THE PRODUCTION OF A LIVE TV-INTERVIEW THROUGH MEDIATED INTERACTION

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This paper studies live television production as an interactional process and focusses primarily on the mediated interaction between the director and the script in the control room, and the camera operators in the studio. The results show that the mediated and asymmetrical character of the interaction is consequential for how participants constitute recognizable action. Firstly, timing is identified as a crucial resource for the production of intersubjectivity in this context. Secondly, a basic action sequence in live television production, the "proposal – acceptance" sequence, is described, as well as what constitutes its respective action types. Thirdly, the possibility for participants to make successful hypotheses regarding the production of one of these action types by reference to other aspects of the interactional context is demonstrated, and a case of conflicting projectabilities is also analyzed. The study underscores the relevance of CA methodology for studying the work of producing live television.

Key words: conversation analysis; sequential analysis; television production; mediated communication; intersubjectivity; collaborative production.

1 INTRODUCTION

This text is about a particular and highly specialized kind of workplace interaction, namely the kind that takes place between the members of the production team that collaboratively create a televised interview programme. I have chosen to study this kind of interaction from the perspective of Conversation Analysis[2] (henceforth CA), although it is to a considerable extent not constituted through practices of speaking. By the end of the paper I hope to have shown the relevance of the CA methodology for studying other kinds of interaction types than the "conversation-like" genres, be they of "ordinary" or "institutional" types, that the approach has traditionally favoured[3]. After a general introduction to mediated communication in this setting and a brief description of my data, I will give a fairly extensive account of some aspects of the production of the programme. This is followed by the analysis of a couple of sequences regarding 1) the importance of timing for action constitution in this context, 2) a

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[2] Ethnomethodologically inspired research paradigm initiated by Harvey Sacks in the early 1960s. See Sacks 1992 for a series of foundational lectures on conversation.

[3] See e.g. Drew and Heritage (1992) and ten Have (1999) for presentations of the distinction between ordinary and institutional interaction. Studies focussing on visual technology include C. Goodwin (1996), M.H. Goodwin (1995), Harper and Hughes (1993), Heath and Luff (1993), Luff and Heath (1998), Macbeth (1999), Mondada (2003) and Suchman (1993). For earlier work touching on television production, see Bonu (1999), Broth (2003a, b, forthcoming), Mondada (2001) and Relieu (1999).

basic sequence type in TV-production, and 3) the projectability of the actions constituting the basic sequence.

1.1 Mediated Communication In TV-Production

The number of participants involved in the collaborative work with television production can be considerable. Since only some of them are located in the same physical setting (a particular part of the control room or the studio, or moving around somewhere in between), the use of communication technology is required to permit the successful accomplishment of recognizable actions to take place within the team. However, unlike people communicating by e.g. fixed or mobile telephones, with or without video facilities, the participants to a team involved in a live TV-production do not communicate on an equal basis. And although images play a crucial part in this kind of interaction, neither of the participants can actually see each other.

Whereas mainly the script and the director very often talk to the camera operators, and occasionally also to other members of the team, by means of microphones, the camera operators use as their sole means for communicating the framings and the movements that their cameras allow them to make[4]. What appears on the screens in the control room is treated by the personnel posted there as accountable actions performed by the camera operators. Although the camera operators actually could talk to the control room through their microphones, they hardly ever use this possibility, lest they would very likely disturb both the director in his work, and the participants to the studio interaction.

It is important to stress that the technology used does not – indeed could not – give full access to what is happening at the other side of the technological interface. Actors on either side are partly "blind" to the settings in which the participants with whom they interact perform their actions. Posted in the studio, a camera operator cannot know what other shots are available to the director at a given point in time (except for the image currently on the air, which can be consulted at any time by pressing the camera's "return" button). Nor can he see the personnel in the control room, and thus can't see what they attend to. If he doesn't look into his camera, he can, however, see where his fellow camera operators are positioned, and can by means of this knowledge make hypotheses regarding what shots are available to the director. As concerns the people looking at the screens in the control room, these can never perceive anything but screen images[5] of those parts of the situation that are currently covered by the cameras. It is only through this partial and fragmented view, that they have visual access to the ecology of the stage. One may note as well that this view excludes, by definition, the camera operator producing the shot, and, by an orientation to a normative rule stating that a camera operator shouldn't "shoot" his colleagues, it also excludes the other camera operators for the most part of the time[6].

Despite these limitations and differences in mutual access to the situations in which the participants act, participants are clearly capable of producing actions that are understandable "for all practical purposes", for the production of the televised interview overwhelmingly proceeds in a fashion that does not give rise to requests for repair. But how can members of

[4] Camera movement is known in the profession as "secondary movement", the "primary movement" being the movement of the filmed object (Wurtzel and Rosenbaum 1995).

[5] Looking at an image of an object is of course not the same thing as looking at the object directly. Heath and Luff (1993) have shown that we understand these in different ways.

[6] This partial and fragmented view is often problematic, which becomes obvious during the moments at which the director and the script are at a loss as far as the relative positioning of actors (participants to the mediated discussion as well as camera operators) is concerned.

the production team understand correctly what their colleagues are doing through the technological configuration at hand? And how do they accomplish the well-ordered product that the TV-audience view on their television sets? It is to these questions that the present study attempts to provide some first answers[7].

