täytettyjen taukojen suhteellisen esiintymistiheyden puheessa, minkä jälkeen analysoin niiden kieliopillisen sijainnin käytetyissä rakenteissa ja lopuksi ehdotan täytetyille tauoille funktiot Kjellmerin funktioiden kriteerien perusteella. Tutkimukseni mukaan Kjellmerin tutkimustulokset ovat pääosin sovellettavissa haastattelumateriaaliin. Havaitsin kuitenkin sen, että kieliopillisen sijainnin analyysi vaatii tarkennuksia ja että funktioiden piirteet ovat puutteelliset. Tutkimukseni täydensi funktioiden määrää yhdellä, rakenteellisella funktiolla. Seuraavaksi esittelen lyhyesti tutkimukseni taustateorian, metodit, materiaalin, analyysin, tulokset ja päätelmät.

## 2. Taustateoria

Tutkijat määrittelevät täytetyn tauon käsitteen eri tavoin. Tässä tutkimuksessa käytän O'Connell & Kowalin (2004: 463) ehdottamaa määritelmää, jonka mukaan *täytetyt tauot* ovat konventionaalisesti ja systemaattisesti käytettyjä kielellisiä yksiköitä. Toisin sanoen täytetyt tauot eivät ole sattumanvaraisia, ekstralingvistisiä elementtejä, vaan osa kielenkäyttäjärjestelmäämme. Tämä kumoaa käsityksen siitä, että täytetyt tauot olisivat nimensä mukaisesti hiljaisia taukoja, jotka on täytetty äänneillä (vrt. esim. Bortfeld *et al.* 2001). Termi *täytetty tauko*, jota myös tässä tutkimuksessa käytän, on tosin harhaanjohtava ja ristiriitainen, mutta tällä hetkellä ainoa sopiva, joka ei sekoitu muiden kielellisten ilmiöiden kanssa. Tutkimuskirjallisuudessa täytetyt tauot transkriboidaan monella eri tapaa, kuten *ah*, *uh* ja *um*. Kjellmeriä (2003) noudattaen, käytän muotoja *er* ja *erm*.

Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimus on keskiössä tutkielmassani ja sen vuoksi hänen materiaalinsa, metodinsa ja tuloksensa on esiteltävä yksityiskohtaisesti. Kjellmerin tutkimusartikkeli *Hesitation. In defence of er and erm* julkaistiin *English Studies* -lehdessä vuonna 2003. Artikkelissa Kjellmer esittää tutkimuksensa täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheydestä, sijainnista ja funktioista CobuildDirect-korpuksessa. Kyseinen korpus koostuu britti- ja amerikanenglanninkielisestä puhemateriaalista (HarperCollins 2012) eri konteksteissa, sisältäen muun muassa televisio- ja radiolähetyksiä (Collins

2012), ja siis suurella todennäköisyydellä materiaalia myös keskusteluohjelmista. Materiaalini siis vastaa osaa Kjellmerin tutkimasta materiaalista.

Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimus on kolmiosainen: ensin hän analysoi täytettyjen taukojen *er* ja *erm* esiintymistiheyden, sitten niiden sijainnin kieliopillisessa rakenteessa ja lopuksi niiden funktiot. Esittelen tutkimuksen tässä järjestyksessä. Kjellmerin korpusmateriaalissa *er* ja *erm* olivat kohtalaisen yleisiä, sillä yhdessä ne vastasivat 0,32% koko datasta. Ne esiintyivät lähes yhtä usein, tosin *er* hieman useammin kuin *erm*. Kieliopillisen sijainnin, eli lokalisaation, analyysi perustui korpuksen antamaan ns. esiintymistiheystaulukkoon, eli kuvioon, josta kävi ilmi täytettyjen taukojen yleisimmät kollokaatiot. Näiden kollokaatioiden perusteella Kjellmer päätteli sen, että täytettyjen taukojen yksi pääasiallinen funktio on aloittaa nk. uusi *ajatusyksikkö*. Ajatusyksikkö on kielellinen rakenne, joka vaatii suunnittelua ja jonka koko vaihtelee sanasta lauseeseen. Vaikka Kjellmer nimenomaan puhui funktiosta, hän ei käsitellyt ajatusyksikköä funktiotasolla enää funktioanalyysissään, ja jäi siis epäselväksi, mikä status ajatusyksikön aloittamisella on. Pohdin tätä lisää omassa analyysissäni.

Kieliopillisen sijainnin analyysissä Kjellmer (2003) jakoi rakenteet tai ajatusyksiköt, joita edelsi täytetty tauko, sana-, lauseke- ja lausetasoon. Koska kielelliset rakenteet on merkitty CobuildDirect-korpuksessa, Kjellmer pystyi valitsemaan ja hakemaan analysoitavia rakenteita, kuten tiettyjä nominaalis- ja verbilausekkeita. Hakutuloksista ilmeni myös täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheys kyseisessä rakenteessa. Tämän metodin puitteissa Kjellmer keskittyi tiettyihin rakenteisiin ja jätti toiset kokonaan analyysin ulkopuolelle. Palaan näihin puutteisiin tuonnempana ja keskityn nyt Kjellmerin lokalisaatioanalyysin tuloksiin. Analyysin päälöydös oli se, että suurin osa täytetyistä tauoista esiintyy suurempien rakenteiden, kuten lauseiden, edellä, vaikkakin niitä esiintyy myös kielen alimmilla tasoilla. *Sanatason* analyysissään Kjellmer tutki yksinkertaisimpia nominaalilausekkeita (determinantti + substantiivi ja determinantti + adjektiivi + substantiivi) sekä adjektiivilausekkeita (adverbi + adjektiivi) ja totesi, että *er* ja *erm* useimmiten edeltävät koko rakennetta. Hänen mukaansa täytetyt tauot esiintyvät sanatasonla vain harvoin ja tällöin edeltävät yleensä merkitykseltään tärkeimpiä sanoja.

