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HECKLING IN THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT HOUSE: A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS APPROACH

BY

MOHAMMAD ALQATAWNA

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy

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HECKLING IN THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT HOUSE: A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS APPROACH
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ABSTRACT

This study explores the organisation of sequences involving heckles in the Jordanian parliament using the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA). The participation framework involved in these interactions is also considered. An uncommon feature of heckles is that they are a contribution to an interaction from a speaker who is not ratified to participate. The data of the study is significant, because it allows us to study a context where the participant has to work to get the floor – this leads to a rather different kind of interaction than is generally studied. Therefore, it is interesting to see how they do this and how others react.

This study makes use of CA alongside the consideration of the participation framework (Goffman, 1981), the notion of activity type (Levinson, 1979), the notion of participation framework patterns (O'Driscoll, 2018), and the analytic framework of the forms of embodiment and social organization (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). The consideration of the design of the sequences, the recurrent actions employed, and their connection with the participation framework alongside the strands enabled a fine gained analysis of the ways in which hecklers gain entry into the interaction, what they do with the floor, and how other participants respond to these incursions.

The analysis of the data is based on 56 heckling interactions that occurred at the Jordanian parliament. The participants of the study are adult males and females. The data of the current study was collected using the YouTube public site and the designated setting of the data is the Jordanian parliament.

The analysis focuses on the fact that heckling is a breach of the internal rules of the parliament and that because of the participation framework, unratified participants are not treated as part of the interaction. The analysis shows that the participation framework has a significant effect on the interaction between hecklers and the recipients of heckles. Hecklers are not given the opportunity to enter the interaction because it is illegal. This means that hecklers are forbidden to take part in the interaction. Therefore, hecklers have to work hard to gain the floor using summons, supplication, announcements and launching straight into the reason for heckling. Further, the analysis sheds light on the construction
of heckles, and the design of heckles are associated with complaints, announcements, demands and disagreements. Public audience members recurrently complain to Members of Parliament by indirectly reporting a personal problem that they are facing. Indirect complaints are not produced in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament but are produced to gain a solution for the heckler’s personal problems. In addition, hecklers rely on announcements to convey news. The design features of announcements tend to be short and simple and are associated with extreme case formulations. Moreover, hecklers recurrently produce demands in response to prior proceedings and their design is associated with the concept of advice giving. Lastly, hecklers produce disagreements in response to a proceeding. The design features of disagreements are produced in a straightforward manner using negations and they are expressed using negative assessments.

The analysis also showed that the common responses to heckles are: disengaging unratified participants’ demands, granting the speakership, and telling responses. The overall design of the responses reveal that unratified participants are not invited by recipient to enter the interaction simply because they are not part of it because of the effect of the participation framework on hecklers. Recipients of heckles attempt to disengage hecklers from entering the interaction using various methods such as “let him/me speak” or “please do not interrupt him.”

Finally, the analysis showed that heckling interactions are brought to a closure in a unilateral fashion. Participants do not negotiate the closing of heckles and the most remarkable finding is that the CP always initiates the closing of an interaction using the closing implicative environment, by: instructing others’ as a means of closure, acknowledgements, arrangements, announcing closure, appreciations, demands to obey the internal regulations of the parliament, and warning to suspend the session of the parliament.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CP  chairperson
CS  current speaker
UP  unratified participant
PRT particle
Gs  guards
MP  Member of Parliament
CA  conversation analysis
ACP assistant to the chairperson
S   speaker
TCU turn construction unit
TRP transition relevance place
AM  audience member

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The objective of this study is to investigate the construction of heckling in the Jordanian parliament using the methodology of conversations analysis (CA henceforth). Heckling can be defined as “to interrupt a public speech or performance with loud, unfriendly statements or questions” (Cambridge online dictionary, 2020). An obvious and unusual aspect of heckles is that they are contributions to interactions from a speaker who is not a ratified (allowed to speak) participant. Consequently, as well as using CA, I draw from Goffman’s consideration of participation framework. Together these facilitate the analysis of how hecklers attempt to become participants in the interaction and what they do when they have attained the floor. CA enables a fine-grained analysis of the recurrent ways in which they gain entry into the interaction, what they do with the floor, and how other participants respond to these incursions.

This chapter introduces the statement of the problem and the significance of the study. It begins by describing the data and the method of the study and sheds the light on the background of the study. Next, the chapter presents conversation analysis and the consideration of the participation framework. Then, the chapter outlines the contribution of the study. After that, the chapter presents the aims of the study and states the research questions. Finally, the chapter outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Statement of the problem

In the last decade, there has been a remarkable issue in the Jordanian parliament in terms of heckling by unratified participants. This behaviour could have impact on the normal duties of speakers who deliver talk in the parliament. It also might have an effect on the time and the period of the parliament session, as heckles delay current speakers from speaking. Heckling incidents have been reported on social networking sites such as YouTube because they tend to be an unusual behaviour. Some watchers and listeners might look upon heckling as inappropriate behaviour whilst others may consider it a kind of entertainment and something unusual in the parliament. Although heckling in the Jordanian parliament is a prohibited behaviour, unratified participants insist on making a contribution
to an interaction. It is worth noting that when unratified participants attempt to make a contribution to an interaction they are breaching the rules of the context; their behaviour is considered as a breach of the internal regulations of the parliament.

My personal interest in exploring heckling in the Jordanian parliament led me to investigate this phenomenon especially when I watched some heckling incidents on a social networking site. One of these incidents took place at the Jordanian parliament where a Member of Parliament heckled another member who was delivering a speech in the parliament. Heckles have a huge effect on the current speaker as they prevent him/her producing talk and prevent audience from listening to his/her talk. This incident had a remarkable effect on me as a researcher, as I began to raise questions regarding this phenomenon.

1.3 Significance of the study

The most fascinating thing about the issue of heckling is that it is related to the participation framework which is rather different from most data contexts. In general, most data consists of contexts where the participants are ratified, for instance, informal interaction, meetings, news interviews, classrooms. The Participation framework in these settings is rather different from the participation framework in the current study. In these settings, participants are ratified to speak i.e. take part in an interaction without the need of working out the way to gain the floor of the interaction. However, the data of the current study in unusual because the CS is not meant to be a ratified participant in the interaction. Theories of interaction and their findings are essentially based on ratified participation where they can join, leave, or re-join in an interaction without restrictions. The data of this study allows an investigation of how participants get to the floor (under circumstances where they are not meant to have it), how they work to keep the floor and how ratified participants work to get regain the floor or allow the heckler to become a ratified participant (even though it is against the rules).

Heckling in the Jordanian parliament is interesting to explore because it occurs in a formal institutional setting. In contrast, informal institutional occurrences of heckling take place at various settings such as the Speaker’s Corner at Hyde Park in London, stand-up comedy and public heckling. There are no previous studies of heckling in Jordan nor in the Middle
East. Thus, this examination offers us substantial knowledge of the phenomenon in order to compare it with heckling in Europe, and in particular, heckling in the Austrian parliament (Stoner, 2013). On the other hand, there are a few studies of heckling which take place in various settings including, (McIlvenny, 1996a; Kádár, 2014; Rao, 2011; Kádár & Ran, 2015); & Truan, 2017). In general, these studies show us that the phenomenon of heckling is very interesting to examine because they inform us of the operation of heckling, how participants produce actions, and how the recipients of heckles orient back to them. (For more information on heckling and examples, see section 2.4 and 2.5).

The findings of the current study have significant implications for the Jordanian parliament organising parliamentary debates in the future, knowing that heckling in the Jordanian parliament might develop into verbal abuse or physical encounters. Understanding the phenomenon of heckling enables the CP to deal with heckles to keep the parliamentary debate problems to a minimum. Getting to know the dynamics of heckling will enable the chairperson to take control of the rules and internal regulations of the parliament in order to effectively manage heckling in the future.

1.4 Data and method

This study aims to describe and examine the dynamics of heckles in the Jordanian parliament with the assistance of CA as a method of study and the participation framework. CA was the chosen method for examining heckles in the Jordanian parliament because it looks at the activity or activities that participants are engaged in which helps us to see what they were doing and how they are doing it (Drew, 2008). CA pays attention to the intended phenomenon more than other approaches because it looks in-depth at interactional activities, recordings and detailed transcription instead of other types of ways such as coded or counted representations (ten Have, 2007). In the beginnings, CA was first restricted to ordinary conversations (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Nowadays, CA examines social life interactions as well as institutional interaction and media talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

The data for this study has been collected using YouTube channel, and the setting of the data is the Jordanian Parliament, covering the period between 2010 and 2015. The data is naturally occurring. The participants of the study are the heckler or the unratified
participant (UP), the current speaker (CS) and the CP. The data analysis has been conducted on 56 YouTube interactions (for further details, see chapter 3 section 3.1).

1.5 Background of the study

This section presents background information for this study including: the history, organisation, and power in the Jordanian parliament.

1.5.1 The Jordanian political system

Jordan, also known as The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, has been a constitutional monarchy since its origin. The constitution of Jordan was established in 1952, and the country’s system is a hereditary parliamentary monarchy (Petrov, 2010). According to the Jordanian constitution, the powers of the country are divided into three partitions: executive, legislative, and judicial authorities (Nasrawin, 2012). Through the council of ministers supervised by the Prime Minister, the King acts as the executive authority. This authority comprises of the Prime Minister, appointed by the King and 20 to 28 ministers chosen by the Prime Minister. Its responsibilities includes managing the duties of the higher state (interior and foreign), applying the general policies for the state (inside and outside); supervising and monitoring all the institutions of the state; submitting consultations to the King; tolerating responsibility on behalf of the King; and executing the constitution stipulations (Petrov, 2010). The legislative authority consists of two houses: the lower house consists of 130 members elected directly by the people, while the upper house (the senate) consists of 65 members appointed by the King (IUP, 2016). It is worth noting that the legislative authority has power in the formation of the government.

1.5.2 History of the parliament

Parliamentary life in Jordan started in 1946 with independence from the British Mandate and the establishment of the 1952 constitution (Petrov, 2010). Jordan has witnessed an extended history of parliamentary life since 1946. In 1947, the first electoral law of parliament was established, allowing all Jordanians (18 years old or older) the right to vote (Awad, 2008). At that time, the lower house comprised of twenty members elected directly by the people, and ten senators. The second parliament was formed in the 1950s after the
decision of unifying the east and west banks of the Kingdom (Awad, 2008). Further changes have been applied to the constitution and electoral law, as the number of Members of Parliament doubled, with forty parliament members and twenty senators. In the early 1960s, a new electoral law was published during the period of the fifth parliament (Awad, 2008). The total number of members of the lower house was increased to sixty members (thirty members represented the east bank and thirty represented the west bank) while the senators were increased to thirty senators. In 1967, Jordan was engaged in a war with Israel which resulted in the occupation of the West Bank. The parliament continued to function in carrying out its term of office and prolonging its function for another two years, until 1973. A year later, the late King dissolved the parliament in April 1974 (Awad, 2008).

During the period between 1974-1989, parliamentary life was frozen because of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of Jordan, alongside other Arab international issues such as the resolution of the Arab Summit in Rabat. Therefore, King Hussein dismissed the parliament between the two banks of Jordan. The Jordanian Parliament was replaced by the National Consultative Council (NCC), which was established in 1978 to fill the void resulting from the suspension of parliamentary life (Alazzam, 2008).

In November 1989, public elections were held for the 11th parliament according to the temporary electoral law amended from the electoral law of the year 1986, and Members of Parliament were elected for the first time since 1967. In November 1993, the 12th parliament took place according to the temporary electoral law of the year 1986 and it completed its constitutional period of four years until 1997 (Awad, 2008).

The 13th parliament was formed in November 1997 in accordance with a new temporary electoral law which argued for a modification of how the electoral districts are distributed as well as other amendments to the mechanisms of elections. The 14th parliament was elected in June 2003, according to another temporary electoral law which increased the number of seats in parliament from 80 to 110 seats. In addition, there were some changes to the mechanisms of elections and increasing the number of electoral districts. The 15th parliament was held on November 2007 in accordance with the same electoral law followed during the 14th parliamentary elections in 2003 (Awad, 2008).
The 16th parliamentary elections were held in November 2010 and the period of parliament lasted for only two years. The number of Members of Parliament was increased to 120 members while the senate was 60 members. The 17th parliamentary elections took place in January 2013 and the parliament period lasted for four years. The number of Members of Parliament were 150 members. The 18th parliament, the current, was held in September 2016. The lower house contains 130 seats, out of which 115 are elected and the remaining 15, reserved for women, are chosen to represent each of the 12 governorates and 3 Badia districts, while the Senate comprises 65 nominated members (IPU, 2016).

1.5.3 Organisation of the parliament

As indicated above, the parliament is divided into two councils; the upper house (senate) and the lower house (Members of Parliament). Among the 130 lower house members, there are fifteen secured seats (quota) for women; fifteen seats for the semi-desert (Badia) region, nine seats for Christians, three seats for Chechens and Circassian (Atiyat, 2017).

The responsibility of the lower house and the senate’s council comprise of four major roles; First; political control, which includes questioning, interrogation, and investigation. Second, granting and withholding confidence to the government. Third, receiving petitions. Fourth, financial control: this means to monitor the budget of the state, as follows: approving the budget of the state; authorising the imports and the expenses of the state; authorising the private legislations through imposing fees and taxes; and Audit Bureau control (Petrov, 2010).

The lower house of comprises of members elected by citizens according to the provisions of the Electoral Law (Awad, 2008). The term of office of the lower house is four calendar years beginning from the date of the announcement of the results of the elections in the Official Gazette. The King may issue a Royal Decree to extend the term of the lower house for a period of not less than one year and not more than two years. A general election will be held during the four months preceding the end of the term of the council. If the election does not occur by the end of the term or if the election is delayed, the lower house shall operate in office until the election of a lower house (Awad, 2008).
1.5.4 Power and the parliament

According to article 54 of the Jordanian constitution, the parliament enjoys constitutional power to oversee the government's actions including approving the budget and dismissing the government. In general, the parliament has limited power (Petrov, 2010). Further, Petrov (2010) adds that the parliament “can override the veto authority of the King with a two-thirds majority in both the upper and lower houses. A two-thirds majority of the lower house can also dissolve the cabinet with a “no confidence vote” (p. 17). Nevertheless, such actions are rarely taken: this has only happened once, in April 1963. The Jordanian constitution gives the King various powers. The constitution permits the King to dismiss the parliament and postpone the lower house elections for two years. In addition, the King “can circumvent the parliament through a constitutional mechanism that allows provisional legislation to be issued by the cabinet when parliament is not sitting or has been dissolved” (Petrov, 2010, p. 17). Also, the King can issue royal decrees which are not subject to parliamentary scrutiny (Petrov, 2010). In general, the King has the greatest power since he is the head of the state, chief executive, and commander in chief of the armed forces. The King’s authority includes assigning and firing the Prime Minister; the President and the members of the House of Notables (senate). Also, the King is authorised to suspend the parliament, the holdings of the elections, announce war, sign truces, and declare laws (Petrov, 2010).

1.6 Conversation Analysis; foundation and development

According to Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998, p. 13) CA “is the study of talk. More particularly, it is the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations of human interaction: talk-in-interaction.” It is also “an inductive, micro-analytic, and predominantly qualitative method for studying language as it is used in social interaction” (Hoey, & Kendrick, 2017, p. 151). CA aims “to focus on the production and interpretation of talk-in-interaction as an orderly accomplishment that is oriented to by the participations themselves” Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998, p. 14-15). Further, CA “seeks to uncover the organization of talk not from any exterior, God’s eye view, but from the perspective of how
the participants display for one another their understanding of what is going on” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 15).

CA was developed in the early 1960s at the University of California, by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, including Emanuel Schegloff & Gail Jefferson. CA began as a distinctive approach in sociology through the influence of Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Garfinkel was interested in Ethnomethodology which is a field of sociology that studies the common sense resources, practices and procedures through which members of a society produce and recognise mutually intelligible objects, events and courses of actions (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 2). On the other hand, Goffman (1967) was mainly interested in the interactional order, that is looking in close detail at people interaction. So, the work of Goffman and Garfinkel provided an incentive for the development of conversation analysis.

During the 1960s, CA developed into a research method of its own which handles all kinds of talk-in-interaction. In Sacks’ lectures on conversations, he discusses the materials which are derived from two collections: the suicidal collections and a series of tape-recorded group therapy sessions (ten Have, 2007). These recordings lack a focus on institutional settings, which means they were ignored. Sacks and his collaborators focused on the analysis of conversations which were non-constitutional because such data offered better examples of ‘purely local functioning of conversational devices and interactional formats’ such as ‘turntaking’ or ‘opening up closings’ (ten Have, 2007, p. 7). After the 1970s, many scholars turned their attention to institutional materials. For example, there is substantial evidence stemming from the recent application of conversation analytic techniques to ‘institutional’ data (Heritage, 1984b), such as doctor patient interactions, classroom interaction, news interviews. Heritage (1984b, p. 240) added that institutional interaction tends to involve two related phenomena “a) a selective reduction in the full range of conversational practices available for use in mundane interaction and b) a degree of concentration on and specialization of, particular procedures which have their ‘home’ or base environment in ordinary talk.”
1.7 Participation Framework

The participation framework is a way of analysing the various interactional roles produced by different people in a group in a particular place (Goffman, 1981). It has been developed by several scholars in order to analyse the forms of social organization of vocal and non-vocal interactions (Goffman, 1981; Levinson, 1988; Irvine, 1996; Scollon, 1996; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2007). It is also an aspect of interaction rather than an approach in its own right; it has been considered in various settings including heckling: (Kádár, 2014; McIlvenny, 1996a, 1996b); media (Livingstone & Lunt, 2002; Gerhardt, Eisenlauer & Frobenius, 2014); and social media (Dynel, 2014; Effing, Hillegersberg, & Huibers, 2011).

The participation framework (Goffman, 1981) is applicable to the phenomenon of heckling because it focuses the status of participants who are ratified (allowed) or unratified (not allowed) to participate, which is particularly salient in heckling environments.

Previous studies have linked the participation framework to heckling. For instance, McIlvenny (1996b, p.21) uses Goffman’s analogy of participation, where he defines a heckle as “…a public utterance usually directed at a ratified speaker.” In another study, Kádár & Ran (2015) also used the ratified and unratified designations to refer to participants’ heckling interactions, they point out “the heckler disrupts the public speaker through unratified interruption of the flow of the events” (p.2). Further, Kádár (2014, p. 2) explains that a heckler is a “a metaparticipant audience member [who] attempts to become an unratified participant.” These studies support my approach in using the participation framework along with conversation analysis to examine heckles in the Jordanian parliament. Therefore, Goffman’s participation framework is beneficial for this study because it shows us how UPs such as hecklers seek to become ratified speakers. (See section2.3 for details on the participation framework).

1.8 Contribution

The contribution of this study shows that the participation framework of the Jordanian parliament has a significant effect on the action of heckles. Most research into interaction is on talk where participation is not disputed. However, in this study, the data are unique and highly significant, because it allows us to study a context where the participant has to work to get the floor – this leads to a rather different kind of interaction than is generally
studied. Therefore, it is interesting to see how hecklers manage this and how others react. It is a significant aspect of this study since most studies analyse interaction among ratified speakers. The overall analysis of the data shows that because of the participation framework, unratified participants are not given the opportunity to make a contribution to an interaction in parliament because it is illegal to do so. For example, when a heckler intrudes on a CS’s speech using a disagreement, the recipient commonly does not orient to such heckles simply because his/her participation is unratified. Recipients of heckles such as the chairperson (CP) or the current speaker (CS) commonly aim to discourage the heckler from entering the interaction using address terms such as “excuse me” or even voicing a demand such as “do not interrupt him” or “let him finish/speak.” If hecklers persist in developing their heckles, the CP always intervenes to manage the situation by moving the interaction to closure using closing implicative turns.

1.9 Aims of the study

The overall aim of this study is to explore the construction of heckles in the Jordanian Parliament using the methodology of conversation analysis, with a focus on how hecklers attempt to gain the floor, what they do once they have done so (i.e. how they construct their heckles) and how others respond to these incursions. CA will help us to see how heckles are established, what kinds of actions are involved in heckling, how heckles are managed by the CP, and how the CP closes down the heckles in order to regain the floor (or give the floor to a ratified participant). A major factor which led me to investigate this phenomenon is that hecklers are aware that it is illegal to disrupt a speaker while speaking in order to achieve a particular purpose, and yet still they practice this kind of performance. Moreover, there are no current research investigations of Arabic parliamentary heckling. Therefore, it is hoped that the results of this study will inform us how heckling is established, developed and managed by recipients.

Furthermore, consideration of the role of the participants (in terms, for example, of whether they are a ratified or unratified participant) allows consideration of the impact of the participation framework on the ongoing talk. Thus, the study explores the interconnection between this framework and the detail of the talk.
Also, it is hoped that investigating this interesting phenomenon will pave the way for future analysis into the differences between heckling in the Middle East\(^1\), such as Jordan, and compare it with heckling in Europe. This study seeks to address the following aims:

**Main aim:** To use the methodology of conversation analysis to reveal the interaction of heckling between the heckler and the recipients.

1. To investigate the common strategies of hecklers to achieve participation when they are not ratified to participate.
2. To explore the recurrent actions which involve heckles and their construction.
3. To explore the recurrent responses of heckles in particular by the CP of the parliament.
4. To investigate the recurrent ways in which heckles are brought to closure.

### 1.10 Research questions of the study

In accordance to the study’s main aims, I have developed the following research questions:

1. How do hecklers achieve participation and gain the speakership when they are not ratified participants?
2. How do hecklers construct their heckles: What actions do the heckles involve?
3. How do other speakers (particularly the CP) respond to heckles?
4. How does the CP close the heckles?

### 1.11 Structure of the thesis and content of the chapters

The structure of this thesis consists of eight chapters. Each chapter has its own review of the literature, analysis of the research data, and discussion of the findings and concludes with a summary of the chapter.

**Chapter Two** discusses the relevant literature. It provides a discussion of the participation framework, its origins and development and the speaker and listener formats of

\(^1\) The area from the eastern Mediterranean to Iran, including Syria, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq, and sometimes also Egypt Cambridge dictionary (2020).
participation. The literature also sheds light on the definition of heckling and the recent studies of this phenomenon.

**Chapter Three** discusses the methodology of the current study including data collection transcription and analysis.

**Chapter Four** reviews the recurrent strategies of hecklers to achieve participation when that are not ratified to speak.

**Chapter Five** presents the common actions which involve heckling and their construction.

**Chapter Six** presents the response of the speaker and in particular the response of the CP.

**Chapter Seven** reviews the recurrent strategies of closing the heckles.

**Chapter Eight** concludes the thesis with a summary of the main findings. The chapter sheds the light on the contributions of the study. It also discusses some of the limitations of the study and suggests some recommendations for future research.
Chapter 2     Literature Review

2.1     Introduction
This chapter aims to shed light on the literature review of the current study, including three aspects: Conversation Analysis, the Participation Framework and Heckling. The structure of this chapter is as follows. First, it begins by discussing conversation analysis, and institutional interactions. Next, it will offer a discussion of the participation frameworks and the criticism of Goffman’s theory. Finally, it will shed light on the definition of heckling and existing studies of heckling.

2.2     Conversation Analysis
Conversation analysis focuses on ‘recorded naturally occurring talk-in-interaction’ (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Liddicoat, 2007; ten Have, 2007; Sidnell, 2010; Mondada, 2013; Clift, 2016). The main objective of CA is to “uncover the tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 14). That is, to show how participants comprehend and react to each other in conversations (turns of talk) with a central focus on how sequences of actions are generated. Further, Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998) explain that CA considers not just talk, but talk-in-interaction, which refers to the focal goal of studying the ‘interactional organisation of social activities’ (p. 14). In other words, utterances of talk are not examined in terms of semantic units, but “as products or objects which are designed and used in terms of activities being negotiated in talk; as requests, proposals, accusations, complaints and so on” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 14).

According to Psathas (1995), the central tenet of conversation analysis is: “order is produced orderliness; order is produced, situated and occasioned; and order is repeatable and recurrent.” (p.2-3). This needs to be discussed in more detail. As regards ‘order is produced orderliness’, Liddicoat (2007, p.5) explains that order does not happen voluntarily, nor does it exist prior to the interaction; instead, it is the consequence of the organized practices of the members who accomplish orderliness and their interactions (Liddicoat, 2007). Secondly, Liddicoat (2007) argues that order is produced, situated and occasioned and that order is created by conversationalists themselves for the conversation
in which it occurs. The participants themselves orient to the order being produced and their
behaviour reflects and indexes that order. Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998, p. 15-16) offers an
interesting example which demonstrates the concept of orderliness. The following example
is drawn from a conversation between a mother and her son about a forthcoming parent-
teachers’ association meeting.

Example 1
Mother: Do you know who is going to the meeting?


The mother asks a question ‘Do you who’s going to attend the meeting?’ The interpretation
of this question can include two kinds of action. First, it is possible that it is a request for
information about who is going to attend the event. Second, the mother may have used it
as a pre-announcement which is preliminary to some information she wishes to announce
as to who is going. The response to the first kind of meaning would be an answer to the
question, whilst for the second, would usually be something similar to ‘no, who?’, which
would offer the chance for the news to be announced. So the way it is responded to shows
how the recipient interpreted it. The analyst can examine the recipient’s response to see
how they interpreted/responded to it.

CA also considers institutional interaction in a variety of settings including news
interviews, courtrooms, classroom interactions and doctor-patient interactions. Drew &
Heritage (1992, p. 25) made a distinction between two approaches to the analysis of
institutional interaction, these are: formal and non-formal settings. The formal settings
deals with data in which the institutional interaction is formal in character, as in courtroom
interaction (Atkinson & Drew, 1979), news interviews (Greatbatch, 1992), and classroom
interactions (McHoul, 1978). These studies are significant because demonstrate that the
turn taking organization is a fundamental and generic aspect of the organization of
interaction. The non-formal settings is the second setting for analysing institutional
interaction, which deals with less formal forms of institutional interaction in a variety of
settings, such as medical, psychiatric, social-service, business, and related environments.
“These interactions, for the most part, take place in private rather than public contexts”
(Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 27).
The data of the current study is based on 56 heckling interactions which occurred at the Jordanian parliament. The setting of the heckling interactions is non-formal despite the fact that they occur at the Jordanian parliament.

In summary, the objective of conversation analysis is to focus on the production and interpretation of talk-in-interaction as an orderly achievement which is oriented to by the participants themselves (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Furthermore, it aims to discover the organization of talk from the perspective of how participants understand ‘what is going on’ (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 14-15). Put another way, “the participants orient themselves to this orderliness of interaction, and their orientations provide the basis of the intersubjectivity of social action and the orderly course of interaction” (Arminen, 2017, p. 8). In brief, conversation analysis encompasses three main tenets, which are: “talk-in-interaction is systemically organized and deeply ordered; the analysis of talk-in-interaction should be based on naturally occurring data; and the production of talk-in-interaction is methodic” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 23). (For more information on CA, see chapter 3). CA does not only focus on informal talk, but also explores institutional talk. The next section will discuss the institutional talk as part of CA.

2.2.1 Turn taking

In order to understand the mechanism of turn-taking, it is necessary to observe what a turn-at-talk looks like. Turns are made of components of language such as phrases, sentences and clauses. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974, p. 696) refer to the turn-taking system as “speech exchange systems.” They also add that “it is a prominent type of social organization, one whose instances are implicated in a wide range of other activities” (p. 696). They illustrate this by noting “An investigator interested in the sociology of a turn-organized activity will want to determine, at least, the shape of turn taking organization device, and how it affects the distribution of turns for the activities on which it operates” (p. 696). Thus, they focus on studying the materials of turn-taking organization and techniques of the construction of turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974).

Sacks et al. (1974) argue that turn-taking is a system of conversations that can be defined by two components and a set of rules: the turn-constructional component (TCU) or unit-types and the turn-allocation component. The turn-constructional unit includes “sentential,
clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions” (p. 702), whilst the turn-allocation component is divided into two sets: a) those in which next turn is allocated by the current speaker’s selecting next speaker; and b) those in which a next speaker turn is allocated by self-selection (Sacks et al, p. 703).

Sacks et al. (1974) present a set of rules for the turn-taking. A Transition Relevance Place (TRP) is the place in the turn in which it becomes relevant for another speaker to being speaking in the conversation. The following rules operate over the transition-relevance places (TRP) of turn-constructional units on a turn-by-turn basis to coordinate the allocations of turns.

Rule 1: For any turn, at the TRP

a) If the current speaker selects the next speaker in the current turn, the next speaker is obliged to take the next turn, transfer occurs at that place.

b) If the current speaker has not selected the next speaker in the current turn, then self-selection of the next speaker may occurs at that place.

c) If neither a) current speaker choses the next speaker, nor b) another party has self-selected, then the current speaker may but need not continue unless another self-selects.

Rule 2: If neither ‘a’ and ‘b’ have not applied, and ‘c’ has occurred at the next TRP, then the rules from ‘a to c’ must be reapplied at the next TRP until transfer if effected. (Sacks et al. 1974, p. 704).

Liddicoat (2007) argues that “turns at talk are places in which the participants in a conversation perform actions through talk. Turns at talk cluster together in order for speakers to develop a course of action” (p. 105). Action sequences such as greetings exchanges or question-answer sequences are defined as adjacency pairs (Heritage, 1984a). The most fundamental demonstration of the tying of turns is the AP (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). In the early publications by Schegloff & Sacks (1973), the basic rule for AP was formulated as follows:

Given the recognisable production of a first pair part, on its first possible completion its speaker should stop and a next speaker should start and
produce a second pair part from the pair type the first is recognisably a member of…


Schegloff & Sacks (1973, p. 295) identified the adjacency pairs by using the following features. They are:

1. Composed of two turns
2. Produced by different speakers
3. Adjacently placed
4. Relatively ordered such that first-pair parts precede second-pair parts
5. Pair-type related such that particular first-pair parts are paired with particular second-pair parts (greetings with greetings, not greetings with acceptances, as an example).

These rules above need to be discussed in detail, excluding the first two which are straightforward. Firstly, the meaning of ‘adjacently placed’ is that the two turns come in pairs and they are placed next to each other (Schegloff, 2007). In other words, the two turns occur immediately next to each other; i.e. question requires an answer, request requires acceptance or refusal and the like. However, this does not mean that all types of adjacency pairs occur immediately, because in some cases the sequence may be expanded either before, during or even after the base sequence (Schegloff, 2007). Secondly, adjacency pairs are ordered which means that one of the pairs always comes first (e.g. a question) and the other pair always comes second (e.g. an answer). Those forms which occur at the beginning of the action are called first pair parts (FPP), whilst those which are a requirement of the first pair are called second pair parts (SPP) (Liddicoat, 2007). Thirdly, in explaining the last feature of an adjacency pair Schegloff writes:

The components of an adjacency pair are pair-type related. That is, not every second pair part can properly follow any first part. Adjacency pairs compose pair types; types are exchanges such as greeting-greeting, question–answer, offer-accept/decline, and the like. (Schegloff, 2007, p. 13-14)
Further, Schegloff (2007) added that the elements of adjacency pairs are ‘typologized’ not only into the FPP and SPP, but into the pair types which they can partially compose. For instance, greeting-greeting (“Hello,” “Hi”), question-answer (“Do you know what time it is?” “Four o’clock”) offer-accept/decline (“Would you like a cup of coffee?” “No thanks,” if it is declined) (Schegloff, 2007). The following table shows a list of the most common adjacency pairs which has been compiled from works by scholars such as Levinson and Schegloff.

Table 1. Types of adjacency pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>First Pair Part</th>
<th>Second Pair Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Greeting</td>
<td>Greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Summon</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Apology</td>
<td>Minimization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Request</td>
<td>Acceptance/refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Offer</td>
<td>Acceptance/refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Blame</td>
<td>Admission/denial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Invitation</td>
<td>Acceptance/refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td>Agreement/disagreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Command</td>
<td>Compliance/incompliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>Acceptance/refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Assertion</td>
<td>Agreement/disagreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Announcement</td>
<td>Acknowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Institutional interaction

The research of institutional interaction is derived from a CA approach. According to Arminen, (2017, p. 32) institutional interaction “is a particular type of social interaction in which the participants (A & B) orient to an institutional context (C), such as medical, juridical or educational, in and for accomplishing their distinctive institutional actions.” This objective is in line with a CA approach, as Heritage & Drew (1992) argue that the objective of studying institutional interaction is: “to describe how particular institutions are enacted and lived through as accountable patterns of meaning, inference, and action. The direct focus on recorded conduct has the advantage that it cuts across basic problems associated with the gap between beliefs and action and between what people say and what they do” Heritage & Drew (1992, p. 5). In other words, the aim of studying institutional
interaction is to show how participants produce talk and how they orient to each other through actions in an institutionalized way.

According to Heritage & Drew (1992, p.22), the characteristics of institutional interactions are as follows:

1. Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task, or identity (or set thereof) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by goal orientations of a relatively restricted conventional form.

2. Institutional interaction may often involve special and particular constraints on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.

3. Institutional talk may be associated with inferential frameworks and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

Moreover, analysing institutional interactions focuses on “elaborating issues, such as the strategic aspects of interaction, the achievement of collaboration, or procedures whereby participants’ differing perspectives are brought into alignment” (Arminen, 2017, p.27). This is associated with the original idea of Sacks: to “study members’ methodical ways of accomplishing social tasks in interaction” (Arminen, 2017, p.27).

Institutional interactions often take place in various designated physical settings, including hospitals, courtrooms, and educational establishments, which are controlled in terms of their setting (Heritage & Drew, 1992, p. 3) Further, institutional interaction action may also take place over the telephone (Heritage & Drew, 1992) or in parliament (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Roibu, & Constantinescu (2013). For instance, Members of Parliament in a designated setting have particular responsibilities through which they legislate and interrogate the performance of the government through interaction(s) in the parliament; this is referred to as institutional interaction. According to Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Roibu, & Constantinescu (2013), parliamentary debate “is defined as a discursive form, whose distinctive features are closely connected with the specific institutional frame within which communicative interaction takes place” (p. 5). Here, we can observe that parliamentary
interaction/debate falls under the umbrella of institutional interaction. According to Heritage (2004, p. 225) there are six places to probe the “institutionality” of interaction. These are:

1. Turn-taking organization: this shows how ordinary conversations are different from institutional interactions in terms of order length and content (Shaw, 2000). Shaw argues that the turn-taking system of parliamentary interaction is similar to ordinary conversations but differs in seven of Sacks’ (1974) turn taking rules; these are: 1) turn order is partially fixed; 2) turn size is often restricted; 3) the length of the debate is restricted; 4) the relative distribution of turns is partly pre-specified; 5) speeches are not discontinuous; 6) the topic is specified in advance of the debate, and 7) turns in debates are typically longer than turns in conversations (Shaw, 2000, p. 404).

2. The overall structural organizations of the interaction: this is associated with “build[ing] an overall “map” of the interaction in terms of its typical “phases” or “section.” Heritage (2004, p. 227). Also, this includes the overall organization of actions, namely: opening or gaining access to the floor; the construction of actions in the sequences; the response of recipients of talk; and the closing of an interaction. In brief, the overall structural organization, “is not a framework – fixed once and for all – to fit data into. Rather it is something that we are looking for and looking at only to the extent that the parties orient to it organizing their talk.” (Heritage, 2004, p. 229-230).

3. Sequence organization: this is one of CA’s focal aspects and refers to particular actions which are organized in sequences. The participants in talk launch, develop, and work out the interaction together (Heritage, 2004).

4. Turn design: this involves two-fold distinctive features of a participants’ speech: 1) the action that the talk is designed to perform and 2) the means that are selected to perform the action (Heritage, 2004, p. 231).

5. Lexical choice: participants use a variety of descriptive terms in institutional interaction, such as “police officer” and “cop” or “we” and “I” (Drew & Heritage, 1992), in institutional settings and mundane talk, respectively (Heritage, 2004 p. 235).
6. Interactional asymmetries: these include asymmetries of participation (Heritage 2004, p. 236); asymmetries of interactional and institutional “knowhow” (p. 237); epistemological caution and asymmetries of knowledge (p. 238); and rights of access to knowledge (p. 239).

In summary, conversation analysis research has never been restricted to ordinary conversations; rather, it “developed in relation to a wide range of data corpora” and “the term ‘talk-in-interaction’ has come to be generally used, in preference to conversation, to refer to the object of CA research” (Heritage & Drew, 1992, p. 4). The relevance of institutional talk to the current study is that institutional talk involves people who play different roles and those roles have different rights (including being able to contribute to an interaction).

### 2.3 Participation Framework

This section aims to discuss the participation framework which is an important concept because it outlines the status of the participants engaged in an interaction. In heckling, participants self-select themselves to speak and often disrupt a speaker during talk. Self-selecting as the speaker may be seen as inappropriate by others, especially the CS who holds the speakership. At this point, the status of a participant who intrudes on a speaking participant might enable them to become ratified to speak, especially if the current speaker gives way for to them. On the other hand, CSs might verbally react to the intrusion producing an utterance such as “let me finish.” The application of the participation framework enables us to see not only the status of participants who are engaged in an interaction, but also how other recipients of talk orient towards such engagement and rights to the speakership. In ordinary talk for example, participants share turns in conversations without restrictions. On the other hand, participants in parliament, for whom it is illegal to speak, aim to engage themselves in the interactions and thus break the institutional interaction rules.

Prominent scholars in linguistics, in particular linguistic anthropologists, have provided a useful structure for the understanding of participation. The notion of participation has been used by such scholars in order to analyse the forms of social organization of vocal and non-vocal interactions (Goffman, 1981). Other scholars have also made a contribution to the
concept of participation framework including Levinson (1988); Irvine (1996); Scollon (1996); and Goodwin & Goodwin (2004; 2007).

Goffman (1981) is a well-known scholar who presented a framework for investigating participants in discourse beyond the ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ concepts. Goffman proposed to decompose the speaker and the hearer “into smaller, analytically coherent elements” (1981, p. 129). That is, Goffman suggested that it is crucial to break down the concept of ‘speaker; and ‘hearer’ in order to analyse social organization in discourse. According to Goffman, (1981) the “participation status” is “the relation of any one such member to this utterance” (1981, p. 137), whilst the “participation framework” is the relation between of “all the person in the gathering for that moment.” (1981, p. 137).

Footing refers to the position or alignment a party makes when articulating a linguistic expression (Goffman 1981). In Goffman’s (1981) opinion, “the significance of the production format cannot be dealt with unless one faces up to the embedding function of much talk” (p. 151). In other words, when there is a shift from saying something to reporting what someone else said, there is a change in footing.

The concept of footing is very similar to the concept of an ‘interactive frame’ (Goffman 1974) which is the stance of the speaker and hearer towards each other. In other words, Goffman (1981) claims that:

A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for event… change in footing is very commonly language–linked; if not that, then at least one can claim that the paralinguistic markers of language will figure.

Goffman (1981, p. 128)

Goffman’s exposition of footing is couched entirely in terms of change (Goffman, 1981). In Goffman’s words he claims “it must be allowed that we can hold the same footing across several of our turns at talk. And within one alignment, another can be fully enclosed” (1981, p. 155). Thus, a change in footing would lead to change of alignments and stances, and that
any change in footing implies a shift in frame (Candlin, Crichton, & Moore, 2017). Goffman remarks that there are a variety of signs of the change of alignments or stances, including prosody; code switching; use of pronouns; and shift in tone.

Goffman explains that a “change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events”, proposing that the notion of footing and frame may appear indistinguishable (Goffman 1981, p. 128). Ensink & Saucer (2003) claim that ‘footing’ discusses the manner in which the speaker or the hearer is involved in the situation and the grounds for this, whilst frame refers to the overall picture of what the situation is. Moreover, they conclude that “there is no simple identity (which would allow us to do away with one of the terms), but rather a strong co-occurrence relation between both concepts” (Ensink & Saucer 2003, p. 8).