1.2 Data

The data consulted are video-recordings made inside the control room during the production of a series of live television interviews[8]. Three mini-DV cameras were used in order to capture: a contextual view of the director, the script and the technical director in front of the fairly large number of screens showing images of the different cameras and the screen showing what is currently on the air (image 1); a separate view of only the screens, permitting a better visibility of the detailed information visible on the screens (image 2); and a separate and strongly zoomed view of the screen showing the studio and its participants (image 3). In order to get an as good as possible recording of the verbal contributions by the personnel in the control room, a minidisk was also placed in front of them. The actual TV-programmes were recorded as well[9].

Image 1. The control room

Image 2. Closer view of screens. Top centre is the image currently on the air. Lower row shows images of the five camera operators.

[7] It may be noted that major textbooks (Millerson 1999, Wurtzel and Rosenbaum 1995, Zettl 2003) on this subject speak very imprecisely about what the teamwork involved really consists of. See for instance the following extract: "It is sometimes easy to lose sight of the fact that all the equipment used in a production must be operated by people, and it is the crew that plays a large part in any program's success or failure. […] Even the most experienced directors make mistakes from time to time, but a production unit that works closely together can 'save' each other through close teamwork and cooperation. (Wurtzel and Rosenbaum 1995:110). And, further on: "Once the basic shooting pattern is established [for a semiscripted talk show], the director relies heavily on the camera operators to get their shots as automatically as possible" (1995:138).

[8] To date, five programs have been recorded, totalling about eight hours of recorded interaction in this setting.

[9] The recordings were turned into Quick time movies, and the sound from the minidisk recording was added to each of those as a separate sound track. To support analysis of the finished Quick time movies, I have used CLAN, a software that enables linking of media files to transcripts by means of "bullets" containing references to specific intervals in the recording (the software is available at http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/). Since the movies were also made to have the same starting point, moving between the different recordings in order to get access to an event from a different perspective was easy: it was sufficient to change the name of the file to which the bullet refers to get to the corresponding moment in another recording.

1.3 The Studied Programme And Some Aspects Of Its Production

Image 3. Close-up of screen showing studio

I have chosen to study a monthly French interview programme entitled "*Rideau Rouge*". In this show, a fairly large number of guests (usually between 6 and 9) are invited to express their opinions on burning issues, such as the threat of an upcoming war in Iraq, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the advantages and the risks of genetically modified food. The show is broadcast live on the TV5 international network, and thus potentially reaches an audience of well over 100 million spectators all over the world. The programme is created by the journalist Claude Sérillon, and by the director, Michel Hermant, who prepare the show in close collaboration.

There are several phases involved in each program, such as the introduction, interview

Une émission préparée par Claude SERILLON

En direct le 10/06/03

RIDEAU ROUGE N°8

"ISRAEL-PALESTINE : faisons un rêve"

Réalisée par Michel HERMANT

N°	ACTION	TPS	HEURE	IMAGE	SON	OBSERVATIONS
1	Claude SERILLON sur le plateau + Vanessa en régie	0:00:30	22:29:30	PLAT. + REGIE INTERNET	DIRECT	synthé internet
2	MAG sommaire invités	0:00:45	22:30:15	MAG	MAG	
3	GENERIQUE	0:00:45	22:31:00	PLAT. Ouverture rideau	MUSIQUE	Incrust 4 synthés
4	CS lance 1er sujet au centre plateau	0:00:30	22:31:30	PLAT.	DIRECT	dessins Plantu
5	Sujet :"LES ENFANTS"	0:02:40	22:34:10	MAG	MAG	Mise en place France LEBEE-NADAV
6	CS + F. LEBEE-NADAV + DUPLEX C. ENDERLIN	0:08:00	22:42:10	PLAT.+ DUPLEX	DIRECT + DUPLEX	trucage duplex Charles ENDERLIN
7	CS lance 2ème sujet	0:00:10	22:42:20	PLAT.	DIRECT	

1

Image 4. First page of "conducteur"

passages, periods during which pre-recorded material is broadcast ("inserts", in French "*sujets*"), presentation of relevant literature on a particular subject and closing of the show. These phases are also represented on a written document known as the "rundown sheet" (in French "*conducteur*") serving as the plan of what should take place and how much time should be devoted to each phase (image 4).

Personnel involved in the production for television of the studio interaction include the animator, the director, the script, the technical director, camera operators, image and sound engineers and different assistants. Focussing here mainly on the director and the camera operators, it can be noted regarding these two kinds of participants that whereas the camera operators produce shots of objects in the studio by means of cameras that produce a continuous stream of images, the director chooses between these shots and puts them on the air by means of pressing one of the seven buttons on the switch-board corresponding to the seven cameras that are in use (two of which are fixed, and not manipulated by camera operators).

The camera operators have the coverage of different parts of the studio environment assigned to them. In this particular team, cameras 1 and 2 (positioned on opposing sides at the "front" of the stage) are mainly responsible for producing close-ups of guests practically facing each other in the studio, cameras 3 and 4 (positioned on opposing sides "behind" the group of participants to the interview) for producing close-ups of the journalist from complementary angles[10], and camera 5, the only portable camera of the team, is supposed to make more wide and maybe more unusual shots. What camera operator is supposed to cover what participant in the studio interaction is indicated on a drawing made by the director prior to the programme, and that drawing may be fixed to the switch-board so that it is always immediately available (image 5).