Sama kuvio toistui *lauseketasolla*: *er* ja *erm* edeltävät yleensä laajempaa rakennetta. Täytyy kuitenkin ottaa huomioon se, että lauseketason analyysi keskittyi edellä mainittujen nominaalis- ja adjektiivilausekkeiden lisäksi vain tiettyihin verbilau-

sekkeisiin, nimittäin perfektiin ja pluskvamperfektiin, eli vain perfektisiin verbimuotoihin, ja modaaliseen verbilausekkeeseen. Kjellmer (2003) ei analysoinut yksinkertaisia verbejä, preesensin verbimuotoja eikä progressiivista aspektia lainkaan. Myös adverbilausekkeet jäivät huomiotta. Sen sijaan tutkimuksessa analysoitiin kielteisiä *not*-lausekkeita ja prepositiolausekkeita. Tämä osoittaa puutteita tutkimuksessa sekä rakenteiden deduktiivisessa hakumetodissa. Tutkielmani induktiivinen lähestymistapa mahdollistaa kaikkien rakenteiden tutkimisen, ja näin ollen metodini sopii testaamaan ja täydentämään Kjellmerin tutkimusta. *Lausetasolla* Kjellmer keskittyi konjunktoiden ja täytettyjen taukojen kollokaatioihin ja havaitsi, että *er* ja *erm* esiintyvät huomattavasti useammin rinnasteisten kuin alisteisten konjunktoiden kanssa. Tämä löydös tuki Kjellmerin väittämää, jonka mukaan täytetyt tauot merkitsevät uusia ajatusyksiköitä.

Korpukselta löydettyjen rakenteellisten sijaintien ja kollokaatioiden avulla Kjellmer (2003) esitti viisi funktiota täytetyille tauoille *er* ja *erm*. Kjellmerin mukaan täytettyjen taukojen yleisin funktio on I) *hesitaatio*, sillä täytetyt tauot usein kollokoivat keskenään sekä esiintyvät hiljaisten taukojen ja jo itsessään hesitaatiota merkitsevien toistojen ja väärien alkujen kanssa. Toisella funktiolla, II) *vuorottelujäsennyksen merkitsemisellä*, on kolme alafunktiota - vuorottelu, vuoronpito ja vuoronluovutus – joilla kaikilla on eri perusteet, joskin alafunktiot voivat olla hankalasti erotettavissa tai esiintyä samanaikaisesti. Mikäli täytetty tauko esiintyy vuoron alussa mahdollisen dialogipartikkelin kanssa, sen funktio on a) *vuorottelu*. *Vuoron pitämisen* (b) tunnusmerkkeihin puolestaan kuuluvat täytetyn tauon ja rinnasteisen konjunktion kollokaatio, täytetyn tauon sijainti kahden ajatusyksikön välissä sekä hesitaatio. Kun täytetty tauko sijaitsee vuoron lopussa, on sen funktio c) *vuoron luovutus*. Kolmannen funktion, III) *huomion herättämisen ja kontaktin luomisen*, merkinä on täytetyn tauon sijainti vuoron alussa. Täytetty tauko toimittaa neljättä funktiota, IV) *korostamista*, kun se edeltää ”harvinaista sanaa”, tosin Kjellmer ei määritellyt, mitä hän sillä tarkoittaa. Mielestäni hänen materiaalinsa ei kokonsa vuoksi mahdollista tarpeeksi laajan kontekstuaalisen informaation käyttöä todistamaan, että jokin sana on tietyssä kontekstissa harvinainen. Tämän osalta oma materiaalini on paremmin sovellettavissa neljännen funktion analyysiin. Viimeisen funktion, V) *korjauksen*, Kjellmer perustelee sillä, että täytetty tauko sijaitsee korjauksen yhteydessä, eli se osoittaa sen, että edeltävä osio on virheellinen ja että korjaus on tulossa.

Vaikka Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimus on kattava ja luotettava, korpuksen koko vaikutti tiettyjen aspektien analyysiin. Oman tutkimukseni materiaali mahdollistaa

kaikkien rakenteiden analyysin, joissa *er* tai *erm* esiintyy. Tämän lisäksi sekä koko tekstuaalinen konteksti että laajempi (tilanne)konteksti (haastattelutilanne, haastateltavien taustat, aihepiirit ja niiden taustat) ovat myös otettavissa huomioon. Näin ollen materiaalini on sopiva testaamaan Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimusta ja sen tuloksia.