Goffman (1981) makes a distinction between what he calls the production format i.e. the speaker and the participation network i.e. participation framework (the hearer). These concepts will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1 Speaker/Production Format

Goffman (1981) argues that “when we shift from reporting our current feelings, the feelings of the “addressing self, to the feelings we once had but no longer espouse” we are changing our footing (p. 155). The concept of the ‘speaker’ (Goffman 1981) or ‘the production format’ (Goffman 1974) is defined in three way: the animator, author, and principal of an utterance. In his essay “Radio Talk”, Goffman argued that when a speaker produces talk as animator, the individual may act as “a sounding box from which utterances come” (Goffman 1981, p. 226) or as “the talking machine, a body engaged in acoustic activity” (1981, p. 144). Secondly, the role of the speaker maybe an author of the uttered words, that is, “the agent who puts together, composes, or scripts the lines that are uttered” (1981, p. 226) or “someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded” (Goffman 1981, p. 144). Thirdly, the role of the speaker in an utterance maybe that of principal; “the party to whose position, stand and belief the words attest” Goffman (1981, p. 226), or the party whose “position is established by the words” (1981, p. 144).
The demonstration of the speaker is illustrated in the following diagram.

Production format (speaker) includes three categories (Goffman, 1981, p. 226):

- Animator “the sounding box” (p. 226)
- Author “the agent who scripts the lines” (p. 226)
- Principal “the party to whose position the words attest” (p. 226)

2.3.2 Listeners/Recipients

Goffman uses three labels interchangeably for the reception end, these are: listeners, hearers or recipients. Goffman (1981) makes a distinction between what he calls “ratified and non-ratified” participants (1981, p. 226). Ratified participants refers to the participants in the interaction who are “official hearers” of talk (Goffman, 1981, p. 133). Ratified participants are divided into two groups: addressed recipients, which refers to “the one to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over his speaking role” (Goffman 1981, p. 133); and unaddressed recipients, which refers to “the rest of the official hearers who may or may not be listening” (p. 133).

Non-ratified participants refers to those participant whose social place in talk is not ratified, such as listeners. Non-ratified participants comprise two; overhearers or bystanders, (non-official) “inadvertent”, non-official listeners (p. 132), and ‘eavesdroppers’ (non-official), “non-official” followers of talk (p. 132). For instance, when someone utters some talk to an addressed or unaddressed ratified participant, it is likely that eavesdroppers or overhearers might capture it. In another related example, a group of co-workers gathering in their lunch break are likely to join, leave, and re-join different conversations (Candlin et al., 2017).

Goffman (1981) divided the Participation framework (audience) into two:

- Ratified
  a. Addressed recipient (official) “the one to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over his speaking role” (p. 133).
b. Unaddressed recipient (official) “the rest of the official hearers who may or may not be listening” (Goffman 1981, p. 133).

- Unratified
  a. Overhearers, (non-official) “inadvertent”, non-official listeners (p. 132) or bystanders [Sic]

Goffman’s participation roles from Levinson (1988, p. 169); page references refer to Goffman (1981).

2.3.3 Criticism of Goffman’s Model

Although the model received great attention amongst many scholars, some have pointed out the limitations model. For instance, Levinson (1988) argued that Goffman’s model lacks satisfactory distinctions and that the elements of the model are presented in an ambiguous way and it does not show the difference between the “utterance-event” and “speech-event” (Levinson 1988, p. 169). Subsequently, Levinson (1988) further decomposed both the ‘reception roles’ (participation framework) and ‘production roles’ (production format), through presenting an improved version which included seventeen categories (p. 168). Levinson (1988, p. 172) divides the reception roles into two; ‘participant reception roles’ and ‘non-participant reception roles. For the participant reception roles, Levinson lists four categories; these are; interlocutor, indirect target, intermediary, and audience, whereas in the non-participant roles Levinson lists three categories, these are; overhearer, targeted overhearer, and ultimate destination. Levinson (1988) distinguishes between the mentioned reception roles according to 1) having a channel-link with the utterance, 2) participating in the utterance, 3) being actually addressed by the utterer, and 4) being an intended recipient.
In Levinson’s (1988, p. 174) opinion, participants are those who are related to what Goffman calls the ‘ratified role’ as well as the channel link(age), “or ability to receive the message.” Therefore, a participant is “a party with a ratified channel-link to other parties” (Levinson, 1988, p. 170). The following table demonstrates the recipient roles by Levinson (1988).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants reception roles</th>
<th>address</th>
<th>recipient</th>
<th>participant</th>
<th>channel-link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interlocutor</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect target</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediary</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>audience</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-participants reception roles</th>
<th>address</th>
<th>recipient</th>
<th>participant</th>
<th>channel-link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>over hearer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>targeted over hearer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ultimate destination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Levinson’s (1988) reception roles.

According to Levinson (1988), the interlocutor (receiver) is the individual who displays the four features above in the table. The indirect target is the individual who is a recipient and a channel-linked participant. The intermediary is another individual who is addressed and participates through a channel-link but is not the recipient. The audience is a party who is a channel-linked participant but not the addressed nor a recipient. For the non-participant reception roles, the overhearer is only a channel-linked. The targeted overhearer is a recipient and a channel-linked. Last but not least, the ultimate destination is only a recipient of the message.

Decomposing of the speaker and the hearer categories of the participation framework by Levinson led other scholars to criticize this development. For instance, Irvine (1996) argued that deconstructing the categories Speaker and Hearer into a set of analytically
primary components “has got the analysis back-to-front’ (p. 135). However, Irvine (1996, p. 135) suggests it is useful “to retain a quite simple set of primary participant roles (Speaker, Addressee, and third parties present and absent), while deriving the more subtle types (Sponsor, Ghost writer, etc.) from a notion of intersecting frames and dialogic relations.”

Scollon (1996) argues that Goffman’s production roles are rather vague in the sense that the focus of the production roles are not parallel with the reception roles. In other words, the production roles are not well-adjusted to the reception ones. In reception, Scollon argues that Goffman’s animation concentrates on ‘mechanical or physical matters’ and that it is parallel to reception; he refers to it as ‘receptor role’ (Scollon 1996, p. 3). Scollon (1996) provides a simple example “a person might hear and be able to pass on a message without in any way understanding or interpreting it” (p. 3). For the author role in Goffman’s scheme, the reception role is ‘the interpreter role’. He justifies his claims through this example; “A secretary might say, for example, ‘Ms Smith called and said you might call back (receptor) but I think she meant you ought to call immediately (interpreter).’” (p. 3). Finally, Scollon (1996) argues that the principal role is parallel in reception to that of what he calls the ‘judge role’, but he does not seem to be quite satisfied with it as “one might hear a communication (receptor), and interpret its rhetorical intent (interpreter)” (p.3). Scollon (1996) adds the three reception roles to Goffman’s three production roles and forms the six following production/reception roles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Productive</th>
<th>Receptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animator</td>
<td>mechanical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>author</td>
<td>rhetorical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>principal</td>
<td>responsible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scollon (1996, p. 3) first explains that animator “focuses on the mechanical or physical production of the signals of communication … Goffman’s animation focuses on mechanical or physical matters”; author, is a rhetorical role to direct “the communication, choses the words and the forms it will take” (Scollon, 1996, p. 3); and the principal is the role of taking responsibility for the views expressed (Scollon, 1996, p. 3). Scollon (1996)
uses Goffman’s production format categories, and in his view, he believes these need to be balanced with the receptive roles.

Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) point out that ‘Footing’ of Goffman (1981) “did not look closely at the detailed organization of actual talk” (p. 230). This means that Goffman’s participation framework is restricted in several key areas. I will mention those which are related to the current study. First, “speakers and hearers inhabit separate worlds” (Goffman 1981, p. 225). That is to say, there are no offered means for observing how speakers and hearers might take into account constructing an utterance (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). Second, they discuss that investigating the participation framework takes the form of a “typology, [and] a set of static categories” (p. 225). This means that the participation framework lacks particular tools for analysing dynamic and interactive organization (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). Last but not least, the participation framework is preserved as ‘cognitively’ and ‘linguistically’ basic (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). Put more simply, the ‘analytical grid’ of participation (e.g. ratified versus unratified participants, etc.) lacks ‘practices’ that could make the interaction more stimulating (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). It is, therefore, as Goodwin & Goodwin (2004, p. 229) proposed, an approach which focuses on the needed analytical resources for describing an interaction using engagement in multi-party cooperative actions.

The examination of participation of communication in public media can be seen to take place at different levels. For instance, Boyd (2014) suggests reworking of the old-fashioned participation framework categories on two different levels. He examined the participant roles of users on YouTube when watching and commenting on Barak Obama’s inaugural address in 2009. The first level includes Obama whilst the second encompasses comments on the speech. Both of levels encompass various reception roles depending on whether a viewer of YouTube is a registered or an unregistered user. It is argued that ‘ratified’ and ‘unratified’ categories are not more useful than registered or unregistered users. In another study Dynel (2014) also examined YouTube interaction; she determined three levels of the participatory framework. These are: a level involving the speaker and the hearer in the posted video; the level of the sender and the receiver of the video; the speakers and hearers of YouTube who post and read comments.
Examining the participation status of participants during ongoing interactions requires a framework that helps to show how the status of participants shifts and also how participants in talk develop actions in light of the interaction. The term ‘participation framework’ can be defined as participants’ involvement in actions within the ongoing talk of an interaction (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004). Further, in another study, Goodwin (2007, p. 38) developed the definition of participation. He maintains: “participants demonstrate their understanding of what each other is doing and the events they are engaged in together by building both vocal and non-vocal actions that help to further constitute these very same events” (Goodwin 2007, p. 38).

There is an analytic perspective which can be used alongside the Goffman’s participation framework to examine participants’ interpretive procedures; it focuses on the “activity type.” Levinson (1979, p. 69) defines activity types as:

I take the notion of an activity type to refer to a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraints on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions. Paradigm examples would be teaching, a job interview, a jural interrogation, a football game, a task in a workshop, a dinner party, and so on.

Here, it is observed that the activity type focuses on the ways in which the “structural properties of an activity constrain (especially the function of) the verbal contributions that can be made towards it” (Levinson, 1979, p. 71). Levinson (1979, p. 72) further argues that “there is another important and related fact, in many ways the mirror image of the constraints on contributions: namely, the fact that to each and every clearly demarcated activity there is a corresponding set of inferential schemata.” These schemata are tied to (or derived from, if one prefers) the structural properties of the activity in question.

The notion of participation patterns which are sustained across an activity type is also used alongside the activity types of Levinson (1979). Participants i.e. speakers and hearers, exchange roles in the momentum of interactions. This means that ratified participants who are unaddressed may possibly become addressed or the speaker at a moment in the interaction (O’Driscoll, 2018). By combining the dynamic considerations with the concept of frame, it becomes noticeable “that certain kinds of encounter dictate, or at least predispose towards, certain patterns of participation framework throughout their course,
including particular roles, rights and obligations allocated to particular participants” (O’Driscoll 2018, p. 46). For example, in the case of a pre-trial courtroom hearing, the recognized pattern is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ratified participants</th>
<th>1 &gt;&gt;&gt; 2 &gt;&gt;&gt; 1 &gt;&gt;&gt; 2 &gt;&gt;&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>judge inmate judge inmate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>inmate judge inmate judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>legal staff legal staff legal staff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, it is assumed that the interaction will take the form of a sequence of exchanges between the inmate (Soto) and the judge. The sequence of the interaction reveals that Soto can speak only when the judge initiates talk in the interaction, except the closing which is a sequence of adjacency pairs (O’Driscoll 2018, p. 46).

In certain encounters, there are occasions of additional activity which involve a subdivision of ratified participants who do not interfere with the ‘dominating communication’. Based this perspective, O’Driscoll (2018, p. 47) suggests the following participation-framework pattern:

| Ratified participants |  
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Speaker               | judge Soto judge staff Soto |
| Others                | Soto judge staff staff |
|                      | Soto Soto Soto |

In the above pattern, the footing taken by the legal staff in this confrontation develop further than supporting the judge. It involves “the ability to bring up new details unbidden, to interrupt the canonical dominating communication with Soto, and even to self-select to take the next turn in the dominating communication” (O’Driscoll, 2018, p. 47). Based on these observations, it is insufficient to restrain the contribution of the legal to the subordinate category. As a replacement, each of the three classes of ratified participants here (the judge, Soto, and the professionals) takes at least one turn at occupying each one of the three ratified slots (speaker, addressed, unaddressed), as follows (O’Driscoll, 2018, p. 47):

| Ratified participants |  
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Speaker               | judge Soto staff staff staff |
| Others                | Soto judge staff staff Soto |
|                      | Soto Soto judge judge |

44
The above pattern is also an insufficient illustration because it offers a view of three equal parties; this is unrealistic, because unlike the judge, Soto has no right to self-select for the next turn (O’Driscoll, 2018, p. 47).

In summary, this study follows Goffman’s (1981) categories of the participation framework. With reference to parliamentary interaction, Goffman’s account of participation framework is used alongside the notion of activity type (Levinson, 1979) and the notion of participation framework patterns (O’Driscoll, 2018). In this study, particular roles in this institutional context has an influence on participant’s rights to speak and how they can violate the rules to gain speakership. The CP is always a ratified participant because of his institutional privileges. The CS can be a Member of Parliament (of lower house), a minister, or the Prime Minister. The CS is a ratified participant if the CP selects him/her to participate in parliamentary debate. Other participants or audiences, such as prime minister, ministers, MPs and audience members in the gallery are unratted to participate. Thus, these allowable contributions and rights and obligations of participants are seen as an important aspect of participation in parliamentary interactions.

The reasons behind favouring Goffman’s typology instead of other scholars e.g. Levinson, is that Goffman’s typology is more influential. Many scholars have followed Goffman’s categories including McIlvenny (1996b); Kádár & Ran, (2015); Kádár (2014). Although Levinson’s decompositions of speaker and hearer categories are seen as an improvement of Goffman’s categories, they received some criticism. Some scholars have criticised Levinson for decomposing the speaker and hearer categories e.g. Irvine (1996), where she sees that it shifted the analysis back to the beginning. Others have argued that such practice “would lead to countless proliferation of labels” (O’Driscoll & Holt, forthcoming, p.21).

Goffman’s categories are not sufficient for the examination of heckling interactions because Goffman’s participation framework requires specific tools for analysing dynamic and interactive organization (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). Therefore, this study follows Goodwin & Goodwin’s (2004) framework for the analysis of participation within interactions. Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) suggest that studying participation requires “an analytic framework that includes not only the speaker and her talk, but also the forms of
embodiment and social organization through which multiple parties build the actions implicated in a strip of talk in concert with each other” (p. 223). Thus, in order to see how participation framework is considered in an interaction, Goodwin (2007) provides a very interesting example with regard to participation and embodied action in a particular context.

2.3.4 Empirical case on participation

In *Participation and Embodied Action in Preadolescent Girls’ Assessment Activity*, Goodwin (2007) studied the forms of participation which take place within the activity of gossip assessment among 11-year-old girls. Goodwin observed and videotaped a friendship group of young girls on the playground at a school in Southern California, collecting over 60 hours of videotape and 20 hours of audiotape. Goodwin (2007) adds that through examining the work that participants in conversation achieve in their turns, and by examining sequential organization as well as their explicit use of membership categories, analysts can examine how membership to a category such as ratified or non-ratified participant, friend, or marginal group member, is achieved. By means of talk and embodied action, participants express their moral positions i.e. how members of their age should treat one another (Goodwin, 2007).

2.3.4.1 Focal and peripheral participation in talk about exclusion

Actions treated as violations, such as excluding people from a school sport, provide a clear site for the explanation of group norms through evaluative commentary. In Example 2, three girls (Aretha, Sarah, and Angela) sit together to discuss why they have been left out of playing softball by Sean, the team leader. Aretha and Sarah talk about the ways in which they were treated unfairly by Sean, while Sean was “being nice” to Janis by letting her play.

Example 2

1. Aretha:  Sarah don’t you understand,
2. Janis likes Sean because she’s always-
3. *h protecting his- damn back,
4. And he’s like- letting her play.
Aretha reports the different ways that Sean treats his girlfriend Janis and herself, even though Aretha and Sarah are better athletes than Janis. Angela is sitting with Aretha and Sarah and she was one of the excluded girls. Thus, she had some standing to gossip about those who had excluded her. As soon as Aretha and Sarah start to talk about having been left out, Angela does not participate with the two other girls in gossip. In line 1, Aretha addresses the talk to Sarah using a summons, she states, “Sarah don’t you understand?” Throughout the conversation, lines (2–9) Aretha elaborates on the ways that Sean excluded them for playing. In line 10, Sarah joins in the gossip and co-participates with Aretha in the talk about Sean, and the girls together produce collaborative utterances. The collaborative utterance can be observed when Sarah participates, saying “Even if we’re better than Janis” (line 10). Throughout the conversation, Angela does not participate.

Similarly, in Example 3, Aretha and Sarah show their similar assessment of the offending party, Sean, through producing gestures simultaneously with overlapping talk.

Example 3

1. Sarah: And then it’s like
2. Why would you wanna play with somebody
3. That’s all mad at you an everything. (0.4) Right?
4. Aretha: Why would you wanna play with somebody,
5. Sarah: See! [He let’s-
6. Aretha: [Who only lets you play because-
7. *h his girlfriend [suddenly-
8. Sarah: [His so called- ((small hand movements))
9. little- honey bunny is- eh heh heh!
10. [eh heh heh!
11. Aretha: [Eh heh hah hah
12. So called little
13. hon [ey bunny,((sarcastically, hand movements))
14. Sarah: [Honey bunny, ((small hand movements))
15. Ooo:::
In lines 2 and 4, Aretha and Sarah, make use of “format-tied utterances” which make use of parallel structures. In this sequence, utterances in lines 2 through 3 and 4 through 6 are built parasitically on prior ones, repeating the frame of the start of the utterance as follows:

Why would you wanna play with somebody
That’s all mad at you
Why would you wanna play with somebody
Who only lets you play
because his girlfriend
suddenly-

In line 7, Aretha uses the term “girlfriend” to categorise Janis’s relationship to Sean. In line 9, Sarah chooses another membership category, “honey bunny”, and both girls display alignment through overlapping laughter (lines 10–11). Consequently, after the two girls complete their laughter, Aretha (line 13) recycles “so called little honey bunny,” and Sarah (line 14) joins in the production of the term “honey bunny.” As the girls produce this term, they display quotation gestures or hopping movements of a small rabbit with their hands next to their faces (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Quotation gestures
Hence, through gesture as well as talk, Aretha and Sarah exhibit their parallel alignment toward the object being assessed. The hand movements aids in providing extra commentary to characterise Janis’s relationship to Sean.

2.3.4.2 Articulating the meaning of friendship between ratified participants

Sean’s exclusion of the three girls, led Aretha and Sarah to launch a debate about how members of a specific group should treat one another. In their discussion, they provide accounts for what encourages people to act as they do and they introduce a folk theory of friendship when commenting on the offence of exclusion. Sarah and Aretha employ explicit address terms in the following example (lines 15 and 24) to each other. The two girls, Sarah, and Aretha, do not address the talk to Angela, and she does not provide remark to the debate until line 27 when Angela begins to discuss an alternative activity.

Example 4

1. Aretha: I don’t wanna play like that.
2. I wanna play (.) where-
3. No- nobody even wants to bribe
4. them or something like that.
5. To make us play.
6. I wanna play because
7. I wanna have fun,
8. *hh And they wanna have fun,
9. *hh Playing with me.
10. Sarah: No. Aretha- why are we doing this.
11. ‘Cause they’re like- letting us get to th-
12. They’re- getting to us.
13. That shouldn’t happen.
14. We should go do something and have fun.
15. (4.0) Right Aretha?
16. Aretha: Only reason Kathy’s over there
17. Is she thinks Emi’s the most popular
18. So she wants to be with Emi.
19. Sarah: [No. They’re probably talking about us! I bet you!
20. [‘Cause everybody’ll do what Emi says
21. Aretha: Emi thinks she’s the most popular and you know it.
22. Sarah: Let’s go do something.
23. Let’s not let this bug us.
24. Aretha: There’s nothing else to do Sarah. ((plaintively))
At the beginning of the conversation, Aretha produces several contrasts through the use of a parallel structure (see lines 1 to 9). Aretha makes a contrast between the current treatment of the girls with the ways in which they ought to be treated. Thus, Aretha uses a formulated structures of the social world she imagines:

[I don’t wanna play] [like that.]
[I wanna play (.) ] [where No- nobody even wants to bribe them or something like that.]
[I wanna play because-] I wanna have fun *hh
And they wanna have fun
*hh playing with me.”

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 363)

In lines 16 to 18, Aretha produces a debate about the disapproving aspects of two other girls, Kathy, and Emi, who were permitted to play. Aretha evaluates Kathy for her desire to be with someone who is popular (lines 16–18) and Emi for thinking she is the most popular (line 21). Consequently, Sarah makes use of doing something else (line 15) using “Let’s not let this bug us” (line 23). At this point, Aretha eloquently offers a metacommentary on the activity at hand. As Aretha produces this statement “I like sitting
here and being mad and talking about people,” she offers an explicit gloss on the activity at hand as well as her alignment, pleasure, toward that activity.

2.3.4.3 Stance and alignment in body positioning

Alignment is demonstrated through the sequential organisation as well as through body positioning in the middle of talk. In Example 5, Aretha complains regarding Janis who regards herself as someone popular since she has Spice Girls stuff and wears the most popular clothes. On the other hand, Sarah compares her social world with Janis’s, she states “People like me for who I am and not how I look!” (line 2). Then Sarah addresses the talk by summoning Aretha using “girlfriend” (line 3).

Example 5

1. Sarah: BECAUSE I AM NOT TRENDY::! ((taps Aretha’s knee))
2. People like me for who I am and not how I look.
3. Girlfriend! Gimme some- ((arm around Aretha))
4. ((assumes glamor girl pose, hand behind head))
5. Gimme some sugah.[sic]
6. ((drapes body over Aretha, assumes glamor pose))
7. Aretha: Gimme some- Gimme some dap!
8. ((Aretha and Sarah execute a 3-beat hand clap game))
9. Sarah: Here’s the sugar.
10. Here’s the su[gar! eh heh-heh!
11. Angela: [Woe woe! Woe woe! ((A and A clap))
12. Woe- woe-Ow!
13. Aretha: eh heh heh!!
14. Sarah: Neh neh! [ow::::! ((Angela and Sarah clap))
15. Angela: [Ow:::: [:! !
16. Aretha: [Eh heh-heh! heh-heh!

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 366)

When Sarah utters “Gimme some- Gimme some sugah,” she leans her body around Aretha’s body and displays the position of a fashionable model while Angela looks on (line 6; see Figure 2).
In the following move, Aretha responds to Sarah with “Gimme some- Gimme some dap” (meaning give me some love). At this point, Sarah changes her position to face Aretha, and then takes part in a hand clap with her to celebrate their agreement about Janis’s character. Both, Aretha, and Sarah then start a three-beat exchange of poundings with closed fists (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Fist pounding celebrating mutual alignment against Sean and Janis.
In Example 6, the girls debate Janis’s idea of herself as popular. Aretha states “Janis does everything that’s trendy, she thinks she’s so popular ‘cause she stays up to date.” In line 1-4, the girls criticise Janis for wearing trendy shorts just like her boyfriend Sean. In line 6, Sarah produces a next move to Aretha’s criticism of Janis, she states “Sean has a shirt like that! Sean has a shirt like that!” Then, she produces “Girl!” six times and then the explicit identity category “Gi(hh)rlfriend!” (lines 7–9):

Example 6

1. Aretha: You know how boys wear their shorts?
2. They look like she’s trying to be like
3. She wants to- *h match Sean! ((eyeball roll))
   
   (0.8)
4. So she’s wearing some tren [dy
5. Sarah: ((chanting)) [Sean has a shirt like that!
6. Sean has a shirt like that!
7. ((high fives Aretha)) Girl! Girl! Girl!
   
   (0.4)
8. Girl! Girl! (0.3) Girl! eh heh-heh!
9. Gi(hh)rlfriend!

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 368)

During the time that the girls celebrate their matching negative assessment of Janis, they perform hand claps (lines 6–8; see Figures 4). At the beginning, the two girls, Sarah and Aretha, engage together in the clapping. However, once Angela tries to join them, it is as a “peripheral participant” (Goodwin, 2007, p. 368), above the shoulders of the girl she is sitting behind (see Figure 5).
In figure 5, it is observed how the body posture in relation to other participants display different types of participation with respect to the activity at hand. As noticed, the relationship between Aretha and Sarah is apparent not only through the orientation of their bodies, but also through talk. Angela is located behind Sarah, whilst Sarah and Aretha are positioned vis-à-vis one another. Angela is the last to join in fist pounding or hand clapping.
In conclusion, gossip talk may establish a way to affirm friendships and in addition it can be used as a vehicle to form distinct identities amongst those who gossip (Goodwin, 2007). While participants of talk position themselves in similar ways, they may participate in different ways in the gossip interaction. For instance, Aretha and Sarah were seated together in a facing formation, which shows that they are seen as principal ratified participants. In contrast, Angela’s position was peripheral in relation to Aretha and Sarah. Yet, when Angela made an effort to join them in talk, she was often ridiculed or laughed at. This shows that Angela’s participation in the gossip talk was as a peripheral participant rather than a principal, ratified participant.

This empirical case is very important for the current study because it shows how participants set up their identities. This will be reflected in the current study, as hecklers tend to make a contribution to an interaction when they are unratified to speak. Moreover, it is hoped that the talk alongside forms of embodied actions will convey the whole scenario for heckling interactions (for more details, see section 3.8.7 on the physical circumstances of the Jordanian parliament). Furthermore, the empirical case is significant because it alerts us on how other participants react and treat heckles in the Jordanian parliament.

2.4 Heckling

Heckling can be defined as “to interrupt a public speech or performance with loud, unfriendly statements or questions” (Cambridge online dictionary, 2016). It may take place in various settings, including political speeches, public talks, sports events, stand-up comedy, and parliament. Within these settings, heckling can vary in nature, as the speaker/performer, physical space, and size of audience can shape the heckling performance. For example, in the Jordanian Parliament, an audience member in the gallery or a Member of Parliament may disrupt a speaker who is delivering a talk by shouting very loudly, since it would be very difficult for him/her to grab the microphone and take part in the interaction. Interrupting a speaker violates the interactional order (Goffman, 1967), and consequently, the CP of the parliament commonly confronts the heckler to disengage him/her from launching heckles.

Heckling has been defined by various scholars in different settings. For example, Sacks (1992), cited in (McIlvenny, 1996a) suggests that in everyday conversation “people heckle
in the course of a story as compared to making remarks at the end of it so as to affect other listeners’ hearing of the story” (p. 287-88). This is an important insight into the interactional function of a heckle because it informs us that heckles may be considered as appropriate in light of the ongoing interaction. In a different vein, Sloan, Love, & Ostrom (1974, p. 519) write that heckling “is used to refer to a variety of hostile actions, including attempts to prevent the speaker from completing his talk, distracting the audience from attending to the speaker’s message, disrupting the speaker’s poise and disorganising his presentation, and making it difficult for the audience to hear clearly.” In storytelling, Bowles (2010) claims that heckling “generally serves a hostile purpose, aims to divert the attention of the other listeners away from the trajectory of the proposed story often by trying to distort or parody it” (2010, p. 160). Kádár & Ran (2015) define heckling in accordance with the relational ritual theory as:

A ‘social drama, which is evaluated by its watchers and ‘judges’. In the centre of the social drama is the heckled person, who has an institutionalized right to speak or perform on stage, and potentially the heckler, who interrupts/disrupts the public speaker/performer

(Kádár & Ran, 2015, p. 42)

McIlvenny (1996b, p. 21) defines a heckle as “a public utterance usually directed at a ratified speaker – often in response to a particular assertion, utterance, statement or speech”. The above definitions also offer valuable insights into the definitions of heckling. However, the most useful definition among them is that of McIlvenny, which offers a thorough definition of heckling and in terms of the participation framework of recipients such as the heckler who is unratified and the CS/speaker who is ratified to speak.

Heckling has been examined in several studies, in particular, in discourse analysis (Kádár, 2014; Stopfner, 2013; Rao, 2011, 55& Ran, 2015; Truan, 2017). For example, Stopfner (2013) conducted her study on the Austrian national council, in 2007. She examined three sittings of the council out of 35 using a relevant random sample-based online software. Stopfner’s (2013, p. 100) findings show that heckling occurs as a corrective process. For example, Stopfner provides a useful example to demonstrate the corrective process.
Example 7

Abg. Mag. Ikrath [ÖVP]: […] Ich sage Ihnen noch etwas – auch daran ist Ihre Fraktion beteiligt –: Wenn wir das Bankgeheimnis, das keinen Durchbrechungstatbestand für einen parlamentarischen Untersuchungsausschuss darstellt – oder? Geben Sie mir da recht? (Abg. Sburny [Grüne]: Das ist ein fürchterlicher Unsinn, was Sie da sagen! Das ist reine Hetze, was Sie betreiben!) [Sic]

(“MP Mag. Ikrath [Austrian People’s Party]: […] And I tell you this – that’s also something your parliamentary group is taking part in –: If confidentiality in banking cannot be broken by a parliamentary committee – right? Do you agree with me? (MP Sburny [Greens]: What you are saying is complete nonsense! You are propagating mere rabblerousing propaganda!”) (20th sitting, 2007: 162)

(Stopfner, 2013, p. 101)

In the above example, the heckler responds to some form of face threatening act by the speaker and attempt to produce a corrective sequence: 16.7% of the speech acts from the audience are cases of explicitly taking offence at what the speaker has to say or in the way he/she says it (Stopfner, 2013). Since the above example lacks turns by speakers in the interaction, it makes us speculate what the speaker uttered before the heckler intervened and rebuked the speaker using “What you are saying is complete nonsense.” This could be less than enough evidence that heckle attempts to be as a corrective process. Seeing that face-threatening actions are an infringement of the cooperative basis of the debate, the ‘reproach’ by the heckler waits for amends by the speaker (Stopfner, 2013, p.101). Yet, the speaker at the podium does not obey to the heckler’s reproach sequence, as he/she gives grounds for himself/herself, and almost never makes an apology. In other occasions, the speaker may ‘reproach’, ‘blame’, ‘take offence’ or ‘criticize’ others, in particular the heckler, herewith escalating the conflict (Stopfner, 2013, p. 101).

More specifically, she argues that the speaker’s behaviours do not match social norms and threaten the image of others, which triggers a corrective sequence that seeks to reinstall the
communicative balance. Stopfner argues that in two thirds of the interjections, the speaker does not make a response to the interjection made by the audience. This means that the speaker ignores the hecklers, and thus, parliamentary heckling can be seen as a verbal back-channel behaviour for the purpose of registering disagreement. As for the other third of the heckles, a mini dialogue occurs between the speaker and the heckler. Stopfner (2013) provides a summary of the most frequent speech acts by the speaker and the heckler. This is illustrated in the following table.

Table 3. The most frequent speech acts by the speaker and the heckler

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech acts in speech followed by an interruption</th>
<th>Speech acts in first interjection</th>
<th>Speech acts in speech as reaction to the interjection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reproach proper</td>
<td>Take offence</td>
<td>Reproach offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take offence</td>
<td>Criticize</td>
<td>Blame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticize</td>
<td>Ridicule</td>
<td>Take offence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasize</td>
<td>Enquire</td>
<td>Criticize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrupt</td>
<td>Blame</td>
<td>Justify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blame</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspect</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Ridicule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform</td>
<td>Dismiss</td>
<td>Suspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>Correct</td>
<td>Emphasize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise</td>
<td>Reproach proper</td>
<td>Correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In another study, Kádár (2014) provides an analysis of the phenomenon of heckling through a relational ritual framework, which approaches this phenomenon as a ritual action pair of performance and counter-performance. Kádár examines 112 video-recorded interactions in English and Hungarian which were retrieved from video-sharing websites such as YouTube. The analysed interactions represent the following settings: political speeches; sports events; public talks; and stand-up comedies. Kádár analyses the macro-
level and contextual micro-level linguistic features of heckling in accordance with the ritual framework. More specifically, Kádár differentiates between two different settings in which heckling takes place, viz.: interactional and presentational settings. ‘Interactional’ describes situations in which the Public speaker/ Performer (PSP) has the opportunity to directly interact with the heckler and the audience, whilst ‘presentational’ refers to setting in which the PSP acts as a presenter without the possibility to directly react” (Kádár 2014, p. 9). In interactional settings, such as stand-up comedy and public speeches, the presenter/performer has an official right to deliver a presentation as well as to directly interact with the audience. This kind of interactive correlation can be observed in stand-up comedy, which encourages active audience participation. To illustrate this, see the following example.

Example 8
EC=Eliot Chang (American Asian comedian)
H= heckler
AUD= audience

1. EC: I was in DC
3. EC: Truth! All right …
4. AUD: ((laughter))
[…]
5. EC: No, I’m saying she [i.e. the heckler] is a singer! Oh f***
6. AUD: ((laughter))
7. H: My baby is a singer!

(Kádár, 2014, p.10).

In Example 8, a female from the audience heckles comedian Eliot Chang several times. First, she interrupts him as she screams in a high-pitched voice (line 2), and then through a verbal exchange. This interactional situation permits Chang to respond to the challenge, and he handles the situation successfully. In line 3, Chang mocks the heckler in an ostensible act of agreement.

In presentational settings, heckling is often based on pre-planning before the heckler embarks upon the interaction. In addition, heckling in this setting is proposed to be able to
occur spontaneously, while listening to a public speech, and that making an interjection is viewed as a moral necessity (Kádár 2014). In other words, heckling occurs naturally with an internal obligation. For example, the British journalist Nick Robinson, was heckled by peace protesters who held up a two-sided sign during his report on Britain’s participation in the Afghan war.

Example 9

NR = Nick Robinson
H = Heckler(s)

1. NR: overseas aid for example
2. NR: and he’s doing it by classic welfare (.)
3. NR: but he will not write the next chapters
4. NR: in this story (.) that will be written as
5. NR: councils decide what to cut (.) as others decide
6. NR: what to cut he says the title for this saga is back
7. NR: from the brink (.) others may say (1.0)
8. NR: it’s over the edge (10.0)
9. NR: ((grasps the sign and breaks it to pieces))
10. H: ((clasp/cheering))
11. H: you should be ashamed to yourself mate
12. H: you should be ashamed (.) shame on you mate

(Retrieved from: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rU8YU3loeQ)


The hecklers want to exhibit their peace protest and they move the sign slowly towards the NR and then keep it close to him, supposedly anticipating that the sign will be recorded by the camera. As they move the sign, they also turn it, which is part of the performance as such a move has the potential to draw attention. In line 10, the heckler begins heckling NR first by cheering and then by an accusation: “you should be ashamed to yourself mate.” Accordingly, NR leaves the podium, and the heckler approaches him and begins a debate.

2.5 Heckling and Conversation Analysis

This section looks at heckling using the methodology of CA. McIlvenny (1996a) investigated verbal audience participation in popular public discourse at Speakers’ Corner, in Hyde Park in London. The study analysed the interactional organization of heckling. McIlvenny (1996a) demonstrated how audiences at Speakers’ Corner may actively
support, resist, or argue with the speaker’s and other audience members’ interpretations of, and alignments with, prior talk. McIlvenny (1996a) defines heckling by stating “a heckle is an individual, public utterance usually directed at a ratified CS, often in response to a particular assertion, utterance, statement, or speech” (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 32). In a similar study, McIlvenny (1996b, p. 21) defines a heckle as “a public utterance usually directed at a ratified speaker – often in response to a particular assertion, utterance, statement or speech.” The former definition has been subjected to some criticism on two points. Kádár (2014) argues that the definition is vague for a few reasons; and heckling is not an individual performance, as in some cases there may be more than one heckler. Moreover, Kádár (2014) claims that heckling “does not necessarily occur in response to an assertion” (p. 3). However, McIlvenny (1996a) further claims that there can be more than one heckler. McIlvenny maintains:

There can be more than one heckler responding to a speaker, and a heckle can become the target of another heckle. Sometimes several hecklers follow one another in succession, or they heckle in turns. However, the dividing line between a heckle and a full-blown argument is crossed at some point. At that point the speaker and the heckler become participants in an argument, and a new participation framework is invoked.

(McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 57).

McIlvenny (1996a) identifies heckling and audiences’ responses through examining the sequential organization, timing, and format of heckling. To illustrate the performance of audience and heckler interactions with a public speaker, McIlvenny went on to consider how audience participation is organized in the volatile and charged environment of Speakers’ Corner; what rights do audience members have to a turn at talk? What about the construction of units? How are these rights and associated roles transformed in the talk itself? These issues are not settled in advance, but are worked on and negotiated interactionally (McIlvenny, 1996a, p.28).

The Speakers’ Corner at Hyde Park is a common place, where individuals have been “allowed freedom of speech in public without the risk of prosecution or persecution. Provided that the speech is not indecent, seditious, or blasphemous” (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 31). Furthermore, McIlvenny concludes that Speakers’ Corner has long been a renowned
setting for culture, religions, politics, and “weirdnesses” to be verbally displayed, aired, and challenged. All one needs to participate is a “soap-box” and a message” (p. 31).

2.5.1 Targets and forms of heckles

McIlvenny (1996a) argues that there are common formats through which hecklers act while the speaker is in the progress of talk. McIlvenny claims “that hecklers must first speak in a public setting, within the speaker-audience participation framework, a heckler may preface the heckle so as to attract attention or to do alignment with the speaker or audience, e.g. Hey, my friends, I beg your pardon sir” (1996, p. 37). Furthermore, hecklers produce not only affiliative audience responses, but also disaffiliative heckles, and once these are produced, they often include topics that are challenging or offensive for other participants or specific groups. Hecklers need to deliver their heckles before the time passes by and the target ceases to be topical (McIlvenny, 1996a).

According to McIlvenny, (1996a, p. 35), “a heckle can take quite a variety of forms and targets – unlike collective audience responses, which are conventionalized, and can be easily followed and joined by the audience.” The common formats of heckles are: accusation, correction, and topic development.

**Accusation**

The speaker is accused of something, and often insulted in the process. McIlvenny (1996a, p. 37-38) presents the following example:

Example 10

1. Speaker: je:su:s, (.) has encouraged people to come
2. Speaker: over (.) to be sexually enlightened and for women (.)
3. Speaker: to have an orgasm
4. (0.5)
5. Heckler: Je:sus wants you to have an orgasm
6. Speaker: you lying bastard
7. Speaker: no: I’m not a lying bastard

---

2 The examples of section 2.5.1 have been adapted from McIlvenny (1996a). Participants’ names were replaced with ‘speaker’, ‘heckler’, and ‘Audience’ to avoid confusion.
Correction

A correction of the speaker’s prior turn is proposed. In the following example, the heckler launches a friendly heckle that proposes a correction to the assertion made by the speaker in line 4 (McIlvenny, 1996a, p.39).

Example 11

1. Speaker: you’ll find that the Egyptians (.) has the cross, (.)
2. because they put the- (0.5)
3. (people on the cross)
4. Heckler: [my friends it was] the romans who invented the cross
5. Speaker: look look look look
7. Audience: zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz3 ...

(McIlvenny, 1996a, p.39)

Topic development

McIlvenny (1996a) claims that determining a specific target of a heckle is not always possible despite the fact that some common targets have been described in the analysis. Typically, a heckler addresses a prior target utterance from the speaker through disaffiliative collective responses such as booing. However, the heckler may shift the topic or generate a new one by asking a question, for instance. In the following example, the heckler first responds with a counter-claim, but then attempts to re-orient the speaker and audience to another perspective on the issue (McIlvenny, 1996a, p.39-40).