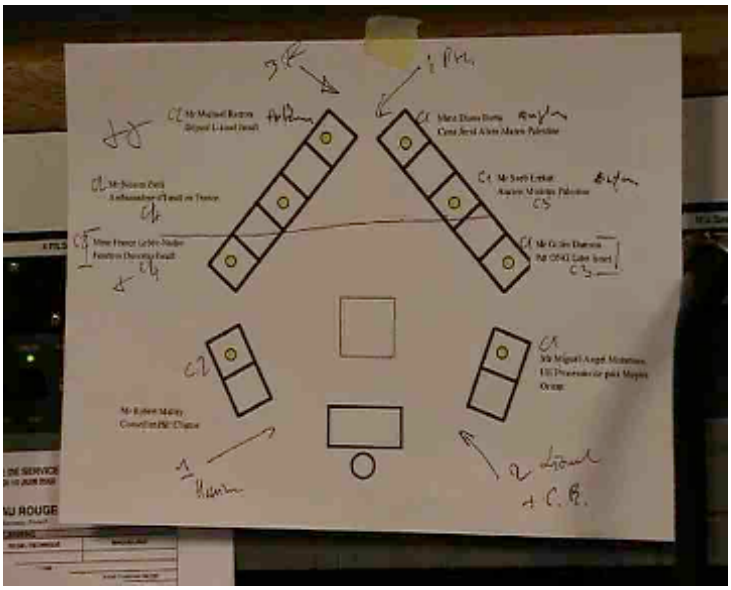

Image 5. Document showing position of participants, and the coverage responsibility of each camera operator

So, when the interviewer addresses a particular guest, and thus categorizes this person as the interviewee of the moment, two out of the four non-portable cameras have as their central task to provide uninterrupted close-ups of these two persons. The decision of just what cameras should cover the two participants is arrived at by an orientation towards a normative rule for TV-production, whereby so called "jump cuts" (in French "*faux raccord*") – here a sequence of shots showing two persons, who are talking to each other, with their heads turned the same way – is absolutely to be avoided. The logic underlying this rule of sequence producing is that if people are showed with their heads turned the same way, the viewers will see these two people as sitting side by side, and not face to face (see Jayyusi 1988).

When none of the guests seated at a particular side is currently being interviewed, the camera operator – either 1 or 2 – who is responsible for covering one of these people should they talk, is "free" ("*libre*"). This means that the operator can find and propose shots much more freely than if he or she were filming someone talking. The same goes for either of the

[10] The tasks of the respective cameras as well as their placing in relation to the participants on stage can thus be seen to anticipate the organization of the interaction in the categories "interviewer" and "interviewee", the relevance of which constitute the genre "interview". The cameras are placed in this way because the director knows that the studio interaction is most likely going to involve the interviewer and one of the invited guests at a time.

camera operators 3 and 4. The camera operator that isn't required in order to film the journalist from the "right" angle can proceed freely in pursuit of a good shot. This means that whether a camera operator is supposed to provide uninterrupted close-ups of a certain person or not (and if he is not he can make other and less constrained kinds of shots) is entirely dependent on who is talking to whom in the studio.

A typology of different kinds of shots oriented to by the participants will have to include at least the categories "close-up of speaker", "close-up of addressee", "close-up of someone listening other than addressee" (in French "*plan d'écoute*", translated here as "listening shot"), and "wide angle shot". As concerns the sequencing of shots, it can be noted that although it is made in accordance with some explicit negative rules stating what should be avoided (jump cuts, images that are too similar, close-ups that include parts of cameras or personnel…) there don't seem to be any corresponding positive and explicit rules stating exactly how the unfolding events in the studio should be rendered in a sequence of shots. This is up to each director to decide, and different directors can be regarded as having different personal styles of production.

2 ON TIMING IN ACTION AND SEQUENCE CONSTITUTION

Just as participants to any kind of interaction involving agents who are personally responsible for their actions, the members of the production team are working to figure out what could possibly be the rationale for any one action produced by another member of the team, and they also trust the others to do the same. It is as if they were constantly asking themselves the question "Why that now?" (Schegloff 1996:112), or, in other words, what action a particular practice is doing in a particular position relative to other events.

Mediated actions in this context can be responsive to actions occurring in the studio, in the control room, and in the technological system. In figuring out just what an action is responsive to, participants clearly orient to its timing: an action in progress is treated as responsive to what immediately preceded it. Upon finding what the current action is responsive to, participants can understand what the current action is doing.

It would thus seem that any two actions can be made to cohere by the placing of a second action right after the production of a first. What is to count as the first action in a sequence is therefore a matter of retrospective identification by the timing of the second action. The second action can be produced by either the persons in the control room through talk, or by the camera operators through camera movements.

