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RESEARCH PAPER

Video Recording Practices and the Reflexive Constitution of the Interactional Order: Some Systematic Uses of the Split-Screen Technique

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Abstract In this paper, I deal with video data not as a transparent window on social interaction but as a situated product of video practices. This perspective invites an analysis of the practices of video-making, considering them as having a configuring impact on both on the way in which social interaction is documented and the way in which it is locally interpreted by video-makers. These situated interpretations and online analyses reflexively shape not only the record they produce but also the interactional order itself as it is documented. Dealing with practices of video-making not as a resource but as a topic, I explore a particular editing practice, the use of the split-screen technique, consisting in combining various camera views within the same image. This technique is now widely used in cinema, professional settings, TV, and social research. I focus on its uses in TV talk shows and debates: through a systematic sequential analysis of the positions where split screen is introduced, I show that directors do orient to the sequential features of interaction in using this technique and that, conversely, their uses of split screen reveal their local understanding—and configuring—of what the interactional dimension of debates and interviews consist of, for all practical purposes.

Keywords Video · Social interaction · Conversation analysis · Ethnomethodology · Turn-taking · Sequentiality · Participation · Overlap · Disagreement

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Introduction: Looking at Video Recordings as Topics Rather Than as Resources

Video recordings are used more and more within social sciences for the study of social interaction. They are becoming standard data to analyze the detailed organization of naturally occurring social practices, especially in the case where attention is focused on the finely tuned coordination of multimodal resources as well as on the situatedness of interaction, its spatial arrangement, and its embeddedness in the materiality of the context. The development of multimodal analysis, video analysis, gesture studies, and workplace studies would all have been impossible without the use of video-recorded data.

Nevertheless, video recordings are often considered as “transparent windows” onto social reality: their technical and formal features, their materiality, their editing, the choices that make certain details visible or invisible are ignored by analyses focusing exclusively on what they make available, such as glances, gestures, body postures, spatial arrangements, object manipulations, etc. In this perspective, a video-recorded dinner becomes a dinner conversation, a studio interview with an old man becomes a testimony, and a TV program becomes a debate. The video recording itself fades, while the social interaction it documents is brought to the fore.

Instead of making video transparent, the analytical perspective I develop in this paper considers that records are the situated products of video-making practices, which can be dealt with as a topic of analysis and not only as a methodological resource (Zimmerman and Pollner 1971). This fuels an interest in a praxeological analysis of ordinary and professional video practices, and of videos as locally organized accomplishments. Moreover, looking at video as practice reveals the skilled glance on social interaction which is embodied in looking through the camera: video-makers’ local orientation to the organizational features of interaction is exhibited in the very way in which they shoot, arrange, and edit the video. This mundane, endogenous and real-time interpretation reflexively contributes to achieving the local configuration of the interactional order it documents.

The paper begins with some general considerations about video as a practical accomplishment, taking into consideration not only recording practices but also editing practices which are the focus of the following analyses. Then it introduces a particular editing technique as used by various kinds of professionals: the split screen. This technique is particularly revealing with regard to the configuring effects of the work of assembling videos; it is explored, in the core contribution of the paper, within a systematic analysis based on a corpus of video-recorded TV talk shows and political debates.

A Praxeological Analysis of Video Practices

Within the social sciences, video recordings have often been considered as a transparent window into the everyday world, rather than as a situated and contingent

social practice constituting the very data on which research on everyday social interactions is based.

The latter perspective problematizes what "data" are. Although metaphors of "recording," "capturing," "acquiring," and "gathering" are often used to speak about the constitution of video corpora in the social sciences, video data are neither "offered," "found," nor "given." Rather, they are actively assembled by a range of practices: they concern the shooting of videos during fieldwork, and include negotiating the activities to be video recorded, choosing the adequate technical equipment, installing the equipment within the ordinary context of the action to be recorded, and actually filming it (Buscher 2005; Laurier and Philo 2006; Lomax and Casey 1998; Mondada 2006). They also concern further transformations of the video, through which it is digitized within particular formats, compressed at particular rates, anonymized, but also edited: editing includes selecting, arranging, cutting, split-screening, deleting shots, as well as treating them within software enabling their transcription, alignment, annotation, and analysis (Mondada 2007b). In this sense, video is not a transparent view on the activity it documents, but actively shapes the organization of the document which makes the activity available to viewers.

Moreover, researchers working on video corpora often use recordings that they neither shot nor edited. They exploit not only videos that are *produced as data* by themselves, but also videos that are *transformed into data* by them. This is the case for guests video recording friends' weddings, supervisors in control rooms video recording the activity of subway users, shops video recording their customers' behaviour, surgeons video recording operations for didactical purposes, journalists video recording ordinary as well as special events, and TV directors and cameramen producing broadcasted debates. In these cases, videos are executed by various social members, professionals and amateurs, in the course of particular activities, within category-bound views of adequate, relevant, competent ways of recording and editing events, and for practical purposes that differ from the objectives of researchers.

Considered in this way, video-making in the social sciences is not unique but is but one among other practices, either ordinary or expert, either informal or institutionalized. As with other practices, it can be submitted to a praxeological perspective that considers videos as social practices that do not just "record" social life but which adjust to and actively configure their objects. Within this perspective, video appears as the mundane work of producing orderly properties of action and context through members' situated interpretation of social activities, as embodied in camera movements and in subsequent technical transformations of the record. In return, this perspective is interested in the local contextures of relevancies of everyday activities and in interactional order as they are reflexively set and documented through skilled video practices.

This focus on the specific features of videotaping practices neither results in a reflection on the "bias" of the person behind the camera in the recorded social action—as much of the literature on methodology suggests, within a remedial perspective—nor in a simple introspective tale about the contingencies of fieldwork and the conditions of data production. On the contrary, it fuels an analytical interest

in the way in which coherent images are assembled, as well as the way in which interactional order—as it is witnessable, accountable, and intelligible for members (not only researchers)—is a social accomplishment made possible through technological resources within the social practices of video recording and video editing.

This praxeological and reflexive approach is inspired by ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and workplace studies. Within these fields, three kinds of contributions deal with practices of looking, of looking with a camera, and of editing the products of this technologically mediated vision.

Practices of looking—constituting “looking’s work” (Garfinkel 2002)—have been explored in fields as different as astronomical observations (Garfinkel et al. 1981), birdwatching (Lynch 2006, p. 98), laboratory experiments (Lynch 1985), street patrols (Sacks 1972a), monitoring suspects’ movements from a control room (Heath et al. 2002), and admiring exhibits in museums (vom Lehn et al. 2001). These practices are not reducible to visual perception but rather are constituted by an embodied set of social activities, arranging the body of the viewer and the context of the visible features, often involving objects enhancing visibility or making things visible such as telescopes, binoculars, or video technologies.

These practices of looking can constitute forms of professional vision (Goodwin 1994, 2000), embodied in professional practices in which experts examining videos, fixed images, or other visual objects “see,” select, and highlight certain details and reflexively accomplish the “visibility” of conducts, facts, or features. Goodwin documents the way in which policemen and their lawyers viewed videotapes of the Rodney King trial during the trial, as broadcast on Court TV. Far from considering it as an objective document that spoke for itself, they watched it in a professional way, based on specific coding schemes. They shaped events in the phenomenal environment into accountable objects and formulated them in accordance with the relevancies, orientations, and causalities of their professional domain. In this way, they could formulate a gesture made by Rodney King lying on the ground as an “attack” and a “threat” to the policemen beating him, and could account for and legitimize the increasing violence of the policemen’s response. Their vision was not presented as a subjective interpretation, but as a “socially organized perceptual framework(s) shared within the police profession” (Goodwin 1994, p. 616). In a similar way, and in a very different context, archaeologists produce the relevance and meaningfulness of a patch of dirt by organizing their professional vision thanks to a set of categories describing and making relevant differences of color, consistency, or dirt texture, further inscribed in technical tools such as the Munsel color chart: “when a possible feature is found the archaeological category and the traces in the dirt that possibly instantiate it are each used to elaborate the other, in what has been called the documentary method of interpretation” (Goodwin 1994, p. 610). Again, in an analogous way, scientists working on an oceanic vessel (Goodwin 1995) do not look directly at nature but focus their attention and intense scrutiny on the surfaces of inscriptions (screens, maps, and other visualizations) in the vessel’s laboratory, that is, on places where the phenomena they are trying to study are made visible. In my own work, I described the way in which surgeons identify and focus on anatomical details during an operation (Mondada 2003,

2007c) and the way in which agronomists make details on a map relevant, visible and interpretable (Mondada 2005).