Example 12

1. Speaker: we have race relations acts and er: race committee:s, and commissions, and all this sort of thing.
2. Heckler: but they don’t actually work ’cause they don’t
3. Speaker: [er]3 [Sic]
4. Heckler: actually cover half the groups they shou:ld do
5. Speaker: (0.5)
6. Heckler: <I mean what about me= I’m subject to discrimination
7. Not because of the colour of my skin or
8. Anything I do or wear

3 (buzz of activity, loud buzz)
4 The Overlap brackets are slightly raised from the characters. This show that line 4 overlaps with line 3.
10. Speaker: [why why are] you subject to racial prejudice [Sic]
11. Heckler: I’m subject to racial prejudice because I play a guitar

2.5.2 The sequence and timing of heckles

According to McIlvenny (1996a) a heckle, in most cases, is “launched independently; it is heard publicly in relation to prior talk; and is usually placed in relation to a possible speaker completion point” (p. 40).

The sequential organization of heckling occurs in two different places: pre-speaker-completion heckles (e.g. pre-emptive heckles), or post-speaker-completion heckles (e.g. re-completion heckles).

Pre-emptive heckles

McIlvenny (1996a) describes pre-emptive heckles where the heckler inserts material in an appropriate sequential position set by the heckler before the speaker finishes the turn or unit. The following example illustrates how a heckler anticipates the trajectory of a composite device to elicit an affiliative audience response (p. 41).

Example 13

1. Speaker1: =and that saddam Hussein was the greatest
2. Speaker 2: thing since sliced bread. now now that
3. Speaker 2: [ no (I didn’t say that)] [Sic]
4. Speaker 1: we’ve realized what saddam Hussein is, (.)
5. Speaker1: an (.) I deplore all dictators. (0.5)
6. Speaker 1: but – (.) I believe
7. Heckler: [ but <you don’t (want to do) anything about it=]
8. Speaker1: [ i- [Sic]

In line 7, the heckler produces a response in response to the prior turn, “but <you don’t (want to do) anything about it”, which overlaps line 6, before the speaker complete his turn. In other words, the speaker utters “but- (.) I believe” while the heckler interrupts through a parallel syntactic structure, “but you don’t want” to complete the turn with a quite different sense.
Re-completion heckles

These occur when a heckler adds more material to the completed prior turn by the speaker, in order to reverse or modify an argument, often in a syntactically smooth way (McIlvenny, 1996a, p.47). The following example illustrates the grammatical and syntactic recompletion undertaken after a speaker’s completion (McIlvenny, 1996a, p.47):

Example 14

1. Speaker: we seem to follow (.) blindfolded, (0.5) whatever the
2. Americans do:=
3. Heckler: ohuhuh for christ sake
4. Speaker: [we didn’t ] we didn’t we didn’t
5. Aud: [zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz ]
6. 7. Speaker: we did not follow the americans into grenada,
8. we did not condemn the americans when they
9. went in grenada:
10. That was an invasion. (.) of a sovereign country. =
11. ( ): [ (° ) ] [Sic]

In line 10 the speaker launches a clause with a verb and a noun phrase, where the noun phrase has a post-modifier. Consequently, in line 12 the heckler replies immediately by producing a second post-modifier. The heckle is deliberately proposing an alternative – a corrected version – that requires the audience to re-interpret and possibly realign to the original turn by the speaker (McIlvenny, 1996a, p.47).

2.5.3 The response to the speakers’ to heckles

McIlvenny(1996) makes a distinction between two types of responses to heckles, viz.: non-active and active response. Non-active responses occur when the “speaker may continue in overlap and thus display non-recognition of the heckle, though the absence of an expectable response may still be noticeable” (p. 49). In other words, a speaker may decline to make a response to the heckle. McIlvenny (1996a, p. 36) refers to these kinds of heckles as ‘floating heckles’ which “are ignored or remain unaddressed by the speaker, and thus they lose their local sequential implicativeness.” McIlvenny proposes a number of strategies for active responses to heckles; these are (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 49):
Denial

The response of denying takes place when the speaker refutes the assertion of the claim made immediately at the close of a heckle by the heckler. This is illustrated in the following example where the speaker has appealed to a common myth about the Arabs, which associates Western male virility with religious freedom (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 38):

Example 15

1. Speaker: you don’t want to become one of his wives, (.) because
2. they=we know the arabs don’t make love to you
3. very well.
4. Aud: hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh
5. Speaker: [ I:: KNo:::W [Sic]
6. Heckler: [ have y-]
7. Have you had sex with an arab (before)
8. Speaker: [ i never but I never [Sic]
9. Heckler: hahahahahahahah

(McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 38)

In line 7, the heckler reacts with an accusation that questions the competence of the speaker to judge such matters by suggesting that the speaker must have had homosexual relations with an Arab. In line 8 the speaker reacts by denying the accusation by uttering “I never but I never.”

Reassertion

The reassertion response occurs when the heckler challenges the speaker in the prior turn, and then simply reasserts the point with little or no modification. The following example presents the reassertion response (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 47).

Example 16

1. Speaker: we did not follow the americans into grena:da,
2. We did not condemn the americans when they
3. went in grena:da,
4. that was an invasion, (.) of a sovereign country=
5. ( ): [ ( ] [Sic]
7. Speaker: it was an invasion of a sovereign country.

Accusation

A speaker may also not only flatly deny the heckle but also attempt to dismiss the competence or knowledge of the heckler or self-appointed “expert” in the audience. Example 17 clearly shows how the speaker directs an accusation in response to the prior turn.

Example 17

1. Speaker: ((Speaker has asked this question already but was distracted))
2. Speaker: what is the official language of New Zealand?
3. (0.5)
5. Speaker: [english] [Sic]
6. ( ) : English:
7. Speaker : [english] [Sic]
8. (1.0)
9. You speak Maori
10. (0.5)
11. Heckler: no
12. Speaker: liar (0.5) ((looks to audience)) ((raises arms outwards))
13. Heckler: I look [I never said I did] [Sic]

(McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 54)

In line 11, the speaker accuses the heckler through uttering “Liar”, upon which he disattends to the heckler, and surveys the audience in a broad sweep toward his back and away from the heckler, while extending an arm up and out to silence the heckler (line 12). (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 55).

Ridicule

McIlvenny (1996a) argues that experienced speakers develop a range of a “set pieces” i.e. mockingly expressions which can be directed at a particular heckler. The result of this generates audience laughter and approval, eventually making it rather difficult for a heckler
to re-engage the audience’s support. In the following example, the teasing heckler is ridiculed as the speaker uses “set-pieces” about male virility and homosocial desire, which do not engage the heckler but mock him publicly (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 53):

Example 18

1. Speaker: no I mean this. The reason I say this is because
2. i believe I have all the
3. Ingredients of what (.) pleases (.) a beautiful woman.
4. now the biggest mistake (.) a-
5. Heckler: [you got a big nose] [Sic]
6. Speaker: so what. I’ve also got a bigger penis than you. now.
7. AUD: [hahhhhhHHHHHHhhhhHHHhhhhhh] [Sic]
8. Speaker: [hang on] [I]
9. Speaker: I want to also say
10. ( ): ( )
11. Heckler: are you gay?
12. Speaker: you might you might be keen but I’m not
13. ( ): [heheheheh] [Sic]
14. Speaker: I was
15. Heckler: [yea:h] [Sic]
16. Speaker: [I was homosexual then I saw you I] [Sic]
17. Speaker: Changed my mind
18. AUD: hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhHHHHhhhhhh
19. Speaker: [now listen] [Sic]

In sum, heckling at the Speaker’s Corner is a very interesting phenomenon to explore, not only because it allows us to see how hecklers launch their heckles, but it also it permits us to gain insights into the targets and the form of heckles. Moreover, the sequential analysis of heckles is an issue that cannot be ignored, as it illustrates the position and the timing of heckles throughout the interaction. Timing of heckles is crucial in terms of the sequential analysis because it informs us of when hecklers produces their heckles, i.e. pre-emptive heckles or re-completion heckles. Last but not least, the response of the speaker to heckles is significant as it tells us about the way speakers handle heckles and manage their intervention in an interaction. This study aims to investigate heckles in the Jordanian parliament. It should be noted that the term heckle is used to refer to three kinds of heckles, these are: heckles by public audience members which are more like by what we mean when
we use the term *heckle*, complaints by public audience members, and illegal interventions by Members of Parliament.

### 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to look at three aspects of the literature which are related to the current study: CA and institutional talk; the participation framework; and heckling. CA is a very useful approach for examining talk because it looks at types of actions in an interaction as well as the design of the turns. Additionally, Goffman’s participation analysis grid is useful for investigating the technical status of participants at the level of analysing interactions. However, it is needful to make use of Goodwin & Goodwin’s participation framework, since it pays great attention to the participation framework during the ongoing talk in an interaction. Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) summarizes the participation framework as “the description and analysis of the practices through which different kinds of parties build action together by participating in structured ways in the events that constitute a state of talk” (p. 225). Once the sounds and words of an interaction are analysed in terms of participation framework they draw out the embodied action that participants collaboratively build upon during the course of the interaction (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004).
Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction
In this chapter, I will discuss the methodology of the current study in terms of data collection procedures, transcription, analysis, the selection of the data, and the disadvantages of using YouTube recordings. In the second part of the chapter, I will provide information about the data including the role of the Members of Parliament, the speech system, maintaining security and regulations, the participants and the distribution of the data.

3.2 Data collection
According to Sidnell (2010), there are several ways to collect the data, including video-recording face-to-face interaction. The data for this study has been collected using YouTube public site and the designated setting of the data is the Jordanian Parliament, covering the period between 2010 and 2015. Social networking site such as YouTube has received a great deal of attention in terms of serving as a source for data collection (Quennerstedt, 2013; Lester & O’Reilly, 2018).

I collected 56 instances of heckling in the Jordanian parliament. While searching for heckling interactions on YouTube, my main objective was to search for two rather different settings. These are: heckles by public audience in the gallery and heckles by Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak. In the YouTube search box, I typed in several keywords that are related to heckling such as “interruption, speech interruption, gallery interruption, Members of Parliament interruption.” I also browsed the YouTube Videos to check when hecklers disrupted a CS or the CP. The data collection procedure seemed to be easy, but in fact it was time consuming, as I had to browse hundreds of videos pertaining to heckling in the Jordanian parliament.

3.3 Transcription
Gail Jefferson was considered as one of the most important contributors in CA having developed a system of transcription that suited CA’s general purpose of sequential analysis (Jefferson, 2004). According to Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998), data transcription is essential for two reasons. First, the analysis is a necessary step for making possible the analysis of
recorded interaction in the way CA requires. Second, the practice of transcription and production of a transcript “represents a distinctive stage in the process of data analysis itself” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 73). Since CA considers how speakers achieve and undertake the sequential order of talk-in-interaction, transcription seeks to capture talk as it actually occurs, in all its actual messiness (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 75). The methodology of CA relies on the use of naturally occurring data and is “paralleled by an avoidance of a variety of research methodologies as unsatisfactory sources of data” (Heritage, 1984b, p. 236). In Heritage’s words, these include:

a) the use of interviewing techniques in which the verbal formulations of subjects are treated as an appropriate substitute for the observation of the actual behaviour; b) the use of observational methods in which data are recorded through field notes or with pre-coded schedules; c) the use of native intuitions as a means of inventing examples of interactional behaviour; and d) the use of experimental methodologies involving the control or manipulation of behaviour.

(Heritage, 1984b, p. 236).

Naturally occurring interaction offers an enormous range of interactional variations in terms of which systematic comparisons may be used both to check and extend particular analyses (Heritage 1984b, p. 238). Therefore, the use of recorded data is crucial to combat the limitations of intuition and recollection.

All of the YouTube data (56 instances) have been transcribed according to the standards of CA conventions (Jefferson, 2004). The transcription of the study occurred in three steps. First, I transliterated the Arabic language data into English. I did not use the Arabic alphabets while transcribing the data, because I realized that the transliteration would make the task more useful and easier in terms of overlap. In Transcribing the data, I included various language components including spoken words, uttered sounds, inaudible sounds and/or words, pauses/silences, overlapped speech and/or sounds, and pace and/or volume of speech and/or sounds (ten Have, 2007; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). The transcription of data gives rise to three advantages; it assists in making notes of a particular matter; aids the construction of a handy data archive; and supplies audience with some degree of useful access to the matter of analysis (ten Have, 2007). Therefore, I transcribed the data myself instead of hiring someone to do it. This enabled me to live, experience, and handle the data
properly instead of relying on hiring a transcriber. For the second step in transcribing the data, I included some the non-vocal aspect such as gaze (Goodwin, 1986) and gestures (Schegloff, 1984). In the third step, I included the translation of the Arabic language to the transcription (Clift & Helani, 2010; AL-Harahsheh, 2012). Translating the original language of the data is a very important issue for readers, as it cannot be ‘assumed that all readers would have access to the data in its original form’ (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 45). In terms of translation, I had to present the original language, then with a morpheme by morpheme ‘gloss’, and then a translation into the language of the publication immediately below it, line by line (ten Have, 2007, p. 110). The purpose of such a procedure is to show “different structures of the languages being transcribed so that the translation does not distort the original interaction” (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 45).

3.4 Analysis

After having collected the data, I moved to the step of analysing the data in a systematic and organized way. The analysis of the data is mainly qualitative. Nevertheless, I used quantitative component in order to count the frequencies of recurrent actions. With the assistance of recordings and the transcript, conversation analysis was the chosen method because it aims to examine how participants cooperatively launch turns of talk and their consequences, i.e. how they orient themselves to them (Clayman & Gill, 2004). Conversation analysis is ideally significant because it looks at the sequence of talk and turn (ten Have, 2007) whilst pragmatics does not. Further, Clayman & Gill (2004) point out that “Analysis is thus a type of mapping exercise, albeit one that maps not only interactional patterns but also the underlying methods and procedures through which participants produce them and render them intelligible” (p. 595). In order to do such analysis, it is necessary to consider that “participants in conversations are seen as mutually orienting to, and collaborating in order to achieve, orderly and meaningful communication” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 1). In other words, the focus should be on what participants are doing and how they are doing it in the conversation, rather than why are they doing it.

I have taken into consideration the ‘noticing’ method (Clayman & Gill, 2004) which enabled me to elicit recurrent actions of participants. This allowed me to draw out findings
as to how actions are designed, their sequential positions, and how other participants orient to them, as well as their consequences (Clayman & Gill, 2004, p. 597). Also, I included the so-called ‘deviant cases analysis’ (ten Have, 2007). This is based on the strategy of “analytic induction” in order to arrive at universal statements of negative findings (ten Have, 2007). So, the difference between the recurrent and the deviant cases “depends, at least in part, on the observation of regularities” (Pallotti, 2007, p. 59).

Deviant case analysis is a significant method by which descriptions and proposals generated in CA are elaborated and tested for their validity (Peräkylä, 1997). Maynard and Clayman (2003) explain that conversation analysts usually deal with deviant cases in one of three ways. First, participants can orient to the same considerations that produce the “regular” cases. The irregular cases display and apparently illustrate these orientations, and how they can make “nonstandard” cases. A second way of dealing with a deviant case is to “replace the initial analysis with a more general formulation that encompasses both the “regular” cases and the “departure”” (p. 180). If these analytic options do not apply, a third option is to perform an independent analysis of the deviant case, one which treats it as bringing about, in effect, an alternate sequential “reality” (p. 181). The analyst may show how the apparent “departure” differs from the “regular” cases. Also, the analyst can “analyse what distinctive activity is being accomplished in and through the departure”, and aim to identify its distinctive nature and interactional purpose (Maynard & Clayman, 2003, p. 181).

The analysis of the data was undertaken in three stages. In the first stage, I watched and listened to all the YouTube data and took general notes of how participants produced actions and how recipients oriented to them. This enabled me to have a general idea of heckling in the Jordanian parliament. Next, I picked two instances and I analysed them in great detail i.e. line by line. I looked at how the heckles were launched, and how the recipients reacted to such heckles. As I kept analysing more instances I began to realize there were recurrent patterns in how heckles were launched and how recipients responded back to them. I continued to watch and listen to all of the 56 instances to elicit recurrent patterns which emerged from the analysis.
In the second stage of data analysis, I looked at the activity or activities that participants were engaged in which helped me to see what they were doing and how they are doing it. Next, I considered the sequences leading up to the initiation of an action. After that, I examined in detail the design of the turn in which the action was initiated i.e. specific word or phrases used. Finally, I considered how the recipients (the CP or the CS) responded to the ‘first’ speaker’s turn /action (Drew, 2008).

In the last stage of analysis, I made a collection of heckles after I identified them. I also determined the sequential patterns associated with heckling. Then I analysed each instance individually.

In this study, participation is significant because I am bringing together CA and participation. For example, Goodwin (2007, p. 53) focused on the interactive organization of participation frameworks in the following; 1) how they are structured and contested in the midst of moment-to-moment interaction; and 2) the consequences this has for how participants shape each other as moral, social and cognitive actors. In another example, Rae (2001, p. 255) examines how participants recognize their orientation to each other on a phone call. The notion of participation framework underemphasizes the importance of actions, in particular how participants’ actions make for unfolding context with which different actions become relevant. Rae (2001) stresses the point on the framework as an activity; the design of conduct in the light of, or to address or change, the relevancies and opportunities of the moment (Rae, 2001 p. 255).

CA and the participation framework guided me to take into consideration the recurrent patterns of actions. Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) suggested that studying participation includes “an analytic framework that includes not only the speaker and of talk, but also the forms of embodiment and social organization through which multiple parties build the actions implicated in a strip of talk in concert with each other” (p. 223). Throughout the analysis, I observed that participation is significant at some points especially when UPs seek to become ratified participants. On the other hand, I used the conversation analysis approach to describe and analyse the actions of heckling and how the recipient responds back to them. With the use of the participation framework and the conversation analysis approach, I managed to analyse the data according to the research aims of the study.
A fundamental aim of CA is to identify the problems that participants have in interacting and how they use recurrent strategies to solve them (Sacks 1984). A fundamental problem for hecklers is how to become a participant within an interaction when, according to the rules of the situation, they have no right to do so. Thus, by combining CA with a focus on participation, I am able to investigate how hecklers attempt to solve this problem - how they become ratified participants - and what they, and the other participants do, once they have.

Scholars have investigated language using a variety of approaches such as speech act theory, discursive psychology, narrative analysis, CA, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and interactional linguistics etc. These approaches are employed for better understanding of language in use. For example, CDA’s major principles are to unravel ideologies and power relations in discourse. In other words, linking the linguistic analysis with a broader context or a social theory. This entails that the linguistic structure is a reflection of a social structure. This kind of approach is referred to as a critical approach. It is ‘critical’ in the sense that it goes beyond the surface level of analysis to a deeper analysis, i.e. looking into power relations in discourse. However, CA is utilised to describe and examine the structure of conversations. So, the critical dimension in CA in most studies was overlooked. However, prominent figures of CA have sought to bring the concept of power into CA studies (Hutchby, 1996a, 1996b, 1999; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Thornborrow, 2002).

For instance, Hutchby (1996a) examined the organization of talk between hosts and callers on a British radio phone-in programme. Hutchby (1996a) analyses the manner in which the relationship between talk, asymmetry and power can be articulated in discourse. He argues that callers usually ‘go first’ to offer an opinion, while the host ‘goes second’ to take an opposing stance. Hutchby (1996a) adds that asymmetry is integrated in the structure of radio talk and the management of calls. When the hosts ‘go second’, they have ‘a collection of argumentative resources’ which allow the hosts to identify the weaknesses in the caller’s stance and then the callers are obliged to defend their claims (Hutchby, 1996b, p. 487). The outcome of asymmetrical talk is that “one participant is often in a more powerful position discursively to constrain the actions of his or her co-participant” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 170).
Choosing CA in preference to DA is primarily based on the research questions. CA is a methodology which is adequately tailored to answer the questions of the study. An overarching theme of this study is to examine the conversational structure of heckles in the Jordanian parliament. Still, other approaches of DA can be used to examine heckles in the parliament, but the tools of CA work effectively for this study. This study takes into consideration asymmetry and that CA is ideally placed to analyse this because of its detailed analysis of sequences of interactions and their contributions that make them. However, bringing in participation framework allows for a greater focus on the asymmetrical rights of speakers to obtain the interactional floor.

3.5 Reliability
The analysis of the data was conducted on all 56 cases in the Jordanian parliament in order to identify the occurrence of the recurrent patterns and their design. The researcher also focused on noticing deviant cases, as they are seen as an essential part of the analysis which can inform us that different patterns shape the interaction and subsequently illustrate the similar and different patterns of organization in the interaction.

3.6 Selection of the data
The analysis was conducted on the entire data. Initially, I started off with a big collection as I went through the instances. Out of the 56 instances, I selected almost half of the data by including them in the thesis. These examples which I selected were the clearest and best cases which I wanted to represent.

3.7 Disadvantages of the YouTube recordings
As the recordings of the data were retrieved from YouTube (not recorded by the researcher himself), there are some limitations to the data which are beyond the researcher’s control. That is to say, some of the recordings last from when the heckler makes an intrusion till the end of the interaction. However, portions of some videos (often before the heckler begins speaking) are absent, which could lead us to speculate what the CS/CP was doing before the heckler made an intrusion. It is worth mentioning here that the cameraman always focuses on the heckler and does not often shift the recording to other recipients of the intrusion by the heckler such as the CS/CP. In consequence, a substantial non-verbal
aspect of the responses to heckles is missing. It would have been much more fruitful to analyse in more detail the non-verbal reactions in the responses to heckles.

3.8 About the data
This section aims to explain the context of the study which is the Jordanian parliament. First I shall discuss the role of Members of Parliament. Next I shall shed the light on the speech system and maintaining the system and security. After that I will offer some information about the participants of this study. Finally, some useful information about the performance of heckling will included as well as the operation of heckling.

3.8.1 The role of Members of Parliament
The context of the study is the Jordanian parliament which consist of 130 Members of Parliament excluding the Prime Minister, ministers and governmental officials. There are two essential duties for the parliament, these are; legislation and supervision. Legislation means that the government or more than ten members of the parliament discuss the legislation which is then referred back to the Members of Parliament. On the other hand, supervision is the second task of the Members of Parliament because it has a significant and important role in monitoring the work of the executive authority. In order for the parliament to perform this task, its internal system has defined the tools of parliamentary oversight and the mechanism of its use. These are questioning, interrogation, general debate, and confidence vote of the government (Jordanian Parliament, 2019).

3.8.2 The internal regulations of the parliament
The section summarises the articles and the legislations that organise the system of communication throughout the sessions in the Jordanian Parliament. This section basically consists of two topics; the speech system of members and the maintenance of the system and security of the parliament. These two sections consist of several articles that have been set up by the government authorities and approved by the parliament to specify suitable communication procedures between Members of the Parliament. In brief, the speech system of the MPs simply refers to a set of articles which organise the speech turns of members in the sessions, whilst the latter describes the parliament’s security duties and some articles for maintaining silence in the parliament’s balconies/galleries. It is worth
mentioning that some of the articles have been selected in which relate to the study of illegal interventions, particularly in the parliamentary house. These legislations will further help in the understanding of the roles of the members throughout the session. These legislations have been collected from the parliament’s website (Jordanian parliament, 2019).

3.8.3 The speech system

The CP of the parliament is the only person who controls the parliament. Thus, no one should speak unless the CP authorises him to speak, otherwise, the CP shall prevent him from participating and order not to verify his/her speech or statements in agenda’s session. In cases when members need to deliver their speeches, the parliament staff compiles the permission requests (Article 100) of speaking on the order of submission or to register them through an electronic panel. Members should not request to speak on a subject to one of the committees before submitting it to the agenda of the meeting (Article 101). The CP is authorized to speak to applicants in order of precedence in the application referred to in Article 100 of the system, and an applicant may relinquish his role to others. However, the CP cannot refuse a request permission to speak without a legitimate reason. If there is a dispute on this issue, the parliament’s opinion is taken into consideration (Article 102).

To postpone a debate means that a member requests to defer the consideration of an item and to briefly justify his request. If the proposal has been approved, in this case, the CP proceeds immediately with voting without discussion (Article 107).

The CP has the right to refrain a speaker from his speech, without a decision from the parliament if he/she treats the King inappropriately\(^5\) or took his responsibility in what has been stipulated by the Constitution; If he spoke without CP’s permission; If he uttered obscene utterances against a Member of Parliament, parliamentary blocs, parliamentary coalitions, government, or ministers; If he attacks the private life of others; If the display shows the facts of the case before, including in front of the judiciary and affects the course of justice; If the speech time has expired (Article 116). In the previous cases it is not permissible to refrain a speaker from talking only by a decision of the Parliament. Any

\(^5\) For instance; to misbehave before the king or say something in an inappropriate way or verbally attack him.
member who has been mentioned in a speech that upsets his dignity, or has been assigned to outrageous things, or has been referred to using inappropriate language, or whose words and position has been misunderstood, may respond if he wishes, directly after the speaker or in any other requested time. Also, offended members have the right to request an apology from the speaker or to transfer the matter to investigation (Article 109). Moreover, Speakers should never use abusive or inappropriate utterances or phrases which breach the dignity of the parliament or the CP, or the dignity of persons, staff, or affect the public order or public morals. Also, members should never act inappropriately to impair the system (Article 115).

The speaker’s speeches should be directed only to the CP or to the Parliament (Article 112). A member speaks from his place or at the podium, unless the CP request him to speak from the podium. The commission’s verdict only speaks from the podium (Article 111). If a speaker approaches to deliver his talk, he has to abide the topic of debate and its morals. Also, the speaker should not go off the topic, or repeat his words or statements of other members or the CP. If this occurs, the CP only has the right to draw the attention of the speaker, because he came out on the subject or that his opinion had turned out well enough in a sense that there is no room to speak (Article 117).

Members should not speak more than once on topics related to the confidence, public debate, public budget, the budgets of government units, or more than twice in any other issue. However, this does not apply to the proposer, ministers, heads of committees, rapporteurs, and the heads of parliamentary blocs (Article 113). Members of Parliament should not interrupt a speaker or make comments on his/her speech. If this occurs, the CP may draw out the attention of a speaker during his speech twice in one session and if the speaker continues as ordered to his attention, the CP may take the opinion of the Members of Parliament to refrain him for the rest of the session to take part in the same debate.

3.8.4 Maintaining the system and security in the parliament
Maintaining the regulations and the security within and around the parliament is prominent (Article 165). On behalf of the parliament, the CP takes over the maintenance of regulations and security within and around the parliament. According to the regulations of the parliament, it is impermissible to call the public police instead of the parliament’s security
forces unless they are requested by the CP. Therefore, the parliament urges the holders to appoint enough security officers to maintain safety under the command of the CP to be independent of any other authority in which they receive orders only from the CP (Article 167).

If an MP or any other person commits a crime inside the parliament, the CP has to order the arrest and host the victim in custody in a particular place to be handed over to the judiciary as soon as its representatives arrive. In case the offense is of the misdemeanour type, the CP should inform the judiciary to take legal action. The parliament has the right to freeze the membership of Members of Parliament by word or action or even carrying a weapon in the parliament or in the corridors of the parliament (Article 168).

For those who are permitted to attend at the balconies/galleries, they must maintain full silence and be seated throughout a session. Also, they must not show any signs of approval or disapproval and they must respect the instructions expressed by the CP or by those assigned to maintain the system (Article 170).

The parliament staff regulates access to the balconies through badges prepared for this purpose (Article 171). Anyone from the balcony who disrupts the system or makes noise is requested to leave the balcony. If he refrains, the chairman has the right to command the security officers to dismiss him from the balcony and hand him to the special authority if necessary.

3.8.5 The participants

This study focuses on three types of participants, these are: the UP (the heckler), the CS, the CP, and the security guards.

Unratified Participants:

The heckler refers to the participant who is unratified to speak in an interaction; this includes both; public audiences in the gallery and unratified Members of Parliament. Public audiences are adult males and females who sit in the parliament’s gallery and they are not permitted to interact with the parliament business. Their names are anonymous because they are not known to Members of Parliament nor to us as watchers and listeners. On the other hand, unratified Members of Parliament sit in the parliament with other Members of
Parliament. They are also adult males and females. These Members of Parliament have been elected by citizen, as the Jordanian government system is parliamentary with a hereditary monarchy. Their names have been replaced with (UP).

**The CS:**

The second participant is the CS who is normally assigned by CP to talk in an interaction such as a Member of Parliament or the Prime Minister or ministers. The role of the CS is to give a speech in accordance with the directions of the CP. He/she is not allowed to interact with other Members of Parliament and his speech should be addressed to the CP of the parliament.

**The CP:**

The third participant is the CP of the parliament who is; in charge of the parliament; manages the selection of speakers in the parliament and takes handle of heckling incidents that may occur in the parliament. The CP is an adult male and he is commonly elected by Members of Parliament to chair the parliament.

**The security guards**

Typically, the security guards are available in the gallery of the parliament. Their duties are to prevent public audiences from interacting with Members of Parliament and they submit to the directions of the CP to dismiss any public audience who disrupts the parliament’s business.

**3.8.6  The designated setting of heckling**

In the Jordanian parliament, heckling takes place in two different settings: heckling in the parliamentary gallery and heckling among the Members of Parliaments members, i.e. between Members of Parliament. In general, heckling in the parliament is a prohibited behaviour, because not only does it change the normal ‘interactional order’ of the
interaction (Goffman 1967), but also it generates conflict and aggression. To manage this kind of behaviour, the speaker/CP of the parliament has full access to the microphone at all times, and he uses this privilege not only to organise the speaker’s turns throughout the sessions, but also to resolve heckling struggles once they arise. All members’ seats in the parliament are equipped with fixed microphones at their desks, but they are not accessible unless the microphone controller receives orders from the chairman to activate them. Once the chairman assigns a speaker to deliver his speech, the microphone will be enabled and a red light will show that it is functioning. It is worth mentioning that hecklers do not use a microphone to disrupt a speaker, instead they shout out in a very loud voice so that they can be heard.

3.8.7 Physical circumstances of the parliament

The physical design of the parliament is round shaped where all MPs can face the stage of the parliament (in which the chairperson is seated) (see Figure 6). Members of Parliament do not have their own individual seats. This means that they sit wherever they can in the parliament. Each desk in the parliament is equipped with a microphone and a screen where the MP can login whenever a parliament session begins. Members of Parliament give their speeches from their desks without the need to stand up (Article 104). However, there are some cases in which they can deliver speeches from the podium if the CP approves (Article 104). When the CP assigns a current speaker to give a speech, he/she allocates a specific time to him/her. The CS must deliver his/her speech during the allocated time, otherwise the CP can shut down the microphone and assign a new speaker. Members of Parliament typically address their speeches to the CP, and they look directly at him (Article 105). Nevertheless, some Members of Parliament sometimes address the talk to other members besides the CP. They do this as a method of reinforcement or in some cases they may be on good terms with the CP. In other cases, some Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak may react to public audiences in the gallery to heckle them back. Yet, there is no penalty for arguing public audience members.

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6 Article 104 of the internal regulations of the parliament.
7 Article 104 of the internal regulations of the parliament.
8 Article 105 of the internal regulations of the parliament.
Figure 6. Full view of the Jordanian parliament

The galleries have been established to make the parliament’s debate public. Thus, anyone can enter the galleries through gaining an entry permit from the security guards office and approved by the CP of the parliament. Some people tend to enter the gallery if they have a particular interest in a debate, while others commonly attend just to observe what is going on in the parliament. The galleries in the parliament are not very big, but they are designed to accommodate tens of people or a bit more. The galleries are positioned above the MPs desks. As can be seen in Figure (6), the galleries are not far from the MPs which makes it easy for the public audience to listen to the debate in the parliament. However, when members of the public audience heckle Members of Parliament, they have to shout loudly so that they can be heard because they do not have a microphone. In addition, it has been observed that the galleries are not always full of public audiences. The number of public audience members is normally a reflection of the interest in the debated topic in the parliament. For instance, if Members of Parliament debate increasing the tariffs or the taxes, a huge number of audience members are expected to be present. Whereas, when debating ordinary topics which are related to community activities, the number is expected to be very few.
In terms of the cultural context, Jordan is establishing itself as a democratic country in the Middle East. Yet, there are several aspects of a conservative society which are still apparent till the present. Although the parliament is a reflection of the democratic life whereby people elect Members of Parliament through voting ballot, it has limited power. However, the ultimate power in the state is given to the King according to the Jordanian constitution.

3.8.8 Distribution of the data

The following table shows the classification of the data occurring in two different settings; heckling in the parliamentary gallery, i.e. public audience members heckle Members of Parliament, and heckling amongst Members of Parliament, i.e. a Member of Parliament heckles another Member of Parliament.

Table 4. The classification of heckling in the Jordanian Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Heckles by public audiences in the gallery</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Heckles by Members of Parliament</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total = 56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8.8.1 Heckling by public audience in the gallery

The public audience is given permission to be seated in the galleries above the Members of Parliament in order to achieve the transparency and integrity of the government’s vision (Jordanian Parliament, 2019). The internal regulations of the parliament stipulate that the audience who are seated in the gallery are not permitted to interfere with the parliament’s business, nor to show any signs of approval or disapproval (Jordanian Parliament, 2019). However, at unpredictable times hecklers seize the opportunity to stand at the edge of the gallery to complain/demand/announce (often in a loud hearable voice) to Members of Parliament below. Figure (7) illustrates the heckling performance from the parliamentary gallery.
3.8.8.2 Heckling by Members of Parliament

In the parliament, heckling may also occur among members of the parliament. For example, a Member of Parliament may disrupt the speech of another member or any official members of the government without the prior consent of the CP. Heckling in this situation denotes that the heckler does not necessarily have access to the microphone, because if he/she had access it would then mean he/she is ratified to speak, i.e. he/she had been given permission to speak. If a heckler intends to disrupt a speaker’s speech, he/she will then have to shout very loud so that he can be heard by the speaker and the audience. To illustrate the performance of heckling in the parliament, figure (8) shows how heckling occurs between members of the parliament.
3.8.8.3 The operation of heckling

The following figure briefly demonstrates the operation of heckling in the Jordanian parliament. As we can see, the CP initiates the interaction by selecting a CS to give a speech in the parliament. When the CS gives a speech, a heckler may disrupt the CS by making an interruption. At this point, the CP intervenes to resolve the conflict between the heckler and the CS by taking actions depending on the setting. When the chairman manages to resolve the conflict, he then moves to ask the CS to proceed with his talk, and when he has finished, the next speaker will be selected.
In summary, this chapter outlined the methodology of the current study, which comprises of the data collection procedures, transcription, analysis and the selection of the data. The chapter also presented the needed information about the data in terms of the context of the study, participants, and a visual aspect of the performance of heckling. Having discussed the methodology chapter, I will move on to consider the analysis of gaining speakership for unratified participants.
Chapter 4  Gaining Speakership

4.1  Introduction

This chapter aims to look at how UPs attain speakership when they are not ratified to speak. The importance of gaining the speakership enables us to see exactly what UPs do at the point when they are not allowed to enter an interaction i.e. to speak or participate in the parliament’s debate. Therefore, they use some strategies or techniques as an attempt to gain the speakership. The research question for this chapter is, therefore: how do UPs achieve participation and gain speakership when they are not ratified to speak? In other words, what does the UP do in order to enter the interaction?

It is worth noting that when unratified participants attempt to have access to the floor of an interaction, it means that they need to enter the space of the interaction and begin talking because they are not allowed to enter. Therefore, in order to answer the research question, first we need to discuss what is meant by the ‘floor’ (Hayashi, 1996; Edelsky, 1981; Shaw, 2000). In addition, it is pertinent to note that entering an interaction is associated with the participation framework and in particular, the change of the role of participants from unratified to ratified (Goffman, 1981). Participants who are not ratified to speak are not allowed/permissioned to talk unless they are given this chance by the CP. The possible reason for not giving way for UPs to speak is that the CP needs to adhere to the rules of the parliament, and not offer a chance for other UPs to intervene. Through this, the CP maintains the order of the turn-taking system and selects speakers based on the agenda of the parliament. However, UPs tend to generate pressure on the CS and insist on gaining access to the floor. This informs us that UPs may get the chance to gain access to the floor by the CP. How this happens will be explored below.

Furthermore, the timing of illegal interventions is an important issue that needs examining. It enables us to see exactly when UPs launch an intrusion i.e. while the CS speaks or during pauses and gaps of his/her speech. For instance, in the study of heckling at the Speaker’s corner, McIrviney (1996a) showed that the sequential organization of heckling is twofold; pre-speaker completion heckles and post-speaker heckles.
4.2 Gaining speakership

In the Jordanian parliament, public audiences and Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak face difficulties when gaining access to the floor of the interaction. For example, when a CS/ the CP holds the floor of the interaction, it is rather difficult for the UP to take over the floor of the interaction primarily because she/he is not allowed to speak. According to Edelsky (1981, p. 405) the concept of the ‘floor’ is defined as ‘the acknowledged what’s-going-on within psychological time/space’, whilst Erickson (1982:47) defines floor as “a sustained focus on cognitive, verbal and nonverbal attention and response between speaker and audience.” The above definitions of the ‘floor’ are useful to the current study, as they inform us that the concept of floor is a “temporal space in which participants are ratified by the participation framework to take one or more turns at talk” (Watts 1991, p. 44). Watts (1991) argues that “being on the floor means participating in the ‘what’s going on’, and participation itself is also part of the what’s going on” (p. 44). It is pertinent to note that the concept of ‘turn’ and ‘floor’ overlap, as Sacks et al. considers ‘floor’ and ‘turn’ interchangeable. Shaw (2000) supports her claims that requests for clarification and backchannels are not necessarily holding the floor. In addition, collective illegal responses (such as cheering) fall into this category, and are not floor holding turns; nevertheless, illegal interventions such as comments or questions which are responded to by the MP giving the current speech can hold the floor.

In ordinary conversations, conversationalists take turns to bid for the floor, with one speaker’s turn following on from the previous one without any perceptible gap and without any overlap. (This model is sometimes referred to as the ‘no gap, no overlap’ model – see Sacks et al. 1974.) Sacks et al. (1974) argue that a speaker who launches a turn has primary rights to the floor, and the transfer of speakership becomes a salient possibility only at certain specifiable occasions. Turns are, hence, built out of a chain of TCUs, such as sentences, clauses, phrases, and individual words. Each TCU is a coherent utterance, and distinguishable in context as ‘possibly complete’. The completion of each TCU establishes a TRP where a change of speakership becomes relevant, which may or may not be realized at any particular TRP (Sacks et al., 1974).
Sacks (2004, p. 40) maintains that overlap occurs “when an incoming speaker starts talking at the possible completion point of the current turn while trying to avoid a gap or silence between the two turns.” Further, Sacks argues that “interruption in turn comes into being when a new speaker starts intentionally talking within the CS’s turn” (2004, p. 41). In other words, overlaps occur near the TRP, whilst interruptions occur at non-TRP. To Sacks, a key distinction between overlap and interruption lies where simultaneous talk occurs. Overlap and simultaneous speech alike refer to talk by more than one speaker at a time. Schegloff (2000) declines to use the term interruption because in his view, the use of this term as an analytic resource involves serious problems, which he does not determine (Schegloff, 2000, p. 37). UPs commonly begin heckles near TRP; this shows that overlap may be intentional. However, UPs may minimize the effect of their illegal intervention through beginning to talk in gaps/pauses in the CS’s speech.