Kjellmerin (2003) rinnalla muut tutkijat ovat harvemmin analysoineet täytettyjen taukojen funktioita ja ovat sen sijaan keskittyneet täytettyjen taukojen aiheuttajiin. Funktioiden tutkimus on ollut hyvin yleisellä tasolla ja koskenut samoja funktioita. Ennen muiden aiempien tutkimustulosten tarkempaa esittelyä on huomiotava, että tutkimukset itsessään poikkeavat merkittävästi sekä Kjellmerin tutkimuksesta (2003) että omasta tutkimuksestani. Ensinnäkin materiaalina on usein käytetty tutkimusta varten tuotettua puhemateriaalia usein vähintään jossain määrin kontrolloidussa ympäristössä (esim. Goldman-Eisler 1961; Chafe 1980; Swerts 1998; Bortfeld *et al.* 2001). Toiseksi taukojen havaitsemista analysoineet tutkimukset (esim. Arnold, Hudson Kam & Tanenhaus 2007) ovat antaneet manipuloituja ohjeita, joiden avulla kuulijoiden on pitänyt tunnistaa oikea kuva tietokoneruudulta. Nämä materiaalit ja tilanteet eivät vastaa arkipäiväistä kommunikaatiota ja tutkimustulokset ovat siksi kyseenalaistettavissa. Kolmanneksi monet tutkijat ovat analysoineet useampaa hesitaation muotoa samanaikaisesti eivätkä aina erottele niitä.

Aiemmissa tutkimuksissa on havaittu, että täytetyt tauot esiintyvät useimmiten ennen suurempia rakenteita, kuten lauseita, kuin pienempiä rakenteita, kuten sanoja (esim. Cook, Smith & Lalljee 1971; Clark & Fox Tree 2002). Chafen (1980) mukaan hesitaation sijainti vaikuttaa sen funktioon: hesitaatio lauseiden tai lausekkeiden välissä merkitsee sisältöön liittyvää ongelmaa, kun taas hesitaatio pienempien rakenteiden edessä osoittaa sen, että puhujalla on ongelmia muotoilun kanssa. Schachter *et al.* (1991) ja Bortfeld *et al.* (2001) ovat puolestaan väittäneet, että puheenaihe vaikuttaa täytettyjen taukojen ja hesitaation määrään. Lisäksi jälkimmäinen tutkimusryhmä on muiden ohella (esim. Maclay & Osgood 1959) osoittanut sen, että puhujat eroavat hesitaation ja täytettyjen taukojen käytössä. Pelkästään täytettyjen taukojen funktioihin keskittyvien tutkimustulosten mukaan täytetyt tauot merkitsevät puheen viivästymistä (esim. Clark & Fox Tree 2002). Tämän lisäksi, kuten Kjellmerin väitti, esimerkiksi Livantin (1963) ja Shribergin (2001) tulosten mukaan täytetyillä tauoilla on tehtävänsä vuorottelujäsennyksen merkitsemisessä. Lopuksi mainittakoon, että täytettyjä taukoja on esitetty myös interjektioiksi (esim. Clark & Fox Tree 2002), mikä on kyseenalaistettu.

Puhujanäkökulman rinnalla täytettyjä taukoja on tutkittu kuulijan perspektiivistä. Nämä tulokset eivät suoranaisesti ole verrattavissa muihin tutkimuksiin, mutta tukevat Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimustuloksia. Esimerkiksi Arnold, Fagnano ja Tanenhaus (2003) osoittivat, että kuulija tulkitsee täytetyt tauot merkinä uudesta informaatiosta (vrt. Kjellmerin uusi ajatusyksikkö), kun taas Bailey & Ferreiran (2003) tulosten mukaan täytetyt tauot helpottavat rakenteiden ymmärtämistä. Lisäksi Corley, MacGregor & Donaldson (2007) havainnoivat, että sanat, joita edeltää täytetty tauko, ovat helpommin muistettavissa kuin ne, jotka esiintyivät ilman taukoa (vrt. Kjellmerin neljäs funktio, korostus).

Kuten tämä lyhyt esitys osoittaa, täytettyjä taukoja on tutkittu varsin hajanaisesti, erilaisin metodein ja erilaisissa puhemateriaaleissa, vaikkakin monesta näkökulmasta. Tutkimusta vaaditaan lisää varsinkin luonnollisesti tuotetussa puhemateriaalissa. Funktioanalyysille on myös selkeästi tarvetta. Nämä ovat oman tutkimukseni pääasialliset kohteet. Seuraavaksi esittelen tutkimusmetodini, jotka noudattavat Kjellmerin käyttämiä menetelmiä.

### **3. Tutkimusmenetelmät**

Tutkimuksessani on kolme analyysiä – täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheys, sijainti ja funktiot – ja näin ollen kolme menetelmää. Esiintymistiheyden analysoin suhteuttamalla täytettyjen taukojen määrän kokonaissanamäärään. Analysoin sekä puhujakohtaisen että täytettyjen taukojen yleisen esiintymistiheyden kaikissa haastatteluissa. Esiintymistiheyden analyysissä on merkittävässä osassa sanojen luokittelu eli se mitä lasketaan sanoiksi ja mitä ei. Kjellmerin (2003) esimerkkien ja materiaalin laajuuden perusteella oletan, että kaikki transkriboidut äänteet on laskettu sanoiksi, ja täten noudatan samaa periaatetta. Näin ollen epätäydelliset sanat (esim. *Leb*) ja dialogipartikkelit (esim. *mhm*) lasketaan sanoiksi. Toistetut sanan ensimmäiset äänteet (esim. *I-I*) lasken kuitenkin yhdeksi sanaksi, kun taas lyhenteet (esim. *we're*) lasken kahdeksi sanaksi. Haluan painottaa, että sisällytän analyysiini vain poliitikkojen puheet jättäen haastattelijan puheen huomiotta.