This professional vision can be materialized in the practical uses of the camera, during the production of video documents. Douglas Macbeth (1999) calls it a *praxeology of seeing with a camera*. He describes anthropologist Tim Asch following with his camera the movements of the inhabitants of a Yanomani village, running towards a house where a fight is breaking out. The camera movements render visible the ongoing interpretation of the situation made available by the cameraman. Studying another category of professionals, a group of surgeons using an endoscopic camera, I analyzed the way in which the camera follows the trajectories of surgical gestures during an operation, in a manner that is responsive to the projected actions initiated by the surgeon (Mondada 2003). Elsewhere, I analyzed the camera movements as incorporating a real-time analysis of the turn-taking in-the-making, exploiting members' multimodal and grammatical projections of the next speaker in order to be able to videotape the moment when they take their turn (Mondada 2006). In all of these cases, filming is studied as an embodied practice, situated within an activity and responsive to its contingencies: camera movements reveal the "work of assembling visible social fields" (Macbeth 1999, p. 152).

Visualizations, either in the form of images or videos, are not only the product of shooting practices but also of assembling and editing practices, which have been less studied in the literature and are the main focus of this paper. Lynch (1988) shows how the organization of scientific visualizations and the details' visibility are practical accomplishments, achieved through pointing, highlighting, coding, framing, contrasting procedures. Similarly, after being shot, videos are edited and assembled. This concerns professional groups other than cameramen, and includes video editors, movie editors (see the analytical reconstruction of Walter Murch's work by Laurier et al. 2008), and TV directors, who assemble the images that the audience receives (Relieu 1999). Two approaches are possible in this regard. The first consists of documenting the practices of the director, the script, the editor, and the camera operators as they coordinate their movements and decisions between the set and the control room. During a live TV event Mathias Broth (2004, 2008) videotaped the control room's activities and described how the director and camera operators exploited the details of the interaction on the set in order to organize the online editing, the choices between the cameramen's available shots and the alternation between participants' images. The second approach consists of analyzing the editing practices as they are sent on air, appear on the TV screen, and are viewed by the recipient. Although these practices are typically observable within TV and movie professional settings, they also characterize the work of researchers, especially when they assemble and edit various video sources in one unique "multiscope" view or when they highlight some detail of the video considered in their analysis. In these latter cases too, a specific editing of the original video configures the very way in which video data and specific significances will be seen by their recipients.

In the three types of inquiries just outlined—focusing on professional vision, on seeing with a camera, and on editing practices—the issue at stake is the reflexive

articulation between professional practices and the production of interactional order. Interactional order is the local product of the participants' practices engaged within interaction, the product of participants' orientations to the camera, as well as the product of the video practices themselves. Participants produce the interactional order, either by engaging in the interaction or by filming and editing it. By paying attention to the actual timed details of the interaction, cameramen and editors orient to the same linguistic and multimodal resources as the participants and exploit them within the professional practice of configuring videos. Cameramen and editors mobilize local resources in order to achieve a specific accountability of what is videotaped, achieving an interactional organization which is not only recognizable but also rearranged, highlighted, and emphasized in a specific way, thus reshaping the ongoing interaction.

In this paper, I am interested in the social practices of video production and in the methods by which members orient to and, indeed, produce interactional order, at the various levels of the of turn construction, of the organization of sequence, and of the structure of participation. This analysis focuses on a specific way of producing and editing video, the split-screen technique: I briefly situate it within a variety of social uses, and then investigate it in detail within the context of its use by TV channels during debates and talk shows broadcast in real time. Uses of the split-screen technique are analyzed on the basis of an empirical corpus as manifesting the online analysis camera operators and directors make of the ongoing action, and as contributing not only to the interpretation but also to the rearrangement of the interactional order and the participation framework of the recorded and edited events. In this sense, analysis of the split-screen technique can shed some light on the multimodal and grammatical resources members exploit and display in real time, while interpreting the ongoing course of action, i.e., handling, understanding, and reorganizing interactional details.

Split screen: An Editing Technique Exploited Within Various Professional Practices

In order to develop a praxeological perspective on video practices as a social accomplishment reflexively shaping the objects they aim to document, I focus my empirical analysis on a particular phenomenon, which reveals in a particularly vivid way the organizational tissue of video materials and the practices that achieve it. The phenomenon is a video-editing practice, the *split screen*, which consists of splitting the screen into two, three, or four images which run simultaneously. In this way, it (re)assembles the timed dimension of action and interaction, a key feature of its sequential and praxeological organization.

In this section I show that the split screen is a practice that has been used not only throughout the history of cinema, but also by other professionals, to document particular actions and to magnify relevant properties of the event-as-it-is-video produced. In the next section, I develop this analysis further by focusing on one type of setting where split screen is used—TV debates. Thereby, I provide a systematic

analysis of the achievement of specific interactional relevances that are documented and reflexively configured using this technique.

Split screen is now part of the language of mainstream cinema and, more generally, of video-making. It has been used since the 1930s—by Dziga Vertov in *The Man with the Camera* (1929) as well as in many films by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger (beginning with *Abdul the Damned,* 1935, and continuing with famous movies such as *The Tales of Hoffman*, 1951). Some authors have extensively exploited it, not only in films but also in documentaries, such as Brian de Palma: in *Dionysius in 69* (1970), he documents the theatre piece *Dionysius* with two cameras, one on the public, the other on the stage, reconstituting symmetry between these two spaces and showing what happens in both places in two simultaneous continuous views, lasting for the entire length of the film. More recently, in *Time Code* (2000), Mike Figgis shoots four parallel stories, dedicating a continuous shot to each one and presenting them simultaneously on one split screen, giving the spectator the choice of selecting the audio channel they prefer. In other films, split screen is used in a more timely way, for only some particular or selected scenes. This is the case in the TV series *24 Hours* (Joel Surnow and Robert Cochran 2001) where the technique is exploited to film telephone conversations between characters—showing in parallel both co-participants—or for moments of intense action occurring simultaneously in different places.

These examples exhibit various ways of using the split-screen technique:

- it can be used throughout the whole film as a systematic way of presenting an activity (for example, the performance in *Dionisius in 69*) or a story (*Time Code*). However, it can also be used with other editing techniques, in a more timely way (*24 Hours*): in this case, it alternates with other views and is introduced only at particular moments, providing them with a specific intelligibility;
- it can be combined with a way of filming that opts for one unique and uninterrupted shot for the whole film/event (*Dionisius*) or with cutting and montage (*24 Hours*);
- it can be used either to represent the same scene from different points of view (*Dionisius*) or to unify within the split screen various actions occurring simultaneously in different places (*24 Hours*);
- it can subdivide the screen either in equal parts (*Dionisius*) or in hierarchized fragments, some of them smaller and more peripheral than others, thus achieving effects of background/foreground as well as those of symmetry/asymmetry between participants.

Within these various possibilities, split screen is a technical resource used by film directors facing a practical problem, which is the temporality of action and interaction. Given that a camera can follow only one stream of action at a time, how is it possible to represent simultaneous courses of action or to visualize simultaneously different perspectives of the same event? One classic solution to this problem is offered by *montage,* as for example in Griffith's fast alternation between two concurrent or convergent scenes. This solution linearizes simultaneous streams of action into successively alternating segments of action. An alternative

solution is offered by split screen, which attempts to document together and continuously simultaneous courses of action within the same space or within various fragmented spaces. In adopting this solution, either for an entire film or for a particular sequence, directors orient to the specific temporality of action(s) and identify particular moments to make this simultaneous representation relevant for the practical purposes of the filmmaker. In this respect, it is interesting that telephone conversations, such as in *24 Hours*, or actors' and the audience's movements, such as in *Dionisius*, are represented in split screen: in these cases, directors orient to the organization of the participation framework and their visualization makes both speakers' and hearers' conducts equally relevant, thus achieving their symmetry. We will see in the detailed analysis that follows that TV directors can face the same problems, and use split screen in a similar way to solve them.