In the Jordanian parliament, heckles may occur in response to an assertion or procedure in the parliament, or even could be produced not in response to an assertion in the parliament, such as complaining about something beyond the parliamentary business. In many instances, heckles occur near TRPs. Nevertheless, heckles can also be launched in gaps and pauses in the CS’s talk. In order to see exactly the timing of heckles, first see Example (19). The UP illegally intervenes in the CS’s speech, complaining about establishing new legislation in the parliament.

Example (19) 12

1. CS: ạrai;s ọlexwa ?zzumula (2.0) ?na men ?ham mutat? mutat?labat bina? Chairoerson brother colleagues for importance requirements establishing chairman brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most requirements for requirements for establishing


3. CS: letuwakib ?ttat?awr( ) filỌa::lam amutayyr bistimrar
Keep up with development in world changing constantly

To constantly keep up with the development of changing world

   Appropriate benefit of country and people
   [To cope up with the benefit of the country and its people]

   Excellency MP   Excellency MP
   [your excellency (. )your excellency]

   Parliament one hundred and eleven

7. CS: = [walilhefa?la kayan ?adawla]
   To maintain on the existence of the state
   [= and to maintain the existence of the country]

8. UP: [ ( )] =

9. CP: = lw sam?ht
   = excuse me
   = excuse me

At the beginning of the interaction, the ratified participant holds the floor to give his speech with regard to applying the constitution and its amendments to keep up with the changing world and to cope up with the benefit of the country (see lines 1-4). Line 5 overlaps with line 4, where the UP begins to talk near TRP. This means that before the ratified participant completed the TCU the UP began to summon a Member of Parliament. On the other hand, UPs may also begin speaking by choosing a gap or pause of the CS’s speech. That is, while a CS is holding a turn, his/her speech may have gaps or silence. Thus, a UP is likely to seize the opportunity to begin to talk in gaps or pauses in the talk. In order to see how this occurs, see Example (20). The UP begins the heckle in the gap/pause in the CS’s speech.

Example (20) 21

1. CS: kama: ( . ) wa?adat?lhokoma ( . ) ma taza?l moltazima
   ðnda w?deha ( . )
   As promised the government still committed to its promise
   As the government had promised and still it is committed to its promises

   bil?wda ?la majls ?nawab
Not possible to increase rates of electricity except in consultation to MPs

rates of electricity (.) (energy) will not be increased (..) only (..) in consultation with MPs

3. CS: bidˤabtˀ kama ?ltazamna (2.0)
   Exactly as we have pledged
   Exactly as we have pledged (2.0)

   Look on alternative other state President
   instead increasing rates
   look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates

5. CS: [ waaa ]
   and
   [and ]

6. UP: dawer ʕala ʕala ( ) ʕani
   look for for ( ) other
   look for (something) else

In lines 1 and 2, the Prime Minister (CS) discusses the idea of increasing the electricity rates only with consultation with the members of the parliament. In line 3, the CS then continues to make his point, followed by a short silence at the end of the turn. At this point, the UP seizes the opportunity to interject during this short silence to offer advice.

Having considered at what point UPs begin talking, I now move on to explore what they do in their turns. Most commonly in my corpus, UPs attempt to gain the speakership using the following: summons, supplication, announcements, and launching straight into the reason for heckles.

4.3 Summons

A summons is a derivation of the pre-sequence which is not designed with reference to the prior interaction but is used to introduce any sort of talk (Liddicoat, 2007). The summons and answer sequence is a kind of pre-sequence which is designed to draw the attention of recipients (Liddicoat, 2007). Schegloff (2007, p. 48) writes that “there is one type of pre-sequence which is not directed to any sequence type in particular, but rather is aimed at a feature generically relevant to the efficacy of talk-in-interaction – the attention, or mobilized recipiency, of an interlocutor.” In face-to-face interaction, the FPP of a summons
sequence can take a number of different forms such as “excuse me”, or an address term, or even a non-verbal form such as touching an addressee. On the other hand, the SPP of the summons pair can be short verbal tokens such as yes/yeah or can be an eye gaze. In the following two sub-section, I will examine how hecklers attempt to gain access to the floor using address terms as summons as well as the response of the recipient.

4.3.1 Summons by public audience members in the gallery

This section looks at how public audiences in the gallery use summons to gain the speakership in an interaction when they are not ratified to speak. For instance, UPs use different forms of address terms for the targeted recipient including ‘you’re excellency’, ‘respected MPs’, and the like. Out of 18 examples, I found 4 examples where UPs use summons to gain access to the floor. First, see Example (21). The UP attempts to engage himself in the interaction through launching an address term as a summons to a Member of Parliament.

Example (21) 12

1. CS: ?rai;s ?lexwa ?zzumula (2.0) ?na men ?ham mutat? mutat?labat bina? Chairman brothers and colleagues for importance requirements establishing chairman brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most requirements for requirements for establishing


3. CS: letuwakib ?ttat?awr( ) filCça::lam amutayyr bistimrar Keep up with development in world changing constantly To constantly keep up with the development of changing world

4. CS: [ watula?im masClahat ?lbilad walCeba:d] Appropriate benefit of country and people [To cope up with the benefit of the country and its people]

[ your excellency (.) your excellency) ]

6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaṣef= PRT parliament one hundred and eleven parliament one hundred and eleven =

7. CS: =[ walilhefaḍ ʕla kyan ?adawla] To maintain on the existence of the state =[ and to maintain the existence of the country]

8. UP: [ ( )]=

9. CP: = lw samḥt excuse me excuse me

Line 5 overlaps with line 4, where the UP attempts to gain access to the floor of the interaction by summoning Members of Parliament using “your excellency (.) your excellency.” Here we can observe that the UP uses an address term to gain the attention (Schegloff, 2007) of members of the parliament. The UP uses a single person form of the address term “your Excellency.” In Arabic, the single person address term is “saʕadet ?lna?b”, whilst the plural form is “saʕadet ?lnawab.” Although the summons is used to specify only a single Member of Parliament, it seems that the UP is addressing all Members of Parliament. In other words, the UP uses the singular form in Arabic to refer to all Members of parliament. If the UP wanted to address talk to a specific Member of Parliament, he could have simply called his/her by name. Again, in line 6, the UP continues to summon Members of Parliament by calling them by their total number “parliament of one hundred and eleven”9. The latter summons appears to be institutional discourse, where the UP addresses them by their total number. Unsurprisingly, Members of Parliament show no response to the UP, as the CS does not orient to this summons (see line 7). So far, we can observe that the UP aims to get engaged in the interaction through launching a summons at recipients in the parliament. The response of the CS is observed at line 7, where he “ignores” (Bilmes, 1997) the UP and continues his speech “and to maintain the existence of the country.” When the CS continues to talk after being disrupted by the UP, this indicates that the CS is ignoring the UP. The CP intervenes (at line 9) to manage the situation through producing “excuse me.” Through this turn, the CP’s aims to disengage

9 The UP summoned Members of Parliament by their total number 111 and that was in 2015. Later, the number of Members of Parliament was increased to 130 members.
the heckler from entering the interaction which means that the CP refuses to accept the UP as becoming ratified.

The point of an address term used as a summons is to engage the recipient in the interaction. Schegloff (2007, p. 59) points out that the “summons–answer sequence is a sequence designed to mobilize, secure, or establish the availability, attention, and aligned recipiency of its addressed target.” The above example is similar to the summons and answer sequence in ordinary talk, but interestingly, summonses on such occasions are also linked to gaining access to the floor. Not only do public audience members use summonses to draw the attention of recipients, but also they work on gaining access to the floor. This does not mean that they have been granted the speakership, because the CP may not permit them to become ratified to speak, i.e. refuse the transfer of speakership. Therefore, public audience members bid for the floor despite the fact that they are not permitted to participate.

For a second example of summons, see Example (22). The UP aims to bid to the floor of the interaction by launching a summons to the Prime Minister.

Example (22) 9

1. CS:  =dawlat arrai:s
        state President
    =Your excellency
2. UP  Dawlat Sami:r ?lina?b ?1muhtaram=   ((stands at edge of gallery))
        State NAME MP respected
    Your Excellency respected Samir
3. CS:  ((CS looks up at the UP))
4. CS:  =DAWALAT ARAI:S
        state President
    your excellency
5. S:   lw samht(.) lw samht
        excuse me excuse me
    excuse me (.) excuse me

In line 1, the CS, a Member of Parliament, begins the interaction by addressing the CP using “Your excellency.” In line 2, the UP addresses the Prime Minister, using “Your Excellency respected Samir.” Here, we can observe that the UP aims to gain the speakership through making an address term of the Prime Minister and not of the CP. In
Example (21), the UP does not summon a particular Member of Parliament. However, in Example (22) the UP addresses a particular Member of Parliament, and in particular the Prime Minister, through uttering his name “Samir.” Moreover, when the public audience member utters a summons such as “your Excellency”, the response to the summons would usually be a change of face posture of the recipient. In other words, the recipient would change his facial posture from looking at the CP and Members of Parliament to looking towards public audience members in the gallery. This is clearly observed in the following image, where the CS is on the right hand side of the image.

Figure 10. Members of Parliament looking at a public audience member

When the red light of the microphone is switched on, it is an indication that the CS (Member of Parliament) is a ratified participant who has been selected by the CP to talk. After the UP trailed off the CS speech through a summons, the CS changed their body posture from looking straight forward to looking upwards at the gallery. This redirection of the face marks the SPP of the summons. This scene is rarely spotted, because the camera was first pointed at the CS while he was giving his speech. Cameramen would usually shift the recording from the CS to the audience members in the parliament. This is because illegal interventions are considered an unusual event that is worth recording. The response of the CS to the illegal intervention is that the CS trails off from what he was saying. In other words, the illegal intervention by the public audience member affected the CS’s
speech, and thus he failed to continue with his speech. In line 6, the S (the Prime Minister) 
launches “excuse me excuse me” as a mean to gain the attention (Schegloff, 2007) of the 
heckler in order to disengage him from entering the interaction.

For a deviant example of the summons, see example (23). A public audience member in 
the gallery aims to gain access to the floor by launching a summons to the Prime Minister 
followed by supplication.

Example (23) 1

1. CP:  Tfadal (            )
        You may (     )
        Please go ahead
2. CS: saiydi ʃukran dawalat arrai:s
        PRT thank you state President
        Thank you your excellency
3. UP:-- [dawlet ra?i:s ?lwzra (0.5) dawlet r?i:s ?lwzora]
        ana daxi:la ʕaleiku: (      )
        State President minister state President I 
supplicate to you
        Your Excellency  (0.5) Your Excellency I 
supplicate to you
4. CS: [{                          }]
5. UP: wilmalik ʕbdallah [( (. ) ] ?lhaq b?i:di
        And King Abdullah the right is in my hand
        And kind Abdullah [( (. ) ] I have the right
6. CS: [                           ]
7. UP: MIN ʕALT?ʕʃER [ SANA WANA     ((stood up at the edge 
        of the gallery))]
        since thirteen years and I
        since thirteen [ years and I
8. CP: [ law sa--
        If you--
        [if you (excuse me)

The interaction begins as the CP addresses the talk to the CS, inviting him to begin speaking 
using “please go ahead” in line 1. Accordingly, the CS begins his speech first by addressing 
the talk to the CP using “Saiydi” followed by an appreciation term “thank you.” In line 3, 
the public audience member summons the Prime Minister using “your excellency your 
excellency” followed immediately by a supplication term using “I supplicate to you.” Here, 
it is observed that the summons is not produced in its own as in Example (21) & Example
(22). The UP uses an interesting strategy, that is, launching immediately into supplication, to keep hold of the floor and to secure the interactional space.

In Example (21) & Example (22), the design of the summons and answer sequence is launched in a separate turn. In other words, the UP produces the summons to recipients and presumably waits to receive an acknowledgement of the summon. The response of the recipient to the summons is “excuse me” and this is enough to indicate that the illegal intervention of the UP is inappropriately timed (McIlvenny, 1996a), and also to disengage the heckler from gaining access to the ‘floor’ of the interaction (Hayashi, 1996; Edelsky, 1981). Example (23) is different from (Example (21 & Example (22) in the sense the summons are followed immediately by supplication and thus it may enable the heckler to become a ratified participant.

In sum, this section examines the first turn of illegal interventions and specifically looks at summons, which are used as a vehicle for UPs to gain access to the floor. Summonses typically take the form of address terms such as “your excellency” or “respected MPs.” The above analysis informs us that the design of summon and answer sequence is twofold. The typical design of address terms as summons is that public audiences launch them in a separate turn and the recipients orient to such summons by producing terms such as “excuse me” in order to disengage the heckler from gaining access to the floor of the interaction. Another observable design of the summons and answer sequence is that hecklers produce address terms as summons followed by supplication. This would enable the UP to become a ratified participant rather than producing the address term in a separate turn.

4.3.2 Summons by Members of Parliament

In the previous section, I examined how public audience use summons to enter an interaction in the parliament as well as their response by the recipients. In this section, I will examine summons produced by Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate and the response of the recipient’s i.e. the CS or the CP. Out of 41 cases, I found 5 examples which represent address terms in the form of summons. At the first turn, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch a summons followed immediately by a telling. In Example (24), the CP informs Members of Parliament with regard to consulting them after having completed with the speakers. The UP aims to bid
for the floor of the interaction approximately just before the CP selects a speaker to talk. The CP informs Members of Parliament that all of the speakers have delivered their speeches and will now move to the next phase of consulting Members of Parliament. Based on this, an unratified Member of Parliament intervenes to tell the CP that there is a proposal to be discussed.

Example (24) 43

   Not consult you now after you finish ( ) because we finished the speaker
   No I will consult you now after you finish because we ceased the speakers

2. CP: wetgulu ?ktafyn(.)bkalam maktu:b hata ?t?rḥ ma ladykom min moqtraḥa:t
   You say enough talk written so I propose what you have PRT proposals
   then you say we had enough in a written form so I give you a proposals

3. UP sḠadat ?ra?i:s fi moq [ taraḥ
   your excellency there is a proposal

4. CP: [ said

5. CP: Fawaz ?zoẒbi ( )
   NAME NAME
   Fawaz Alzoubi ( )

6. UP <la fi moqṭarah ya aḥmad keif la>
   not there proposal PRT NAME why not
   <no there is a proposal ya Ahmad why no>

In line 3, the UP summons the CP through an address term “Your Excellency” in order to enter the interaction. Through this turn, the UP first draws the attention of the CP using an address term followed immediately by a reason for the heckle. When the UP provides the reason for the heckle, the CP can thus have an idea of what the UP will talk about. In ordinary conversations, the summons and answer sequence occurs in two pairs; the FPP and the SPP (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 2007). Speaker produces a summons such as ‘Ahmad’ and the other speaker acknowledges the summons through a token such as ‘yeah’ or possibly a redirection of eye gaze (Goodwin, 1986). In this study, summonses are similar to ordinary conversation, but they have distinctive features. First, summonses are produced
by Members of Parliament via an address term such as “your excellency.” The UP does not usually wait for a verbal acknowledgment from the recipient because the summons occurs in a face-to-face interaction; thus, the recipient usually exhibits an acknowledgement through a redirection of his/her face posture (Goodwin, 1986) though this is rarely spotted. Following the summons, unratified Members of Parliament tend to rush into launching the reason for the heckle which pertains to “there is a proposal.” I believe that the unratified Member of Parliament produced two TCUs in succession i.e. the summons and the reason for the heckle, in order to minimise the gap between them. If the unratified Member of Parliament produced the summons in a separate turn, the CP might not have reacted to such a summons without a reason for the heckle. Line 4 overlaps with line 3, where the CP proceeds in assigning a new speaker in the parliament by producing the token “Mr” followed by the name of the selected speaker (see line 5). Through this, the CP does not orient to the heckler despite the fact that he offered a reason for the heckler. Thus, the CP ignored the heckler and continued to the next speaker in the parliament.

In a similar example, the UP supports a public audience member in the gallery through urging Members of Parliament to listen to his issue. This public audience member attended the gallery to complain to Members of Parliament about the death of his 15-year-old son. Therefore, the unratified Member of Parliament addresses the talk to Members of Parliament in order to ask them to listen to him. The UP bids for the floor using a summons as an address term followed by a reason for the heckle, as in Example (25).

Example (25) 51

1. CS:  sʕadt arai:s (1.0) your excellency
2. UP:  ya jamaʕa jo ?lxasxsa ( )
PRT guys what privatization ( )
Ya guys what privatisation ( )
[ respected Members of Parliament
4. UP  [ haðoːl ?hl Mʕan ya jamaʕa] These PRT Ma’an PRT guys
[these are the people of Ma’an guys]
5. UP: ḥram thku bilxsʾxsʾa ?l?a:n haḍ ?b[ haḍ ?bu haḍ ] ?bnu qutil unfair talk on privatization now this father this PRT this son murdered it’s unfair to talk about privatization now this father [this this] murdered son

6. MPV: [yʕni Mʕa:n ( )]
PRT Ma’an ( ) [ yʕni Mʕa:n ( )]

7. CP: lw samḥti ya: Hind lw samḥti (.) istamʕna ?la qarar Mʕa:n]
excuse me PRT NAME excuse me we listened to decision of Ma’an excuse me ya Hind excuse me (.) we have listened to the Ma’an report]

In line 1, the CS begins the interaction by addressing the CP using “your excellency.” In line 2, the UP produces a summons as an address term “Ya guys” followed by criticising a Member of Parliament for talking about privatisation using “what privatization.” The CS, however, shows no response the UP and proceeds to address Members of Parliament as in line 3. Line 4 overlaps with line 3, where the UP takes another turn to offer background information about the public audience member using “these are the people of Ma’an guys” in order to create audience alignment. In the same turn, the UP immediately produces a strong statement using “it’s unfair to talk about privatization now this father [this this] murdered son.” Through this turn, we can observe that the UP is not only offering background details about the public audience, but also criticising Members of Parliament for debating the privatisation topic and ignoring the public audience member’s issue. In other words, the UP urges Members of Parliament to postpone talking about privatisation and pay attention to the public audience in the gallery. This shows that the UP gives the public audience member’s issue more attention than debating the privatisation topic in the parliament.

Summonses not only occur at the beginning of a turn, but also occur after the UP produces an action, e.g. a complaint or request. Summons-answer sequences are, however, not simply specialised for openings (Liddicoat, 2007). They can also be found within ongoing talk, where the availability of an intended recipient may be problematic or may be claimed by a speaker to be problematic (Liddicoat, 2007). In order to see how this occurs, see
Example (26). The Prime Minister (CS) gives a speech about increasing the energy rates for electricity, and further claims that this will occur only in debate with Members of the Parliament. This led the UP to bid for the floor using a heckle and a reason for the heckle followed by an address term as in Example (26).

Example (26) 21

1. CS: kama: (. waʕadatʔlḥokoma (. ma taza:l moltazima ḋndə wʕdeha (.)
   As promised the government still committed to its promise
   As the government had promised and still it is committed to its promises

   Not possible to increase rates of electricity except in consultation to MPs
   rates of electricity (energy) will not be increased only in consultation with MPs

3. CS: bidʕabt? kama ?ltazamna (2.0)
   Exactly as we have pledged
   Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)

   Look on alternative other state President instead increasing rates
   look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates

5. CS: [ waaa ]
   and
   [and ]

6. UP: dawer ʕala ʕala ( ) θani
   look for for ( ) other
   look for (something) else

7. CS: ((stops speech, looks at UP, simultaneously moves his left hand fingers))

8. UP: <ma bnesmahlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> hata [
   not allow you increase the rates even
   we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even
   [ ( )]

    [ ( )]

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The CS begins the interaction by making a statement that the government will not increase the energy rates only in consultation with Members of Parliament, as in lines 1-3. In line 4, the UP disrupts the CS’s speech at a TRP and approximately during the produced silence by the CS (see line 3), and by producing three TCUs. First, he produces an advice giving using “look for an alternative.” Next, he immediately rushes to launch an address term using “your excellency.” Then the UP continues to produce a telling using “instead of increasing the rates.” Here, it is clear that the UP objects the CS’s statement with regard to increasing the energy rates. Through this turn, we can see that the UP bids for the floor not only by making an illegal intervention, but also by producing a form of advice giving followed by the address term. Also, it is observed that address terms do not always occur at the beginning of the turn: it is readily observed that the address term “your excellency” occurs in the middle of the turn. Terasaki (2004) argues that address terms are formed at the beginning to establish recipiency, that is, to indicate recipiency before continuing. On the other hand, post-positioned address terms can be composed “to establish recipiency” during talk (Terasaki, 2004, p.189). The UP produces the post-positioned address term during the telling, which indicates that he treats himself as part of the ongoing talk. In other words, Members of Parliament summon the recipient and then proceed with the telling, as in Example (24) & Example (26), but in Example (26) the UP shifted the address term during the telling.

The responses to summonses can take different forms such as ignoring the UP, treating the illegal intervention as inappropriately timed, or displaying non-verbal disaffiliation. Such responses are enough to indicate that heckles may be seen as inappropriate by the CP / CS. In Example (24), the CP launches talk (line 4) through “Mr”, which overlaps with line 3. At first glance it may appear that the CP is addressing the talk to the UP, but after close analysis it appears that the CP ignores the UP’s interjection (Bilmes, 1997) and proceeds in selecting a new speaker (Terasaki, 2004) to talk in the parliament (see line 5). In Example (25), the CP’s turn is delayed (see line 7). Here the CP treats the UP’s intervention as inappropriate by producing the term “excuse me.” In the same turn, the CP immediately provides a justification to the UP with regard to the issue of the murdered son in the city of Ma’an using “we have listened to the Ma’an report.” This shows that Members of Parliament already know about the issue of the murdered child. In Example (26), the CS’s
responses to the UP are not always recorded by the cameraman, including the non-verbal behaviour after the UP makes an illegal intervention. The CS produces the non-verbal behaviour: that is, the CS ceases speech, looks at the UP, and simultaneously moves his left hand’s fingers. This kind of reaction is closely associated with disaffiliation (Edelmann, 1987) whereby recipients treat illegal intervention as inappropriate. For example, the following figure illustrates the response of the Prime Minister (CS) to that of the heckler.

Figure 11. The CS’s facial expression after being heckled

In sum, this section has examined the first turn of an interjection by a UP involving a summons. Unratified Members of Parliament seek to gain the speakership through producing summons, e.g. “your excellency” and informal summon terms, e.g. “PRT guys”, immediately followed by a telling. This makes them different from summonses which occur in ordinary conversations, where summonses are typically composed of two turns and participants use names such as “Sarah”, politeness terms such as “excuse me” (Liddicoat, 2007) and responses such as “yeah.” Not only do summonses occur at the beginning of the turn, but also they may occur after a telling. The above analysis informs us that summonses are a commonly used technique on the part of Members of Parliament
when they bid for the floor. However, the responses of recipients do not indicate that they are welcomed to gain speakership i.e. become ratified participants. We have seen that the CP may react to the illegal intervention by ignoring the UP, or by treating it as inappropriately timed, or by displaying non-verbal disaffiliation as a response.

4.4 Supplication

Supplication is a very common practice which only audience members in the gallery practice, to seek help from Members of Parliament or the CP. Help usually refers to personal demands which pertain to the person who requests support (Stanley, 2009). More specifically, the practice of supplication is used as a strategy by a UP to gain access to the floor. Supplication means, in this context, to utter the expression which means “I supplicate.” Typically, a UP makes supplication to God, and then he/she may continue to make a supplication to Members of Parliament such as the Prime Minister and the CP. Supplication is very similar to two concepts in conversation analysis, which are to secure a recipient and to secure the interactional space for the telling (Farina 2018). These two concepts must be dealt with before the teller starts the telling. The complications of these two concepts are frequently dealt with the in pre-telling sequence that comprises two turns in a sequence and which precedes a story or an announcement. In a pre-telling sequence, a teller asks a recipient if she or she is interested in listening to a telling, and the recipient accepts or refuses to listen to it (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 2007).

In my corpus, public audience sometimes launch supplication at the first turn in order to gain access to the floor. Out of the 18 instances I found 3 instances where public audience produce supplication at the first turn in order enter the interaction. To illustrate the practice of supplication, first, see Example (27). The UP uses a very interesting tactic to gain the speakership, simply through imploring to god and to the Prime Minister in the parliament.

Example (27) 17

1. CS: [ ((stands at the podium, smiles then looks at UP and takes out his glasses))
2. UP [ ?onaʃed ?ollah (1.0) ?onaʃed dawlat arai:s ((standing at edge of gallery))
Supplicate to God supplicate to state President

I supplicate to God I supplicate to his Excellency
3. UP [ ( ) ] ((points with his hand as he speaks))
4. CP: [ wein aʃortˀa? xoøu xalu yetˀlaˀ baɾra
where the guards? Take him dismiss him outside

where are the guards? Take him dismiss him off the
gallery
5. UP [ ( )
6. CP: [ ?ʕtaqlu
confine him
[confine him
7. UP ()
8. CP: ?ʕtaqlu
confine him
9. UP ?onaʃed ?ollah
I supplicate god
I supplicate to god

At the beginning of the example, the UP stands at the edge of the gallery, while the CS
stands on the podium to deliver his speech. In line 2, the UP’s turn consists of two
components which are “I supplicate to Allah” and “I supplicate to the Prime Minister.” The
first component consists of the term of supplication followed by the address term Allah,
while the second component consists of another supplication followed by an address term
of the Prime Minister. The UP moves on to take another inaudible turn in line 3, possibly
to make further supplication to other governments officials. However, the CP interrupts the
UP in line 4, through calling for the security guards to dismiss him from the gallery. An
observation can be seen here: the CP restores the interactional order (Goffman, 1967) that
has been occupied by the UP, first by making an interjection in the UP’s turn and then by
asking the guards to dismiss him from the gallery. Although the UP expressed his
supplication to Allah (god) and the Prime Minister, he has not been very successful in
keeping hold of the floor because the CP has prevented him to be a ratified participant.

For a second similar example, see Example (28). The UP stands at the edge of the gallery
and complains to a third party (the Prime Minister) about the poor condition of his house,
which is falling apart, he claims. The UP uses supplication to gain the speakership, and it
appears he has been very successful in doing so.
Example (28) 5

1. UP: banifidullah (.) Uma banifid ?lmalik (.) Uma
   banifid ?wn ?lxasawneh=
   implore god and implore the King and implore NAME
   NAME
   I implore to Allah and I implore to the King and I
   implore to own alkh asawneh
2. MP: =xaluh yḥki
   Let him speak
3. UP: yaa xwan
   PRT brothers
   brothers
4. MP: [xalu yḥki]
   Let him speak

In line 1, the UP uses the strategy of supplication to bid for the floor. The UP’s turn consists of three parts of supplication: in the first part, the UP supplicates to Allah; in the second part, the UP supplicates to the King; and in the third, the UP supplicates to the Prime Minister “own Alxasawneh.” We can see that the UP makes supplications in sequential order. The UP has been very successful in gaining access to the floor, not because he supplicated to the abovementioned, but because a Member of Parliament granted him approval to become a ratified participant. The evidence behind this is that a Member of Parliament (line 2) demands the guards to let the UP speak. Consequently, the UP continues to address talk to all Members of Parliament and to government officials at line 3, where he uses an address term “PRT brothers”, which is a signal to secure the recipients and indicates that he intends to proceed with making his compliant.

For a similar case of supplication, see Example (29). An anonymous audience member (UP) in the gallery uses supplication as a strategy in order to enter the interaction in the parliament.

Example (29) 6

1. CP: Tfadal ( )
   You may ( )
   Please go ahead
2. CS: saiydi ṣukran dawalat arrai:s
   PRT thank you state President
   Thank you your excellency
At the beginning of the interaction, the CS selects the next speaker in the parliament using “please go ahead.” In Arabic, the latter demand is usually used in a context where it is more polite than uttering the phrase “you talk.” This is very similar to English, where participants utter the term “please” in this context; the ongoing conversation participants know that “please” functions as “go ahead” - this is very similar to how we use it in the Arabic language. Ordinarily, the CS acknowledges the CP’s assurance and offers appreciation (line 2). In line 3, the UP seizes the opportunity and bids for the floor precisely at TRP. In the same line, the UP produces three TCUs. The UP utters a summons in the first and the second TCUs by producing “your excellency” and “your excellency.” Summons are not only designed so as to draw the attention of recipients, but are also designed to secure the participation of the recipient. In other words, if a teller summons another person, he then must sort out the issue of securing the participation. In the same line, the UP immediately launches a supplication technique through “I supplicate to you”, and then continues to make a supplication at line 5 by uttering “The King Abdullah ... I have the right.” Through this supplication technique, the UP aims to secure the interactional space for telling. The response to the illegal intervention by the UP can be observed where the CS’s talk overlaps with the UP’s (see lines 5 & 6). This overlap may be seen as a challenge to the floor, but there is not quite enough evidence since the CS’s voice is inaudible. When such conflict occurs in the parliament, the CP immediately intervenes to sort out the problem and restore the interactional order. However, in this case the CP’s response is delayed, as he has not
intervened at the appropriate time, i.e. as soon as the UP interjects in the interaction. The delayed response of the CP may be an indication that the UP has been very successful in securing the interactional space of the interaction.

In sum, supplication is a very common way in which UPs in the gallery bid for the floor of an interaction. Public audience members use supplication to solve two problems. First, they aim to secure a recipient and also to secure the interactional space of the interaction. The supplication sequence consists of two turns: the supplication action, and the response (granting/refusal). UPs in the parliamentary gallery embark on the supplication from a religious perspective, i.e. supplicating to Allah (God), particular recipients such the Prime Minister, or the CP of the parliament. Most importantly, the teller of a supplication does not necessarily indicate that it occurs in response to an assertion; my corpus indicates that they seek personal demands or aim to complain against an absent party. Supplication can be an effective way of securing the interactional space. The analysis of the examples indicates that they are very successful unless the CP seeks their dismissal. However, I found one deviant case where the CP does not allow the audience member to become ratified, and thus demands the security guards to dismiss him from the gallery. Therefore, not all examples of supplication enable UPs to gain access to the floor. Supplication can thus be regarded as effective way to gain access to the floor once the CP accepts the UP as a ratified participant.

4.5 Announcements

According to Schegloff (2007) an announcement is “a telling package in a single, grammatically simple, turn-constructional unit” (p. 42). In the following sub-sections, I shall begin by examining announcements at the first turn. UPs such as Members of Parliament tend to gain access to the floor of the interaction simply by launching announcements. Announcements are a common way for Members of Parliament to gain the speakership. More specifically, announcements are preliminary to the main action that will be produced later on in the interaction, and they occur in a form of a headline. In order to illustrate this, first see Example (30). The unratified Member of Parliament attempts to enter the interaction by launching into an announcement to support an audience member in the gallery.
Example (30) 51

1. CS: sʕadta raiːs (1.0) your excellency
   your excellency (1.0)

2. UP: ya jamaʕa ʃo ?lxaʃxa ( )
   PRT guys what privatization ( )
   Ya guys what privatization ( )

3. CS: [haːrə:t ?lnwab ?lmohtaramiːn]
   PRT MPs respected
   [respected Members of Parliament]

4. UP [haːdːoːl ?hl Mʕan ya jamaʕa]
   These PRT Maʕan PRT guys
   [these are the people of Maʕan guys]

5. UP: hram thku bilxʕəxʕa ?lʔaːn haʔ bu haʔ ]
   ?bnu qutil unfair talk on privatization now this father this
   PRT this son murdered it’s unfair to talk about privatization now this
   father [this abu this] murdered son

6. MPV: [yʕni Mʕaːn ( )]
   PRT Maʕan ( )
   [yʕni Mʕaːn ( )]

7. CP: [lw samḥti ya: Hind lw samḥti (.) istamʕna
   ?lʔa qarar Mʕaːn]
   excuse me PRT NAME excuse me we listened to
decision of Maʕan
   [excuse me ya Hind excuse me (.) we have listened
to the Maʕan report]

As we can see at the beginning of the extract, the CS begins the interaction by addressing
the CP using an institutional address term, “your excellency” (line 1). The UP immediately
make an interjection first by addressing Members of Parliament, and then by criticizing
them for debating the topic of privatisation (line 2). In line 3, the CS continues to address
Members of Parliament using an address term “respected Members of Parliament.” Line
4 overlaps with line 3, where the UP produces an announcement which is straight and
simple (Liddicoat, 2007). This announcement provides general background about an
audience member in the gallery through offering a piece of information, using “these are
the people of Maʕan guys” (line 4). The UP continues (line 5) to develop the announcement
using “it is unfair to talk about the privatization now”, followed by a warrant for the
announcement “this is his father his son has been murdered.” Through this, the UP attempts to gain access to the floor by offering some general information about the audience member’s issue, and hoping that the CP will offer her an invitation to become a ratified participant to elaborate on the murdered son of the audience member. It is pertinent to note that that the UP seeks to gain the Members of Parliament’s ‘alignment’ (Stivers, 2008, p. 32) through offering background information about the audience member to parliament. In other words, the background information “His son has been murdered” clearly shows that he seeks the sympathy of Members of Parliament in order to support his assertions about the audience member. Furthermore, an announcement may also be associated with the notion of epistemics (Kärkkäinen, 2003), where the UP refers to an issue that may have been debated in the parliament in advance. The response of the CP to the illegal intervention is observed at line 7, where the CP summons the UP using “excuse me” followed by a telling in which he explains the situation to the UP (line 7). Such responses occur with only limited frequency, because the CP of the parliament does not always make such a clarification of any issue that a UP brings up. The response of the CP at line 7 is more than enough evidence to show that is has indeed been debated in the parliament through “we have listened to Ma’an’s report.” Here we can see that the CP mentions the name of the city “Ma’an” (at line 7), which corresponds to the announcement produced by the UP at line 4.

For a similar case to an announcement, see Example (31). The Member of Parliament (UP) disrupts the CS’s (Prime Minister’s) speech to argue about the procedures of the parliament as managed by the CP. Thus, he criticises the CP for randomly selecting participants to speak.

Example (31) 49

1. CP: tfdal dawlt ?ra?i:s
   Go ahead your excellency
   **go ahead (speak) your excellency**
2. CS: saydi ?r[ ?i:s ]
   your excellency
   **your excellency**
3. UP   [ ( ) ] ((CS looks at H))
4. UP   ( [ )
5. CS: [ saydi ?rr?i:s (1.0) ?waln
Your excellency (1.0) first of all

[Your excellency (1.0) first of all]


7. MP: xalsʕ ya nidal That’s enough NAME That’s enough Name

8. UP ?yʃ ?tasʔwi:t [ ( ) what’s voting [ ( ) what is the voting for? [()

9. CP: [fi raʔi:s wozora PRT Prime Minister fi the Prime Minister

In line 5, the CS begins his speech by addressing the CP using an address term “your excellency”, followed by a listing connector corresponding “first of all.” The latter expression overlaps with the UP’s disruption, where he forms a question “why do you refute?” at line 6. By doing so, the UP aims to prevent the CS from speaking, and, therefore, projects that he wishes to raise something through “why do you refute.” This kind of telling equates to making an announcement. Consequently, the CS ceases his speech and gives the floor to the UP. In line 8, the UP continues to interrogate “what is the voting” which is a preliminary to the complaint about the parliament’s procedures. The announcement functions as a pre-sequence as is clearly observed in line 6, where the UP questions the CS for speaking. However, this question is not used to gain an answer, rather it functions as a pre-sequence before the UP develops the complaint structure. The response of the CP can be observed at line 9 in overlap with line 8. Through this, the CP produces some sort of talk “the Prime Ministers is-.” Here, the CP informs the UP that the floor is being occupied by the CS by producing an incomplete TCU of “fi the Prime Minister is”, which lacks the token “talking.” Here, the CP treats the illegal intervention by the UP as ‘inappropriately timed’ (McIlvenny, 1996a).

In Example (32) 40, the UP raises the issue of the city of Ma’an; she makes an announcement that the government supports the people of Ma’an, and thus it has become a rebel city. In other words, the UP blames the government for supporting the city of Ma’an, and as a consequence, the city of Ma’an protests against the government i.e. the
government faces problems when taking control of the city in terms of protesting and security.

Example (32) 40

dear colleagues MPs noble please sit at your seats
dear colleagues and noble MPs please take your seats

2. CP: hta tabd? [ ?ljalsa
to begin the session
to begin the [ session

3. UP: [ ( ) bigoly bigoly ?l?min
tell me tell me security and safety is important than
[ ( )they tell me that security and safety is important than( )

4. UP: ?wad ?ltanafat
NAME NAME
Awad Altanashat

5. UP: (3.0)

6. CP: ya ?bu (1.5) lw samhtom
PRT PRT excuse me (plural)
[3.0] ya ?bu (1.5) excuse me

Line 3 overlaps with line 2, where the UP produces an announcement through “they tells me that security and safety is more important than ( ).” Through this announcement the heckler offers general headlines or an outline of what is to follow. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to comprehend what is specifically being talked about, because she is referring to an issue that may been unknown not only to some Members of Parliament but also to us as watchers and listeners. Here, the announcement in this example functions as a pre-sequence which is preliminary to an action that will occur later in the conversation. The pre-sequence in this above example is very similar to pre-sequences in ordinary conversations, as there is evidence that the UP has not explicitly stated what she is trying to convey. Develotte & Rechniewski (2001) argue that news “headlines are signposts showing the route to take through complex materials. They encapsulate not only the content but the orientation, the perspective that the reader should bring to their understanding of articles” (p. 2-3). This is very similar to announcements which are produced by Members of Parliament who are not
ratified to speak. Members of Parliament rely on opening an illegal interaction through making such immediate announcements. Such announcements offer a general idea about what the Members of Parliament will talk about. As for the response to the first turn of an illegal interaction, the CP simply launches a summons to all Members of Parliament, possibly to draw the attention of the UP, but this does not necessarily mean that the CP will produce an action after the summons. This is because it is very common in my corpus to find that the CP produces a summons to the UP alone, not only to notify him/her that the interjection is inappropriately timed but also to make the UP withdraw from the interaction. The response of the recipient in the first turn of the analysed examples above is summons followed by an explanation of the issue that the UP has announced (Example (30) 51). In Example (31), the CP treats the illegal intervention by the UP as inappropriately timed through “the Prime Minister -.” In Example (32), the CP summons the UP to draw their attention, but it does not necessarily mean that he will launch a telling. In other words, the CP simply produces a summons to draw attention so that the addressee will not proceed in bidding for the floor. The summarized responses are enough to indicate that announcements may not enable UPs to gain the speakership with the approval of the CP. However, UPs launch such announcements in the first turn immediately, without producing a summons. This informs us that producing an announcement falls under the umbrella of launching straight into the reason for the heckle.

In sum, announcements are used as a way to gain speakership in parliamentary interaction. One of these ways is to offer a headline of the issue before the UP gets to the heart of the matter, e.g. complaining about a procedure or against a statement. In other words, producing a headline is similar to offering background information which may be associated with the concept of epistemics (Heritage, 2012), information which may be known to the CP and members of the parliament. Therefore, the UP supports Members of Parliament with background information. In addition, some announcements also function as pre-sequences which are used by participants to offer a preface before the interaction develops. Launching an announcement does not necessarily mean that it will enable the UP to gain the speakership with the approval of the CP.
4.6 Launching straight into the reason for a heckle

Members of Parliament and public audiences who are unratified to speak launch straight into heckles in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament. According to McIlvenny (1996a, p. 37) hecklers often “launch a heckle boldly as a short direct question, denial, or abusive utterance. In relation to prior talk, a heckle is often precisely formed, syntactically or semantically, to draw upon just prior talk.” In this section, Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate may launch straight into the reason for their heckles at the first turn. Launching into the reason for heckles occurs in response to prior talk in the parliament, and they are short and straightforward. This also means that UPs do not employ any preliminary sequences such as summons before launching into the reason for their heckles. The following section shows how public audience members launch straight into the reason for heckles.