See the following excerpt, (1), for an example of two camera movements as a possible second action (transcription conventions in appendix):

(1) RR030610-E2 [20:03 – 20:11]. Facing the screens in the control room, the script can't see clearly who is behind one of the guests in the studio, Nissim Zvili, the Israelic ambassador to France.

```
1. Ca1:  (LS)_____________________ < < < < < < < < < <
2. Ca2:  (CU Zvili)_____________________________________
3. Scr:  c'est qui? qui est derrière euh::: Zvili:: là::.
         who is that       behind   eh     Zvili (there)
```

```
4. Ca1:   < < < . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (MS)
5. Ca2:   . . . . . . . . .(MS photogr.)
6. Dir:   (0.5) faites gaffe, à : : [: : :]--
                watch the
7. Scr:                              [ah c']est le photographe+::.
                                      oh it's   the photographer

8. Ca1:   _________ ______ ______ ______, , , , , , , ,
9. Ca2:   ___. . . . . . . . . . . . . . (CU Zvili)
10.Dir:   (0.2) ouais.
                yeah
11.Scr:              (.) °oké d'acco::rd°.
                           okay I see
```

Around the completion of the question asked by the script – seemingly addressed to no one in particular, or perhaps to the director sitting next to her[11] – two cameras begin to move clearly. I'll consider these camera movements separately.

As concerns camera 2, it enters a rising movement (line 5 in transcript, and right part of images 6 and 7), which soon reveals the identity of the person standing behind the guest identified as Zvili. This movement gets its meaning as an action whereby the camera operator is aiming at providing an answer to the script's question entirely by the fact that it occurs at the end of the question (line 3). The precise timing constitutes retrospectively the just asked question as a first action to which the camera movement is done as a second action. It is thus the second action that defines what actions should be understood as belonging to a same sequence. The script subsequently acknowledges its information providing character in third turn position by an "ah"-prefaced response (line 7) (see Heritage 1984b), after the completion of which the camera operator returns to his previous close-up of one of the guests (line 9).

Image 6. **C'est** qui qui est…

Image 7. …le photogra**phe+** ::

The other camera that also starts to move towards the end of the question is camera 1. Upon completion of the word "derrière", this camera makes a zoom (line 1, and left part of images 6 and 7) that produces shots of, first, Zvili and the person sitting right behind him, and then, through a small movement sideways, also shows a guest that was completely covered by Zvili when the question was

[11] The director in fact also responds to the utterance made by the script. However, he seems to treat the utterance, not as a question, but as informing him about some undue elements (the parts of a body visible behind the guest) in the shot showing a close-up of one of the guests, for right after the completion of the utterance, he initiates what is very likely the beginning of an instruction to the camera operators to resolve this problem. Interestingly, at the end of the sequence, the director confirms the conclusion she has reached in interacting with camera operator 2, thereby treating it as a request for a confirmation that he can provide.

uttered. However, neither the first zoom nor the showing of the person that was completely hidden by Zvili get any uptake from the script or anyone else in the control room. Up until the point where the script begins her "ah c'est le photographe+::" (line 7), there has been no sign of solution to the problem that the script verbalized in her question, but by this utterance, the script shows that she has retrieved the information she was searching for. From where, camera operator 1 can't know for sure, she can only know that *her* shot did not show the photographer that the people in the control room mention subsequently.

The extract thus shows two cameras possibly responding to a question which is not addressed explicitly to any one in particular. Although unaddressed, the question still makes a response "conditionally relevant" (see Schegloff 1968), and it could well be considered a general call for assistance, to which more than one participant to the team might of course respond in order to offer a solution to the problem. In order to be recognized by the script as producing a response to the question, the camera operators need to act immediately. The camera operators don't seem to be in a position to make a delayed response, since the delay would most likely completely obscure the relation between the two actions. But although both cameras start to move roughly at the same time – and are thus arguably producing possible next actions to the question – only the movement of camera 2 is actually treated as consequential for the script's next action. This is done both through the timing of this third turn relative to the movement of camera 2 ("ah" is pronounced very quickly after camera 2 has stopped moving), and through what she says she has learnt from the new shot (she now understands that it is the photographer who is standing behind Zvili). And just after the script reaches a possible completion of her turn, camera operator 2 again lowers his camera. Through this emerging sequence of actions in strict adjacency, then, camera operator 2 gradually becomes the addressed participant in a way that is clear to the interacting parties, and the identification of camera operator 2 as the addressed camera operator is thus accomplished over time in the interaction.

3 FORGING A SEQUENCE OF SHOTS IN COLLABORATION

A TV-show consists of a series of shots delivered to the audience one after the other. The order in which the shots are presented as well as the framing of the shots no doubt contributes significantly to the way in which shown events get understood by the audience. The process through which shots get on and off the air has nothing random or automatic about it, but is best viewed as the outcome of carefully coordinated actions between professionals. Below, I attempt to describe some aspects of this coordinated work.

The work resulting in an intelligible sequence of shots that makes up the broadcast TV-show centres around a particular type of action sequence constantly at work within the production team. Camera operators produce shots that they propose to the director as being "broadcastable" shots. The director accepts only one of the proposals at a time by putting a particular shot on the air, a fact that is communicated to the concerned camera operator by the sudden illumination of a red tally light on top of the camera as well as in its viewfinder. Unselected camera operators know that they weren't selected for a particular switch – since they can hear the sound of the switch-board in their head-sets but don't see any red light – but most often continue proposing their respective shots for switches to come. The basic sequence in play here may thus be considered to consist of 1) multiple and simultaneous proposals, and 2) the acceptance of only one of those at a time.