Interestingly, split screen is not only used by cinema editors but also in other types of professional practice. TV constitutes a well-known example: information channels' screens are more and more segmented and fragmented, offering different simultaneous views, either of distant interviewees in videoconferences or of distant events occurring at the same time. The latter may be related to each other but also may be merely superposed, for example when the image of a sport competition, an earthquake catastrophy and a stock exchange floor are simultaneously offered to the viewer—such as the parallel stories of *Time Code*. As we will see in the following analysis, broadcast debates are another example of TV use of split screen, where a subset of participants can be simultaneously zoomed in upon by different cameras, foregrounded and recomposed within a split image at particular moments of the interaction—such as the phone conversations in *24 Hours*.

However, split screen is not only a characteristic of publicly broadcasted images: it is part of the editing techniques commonly used in activities in which video is now a customary professional tool—in police, medical, therapeutic, pedagogical, and academic work. Surgery is one such example: video is now extensively used in telemedecine (Mondada 2003, 2007a, b, c). In laparoscopic (minimally invasive surgery) surgeons' training, the images of an endoscopic camera inserted into the patient's body are transmitted to audiences of advanced trainees watching from a distance. This endoscopic view is often transmitted together with another view, showing the external body, one image being inset in the other as a picture-in-picture (PIP) on the main screen. Switching between the endoscopic and external image, as well as making PIP available, are practical accomplishments related in a finely tuned way to the identification of particular relevancies within the course of the action. In this case, split screen video is edited in real time, arranged for didactic purposes, used in a timely manner in order to make available simultaneous views and to hierarchize them in larger and smaller pictures—in a way that is close to its use in the film *24 Hours*.

Another professional use of split screen is video surveillance: control rooms are typically full of screens projecting cameras' images continuously filming various spots. Supervisors can select and arrange these images within a unique screen, for instance to check different locations or to follow a person moving within space (Ball 2000; Heath et al. 2002). Different to films which are edited finished products, video

surveillance split screens are raw materials that can be locally assembled and recomposed for the practical purposes of observing, following, and comparing places, actions, and events. Again, different to surgical didactic events, they are not transmitted to an audience, but are locally manipulated by surveillants. Locally accomplished arrangements in split screens are not stored and they dissolve as soon as the image is no longer used.

Another professional field where split screen is being used more and more is within social sciences research. For instance, within the field of workplace studies, video has been widely used to document the sequential organization of activities in multiparty interactions distributed in complex spaces and engaged in multiple activities, often mediated by technologies, artifacts, and documents. Split screen is a technical solution for the documentation of different scales and degrees of granularity (combining, for example a broad view on the participation framework with a precise view on details of a screen or a document), reunifying them in a unique, synchronized, and composite view (cf. Koschmann et al. 2007; Mondada 2006; Whalen and Whalen 2004). Within other academic fields, such as gesture studies, it is not uncommon to videotape subjects engaged in dialogic experimental tasks or in face-to-face conversations, and to produce split-screen videos with the frontal images of both participants, often focused on their gestures and facial expressions (see Bavelas et al. 2008; Peräkyla and Raussuvori 2006). Although focusing on different relevancies within different scientific agendas, these uses of split screen exploit it for the documentation of simultaneous details and coordinated actions. In *Dionisius*, they are parallel continuous shots of the same scene. In videosurveillance, these videos are raw materials, which are edited, cut into clips, magnified, hierarchized, reassembled within the professional vision (Goodwin 1994) of researchers, during the embodied practices of analyzing and transcribing videos and, later, for the practical purposes of data sessions, paper presentations, academic writing, teaching, etc.

These examples taken from various professional settings demonstrate that split screen is a versatile technique, having the capability to be used in various practices, within communicative, instructional, observational purposes. Films and documentaries explore a wide range of different uses: this diversity offers the "grammar" of potential editing practices, which may be specialized in professional practices such as teaching, surveillance, or research. As well as their specificities, they all perform editing choices that displays the production of a specific perspective on, and intelligibility, of time and action, and they are all recipient designed—orienting to the presence or absence of an audience, to the fact that images are being broadcast or archived, to their unique or repeated use, to their definitive or flexible arrangement.

Through these practices, split screen reveals in a particularly vivid way the effects of video editing, demonstrating that images are not a transparent window opened onto the world but an active organization of the viewer's perspective on action, events, and gestures being video documented in such a way.

In order to explore in detail video editing techniques as an organizational resource, in the next section I focus more systematically on the way in which it is locally used within a single professional setting, that is the production of TV talk

shows and debates. In this case too, the insertion of split screen by TV directors makes particular interactional details relevant for all practical purposes and exhibits the real-time interpretation of what is happening—and, ultimately, their vernacular conception of what the interaction during a debate or a talk show consists.

Split Screen on TV: A Device for the Video Representation of Turn-Taking, Participation, and Sequentiality

Various TV channels are increasingly exploiting split screen to portray the visual presentation of interactions within political debates and talk shows. In this way it contributes centrally to the configuration of the interactional order that is displayed to TV spectators. Thus, this device reminds us that TV images are not a transparent window onto social interactions taking place on a stage, but rather are achieved through a range of technical choices made by camera operators and directors. In order to demonstrate its configuring effects, a detailed analysis of the practices via which directors and cameramen (re)arrange the interaction to be broadcast to TV viewers is necessary. Systematic analysis of various sequential positions in which split screen is inserted demonstrates how directors organize the representation of specific interactional moments, characterized by a range of simultaneous conducts: dynamic turn-taking, persistent overlaps, active listening, and display of recipiency by co-participants dispersed within the complex space of the stage. Split screen is a device allowing directors to represent and to highlight these concurrent moments of talk and action in a particularly vivid way. As a focus on these episodes, split screen is not an anecdotal phenomenon, marginal with regard to interactional issues. Rather, it appears as a perspicuous phenomenon revealing central features of the temporality of talk-in-interaction as well as of practices of video production.

Displaying Participation Formats

This first excerpt introduces some of the issues to be tackled here. It is taken from a talk show discussing people's color preferences and obsessions. The moderator is interviewing Arlette, a guest who always dresses in violet and lives in a house furnished with this color.[1]

[1] The multilayered transcript represents (a) the participants' talk (numbered lines), (b) the participants' multimodal actions (next line, with an identification of the doer if (s)he is not the speaker), and (c) the broadcasted image (line preceded by "scr" = "screen," describing the person/scene as it is shot by the camera). These different lines refer to the same temporal unfolding; events and actions are synchronized with talk thanks to marks showing at which point an action is initiated or achieved (transcript conventions are made explicit at the end of the paper).

Excerpt 1 (coul1338)

((note: audience's applauses l. 1 react to the previous turn))

1 MOD vous pensez qu'c'est *euh a:ve[c une coul[eur qu'on
do you think that it is ehm with a col[our that
2 AUD [uaah [((applause))
scr >>ARL---->*MOD
3 MOD se fait remar*quer?
one makes himself noticeable?
scr -->*stage-->
4 ARL b[en oui: euh, *j'vois pas comment autre:#
w[ell yes ehm, i don't see how else
im # im.1
5 JCL [ah ben j-
[oh well I-
scr ---->*ARL-->
6 on peut se faire remarquer: euh:
we can make us noticeable; ehm:
7 (0.4)
8 JCL on peut êtr[e à l'aise simplement]
we can [be just cool
9 ARL [à moins d'être ex•tra]va#gant:*: euh#
[unless be extravagant:: ehm
•turns head tow. her right
scr ---->*split:JCL/ARL
im #im.2 #im.3
10 d'[être euh
[be ehm
11 JCL [on peut être à l'aise dans une couleur qui
[we can be cool with a colour which
12 vous [va: sans être (.) une nécessité de se faire
suits [to us without being (.) a necessity of making us
13 ARL [oui:/ • ben oui
---->•
14 JCL remarquer, on es- on est bien d'dans quoi.
noticeable, we ar- we are cool in it anyway.
15 MOD que- quelles sont les* les réf[lexions les plus
wha- what are the the most in[solit thoughts
scr ---->*
16 JCL [deuxième peau
[(a) second skin
17 MOD insolites que vous ayez entendues sur vous?
you heard about you?

The moderator (MOD) puts a question to Arlette (ARL; lines 1, 3) who produces an answer (4): Arlette is explicitly selected by the moderator. The focus of the camera embodies the sequential implicativeness of this adjacency pair. As the moderator begins to formulate the question, the shot is centered on her; as soon as the completion of the question is projected, the image is displaced on the whole stage; and slightly after the beginning of Arlette's answer, the camera is centered on her looking at the moderator (image 1). The camera fixed on Arlette establishes her as the current speaker producing a second pair part. Camera movements are strongly related to turn-taking and sequence organization; they anticipate and follow turn constructions unfolding in real time and they contribute to the establishment of rights and obligations characterizing recognizable and legitimate speakers.