4.6.1 Launching straight into the reason for heckling by the public audiences

This section aims to examine the ways in which audience members launch straight into the reasons for heckles at the first turn of talk. Such heckles are frequently launched in response to prior talk and they tend to be short and straightforward. Moreover, the timing of heckles occurs while the CS is in mid-utterance. In my corpus, the occurrences of straightforward heckles are rare, as I found 2 out of the 18 instances. In Example (33) the public audience member launches straight into the reason for the heckle using an accusation.

Example (33) 15

1. Aud: ((clapping))
2. CP: [()]jokran
   thank you
   [()] thank you
3. UP: [ alxezy kulilxezy ] walʕar leman ((standing up at the edge of gallery))
   Shame all the shame and disgrace for those
   all the shame and disgrace for those who
4. UP: baʕ edam ?alurduni= Sold the blood of Jordanians
   have betrayed the Jordanians
5. AM: = walak ya hamil
   PRT PRT anomalous
   walak you are anomalous
Line 3 overlaps with line 2, where the UP launches straight into the reason for the heckle using “all the shame and disgrace for those who have betrayed the Jordanians.” Through this, the UP accuses and complains (Pomerantz, 1978, 1986; Schegloff, 1988) to some Members of Parliament by restricting the supposed shamelessness only to those who betrayed the Jordanians in his claim. In addition, this accusation is produced in response to an assertion, but there is not enough evidence of what Members of Parliament have been talking about except that they clapped (line 1). Nevertheless, it seems that the UP is not satisfied with their performance as Members of Parliament. Moreover, the timing of the heckle occurs before the CP closes the parliament session using appreciation as a closing implicative device (Button, 1990). According to McIlvenny (1996a, p. 45) heckles recurrently occur at or after recognizable completion points in a speech such as “transition-relevance places, claptap completions, or rhetorical units where the speaker is heard to pause temporarily.” This informs us that the heckle was not produced while the CP was in the progress of talk but after completing the talk. McIlvenny (1996a) refers to such heckles as post-speaker-completion heckles. In line 4, a Member of Parliament (not the CP) immediately launches a response to the heckler using “PRT you are anomalous.” Through this turn, the Member of Parliament accuses the heckler for making such a heckle. This accusation is very similar to what McIlvenny (1996a, p. 49) suggested: that a response of a speaker may “attempt to dismiss the competence or knowledge of the heckler.” Further in the interaction, the CP produced a turn in line 8 using “excuse me excuse me”, possibly to disengage the heckler from bidding for the floor of the interaction. In Example (34) the public audience members launch straight into the reasons for the heckle using religious phrases which aim to disrupt the speech of the CS.

Example (34) 14

   ðekerat lettaw (.)
   Realized to em that stay of parliament for reason
   which mentioned now
I realized the existence of this parliament now for the different reasons which

From different brothers colleagues better to keep this parliament
From different brothers & colleagues the best to maintain this parliament

3. CS: [wa ?ubyen lilnuwab bema ja?u bihi] ((looks at H)) and show to MPs for what they have come for
[I will determine to the MPs for what they have come to]

4. UP [?llahu ?kbar ?llahu ?kbar ] ?llahu ?kbar Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest
[Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest]

5. AM: ( )
6. Aud: ((clapping))
7. AM: haØa lu:bbi
this group
this is a group

8. AM: ?lahu ?kbar (1.0) waltasqot? alØarab
Allah greatest shall fall the Arab
Allah is the greatest (1.0) and the Arabs shall fall

Line 10 overlaps with line 9, where the UP produces a religious phrase in the form of “Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest.” Here, we can observe that this phrase is short and concise, as the UP produces only one turn in this interaction. Furthermore, the UP produces this ‘heckle’ in response to the Prime Minister’s speech which concerns keeping the parliament. This religious phrase is usually said in particular situations where speakers show praise and loyalty to God. However, it is produced in this instance to mock the Prime Minister for keeping the parliament. The response of the CS is observed at line 3, where the UP overlaps talk near TRP. This indicates that the UP has managed to bid for the floor through the overlap. On the other hand, the CS ceases his speech due to the effect of the overlap, which indicates that the UP has been successful in achieving the target of the heckle.
In sum, public audience members launch directly into the reasons for heckles using various actions such as accusations and mocking expressions. It is difficult to determine the exact targets of the heckles due to their limited occurrences. These kinds of actions occur in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament, and they are launched while the CS is in the middle of talk or near a completion point of a turn. The response of the CS to such illegal interventions commonly involves ignoring the UP. When the heckler is ignored this shows that the heckle is without a response. McIlvenny (1996a) refers to such an occurrence as a *floating heckle*. McIlvenny (1996a, p. 36) claims that floating heckles are “ignored or remain unaddressed by the speaker, and thus they lose their local sequential implicativeness. On the other hand, the CP may respond to such heckles using “excuse me” in order to disengage the heckler from entering the interaction.

### 4.6.2 Launching straight into the reasons for heckles by Members of Parliament

This section aims to show how Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch straight into the reason for heckles. In 9 of the 41 instances of my corpus, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch straight into the reason for heckles in response to prior talk. These intrusions are very similar to *topic development* as a target of heckles as mentioned by McIlvenny (1996a). Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate often produce such heckles with regard to the CS’s speech i.e. such as asking a question, or advice giving. In Example (35) the unratified Member of Parliament launches straight into the reason for a heckle by producing a question related to the CS’s speech.

**Example (35) 38**

   begin with information result contact with bodies official Iraqi
   *I begin (.). with a piece of information in to contact with Iraqi authorities*

2. **CS:** waxasatn wazi:r ?lxarijiya (.) kalmní ʕlhatif (.)
   specially minister foreign spoke me phone ago hour approximately
   *specially the foreign minister (.) he talked to me over the phone (.) approximately an hour ago*

3. **CS:** (.) waqadm ?ʕtiðar(.)
offered apology
(. ) and he apologised (. )

4. H: mi:n ho =
Who he
who is he=

5. CS: = ?lhogoma ?l\textsuperscript{\textregistered}raqiya
government Iraqi
the Iraqi’s government

6. CS: ((looks to his colleague ‘interior minister’))

7. H: [ booo] ((expression of disagreement))

8. CS: [ wazi:r ?lxarijiya ?l\textsuperscript{\textregistered}raqi
minister foreign Iraqi
[The Iraqi foreign minister

9. H: [ booo]
What want eat?
what is he going to take?

10. CS: ma \textsuperscript{\textregistered}indi \textsuperscript{\textregistered}waytafasli:bidi ?hkeha ((looks at UP,
Aud, then at CP))
PRT have some details want to speak
ma I have some details to tell

11. Aud: ( )

12. CP: momkin tisma\textsuperscript{\textregistered}u:↑ (3.0)
can you (plural) listen
can you listen ↑ (3.0)

In line 3, the CS reports that the Iraqi minister of the interior offered his apologies. In line 4, the UP produces a question “who is he.” Through this, the UP addresses the talk to the CS, whereby he seizes the short silence and forms the question to gain information regarding the name of the one who apologised to the minister of the interior. The predominant observation here is that the UP produces the question immediately, while the CS is still in the middle of a TCU. This shows that the UP interjects before the CS completes his turn. This kind of heckle is short and straightforward and thus it informs us that UPs do not always use summonses before they get to the heart of a matter. Therefore, this is called launching straight into the reason for a heckle. In line 6, the CS notices that something had gone wrong, and thus he changes his facial posture and looks at the colleague next to him (the minister of the interior). Through the non-verbal signs in the video recording, it is observed that the MP (minister of the interior) whispers to the CS that he had been asked about the name of the person who offered his apologies for the incident. Accordingly, the CS produces an answer to the question, which was delayed until he
acknowledged the question (line 8). The answer to the question is observed when the CS utters “the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs.” The question sequence consists of the question “who is he” and the answer to it is “The Iraqi foreign minister”; these form the FPP and the SPP of the sequence, respectively. Commonly, CSs do not respond to other Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak, because they consider it not only a breach of the internal regulations of the parliament, but also an immoral way of causing a disruption to the flow of the speech. Unusually, the CP’s response to the incident is delayed, as the CP has not intervened to manage the situation at the appropriate time. This also means that he may have given the opportunity for the CS to sort out the issue through responding to the UP.

Similarly, in other instances, Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak also launch straight into heckles. To illustrate this, see Example (36): the Prime Minister gives a speech regarding the increasing energy tariffs. The UP cuts off the Prime Minister’s speech before he completes his turn, where he asks him to look for an alternative instead of increasing the electricity rates.

Example (36) 21

1. CS: kama: (. ) waɔ adat?lhokoma (. ) ma taza:l moltazima ɔnda wɔdeha (. )
As promised the government still committed to its promise
As the government had promised and still it is committed to its promises
Not possible to increase rates of electricity except in consultation to MPs
rates of electricity (energy) will not be increased only in consultation with MPs
3. CS: bidɔabtˀ kama ?ltazamna (2.0)
Exactly as we have pledged
Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)
4. UP: <dawer ɔbadi:1 thani> daw [ lat ɔrra:i:s ] yeir rafɔ ɔlɔsa:r
Look on alternative other state President instead increasing rates
look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates
5. CS: [ waaa ]
At the beginning of the interaction, the CS embarks on the speech through proposing that the government will not pursue increasing the rates of the electricity except in consultation with Members of Parliament (lines 1-3). This triggers a response from a Member of Parliament to comment on this. In line 4, the UP seizes the opportunity and interjects during the short silence (see line 3) to produce three TCUs. The UP gives advice (Hutchby, 1995, 2006; Heritage & Sefi, 1992) using “seek for an alternative” followed by an address term in the form of “your excellency”, followed by “instead of increasing the rates”, in turn. There are some observations to make about this request. The design of the advice giving occurs in response to what the CS has been talking about; that is, increasing the electricity rates. Furthermore, it occurs in an imperative form through the token “seek.” Imperatives are said to be dedicated to actions such as ordering and commanding (Aikhenvald, 2010). On the non-verbal level, the CS displays signs of disaffiliation as a result of the heckle by the UP (see line 7). In line 9, the CP launches an address term of that of the heckler using “brother Yahya”, which overlaps with line 8. Here it is observed that the CP uses the ‘address term’ (Terasaki, 2004) in order to disengage the heckler from entering the interaction and also to block him from producing further intrusions.

In Example (37), the heckler launches straight into the reason for the heckle using a question to gain information.
Example (37) 54

   ihrak ?bna? ?ʃʃmal (.) ʕn
   announced party islamic in CITY cooperation party
   northern people party
   **The Islamic party of Irbid announced in cooperation
   with northern publics’ party**

2. CS: xru:j bimasi:ra  lilmut'?alba bi es'la7a:t siyasiya
   Emergence a march to demand for reforms political
   to organise a march to demand for political reforms

3. CS: waxmuharabt ?lfasad (.)=
   and anti-corruption
   **and anti-corruption**

   not important your excellency who PRT announce
   important
   =**it is not important your Excellency the important
   matter is who/what has been announced** ↑

5. Aud: ( )

6. CS: saiydi: lw samḥt txlini ?kmil
   PRT if you excuse me let me finish
   excuse me allow me to finish

7. CP: → [ ((rings the bell)) ]

8. CS: [ xalini ?kmil lw] samḥt ((in sharp tone))
   **let me finish please**

In line 4, the UP heckles the CS during a short silence (line 3) using “it is not important
your Excellency the important matter is who/what has been announced” (line 4). Here, the
UP conjoins a negative assessment with a question to gain information from the CS with
regard to “who has been announced.” In line 6 the CS produces “excuse me allow me to
finish” in order to disengage the heckler from intruding on his speech. Through this turn,
it is evident that the CS treats the heckle as inappropriate and that the UP is not ratified to
make a contribution in the interaction.

Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch straight into the reasons for
their heckles by producing various actions such as questions and giving advice. Such
heckles occur near TRPs; that is, they occur before the CS completes the turn. The
remarkable feature of launching straight into the reasons for heckles is that UPs get to the
heart of the matter without needing to produce prior actions such as summonses or pre-
sequences, etc. CSs who hold the floor of the interaction do not always react to Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak when their talk is disrupted. However, the CP of the parliament takes hold of the issue, and commonly reacts to such interventions through producing address terms of the heckler to draw the attention of UPs and make them desist from disrupting the CS’s speech.

4.6.2.1 Accusations

This section looks at accusations which are launched by Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak against the CS in the first turn. Accusations are produced in response to prior talk and they occur while the CS is in the middle of an utterance. Less commonly in my corpus, I have found a few cases where an unratified Member of Parliament launches into an accusation while the CS is in the middle of talk. In order to illustrate this, see Example (38). The Prime Minister (CS) gives a speech with regard to Members of Parliament’s speeches in the parliament. This led the UP to interject by complaining about his treatment to Members of Parliament.

Example (38) 20

1. CS:  (3.0) wa (1.0) fi radi (. ) ʕla (. ) xot?ab ?sada
   ?nawab ( . ) wa
   And in response on speeches MPs and
   (3.0) and (1.0) in my response (1.0) to MPs
   speeches ( . ) and

2. CS:  mudaxlatihim (1.0) [taðkert] ((CS gazes at
   UP))
   their interventions (1.0) I remembered

3. UP:  [?nawab] ibteðhk ʕlyhom
   ?nawab ibteðhk ʕlyhom
   The MPs fool them the MPs fool them
   You are misleading the MPs you are misleading the
   MPs

4. CP:  můleiʃ Yahya [Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya]
   excuse me Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya

5. UP  [( )]

6. UP:  ?nawab ibteðhk ʕlyhom = ((points with his arms
   as he speaks))
   MPs fool them
   You are misleading the MPs

7. CP:  ya yaḥya
   PRT NAME
Line 3 overlaps with line 2, where the UP launches an accusation of the current speaker using “you are misleading the MPs you are misleading the MPs.” This heckle can be heard as a direct complaint with which he accuses the CS of misleading members of the parliament. The design of the accusation informs us that the UP gets to the heart of the issue, instead of summoning the CS through an address term. This shows that the heckle is “often precisely formed, syntactically or semantically, to draw upon just prior talk” (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 37). Moreover, the complaint occurs while the CS is talking, which indicates that the overlap may be intentional. If it was not intentional, the UP would have waited until the CS ceased talking. There are two responses to the heckle. First, the CS stopped talk, as he has not completed his talk and gave way for the UP to proceed in talking. The reason behind this is that CS obeys the internal rules of the parliament and does not argue with that of the UP. Thus, the CS hands the problem over to the UP to manage the situation. In line 4, the CP directs the talk to the heckler using “excuse me” followed by a ‘post positioned address term’ (Terasaki, 2004) “excuse me Yahya.” Through this turn, it is observed that the CP aims to ‘draw the attention’ (Liddicoat, 2007) of the UP in order to disengage him from disrupting the CS.

In Example (39), the CS reports a complaint to the CP of the parliament in that a Member of Parliament verbally insulted him. This led the unratted Member of Parliament to accuse him and deny his claims.

Example (39) 22

1. CS: ʔʕataʔm wasabaːb (.) waʔna ʔbrʔ binafсиʔ nʔnзиʔli ʔhɑːʔ ʔlmɔstawaː: (.)
swears and insults and I PRT myself
down to this level
swear and insults and I do not put myself down to
such level
2. CS: wahawlet ʔnʔ ohafиʔ ʔlaʔ ʔʃʔʔbʔ bi [ lidaqqaː ʔlaʔɪraː:]
and tried to maintain on nerves to last minute
d and I tried to control my tension until the last
minute
3. UP: [ wallahi ?na:k
katab ]
I swear to god you are lying
[ I swear you are
a lying ]
4. UP: wasiti:n kondara=
sixty shoes
and a sixty (pair of) shoes
5. CP: =xalas ya yaḥya=
enough PRT Yahya
enough ya Yahya
6. UP: = wallahi ?na:k katab ( )
I swear to god you are lying
I swear that you are lying
7. CP: ya yaḥya

Line 3 overlaps with line 2, as the unratified Member of Parliament heckled the CS before he completed his turn using a very strong accusation “I swear you are lying and a sixty (pair of) shoes”\(^{10}\). The heckler calls the CS a dishonest person and then calls him a ‘sixty shoe’ (a kind of swearing term). Through this turn, the UP accuses the CS, saying that what he reports is not true, followed by a strong verbal insult. The design of the accusation is short and straightforward and it occurs while the CS is in mid-utterance. The design of accusation in this example supports McIlvenny’s (1996a) findings that one of the most recurrent heckles at the Speaker’s Corner is an accusation and insulting the integrity or honesty of the speaker. As a result of the heckle, the CP intervened to manage the situation using “enough ya Yahya.” Through this turn, the CP aims to gain the attention of the heckler in order to disengage him from intruding on the CS’s speech.

In sum, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak rely heavily on the use of launching straight into the reason for heckles simply because they count themselves as part of the ongoing interaction. The above analysis showed that Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch accusations of the current speaker who holds the floor.

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\(^{10}\) In the middle east region, and in Jordan in particular, angry and upset people may swear at each other by referring to ‘shoes’ or ‘footwear’ as being a despicable or a vile person.
Hecklers often accuse and insult the integrity or honesty of the current speaker which supports McIlvenny’s (1996a) findings about accusations. In addition, the design of accusations indicates that they draw upon prior talk.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to look the first turn of talk in terms of how participants aim to enter an interaction when they are not ratified to speak. The findings of this chapter have shown the UPs commonly launch into heckles using a number of strategies, these are; summons, supplication, announcements, and launching straight into the reason for heckles. Moreover, this chapter has shown that hecklers launch heckles while the CS is in progress of talk i.e. in overlap or when the CS pauses temporarily; this finding supports McIlvenny (1996a) timing and sequence of heckles.

Having examined the first turn of talk in terms of how participants aim to enter an interaction when they are not ratified to speak, I will move on to examine the construction of actions which involve heckles. These actions are noteworthy because they tell us the nature of actions that are related to heckling in the Jordanian parliament.
Chapter 5  

Actions Involving Heckles

5.1  

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have shown how public audience members as well as Members of Parliament launch into heckles at the first turn. UPs tend to employ various strategies once they attempt to enter an interaction, these are: summons, supplication, announcements, and launching straight into the reason for heckles. In this chapter, I will examine how UPs construct the actions that constitute these unlawful interjections. These actions are complaints, announcements, demands, and disagreements. These actions are significant because they focus on what UPs are trying to do by interrupting the proceedings.

This chapter is divided into four sections. These sections shed light on various actions expressed by UPs, either by audience members in the gallery or by members of the parliament. In each section I review the literature concerning the actions that UPs undertake during an interaction. I will then look at the construction of action produced by audience members in the gallery and those Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak.

5.2  

Complaints

Complaints have been investigated in interaction studies, specifically in institutional and non-constitutional settings (Heinemann, 2009; Monzoni, 2008; Monzoni, 2009; Ruusuvuori & Lindfors, 2009; Stokoe, 2009). Several studies have been conducted on the distinction between direct complaints (Dersley and Wotton, 2000; Monzoni, 2009) and indirect complaints (Drew, 1998; Drew & Walker, 2009; Ruusuvuori & Lindfors, 2009). Trosborg (1995) defines a complaint as:

A speech act in which the speaker (the complainer) expresses his/her disapproval, negative feelings, etc. towards the state of the affairs described in the proposition (the complainable) and for which he/she holds the hearer (the complainee) responsible, either directly or indirectly

(Trosborg, 1995, pp. 311-312).

Direct complaints occur when the complainer addresses the complaint to the recipient, who is then both the person held accountable for the trouble and the recipient of the complaint
(Pomerantz, 1978, 1986; Schegloff, 1988). Indirect complaints occur when the complainant complains to the recipient about a third party (Drew, 1998). Recent research has been conducted on direct complaints in terms of the response to those sequences and the design of the response, taking into consideration the speaker’s orientation with regard to preference organization (Dersley & Wootton, 2000). Here is an example of a direct complaint analysed by Schegloff (1988).

Example 40

(Schegloff, 1988, p.119-120)

1. ((door squeaks))
2. Sherri: Hi Carol =
3. Carol: [Hi::]
4. Ruthie: [CA:RO] I, HI::
5. Sherri: You didn’t get an ice cream sandwich,
6. Carol: I kno:w, hh I decided that my body didn’t need it.
7. Sherri: Yes but ours di:d=
8. = hh heh heh heh [ heh heh he .hhih

At the beginning of the extract, the participants exchange greetings (lines 1 & 2). At line 5, Sherri notices that something went wrong, displaying a particular disappointment that Carol failed to bring an ice-cream sandwich. This specific type of noticing appears to be a common practice in the production of complaints (Schegloff, 1988, p.120-121). In addition to this, line 5 is also treated as a complaint by Carol. Whilst simple noticing would elicit a response such as ‘oh’ or an agreement, a complaint makes conditionally relevant a range of responses such as accounts, apologies, or remedies. Carol provides an account at line 6, showing that she treats line 5 as a complaint. In contrast, indirect complaints are different from direct complaints in the sense that they are addressed to a third party instead of a second one. In order to see how indirect complaints occur, we can observe Example 41. Before the beginning of the example, Massimo states that residents will go out for lunch on Easter day to a different restaurant from the one they attended last year. The turn- initial
“pero” “but” expresses that there is more to be debated. Going to a restaurant appears to be undecided because some residents may have different plans on Easter day (see lines 3-4).

Example 41

1. S-Mas  **pero dobbiamo anche stabilire chi e che va?:**
   But we must also decide who’s going:

2.  
   3. **Perche ci sara qualcuno che vorra andare a casa**
   Because there will be someone who wants to go home

4. **Quel giorno li.**
   that day.

5. R-Car  **Infatti [i io vado fuori con]**
   Indeed: [I’m going out with]

6. R-Dan →  **[eh io vorrei andare a casa]**
   [eh I’d like to go]

7. →  **a casa [e ma mio papa non vuole]**
   [but my dad doesn’t want]

8. R-Car  **[con mia mamma]**
   [with my mum]

9.  
   10. ?

(Pino, 2015, p.276).

At line 1, Massimo advises a new activity, to “decide who’s going:” to the restaurant on Easter Day. After the short silence (line 2), he continues to propose a warrant for the activity; though some of the residents might want to visit their families (line 3-4). The first TCU at line 1 exhibits the significance of deciding who will go to the restaurant, whilst the second TCU at line 4 offers the residents the chance to propose further plans to visit their families. In line 5, Carol initiates the token “indeed” reporting her plans to go out with his family on Easter day. In response to Massimo’s second TCU, Daniele produces a turn at line 6-7; this appears to be an indirect complaint, as it describes the effect (“io vorrei andare a casa”) [“I’d like to go home”] that Daniele is prevented from achieving because of his
father (“ma mio papa non vuole?”) [“but my dad doesn’t want?”] (Pino, 2015, p. 276). A similar example is provided for the sequence of indirect complaints in the next extract. Leslie is talking to Joy, and she is about to make a complaint about a non-present third person who is known to both Leslie and Joy.

Example 42

1. Les: Are you not feeling very [we:ll,  
2. Joy: [ () ]  
3. (.)  
4. Joy: No I’m alri:ght  
5. (.)  
7. (0.6)  
8. Joy: Ye-s I’m alright,  
9. Les: oh: . hh Yi-m you know I-I- U’m broiling about  
10. Something hhheh [heh hhhh  
12. Les: well that sa:le. (0.2) at –at (.) the vicarage.  
13. (0.6)  

(Drew, 1988, p.304).

After having reassured herself that her co-participant is well (lines 1-8), Leslie initiates a telling that is going to involve a complaint about a third party. The initiation portrays the complaint as tellable and conveys Leslie’s own engagement in and stance toward the complainable (Drew, 1988). It is pertinent to note that when a speaker produces a complaint, recipients may affiliate/disaffiliate with the complaint. Affiliative and dis-affiliative are distinctive terms and they are used to capture a general feature of interaction and social relations tied to the organization of preference (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). To be specific, the term affiliation is used when recipients display that s/he supports the affective stance expressed by the speaker, for instance in the environment of a trouble-
telling (e.g. Heinmann, 2003; Heritage, 2011; Jefferson, 1988; 2002; Stivers, 2008; and Couper-Kuhlen, 2012).

In summary, complaints can either be direct or indirect where a speaker conveys his or her dissatisfaction or negative feelings towards the recipient who is accountable for the complaint (Trosborg, 1995). Direct complaints occur when the complainer addresses the complaint to the complainee who is then both the person held accountable for the trouble and the recipient of the complaint (Pomerantz, 1978, 1986; Schegloff, 1988). Indirect complaints occur when the complainant complains to the recipient about an inattentive party, something, or someone (Jefferson, 1988).

5.2.1 Indirect complaints

This section examines how indirect complaints occur when an audience member in the gallery complains to Members of Parliament about a non-present party, problem, or a personal issue. Indirect complaints in this study are very similar to the ones in ordinary conversations. What makes this type of indirect complaint distinctive from the direct complaint is that public audiences in the gallery report their complaints to Members of Parliament, about an inattentive party or someone (Jefferson, 1984). It should be noted that this design of indirect complaint is only produced by public audiences in the gallery. Indirect complaints do not occur in response to an assertion by a CS, but rather they are designed in order to obtain solutions for their own personal demands. It is common for public audiences to get to the heart of their complaint by producing short complaints. Out of the 18 instances, I found 9 instances where public audiences indirectly complain to Members of Parliament about a personal issue. To illustrate the form of indirect complaint, see Example (43). The public audience member in the gallery indirectly complains to the Prime Minister about his poor financial condition.

Example (43) 9

1. UP: ( )=
2. CS: =dawlat arrai:s ((CS look up (gallery) at UP))
   state President
   =Your excellency
State NAME MP respected
respected MP state Samir

4. CS: =DAWALAT ARAI:S
state President
your excellency

5. S: lw samht(.) lw samht
excuse me excuse me
excuse me(.) excuse me

6. UP: wein bidi ?ukil ana we?wladi?
How am I going to feed my children?

7. S: lw samht
excuse me
excuse me

8. UP: lw samht bahki mçu bi aʃya lw samht [(
]
excuse me I talk to him about thing
excuse me I’m talking to him about an issue
[)

9. S: [lw samht]
If you excuse me
[ Excuse me ]

10. UP:→ ya sayidi ?uðkuru ?llah [ wallahi ma mçu na no:kil
?na wewladi]
remember God I swear not have to eat I and
my children
remember Allah I swear that I and my children have
nothing to eat

11. S: [ ya ?xhi mamnu:ʕ
mamnu:ʕ titkalam min fo:g]
forbidden forbidden to talk from above
[ brother you are not
allowed to speak from above]

12. S: lw samht =
excuse me
Excuse me=

In line 10, the UP produces a complaint using “I swear that I and my children have nothing to eat.” Through this complaint, the UP indirectly complains to the recipient (Prime Minister), as it is evident at the beginning of the example “respected MP state Samir” (line 3). The complaint is not produced as a response to an assertion or statement from the parliament, instead the UP interjects into the ongoing proceedings to discuss his personal situation i.e. his poor financial condition. The complaint is addressed to the CS/the Prime
Minister, who cannot be held accountable for the UP’s poor financial condition. This informs us that the UP is complaining about a third party i.e. the party to whom the UP should be delivering his complaint to is absent. Lastly, the design of the complaint appears to be explicit and straightforward in its delivery/design to the addressed participant; through this the UP offers a clear picture of his poor financial condition. Line 11 overlaps with line 10, at which the Prime Minister (S) acknowledges the complaint and informs the UP that it is illegal to speak from above i.e. the gallery. When the UP utters, “I have nothing to feed my children”, it shows that he uses ‘extreme case formulations’ (Pomerantz, 1986). In the above example, an extreme description helps in “portraying a situation as a legitimate complainable” (Pomerantz, 1986, p. 227). Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2005, p. 258) argue that “extreme case formulations are mobilized to do adversarial work in complaining, accusing, justifying and defending; they accomplish this by anticipating and countering potentially unsympathetic hearings.” It is observed that the UP is emphasizing his description of his poor financial condition by the use of the token “nothing”, and that he is in desperate need of help. In Pomerantz’s (1986) opinion, extreme case formulations are distinguished by producing expressions such as every, all, none, best, least, always, etc. In this example, we can see that the UP is offering an overstatement of the complaint with the statement “I have nothing to feed my children.”

Similarly to Example (43), Example (44) also shows that public audience members produce indirect complaints by striking straight to the heart of the matter. The audience member in the gallery complains to Members of Parliament about the issue of Amman customs.

Example (44) 1

1. UP: (( UP struggles with guards))
2. UP: YA ČAMI XALUNA NEħKI (( UP addresses talk to the guards))
   PRT PRT let me speak
   YA ČAMI LET ME SPEAK
3. Aud: () xalu yehki
   () let him speak
4. UP XALUNA NhKI (. ) ISMAʕUNA YA NUWAB
   Let us speak    listen us PRT MPs
   LET ME SPEAK (. ) LISTEN TO ME MPS
5. UP YA MohTARAMI:N (. ) YA hUKUMA YA MuhTARAMA (. )
   PRT respected PRT government PRT respected
RESPECTED (MPs) YA RESPECTED YA GOVERNMENT (. )

6. UP BIDNA GADIAT JOMRUK ĞMAN ((guards physically struggle the UP))
We want issue customs Amman
WE WANT THE ISSUE OF AMMAN CUSTOMS

7. CP: Xalu yehki xalu yehki
let him speak let him speak

8. UP DAXLI:N Ğ?LLA WA JALALET SYDNA= ((points his arms toward MPs))
I supplicate to God and to his highness our King
I SUPPLICATE TO GOD AND TO HIS HIGHNESS OUR King=

9. CP: =Xalas unlawful
=that’s enough

10. UP MJAN ?LLA=
For sake God
FOR GOD’S SAKE

After the UP gains access to the floor by summoning Members of Parliament, and having become a ratified participant, he continues to produce an implicit complaint to Members of Parliament with “WE WANT THE ISSUE OF AMMAN CUSTOMS” (line 6). Through this turn, the complaint is produced not in response to the ongoing talk in the parliament, but to fulfil a personal need of the complainer. This complaint is produced in an implicit way as the complainer does not clearly address his complaint to Members of Parliament. When the UP implicitly refers to his complaint in this way, it may prevent him from reaching the crux of the issue, as the UP may not be given enough time to expand his turn. It would be more appropriate if the UP explicitly stated his complaint. Lastly in terms of epistemics (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Drew, 2018), the UP constructs his turn in a way that assumes shared knowledge between him and the addressees. It is observed that the implicit complaint is associated with epistemics (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Drew, 2018) at the point at which the UP raises the issue of Amman customs. This suggests that Members of Parliament are aware of the issue, and informs us that the UP has access to some knowledge (Amman customs). The UP offers a piece of information about Amman customs, although he does not clearly describe his complaint thoroughly, indicating assumed shared knowledge. Alternatively, Members of Parliament may not be familiar with the issue of Amman customs, and this may be the reason the CP demands that the security guards let the UP speak.
In a deviant case, a member of the public audience produces an indirect complaint, but in the form of a telling. In Example (45), the UP launches the turn through providing a description of the problem that has occurred to him.

Example (45) 16

12. UP (               )
13. CP: ya ḥaḍrat aḍābit?
   PRT dear officer
   ya dear officer
14. UP:→ ?hna ?rbaṣi:n sana wḥna ḫumal naṣmal tanzil wa
tahmi:l (.) mush emkli:n
   we forty years we labourers work upload and
download not charge the
   we have been working for forty years as labourers
upload and download (.) and we don’t charge the
   ?tujar (.) ?aji bīḍi ?lif baṣḍd
   PRT after forty years
government’s funds (.) we get our payment from
   traders (.) after forty years
   wḥna ḩam ?nnā:di=
   Forty years this tender its we are calling
   after forty years I see this tender (               )
   and we have been reporting=
17. AM: = ʃusem ?ʃarikeh?
   Name of company
   What’s the name of the company
18. UP: ?hna ḩam ?nadi=
   we are calling
   we have been reporting
19. AM: = ʃusem ?ʃarikeh
   Name of company
   what’s the name of the company?
20. UP: μuʃ ḍmklfi:n xazinet ?ddawleh wala taṣri:fiwaḥde
   not charging the funds of government not a Fils
   ((currency)) one
   we do not charge the government’s funds not even a
   single Fils
21. UP: w?na bathada [eḍa− ]
   and I bet if
   and I bet if−
22. CP: [xala::s]
   enough
At line 14, the UP initiates the telling of the complaint at a TRP where the CP demanded the security guards give him permission to speak whilst he stood at the edge of the gallery. The UP begins the turn through providing considerable information about the problem he has encountered; that is, the UP complains to a third party about a new private company which took the tender of labour, causing him to lose his job there. The only evident information about this company is observed at line 19, where the MP asks the UP about the name of the company. Within the UP’s turn (line 14-16), the UP continues to justify the complaint that their payments are not provided by government finance. The above example is different from Example (43) and Example (44) in the sense that the UP makes a thorough description of the complaint; he expands the telling by providing further explanation of the complaint. This expansion takes place because the CP accepted the UP to become a ratified participant (Goffman 1981); which also shows that the UP has obtained interactional space of the interaction (Farina 2018). In contrast, Example (43) and Example (44) share one theme; that is the design of the complaint is explicit and short i.e. gets to the heart of the complaint. Uttering a complaint explicitly and succinctly informs us that the UP aims to strike to the point; this is very similar to announcements (discussed in the previous chapter) where the UP offers a headline (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) to the complaint. In other words, heckler tend to describe their problems to recipients in order to gain a solution for their problems.

In terms of the response to complaints the CP commonly produces an acknowledgement of the complaint, particularly when he accepts the change of footing from unratted to ratified regarding the participant. This kind of acknowledgement is evident in example 44 & 45, where the CP produces the acknowledgment token “that’s enough” after the UP successfully made the complaint. However, a deviant response may occur wherein the CP does not accept the UP to become a ratified participant, as it is evident in Example (43). In the latter example, the CP produces a telling “you are not allowed to speak from above.” Through this telling, the CP not only warns the UP against talking from the gallery, but also blocks the way for the UP, preventing any further disruptions. The CP stresses a point
concerning the internal regulations of parliament, where public audience members are not permitted to interfere with parliament business.

In summary, Orthaber & Márquez-Reiter (2011, p. 3861) define complaining as “to report a particular problem that has already occurred, or to report it indirectly to a third party; the aim of the complaint is to express a sense of dissatisfaction or unfairness.” Public audience members in the gallery recurrently complain to Members of Parliament by indirectly reporting a personal problem that they are facing. Indirect complaints are not produced in response to an assertion. Instead they constitute a change of topic from the ongoing discussion in the parliament and are produced to receive repair for personal problems. Furthermore, Members of Parliament are not accountable for complaints reported by public audience members. The design of indirect complaints by public audience members shows us that they are strongly associated with ‘extreme case formulations’. This is evident when the public audience member launches the turn “I have nothing to feed my children.” The public audience member states that his poor financial condition results in the fact he has nothing to feed his children. Another design of complaint associated to epistemic is when public audience members produce complaints through referring to their complaint in a direct and deliberate way, such as “we want the issue of Amman customs.” This complaint is produced in this way because the public audience member treats Members of Parliament as if they are familiar with his issue. It could be possible that the issue of Amman customs has been debated in the past by Members of Parliament, and thus the public audience member produces the complaint as a reminder. As for the design of response to complaints, the CP either accepts public audience members to become ratified speakers (Goffman 1981) as in Example (44) Example (45), or the CP may treat indirect complaints by public audience members as inappropriate, as illustrated in Example (43) when the CP informed the UP that “it is illegal to talk from above.”

5.3 Announcements

According to Schegloff (2007) “Announcement sequences are ones which tellers launch to convey “news” on their own initiative” (p. 37). The types of response for announcements are twofold: “ones which register whether what has been told is in fact “news” i.e. was previously not known by the recipient; and ones which take up a stance towards the news,
or assess it” (p. 37). Announcements are regularly preceded with pre-announcements at which point the recipient does not already know the thing to be told or announced; this is referred to as recipient design (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Sidnell, 2010). In other words, participants launch into a pre-announcement to check whether the recipient already knows the news or not. In the following section, some heckles take the form of announcements as recurrent actions.

5.3.2 Announcements by public audience members

Public audience members in the parliament rely heavily on the use of announcements after they enter the interaction. The design of such announcements in this study is rather different from ordinary conversation in the sense that they are produced in a straightforward way without a pre-announcement (Schegloff, 2007; Clift, 2016). In general, Public audience members recurrently produce announcements in order to provide a headline for recipients of what they intend to talk about. In 7 of the 18 instances, members of the public audience use announcements in order to introduce their complaints to the recipients. In Example (46), the public audience member launches the announcement in a straightforward way.

Example (46) 9

1. UP:    
2. CS:    =dawlat arrai:s  ((CS look up (gallery) at UP))
           state President
           =Your excellency
3. UP    Dawlat Sami:r ?lna?b ?lmuhtaram=  ((stands at edge of gallery))
           State NAME MP respected
           respected MP state Samir
4. CS:    =DAWALAT ARAI:S
           state President
           your excellency
5. S:     lw samḥt(.) lw samḥt
           excuse me             excuse me
           excuse me (. excuṣ me
6. UP:→ wein bidi ?ukil ana we?wladi?
         Where want eat I and children
         How am I going to feed my children
7. S:     lw samḥt
           excuse me
           excuse me
In line 6, the UP produces a strong statement/announcement, but in the form of a question through “how am I going to feed my children.” Through this question, the UP uses a strong continuous claim. The UP uses this announcement to show other participants, particularly Members of Parliament, that he is referring to a personal issue; which implies that he has encountered terrible financial conditions leading to the production of such an announcement. The predominant observation about this announcement is that it satisfies two things, these are; not only is it simple and short (Liddicoat, 2007), but also it is designed to be more dramatic and extreme (Herman, 1995). In addition to this we can see that this announcement is not vague in any way towards the recipients. This announcement is very similar to news headlines (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) wherein it gives a considerable indication of what the UP will talk about further. Later in the interaction, the UP provides details about the announcement in which he gradually moves to offer details about his complaint. Here we can see that the interaction involves actions which are tied together as a thread. The action of complaining is an umbrella, which includes announcements as well as other actions. To expand upon this, the announcement in Example (46) not only works to secure the interactional space of the interaction, but also provides a space to ensure the recipient and other listeners are eager for more details of the complaint (if the UP is given enough time to expand the sequence).

In Example (47) the UP launches into an announcement which is very similar to news headlines. Through this announcement, the UP appears to be offering a headline of what he will be tends to talk about.

Example (47) 5
1. UP: banifidullah (.). ţuma banifid ?lmalik (.). ţuma banajid ţwn ?lxasawneh= implore god and implore the King and implore NAME NAME I implore to Allah and I implore to the King and I implore to ţwn ?lxasawneh
2. MP: =xaluh yhki
Let him speak

3. UP: yaa xwan
   PRT brothers
   brothers

4. MP: [xalu yhki]
   Let him speak

5. UP:→ [beiti bidu ] yegaẓ ġalyi
   My house will fall on me
   My house is going to fall

6. UP: wallah ?lCaذي:m (. ) qasaman bilah beiti ayil lasqut
   Swear to God swear to God my house will fall
   I swear to Allah (.) I swear to Allah my house is going to fall

7. UP: bidu yegaẓ ġalyee maʃan?llah
   Will fall on me for god’s sake
   It is going to fall on me for god’s sake

8. UP: maʃan?llah terḥamu:ne:
   For god’s sake have mercy on me

9. UP: maʃan?llah
   For god’s sake

10. Aud: (                          )

After the UP gains the speakership through the chairman’s approval, the UP continues to produce an announcement using “My house is going to fall on me” in line 5. This announcement is not produced in response to an assertion by the parliament, as the personal demand is not related to any ongoing talk. The announcement is explicitly stated, as the UP states that his home is falling down. This is very similar to news headlines (Clayman 1991), with the UP making a statement regarding his complaint. In Clayman & Heritage’s (2002, p. 93) view, news interviews’ openings tend to follow a particular sequential organization which both presents the agenda for the interview and connects it with the relevant events of the day. When public audiences formulate descriptions of cases as maximum cases, “they forestall the possible objections to their descriptions; they provide for a sense of the present problem” (Hester, 1998 p. 144). The public audience member has been successful in conveying the full picture of his living conditions with one simple announcement. The design of this announcement is similar to Example (46), where it is evident that the UP produces an ‘extreme case formulation’ (Pomerantz, 1986). In other words, the UP dramatizes the announcement not only by telling the recipients that his house
is going to fall, but also by preceding the announcement with a religious oath “I swear to Allah (god).”