Kieliopillisen sijainnin analyysissä ja täytettyjen taukojen luokittelussa sana-, lauseke- ja lausetasolle joudun hieman muokkaamaan ja tarkentamaan Kjellmerin (2003) metodeja oman materiaalin perusteella. Täytetyt tauot, jotka esiintyvät yhdessä rinnasteisen tai alisteisen konjunktion kanssa ja edeltävät lausetta, sijoittuvat *lause-*

*tasolle*. Samalle tasolle sijoittuvat myös täytetyt tauot, jotka yksinään edeltävät lausetta. Tässä kohdassa on pantava merkille se, että lause, jota edeltää täytetty tauko, voi olla rakenteeltaan monenlainen (esim. alkaa adverbilausekkeella tai se on elliptinen), mutta kaikissa tapauksissa täytetty tauko sijoittuu lausetasolle. Tämä on tärkeä aspekti, jota Kjellmer (2003) ei sisällyttänyt tutkimukseensa, tai ei ainakaan eksplisiittisesti maininnut. Tämä myös osoittaa sen, että analyysissä ei voi keskittyä vain välittömään kontekstiin, vaan on otettava koko tekstuaalinen konteksti huomioon.

*Lauseketasolle* sijoittuvat kaikki täytetyt tauot, jotka esiintyvät ennen lauseen sisäistä lauseketta. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että myös täytetyt tauot, jotka edeltävät toisiin lausekkeisiin upotettuja lausekkeita (esim. nominaalilauseke prepositiolausekkeessa) sijoittuvat lauseketasolle. Esimerkkiensä perusteella Kjellmer (2003) toimi samoin. Kuten jo aiemmin mainitsin, Kjellmer analysoi lauseketasolla vain lausekkeita, jotka rakentuvat useammasta sanasta. Englannin kielessä monen sanaluokan edustajat voivat kuitenkin yksinään muodostaa lausekkeen (Quirk *et al.* 1985), minkä vuoksi sijoitan yhden sanan lauseketta edeltävät täytetyt tauot lauseketasolle. Ero sanatasoon on merkittävä: sanatasolla täytetyt tauot edeltävät lausekkeen pääsanaa ja erottavat sen determinanteista ja muista edeltävistä määreistä, kun taas lauseketasolla täytetyt tauot edeltävät koko lauseketta eivätkä erota pääsanaa mahdollisista määreistä.

Materiaalissani esiintyy täytettyjä taukoja myös erisnimien yhteydessä ja yhdyssanoissa, minkä lisäksi jotkut tauot erottavat lausekkeiden rakenteita toisistaan. Pääasiassa täytetty tauko ennen erisnimeä sijoittuu lauseketasolle, koska erisnimet muodostavat nominaalilausekkeen. Mikäli erisnimilauseke rakentuu etu- ja sukunimestä, ja täytetty tauko erottaa nimet, luokittelen tauon sanatasolle (vrt. lauseketason analyysi yllä). Tämä pätee myös, jos erisnimessä on nimet erottavan täytetyn tauon lisäksi koko erisnimeä edeltävä täytetty tauko: tauot sijoittuvat sanatasolle. Noudatan samaa periaatetta lausekkeissa, joissa yksi täytetty tauko esiintyy ennen pääsanaa edeltävää määrettä ja toinen ennen pääsanaa, eli molemmat tauot sijoittuvat sanatasolle. Vaikka yhdyssanat useimmiten kirjoitetaan erikseen englannin kielessä, kaikki täytetyt tauot, jotka edeltävät yhdyssanoja, sijoittuvat sanatasolle, koska kieliopillisesti ne muodostavat yhden sanan (Carter & McCarthy 2006).

*Sanatasolle* sijoittuvat kaikki täytetyt tauot, jotka esiintyvät lausekkeiden sisällä. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että täytetyn tauon täytyy edeltää lausekkeen pääsanaa, jolla on determinanti ja/tai jota edeltää määre. Sanatasolla täytetty tauko siis erottaa pääsanana sitä edellä olevista lausekkeen rakenteista. Kuten esityksestä käy ilmi,

lokalisatioanalyysi on huomattavasti monimutkaisempi, kuin Kjellmer (2003) antoi ymmärtää. On kuitenkin tärkeää, että perusteet ovat selkeät, jotta analyysi olisi mahdollisimman tarkka.

Viimeiseksi analysoin täytettyjen taukojen funktiot. Perusteena käytän taukojen lokalisaatiota kieliopillisissa rakenteissa yhdessä Kjellmerin (2003) ehdottamien funktioiden piirteiden kanssa (ks. yllä). Mikäli täytetyn tauon piirteet eivät vastaa ainuttakaan Kjellmerin kategoriaa, ehdotan toista funktioita tekstuaalisen ja/tai laajemman kontekstin perusteella. On hyvin mahdollista, että täytetyillä tauoilla on useampi kuin viisi funktiota (vrt. Kjellmer 2003: 182), ja siis jopa olettavaa, että Kjellmerin kategoriat eivät riitä kuvaamaan täytettyjen taukojen käyttöä. Funktioanalyysi myös mahdollistaa uuden ajatusyksikön aseman tutkimisen funktionaalisesta näkökulmasta, eli mikäli viisi ehdotettua funktioita ovat alisteisia uuden ajatusyksikön funktiolle tai se on kuudes täytettyjen taukojen funktio. Metodien jälkeen siirryn esittelemään materiaaliini.