The beginning of Arlette's answer is overlapped by Jean-Claude (JCL), who self-selects (5). His turn is recognizable as a possible answer to the same question asked by the moderator. However, Jean-Claude is not addressed by the moderator; the camera operators as well as the director[2] do not orient to him—and neither does Arlette. Jean-Claude is not recognized as a legitimate speaker, since neither the camera nor the moderator focus on this attempt to take the turn. He thus abandons his incipient turn. We can see here *in absentia* the work of selection carried out by the production staff as well as by the participants in the scene.

In the meantime, Arlette continues her turn, formatting it in a complex manner which is carefully oriented to, step-by-step, in the real-time work of the cameras' selection, adjusting to its incremental organization. Her turn comes to a possible completion (end of line 6), which is followed by a pause (7). Jean-Claude treats them as manifesting a transition-relevance point and, again, exploits this as an occasion for self-selecting (8). At this moment, the camera is still focused on Arlette. Although Jean-Claude has begun his turn, she produces in overlap an expansion on her previous turn (9), retrospectively treating it as incomplete. In this way, she maintains her right to speak; at the same time, she orients to what Jean-Claude is doing. On the one hand, her expansion orients to Jean-Claude's self-selection as a concurrent turn and counters it (as shown by the final lengthening of "extravagant::" and by the addition of a second element: "à moins d'être extravagant: euh d'être euh" (9–10) in a way that sketches the initiation of a possible listing). On the other hand, after the first syllable of "extravagant," Arlette clearly turns towards Jean-Claude, and gazes at him, thus recognizing him as a full co-participant (image 2).

Split screen is inserted just after Arlette has turned to Jean-Claude (see line 9): it transforms the broadcasted image by partitioning it into two frames, where Arlette and Jean-Claude appear side-by-side, each one in a kind of colored bubble (image 3). The director editing the broadcasted image appears to have interpreted Arlette's head movement as projecting her acknowledgment of Jean-Claude as a co-participant. By inserting the split screen at that particular point, he contributes to the establishment of Jean-Claude as a recognizable speaker for the TV watchers.

As a matter of fact, shortly after Arlette explicitly addresses him (13), Jean-Claude formulates his own answer to the initial question, which proposes an

[2] See Broth (2008) for the articulation between the work of these two categories—for example director's instructions to cameramen—and the constraints to which they mutually orient.

alternative to Arlette's response and partially contradicts it (12, 14). Thus, split screen orients towards, projects, and reflexively contributes to the enlargement of the participation framework—from two to three people—highlighting the elaboration of the answer by another speaker rather than by the one initially selected by the moderator.

Not only the beginning, but also the end of split screen orients to the sequential organization of talk. When Jean-Claude's turn and answer are recognizably complete (14), the moderator goes on and asks the next question (15): soon after the start of this next turn, split screen is dissolved. Thus, the end of split screen orients to the completion of the adjacency pair sequence.

Split-screen beginnings and endings show that the use of this technical resource is sensitive to the management of participation, of turn-taking, and of sequence organization—that is, to the fundamental features of talk organization. Thus, exploring the systematic positionings of split screen can teach us something about the way sequentiality is interpreted in real time by a particular participant, the director editing online the broadcast image.

The next excerpt presents another case where split screen orients to participation framework changes and offers a particular view of it. It is taken from another episode of the same talk show series, dealing with the experiences of maids and servants working for rich people. In the excerpt, two maids, Régine and Albina, are interviewed together:

Excerpt 2 (Ri1435)

```
1  AUD    <((applauses))
2  MOD    régine> et albin*a?
          régine> and albina?
   scr          >>stage->*MOD-->
3         (1.2)
4  MOD    qu'est-ce que:: qu'est-ce que: ces personnes
          what::          what:          these persons
5         chez qui vous travai*llez
          for whom you work
   scr                        --->*split:REG/ALB ---> l. 23
6         en tout cas celles chez qui euh: (.) vous aimez
          at least those for whom    ehm:  (.) you like
7         travailler .h euh exigent de vous,
          to work    .h ehm ask to you,
8         (0.4)
9  REG    <.hh (0.7)>
10 MOD    quelle est la principale qualité que qu'il faut
          what is the main quality that that you must
```

```
11          absolument avoir pour travailler chez eux?
            absolutely have in order to work for them?
12          (1.0)
13 REG      il faut@ être: euh •di#spo@nible [@je crois# oui voilà
            you have to be ehm available    [I think  yes that's it
14 ALB                                      [@disponi•ble# oui,
                                            [available yes,
                                  • counting gesture---•
                 @looks at REG----@.......@turns head tow REG->
   im                             #im.12                #im.13
15          et dévoué
            and devoted
16 REG      dévou[é
            devot[ed
17 MOD            [mais y a plein de gens [dis@ponibles
                  [but there are lots of people [who are available
   alb                                      -->@
18 ALB                                     [°dévoué°
                                           [°devoted°
19 REG      et être [très sympathique, sou]riant
            and to be [very congenial, smi]ling
20 MOD              [et discre:t]
                    [and discreete]
21          e[t discret
            a[nd discreet
22 REG       [et dis+crè:+te=
             [and discree:t
                    +....+looks at ALB--->
23 COL      =toutes hypocrites quoi il +[vaut mieux hah*
            =all hypocrite in sum it's [better hah
   scr                                              --->*
24 REG                                 +[no:n
                                         [no:
                               ----->+
25          *[hypocrites, (0.5) no:n,
             [hypocrite,  (0.5) no:,
26 COL      *[H hhh
27 AUD      *[((booing and clapping))
   scr      *stage-->>
```

Régine Albina

The segment begins with a question posed by the moderator (MOD), which is progressively formatted within a particular multi-unit turn, interesting for both the ways in which it makes the next action relevant and is interpreted by the production staff. The moderator first selects two recipients, Régine (REG) and Albina (ALB) (2), then, after a pause during which neither Régine nor Albina respond, she begins with an interrogative form ("est-ce que:" 4) which projects that a question is underway but which does not yet formulate its gist. Before the verbal nucleus of the question is actually produced, she inserts a double, self-rectified reference to Régine and Albina's employers (4–5, 6–7). The verb ("exigent") of the question is rejected at the end (7). This specific format allows various operations. The initial selection, which works as a summons, groups two participants together, making the category "domestic servants" relevant. This constitutes the first part of a standardized pair (the second part, "persons being served" will be introduced by the question) and deals with the incumbents of this category as spokespersons.[3]

This initial selection poses a practical problem for the addressees and, consequently, for the director editing the show: it projects the relevance of an answer produced by two co-speakers, although it does not specify how they will answer together (by answering individually one after the other or by producing a collaborative response). The question format, which uses a grammatical structure with a high projective potential,[4] postpones the substance of the question at the end. In French, there are various alternative ways to formulate a question. The form used here, "est-ce que," has the advantage of being placed at a turn or a turn constructional unit initial position. In contrast, the inversion of the verb and the subject would have positioned the verb first and, therefore, would have produced a completely changed word order with very different projection potentials, offering different opportunities for the coordinated work of both recipients and production staff.

After a short interval (8), taken by Régine as an opportunity to answer (9), the question is rephrased (10–11), occasioning a delay of the answer. Nevertheless, the persons selected to answer are projected from the very start of the sequence, giving them time to co-organize their next turn. If we look at the broadcast shot, we see that at the end of the summons (2) the camera operator focuses on the moderator asking the question. However, after the interrogative form and towards the end of the first reference to the "persons being served" (which makes the other categorical pair "servants" relevant and makes Régine and Albina recognizable as belonging to that pair), the image switches to a split screen where both appear (5). Therefore, on the basis of the projectable turn completion, the director selects very early on the shot centered on the projected persons who will answer the ongoing question. Moreover, the bipartite organization of split screen orients to the fact that the answer will be produced by two people.

[3] On Membership Categorization Analysis, see Sacks (1972b, 1992) and Hester and Eglin (1997).

[4] For an analysis of projection in grammar and in interaction, see Auer (2002).