In Example (48), the public audience member launches an announcement with regard to corruption as she stated.

Example (48) 6

1. CP: Tfadal ( )
   You may ( )
   Please go ahead
2. CS: saiyyidi fukran dawalat arrai:s
   PRT thank you state President
   Thank you your excellency
3. UP: [dawlet ra?i:s ?lwzra (0.5) dawlet r?i:s ?lwzora]
   ana daxi:la ḋaleiku: ( )
   State President minister state President I supplicate to you
   Your Excellency (0.5) Your Excellency I supplicate to you
4. CS: [( )]
   And King Abdullah the right is in my hand
   And King Abdullah [( (.)) ] I have the right
6. CS: [( )]
7. UP: →MIN ṬALT?USART ( SANA WANA (stood up at the edge of the gallery))
   since thirteen   years and I
   since thirteen [ years and I
8. CP: [ law sa-
   If you-
   [if you (excuse me)
9. UP: → MASIK RAS ?LFASSAD (.) WETKU TSALU ĞALA MUḫAMAD (.)
   Hold head of corruption (. ) prayers to Muhammad
   I HAVE BEEN SUFFERING FROM CORRUPTION PRAYER TO
   (PROPHET) MUḤAMMAD
    whoever killed a soul, except for a soul slain, or
    for Sedition in the earth
11. CP: [lw smhti wein rejal ?lamm ?lmawjudi:n bilshurfa; ]
    Excuse me, where men of the security available in
    the gallery
    [Excuse me, where are the available security
    officers in the gallery?]
After the UP secures the floor, she immediately launches an announcement through “for the last thirteen years I have been suffering from corruption” (line 7). Here the UP attempts to dramatize (Herman, 1995) the complaint because it has been going on for a long time. This is an interesting tactic to draw the attention of the hearers, as it may make them eager to listen to her in order to learn more about her complaint. When the UP utters this announcement, it offers a general idea of what the UP is going to talk about, but later more specific details will be delivered to the recipient if she gets the chance to develop the telling.

It is pertinent to note that such announcements do not occur in response to an assertion (McIlvenny, 1996a) in the parliament. In general, the majority of public audience members in the gallery make illegal interventions to fulfil personal demands or to complain about someone/something. In this instance, the heckler complains about an issue of corruption which is not related to the parliament business nor is it in response to an assertion by a CS.

5.3.2.1 Responses to announcements

There are two responses to the action of the announcement: on the part of the CS and the CP. For the first, the CS initiates the talk (line 4) which overlaps with line 3. The utterances of the CSs are inaudible because of the overlapping voices of more than one speaker, despite the fact that the CS is speaking through a microphone. However, the CS stops his speech to let her complete her talk. When the CS ceases his speech in such a case, it informs us that the CS offers more space for the UP to talk. Furthermore, the overlap occurs near TRP. It appears that is no cooperation between them; nor does the UP wait until the CS ceases or at least completes his speech. Secondly, in overlap with line 7, the CP produces an incomplete token “if you –” (line 8), which should be “if you excuse me.” This brief interjection implies that CP aims to disengage the heckler from then interaction, but when he noticed that the UP would not cede the floor, he retreated. This informs us that the UP has been successful in gaining the speakership despite the fact that she gained speakership by force, though the CP has not approved her to gain the speakership. The UP has relied
heavily on various ways to secure her participation, including summons and supplication. Therefore, she has been successful in conveying her announcement. On the non-verbal level, members of the parliaments who are listeners of the talk display their non-verbal response to the illegal situation that has occurred. This can be observed in Figure (12). Members of Parliament redirect their faces towards the audience member in the gallery. This is an indication that Members of Parliament have acknowledged her participation.

![Figure 12. Members of Parliament redirect their faces towards the gallery.](image)

In sum, announcements are one of the actions practiced by public audience members in the gallery and they are produced based on personal needs or problems. The design of an announcement is similar to news headlines which offer a general idea of what the public audience will talk about. In other words, public audiences offer information regarding the reason for their heckles, before they get to the heart of the matter. The recurrent design features of announcements are that they are short and to the point. Moreover, public audiences tend to dramatize the situation i.e. refer to ‘my house is falling on me’. Furthermore, public audiences sometimes use extreme case formulations when they describe their situation to Members of Parliament. The above mentioned design features
are very useful in such environment because they offer a full description of what the situation of public audience encounter.

In terms of the responses to announcements, the CP typically launches an expression such as “excuse me” in order to disengage hecklers from producing further talk. This shows that there is no coordination between the CP and the heckler when announcements are launched. If hecklers do not orient to “excuse me”, the CP may demand the security guards to dismiss the heckler from the gallery.

5.3.3 Announcements by Members of Parliament

Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak produce announcements in response to an ‘assertion or statement’ (McIlvenny, 1996a) in the parliament including the procedures led by the CP such as voting and selecting new speakers. The design of such announcements in this section are significant because they show how unratified Members of Parliament argue against the procedures led by the CP. In 6 of the 41 instances, unratified Members of Parliament tend to launch into announcements based on prior actions led by the CP. In Example (49) the UP launches an announcement with regard to the procedures led by the CP for not offering an opportunity to all Members of Parliament to speak.

Example (49)

1. CP: tfdal dawlt ?ra?i:s
   Go ahead your excellency
   **go ahead (speak) your excellency**
2. CS: saydi ?r[ ?i:s ]
   your excellency
   **your exc[ellency]**
3. UP  [ ( ) ] ((CS looks at H))
4. UP  ( [ )
5. CS: [ saydi ?rr?i:s (1.0) ?waln
   Your excellency (1.0) first of all
   **[Your excellency (1.0) first of all**
6. UP  [ rawah ?stna: lewyj btʕaridʕ
   PRT wait why refute?
   **[rawah wait why do you refute?**
7. MP: xalsʕ ya nidal
   That’s enough NAME
   **That’s enough Nedal**
8. UP→ ?yʃ ?tasʕwi:t  [ ( )
   what’s voting  [ ( )
   [90x52]144
what is the voting for? 

9. CP: 
   [fi ra?i:s wozora
    PRT Prime Minister
    fee the Prime Minister

10. UP () mafruð azomla? kolhom (  ) mf?r?a xamsa
() assumed colleagues all of them (  ) not
four five
() it is assumed that all colleagues should (  )
and not four or five

11. UP tingaya ?ʃyli=
picking issue
cherry picking issue=

12. CP: = twozʃ ʃylik ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ?yam ka:n ]
bistit?aʃtk tokto
Distributed to you PRT NAME before five days you
managed to write
It’s distributed to you ?x Nedal five days ago
you’ve managed to write

13. UP [ ma bisʃi:r halaki]
   Not acceptable this talk
   [ it’s unacceptable what you said]

14. CP: mulhð[atak ʃlyh]
   comments on it
   (write) your comm[ents on it ]

15. UP [ ma bisʃi:r] (  )
    not acceptable (  )
    [this is unacceptable] (  )

16. Aud: (  )

17. CP: ha?da woziʃ zaman ya (.) niðal ya niðal ha?da woziʃ
   hatha woziʃ
This distributed ago PRT NAME this distributed this
distributed
It’s been distributed ya Nedal it’s been
distributed a while ago Nedal it’s been distributed

In line 8, the UP produces a strong statement using “what is voting for”, but this announcement is not specified to any particular recipient. The UP uses this announcement to give an indication that something went wrong, and thus to project that he seeks to argue against the voting procedure led by the CP. The UP does not name the intended recipient of the strong statement. This is because the Members of Parliament know that the statement is being directed to the CP, as he is the one in charge of the parliament. In response to the strong statement, the CP launched an incomplete turn at line 9 through “the Prime Minister
"which shows that the UPs intervention is inappropriate. The sequence then moves on to the next phase; that is the unpacking of the announcement. In line 10, the argues the CP using “it is assumed that all colleagues should participate and not four or five.” Here the UP does not address talk in response to the CS’s speech (Prime Minister), instead he addresses the talk to the CP. The UP does not argue about the speech of the CS, but instead complains against the procedure led by the CP. Moreover, the complaint is not addressed to the CP, as the UP generalizes the complaint and does not specify the CP through “it is assumed.” This leads the CP to argue with him about the procedure by offering a warrant for the selection of speakers through “Nedal it has been distributed to you five days ago you should have written your comments.”

Members of Parliament who are unratted to speak may also argue parliamentary procedures led by the CP. In Example (50) the UP launches an announcement against procedures which involve the internal regulations of the parliament such as the voting procedure.

Example (50) 44

1. **UP** ya sidi [haði ?ham mobadra ] mʕali ?ra?i:s ma
   PRT PRT this important proposal excellency not vote
   PRTsir this is an important proposal your
   excellency I will not vote

2. **CP:** [ ( ]

3.→ **UP:** muxalif lniðam ma fi ( )
   against regulation
   this is against the regulations there is not ( )

4. **CP:** [xalasʕ ( ) ?ogʕod
   enough
   sit
   enough ( ) sit down

5. **UP:** [la yojad nisa:b ] ma basʕwit mʕali ?ra?i:s
   not available quorum not vote excellency President
   there is no quorum I will not vote your excellency

6. **CP:** [( )]

7. **CP:** < xalasʕ xalasʕ xalasʕ>
   enough enough enough
   <enough enough enough>

8. **UP:** haða qanu:n muwa:zna ?na tʔalbt mink noqtʔit niðam
   this law arbitrage I demnd from you
   system point
this is an arbitrage law I demanded from you a system point

9. UP: bagolak ma fi nesˁab=
say no there quorum
I’m telling you there is no quorum=

10. CP: = xalasˁ ħkeit ?li ġindk
enough you said PRT have
= okay you made ?li your point

11. UP: ġid ya sidi ġid =
count PRT PRT count
coun ya sidi count t=

12. CP: = xalasˁ ħkeit ?li ġindk
enough you said what PRT have
= enough you made your point

13. UP: ġid ya sidi ġid
count PRTsir

14. CP: ħkeit ?li ġindk
you said PRT have
you made ?li your point

15. CP: ħki
speak

The section before the extract is missing in the recording, thus it is not possible to examine what the CP was doing before the example. In line 3, the UP produces a strong, short and simple announcement using “this is against the regulations.” Through this, it is observed that the UP argues with the CP about conducting a vote on parliament procedure, because the number of Members in Parliament is below the minimum requirement for voting. The UP produces this announcement due to voting procedures that are managed and organized by the CP. In response, the CP treats the UP’s intervention with dis-alignment (Stivers, 2008), and thus demands the UP sit down (line 5). In line 6, the UP unpacks the announcement (Schegloff, 2007, p.42) by getting to the point at hand, and also provides a warrant for the announcement through “this is against the regulations”, offering the explanation that “there is no quorum and I will vote your Excellency” (line 6).

In Example (49)Example (50), we have seen that Members of Parliament commonly produce announcements in response to an assertion (McIlvenny, 1996a), and they are launched in response to parliamentary procedures led by the CP. However, announcements such as heckles do not necessarily have to occur in response to an assertion (Kádár, 2014) by a recipient i.e. Member of Parliament. Members of Parliament who are unratified to
speak produce heckles in the form of an announcement based on epistemics i.e. shared knowledge between participants, and more specifically an issue that is well known to all Members of Parliament (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Drew, 2018). This is shown in Example (51). It is observed that some Members of Parliament are sitting in the public audience gallery (an uncommon and exceptional case) to protest against some government officials including the Prime Minister, and ministers.

Example (51) 19

1. CS: (                  ) wa?lsiyada ?lwat?ania
       and sovereignty national
       (                  ) and national sovereignty

2. UP →BA¢OHA (2.0)
       THEY SOLD IT (2.0)

3. CP: lw samht ya Yahya ihna wadenak tnzil ?zzomola?
       excuse me PRT Yahya we sent you to down colleagues
       excuse me ya Yahya we sent you to bring the colleagues

4. CP: moʃ togʃod (                  )=
       not to sit down
       but not to join them

5. UP = la ?na minðam ?lhom ya sidi ma widi
       not I joining to them PRT PRT not I don’t
       No No I’m joining them ya seidi I don’t want

       to come down I’m joining to the colleagues (.)
       to come down I’m joining my colleagues (.)

7. CP: ( [                ])

8. UP: ((stood up and approaches to the end edge of the balcony))

       The Royalty] sold not left in the royalty
       [The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is left
       in the RJ

10. CP: = tab jokran ilko ?rjo ?n nahtarem [?ljalsa]
       PRT thank to you kindly we should respect the
       session
       PRT thank you kindly we should respect [the
       session]

11. UP = ma thal] eshi
       bilmalakia klo ba3ooha=
       not left thing in the royalty everything is sold
       [nothing is] left in the (royal Jordanian) they
       have sold it
At the beginning of the interaction, the UP produces the short token “they have sold it”, which is treated as a strong statement/announcement. Through this token the UP refers to an issue commonly known amongst the Members of Parliament, audience, and himself as well. In Jordan, Arabic speakers associate particular words to certain things that have happened in the past to someone or something (Feiz & Strauss, 2013). To put it more simply, the UP utters the token not in response to a statement by a recipient, but based on something that occurred in the past and is related to the parliament and the government.

The short token “they have sold it” is a complex and a packed utterance which is used in this instance to report about something which has already occurred in the past. The previous Jordanian government launched the privatization of public sector institutions such as the national Potassium company, Phosphate Company and Royal Jordanian airlines. The UP continues to further unpack the announcement by producing a direct complaint to the CP through “The Royal Jordanian has been sold nothing is left in the royal Jordanian.” The latter telling is an unpacking of the announcement at line 2 and can be interpreted as a complaint. It should be clear that the main point is that the complaint does not occur in response to a speech in the parliament i.e. the CS’s speech, but it occurs as a complaint against the government i.e. no specific recipient. This invokes an issue that had already been debated before the CS began to speak. This complaint is acknowledged by the CP through the token “Okay” (Beach, 1993; Beach, 1995) followed by a closing implicative environment device; that of appreciation (Button, 1990) (line 11).

In summary, Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak often produce announcements in response to parliamentary procedures led by the CP such as the voting system or selecting new speakers in the parliament. Moreover, Members of Parliament launch announcements when they notice that something has went wrong and thus they launch them to argue the procedures led by the CP. In Example (49) the unratified Member of Parliament launched an announcement to argue the way in which the CP has randomly picked speakers. Whilst in Example (50), the unratified Member of Parliament announced it is against the law to conduct a voting procedure on an important proposal without having the minimum aquarium.
5.4 Demands

A regular occurrence in my data is that of ‘demands’. I define demands simply as a form of talk in which somebody tells another to do something. Demands are rather different from requests however, because the design of the latter occurs in a common form such as “Could you do” “Would you mind passing me X?” Curl & Drew (2008), define a request as an action where participant A asks participant B to do something. Curl & Drew (2008) offer a variety of linguistic form of English requests such as the naming of the object being requested (e.g. Twenty Marlborough), imperatives such as Pass me the x, declaratives such as I need x (you to do). These linguistic forms may be accomplished with requests such as Would you mind passing me the x? Could you do x? and Are you using the x? Craven and Potter (2010) look at a directive as an action in which participant A tells participant B to do something. The concept of directive is very similar to that of demand. Here we can observe that asking somebody to do something is rather different from telling somebody to do something. In the following two sections, I shall analyse demands produced by UPs.

5.4.4 Demands by public audience in the gallery

This section looks at demands as a common kind of action that public audience members rely on after they gain the floor. Like other actions, demands typically occur in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament, and they are thus usually relevant to the ongoing activity of the parliament. In 5 of the 18 instances, public audience members produce demands in response to parliamentary procedures. Normally, the designs of demands are associated with the concept of advice giving (Hutchby, 2006; Heritage & Sefi, 1992). The concept of advice giving is interesting because it shows how public audiences argue with parliamentary procedures and thus seek to launch demands to make a contribution in the interaction. Launching into demands thus shows that public audiences contradict Members of Parliament and that the parliamentary procedures are illegitimate by the public audience view.

In order to illustrate this, first see Example (52). The public audience observes the parliamentary procedures with great interest and thus advises the Members of Parliament using an imperative form.

Example (52) 12
Chairperson brother colleagues for importance requirements establishing
chairperson brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most requirements for requirements for establishing

?ddustu:r wat?di:l ahkamihi
State modern is working rules institution and its amendments
modern state is by applying what the constitution stipulates and its amendments

3. CS: letuwakib ?ttatˀawr(       ) fil?a::lam amutayyr
bistimrar
Keep up with development in world changing constantly
To constantly keep up with the development of changing world

Appropriate benefit of country and people
[To cope up with the benefit of the country and its people]

excellency MP excellency MP
[ your excellency (.). your excellency] 

6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihda
PRT parliament one hundred and eleven
parliament one hundred and eleven =

7. CS: =[ walil?hefað ?la kayan ?adawla]
To maintain on the existence of the state
=[ and to maintain the existence of the country]

8. UP: [ (       )]=

9. CP: = lw samḥt
excuse me
= excuse me

10. UP:→ wagfu ?t củ dilat ?ddustu:ria
stop amendments constitution
stop the constitution amendments

11. CP: al?men
guards

After the UP summons members of the parliament, the UP launches a demand to the Members of Parliament through “stop the constitutional amendments” in line 10. This demand occurs in response to the talk (line 1-4), as it is evident that the CS brings up the
issue of constitutional amendments using “modern state is by applying what the constitution stipulates and its amendments” (line 4). This shows that the UP launches their demand in response to the constitutional amendments. Furthermore, the demand is designed in an imperative form (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), as the UP launches the TCU with the token “stop...” addressing the parliament in plural form. Although the demand occurs in an imperative form, it seems that the public audience member is giving advice (Hutchby, 2006). Later in the interaction, the UP continues to develop his talk by using a strong statement (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 2000) regarding the constitutional amendments through “the constitution is a red line” (line 14 in Example (53)). This strong statement is a warrant for the claim of the demand produced at line 10. In other words, the public audience member makes a justification and offers a reason for telling the Members of Parliament to “stop the constitutional amendments.” Later in the interaction in Example (53), the same public audience member launches a demand by giving advice to the Members of Parliament (line 14) using another imperative form.

Example (53) 12
11. CPL al?men guards
Stop constitution amendments
[ ( ] ) stop the
constitution amendments
guards
[ guards ]
14. UP: ( ?ʕdilat addustu:rya ( ) addustu:r xat? ahmar
Amendments constitution ( )
constitution red line ( ) constitution amendments ( )
the constitution is a red line
respect the youth respect the youth] respect the youth
respect the youth [respect the youth respect the youth] respect the youth
respect the youth
[respect the youth respect the youth] respect the youth
16. AM: [haðo:l ?ʕjabab gaʕdi:n betnaʔu ]
These youth sit discuss
[the youths are discussing ]
This demand also occurs in an imperative form, with which the UP urges the Members of Parliament to take account of the youth’s opinion before making amendments to the constitution of Jordan. In addition to this, the demand shares the same properties of the design of advice giving in Example (52). Here I have used it to support the design of demands for the service of advice giving using an imperative form. Advice giving is also evident in this case because the public audience member uses the demand as an advice giving to remind Members of Parliament to consider the youth before making amendments to the constitution of Jordan. In interactions between health visitors and first-time mothers, advice giving sequences are used in the imperative, for instance “no always be very quiet at night” and “if you think they’re pussie [sic] then you must use boiled water” (Heritage and Sefi, 1992 p. 369). These examples are very similar to the advice-giving actions in the current study.

In Example (54), the public audience launches the demand for the service of advice giving using a form of obligation. Members of Parliament debate the proposal of making some amendments to the Jordanian constitution. This triggers a subsequent response from one of the audience members demanding Members of the Parliament to omit the legislation.

Example (54) 8

1. CP: [ ( )
2. UP: [ ( ) ((struggles with guards at the edge of the gallery))
3. UP: ?ntum ?rhab [yi:::n]
   you are terrorists
   you are terro[ rist:::s ]
4. AM: [ yah ?x]
   PRT brother
   [ ya brother ]
5. CP: ([ ]
6. UP:→ [ ( ) ] w хаđa qanu:n ja:?r (.) yajeb хаOfu fawran (.)
   and this law unjust must deleted immediately
   [ ( )] this is an unjust legislation it must be omitted immediately
7. AM: ma bisˁi:r yḥtˀu ?ydhom ġleiha weħna ḥakeina ( )
   Not should put hands they on her and we said
   They shouldn’t put their hands on her we said that
8. Aud: ((various voices))
9. CP: ?walan (1.0) Lam yulad ?lqanun qit? (2.0)
   first of all not born the law never
   first of all (1.0) legislations are never born (2.0)
10. UP: wahad bas biħkom=
    One just governs
    Only one who governs =
11. CP: = taʔamlaʔ mšha bikul lut?f wehṭeram eša ehtajat
    Treat her with all politeness and respect if she
    protests
    = treat her with courtesy and respect if she disagrees
12. CP: ((guards dismiss UP))

In line 6, the UP produces two TCUs. The first TCU comprises of a strong statement using “this is an unjust legislation”, immediately followed by a demand “it must be omitted immediately” – this refers to the second TCU. Through this, the UP demands the withdrawal of legislation that had been proposed earlier by Members of Parliament. The demand in this example is linked to epistemics (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Drew, 2018), where it is built to make use of shared knowledge, as she brings up an issue that had already been introduced earlier in the parliament. There is no evidence in the above example which shows that Members of Parliament talk about the issue of making amendments to the constitution or even establishing new legislation. It is clearly observed that Members of Parliament had been discussing the amendment, and the reason for this is that the public audience member launches a strong statement in response to this action, through an initiation of the ‘deictic term’ this (Diessel, 1999, p. 2). (Line 6). Moreover, this demand occurs in the form of advice giving using an obligation (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), as she states that “it must be omitted immediately.” In terms of the response to this demand, the
CP produces the token “first of all”, as preparation for a response to the UP, followed by an account for making such amendments to the constitution through “first of all (1.0) legislations are never born.”

The typical design of demands shows that public audiences use advice giving in an imperative mood. Public audience produce demands which occur in response to prior parliamentary procedures such as constitution amendments. In Example (52), the public audience uses an imperative form to advise Members of Parliament to “stop the constitution amendments.” Similarly, in Example (53) the public audience produces another form of demand using an imperative mood using “respect the youth.” Alternatively, in Example (54) the public audience member uses a stronger form of advice giving using an obligation “it must be omitted immediately” (line 6). It is worth noting that such demands are associated to the concept of advice giving. That is, the public audiences advise Members of Parliament to take their demands into consideration. On the other hand, the recipient of the demands, particularly the CP, does not orient to such demands simply because the public audiences are not part of the interaction and that their participation roles are unratified.

For a deviant case, the public audience may launch demands not in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament, but to fulfil a personal demand using a declaration form. For an illustration of this see Example (55). The public audience member launches a demand to Members of Parliament to gain a solution for his poor financial condition.

Example (55) 9

14. S: [lw samħt]
    excuse me
    [excuse me ]
15. UP: yxdimni bidi at?a脒i ?wladi =
    help me I want to feed my children
16. MP: = ( )
17. UP: la lw samħt lw samħt ?na bidi ((guards struggle with H))
    not if you excuse me if you excuse ne I need
    no excuse me excuse me I need
18. UP: wahad yehil muʃkilti
    someone solve my problem
    someone to solve my problem
?t?aˁmi ?wladi 
remember god I want to feed my children 
REMEMBER GOD (. I need to feed my children (. 
20. → bdy ħda yħil mưʃklty (. ((guards surround 
UP)) 
Need somebody solve problem 
I need somebody to solve my problem 
21. UP:→ bdy ħada yehil mưʃklty (. mi:n yħil mưʃklty 
((crying)) 
need somebody solve my problem who will solve my 
problem I need somebody to solve my problem (. who will 
solve my problem 
22. UP [( ] 
23. S: [lahtha lahtha] ( lahtha lahtha 
hold on hold on ( 
24. S: lahtha hal? babʕaʔlak nas hal? babʕaʔlak nas 
Hold on PRT send to you somebody PRT send to you 
somebody 
hold on I will send somebody to you I will send 
somebody to you 

In line 20, the public audience member launches a demand to Members of Parliament using “I need someone to solve my problem.” Through this turn, the public audience member addresses the talk not only to S1, but also to all members who can offer him help with his problem. The design of the demand occurs in a declarative form (Curl & Drew 2008; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005). When the public audience members form such demands, it requires a SPP of the FPP (the demand). Here the public audience member transfers the right of the floor (Sacks et al, 1974) to a recipient who accepts his demand and fulfils his needs. However, the public audience member has not received any acknowledgement of the demand. Thus he continues to reproduce the demand again in line 21. The repetition of the demand in line 20 is enough to indicate that the public audience member is more insistent on gaining an approval to the demand (Norrick, 1987). In lines 23 and 24, S1 acknowledged the demand using “hold on hold on”, and then immediately launches the SPP (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 2007; Drew & Heritage, 2006) of the demand using “hold on I will send somebody to you I will send somebody to you.”
5.4.4.2 Responses to demands

In terms of the response to demands the CP does not orient to such demand. In Example (52) Example (53) Example (54) the recipient (the CP) of the demands do not always produce an acknowledgment of the demand. Instead the CP recruits (Kendrick & Drew, 2016) the security guards to dismiss any public audience members who interferes with parliamentary business in any form. The CP demands that the security guards dismiss public audience members who interfere with the parliament by uttering the following tokens; “guards” in Example (52), “where are the security PRT” in Example (53), and in Example (54) “treat her with all courteousness if she protests.” This shows that the CP demands the security guards to dismiss the public audience from the gallery.

In summary, public audience members in the gallery often produce demands in response to parliamentary procedures such as making amendments on laws or the constitution. The above analysis has shown that demands occur for the service of advice giving using two forms. Firstly, public audiences produce advice giving using imperative form such as ‘stop the constitutional amendments’ and ‘respect the youth’. Secondly, public audiences produce advice giving using obligations such as ‘it must be omitted immediately’. For a deviant case, public audiences use demands to accomplish a personal demands, and this takes the form of a declaration such as ‘I need somebody to solve my problem’. In terms of the responses to demands, the CP does not allow public audience to enter the interaction which shows that their participation is unratified.

5.4.5 Demands by Members of Parliament

In the previous section, I have shown how public audience members in the gallery produce demands and the response to them by the CP. In this section, I will move on to examine demands produced by Members of Parliament when they are unratified to speak. Demands in this section always occur in response to an assertion/statement by a recipient in the parliament, and they occur in light of the ongoing activity in parliament. In 8 of the 41 instances, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch demands in the form of ‘advice-giving’ (Hutchby, 2006). In order to see how members produce such demands see Example (56). The Prime Minister begins his speech with the intention of increasing the tariffs of electricity in cooperation with the parliament, and in response to that a
Member of Parliament who is unratified to speak intervenes to offer an advice on this issue using a demand.

Example (56) 21

1. CS: kama: (.). waʕadat?lhokoma (.). ma taza:l moltazima ʕnda wʕdeha (.).
As promised the government still committed to its promise
As the government had promised and still it is committed to its promises

Not possible to increase rates of electricity except in consultation to MPs
rates of electricity (energy) will not be increased only in consultation with MPs

3. CS: bidʕabt? kama ?ltazamna (2.0)
Exactly as we have pledged
Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)

Look on alternative other state President instead increasing rates
look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates

5. CS: [ waaa ]
and
[and ]

6. UP: dawer ʕala ʕala ( ) ʕani
look for for ( ) other
look for (something) else

7. CS: ((stops speech, looks at UP, simultaneously moves his left hand fingers))

8. UP: <ma bnesmahlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> ʕata [ ( )]
not allow you increase the rates even
( )
we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even
[ ( )]

9. CP: [ax Yahya]
brother NAME
[brother Yahya]

10. CS: ((turns his face straightforward, then scratches his nose with his left hand,

11. CS: and then gulps with his mouth))

12. CP: ?rjuk ?rjuk  la Yahya
At the beginning of the interaction, the CS opens the speech through proposing that the government does not pursue an increase to rates of electricity in consultation with Members of Parliament only (lines 1-3). This triggers a response from an unratified Member of Parliament to produce a comment on this. In line 4, the UP produces three TCUs. The UP produces a demand using “look for an alternative” followed by an address term “your excellency”, and then “instead of increasing the rates”, respectively. The demand occurs in response to what the CS was talking about; that is increasing the rates of electricity. Furthermore, the design of the demand occurs in an imperative form through the token “seek.” Imperatives are said to be dedicated to actions such as ordering and commanding (Aikhenvald, 2010). Moreover, the demand also expresses the notion of advice giving (Hutchby, 2006). The unratified Member of Parliament advises the CS to search for another alternative instead of increasing. In example (57), the UP produces a demand which relates to applying the internal regulations of the parliament.

Example (57)

23. UP: \[ t��nu? \neñam \ddaxli \] apply regulations internal

24. CP: \[ yahya \] NAME

25. CP: \[ tat?biːg \neñam \ddaxli mafruːd \creative \] Application the internal regulations obligatory on you

26. UP: \[ tﬁnu? \neñam \ddaxli ] ya sʕadet \?raʔiːs apply the internal regulations PRT your excellency

27. CP: \[ ?na mat?ﬁnu? \neñam \] adaxli gablak I apply the internal regulations before you

I have already applied the internal regulations
In line 26, the UP produces a demand through “apply the internal regulations” followed by an address term to establish recipiency using “your excellency.” Here it is observed that the demand occurs in an imperative form. In line 27, the CP acknowledges the demand by informing the UP that he also should apply the internal regulations. The design of the demand is associated with ‘extreme case formulations’ (Pomerantz, 1986). For instance, the unratified Member of Parliament launches the demand “apply the internal regulations” several times (in the extract lines (23 and 26)) which is enough to indicate that the demand by the unratified Member of Parliament is extreme. When the unratified Member of Parliament repeats this demand it also shows that there is something wrong with the procedures led by the CP. Interestingly, the CP does not treat the demand with acceptance, Instead, the CP challenges the Member of Parliament and argues his demands (see line 26).

In Example (58), the UP launches the demand to dismiss a Member of Parliament out of the parliament using a form of a recommendation.

Example (58) 30

PRT PRT not like not like colleagues
ya ?xi not like this not like this colleagues
12. UP2 [ ( ) ]
13. Aud: ((inaudible voices))
14. UP1:→ ?ttaswi:t ʕla faṣlu min ?lmajlis [ ( ) ]
vote on suspending him from the parliament
The voting for suspending him from the parliament
15. UP2: [ haḍa yajib
faṣlu min ?ʃb ] ?luruni
this must be suspended from Jordanian citizenship
(he) must be suspended from the Jordanian citizenship
16. UP1: ( )
17. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
18. CP: ((rings the bell))
19. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
20. CP: ?zumula ?rjuku ya mḥmad mḥmad ?g3ud ya mḥmad
?ntaheina
colleagues please PRT NAME (x2) sit PRT Mohammad
end it for
In line 14, the UP1 produces the demand using “The voting for suspending him from the parliament.” Through this demand the UP tells the Members of Parliament to suspend the MP who was aligned with the Israeli government. This demand can also be heard as a form of recommendation where the UP advises the parliament to suspend the Member of Parliament from the parliament. The demands in Example (56) & Example (57) & Example (58) are very similar in terms of their design i.e. they are used for the purpose of recommendations or suggestion.

In summary, demands occur when UPs i.e. Member of Parliament tell the recipient to do something in response to an assertion. Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak produce demands in order to make a contribution to the interaction. The design features of demands occurs when the unratified Member of Parliament offers advice giving to the recipient i.e. CS or the CP in response to a prior assertion such as “look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates” or “apply the internal regulations PRT your excellency” as in Example (56) & Example (57) respectively. The typical advice giving form occur in the form of a suggestion or a recommendation (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). The CP does not orient to such demands because the UP is not part of the interaction. Thus, the CP confronts with the UP in order to disengage him/her from the interaction.

In the following section, I will examine demands which are produced by Members of Parliament to become ratified participants.

5.4.5.1 Demands to become ratified participants

Unratified Members of Parliament often attempt to enter the ongoing discussion by requesting or demanding to speak. Typically, unratified Members of Parliament tell the CP to gain an opportunity to speak in the interaction using a declarative form; this is illustrated in Example (59).

Example (59) 40
dear colleagues MPs noble please sit at your seats
dear colleagues and noble MPs please take your seats

8. CP: hta tabd? [ ?ljalsa
to begin the [ session

9. UP: [ ( ) bigoly bigoly ?l?min
wel?man ?hm min ( )
Tell me tell me security and safety is important than
[ ( )they tell me that security and safety is important than( )

10. UP: ?wad ?ltanaʃat
NAME NAME
Awad Altanashat

11. UP: (3.0)

12. CP: ya ?bu (1.5) lw samhttom
PRT PRT excuse me (plural)
ya ?bu (1.5) excuse me

13. UP: ( ) bitnadi ʕlyh
call on him
( ) call at him

14. AM: ?nsaf
NAME
Insaf

15. UP: hasa ?na bidi ?hki ya ?bo Laith iða ma ḥakeit
bajaʕilha
Now I want to speak PRT PRT NAME if I don’t speak
fire it up
Now I want to speak ya ?bo Laith if I don’t speak I burst

16. UP: ?lak tahet ?lqoba
for you under the dome
for you in the parliament

please you maintain on silence
dear colleagues
please maintain silence [ dear colleagues ]

18. UP: [ leesh ?lhoodoo2 ]
why silence [ why silence ]
In line 15, the UP launches a demand using a declarative form “Now I want to speak” followed by an address term of the recipient “ya ?bo Laith.” The design of the demand shows that the UP seeks to become a ratified participant in the parliament in order to make a contribution to the interaction in relation the city of Ma’an. In response to the demand, the CP produces “please maintain silence [ dear colleagues.” This shows that CP does not accept the UPs demand although he does not orient to it explicitly. This also shows that the CP aims at disengaging the unratified Member of Parliament from producing further intrusion.

In the next instance the MP does not just demand to speak but simultaneously approaches the podium.

Example (60) 42

1. CP: tfdal dawlat ?ra?:is
   you may state President
   you may (speak) your excellency
   State state President minister you may
   your excellency you may (speak)
3. UP: ((approaches to podium))
4. UP: → =?na bidi ?ħky
   I want speak
   I want to speak
5. MP: ?ħki ġlstand
   speak on the podium
   Speak from the podium
6. UP: () megł ma bidy
   like I want
   as I want to
7. CP: Ahmad Ahmad=
   NAME NAME
   Ahmad Ahmad
8. UP: =ma bij[u:z tihki] mŶy ( )
   not acceptable talk with me

At the beginning of the interaction, the CP selects the Prime Minister to give a speech using “your excellency you may (speak).” In line 3, the UP leaves his desk and approaches towards the podium of the parliament. In line 4, the UP launches a demand to the CP through a declaration form in order to become a ratified using “I want to speak.” In line 7,
the CP produces ad address term “Ahmad Ahmad” to the UP. This shows that the CP aims at disengaging the UP from the interaction.

Alternatively, unratified Members of Parliament may produce requests rather than demands. This is illustrated in Example (61). The UP produces a request become a ratified participant using an imperative form.

Example (61) 23

6. CP: batmna: ḥlyk togʔod ya yahya
I wish on you to sit down PRT NAME
I wish you sit down ya Yahya
7. UP:→ Iṣtʔini majal ḥki
Give path speak
Give me permission to speak
8. CP: ma bṣtʔi:k ( )
not give you ( )
I will not give you ( )
9. UP: ya si:di Iṣtʔini ḥlneðam ḥdaxli
PRT PRT give me the internal regulations
ya seidi give me the internal regulations
10. CP: ( )
11. Aud: ( )
12. CS: ( )

In line 7, the UP launches a request to the CP through “give me permission to speak.” The design of the request occurs in response to something that had happened in the parliament. The only evident piece of information for the reason the unratified Member of Parliament produced the demand is that the unratified Member of Parliament urges the CP to apply him the internal regulation of the parliament. If we look at the interpretation of the turn ‘give me the internal regulations, it is noticeable that the CP cannot offer it to the unratified Member of Parliament because the regulations have already been stipulated to all Members of Parliament beforehand. Members of Parliament have access to the regulations i.e. through hard copies, without any need to produce verbal requests during the ongoing activity of parliament. The unratified Member of Parliament initiates the request using “give me.” However, it is clear that the design serves as a demand, although used as a request. The SPP of the demand is observed at line 8, where the CP immediately refuses to accept the unratified Member of Parliament through “I will not give you.” It is worth noting
that the request does not get accepted. This shows that the CP does not accept the request of the unratified Member of Parliament to become a ratified one (Goffman 1981, Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992). The design of demands in this section shows that unratified Members of Parliament produce demands for the purpose of becoming ratified participants and they occur in a declaration form i.e. ‘I want to speak’. Unratified Members of Parliament launch demands to become ratified participants for the purpose of arguing the parliamentary procedures led by the CP. Unsurprisingly, the CP does not orient to such demands because of the participation framework.

In summary, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak launch demands to become ratified participants. The UP tells the CP to become a ratified participant using declarations form such as “Now I want to speak” “I want to speak” or even by a request “give me permission to speak” in Example (61). The response of the CP to such demands shows that they are not welcomed to participate because that are not ratified to speak.

5.5 Disagreements

In ordinary conversation, analysts have examined the structural features of disagreements, and have proposed that there are frequent, normative patterns associated with them (Sacks 1987, Pomerantz, 1984). Pomerantz (1984) considered disagreements and she has found out that they are systematically delayed and mitigated in conversational interaction. Pomerantz (1984) has shown that pauses prior to the disagreement, token agreements and asserted agreements precede the disagreement (p. 71-72). In the following example, Pomerantz (1984) claims that one type of delay device is “no immediately forthcoming talk” (p. 70). Before participant B begins in launching a disagreement, a short silence precedes the disagreement.

*(The arrow points to the delay, and the bold points to the disagreement.)*

In Example 62, Example 63 Example 64, disagreements are delayed using the following:

1. Pauses precede the disagreement

Example 62 (SBL: 2.1.7. – 14)

1. A: ( ) cause those things take working at,
2. → (2.0)
3. B: (hhhhh) well, **they [ do, but**
4. A: [ They aren’t accidents,
5. B: No, they take working at, But on the other hand,
6. some people are born with um
7. (1.0) well a sense of humor, I think is something yer born with bea.
7. A: yes. Or it’s c- I have the- eh yes, I think a lotta people are,
8. but then I think it can be developed, too.
9. (1.0)
10. B: yeah, but [there’s-
11. A [ Any-
   Any of those attributes can be developed
   (Pomerantz, 1984, p.70-71).

In conversations, disagreements are also delayed within turns. Conversationalists begin the turns in which they disagree is some systematic way. One of these ways is to utter a token before launching into the disagreement (Pomerantz 1984). In other words, conversationalists preface the disagreement using short tokens such as “uh” “well” and the like. To illustrate this, Example 63 clearly demonstrates this.