Consider extract (2) for an example:

(2) RR030610-R3 [00:50 – 00:52]. A guest is in the midst of a lengthy answer, and all the camera operators are producing "broadcastable" shots.

```
1. Gue:   c'est une leçon (0.4) histo*rique,=
          It is a    historical lesson
2. Ca1:   (CU Gue)                    +R
3. Ca2:   =R(CU Gue2)                 -R
4. Ca3:   (LS)
5. Ca4:   (CU Ani)
6. Ca5:   (LS)
7. Dir:                            2*1
```

Even though important enough, it doesn't seem that the exact framing of the shot is its decisive property when it comes to establishing what is to be treated as a proposal and what is not yet to be treated as such. Instead, the opposition between stable and unstable shots is treated as the crucial one for the recognizable constitution of proposals and non-proposals[12]. In the example above, all four cameras that are not on the air show stable images, which enables the director to choose freely among these when he is about to replace the shot currently on the air by another one.

At times, however, a proposal of a potentially, and immediately, relevant participant may be missing. This puts the director in a troublesome situation, since he is not in a position to put that participant on the air whenever he wishes to do so. As can be clearly seen from the next extract, (3), the director orients to not putting unstable shots on the air:

(3) RR030311-R2. [19:16 – 19:25]. The guest currently speaking (in fairly broken French) could stop at any moment, making a close-up of the animator – which is not available to the director as we enter the extract – crucial, since the animator will most likely self-select as next speaker.

```
1. Gue:   dans les les les pays d{ u    G o l f e,
          in   the the the Gulf countries
2. Ca3:   . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
3. Dir:                          {°j'ai besoIN de°=
                                   I    need

4. Gue:   {.h h h} nous sommes (.) à côté de=
           .h h h  we   are        close  to
5. Ca3:   . . ___________ , , , ,,,,,,,,,_. .
6. Dir:   {=°toi°}.
             you

7. Gue:   =<ce{tte>  euh:  :  :   (.)        { atmo}sphère.
          this       eh                       atmosphere
8. Ca3:   ......................... . . . ,,,,,,,, ,_.<.<.
9. Dir:       {arrête-toi::? >j'ai besoin de<{toi::}¿
               stop yourself  I    need       you

10.Gue:   .hhhhh et ça, (.) nous donne, (.) le bossibilité=
          .hhhhh and it     gives us        the possibility
11.Ca3:   <.<.<. , _ . . . . ___________________________________
```

[12] This relevance is reflected in the way the extract was transcribed. Although there are many things that could have been annotated, the choice was made to mainly transcribe stability or instability of the five cameras.

```
12.Gue:   =de penser comment? (0.1)*(0.1) euh::
           to think about how              eh
13.Ca3:                                +R
14.Dir:                               1*3
```

In this example, the director treats explicitly (line 9) as the only condition that has to be fulfilled if he is to be able to use the shot (showing the animator, who could enter the action at any moment here) is that it be a stable shot. No mention is made of aspects of the way the animator should be framed, this is left entirely to the camera operator. And once the shot stabilized, the director can use it, which also happens towards the end of the extract (line 14).

Just like periods of stable images are in principle uninterrupted, so are in fact also periods of unstable ones. In fact, camera movements, whereby a camera operator goes from one stable shot to another, would seem to be designed to be unstable continuously, with a minimization of stable periods within them. This practice categorizes the shot as a "non broadcastable". A camera operator seems to orient to the risks involved in momentarily stopping a camera movement, and that is that the director could take it as a proposal and put it on the air.[13]

4 PROJECTABILITY OF ACTIONS IN THE SEQUENCE

The two types of actions involved in the basic sequence already described above – proposing an image for the air by making or keeping it stable and actually putting it on the air through the pressing of one of the buttons on the switch-board – are, in themselves, of very limited projectability. Regarding the material forms of these practices, it can be noted that, whereas there is often the possibility to understand that a camera movement might be ending when its speed goes down, the change from a stable image to an unstable one is not readily projectable. Furthermore, the switch that the director makes continuously between shots is instantaneous, and would thereby be impossible to anticipate. Since, generally speaking, the ability for participants to project what is to come has been shown to be a major resource for accomplishing concerted action[14], we might expect frequent moments of imperfectly coordinated actions when actions are performed exclusively through the technology at hand. But the switching between images and moving of cameras of course occur in some context, and the participants to the team may make use of that context in their work to foresee future actions within the team.

4.1 The Studio Interaction As Resource For Projection Work

One major resource that can be used for projecting upcoming actions within the team is the interaction that is being shot in the studio. The participants to the studio interaction are constantly talking to each other, and thereby produce an emerging stream of units that are both understood and, to varying degrees, projectable (Sacks et al. 1974) by any "member" (Garfinkel 1967). Because of the fact that the production team is supposed to render the studio

[13] One night before the show, one of the camera operators told me about a "classical" incidence. During the production of a tennis match, this camera operator got tired and paused a little with the camera on his knees, holding it steady but not knowing at all what the camera was filming. All of a sudden he hears in his head-set: "that's fine two" and shortly thereafter his accidental shot is put on the air.

[14] Sacks et al. (1974) demonstrated the ability for participants to project upcoming "transition relevance places" in the turn taking system for conversation. See e.g. Broth (2002) and Goodwin (1986) for two studies building on this finding in describing the constitution of particular action types.

interaction to the TV-audience in an intelligible way, they orient to putting things made relevant in that interaction on the air as soon as possible. This process presupposes that a camera operator works to provide a shot of an object made relevant in the studio interaction (most often one of the participants in this particular show [Broth forthcoming]), and that the director actually puts that shot on the air. The participants, trusting this to happen, are thus able to make projections about what actions are going to be performed by their colleagues.