#### **4. Tutkimusmateriaali**

Tutkimukseni materiaaliksi valitsin viiden amerikkalaisen poliitikon haastattelut keskusteluohjelmassa *Larry King Live*. Haastateltaviin kuuluvat presidentit Barack Obama, Bill Clinton ja Jimmy Carter sekä entiset presidenttiehdokkaat John McCain ja Al Gore. Kaikki haastattelut tehtiin yhden vuoden sisällä (syyskuu 2009-syyskuu 2010), jonka aikana McCainia lukuun ottamatta kaikki poliitikot antoivat yhden haastattelun. Kaikkiaan materiaalia kertyi 101 minuuttia ja 1 sekunti (sisältäen Larry Kingin puheen, mutta poissulkien videoleikkeitä esim. kongressin istunnoista). Haastateltavien kokonaissanamäärä nousi 14 700 sanaan. Haastattelut ovat kaikkien saatavilla podcast-versioina internetissä. Kerättyäni materiaalin, transkriboin haastattelut ortografisesti ilman prosodista merkintää, minkä jälkeen natiivipuhuja tarkisti ne. Transkriptioihin merkitsin myös korvakuulon perusteella hiljaiset tauot kuvaamaan niiden sijoittumista suhteessa täytettyihin taukoihin. Kyseitä metodia on paljon kritisoitu (ks. esim. O'Connell & Kowal 2004), mutta instrumentaalisen mittausmahdollisuuden puutteessa, päädyin tähän ratkaisuun. Hiljaiset tauot ovat siis lähinnä suuntaa-antavia, eivätkä täysin luotettavia. Tämän ei pitäisi kuitenkaan laajasti vaikuttaa tutkimuksen uskottavuuteen, sillä hiljaiset tauot eivät ole merkittävässä asemassa.

Vaikka materiaalini koostuu poliittisesta diskurssista keskusteluohjelmassa, en ole varsinaisesti kiinnostunut puheen poliittisesta puolesta enkä keskusteluohjelmista sinänsä. Materiaalini valikoitui käytännön syistä: poliitikot ovat tottuneita puhumaan julkisesti ja heidän puheensa on siis luonnollista. Lisäksi he käyttävät samaa 'murretta' toisin sanoen kirjakieltä, ja puhuvat pääosin samoista, heille kaikille jossain määrin tutuista aiheista. On kuitenkin pantava merkille se, että poliitikkojen puhe on institutionaalista (vrt. Chilton & Schäffner 2002), että keskusteluohjelmissa käytetty kieli ei vastaa arkipuhetta (esim. Haarman 2001; vrt. Ilie 2001) ja että se ei ole spontaania, vaan ennalta suunniteltua ja rakennettua (Tolson 2001). Yksi poliittisen diskurssin aspekti on se, että poliitikon ei suvaita olla hiljaa, sillä hiljaisuus osoittaa sen, että puhujalla on ongelmia tai hänellä ei ole tietoa keskusteltavasta asiasta (Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007). Tutkimukseni kannalta tämä on mielenkiintoista, vaikkakin sivuseikka. Seuraavaksi sovellan Kjellmerin metodeja haastattelumateriaaliini.

## 5. Analyysi

Analyysini ensimmäisessä osassa tutkin täytettyjen taukojen *er* ja *erm* esiintymistiheyttä. Kaiken kaikkiaan poliitikkojen puheessa esiintyi 459 täytettyä taukoa (3,12% kokonaissanamäärästä), joista *erin* osuus oli 439 (2,99%) ja *ermin* 20 (0,14%). Näistä täytetyistä tauoista Clinton käytti 6,75%, McCain 14,60%, Carter 15,47%, Gore 30,07% ja Obama 33,12%. Kun puhujakohtaiset täytettyjen taukojen määrät suhteutettiin puhujakohtaisiin kokonaissanamääriin, saatiin seuraava jakauma: Clinton 0,92%, Carter 2,74%, McCain 3,15%, Gore 3,77% ja Obama 5,13%. Puhujakohtaiset eroavaisuudet olivat siis merkittävät. Tämän jakauman lisäksi laskin täytettyjen taukojen suhteelliset osuudet kokonaissanamääristä erikseen, eli *erin* ja *ermin* jakauman. Täytetyn tauon *er* osuus oli suunnilleen sama kuin molempien taukojen yhteensä, eli Clintonin puheessa niitä esiintyi vähiten (0,77%), Carter (2,71%) ja McCain (2,87%) käyttivät toiseksi ja kolmanneksi vähiten, kun taas Gore (3,66%) ja Obama (4,99%) eniten. Täytetyn tauon *erm* kohdalla jakauma oli selkeästi poikkeava, mikä on osin selitettävissä täytetyn tauon pienellä kokonaismäärällä: Carter 0,04%, Gore 0,11%, Obama 0,13%, Clinton 0,15% ja McCain 0,28%. Täytettyjen taukojen eri jakaumille ei löytynyt selitystä taukoa seuraavan äänneen laadusta eli siitä, oliko se vokaali tai konsonantti. Analyysini mukaan molemmat tauot edelsivät kumpaakin äännettä, tosin *er* esiintyi hieman useammin ennen konsonanttia.