Consequently, the early insertion of split screen reveals not only the answer but also its preparation during the expanded formulation of the question. This results in perfect timing for documenting the embodied interpretation of the question and of its imminent completeness as it is exhibited by its recipents' facial expressions and gestures—by Albina opening her mouth and by Régine's visible long inhale (9). At the beginning of the answer, split screen displays their coordinated entry into the turn, the modalities of their collaborative response, as well as the multimodal details of their formulation. Their joint action is exhibited for the TV watchers. After an interval (12), Régine starts to answer, and is immediately glanced at by Albina, although both of them remain bodily oriented towards the moderator (image 4). Albina then turns her head towards Régine, who is mentioning a quality that maids should have (13). This quality is dealt with by Albina as the first item on a list to come: this is visible in her gesture of counting items while she ratifies the first (14), and in her adding a second item ("et dévoué" 15). Although the moderator makes an objection (17), Régine adds a third item (19). The moderator joins in their activity and herself produces a fourth item, first in overlap, then repeated (20–21), confirmed but rectified by Régine (22) who then looks at Albina. In this way, the list is an occasion to exhibit their collaboration and mutual agreement on the terms of the answer (image 5).

This list could continue, but at that moment another participant, Colette (COL), inserts a conclusive negative assessment (23) to which Régine reacts vigorously, and is joined by the audience in the studio (27). The split screen dissolves toward the end of the incomplete turn of this new participant: the modification of the participation framework occasioned by COL ends the relevance of the camera's focus on the co-speakers engaged in the answer.

Thus, split screen appears to be orienting towards the organization of participation framework, to the local categorization of the speakers as "doing questions"/"doing answers" or "being co-speakers" and to the detailed unfolding format of adjacency pairs such as "questions/answers." Insertion and dissolution of split screen are carried out taking into consideration the grammatical resources mobilized by the participants and their projective potential, in order to anticipate what comes next. In this sense, changes in the screen organization exhibit the ongoing real-time interpretation of the emergent sequential structure constructed by the director editing the show, whose work appears to be grounded in a form of vernacular analysis of the emergent organization of the interaction. This vernacular analysis shows that turn-taking and sequence organization are oriented to and recognized by members in a situated way.

Highlighting "Hostile" Environments

The two excerpts above demonstrated the sensitivity of split screen—that is, of the director and their staff editing the images of the show in real time—towards the sequential features of the social interaction going on in the studio, at the level of turn organization, participant organization, and sequence organization. I focus now on a particular sequential environment to which the split screen appears to be

especially oriented: an environment where "hostile" questions are projected. I describe this position and the consequences of its exploitation for the production of the show on the basis of a short collection of cases.

Below is the first occurrence of this particular position, taken from the same talk show as the second excerpt. Here, in contrast to the previous cases, it is not the moderator, but rather one of the participants, Christine de Bourbon (BOUR), who puts a question to another participant, COL. The former has been invited onto the show to represent the category of "persons being served" and the latter the category of "persons serving them"; as we will see their topical contributions are category-bound.

Excerpt 3 (Ri2100)

```
1  BOUR   euh[: j'aimerai:s poser une question à madame] là-ba:s,
          ehm[: I would like to ask a question to missis] there,
2  AUD       [  ((              applauses         ))  ]
3         (0.5)
4  BOUR   qui d'après c'que j'ai compris je crois est coiffeu:se,
          who from what I understood I believe is a hairdresser,
5         (0.2)
6  BOUR   je voulais vous poser une question
          I would like to ask you a question
7         tout à l'heure vous leur reprochiez
          just a moment ago you complained that they
8         de servir quelqu'un, *et: de vou- se sentir
          were serving somebody, and: of you- of feeling
   scr                        *split: BOUR/COL/MARC-->
9         RAbaissé dans l'esprit de servi[:r,
          downgraded in the spirit of ser[ving,
10 COL                                   [non
                                         [no
11        [c'est un-
          [that's a-
12 BOUR   [est-ce que quand vous coiffez vous ne servez pas
          [when do you are hairdressing aren't you serving
13        l'client [qui vient ch[::::- s'asseoi:r
          the customer [who comes t[::::- to sit
14 COL             [non mais atte[ndez
                   [no but wait a [minute
15 AUD                            [((booings))
16 AUD    ((applauses))
```

De Bourbon first makes the preliminary statement that she has a question (1) and selects her addressee with a non-recognitional form (using the third person, the identification term "madame" and a deictic location "là-ba:s").[5] After a short pause, she continues with a relative phrase that offers an alternative identification of the addressee, with the professional category "coiffeuse" (4). Again, after an interval, and having identified the person, she repeats the preliminary again ("je voudrais vous poser une question" 6), which now uses the second person ("vous"). The turn is organized here as a pre–pre (a preliminary to preliminary, Schegloff 1980): after "je voudrais poser une question" (6), which projects a question, the next action is not a question, but rather a kind of introductory preface which recalls—in two parts—background elements relevant for the question that follows (7–9).[6] Here the reminded fact is an action previously completed by the addressee and categorized as a "complaint" ("vous leur reprochiez" 7) and a category centrally relevant to the discussion in this talk show related to "service" (cf. *supra*). Interestingly, this reminder concludes (in contrast to the cases examined by Schegloff 1980, p. 114) with a protest (10), which retrospectively displays its critical and aggressive character.

Split screen appears even before this protest (line 8), just after the first part of the prefatory segment: it is inserted *after* a first pre-, a multiple identification of the addressee, a second pre-, a first prefatory element, and *before* a second prefatory element and the proclaimed question. In this position, on the basis of the former hints, it projects not only that a critical question is to be asked but a general hostile stance against the addressee and, furthermore, her possible negative reaction. In this sense, split screen shows a very acute sensitivity towards the emergence of possibly aggressive stances and actions which are projected very early on.

This aggressiveness is confirmed when the question is finally asked in line 12: it is formatted in a particular way, which has been described by John Heritage (2002) as a "hostile question," in taking an interrogative negative form. A negative interrogative operates at the level of preference organization by adopting a very conducive design of the question, more conducive than the tag format, projecting a "yes" answer which would align with the criticism embodied in the question. Consequently, Heritage (2002, pp. 1432, 1433, 1436) notes that recipients often deny the status of a question to a negative interrogative and treat it as a statement of opinion, or as taking a position, thus rejecting it in the form of a disagreement. Negative interrogatives are formatted by referring to matters of common knowledge that even if presented as "plain facts" are strongly evaluative with regard to the addressee. This is accomplished here in the preliminary part of the question: "this critical propositional content is embedded in the negative interrogative with a polarity that invites the interviewee to assent to the criticism" (2002, p. 1439). However, instead of an assent, what is provoked is a rebuttal. In this sense, a negative interrogative is oriented to by the addressee as implementing a particularly marked hostile stance against her.

[5] See Sacks and Schegloff (1979) and Schegloff (1996) about the preference for recognitionals.

[6] Schegloff (Schegloff 1980, p. 114) speaks of "references to persons, places, or things" by which "recognizability or understandability" are secured in this position.

In the fragment reproduced above, the addressee's rebuttal is already manifested in the rejection of the preliminary (10), and then in the disagreement expressed before the questioner's turn completion (14), which is supported by the audience (15).

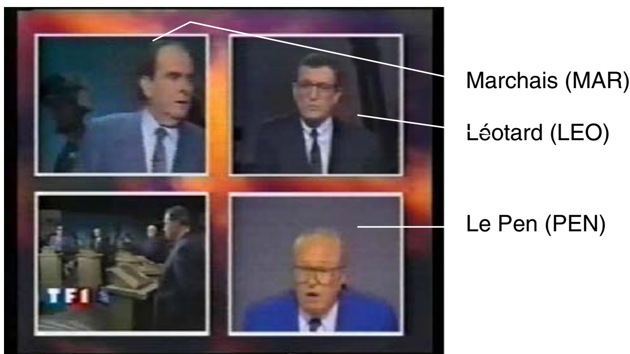
Even if the negative interrogative comes *after* the insertion of split screen, its hostile stance is identified as such and projected on the basis of the pre-pre- by the director already having inserted the split screen at that point. Here, split screen appears to be sensitive to an environment that projects strong critical, argumentative, conflictual interactive moments: relying on the projective potential of preliminaries to preliminaries, it anticipates disagreement. More radically, this seems to be a production format of the show as a TV event, being used as a representational device for accentuating confrontation. In this sense, split screen contributes to the accomplishment of the spectacularization of disagreements, embodying a specific view of interactions in talk shows as antagonistic—and also in debates as we will see below.

This kind of environment is not specific to talk shows: it occurs even more often in polemic political debates. The next excerpt is taken from a discussion recorded in 1991, just before the first Gulf War, and involves various prominent French politicians of that time; here we have Le Pen (PEN), the extreme right-wing leader and Léotard (LEO), a member of a centrist reformist party.