Consider for instance the following example, (4), where the animator selects as next speaker – and thus makes relevant – a participant that didn't speak just before:

(4) RR030311-R3 [16:46 – 16:50].

```
1. Gue1:  au-delà de la région:.
          outside    the region
2. Ca1:   , , , , , , , , , , ,
3. Ca2:   =R(CU Gue1)
4. Ca4:   (CU Ani)

5. Ani:    *(.) monsieur Hitti.
               mister   Hitti
6. Ca1:   , , , , , , , , , ,
7. Ca2:   =-R
8. Ca4:    +R
9. Dir:   2*4

10.Gue2:  (0.2) e- effectivement{::, (0.1) la} politique américa*ine,
                e- effectively                the american  policy
11.Ca1:   , , , .<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.<.....(CUGue2)+R
12.Ca2:
13.Ca4:   =R                                                          -R
14.Scr:                          {H i t t i:: }
                                  H i t t i
15.Dir:                                                          4*1
```

At line (11), there is a sudden accelerating and zooming camera movement visible on the screen providing the images produced by camera operator 1. The initiation of this movement shortly after the pronunciation, by the animator, of the name of one of the interviewees makes it understandable for the people in the control room as an effort to produce as quickly as possible a picture of the participant just categorized as the new interviewee. This projection of when and on what object the movement of camera 1 is going to end is visible in the fact that the director is able to switch images almost immediately upon the ending of the camera movement[15].

4.2 Conflicting Projectabilities

The interactional context in the studio thus allows for projection of actions within the production team. But participants to the team may also draw on their professional competence in their ongoing work to understand what is likely to happen next. The ability to understand things as for example how long a shot is minimally on the air, for how long a certain kind of shot is usually on the air, how many times a certain kind of shot may be used in a sequence,

[15] At line 14, the script also repeats the name of the new interviewee, which she does virtually every time the animator changes interviewees. In this way she underscores the fact that a change of interviewee has occurred, a fact which is likely to be of importance for a number of the members of the team (perhaps most notably the camera operators and the sound engineer).

and an acquaintance with the unprojectable features of the technologically based practices, all belong to the professional competence of the members of the team.

Using their interactional and professional competence as resources for their work, it is only very rarely that the team put non-broadcastable shots on the air. Let's have a look at one of these "accidents", in order to see what might have caused it, example (5):

(5) RR030610-R2 [14:18 – 14:24].

```
1. Gue:   on va (.) arriver: (.) à sauver des vies::,
          we will   succeed      in saving lives
2. Ca1:   =R(CU Gue)
3. Ca2:   (CU Gue2)                          , , , , , ,

4. Gue:   .h*hhh en Isr{aël     et    en    Palestine.
          .hhhh  in Israel      and   in    Palestine
5. Ca1:     -R
6. Ca2:   , +R , , , , , , , . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
7. Dir:    1*2          {attention attention (0.2) °Lé=
                         watch it  watch it         Lé=

8. Gue:   (0.1) } et on le fera pas:,
                  and we won't do it
9. Ca1:
10.Ca2:   . . . . . . . . . .(CU
11.Dir:   =onard°}
          =onard

12.Gue:   (.) si*: (0.2) on n'est pas:,
              unless     we're    not
13.Ca1:         +R
14.Ca2:   Gue2) -R
15.Dir:         2*1
```

Whereas, at the beginning of the extract, camera operator 1 produces a close-up of the current speaker, camera operator 2, being "free" for the moment, chooses to propose a "listening shot" – i.e. a close-up shot of someone other than the interviewer or the interviewee – of one of the other guests in the studio. Towards the end of line 3, however, he suddenly begins to move his camera away from this participant, presumably in order to move to propose a shot of some other object, as can be conjectured from the recording of the studio, which shows him looking up from his camera and around the room. Just a little later, the director puts his moving shot on the air, giving rise to a situation which is treated as being in strong need of repair: the director utters a sharp warning to camera operator 2, and this latter returns to produce a stable close-up once more of the listening guest[16]. The repairable seems to arise from a lack of projectability for both parties: the camera operator cannot see the switch coming, otherwise he would surely have stabilized his shot in anticipation; the director visibly does not anticipate that the shot is about to begin to move when he checks its availability a very brief moment before putting it on the air.

As already mentioned, the shot that camera operator 2 is about to leave when he suddenly finds himself on the air is a listening shot. These kinds of shots are treated as of limited reusability by the members of the team, and "free" camera operators usually move on to propose other shots after having been put on the air with the same shot maybe once or

[16] Both the camera operator and the director seem to work to make the trouble as unobrusive as possible. Instead of hurrying back to the shot of the listening guest, the camera operator returns just as slowly as he was beginning to leave the shot. And the director waits for him to return to a stable image of the listening guest before finally putting him off the air.

twice. When considering the listening shot in question a little bit more in context, it turns out that it had already been on the air two times prior to the "accident" (not shown in transcript). It may thus be that the camera operator does not expect the director to want his image a third time, and so he initiates a movement towards another shot.

On the other hand, there is nothing happening in the studio interaction right at that moment that would suddenly make directly relevant any of the other participants in the studio. The interviewee is in the midst of providing a lengthy answer to the interviewers question. This is an environment where listening shots are very often introduced, and so this property of the interaction could allow the camera operators to anticipate the insertion of shots of that kind. The fact that the camera operator actually changes his shot very gradually might be an orientation to the risk of getting on the air at the same time as he starts his camera movement.