Lokalisatioanalyysini oli kaksiosainen: ensin luokittelin täytetyt tauot eri tasoille ja sitten analysoin täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheyden eri tasoilla. Luokittelun perusteella täytettyjä taukoja esiintyi eniten lausetasolla yksin ja yhdessä rinnasteisten konjunktioiden kanssa. Lauseketasolla täytetyt tauot esiintyivät moninaisten lausekerakenteiden, kuten yhden sanan lausekkeiden ja erilaisten verbilausekkeiden, edellä sekä lauseen välittöminä elementteinä että upotettuina toisiin lausekkeisiin. Sanatasolla puolestaan täytetyt tauot edelsivät lausekkeiden pääsanoja useimmiten verbi- ja substantiivilausekkeissa, mutta harvemmin adjektiivi- tai adverbilausekkeissa. Täytettyjä taukoja esiintyi tällä tasolla myös erisnimien ja yhdyssanojen yhteydessä. Suurin osa täytetyistä tauoista haastattelumateriaalissa oli luokiteltavissa näihin kolmeen tasoon aivan kuten Kjellmerin (2003) analyysissä. Pieni määrä taukoja, jotka esiintyivät ennen jälkimäärelauseita tai vuoron viimeisenä elementtinä, jäi kuitenkin niiden ulkopuolelle, ja muodostin niistä oman ryhmän, *muut*. Jälkimäärelauseet eivät vastaa Kjellmerin lausetasoa, johon kuuluvat pää- ja sivulauseet, sillä ne eivät ole englannin kieliopin mukaan sivulauseita.

Yleisesti puhujat käyttivät eniten täytettyjä taukoja – laskevassa järjestyksessä – lause-, lauseke-, sana- ja muut-tasolla. Suhteelliset erot lause- ja lauseketason (n. 11 prosenttiyksikköä) ja sana- ja muut-tason (n. 6,8 prosenttiyksikköä) välillä olivat kuitenkin pienet. Obamaa lukuun ottamatta puhujakohtaiset täytettyjen taukojen käytöt poikkesivat tästä yleisestä kuviosta. Clinton esimerkiksi käytti vähiten täytettyjä taukoja sanatasolla, kun taas sekä Gore ja Carter käyttivät suunnilleen yhtä paljon täytettyjä taukoja lause- ja lauseketasolla. McCainin puheessa sen sijaan sana- ja lauseketasolla esiintyi yhtä paljon täytettyjä taukoja. Tämä analyysi osoittaa sen, että täytetyt tauot eivät välttämättä ole yleisimpiä vain lausetasolla vaan että niitä käytetään usein myös lauseketasolla. Lisäksi sanatasolla voi esiintyä paljon täytettyjä taukoja. Puhujien käyttämien täytettyjen taukojen kokonaismäärät tosin vaihtelivat suuresti, minkä vuoksi Obaman ja Goren jakaumilla on eniten merkitystä.

Funktioanalyysissä analysoin kaikki puhujat erikseen, mutta kertaan nyt vain analyysit yleisellä tasolla. Kaikkien puhujien kohdalla suurin osa täytetyistä tauoista merkitsi hesitaatiota, vuoron pitämistä ja korostusta, kun taas korjaus, vuorottelu ja vuoron luovutus olivat vähemmän käytettyjä funktioita. Pääosin yhdellä täytetyllä tauolla oli samanaikaisesti useampi funktio ja harvoin tauoilla oli vain yksi funktio. Yhdenkään täytetyn tauon funktio ei ollut huomion herättäminen tai yhteyden

luominen, mikä mahdollisesti johtuu materiaalista: haastattelutilanteessa, jossa on kaksi osapuolta puhujan harvoin tarvitsee yrittää luoda kontaktia tai herättää huomiota.

Täytettyjen taukojen funktiot olivat pääosin suhteellisen helposti analysoitavissa ja luokiteltavissa yhteen tai useampaan funktionaaliseen kategoriaan. Kaikkien puhujien täytettyjen taukojen joukossa oli myös niitä, joiden funktio oli vaikeasti analysoitavissa, sillä joko taukojen lokalisaatio ja kollokaatiot vastasivat täpärästi useampaa funktioita, mutta yhtäkään ei selkeästi, tai sitten niiden lokalisaatio tai kollokaatiot eivät viitanneet yhteenkään funktioon. Näiden täytettyjen taukojen kohdalla analyysi siirtyi arvailun puolelle ja ehdotin mahdollisia funktioita pitäen mielessä sen, että mikään niistä ei välttämättä pidä paikkaansa. Lisäksi McCainin, Clintonin ja Obaman täytettyjen taukojen joukossa oli myös niitä taukoja, joilla Kjellmerin (2003) esittämien funktioiden lisäksi ilmeni rakenteellinen funktio. McCain käytti taukoja suorien lainausten yhteydessä kuin merkitäkseen ne, Clintonin puheessa jotkut tauot tukivat argumentatiivista rakennetta, kun taas Obaman täytetyt tauot merkitsivät puheen rakennetta tai indikoivat lauseen sisäisiä lisäkommentteja.