Excerpt 4 (TF1, Débat Demain la Guerre 1991)

```
1  PEN      [et je voudrais poser une question tout de même si
            [and I would like to ask a question nevertheless if
2          vous l'permettez, *(.) ts à monsieur léotard. (.) bien
           you allow me,      (.) tsk to mister Léotard. (.) even
   scr                        *PEN---->
3          qu'il ne soit plus en fonction .h de: gouvernement (.)
           if he isn't anymore in the function .h of ruling (.)
4          de son parti. .h il semblait^avoir^attaché eh euh au
           his party.     .h he seemed to have attached eh ehm to
5          sort du liban, (.) une partie de ses convictions. (.)
           the fate of Lebanon (.) a part of his convictions. (.)
6          puisqu'il était allé euh revêtu de: (.) de son écharpe
           since he went ehm with (.) with his tricolour stole
7  PEN     tricolo:re/ [ (.) dans le camp du général aoun. (.) *
                       [ (.) in general Aoun's camp. (.)
8  LEO                 [sans écha-
                       [without sto-
   scr                                                 ----------->*
9          *.hh est-ce qu'à ce moment-là euh monsieur léotard
            .hh didn't mister Léotard ehm at that point
   scr     *split:PEN/LEO/MAR/others--->
```

```
10         .h n'a-t-il pa:s (.) ressenti la nécessité .h d'une
           .h (neg) (pron) (.) feel the necessity .h of an
11 PEN     action de l'o èn+ u [(.) et de la
           action from the UNO, [(.) and from
12 LEO                         [mais bien sûr
                               [but of course
           >>-looks below--+looks in front of him and nods-->
13 PEN     France, [(.) pour défendre le liban? [(.) auquel nous
           France, [(.) to defend Lebanon? [(.) to which we
14 LEO             [mais bien sûr monsi-        [bien sûr mons-
                   [but of course miste-        [of course mis-
15 PEN     étions li[és, ∇depuis des siècles? [# oui mais vous∇
           were attac[hed, from centuries? [ yes but you
   mar                  ∇looks at LEO, impatient------------∇
16 LEO               [bien sûr monsieur le pen [#mais bien sûr
                     [of course mister le pen  [but of course
   im                                          #im. 14
17 PEN      *ne l'avez pas fait, [(.) vous avez  accepté l'inva*sion
             haven't done it, [(.) you have accepted the invasion
   scr     >*LEO---------------------------------------------*PEN>>
18 LEO                            [mais pas du t-
                                  [but not at all-
```



In this excerpt, as in the preceding one, Le Pen does a pre-, projecting a question to come ("je voudrais poser une question" 1) and selecting his addressee (1). Again, what follows is not a question, but a long preliminary background reminder (4–7). At the end of this prefatory remark, the speaker inhales strongly and begins to ask his question (9).

At this precise moment the image, which had been centered on the speaker, switches to split screen showing not only his addressee but other participants as well. Thus, split screen is inserted exactly at the point where the preliminary is

finished and where the question is about to begin—even before the question is initiated. Again, split screen displays its sensitivity to preliminaries as projecting not only others to come, but an incipient possible disagreement, and even conflict. The director recognizes this environment as projecting a pending dispute.

Interestingly, the question asked is expressed in a negative interrogative form ("n'a-t-il pa:s ressenti la nécessité" 10)—as in the preceding example. To the TV viewer split screen makes available a long expansion of this question, thanks to added-on segments. Each of these segments is positively acknowledged by the addressee, formulating the invited preferential response in overlap. During these repeated expansions/acknowledgments, split screen makes available not only the facial expression of the addressee, who nods vigorously and in rhythm with the assertive head movements of the speaker, but also the reactions of other co-participants, such as Marchais (MAR), who looks exasperatedly at Léotard (15–16) (see image 6). Hence, what split screen displays is an increasing dramatization of the interaction, which ends up in a total disagreement.

Split screen dissolves when Le Pen, who does not leave any temporal space for Léotard's reactions, all produced in overlap, rejects them in a subsequent new turn constructional unit ("oui mais vous ne l'avez pas fait," 15, 17) which provokes open disagreement. At that moment, the screen switches to the full image of the disagreeing addressee, focusing on him and projecting him as the next speaker.

In both fragments 3 and 4, the insertion of split screen announces the emergence of a hostile environment and of displays of disagreement. This culminates with negative interrogatives that occur when split screen has already been activated, confirming the hostility of the confrontation. Thus, split screen works as a powerful anticipation of these disagreements as it is sensitive to what pre-announces them. This anticipation allows split screen to exhibit not only projective effects of the ongoing first pair part, but also early responsiveness by the concerned co-participants, essentially in the form of multimodal expressions, often displayed and magnified by a close-up image.[7]

Exhibiting Disagreement

Previous analyses have shown that split screen produces real-time analysis by the director editing the show or the debate, who enhances the recognizability and the accountability of particular sequential environments for the TV viewer, and for the analyst who looks over his shoulder. This vernacular analysis—constituting the professional skilled timed organization of the director's decisions—exploits the same grammatical and multimodal resources mobilized by the participants to accomplish the interactional order. Moreover, by selecting certain environments rather than others, split screen reflexively highlights these environments and

[7] Access to participants' facial expressions as well as other embodied recipiency displays by the director on the basis of the various cameramen's images *before* split screen is activated may inform his choice (cf. Broth 2004)—but this cannot be documented on the basis of the data available here.

consequentially the accountability and categorization they might confer over the entire interaction.

Since disagreement seems to be a privileged locus for the insertion of split screen, I analyze another sequential environment in which disagreements emerge. This is also a context that raises practical problems for the camera operators and the director, and for which split screen can be considered as a possible solution.

I subsequently analyze two fragments taken from another political debate, with two opposing French political representatives, Bédier (BED; right wing) and Mamère (MAM; left wing, ecologist). In the excerpt below, the participants are discussing the housing problems that poor people encounter.

Excerpt 5 (MCr1-1822)

```
1  BED    qui ont eu l'attribution d'un logement hlm .h et qui
          (poor people) who obtained a subsidized house .h and who
2         ne *peuvent pas y rentrer. parce que tout simplement
          cannot enter in it. because just very simply
   scr    >>MAM*BED--->
3         des squatte:rs, *(.) sont venus [là, (.) et sont venus
          squatte:rs,      (.) came [there, (.) and came
   scr                 ---->* broad stage, BED in the centre-->
4  MAM                                    [(     )
5  BED    là en donnant d'l'argent à des trafiquants.
          there and gave money to dealers.
6         donc i * faut bien lutter, contre [ça.
          so we have absolutely to fight, against [this.
   scr       --->*BED--->
7  MAM                                       [°c'est pas vrai°
                                             [°that's not true°
8  BED    et que je pense, ben vous dites que c'est pas vrai
          and I think, well you say that it's not true
9         c'est[ mal*heureusement .h monsieu- monsieur mamère
          that's [unfortunately .h mist- mister Mamère
10 MAM         [non *c'est pas vrai. ben allez voir les gens
               [no that's not true. well go to see the people
   scr          --->*MAM--->
11 BED    monsieur mamère continuez à dites]*que c'est pas vrai
          mister Mamère continue to say] that it's not true
   écr                                   --->*BED--->
12 MAM    sur le terrain et allez voir les organisations (   )]
          on the field and go to see the organizations (   )]
13 BED    .h c'est que vous êtes un bonheur monsieur mamère
```

```
                .h the fact is that you are a fortune mister Mamère
14              vous êtes un *vrai bon[heur
                you are a real for[tune
15 MAM                               [mhm
   scr                 ---->*split:MAM/BED--->>
16 BED          et je vous le dis franchement,
                and I tell you that frankly,
17 MAM          ben vous vous êtes [un vrai malheur hhh
                well you are [a real misfortune hhhh
18 BED                             [il faut qu'on vous garde,
                                   [we have to keep you,
19              [il faut qu'on vous] garde le plus longtemps po[ssible
                [we have to keep] you so long as po[ssible
20 MAM          [hh ha ha hhhhhhhhh]                            [ouais
                [hh ha ha hhhhhhhhh]                            [yeah
21 BED          parce que tant que vous aurez des raisonneme[nts
                because as long as you hold arguments
22 MAM                                                      [oui
                                                            [yes
23 BED          comme ceux que vous avez .hh des caricatures
                such as yours .hh (which are) caricatures
24              de raisonnement, c'est excellent pour [nous
                of reasoning, it's e excellent for [us
25 MAM                                                [parce
                                                      [because
26              que [vous, vous n'êtes pas caricatural [monsieur [bédier
                    [you, you aren't caricatural [mister [Bédier
27 JOUR             [alors                              [oui poursuivez
                    [so                                 [yes continue
28 BED              [je poursuis donc                   [je
                    [I continue then                    [I
29              poursuis donc ((continues))
                continue then ((continues))
```

Although Bédier has the floor during the first part of the exercpt, Mamère self-selects in a number of places (4, 7, 10–12) with turns that openly contradict what Bédier is saying. These overlaps are positioned immediately after the propositional content of Bédier's turn contradicted by Mamère; they can be very long, as shown by the overlapping turn at lines 10 and 12.