So, there might be arguments both for and against expecting the reinsertion of the same listening shot yet another time, and the way the camera operator performs his action of initiating a change of shots at this moment seems to reflect these conflicting projectabilities. Unfortunately, he gets a little too far before getting on the air: at the moment of performing the switch, the director already looks for subsequent shots, and thus doesn't notice that the camera has started to move. When the camera, moving away from the guest, gets on the air, the "accident" is more or less a blatant fact.

4.3 Two Types Of "Precautionary" Practices

Since there is constantly the risk that the director might switch between two shots while the second shot has already begun to move, or that a camera operator starts moving before the director has had the time to put his or her image on the air, the existence of "precautionary practices" (i.e. what the participants to the team do to try to prevent these kinds of "accidents" from happening) is not surprising in this context. Here I want to briefly describe two types of such practices.

The first one is a practice that can be used by camera operators, and that is to initiate camera movements just after a switch. This shows camera operators to exploit the short period of time that they know will take place before the next switch in order to initiate safely an adjustment of the shot, as in (6):

(6) RR030610-R1 [09:35 – 09:39]. Camera operator 1 is assigned the task of covering the animator, who is now listening to an answer to a question that he put a short while ago.

```
1. Gue:   =que MÊ:ME si nous avons des* grou:pes=
           that even if we   have       groupes
2. Ca1:   =R(MS Ani+Gue)               -R
3. Ca4:   (CU Gue)                     +R
4. Dir:                          1*4

5. Gue:   =où nous leur proposons de parler-
           where we propose (to them) to talk
6. Ca1:        < < < < < < < < < < < < < <
7. Ca4:   =R

8. Gue:   (.) de parler des loisi:rs?
              to talk about leisure (activities)
9. Ca1:   < < < . . . . . .(CU Ani)
10.Ca4:   =R
```

Towards the end of the first line of the extract, the director makes a switch from the shot of camera 1 to the shot of camera 4. Almost immediately after this switch, camera operator 1

initiates a transformation of her shot from a medium shot to a close-up shot of only the interviewer, showing us the relevance, for her, of the switch as such for the timing of the initiation of her reframing action. At this moment, the studio interaction can be described as follows: the interviewee is in the midst of a lengthy reply, and the interviewer does not make any sign of reclaiming the turn. This means that the shot of the interviewer that the camera operator provides, is not immediately relevant, and that there is room for an adjustment of her shot. But note how, at line (9), the camera operator 1 stabilizes her shot when the guest approaches a place where a response from the interviewer might occur (see Broth 2003a)[17]. The camera operator thus orients to both the action performed by the director through the technology and to what is occurring in the studio interaction.

Visible on the screens in the control room, the adjusting movement by camera operator 1 can become available to the director while that camera is not on the air. He can then take this into account, and refrain from putting the shot on the air until it has become stabilized again. A couple of seconds after the end of example (6), the stabilized shot of camera 1 goes on the air as the next shot.

At the other side of the technological interface, the director can, by talking to his camera operators, make it clear that a switch is forthcoming and what camera will go on the air next. This is the second type of "precautionary" practice, and is exemplified in (7) – (10):

(7) RR030311-R1 [15:14 – 15 :17].

```
1. Gue:  .hhh{hh     et    (.)    qui     } manque,
         .hhhhh      and          that     is missing
2. Ca4:  (LS 3Gue)
3. Dir:      {la quatre, je vais te passer},
              four       I will put you on

4. Gue:  je je vous avais dit:, il y av*ait TRENTE ans.
         I  I  told you         thirty       years ago
5. Ca4:                                +R
6. Dir:                              1*4
```

(8) RR030311-R1 [27:15 – 27:17].

```
1. Gue:  est d'abor{d   le   problème   ku}r*de?
         is first of all  the problem of the kurds
2. Ca1:  (MS 3Gue)                          +R
3. Dir:           {°la une, je te passe°.}2*1
                    one     I put you on
```

(9) RR030311-R1 [17:26 – 17:29].

```
1. Gue:  dans le .hhhh {  e u h  :  :  :  [:  [s}ugg]estio*n de de
         in   the.hhhh   eh                    suggestion that that
2. Ani:                                    {[a  [l}ors]—
                                             now--
3. Ca1:  =R(CU Gue)                                          -R
4. Ca4:    (CU Ani)                                          +R
5. Dir:                {°bouge pas, la qu{atre°.}       1*4
                         don't move    four
```

[17] Generally speaking, it seems reasonable to assume that, when in doubt whether it is safe or not to undertake a modification of a shot, the camera operators play safe and keep their images stable.

(10) RR030311-R1 [16:43 – 16:47].