## **6. Tulokset ja päätelmät**

Tutkielmani tarkoitus oli siis testata täytettyjen taukojen (*er* ja *erm*) esiintymistiheyttä, sijaintia kieliopillisessa rakenteessa sekä funktioita Kjellmerin (2003) korpus-tutkimuksessa käyttäen pääosin samoja metodeja, mutta suppeammassa materiaalisissa. Tutkimukseni mukaan täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheys on verrattain suuri suhteutettuna kokonaissanamäärään. Sekä täytettyjen taukojen *er* ja *erm* esiintymistiheys yhdessä (3,12%) että erikseen (2,99% vs. 0,14%) poikkesivat kuitenkin Kjellmerin vastaavista luvusta (0,32% ja 0,17% vs. 0,15%) ja Stenströmin (1990) tutkimustuloksesta (0,67%, tauot yhteensä), mutta lähenteli Maclay & Osgoodin (1959) varhaista taukojen esiintymistiheyden tulosta (3,87%). Puhujakohtaiset eroavaisuudet sen sijaan vastasivat Stenströmin ja Maclay & Osgoodin tekemiä löydöksiä: vaihtelu on suurta ja täytettyjen taukojen käyttö on yksilöllistä. Korkeampi ikä tai puheenaiheiden vaihtelu (vrt. Bortfeld *et al.* 2001) eivät näyttäneet vaikuttavan täytettyjen taukojen käyttöön, sillä nuoremmat puhujat (Obama ja Gore) käyttivät enemmän täytettyjä taukoja kuin vanhemmat puhujat ja aihepiirit olivat jokaisessa haastattelussa pääosin samat. Materiaalini puitteissa on mahdotonta sanoa, vaikuttiko puhetilanne – esiintyminen

potentiaalisten äänestäjien ja tukijoiden edessä – taukojen käyttöön (vrt. esim. Schachter *et al.* 1991), mutta se on paljon mahdollista, sillä puhujat ovat kokeneita poliitikkoja.

Kieliopillisen sijainnin analyysini mukaan Kjellmerin (2003) rakenteellinen analyysi on liian yksinkertaistava, sillä täytettyjä taukoja esiintyy paljon monimutkaisemmissa kielen rakenteissa. Hänen analyysinsä oli siis varsin valikoiva. Lisäksi Kjellmerin kolmijako osoittautui riittämättömäksi, eikä se vastaa täytettyjen taukojen lokalisaatiota puheessa. Tutkimukseni osoitti sen, että kieliopillisen jaottelun on oltava selkeä ja sen on otettava huomioon monenlaisia rakenteita. Täytettyjen taukojen kieliopillisen sijainnin määrittelyyn on myös lisättävä yksi taso, joka sisältää jälkimäärelauseet ja vuoron viimeisinä elementteinä esiintyvät täytetyt tauot. Tämä tuo esiin kysymyksen, pitäisikö upotetut lausekkeet myös analysoida erikseen eri tasolle. Toisin kuin jälkimäärelauseet upotetut lausekkeet kuitenkin vastaavat lausekkeen kategorialta ja ovat siten luokiteltavissa lauseketasolle ongelmitta. Kjellmerin kohdalla on todettava, että hänen materiaalinsa asetti tietyt rajoitukset lokalisaation analyysille, mikä selittää osan puutteista. Muita vastaavia rakenteellisia tutkimuksia on tehty vähän ja usein toisenlaisen jaottelun perusteella (esim. Clark & Fox Tree 2002), minkä vuoksi ne eivät olleet sovellettavissa tutkimukseeni.

Pääpiirteissään täytettyjen taukojen esiintymistiheyden jakauma eri tasoilla noudatti Kjellmerin tulosta: täytettyjä taukoja esiintyi useimmiten lausetasolla, sitten lauseketasolla ja vähiten sana- ja muut-tasolla. Samaan tulokseen ovat päätyneet ennen Kjellmeriä myös muun muassa Cook (1971) ja Clark & Fox Tree (2002). Puhujakohtaiset jakaumat eivät kuitenkaan vastanneet tätä yleiskuvaa. Näin ollen analyysini perusteella täytettyjen taukojen ei voi aina olettaa esiintyvän eniten lausetasolla ja vähiten sanatasolla, sillä yksilöllinen vaihtelu voi olla merkittävää. Tuloksiani ei voi kuitenkaan yleistää, sillä materiaalini on suhteellisen suppea. Tutkimustuloksiini ei silti pitäisi suhtautua poikkeuksina, vaan niiden pitäisi innostaa lisätutkimuksiin.

Funktioanalyysini perusteella näyttää siltä, että Kjellmerin (2003) funktiot ja niiden piirteet pätevät pääosin myös suppeampaan materiaaliin. Tutkimukseni kuitenkin osoitti sen, että funktioiden päällekkäisyys on pikemminkin sääntö kuin poikkeus, mutta että useimmiten täytetyillä tauoilla on yksi dominoiva funktio, toisin sanoen toiset piirteet ovat selkeämpiä tai voimakkaampia kuin toiset. Lisäksi analyysini mukaan täytetyillä tauoilla näyttäisi olevan rakenteellinen funktio puheessa. Tämän funktion löytämisessä kontekstuaalinen informaatio osoittautui erittäin tärkeäksi: ilman

laajempaa tekstuaalista kontekstia funktio olisi jäänyt löytämättä. Kontekstuaalinen informaatio oli myös merkittävässä asemassa, kun kategorisoin täytettyjä taukoja korostaviksi. Laajempi kokonaisuus on siis merkittävässä asemassa funktioanalyysissä ja se auttaa ymmärtämään täytettyjen taukojen käyttöä.