These overlaps are taken into consideration by the director, who switches the image back and forth from Bédier to Mamère, following the dynamics of the their confrontational turn-taking (see lines 10–11: during the long overlap the shot is

focused on Mamère before returning to Bédier). Even if the image tends to remain focused on the legitimate ongoing speaker, repeated overlaps tend to accelerate the alternation between the image on the speaker and the image on his overlapper. However, there are limits to these back-and-forth switches, especially if the rhythm of the overlapping–overlapped talk accelerates. This accelerated temporality of talk can represent a practical representational problem for the director who wishes to give a sense of this dynamic within smooth broadcasted images. In this context, split screen can be used as a solution to the problem of following—as well as anticipating—overlapping turns and for making the close-up images of both participants available to the TV viewer. In this sense, it is a practical solution to a problem raised by frequent and fast-changing speakership in contexts of contested turn-taking practices and not only of contested topical contributions.

Split screen appears at line 14, in an environment characterized by repeated contradicting overlaps: it appears at a moment where Bédier is explicitly rebutting Mamère's "c'est pas vrai" (by quoting him saying it 8, 11) and is openly and repeatedly assessing him ("vous êtes un vrai bonheur monsieur Mamère" 13).[8] Assessing the present co-participant in this way, which is only ironically positive and which is immediately responded to by Mamère with a second counter assessment ("vous êtes un vrai malheur" 17), represents a further step in the confrontation. Thus, the insertion of split screen at that moment (14) makes available the details of the pursuit of the confrontation, which again is marked by overlaps and by exchanges of assessments ("vous avez .hh des CARIcatures de raisonnement" 23–24 *versus* "vous vous n'êtes pas caricatural monsieur Bédier" 26).

A few minutes after this segment, another insertion of split screen is seen in a similar scenario. Bédier is attacking Mamère about the old-fashioned discourse held by his party during the election campaign, not taking into account the lesson of the preceding election, dramatically lost by the socialist party (referred to by its date, April 21, 2002).

Excerpt 6 (MCr1-1822; 3 min After the End of Last Excerpt)

```
1  BED   vous ne pouvez pas di:re, j'ai retenu les leçons du
         you cannot sa:y, I remember the lessons of
2        vingt-et-un avril, (.) et faire comme si i s'était
         april 21, (.) and do as if
3        rien  pa[ssé      a*vant]
         nothing ha[ppened before]
4  MAM           [j'dis pas *ça:,] (.) j'dis pas ça, °moi°.
                 [I don't say that:, (.) I don't say that, °me°.
   scr              >>BED--->*BED and 2 other participants---->
5  BED   et avant c'qui s'est passé c'es[t l'exas*pération face
```

[8] There is a wordplay going on here (from line 13 on), where Bédier uses the word "bonheur," literally "good fortune," and Mamère rebuts it, using "malheur," literally "misfortune," which is its reverse polar lexical item.

```
          and before what happened is [the exasperation in front
    scr                                       --->*MAM -->
6   MAM                                [(j'dis pas ça)
                                       [(I don't say this)
7         [au langage* angélique de certains, [et vous continuez,
          [of the angelic language of some, [and you continue,
8   MAM   [(mais non)                         [c'est-
          [(but no)                           [that's-
    scr           --->*BED-->
9         .h vous continuez *[vous êtes le meilleur allié] de
          .h you continue    [you are the best ally] of
10  MAM                     *[mais j'continue pas du tout,]
                             [but I absolutely don't continue,]
    scr                --->*MAM--->
11  BED   monsieur le p[en                   [vous êtes vous êtes
          mister le p[en                     [you are you are
12  MAM                [mais j'c*ontinue pas [du tout*
                       [but I absolutely don't [continue
    scr                    --->*BED-----------------*
13  MAM   *j'peux vous [donner] des exemples de ce que j'ai
           I can [give you some examples of what I
14  JOUR  *            [alors,]
                       [then,]
    scr   *MAM-->
15  MAM   &proposé pendant la compagne présidentielle qui
          &proposed during the presidential campaign which
16        n'a rien à voi*r avec ce que vous fait[es (   )
          has nothing to do with what are are do[ing (    )
17  BED                                      [(vous)
                                             [(you)
    scr          --->*split MAM/BED--->>
18  BED   vous [(voulez légaliser)
          you [(want to legalize)
19  MAM        [(     ) par exemple des cellules
               [(     ) for example units
20  JOUR  noël mamère
21  MAM   par exemp[le des cellules
          for examp[le units
22  BED            [vous voulez légaliser tout ce qui est interdit
                   [you want to legalize all what is forbidden
23  MAM   par exemple des cellules de veille éducative dans les écoles
          for example units of educational warning in the schools
```

This excerpt shows very similar phenomena preceding the split screen insertion:

- overlapping with Bédier's ongoing turn, Mamère rebuts the positions the latter is attributing to him, by turning the verbs used by Bédier into negative forms ("j'dis pas ça" 4, 5, responding to "VOUS ne pouvez pas di:re" 1; "mais j'continue pas du tout" 10, responding to "vous continuez" 9);
- after the last negative rephrasing in overlap (line 10), Bédier makes a negative assessment of his opponent ("vous êtes le meilleur allié de monsieur le pen" 9–11, referring to an extreme right-wing politician);
- Mamère does not give an answer to this assessment but rather develops the previous argument, related to what happened on April 21 (13–16); when he introduces an example about the politics of education, Bédier introduces another topic (17–18, then 22) on the legalization of what is illegal. Two parallel and concurrent topics are developed by both speakers skip-connecting with each other (Sacks 1992, II, p. 349). Hence, their debate evolves from negating each other's arguments to developing parallel autonomous arguments, with frequent overlaps in both cases.

Split screen appears at line 17, after multiple switches of the image between the two antagonists, which follows the overlaps and the speakers' alternation. It is inserted just at the beginning of the skip-connecting topical development, i.e., at the point where each speaker is defending his own point of view, no longer responding to the other. The side-by-side images of the participants exhibit these two parallel lines of talk to the TV viewer.

As shown in these two excepts of political controversy, repeated and long overlaps raise a practical problem for the camera operators and the director, concerning the way in which they can organize a follow-up of the debate centering the image broadcast on the actual speaker. The first possible solution is a *serial* one, where the image alternates between the two speakers. However, this solution presupposes a clear identification of the established speaker and a certain rhythm in the turn alternation. Both are made problematic by frequent overlaps. This first solution is adopted between lines 1 and of excerpt 5, and between lines 1 and of excerpt 6. The second possible solution is a *simultaneous* one: the images of both participants are displayed side-by-side within the split screen, in a way that makes their overlaps and mutual responsiveness available in a symmetrical fashion. This second solution is adopted from line 15 (excerpt 5) and line 17 (excerpt 6) onwards. In both excerpts, the split screen dissolves as soon as one participant clearly takes the floor and continues to speak, with decreasing overlaps from the other side.

In this context of use, split screen appears both as a technical resource solving practical problems related to the ongoing organization of the interaction as-it-is-broadcast, and as a way of making certain features of this ongoing sequential organization salient, contributing to highlighting particular moments, especially when turn-taking is becoming problematic and culminating in disagreement. In anticipating and exhibiting moments of disagreement, split screen manifests a vernacular real-time analysis of this emergent context, teaching us something about both the use of this editing technique as part of the skilled work of the director and

about the online comprehension by members of the sequential features of disagreement in talk-in-interaction.

TV Split Screen and the Reconfiguration of Interactional Space

In the TV excerpts I have analyzed in this paper I have noted the timeliness of split screen insertions in various sequential environments and I have shown that the director orients to the very grammatical and multimodal resources that project the emergence of that context. I now show that split screen not only analyzes and manifests what is happening online, but that it also actively reconfigures participants' conduct as it is broadcast for TV viewers.