2. Disagreement preceded by agreement token

Example 63 (JG: II: 1.-27)
1. C: … hh a:n’ uh by god I can’ even send my kid tuh public school b’cuz they’re
2. so god damn lousy
3. D: we::ll, that’s a generality.
4. C: hhh
5. D: we’ve got sm pretty [ (good schools.)
6. C: → [ Well, yeah **but where in**
   **the hell em I gonna live.**
A different way to express the disagreement is by agreeing with the prior speaker’s position. Agreements prefaces are of particular interest because agreements and disagreements are, of course, contrastive components. When they are included within the same turn, the agreement component is conjoined with the disagreement component with a contrast conjunction like “but.” In order to illustrate how agreement is conjoint with the disagreement, see the following example (Pomerantz, 1984).

3. Disagreement preceded by asserted agreement

Example 64 (SBL: 2.1.7. -15)

A: well, oh uh I think Alice has uh::: i- may – and maybe as you say, slightly different, but I think she has a good sense [ of humor

B: → [yeh, I think she does too but she has a different type

(Pomerantz, 1984, p.73).

In sum, the disagreement sequence is generally exited through a process in which the speakers deescalate their disputes by moderating their position. Disagreements are habitually delayed using the preference feature. In short, the design of disagreements is preceded by a short pause or an agreement token or even an asserted agreement phrase.

5.5.1 Disagreements by Members of Parliament

Periodically in my corpus, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak produce disagreements in response to the prior speaker’s turn. In 9 of the 41 instances, Members of Parliament who are unratified launch into disagreements against the current speaker or the chairperson’s speech. The design of disagreements as actions which involve heckling is rather different than disagreements in ordinary conversation, not only because of the turn taking system, but also due to the fact the unratified participants are not part of the interaction. Moreover, disagreements which are produced by unratified Members of Parliament are not delayed or mitigated. Instead, they are produced “promptly and in a straightforward and unvarnished fashion” (Greatbatch 1992, p. 279). Greatbatch (1992)
argues that interviewees disagree with that of co-IEs in four position a) following the responses to the interviewer’s questions; b) prior to their responses to the interviewer’s questions; c) at the possible completion of co-interviewees’ turns; and d) in the midst of a co-interviewees’ turns.

The design of disagreement is launched in response to a preceding action by the CP or the CS. In Example (65) the disagreement is launched in a prompt and straightforward manner using ‘negations’ (Pomerantz, 1984).

Example (65) 32

   and I not say it and not say sake defend from myself because
   and I don’t say it and I don’t say it for the sake of defending myself because
   I’m not in a situation defend myself
   subject of defending for the self
   for the subject of defending myself
   not should you defend for the tribes you want to swear at tribes
   no you should defend the tribes you want to swear at tribes
18. CS: 
   [ ?ihd? ?gdod] 
   [calm (down) sit (down)]
19. CS: ?gdod= 
   sit 
   sit [down]
   I not sit 
   I do not sit (down)
21. CS: 
   [god ] 
   sit 
   [ sit down]
22. UP3: 

In line 17, the UP launches a disagreement using a negation “no you should defend the tribes you want to swear at tribes.” Through this, the UP produces the disagreement
following the current speaker’s turn where he initiates the turn with a negation “no” followed by an advice giving “you should defend the tribes instead of swearing at them. Moreover, it is observed that the disagreement is produced following the current speaker’s turn, which shows that the current speaker has not yet finished his speech. The typical design of disagreement occurs in the form of a negation which shows that the UP is disagreeing with the CS with regard to the issue of tribes. The UP accuses the CS for insulting the tribes where he utters “you want to swear at tribes.” In line 18, the CS produces “calm (down) sit (down)” in order to disengage the UP from making disruptions of his talk. This shows that the UP treats the intrusion as inappropriately timed (McIlvenny, 1996a).

In a different case, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak produce disagreement in the form of negations in the second turn in response to the CP’s rejection of the first heckle/request as in Example (66).

Example (66) 46

1. UP: ((raises a poster written on it “gas of enemy is an occupation”))
2. CP: bas haða qarar majlis=
PRT this decision parliament
   bas this is a parliament’s decision =
3. UP: =bidi tswi:t
   want voting
   = I want voting
   ?ðna? ?ljalasa
   If you please voted the parliament PRT not raise
   banners during session
   If you please [the parliament voted for] not raising
   posters during the session
5. UP: [ ( ) ]
   not want to work on voting
   no I want to work on voting
7. CP: ya (.) ya siti ?rju:ki↑
PRT PRT I beg you
   ya (.) yasetti  please↑

The interaction begins as the UP raises a poster written on it “gas of enemy is an occupation.” The heckler raises the poster because the government signed a treaty with the Israeli government to import gas from them. The CP considers raising posters in the
parliament as a violation and thus, he made a voting to refrain the UP from raising it in the parliament. At the beginning of the interaction, the UP produces demands the CP to make a voting for raising the poster in the parliament using “I want voting.” In response to that, the CP rejects the UP’s request using “If you please [the parliament voted for] not raising posters during the session.” This shows that the parliament has already voted for not raising posters. In line 6, the UP produces “no I want to work on the voting.” Through this, it is observed that the UP opposes with the CP when he utters “the parliament had voted for not raising posters during the session.” In the same line, the UP continues to launch a demand to work on the voting using “I want to work on the voting.” Through this, it is evident that the UP insists on conducting the vote again even though the CP informed her that the parliament has voted for not raising the posters in the parliament.

Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak may also launch disagreements through the use of assessments. This is illustrated in Example (67).

Example (67) 51

9. CP: 
   [fi ra?i:s wozora
   PRT Prime Minister
   fi the Prime Minister
10. UP: ( ) mafruð azomla? kolhom ( ) muj ?rbʕa
    xamsa
    ( ) assumed colleagues all of them ( )
    not four five
    ( ) it is assumed that all colleagues should
    ( ) and not four or five
11. UP tingaya ?fyli=
    picking issue
    cherry picking issue=
12. CP: = twozʕ ʕlyk ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ?yam ka:n ]
    bistitʔa⊄tk tokto
    Distributed to you PRT NAME before five days you
    managed to write
    It’s distributed to you ?x Nedal five days ago
    you’re managed to write
13.→ UP [ ma bisʕi:r halaki]
    Not acceptable this talk
    [its unacceptable what you said]
14. CP: 
    mulhð [atak ʕlyh]
    comments on it
    (write) your comments on it
15. UP [ ma bisʕi:r] ( )
not acceptable ( )
[this is unacceptable]( )

16. Aud: ( )
17. CP: haða woziʕ zaman ya (.) niðal ya niðal haða woziʕ
hatha woziʕ
This distributed ago PRT NAME this distributed
this distributed
It’s distributed ya Nedal its distributed a while
ago Nedal its been distributed
18. CP: woziʕ ʕlyk fi jadwal ?ʕmaːl
distributed on you in the schedule business
it has been distributed to you on the business
schedule

Line 13 overlaps with 12, where the UP produces an assessment of the disagreement using “it’s unacceptable what you said.” Here, it is observed that the disagreement is launched as an interruption while the chairperson is in the middle of an utterance and in response to the chairperson’s position. The design of the disagreement in this instance shows that it is closely associated with an assessment of the preceding utterances. In other words, the UP negatively assesses the stance of the CP as “unacceptable.” In addition, the design of the disagreement shows that the UP is not invited by the CP to express a disagreement using an assessment. In news interviews, interviewees do not produce disagreement by themselves, and instead the interviewer invites another interviewee to give his/her opinion about the first interviewee. Again, the UP launches another disagreement at line 15 using “it is unacceptable” in overlap with line 14. Through this, the UP aims to reconfirm the disagreement about the chairperson’s position.

The nature of the design of disagreement in the parliamentary context is a bit similar to disagreements between news interviewees in terms of their design. However, they are different in terms of initiation of the disagreement. In the context where there is more than one interviewee, Greatbatch (1992) offers a detailed description of the design of disagreements, in which interviewees commonly refrain from producing disagreement by themselves. Instead, they wait to be told by the interviewer to launch their disagreements. This shows that the structure of turn taking in news interviews is ordinarily elicited by and addressed to a third party, the interviewer with whom neither party disagrees (Greatbatch, 1992). However, Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate produce their
disagreements on their own initiative i.e. by themselves and without consulting the CP. In addition, the design of disagreement in this study is predominantly affected by the unratified status. In other words, the unratified Members of Parliament are not asked by the chairperson to make such disagreement nor they are allowed to do so. This shows that the participation framework has a significant effect on disagreements which are launched by unratified participants. The following sub-section aims to examine assessments which are produced for the service of disagreements.

5.5.2 Assessments in the service of disagreement

In conversation analysis, assessment has been examined in mundane interactions in several settings (e.g., Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, 2000; Pomerantz, 1984; Sidnell, 2014). For example, Goodwin & Goodwin (1992, p. 154) argue that assessments involve “evaluating in some fashion persons and events being described within their talk” and argued that they have “a clear relevance to larger issues posed in the analysis of language, culture and social organization” (1992, p. 184). Furthermore, Goodwin & Goodwin (2000) propose that an assessment entails “affectively evaluating some relevant current event, available either in the local scene or through a report in the talk of the moment” (p. 42). In a similar vein, Sidnell (2014, p. 138) argues that an assessment is “an utterance that expresses its speaker’s positively or negatively valence stance towards some person or object talked about. Negative assessment appears not to be an objective description of that person, object, place or situation/event, but rather constitutes a subjective evaluation. In regard to this, Goodwin & Goodwin write:

assessment show a view of the assessable as something perceived by an actor who both takes up a particular alignment to it and sees the assessable from a particular perspective, one that may be quite different from that of a co-participant who is simultaneously assessing the same event (1992, p. 165).

Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak express disagreements with a negative assessment. When Members of Parliament discuss legislation or an issue in the parliament,
unratified participants express their disagreement through assessments of the preceding. Periodically in my corpus is the occurrence of assessment followed by an immediate disagreement. According to Pomerantz “assessments are produced as products of participation; with an assessment, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing” (1984, p. 57). In this section, Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak commonly launch assessments in response to an assertion by the current speaker’s speech, or even in response to an action led by the chairperson such as the voting system. In my corpus, I found only three examples of assessment in the Jordanian parliament.

In Example (68) the CP tells the CS with regard to the structure of the proposal and suggests to discuss it in the next parliament session. This led the UP to comment on this issue through expressing a disagreement using an assessment.

Example (68) 31

6. CP: ya Yahya
   PRT NAME
   ya Yahya
7. UP: ( [ ])
8. CP: [ iða fi jay ]neðam haða ?lbayan
   xali:h lajalsa ?0ania=
   [ if there anything on ] this proposal leave for
   next session
   [if there is anything on the structure of the
   proposal leave it for next session=
9. CS: =?mrak ya sidi
   your order PRT PRT
   =yes sir ya sidi
10. UP:→ ya sidi ma bsir ?lhaki haða
    PRT PRT not acceptable talk this
    ya sidi   this talk is unacceptable
    now  provision which next if you please
    now    the next provision if you please
12. CA: [ ( ) ] kitab dawlat ra?i:s ?lwozra
    raqam 10163 tari:x 8/3/2015 ( )
    article state President minister number
    date
    [ ( ) ] Prime Minister’s article number
    10163 date on 3/08/2015 ( )
In line 10, the UP produces an address term “ya sidi” followed by an assessment for the service of disagreement using “this talk is unacceptable.” Through this turn, the UP does not argue the current speaker who has been assigned the CP, but instead argues the procedure which are led by the chairperson. In other words, the UP negatively assess the preceding of the CP and in particular when he uttered “if there is anything on the structure of the proposal leave it for next session” (line 8). In line 10, the CP continues to propose the next provision in the parliament using “now the next provision if you please.” Here it is observed that the CP does not orient himself to the assessment which was expressed by the unratified participants and continues to discuss the next provision in the parliament. This shows that the CP ignores the unratified participant disagreement.

In Example (69), the design of the assessment occurs in response to the speech of the current speaker, where an unratified Member of Parliament launches an assessment of what the current speaker is talking about.

Example (69) 54

   watansi:qyt ihrak ?bna? ?ʃmal (.) ʕn
   announced party Islamic in CITY cooperation party
   northern people party
   The Islamic party of Irbid announced in cooperation with northern publics party

2. CS: xru:j bimasi:ra  lilmut?alba bi esʕla7a:t
   siyasiya
   Emergence a march to demand for reforms political
to organise a march to demand for political
reforms

3. CS: wamuħarabt ?lfasad (.).
   and anti-corruption
   and anti-corruption

4. UP: → ʃmuhim ya mʕali:k mi:n ?li ʕln ʃmuhim↑ ( )
   (CS looks at H)
   not important your excellency who PRT announce
   important
   =it is not important your Excellency the
   important matter is who/what has been announced ↑

5. Aud: ( )

6. CS: ʕaiydi: lw samhält txlini ?kmil↓
   PRT if you excuse me let me finish
   if you excuse me allow me to finish

7. CP: [ ((rings the bell)) ]
At the beginning of the interaction, the CS begins his speech by offering some details about the protesting, and he quotes that the Islamic movement has launched protests in the city of Irbid to demand political reform (see lines 1-3). At this point, the UP (Member of Parliament) seizes the opportunity to intervene during the short silence produced by the CS (see line 3) to produce two TCUs. In the first TCU, the UP produces an assessment using “it is not important your Excellency.” Here we can observe that the UP produces a negative assessment, with which they treat the CS’s speech with redundancy. In the same turn, the UP immediately continues to produce the second TCU, to highlight that which he believes would be more important to talk about, “the important matter is who has been announced.” In the above example, we can observe that the UP integrates two actions together, these are; a negative assessment and a positive assessment. The CS acknowledges the UP’s assessment, at which he produces “Sir if you excuse me allow me to finish”; this shows that the heckle is inappropriately timed (McIlvenny, 1996). When a Member of Parliament who is not ratified to speak utters a negative assessment, it may show that he disagrees with the current speaker. This is very similar to assessments accompanied by disagreements in ordinary conversations (Pomerantz, 1984).

Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak may also launch positive assessments in response to parliamentary procedures led by the chairperson, such as the voting procedure. Such assessment may be launched whilst a current speaker is in the middle of a talk. To illustrate this, see Example (70). The CP urges Members of Parliament to vote on a decision that has been proposed. However, the Member of Parliament (UP) disagrees
with that of the CP through refusing to vote on the proposal, as he claims that it is an important proposal.

Example (70) 44

*Part of conversation missing*

1. CP: xalasʕ hkeit ?lli ġndak xalasʕ ( )
   enough said PRT your enough
   **enough you ?lli made your (point) enough**

2. UP → ya sidi [ḥādi ?ham mobadra ] mʕali ?raʔi:s ma
   bsʕawt
   PRT PRT this important proposal excellency not vote
   **PRTsir this is an important proposal your excellency I will not vote**

3. CP: [ ( )]

4. UP: muxalif lniʔam ma fi ( )
   against regulation
   **this is against the regulations there is not ( )**

5. CP: [xalasʕ ( ) ] ?ogʕod
   enough sit
   **enough ( ) sit down**

6. UP: [la yojad nisa:b ] ma bsʕwit mʕali ?raʔi:s
   not available quorum not vote excellency
   **there is no quorum I will not vote your excellency**

7. CP: ( )

8. CP: < xalasʕ xalasʕ xalasʕ>
   enough enough enough
   **<enough enough enough>**

Before the UP begins making an assessment, it is observed that the CP moves the interaction to closure through a closing implicative component (Button, 1990) at line 1. In line 2, the UP launches a positive assessment through “oh sir this is an important proposal.” This means that the UP disagrees with the CP’s voting procedure. This is very similar to assessments used in ordinary conversations, that which Goodwin & Goodwin (1992, p. 154) termed as ‘assessment segment’. When the Member of Parliament utters the assessment segment referred to as the adjective “important”, it is similar to the adjective “beautiful” described in Goodwin & Goodwin’s assessments. In Goodwin & Goodwin’s (1992) opinion, an assessment segment “is used to describe a structural unit that occurs at
a specific place in the stream of speech, for example the adjective “beautiful”” (p. 154). It is pertinent to note that the making of such a kind of assessment occurs before making the disagreement. In other words, the UP proposes the assessment “this is an important proposal”, followed by making a statement of disagreement “your excellency I will not vote.” Here we can see that the disagreement is explicitly expressed, whilst in Example (69), the Member of Parliament who is not ratified to speak shows an implicit disagreement when he utters “the importance is who has announced.” According to the evidence in the two examples, it is observed that Example (68) is different from Example (70) in terms of the design of assessment and disagreement. Put more simply, Example (68) illustrates that Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak produce negative assessment followed by implicit disagreement to show that they disagree with the CS’s talk (the person who holds the speakership). Whilst in Example (70), Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak produce positive assessment followed by an explicit disagreement to show that they are making a disagreement to the parliament procedure led by the CP. More specifically, in Example (70) the UP produces a disagreement through (line 4) “this is against the law”, which can be seen as a warrant for the disagreement. Through this, the CP treats the UP’s assessment and the disagreement as an acknowledgement through the expression “that’s enough” followed by a request to him to sit down (see line 5).

In sum, Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak produce assessments in the service of making disagreements. The design of assessments has two forms. Firstly, Members of Parliament produce assessment in response to a current speaker’s speech; that is the assessment is associated to the speech of the recipient who holds the floor of the interaction. In this way unratted Members of Parliament negatively assess the current speaker’s activity. On the other hand, Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak are likely to produce positive assessment of the procedure led by the chairperson, such as the voting procedure. Thus, the design of assessments in the latter are used in the service of disagreement.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to examine the recurrent actions which involve heckling using a CA approach. These actions are significant, as they inform us that heckling is related to
indirect complaints, announcements, demands, and disagreements. With these actions UPs aim to make a contribution to an interaction. The response of heckles tell us that UPs are not always welcomed to become ratified participants because they are not part of the interaction i.e. because of the participation framework. The participation framework is significant in some points especially when Members of Parliament demand to become ratified participation. However, the CP does not allow them to become ratified to speak because they are not part of what’s-going-on.

The first finding of heckles showed that public audience members in the gallery recurrently complain to Members of Parliament by reporting indirectly about a personal problem that they are facing. Indirect complaints are not produced in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament, but they are produced in order to gain a solution for their personal problems. Moreover, the design of this complaint tells us that it is not in response to prior talk. The design features of complaints are related to ‘extreme case formulations’ (Pomerantz, 1986).

Public audience members launch into announcements to convey ‘news on their own initiative’ (Schegloff, 2007). The design of the announcement also informs us that it is associated with ‘extreme case formulations’ (Pomerantz, 1986). Similarly, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak may also produce announcements in response to parliamentary procedures led by the CP, such as the voting system and selecting a new speaker in the parliament.

Furthermore, the findings showed that demands typically occur in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament, and are thus usually relevant to the ongoing activity of the parliament. Public audience members produce demands in response to prior proceedings and their design is associated with the concept of advice giving (Hutchby, 2006; Heritage & Sefi, 1992). Similarly, Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate also produce demands in response to an assertion/statement in the parliament, and they occur during the ongoing activity in the parliament. More specifically, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak produce demands in the form of advice giving (Hutchby, 2006). The design of demands usually takes an imperative form. Moreover, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak also produce demands to become ratified
participants. Members of Parliament design such demands for the purpose of making a contribution to the interaction.

Lastly, Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate produce disagreements in response to a proceeding. The design of disagreements as actions which involve heckling is rather different than disagreements in ordinary conversation, not only because of the turn taking system, but also due to the fact the unratified participants are not part of the interaction. Disagreements are launched in a prompt and straightforward manner using negations. Moreover, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak express disagreements using a negative assessment. When Members of Parliament discuss legislation, or an issue in the parliament, unratified participants express their disagreement through assessments of the proceedings.
Chapter 6  Responses to heckles

6.1  Introduction

This chapter aims to shed light on the responses to heckles which are produced by the CP or by the CS. McIlvenny (1996a) distinguishes between two types of responses to heckles, viz. non-active and active responses. Non active responses occur “when the speaker continues in overlap and thus displays non-recognition of a heckle, though the absence of an acceptable response may still be noticeable” (McIlvenny 1996a, p. 36). On the other hand, McIlvenny (1996a) argues that active responses to heckles include denial, reassertion, accusation, and ridicule. I believe that these kinds of response to heckles are restricted only to certain settings, such as the Speakers’ Corner at Hyde Park. However, what is more relevant to the current study is the following quote. McIlvenny claims that:

if a heckle is minimally attended to by the speaker then it can still be treated as irrelevant to the main proceeding. Thus, by using an utterance such as Let me finish, a speaker cannot only display recognition of the heckle but indicate that it is inappropriately timed; the speaker sanctions the heckler’s interruptive comment.

(McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 49)

The above quote is very useful for the current study, in particular when the response of the recipient takes the form of “let me finish” and the like. In this study, responses to illegal interventions (heckles) are very similar to the ones found in the study conducted by McIlvenny (1996a) on heckles at Speakers’ Corner at Hyde Park. They are similar in terms of the two forms of response: active and non-active responses. Non-active responses occur when the CS/CP continues to talk overlapping with the UP, and thus does not orient to the intrusion. Non-active responses are illustrated by the following example, where the speaker ignores the UP and continues with his talk. Example (71) is drawn from the parliamentary gallery, where the UP intervenes to utter speech which includes interrogative phrases.

Example (71) 10

The speaker colleague Raid alhajazin
In line 3, the UP utters a question which is not in response to prior talk by producing an interrogative phrase. It is evident that in line 4, the CP makes a reassertion with regard to selecting a new speaker in the parliament, thus failing to react to the UP in the gallery. Thus, this informs us that the response of the CP to the UP is non-active, as the CP did not orient to the UP and proceeded to select a new speaker in the parliament.

In a different example, the CP may orient to intrusions by Members of Parliament who are not authorised to speak. This is illustrated in Example (72). While the CP debates the parliament’s provisions, the UP intervenes to display his disagreement with the CP’s procedure in the parliament by uttering ‘this is unacceptable’. Here, the CP orients to the disagreement by producing the term ‘excuse me’ (Line 11).

Example (72) 31

9. CS: =?mrak ya sidi
   your order PRT PRT
   =yes sir ya sidi

10. UP: ya sidi ma bsir ?lhaki haða
      PRT PRT not acceptable talk this
      this talk is unacceptable

      now provision next after excuse me
      now the next provision excuse me

       10163 tari:x 8/3/2015 ( )
       article state President minister number date
In line 10, the UP takes a turn to display disagreement using “this talk is unacceptable.” In line 11, the CP takes the turn to select the next provision using “now the next provision” followed by the term excuse me” which is to treat the intervention as inappropriately timed. Through this, the response to the illegal intervention appears to be an active one (McIlvenny, 1996a). In line 14, the UP attempts to express his disagreement through “say Allah is one.” However, the CP does not make a response to his disagreement, as the CP continues to select the name of the next speaker by saying “You may (speak) Bassam” (line 15).

In Example (71), the CP’s response to the intervention appears to be non-active because he did not react to the intervention. In Example (72), however, the CP orients to the intervention by uttering the term ‘excuse me’. Recurrently, ratified participants do orient to the heckles. The most common types of response to heckles are; disengaging UPs; demands; granting speakership; and telling responses.

6.2 Disengaging UPs

Disengaging UPs from the interaction is one of the most recurrent actions that the CP produces when hecklers launch a heckle. In brief, the CP simply utters a token such as ‘excuse me’ or the name of the heckler if the CP addresses the talk to a Member of Parliament. Public audience members’ names are not known to the CP, therefore, the CP aims to disengage the heckler using the token ‘excuse me’.

6.2.1 Disengaging public audiences

This section shows the responses to heckles by members of the public audience. The CP commonly disengages UPs using “excuse me.” In the 18 instances, I found 5 instances
where the recipients, in particular, the CP or the CS respond to heckles using “excuse me.”

For the first example of disengaging a public audience member from the interaction see Example (73). The CP produces “excuse me” to prevent the heckler from entering the interaction.

Example (73) 12

   [ your excellency ( . ) your excellency] ]
6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaʕef=
PRT parliament one hundred and eleven
   parliament one hundred and eleven =
7. CS: = [ walihefaʕ ʕla kayan ?adawla] To maintain on the existence of the state
   = [ and to maintain the existence of the country]
8. UP: [ ]=
9. CP:→ = lw samħt
   excuse me
   = excuse me
    stop amendments constitution
    stop the constitution amendments
11. CP: ?lʔmin guards

In line 9, the CP produces “excuse me” (Schegloff, 1968; Psathas, 1995) directly after the UP summons members of the parliament. The term “excuse me” is enough to indicate that the CP aims to disengage him from entering the interaction. The UP does not react by ceasing the interjection. Instead, the UP rushes to produces a demand using “stop the constitutional amendments.” We have seen that the CP utters “excuse me”, but this does not necessarily mean that the CP will produce further talk. It appears that “excuse me” functions so as to prevent UPs from gaining the speakership. In line 11, the CP demands the guards, simply through uttering “guards.” The latter action is enough to indicate that the CP is not interested in interacting with the UP, and thus it is observed that the CP moves the interaction to closure (Button, 1990) by demanding the security guards to dismiss the public audience from the gallery. Moreover, the evidence at line 11 shows that the CP does
not wish to talk to the UP because he demands the security guards to dismiss the heckler of the gallery.

Similar to Example (73), Example (74) also shows how recipients of intrusions orient to public audience members by launching the term “excuse me.” The UP interjects to complain in a loud voice against Members of Parliament. Here, the UP is not addressing all of Members of Parliament but a particular group for betraying the Jordanians as he claims.

Example (74) 15

4. UP: baʕ edam ?alurduni= Sold the blood of Jordanians have betrayed the Jordanians
5. AM: = walak ya hamil PRT PRT anomalous walak you are anomalous
6. AUD: ( )
7. UP: ( ) (( struggling with guards))
8. CP:→ lw samḥt lw samḥt excuse me excuse me
9. CP: ʃurkan lakum ʃukran lakum thank you all thank you all thank you all
10. UP: ( ) [( )
11. CP: [ ?uðakrkum b?na hunalik jalsa taʃreʃya assaʔa ġajarah wanus sabahan Reminding you there will session legislative hour ten and half morning I remind you there will be a legislative session on 10:30 in the morning

In response to the public audience intrusion, the CP says “excuse me excuse me” (line 8) Through this, the design of the address term not only draws the attention of the public audience member, but it is also used so as to prevent the public audience member from producing further intrusions. It is also evident that the CP does not address the intrusions of the UP (line 9). Instead, the latter talk is addressed to members of the parliament, as the time of the session is due, and that appreciation “thank you all thank you all” is relevant to the next activity of closure (see line 9). This informs us that launching “excuse me” does
not necessarily mean that the CP will orient talk to the public audience, and thus, it can be seen as a strategy for disengage the public audience from making further intrusions and to show that his participation is unratified.

Other ratified speakers (such as the Prime Minister) launch a response to the public audience using “excuse me.” To illustrate this, see Example (75). The UP in the gallery complains to Members of Parliament about a personal demand, which involves a complaint about his poor financial condition. Throughout the interaction, the UP makes several moves beginning with proposing his complaint, challenging the CP, and asking for help. Commonly, the CP takes control of illegal interventions, but this time the Prime Minister (PM) responds to the UP.

Example (75) 9

3. UP  Dawlat Sami:r ?lna?b ?1muhtaram=      ((stands at edge of gallery))
     State NAME MP respected
     respected MP state Samir

4. CS: =DAWALAT ARAI:S
     state President
     your excellency

5. PM: → lw samht(.) lw samht
     excuse me            excuse me
     excuse me (.) excuse me

6. UP: wein bidi ?ukil ana we?wladi
     Where want eat I and children
     How am I going to feed my children?

7. PM: → lw samht
     excuse me
     excuse me

8. UP  lw samht bahki mʕu bi aʃya lw samht [(    )
     excuse me I talk to him about thing
     excuse me I’m talking to him about an issue
     [(    )

9. PM: [lw samht]
     If you excuse me
     [ Excuse me ]

     ?na wewladi]
     PRT PRT remember God I swear not have to eat I and
     my children

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remember Allah I swear that I and my children have nothing to eat

11. PM: [ ya ?xhi mamnu:ʕ mamnu:ʕ titkalam min fo:g] PRT PRT forbidden forbidden to talk from above [ brother you are not allowed to speak from above]

In line 5, PM produces two TCUs in response to the illegal interventions of the UP using “excuse me (.) excuse me”, in order to disengage him from entering the interaction. However, the UP does not display verbal or non-verbal reactions to the summons. Instead, the UP proceeds to produce a WH-question using “How am I going to feed my children.” Through this, we can see that the UP does not orient himself to the PM’s “excuse me” term prior turn. Again, the speaker produces another expression at line 7 using “excuse me”, but it seems that the UP does not react accordingly to step out of the floor i.e. stopping talk. We have seen that the PM produces a number of responses (see lines 5, 7, & 9) in response to the public audience intrusion. Responses such as “excuse me” not only draw the attention of the recipient, but are also produced to disengage the UP from producing further intrusions. We, as watcher and listeners, clearly hear the summons of the CP, and one would also assume that the public audience acknowledge it as well. The only possible reason that the public audience is not cooperating with PM is that he focuses on securing the interactional space of the interaction, because he has not yet completed his talk. Later in the example, the UP orients to PM only when he has received an acknowledgement that PM will send someone to help him with his complaint with regard to his poor financial condition (see line 24 of the example above in the appendices).

In terms of the responses to the “excuse me” expressions, public audience members commonly do not orient to them because they do not wish to submit to the CP/S, and instead, they tend to produce further disruptions. The analysis of the examples above inform us that public audience members do not orient to the CP/S, as they continue to produce further speech after the “excuse me” terms of the CP. If public audiences orient to the “excuse me” terms of the CP, then their orientation would be that of stopping talk.
Thus, we can see that public audience members do not orient to the “excuse me” because they do not wish to be disengaged by the CP.

In sum, disengaging public audiences from the interaction is one of most recurrent actions once public audience heckle a recipient. The above analysis has shown that recipients of heckles launch “excuse me” in order to disengage public audiences from entering the interaction. Public audience members do not orient themselves to “excuse me”, as they do not always orient to the CP. In addition, the term ‘excuse me’ may not be a simple mechanism by which to stop the UP from speaking. It shows that the turn to which it is directed is procedurally or morally inappropriate. Further, it explicitly invokes the participation framework the heckle turn has contravened. It establishes the grounds on which the UP’s turn should cease.

6.2.2 Disengaging Members of Parliament

This section aims to examine the responses to heckles by Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak. In the previous section, I have shown that public audience members are not known to Members of Parliament (anonymous), and thus the typical response of the CP is to utter “excuse me” because they are unidentifiable. However, in this section, the CP launches responses to unratted members of the parliament; this includes names of recipients, institutional address terms such as “your Excellency”, and terms such as ‘excuse me’. In 11 of the 41 instances, the CP commonly launches a response to Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak in order to disengage them from entering the interaction. To illustrate this, see Example (76). The Prime Minister gives a speech relating to the increasing energy tariffs. The UP cuts off the Prime Minister’s speech at a non-transition-relevant point, by advising him to look for an alternative instead of increasing the electricity rates.

Example (76) 21

1. CS: kama: (.). waʕadat?lhokoma (.). ma taza:l moltazima ʕnda wʕdeha (.).
   As promised the government still committed to its promise
   As the government had promised and still it is committed to its promises
Not possible to increase rates of electricity except in consultation to MPs
rates of electricity (energy) will not be increased only in consultation with MPs
3. CS: bidʕabt? kama ?ltazamna (2.0)
Exactly as we have pledged
Exactly as we have pledged (2.0)
Look on alternative other state President instead increasing rates
look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates
5. CS: [ waaa ]
and
[and ]
6. UP: dawer ʕala ʕala ( ) ʔani
look look for ( ) other
look for (something) else
7. CS: ((stops speech, looks at UP, simultaneously moves his left hand fingers))
8. UP: <ma bnesmahlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> ʔata
[ ( )]
not allow you increase the rates even ( )
we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even
[ ( )]
9. CP:→ [ax Yahya]
brother NAME
[brother Yahya]
10. CS: ((turns his face straightforward, then scratches his nose with his left hand,)
11. CS: and then gulps with his mouth))
12. CP: ?rjuk ?rjuk  la Yahya
Please please no NAME
Please please no Yahya

Line 9 overlaps with line 8, where the CP launches an address term of the UP (Members of Parliament) using “brother Yahya.” Here we can observe that the CP aims to draw the attention of the UP (Schegloff, 1968, 2002) for the purpose of disengaging him so as not to establish an interaction with the CS. Moreover, the CP produces the term “brother Yahya” which is an informal summons. The default formal way of summoning a Members
of Parliament is through uttering institutional terms, such as ‘your Excellency’ or ‘respected MP’ and such like. However, the UP does not react to the summons produced by the CP, which indicates that the UP has given up the floor.

In Example (77), the Prime Minister (CS) begins to give a speech to Members of Parliament in response to MPs’ speeches earlier in the example. The UP cuts off the Prime Minister’s speech to inform him that he is misleading the members of the parliament. The CP reacts to manage the situation.

Example (77) 20

1. **CS:** (3.0) wa (1.0) fi radi (.) ḡla (.) xot?ab ?sada ?nawab (.) wa
   And in response on speeches MPs and (3.0) and (1.0) in my response (1.0) to MPs speeches (.) and

2. **CS:** mudaxlatihim (1.0) [taŋkert] ((CS gazes at UP))
   their interventions (1.0) I remembered

3. **UP:** [?nawab] ibteðhk ḡlyhom ?nawab
   ibteðhk ḡlyhom
   The MPs fool them the MPs fool them
   **You are misleading the MPs you are misleading the MPs**

4. **CP:** → mʕleiʃ Yahya [Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya]
   excuse me Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya

5. **UP** [( ])

6. **UP:** ?nawab ibteðhk ḡlyhom = ((points with his arms as he speaks))
   MPs fool them
   **You are misleading the MPs**

7. **CP:** ya yahya
   PRT NAME
   ya Yahya

8. **UP:** ?nawab moʃ gadrin yeʃofu:k [ ( ) ]
   MPs not able to see you
   The MPs are not able to see you

9. **CP:** [Yahya ya Yahya] arjuːk
   NAME PRT NAME I beg you
   [ Yahya Ya Yahya] please

The UP’s intrusion occurs at line 3 where the UP begins to speak before the CS has ceased talking. The overlap occurs in mid utterance of the CS’s speech (see line 2). In line 4, the
CP produces a “polite term” (Schegloff, 1968, 2002) “excuse me” followed by an address term of the UP (five times) by calling the name of the UP “Yahya.” In response to that, the UP does not orient to the address term and instead he “ignores” (Bilmes, 1997) the CP, and continues to talk (see line 5 at the point at which it overlaps line 4). Again, in line 7, the CP launches another address term of the UP using “Yahya”, but this does not prevent the UP from withdrawing from the interaction, as he continues to produces further talk to the CS. Put more simply, the CP produces multiple address terms (lines 4, 7, & 9) in order to disengage the UP from establishing an interaction with the CS. However, the UP (Member of Parliament) does not respond to the CP’s; this shows that there is a lack of response to the address terms (Schegloff, 2007).

For a third example of disengaging the UP from the interaction, see Example (78). The UP illegally intervenes during the CS’s speech, which involved the debt. This led the CP to intervene to remedy the conflict.

Example (78) 54

1. CS: ?na ?lmadyoniya qad irtfaʕt ila 22 milyar wa 300 milyo:n dollar mʕ that debt had may increased to 22 billion 300 million dollar with The debt had increased up to 2.3 Trillion dollars by
2. CS: nihayet ?lʕam 2015 [ (.)] end the year 2015 end of year 2015 [ (.)]
3. UP: [ ( )]
4. CS: wa ?nha satasʕl ila- (.) Yahya ?lsʕu:d ismʕ ihtrim nfsek and it reach to NAME NAME listen respect yourself and it will rise - (.)Yahya ?lsʕu:d listen respect yourself
5. CP:→ lw [samħt excuse me excu[se me
7. CP:→ [ lw samħt excuse me [excuse me
8. CS: [ ?btihtarim nafsak wibtogGod
             respect yourself and sit
        [respect yourself and sit down
9. CP:→ [ ya muʕtz muʕtz
         PRT NAME NAME
        [ya Mutaz Mutaz
10. UP: bisʕi:r had sʕadat ?lraʔi:s?= possible this excellency CP
       is this possible your excellency? =
11. CS: = bisʕi:r lama bitʕlig bidk tismʕ jawab ʕtʕli:ɡak possible when comment want listen answer your comment
       It is possible when you comment you will hear an answer
12. CP:  la: tqatʔGo lw samḥt not interrupt him excuse me
        do not interrupt him please

In line 5, the CP notices that something has gone wrong i.e. the intrusion by a UP (MP) at line 3, and thus he produces “exc[use me” to disengage the UP from entering the interaction. In this instance, I believe that the term “excuse me” is produced for both the participants - the CP and the UP - because not only did the UP commit an illegal intervention (line 3), but also the CS committed a violation of the internal regulations; that is, arguing with the UP (line 4). No response is observed from the UP, nor from the CS, to the “excuse me” term of the CP which indicates that both of them fail to cooperate with the CP. In line 7, the CP again produces a term using ‘excuse me’ because both, the CS and the UP have not stopped the argument. In line 9, the CP launched an address term to the CS by uttering his name “Mutaz Mutaz.” Again, the CS does orient himself to the CP, and proceeds with arguing with the UP for the disruption. Despite the fact that both participants, the UP and the CS, made no reaction to the CP, the CP proceeded in demanding the UP not interrupt the CS (see line 12). This demand occurs in an imperative form as in “do not interrupt him” followed by “please.”

The above analysis indicates that the CP frequently addresses talk to the UPs using “excuse me” or by address terms such as “Yahya.” Here we can see that the CP produces an address terms for the purpose of disengaging the UP from establishing an interaction with that of the CS. As for the response of the UP to the CP’s summon, it is presumed that the
appropriate response is not necessarily talk from the UP but rather the UP stopping the intrusion and possibly orienting himself to the summons by the CP through ‘eye gaze’ (Goodwin, 1981). In the end, Members of Parliament who frequently find themselves unratted to speak desist from producing further intrusions only after they communicate their point of view. The analysis above shows that disengaging the UPs of the interaction occurs because of the participation framework (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin, 2000). As indicated above, the participation framework in the current study has a great effect on UPs when they seek to enter the interaction. Members of Parliament who are unratted to speak are not meant to be part of the interaction. It is therefore, the CP who does not allow them to participate. The CP often utters “excuse me” or their names in order to disengage them from making further disruptions i.e. stopping them from producing talk. The role of Members of Parliament who are unratted to speak is to listen to the speech of the CS and the CP. Unrated participants may ask for a system point which allows them to be ratified speakers. The system point follows certain procedures by submitting a demand to the CP of the parliament and then the CP may allow the UP to become ratified to speak. However, UPs tend to heckle the CS or the CP in the light of the interaction, as it would be rather difficult for them to wait for the procedure of the system point.

In sum, the analysis of the above examples informs us that disengaging the UPs takes different forms, viz.: such as ‘excuse me’ or uttering the name of the recipient. The CP uses such terms not only to draw the attention of Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak, but also to disengage them from launching intrusions. Recipients of summonses, however, do not always orient themselves to the CP, which is an indication that there is a lack of response to the summons.

6.3 Demands

Most common in my data is the occurrence of ‘demands’, and in particular when the CP launches them in response to intrusions by UPs. As indicated in chapter 5, a demand is similar to a directive in which participant A tells participant B to do something (Craven & Potter, 2010). In 7 of the 41 instances, the CP produces demands in order to disengage the UP from the interaction. This section looks at the responses to heckles and in particular, when the CP demands MPs not to speak out by using a demand. The analysis of the data
informs us that demand responses are not only launched by the CP but also the CS. Although the internal regulations of the parliament prohibit CSs from reacting to UPs, they sometimes lose control and strike against the UPs for their intrusion. Typically, it is the CP who makes a response to heckles; however, there are rare cases when the CS (MP) responds to an illegal intervention. This response, however, is considered an illegal behaviour, as this would make it rather tricky for the CP to manage the UP’s intervention. For the first example of a demand response, see Example (79). The CP launches a demand to disengage the UP from making intrusions of the CS.