Tutkimukseni osoitti myös puutteita Kjellmerin funktioissa. Analyysini mukaan funktioiden määrittely ei aina ole yksioikoista ja selkeää, sillä täytettyjen taukojen sijainnit kieliopillisessa rakenteessa ja kollokaatiot eivät aina vastaa Kjellmerin antamia kriteerejä. Täytettyjen taukojen käyttö voi siis olla epäselvää, eivätkä Kjellmerin kategoriat ja funktioiden piirteet pysty aina kuvaamaan taukoja. Kjellmer ei tutkimuksessaan väittänytkaan löytäneensä kaikkia täytettyjen taukojen funktioita vaan antoi lähinnä haasteen seuraaville tutkimuksille. Se, että tiettyjen puhujien, kuten Obaman, puheessa esiintyi enemmän taukoja, joiden funktio jäi epäselväksi, saattaa olla viite siitä, että ei vain itse täytettyjen taukojen käyttö ole yksilöllistä, vaan että myös niiden funktiot saattavat olla jossain määrin puhujakohtaisia.

Lopuksi mainittakoon, että Kjellmerin (2003) ensimmäiseksi ehdottama funktio, uuden ajatusyksikön merkitseminen, on analyysini mukaan täytettyjen taukojen pääfunktio ja Kjellmerin ehdottamat viisi muuta funktiota ovat alisteisia tälle. Toisin sanoen kaikki täytetyt tauot edeltävät uutta ajatusyksikköä, minkä lisäksi niillä on yksi tai useampi spesifisempi funktio. Missään kohdassa analyysiäni materiaalissani ei esiintynyt täytettyä taukoa, jonka ainoa funktio olisi uuden ajatusyksikön merkitseminen. Tältä osin Kjellmerin tutkimus ja sen funktioiden luokittelu selkiytyivät.

Oman tutkimukseni materiaali mahdollisti tarkan ja yksityiskohtaisen täytettyjen taukojen analyysin. Materiaalin rajallisuuden vuoksi pystyin keskittymään sekä yleiskuvaan että puhujakohtaisiin piirteisiin ja poikkeuksiin. Lisäksi sekä laajempi tekstuaalinen konteksti että tilannekonteksti olivat paremmin analysoitavissa ja hallittavissa. On myös erittäin tärkeää, että tutkimukseni keskittyi puhuttuun kieleen, joka on tuotettu oikeassa kommunikaatiotilanteessa ja näin ollen tutkimustulokseni kuvaavat täytettyjen taukojen käyttöä tietyssä, aidossa keskustelukontekstissa. Toisaalta materiaalin rajallisuus estää suurempien yleistysten tekemisen ja tulokseni kuvaavat vain viiden poliitikon puhetta analysoiduissa haastatteluissa. Tästä huolimatta tulokseni ovat suuntaa-antavia ja osoittavat mahdollisia tulevaisuuden tutkimuskohteita. Materiaalin rajallisuuden lisäksi hiljaisten taukojen hieman epäluotettava transkribointi heikentää jonkin verran funktioiden analyysin luotettavuutta hesitaation osalta. Kieliopin valinta on myös tutkimukseni heikko kohta, sillä perinteinen kielioppi on

tehty kirjoitetun kielen pohjalta, eikä näin ollen täysin vastaa puhuttua kieltä. Tässä kohdassa tein valintani Kjellmerin (2003) tutkimuksen pohjalta.

Tulevaisuudessa olisi siis oivallista tutkia täytettyjen taukojen lokalisaatiota puhutun kielen kieliopin pohjalta. Lisäksi on selvästi kysyntää täytettyjen taukojen funktioanalyysille varmistamaan Kjellmerin (2003) ehdottamien funktioiden olemassaolon ja vahvistamaan niiden piirteitä. Ehdottamaani rakenteellista funktiota on myös tutkittava lisää. Tätä tutkimusta olisi syytä tehdä sekä suppeammassa että laajemmassa, aidossa puhutussa materiaalissa. Tuleviin täytettyjen taukojen tutkimuksiin olisi myös hyvä sisällyttää prosodia ja intonaatio, sillä nämä saattavat tukea ja auttaa funktioiden analyysissä. Yksi lähestulkoon tutkimaton täytettyjen taukojen piirre on niiden merkitys. On mahdollista, että funktio ja merkitys ovat identtiset, mutta tämä vaatii lisätutkimuksia esimerkiksi Blakemoren (2002) proseduraalisen merkitysteorian avulla.

Tutkielmani perusteella voin siis sanoa, että täytetyt tauot ovat suhteellisen yleisiä tutkitussa haastattelumateriaalissa ja että yksilölliset erot ovat merkittäviä. Kieliopillisissa rakenteissa täytetyt tauot sijoittuvat pääasiallisesti ennen laajempia rakenteita, mutta tässäkin on puhujakohtaisia eroavaisuuksia. Lisäksi Kjellmerin (2003) lause-, lauseke, ja sanatason jatkoksi on lisättävä yksi taso, joka vastaa muun muassa jälkimääreitä. Täytetyillä tauoilla on useimmiten useampi funktio ja pääosin niiden funktiot vastaavat Kjellmerin ehdottamia funktiota, vaikkakin materiaalissani esiintyi myös vaikeammin analysoitavia taukoja. Kjellmerin viiden funktion rinnalla täytetyillä tauoilla näyttäisi olevan rakenteellinen lisäfunktio. Tutkimukseni mukaan Kjellmerin tutkimustulokset ovat tietysti määrin sovellettavissa suppeampaan materiaaliin, vaikka analyysini osoitti myös merkittäviä puutteita. Tutkielmani on siis tuonut lisätietoa täytettyjen taukojen käyttöön, mutta paljon jää vielä tutkittavaksi tulevaisuudessa.