Split screen selects two or three people from all the participants on the stage. In so doing, it highlights their importance with regard to the ongoing interaction and effects their relevance to the constitution of the interactional order as it is exhibited in the shot broadcast over the air. This selection not only excludes other participants as being irrelevant to what happens, but reinscribes those selected in a recomposed participation space. It reduces their bodies to their heads, magnifying their facial expressions thanks to the close-up image, and establishes them in an abstract frame. Being extracted from the actual place they occupy in the scene, they are placed side-by-side, adjacent to one another, even if they are in fact sitting far apart from each other in the scene. In this way, split screen recreates the interactional space (Mondada 2009) of the debate by rearranging the selected participants.

In the political debate analyzed in excerpts 5 and 6, Bédier and Mamère are sitting across from one another, at a distance, on each side of the moderator, at the opposite extremities of a semicircle (see the background of image 7). Split screen extracts them from these positions and places them almost face-to-face (thanks to the oblique position of each split-screen frame, as in the foreground of image 7). Moreover, their initial positions are reversed.

This image superposes two spaces: the first is a circular one, where the circle organizes and distributes all participants, including the audience; the second is a two-part space, exclusively exposing two participants.

If we look at the talk show in excerpt 3, we notice that the recomposition of the participants' interactional space is also important:

In this case (image 8), split screen reinscribes in the same visual space the person posing the question (on the left) and the person to whom the question is addressed (on the right, above). In contrast to what happens in the debate in excerpts 5 and 6, or in the shows in excerpts 1 and 2 (see supra, images 4 and 5), the participants are not disposed in the same way, being characterized by an asymmetry in size and position, de Bourbon being clearly given a more prominent position than COL. Moreover, another person is inserted in this recomposed space; a participant who does not speak at all during that fragment, a figure inserted as an exemplary incumbent of the category "domestic servant," which is the topic of the discussion. More generally, this show uses split screen in order to make available the reactions of either co-present or distant third parties who overhear what is spoken during the

discussion. Thus, split screen recreates proximity between persons that are positioned in very different locations on the stage: in this case, participants are disposed along a line and the questioner and the questionee are seated at opposite points on this linear organization. Therefore, split screen operates not only a recomposition of the participation framework but also, and more radically, a reorganization of the interactional space as it is represented and broadcast.

We can ask what the effects of this reorganization on sequentiality are and to what extent they are made recognizable for the TV viewer. In contexts of disagreement, the simultaneity recreated by split screen, which allows visualization of various participants at the same time, seems to favor a conflictual view of social interaction. The very choice of inserting split screen at particular sequential moments of interaction highlights these moments, in opposition to others. In this sense, split screen contributes to the spectacularization of conflict. By making participants' responses available only during disagreement sequences, this offers a selected and dramatized vision of the responsiveness in interaction. Responsiveness, as well as the active practice of listening, are treated not as general and continuous features of interaction, but as features displayed in particular circumstances, especially when they exhibit disagreement.

In this sense, split screen does not only manifest the situated real-time interpretation and analysis of the ongoing interaction by the persons producing the broadcasted images. It also accomplishes a specific accountability of social interaction, which in the data analyzed here is an antagonistic view of interaction.

Conclusion

This paper focuses on split screen as a technical device introduced by film directors and used within various professional fields, simultaneously allowing various streams of action to be represented. Detailed analysis of its use in TV programs such as talk shows and political debates demonstrates that the insertion of split screen is a methodical and systematic practice, organized by a specific orientation of the director to the features of the emergent and timed organization of the interaction broadcast on the TV set.

More specifically, I have described real-time decisions to insert split screen at particular moments as being a substantial part of directors' skilled professional work. Analyses revealed that insertion and dissolution of split screen are intimately related with the sequential organization of the interaction and orient to systematic features of turn construction, turn-taking, sequence organization, and participation. I identified a series of sequential environments dealt with as peculiar by the director editing and rearranging in real time the broadcast images of the show: moments of overlapping turn-taking, active recipiency, transformation of participation framework, as well as moments of incipient disagreement and projection of a hostile pursuit of the action. The insertion of split screen documents the endogenous methods by which participants recognize hostile sequential environments as well as the grammatical and multimodal resources they rely upon in order to identify these environments. By highlighting these moments, the use of split screen reflexively

elaborates and transforms the interactional order accomplished by the participants on the set.

This detailed sequential analysis demonstrates that TV debates and talk shows exploit a subset of features tested by film directors and used in other professional settings. In all of these practices, the use of split screen is a solution to a problem of visualization of time and an alternative to its linear sequential representation: it makes possible a simultaneous access to parallel streams of action, making visible concurrent, overlapping moments.

Split screen can be used in a *punctual* way, inserted only at particular moments, or in a *systematic* way, used over the entire videotaped episode. Talk shows and TV debates analyzed in the paper clearly favor the former, while research videos and documentary movies such as *Dionysius in 69* are examples of the latter. These two practices exhibit different professional conceptions of social interaction and of its video documentation. The first aims at broadcasting a view on interaction which foregrounds selected, often antagonistic, and confrontational moments within representational practices tending to spectacularize disagreements. The second aims at making available an image of all participants in a symmetric fashion during the unfolding of the interaction, without singling out any particular moment, and without deciding that co-participants' displays of recipiency or audiences' responses are more important at certain moments than at others. Symmetric *versus* asymmetric representations of the participation framework are further enhanced by the choice of splitting the screen into images of equal size (as in *Dionisius* or in *Time Code*) or in images of different sizes, forms, and positions. The latter, favored by TV directors, achieves a hierarchization of the participants and creates new forms of visible confrontation.

Similar to in *Dionisius*, and in some professional settings such as videosurveillance or surgery training, TV debates and talk shows analyzed here are produced in one unique, continuous shot, without cuts. Directors' insertions of split screen (as in videosurveillance and telesurgery) are carried out live and consist of real-time decisions: they exhibit a real-time process of interpretation and analysis of the ongoing interaction. In other practices (typically for movies and documentaries, as well as for prerecorded broadcasts), editing work is done later on, during post-production: in this case, editors also orient to relevant features of action and interaction, but this orientation is achieved within a very different temporal organization, off-line, characterized by multiple, fragmented, repeated views of the same episode.

These distinctions demonstrate the complexity and multiplicity of video practices, which is important to consider when dealing with them as a topic of inquiry. This further strengthens the necessity of recognizing video data as practical accomplishments in time and context, and not as transparent windows onto social interaction. Consequently, it would appear difficult to use video data without considering how they have been produced and how production and representation practices shape, select, highlight, and displace interactional details. These considerations are not external or marginal to the analytical exploitation of video data, but rather are central to them. They are pervasive and consequential to the way in which we repeatedly look at videos, access the details relevant to the organization of talk

and conduct in interaction, transcribe them and exploit them in our analyses. In this sense, the analysis of video data as a practical situated accomplishment is a central feature of the analysis of social interaction and of the conditions that make such an analysis possible.

Transcription Conventions

Data were transcribed according to conventions developed by Gail Jefferson and commonly used in Conversation Analysis.

Symbol	Meaning
[	overlapping talk
=	latching
(.)	micro pause
(0.6)	timed pause
:	extension of the sound or the syllable it follows
.	stopping fall in tone
,	continuing intonation
?	rising inflection
Mine	emphasis
°uh°	quieter fragment than its surrounding talk
.h	aspiration
h	out breath
((sniff))	described phenomena
< >	delimitation of described phenomena
( )	string of talk for which no audio could be achieved

An indicative translation is provided line per line (in italics), in order to help reading the original.

Descriptions of gestures and actions are transcribed according to the following conventions (cf. Mondada 2007a):

Symbol	Meaning
* *	gestures and actions descriptions are delimited between
+ +	two identical symbols (generally one symbol per participant)
Δ Δ	and are synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk
> >	gesture or action described begins before the excerpt's beginning
—>>	gesture or action described continues after excerpt's end
*—>	gesture or action described continues across subsequent lines
—>*	until the same symbol is reached
….	gesture's preparation
—	gesture's apex is reached and maintained
,,,,,,	gesture's retraction
arl	participant doing gesture is identified when (s)he is not the speaker
scr	image on the screen is described
im	the exact point where screen shot has been taken is indicated
#	by a specific sign showing its position within turn at talk

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