1. Gue:	euh::: on- {on n'a pas} d'ambiguïté:¿ .hh*hhhh	
	eh we- we have no ambiguity .hhhhhh	
2. Ca2:	(MS Gue+Gue2) +R	
3. Dir:	{>c'est bien la deux.<} 1*2	
	that's fine two	

Even though the utterances made by the director can take different forms, they all serve as hints that a switch is about to take place. Note, however, that the majority of switches take place without such verbal warnings[18]. By making his hints, the director treats them as necessary in order to secure the availability of the image he is about to put on the air. Not surprisingly, therefore, such hints often precede switches that don't seem to be unambiguously predictable as the next shot given the current situation in the studio and within the production team. The switches that take place in the examples above consist of switches to wide and medium angle shots including several participants (examples 7, 8 and 10) and a close-up of the interviewer where the answer is well under way and still in progress (example 9). In the last example, the director anticipates – correctly, and presumably from rather fine details in the bodily behaviour of the interviewer – that the interviewer is about to take the turn. It may be added here that in the opposite case, where switches between close-ups of one of the two people talking to each other at the moment are concerned, switches are not regularly announced. In this case, the camera operator knows that his image is constantly needed, and the director does not have to give him forward notice to be sure that the image stays available.

The situation in the studio and the ways in which this situation is shot and put on the air thus make some switches more likely to occur next than others. Whereas a close-up shot of the speaker is expected to be put on the air any time, "freer" kinds of shots, such as producing a shot of one or a couple of guests listening, are not as readily projectable as the next shots to go on the air.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this text, I have tried to present some first results of an ongoing project concerning the making of a live TV-interview as an interactional process. This process takes place, to a great extent, through a technological interface that allows for an asymmetrical transfer of images, switches, and talk between the participants to the production team.

At the beginning of the paper, timing was identified as a crucial factor for the constitution of recognizable action in this context. I do not mean to say that timing is especially important in this context, and not so important in other contexts. Rather I understand timing to be crucial in all interactive contexts, but this fact may be more obvious to observe in a context where the participants have a fairly restricted set of ways to communicate. In the present context, while the people in the control room can use the full range of the spoken language in talking to the camera operators, they can't make use of resources such as gaze and gesture since they neither can see nor are seen by the camera operators. And all that the camera operators can do is move their cameras to produce different views of the studio and its participants.

[18] The director does of course not restrict his verbal actions to mere hinting of switches to occur subsequently. Importantly, he also gives directives to the camera operators as to the kinds of shots he would like. The analysis of directives in this context will however have to be treated elsewhere.

I then moved on to describe what I take as a basic sequence in this context, the sequence of proposals and acceptances between the camera operators and the director. There seem to be at least two important differences between this action sequence in this context and the adjacency pair "proposals – acceptance/rejection" in talk-in-interaction (Davidson 1984). First, the proposals are made by five different parties (see Schegloff 1995), which means that there are five different proposals made simultaneously (and not for instance five persons acting as one collective party making one proposal together). Second, the alternative, dispreferred second pair part[19] of this adjacency pair in talk-in-interaction – to reject what is proposed – has no corresponding action in the context of producing sequences of shots through the technology at hand. In this context, to "not accept" a proposed shot is not treated by the participants to mean "definitive rejection" of that shot, but rather something like "the shot will most probably be needed later". To actually reject a shot, the director has to talk to the concerned camera operator.

The third part of our exposé was devoted to a discussion of the projectability of the actions of the basic sequence. We could see that the participants were sometimes capable of making successful hypotheses regarding what was to come – by reference to both interactional and professional competence – and that this projectability was relied upon in their work. But we also saw a case of conflicting projectabilities, leading to one of the very rare "accidents" in the sequence of shots on the air, and finally some examples of how the participants to the team can handle the difficulty to project switches that are not directly made relevant by the emerging studio interaction.

I hope that the analyses in this paper have shown that the CA methodology has something to offer in researching the work of collaboratively producing live TV interviews. Through CA's insistence on working with recordings of naturally occurring interaction, its analytic practice of transcribing these recordings, and the view that it is the participants' displayed understandings that should count first and foremost in the analysis, in the end we will hopefully reach a thorough understanding of the situated practices through which television programs get accomplished by professionals in interaction.

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[19] Opposed to a "preferred" second pair part, a "dispreferred" second pair part here refers to a second action that is relatively infrequent, unprojected and even anti-social in its nature (see Heritage 1984a, ch. 8 for a discussion on preference structures in conversation).

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS[20]

Ani:	animator
Gue(n):	guest(n)
Ca(n):	camera operator(n)
Dir:	director
Scr:	script
[ ]	overlap
{ }	simultaneous events in the studio and in the control room
(.)	micro pause (0.1 seconds or less)
(n.n)	timed pause in seconds and tenths of seconds
=	latching (no pause and no overlap)
.	falling intonation
,	slightly rising intonation
¿	clearly rising intonation
?	high rise
--	unfinished intonation unit
°words°	words pronounced more silently than surrounding speech
<words>	words pronounced more slowly than surrounding speech
>words<	words pronounced more quickly than surrounding speech
WORDS	words pronounced louder than surrounding speech
wo-	cut-off word
.hh	breathing in, each "h" corresponding to 0.1 seconds.
:	lengthening of sound
*	exact location of switch
(n)*(n)	switch from camera (n) to camera (n)
=R	"le Rouge" (red light), image on the air at the beginning of an extract
+/-R	image that goes on, or leaves, the air
…	camera movement towards object
,,,	camera movement away from object
<<<	zooming in
>>>	zooming out
___	steady shot
LS	long shot
MS	medium shot
CU	close-up
(Gue)	filmed participant

[20] Except for the conventions used for transcribing aspects of the technical system, these conventions belong to the "Jeffersonian" transcription system (see e.g. Ochs et al. 1996 for a more explicit presentation). The symbols used for transcribing camera movement were inspired by the work of C. Goodwin (1981) on gaze.