Example (79) 54

9. CP:  [ ya muʕtz muʕtz
PRT NAME NAME
[yay Mutaz Mutaz
10. UP: bisʕiːr had sʕadat ?lraʔiːsʔ=
possible this excellency CP
  is this possible your excellency? =
11. CS: = bisʕiːr lama bitʕlig bidk tismʕ jawab ʕtʕliːgak
possible when comment want listen answer your
  comment
  It is possible when you comment you will hear an
  answer
12. CP:→ laː tqatʔiː o ʃw samhk
  not interrupt him excuse me
  do not interrupt him please
13. UP: ( ) ((stood up from his place and to speaks to
  CS))
14. MPV: ma haka ʃi
  not say anything
  he didn’t say anything
  indebtedness indebtedness indebtedness (.)

At the beginning of the example, the CP aims to disengage the UP from the interaction using multiple address term attempts, but the UP does not offer any verbal response to them. In line 12, the CP produces two TCUs: first, the CP utters a demand using “do not interrupt him”, followed by the term “if you please.” This demand shows that the heckle is an inappropriate behaviour because the UP has no right to do so. In line 15, the CS resumes his speech which is an indication that the UP was prevented from entering the interaction.
For a similar example of demands, see Example (80). The CP aims to disengage the UP using a demand.

Example (80) 55

7. CP: [ ((rings the bell)) ]
8. CS: [ xalini ?kmol lw] samhti ((in sharp tone))
   let me finish excuse me
   [let me finish please]
   let me continue please ((in a sharp tone))
9. CP:→ ċbdala xali ?lwazi:r yhki (.) <ċbdala xali
   ?lwazi:r> (CS looks at CP)
   Abdallah let the minister speak (.) Abdallah let
   the minister
   <Abdallah let the minister speak (.) Abdallah let
   the minister>
10. CP: (2.0) tfdal (.) ?smħoli (1.0)
    You may allow me
    (2.0) please (.) allow me (1.0)
11. Aud: ( (inaudible voices from the gallery))
    biljurfà (.) ya
    PRT brothers (.) PRT brothers PRT the gallery (.)
    PRT in the gallery (.) PRT
    ya brothers (.) ya brothers in gallery (.) ya
    brothers ?li in the gallery (.)ya

In line 9, the CP produces the first turn, which includes an address term of the recipient “Abdallah”, followed by a demand “let the minister speak.” Through this turn, the CP directly demands the UP give way for the CS (the minister) to proceed with his speech. McIlvenny (1996a) claims that when recipients of heckles say “let me finish”, it is produced to indicate that the heckle is inappropriately timed. However, I also argue that they are produced to disengage the UP from making further intrusions, i.e. stopping talk. In other words, to give way for the CS finish with his talk. It is evident that the UP withdraws from making further disruption, as the UP did not launch any verbal reaction to the demand; this informs us that the demand is accomplished through stopping the talk from the UP’s side.

Not only does the CP demand the UP not to speak out, but also CSs sometimes do so. As indicated, the CP is the only person who commonly responds to heckles. Nevertheless, the
CS may also react to heckles even though it is seen as inappropriate behaviour by the CP. When the CS reacts to the UP, this makes it rather difficult for the CP to manage the conflict between the two. In Example (81), the minister of the interior (CS) gives a speech about the protests in the city of Irbid and their demands for political reforms. The UP (MP) interjects to assess the CS’s speech and produces a question to gain some information.

Example (81) 55


The Islamic party of Irbid announced in cooperation with northern publics’ party

12. CS: xru:j bimasi:ra ʃal?albi esʃla7a:t siyasiya

Emergence a march to demand for reforms political to organise a march to demand for political reforms

13. CS: wamuharabt ?lfasad (.)= and anti-corruption and anti-corruption

14. UP: = muʃ muhim ya m셜ali:k mi:n ʕli ʕln ?lmuhim↑ ( (CS looks at H))

not important your excellency who PRT announce important

=it is not important your Excellency the important matter is who/what has been announced ↑

15. Aud: ( )

16. CS:→ saiydi: ʃlm htm txlini ʔkmil↓ PRT if you excuse me let me finish

if you excuse me allow me to finish

17. CP: [ ((rings the bell)) ]

18. CS: [ xalini ʔkmol lw] samhти ((in sharp tone))

let me finish excuse me [let me finish please]

let me continue please ((in a sharp tone))

In line 6, the CS notices that something has gone wrong, and thus, draws the attention of the UP using followed by a demand “let me finish.” This demand is produced in response to the heckle. Furthermore, such demands are very similar to the ones which have been discussed in the previous examples. The design of this demand is to show that the heckle is ‘inappropriately timed’ (McIlvenny, 1996a) as well as to disengage the UP from making
further disruptions. Later in the example, it is also evident that the UP does not launch further heckles during the CS’s speech (see full example in Appendices). This shows that the demand of the CS, as in “if you excuse me will you allow me to finish” (line 7), is accomplished through the fact that the UP stopped from launching further disruptions.

For a deviant case, see Example (82). The Iraqi embassy staff physically attacked a group of Jordanian lawyers, who supported Saddam Hussein’s regime, at the Royal Cultural Centre. This incident not only affected Jordanian citizens, but also some members of the parliament, because of the terrible attack in the heart of Amman. The Jordanian minister of foreign affairs contacted the Iraqi embassy in Jordan, and declared that the ambassador of the Iraqi embassy made contact over the telephone and submitted an official apology for what happened at the Royal Cultural Centre.

Example (82) 38

begin with information result contact with bodies official Iraqi
I begin (\.) with a piece of information in to contact with Iraqi authorities
14. CS: waxasatn wazi:r ?lxarijiya (\.) kalmni ʕlhatif (\.)
specialy minister foreign spoke me phone ago hour approximately
specialy the foreign minister (\.) he talked to me over the phone (\.) approximately an hour ago
15. CS: (\.) waqadm ?ʕtiðar(\.)
offered apology (\.) and he apologised (\.)
16. H: mi:n ho =
Who he who is he=
government Iraqi
the Iraqi’s government
18. CS: ((looks to his colleague ‘interior minister’))
20. CS: [ wazi:r ?lxarijiya ?lʕraqi
minister foreign Iraqi
[The Iraqi foreign minister
21. H: jo bidu yokl
What want eat?
22. CS:  ma ʕindi jwaytafasi:l bid bi?keha  ((looks at UP,  
Aud, then at CP))  
PRT have  some details  want to speak  
ma I have some details to tell

23. Aud: (                             )

24. CP: →momkin tismaʕu↑ (3.0)  
can you (plural) listen  
can you listen ↑ (3.0)

25. CP: ((rings the bell)) ?nsaf (1.0) ?nsaf (.) ?nsaf  
?hda?i  
((rings the bell)) insaf (1.0) insaf (.) insaf calm down

At the beginning of the interaction, the CS gives a summary of the incident that occurred at the Royal Cultural Centre. The CS then continues to offer some details about contacting the Iraqi foreign minister, and reports that he offered his apologies for the incident. A Member of Parliament who is not ratified to speak seizes the opportunity to ask for the name of the person who contacted him over the phone, even though the CS had mentioned the name of the person. In line 12, the CP intervenes to manage the situation through producing a request to recipients who are not ratified to participate through “can you listen.” Based on his research, McIlvenny (1996a, p. 49) points out that a “heckle can be treated as irrelevant by the speaker saying listen – then, after getting attention, resuming the argument.” Through this interrogative request, the CP aims to draw the attention of the recipient, i.e. the UP who disrupts the speech of the CS. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the UP will make a verbal response to it. UPs usually make no response to such requests, which may in fact mean that they have submitted to the CP’s request.

The nature of the action of demands in this study tend to restrain Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak from making a contribution to an interaction. In Example (79), andExample (80), I have shown how the CP produces demand forms such as “do not interrupt him please” and “let the Prime Minister speak.” It is also evident that the CP attempts to make demands forms less threatening through producing the token “please.” In Example (82), I have shown how the CP employs an interrogative form of request through “can you listen.” Through this request, it appeared that the CP was drawing the attention of the UP, and also requesting him not to speak out.
In summary, demands form responses which are addressed to Members of Parliament who are not ratified to speak are composed of a single turn. Demand responses take different forms such as “do not interrupt him” or “let the speaker talk” or could even take an interrogative form of request such as “could you listen please.” Demands are very effective action to disengage heckler from establishing an interaction with recipients such as the CS. The response to the demand is presumably stopping talk from the UP’s side. I believe that the response to the demand is accomplished when UPs desist from producing further disruptions to the CS. Such demands are distinguished by their immediate occurrence during the ongoing talk. In other words, the achievement of the demand is not delayed in the conversation, but demands immediate satisfaction during the conversation.

6.4 Granting speakership to public audience

Recurrently in my data, public audience members may become ratified to speak. This means that their participation status changes from unratified to ratified (Goodwin 2004, 2007). Once public audiences heckle, the CP may grant him/her the speakership. In 3 of the 18 instances, public audience members may become ratified participants, especially when the CP approves their participation by demanding the security guards to give them permission to speak. For the first example, see Example (83). The CP demands the security guards to allow the UP to participate.

Example (83) 1

1. UP: ((UP struggles with guards))
2. UP: YA ʕAMI XALUNA NEħKI ((UP addresses talk to the guards))
   PRT PRT let me speak
   YA ʕAMI LET ME SPEAK
3. Aud: () xalu yehki
   () let him speak
4. UP XALUNA NhKI (. ) ISMAʕUNA YA NUWAB
   Let us speak listen us PRT MPs
   LET ME SPEAK (. ) LISTEN TO ME MPS
5. UP YA MØhTARAMI:N (. ) YA hUKUMA YA MUhTARAMA (. )
   PRT respected PRT government PRT respected
   RESPECTED (MPs) YA RESPECTED YA GOVERNMENT (. )
6. UP BIDNA GADIAT JOMRUK ʕMAN ((guards physically struggle the UP))
   We want issue customs Amman
   WE WANT THE ISSUE OF AMMAN CUSTOMS
In response to the demand produced by the UP (line 4), the CP grants the speakership to the public audience member, to become a ratified participant, using “let him speak let him speak” (line 7). Through this demand, the CP addresses the talk to the third party, i.e. security guards, instead of to the public audience member. This is because the security guards arrived at the scene (by themselves) to dismiss the UP using physical force before the CP demanded that they let him speak. In the example above, it is evident that the CP addresses the talk to the security guards through the verb “let him” which refers to a plural imperative form (referring to the security). Here we can see that form of address in Arabic is different from English. In Arabic, we use the imperative verb “let him” when we address the talk to a plural, whilst we use the imperative verb “let him” when we wish to address the talk to a singular. In contrast, English imperative verbs such as “let him” can be addressed to both singular and plural without distinction, but it depends on the context and the recipient of talk.

Moreover, granting the public audience permission to speak occurs in the immediate aftermath of the demand/request (Schegloff, 2007, p. 94); this indicates that the satisfaction of the demand has been achieved. In addition, it is also observed that granting the speakership to the audience member does not occur immediately after the UP produces the demand “LET ME SPEAK (.) LISTEN TO ME OH MPS” “RESPECTED (MPs) YA RESPECTED YA GOVERNMENT” (see line 4). Here we can observe that the response of the CP to the demand is delayed, as the UP produces some talk such as an insert expansion (Schegloff, 2007, p. 97) (see line 5 & 6), before the CP grants permission for him to become a ratified participant. I believe that the delayed response has occurred because the UP did not stop talking, which would then be relevant TRP for the CP to
produce an acknowledgement or an acceptance for the UP to become ratified. In other words, the UP delayed the response of the CP not only through securing the recipients of talk but also through securing the interactional space of the interaction.

For a second example of granting the speakership to an audience member in the gallery, see example (84). The UP begins the interaction with supplication to the King and the Prime Minister.

Example (84) 5

15. UP:  baniʃidullah (. ) ŋuma baniʃid ?lmalik (. ) ŋuma
    banaʃid ŋwn ?lxasawneh=
    implore god and implore the King and implore NAME
    NAME
    I implore to Allah and I implore to the King and I
    implore to ŋwn ?lxasawneh
16. MP:→ =xaluh yhki
    Let him speak
17. UP:  yaa xwan
    PRT brothers
    brothers
18. MP:→ [xalu yhki]
    Let him speak
19. UP:  [beiti bidu ] yegaʃ ʕalyi
    My house will fall on me
    My house is going to fall
20. UP:  wallah ?lGa’di:m (. ) qasaman bilah beiti ayil lasqut
    Swear to God swear to God my house will
    fall
    I swear to Allah (. ) I swear to Allah my house is
    going to fall
21. UP:  bidu yegaʃ ʕalyee maʃanlli
    Will fall on me for gods sake
    It is going to fall on me for gods sake
22. UP:  maʃanlli terħamu:ne:
    For gods sake have mercy on me
23. UP:  maʃanlli
    For gods sake
24. Aud: (                          )

At the beginning of the example, the UP supplicates to undetermined recipients, i.e. Members of Parliament, in order to gain the speakership. In line 2, the Member of
Parliament, who is not ratified to speak, produces a demand to the security guards using “let him speak.” If we take a closer look at the imperative verb “let him” we find that it is a plural imperative address form directed to the security guards. Addressing talk in this manner is not found in English, because there is no difference between singular and plural in terms of grammar. However, English conversationalists use singular and plural forms according to the context and recipients. Here, it is observed that the Member of Parliament is not authorised to interact with audience members in the gallery. However, I suspect that he was emotionally attached to the UP in the gallery. This demand is addressed to a third party (the security guards), which refers to the selection of a ratified participant (Goffman 1981). On the other hand, the CP did not produce a verbal reaction to the illegal intervention, nor did he argue with the Member of Parliament (the unratified one) for granting the speakership to the public audience member. Granting the public audience member permission to speak enabled him to gain speakership to convey his indirect complaint.

Example (83) is very similar to Example (84) in terms of the response to the public audience member, such as in granting him the speakership. In both examples, granting the speakership to the public audience member does not occur directly. Instead, the CP addresses the demand to a third party (security guards) to permit the public audience member to speak.

In Example (83), the CP grants the speakership to the public audience member to speak based on the demand that he produced: “let me speak”, while in Example (84), the Member of Parliament grants the public audience permission member to speak based on supplication. This difference informs us that granting speakership does not only occur in response to a verbal demand, but also occurs through other forms of talk such as supplication. This shows that the Member of Parliament (unratified) treats supplication as an implicit demand, and thus he grants permission to the UP to become a ratified participant.

The third example is similar to Example (83) & Example (84), but it is different in the sense that the CP launches an address term concerning the recipient before launching the demand. To illustrate this, see Example (85). The UP attempts to complain to Members of
Parliament about the termination of his job at the Jordanian customs service. The complaint is addressed not to the second party (the customs), but to the Members of Parliament (third party) and, in particular, to the CP. At the beginning of the example, the security guards physically struggle with the UP as they attempt to dismiss him from the gallery, whilst the UP refuses to cooperate with them.

Example (85) 16

5. CP: ya ḥaras ʾlmajlis
   PRT guards parliament
   ya guards of the parliament/parliament

6. UP ( )

7. CP:→ ya ḏabet? >xalu: yehki xalu yehki <
   PRT officer >let him speak let him speak
   ya officer >let him speak let him speak<

8. AM: ya ?xi xalu yehki
   PRT PRT let him speak
   let him speak

9. CP:→ xalu yahki
   let him speak
   let him speak

In line 5, the CP notices that there is conflict between the UP and the security guards, and thus summons the security guards using “parliament guards.” The security guards do not orient themselves to the summon by the CP. Therefore, the CP launches another demand using “officer let him speak let him speak.” Here we can observe that the CP addresses his talk to a third party, the security guards, using a demand. It appears that the security guards did not immediately react to the CP, nor to other Members of Parliament, as it is evident that both parties - the CP and a Member of Parliament (unratified) - launch another demand to the guards (see lines 8 & 9).

In sum, granting the speakership to a public audience member in the gallery is composed of two turns: the FPP of the demand to participate and the SPP of the acceptance of the demand. These two turns form the demand sequence. Granting the speakership to public audience members in the gallery is associated with the participation framework, where UPs are given the speakership to talk. This is done through an indirect demand, through demanding a third party (security guards) to allow the participant to talk in the gallery.
Furthermore, the response to these kinds of demand occurs in the immediate aftermath of the demand. In other words, the satisfaction of the demand occurs immediately in the context of the conversation.

6.5 Telling responses

Occasionally in my data are the occurrences of a telling as a response by the CP to Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak. In 4 of the 41 instances, the CP launches such response after the UP makes an intrusion, and it usually takes the form of reminders which is similar to tellings such as “news tellings.” Conversationalists are intensely oriented to the delivery of news (Terasaki, 2004; Heritage, 1984a; Sacks, 1992). It is worth noting that when the CP launches such tellings, they are not considered to be news which are not known to the recipient. With regard to the news tellings, whether they are new or already known to recipients, (Terasaki, 2004 p. 177) maintains:

In the instance of ‘informings’ in conversation, recipient design is manifested in an overriding preference not to report things already known to one’s recipients. That requires any intending Deliverer of news to make some determination of the character of their information as news-for-this-scene. While the beginning of a possible news delivery may be done, the news itself may not be ultimately produced as ‘news’ if the potential Recipients are found to have ‘already heard.’

The above quote offers significant insights with regard to delivery of news. In Terasaki’s opinion, news telling is about informing the newness of news instead of delivering news that is already known to a recipient. This shows that news telling has precise features, that is, it should be new to recipients. However, the news tellings in the current study take the form of reminding the recipient, at which point recipients may already know the news. In this study, a telling response to heckles is used as a way of offering an account for unratified intrusions. In other words, when the CP launches a telling response, he reminds and explains the situation to the Member of Parliament who argue/contradicts a parliamentary procedure or a debated issue in the parliament. In 3 of the 41 instances, the CP tends to argue UPs for their intrusion. First, see Example (86). The UP argues with the CP about the procedures in the parliament, in particular, the consideration of a distributing a
legislation proposal. More specifically, he criticises the CP for picking four or five members in order to accept the proposal, whilst the CP argues that the proposal was distributed amongst Members of Parliament five days earlier and that he should have written down his comments on it.

Example (86) 51

10. **UP** ( ) mafruḍ azomla? kolhom ( ) muʃ ?rbغا xamsa
( ) assumed colleagues all of them ( ) not four five 
( ) it is assumed that all colleagues should ( ) and not four or five

11. **UP** tingaya ?ʃyli=
picking issue 

**cherry picking issue**=

Distributed to you PRT NAME before five days you managed to write  
It’s distributed to you ?x Nedal five days ago you’re managed to write

13. **UP** [ ma bisʃi:r halaki] 
Not acceptable this talk [ its unacceptable what you said]

14. **CP**: mulhð [atak ʃlyh] 
(comments on it 

(write) your comm[ents on it ]

15. **UP**: [ ma bisʃi:r] ( ) not acceptable ( ) [this is unacceptable] ( )

16. **Aud**: ( )

17. **CP**:→ haða wozغا zaman ya (. ) niðal ya niðal haða wozغا hatha wozغا 
This distributed ago PRT NAME this distributed this distributed  
It’s distributed ya Nedal it’s distributed a while ago Nedal it’s been distributed

18. **CP**: wozغا ʃlyk fi jadwal ؕma:l 
distributed on you in the schedule business 
it has been distributed to you on the business schedule
The telling response is observed at line 12, where the CP launches the turn based on the UP’s disagreement using “It was distributed brother Nedal to you five days ago you’re managed.” Through this telling, the CP appears to be more or less as offering an ‘account’ (Maynard, 1997) for the UP’s intrusion, and also it seems that the CP reminds the UP that the business schedule has been distributed amongst Members of Parliament five days ago. In other words, the CP makes a clarification of why he had to select some speakers instead of selecting all Members of Parliament. Moreover, the CP delivers the telling which has happened in the past, but refers to it in the present time; this supports Sacks’ (1992) definition of tellings. The delivery of news as a response to UPs’ intrusions in the Jordanian context is different from that which occurs in news telling/delivery. In this study, the news telling takes the form of a reminder which entails that the news has been delivered already, whilst in ordinary conversations, news telling tend to be new (Goodwin, 1979, p. 100)

In a similar case, see Example (87). The CP provides the UP with explanation to the debated issue with regard to the loss of the father’s son. In other words, the CP reminds the UP of the issue.

Example (87) 53

5. UP: ḥram tḥku bilxsʕxsʕa ?l?a:n hað ?b[ hað ?bu hað ] ?bnu qutil unfair talk on privatization now this father this PRT this son murdered
it’s unfair to talk about privatization now this father [ this abu this] murdered son

6. MPV: [yʕni Mʕa:n ( ) ]

7. CP: [ lw samḥti ya: Hind lw samḥti (. ) ıstamʕna ?la qarar Mʕa:n]
excuse me PRT NAME excuse me we listened to decision of Ma’an
[excuse me ya Hind excuse me (. ) we have listened to the Ma’an report]

8. UP [ hudir damu ( ) ?nta ma ʕm bitrod wla ( ) ]
wasted his blood ( ) you not PRT reply nor [ has been murdered … you don’t 3am respond nor ( ) ]
9. CP: [wa nhno muʃ ʔkθr hirsan ʕla Mʕa:n ʔkθar min ʔbna? Mʕa:n ( )]
   and we not more careful on Ma’an more than PRT Ma’an
   and we don’t take good care of Ma’an more than its people
10. UP  qutil ?bno hudir damu ( )
     murdered son blood wasted ( )
     his son is murdered his blood is wasted
11. CP: tfdal mʕa.li araʔi:s
         go ahead your excellency
12. CS: sʕadt ?raʔi:s=
         your excellency =

After the CP produced an address term to the UP using “excuse me” and her name “Hind”, he immediately launches a telling to the unratified Member of Parliament by “we have listened to the Ma’an report” (line 7) and “and we don’t take good care of Ma’an more than its people.” Through this telling, it is evident enough that CP offers an account (Maynard, 1997) for the intrusion of the UP. The CP offers the UP some information about the death of the fifteen year-old son; this, however, shows that the CP already knows about the situation – which supports epistemics (Heritage, 2011). The CP shares some information with regard to the unratified Member of Parliament whereby he uses the past tense of the verb “we have listened to” the report of Ma’an, and thus offers an account for the intrusion of the UP. Moreover, the CP supports his argument using “and we don’t take good care of Ma’an more than its people” (line 9). Here, the CP aims to convince the UP that the people of Ma’an city take good care of the case, more than those present. So far, we have seen that the CP appears to set up a convincing argument for the UP. Yet, the UP appears not to be satisfied yet, as she produces strong statements using “his son is murdered his blood is wasted” at line 8 and 10. The unratified Member of Parliament does not orient to the telling of the news, instead she continues to launch repetition of the phrase “his son is murdered his blood is wasted.” The repetition of the latter phrase is a remarkable indication of ‘extreme case formulation’ (Pomerantz, 1986), where she repeatedly produces the extreme case in lines 5, 8, & 10.

Example (88) is similar to Example (86) & Example (87). The CP reminds the UP that it is illegal to raise posters in the parliament.
Example (88) 46

1. UP: ((raises a poster written on it “gas of enemy is an occupation”))
2. CP: bas haða qarar majlis=
PRT this decision parliament
   bas this is a parliament’s decision =
3. UP: =bidi tswi:t
   want voting
   = I want voting
   If you please voted the parliament PRT not
   raise banners during session
   If you please [the parliament voted for] not
   raising posters during the session
5. UP: [ ( ) ]
6. UP: la bidi ?ʃtaϣ bi ?lasˀtswi:t
   not want to work on voting
   no I want to work on voting

In line 4, the CP summons the UP using “excuse me” followed by a telling that the parliament has voted against raising posters in the parliament through “[the parliament voted for] not raising posters during the session.” Through this telling (an announcement), the CP makes an account for the UP in order to instruct her not to raise posters during the parliamentary session. According to Schegloff (2007), announcement sequences are, of course, just one way of organizing the activity of “telling” in talk-in-interaction, and are employed to convey certain forms of telling (Schegloff, 2007, p. 41). At first glance, the telling appears to be as an announcement, but if we take a look at the beginning of the example, we come to realize that that CP has already informed the UP of the parliament’s decision, that is “the parliament has voted… .” Therefore, this informs us that the design of telling news in this instance occurs in the form of reminding recipients, i.e. unratified Members of Parliament, of talk.

In terms of responses to the news telling, unratified Members of Parliament commonly do not orient themselves to the telling of news by the CP, and they tend to proceed with their heckles such as “it’s unacceptable what you said” and “no I want to work on voting” in Example (86) and Example (87), respectively. On the other hand, the response of the
unratified Member of Parliament in Example (88), is designed in such a way as to express extreme case formulation such as in “his son is murdered his blood is wasted.” These responses indicate that reminders are not enough to prevent them from making further intrusions. Moreover, they show that there is not coordination between the UP and the CP.

In sum, the analysis of the above examples informs us that the design of telling as a response is launched in response to heckles. The telling response comprises of a single turn, which basically encompasses an account for the UP’s intrusion. It is generally relating to the complaint or the problem that the UP has raised. Broadly speaking, such tellings seem to be a kind of a defence that the CP undertakes in order to justify his claims or actions in the parliament. On the other side, the UPs do not orient themselves to the telling response, nor do they display an acknowledgement of such telling.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I looked at the responses of heckles and in particular the response of the CP and the CS to heckles. Commonly, the CP is the participant who rushes into managing heckles which are committed by UPs. On the other hand, CSs may also produce responses when they are disrupted by UPs, but they are few. The analysis of the data informs us that the common responses to heckles are: disengaging UPs, demands, granting the speakership, and telling responses. The overall design of the responses reveal that UPs are not invited by recipient to enter the interaction simply because they are not part of it because of the effect of the participation framework on hecklers.

The chairperson’s responses to heckles show that participation of public audience members as well as Members of Parliament are not ratified to make a contribution in an interaction. This links to the participation framework that UPs are not given the opportunity to make a contribution to an interaction because they are not permitted to do so. Besides, public audience members may be given an opportunity to become ratified participants especially when the CP grants them to become ratified. The analysis showed that public audience can become ratified to participate once the CP notices that their intervention is associated to personal demands.
Having discussed the responses of heckles, I will then move to examine the closing of heckles in chapter 7. In brief, this chapter thoroughly explains the design features of closing the heckling interaction between the heckler and the CP.
Chapter 7  The Closing

7.1  Introduction

This chapter investigates the closings of heckles in the Jordanian parliament. In the first section of the chapter, I review the existing literature on closings and how they are designed; I explain the action and sequences that occur within the closing: termination, pre-closings and closing implicative actions. In the second part of the chapter, I show how the interactions in my corpus are closed. The data analysis section informs us that in ordinary conversations termination is negotiated by the participants. In my data the interactions are brought to a close in a unilateral fashion. Participants do not exchange farewell tokens due to the fact that these are heckles which are committed by UPs. In contrast to informal conversations (Schegloff, 2007), pre-closing sequences are rarely used by Arabic speakers in the Jordanian parliament. Closings are generally initiated by the parliament’s CP who brings about the closing by using one or more of a range of kinds of actions. The analysis of the data informs us that interactions are brought to closure using closing implicative actions. These are; instructing others’ as a means of closing the heckles, acknowledgements, arrangements, announcing closure, appreciations, demands to obey the internal regulations of the parliament, and warning to suspend the session of the parliament. In the following section I provide an overview of termination, for which I draw on Schegloff & Sacks (1973), Button (1987) and Liddicoat (2007).

7.2  The closing in ordinary conversation

Closing a conversation can be a sensitive interactional issue. At some point, participants not only need to disengage out of talk, but also from the turn taking system (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Liddicoat, 2007). Participants produce closure of relevant actions to propose and bring about the closing of the conversation. However, closings in this study is different because it is not achieved through mutual collaboration. Instead, the interaction is brought to a close in a unilateral fashion.

Participants do not close a conversation simply by leaving each other or suddenly stopping talking. Instead, they bring a conversation to closure, and there are some procedures for doing this, as the following subsections demonstrate.
7.2.1 The terminal pair

In all languages, participants terminate conversations in a recurrent way, by exchanging farewell tokens such as bye-bye and the like. The closings of a conversation do not occur spontaneously or effortlessly, instead, they happen through interactional achievement and negotiation (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). This means that when a conversation closes, participants have collaborated to produce a closure. Participants close a conversation through ‘negotiating’ (Button, 1990, p. 131) the closing phases of the interaction. Participants in a conversation may initiate closing, which means that there is no relevant future talk for this current conversation and that the conversation may now be completed and can move to closing (Liddicoat, 2007 p. 264). Schegloff & Sacks explain:

It should be clearly understood that the ‘closing problem’ we are discussing is proposed as a problem for conversationalists; we are not interested in it as a problem for analysts except in so far, and in the ways, it is a problem for participants. by problem … we mean that closings are to be seen as achievements, as solutions to certain problems of conversational organisation.

(Schegloff & Sacks, 1973 p. 290).

The following example illustrates the termination of a sequence in ordinary conversation:

Example 89

1. Emma: So we’ll do it at 7.30
2. Sue: it’ll be fun
3. Emma: alright
4. Sue: okay
5. Emma: bye=
6. Sue: bye;,

(Liddicoat, 2007, p. 255)

In the above example, Sue and Emma terminate the sequence through exchanging the farewell tokens “bye/bye.” We can observe that the FPP of the closing is marked in line 5, and in return, the second component of the adjacency pair is achieved in line 6.
Consequently, we can observe that both participants have mutually agreed to bring the conversation to closure, as Emma initiated the FPP and Sue agreed to end the conversation. A second observation is that both participants have discussed the topic of the talk and that no further conversation exchange is due (Liddicoat, 2007).

However, termination relevant actions may not lead to conversation closure. Firstly, it is necessary for participants to launch an interactive environment i.e. negotiation of closing, so that closing relevant actions may be oriented to as such and lead to closure. Secondly, conversationalists may introduce further matters to extend the conversation (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Thus, in order to close a conversation, “participants must collaboratively work to suspend the transition relevance of possible turn completion such that stopping talking and/or leaving is understood as ending the occasion and thus not in violation of interactional norms” (Robinson, 2013, p. 277). Thus, closing sequences are made up of more than just the terminal pair as participants negotiate closure over several turns. Prior to the terminal pair, a pre-closing may be used to propose closure. This may then be followed by the terminal pair or by continuation of the conversation.

7.2.2 Pre-closing

Pre-closings can be launched with a token such as “well” or “okay” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) which, if matched by a similar token can end with the terminal exchange. However, Liddicoat argues that “not all instances of “Okay” are heard as pre-closings and whether such a turn will be treated by a speaker as proposing or not depends on its placement in the talk in progress” (2007, p. 257). In other words, this means that some participants may not treat short tokens such as “Okay” as indications of a “passing turn” (Lerner, 2004) of talk. Further, Liddicoat claims that “pre-closing provides a space in which new mentionables may be inserted, they do not therefore always lead to closing and are never more than possible pre-closing” (2007, p. 257).

Thus, pre-closings are adjacency pairs: the first pair part of a pre-closing calls for a similar second pair part.

1. pre-closing FPP
   pre-closing SPP
2. Pre-closing FPP
   topic talk SPP
To illustrate the pre-closing, let us consider Example 90 which is drawn from a telephone conversation.

Example 90 (Button, 1987: 101-2)
1. Pam: hh Oh [ well than:ks [ anyway ]
2. Vicky: [ I:’m so so [ rry Pa: ] m
3. (.)
4. Pam: Okay.=
5. Vicky: =Okay.=
6. Pam: =Bye:=

--------- end call ---------

In line 4, Pam initiates the closing through producing the token ‘Okay’, which marks the FPP of the pre-closing sequence. In response to that, Vicky produces the SPP of the adjacency pair through producing the token ‘Okay’ in line 5.

In sum, Liddicoat (2007) argues that conversational closing is twofold. Firstly, it involves determining whether all points in the conversation have been introduced. Secondly, it involves agreement to terminate the conversation and cease the turn taking. Participants may also move to closure using other ways instead of using pre-closing components. In the next section, I review the literature on other closing implicative actions that participants may employ to bring conversations to closure.

7.2.3 The closing implicative environment

As I have indicated above, participants may produce tokens such as “Okay” or “yeah” before terminating a conversation. However, such tokens may not always lead to closing (Liddicoat, 2007) because pre-closings are located at the analysable end of the topic (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Liddicoat, 2007). In this regard, it is possible to observe that during the course of closing, other materials (in addition to, or instead of) closing
components may be introduced. These materials are referred to as the ‘closing implicative environment’ (Button, 1987). The term closing implicative environment refers to a “set of actions after which closing may be a relevant next activity and after which closure is a common activity but it does not imply that closure will necessarily happen after such action” (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 259). Button (1987) identified ‘sequence types’ that could lengthen the interactional closedown, or even end it. Button identified seven types which are used to move out of closure: references to arrangements, back references, topic initial elicitors, in-conversation objects, ‘solicitudes’, reason-for-calls, and appreciation (p. 104). Liddicoat (2007) points out that these are closing implicative actions.

Furthermore, it is possible for participants to produce additional talk before the terminal exchange or after the pre-closing sequence. Schegloff & Sacks (1973, p. 304) write

> the extendibility of conversation to great length past a possible pre-closing is not a sign of the latter’s defect with respect to initiating closings, but of its virtues in providing opportunities for further topic talk that is fitted to the topical structure of conversation.

It is worth noting that participants in a conversation may extend the closing sequence through producing sequence components between the pre-closing sequence and the termination sequence, and sometimes before the pre-closing sequence (Levinson, 1983). Button (1987, p.128) claim, “It is possible to observe that movements out of closings occupy particular positions within the boundaries of the archetype closing section. Simply, these positions follow closing components.” Furthermore, Button (1987) point out that a ‘sequence type’ can be initiated in an opportunity space. This means that ‘sequence types’ will be seen to be commonly used in particular opportunity spaces provided by a closing section” (p. 141).

### 7.2.3.1 Announcing closure

In ordinary conversations, conversationalists may move a conversation to closure through announcing it. The announcement of closure can be broadcast in different ways based on the needs of conversationalists. Liddicoat (2007) argues that “such announcements of closure usually invoke some external circumstances which warrant ending the current
conversation, with a greater or lesser degree of specificity” (p. 259). In other words, if one of the participants in a conversation announces closure, the other participant may be influenced by such an announcement, and this may result in termination of the closing sequence. In Example 91, Mandy announces closure of the conversation and gives a reason for ending the call.


1. Mandy: look Karen I gotta go now Tom’s jus’ got home
2. Karen: Okay [love
3. Mandy: [ Okay
4. Karen: B-bye=
5. Mandy: =By::e

In line 1, Mandy announces the closure of the conversation using “I gotta go now.” Accordingly, Karen acknowledges the announcement through “okay love.” The announcement of closure is not instantly followed by the terminal exchange, but rather a pre-closing sequence where passing turns are exchanged before the conversation is closed. Thus, the announcement does not indicate the immediate closure of the conversation, but rather functions as a suggestion for closure as the next activity (Liddicoat, 2007). Moreover, Mary offers a warrant for the announcement of closure; that is “Tom’s just got home.” By this, we can observe that the announcement of closure is produced based on the needs of the person who announced the closure. Alternatively, conversationalists may also announce closure through referring to the addressee’s needs. This is illustrated in Example 92. The speaker (Hope) invokes the recipient’s needs from earlier in the talk.

Example 92 (Clay I 5) (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 261)

1. Mary: and he’s going to come by himself I think
2. Hope: → Okay well I better let y’ go now
3. Mary: Alright
4. Hope: Okay
5. Mary: By:e Hope
6. Hope: Bye
In line 2, Hope announces the closure using “I better let y’ go now.” Mary produces an acknowledgment to the closure through ‘Alright’. Here, we observe that the formulation of announcement is produced in an explicit way of external need of her recipient to terminate the conversation. In other words, Hope’s turn is not designed for the sake of her needs; but for the necessity to consider the needs of the addressee. In other cases, participants may make use of materials or objects as a warrant for closing the conversation. This is illustrated in Example 93 below. Shirley is telling Geri about an apartment that a mutual friend (Michael) has found.

Example 93 Geri and Shirley (Sidnell, 2010, p. 219)

19. Geri: Coo [ l it/
20. Dog: [ ragh ragh!
21. Shir: I e’n hear it fr’m this side.
22. Dog: ragh ragh ragh
23. Geri: Okay w’l lemme get o:ff,
24. Shir: Yeh go do your work,
25. Geri: Yeh,
26. Shir: .t.hh Okay?= 
27. Geri: =En tell Joey ah’ll be over in a whi:[ le.
28. Shir: [ Okay, 
29. Geri: Okay .[ .hh-
30. Shir: [ Okay beh-by,= 
31. Geri: =Bah-bye

In line 19, Shirley addresses the dog to “cool it.” Geri reacts to the barking of the dog and addresses the talk to Shirley through “Okay w’l lemme get o:ff.” At this point it is observed that the latter is suggesting that the closing relevance has been caused by the disturbance of the dog’s barking. Shirley acknowledges the response of Geri, and through “Yeh go do your work” which marks the warrant for closing. The predominant observation in the latter example is that participants may make use of objects/materials in the conversations (such as barking of the dog) to close the conversation.
In sum, the typical way for announcing the closure of conversations is when one of the participants explicitly talks about closure as relevant activity i.e. “I have to go now” or “I must get home” which is also referred to as the internal needs of the person who initiates the announcement. Alternatively, participants may also announce the closure of conversations for the sake of the external needs of recipients i.e. “I should let you go.” Moreover, participants may also make use of materials or objects as a warrant for closing such as dog barking, having dinner, fixing the car and the like.

### 7.2.3.2 Appreciations

As far as announcing closure is concerned, appreciation is also another form of closing implicative action (Button, 1987). Liddicoat (2007) argues that when appreciation occurs at the end of a conversation, it suggests that a conversation has arrived to conclusion. In Example 94 below, Lucia and Fatima are the participants, and they are having a phone conversation.

Example 94 [Phone 2:9] (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 264)

1. Lucia: Okay I’ll talk to yuh later
2. Fatima: Yeah thanks for calling
3. Lucia: Okay
4. Fatima: Okay
5. Lucia: Bye
6. Fatima: Bye

In line 2, Fatima produces a confirmation “Yeah” followed by an appreciation for making the call “thanks for calling.” Lucia acknowledges the appreciation through producing a confirmation “Okay.” When participants formulate an appreciation, this suggests that conversation has been accomplished. In other words, it entails that there is no more relevant talk due for the current conversation, and that participants can now move to the termination of the conversation (Liddicoat, 2007).

In news interviews, appreciation is the traditional method employed by the interviewer to close an interview (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). To illustrate this, let us examine Example
95. The participants in the conversation are the interviewer (IR) and the interviewee (IE). The IR prepares some moves, which are called a preface to final thanks.

Example 95 US ABC Nightline: 22 July 1985: South Africa

IR: Charles Gibson  IE1: Rev. Allan Boeask  IE2: Ambassador Herbert Beukes

1. IR: I am afraid we could go on forever. I am afraid
2. that we have to stop at some point, and it’s
3. gonna have to be this point. Reverend Boeask and
4. → Ambassador Beukes, thank you both ever so much
5. for joining us.

(Cited in Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 77)

In line 4, the IR produces an appreciation of both interviewees through “thank you both ….” There are two observations that help explain why the appreciation is oriented to as termination relevant. Firstly, the appreciation occurs at the end of the interaction, which informs us that there are no terminal exchanges, as in face-to-face interaction, in news interviews. Secondly, appreciation is not usually produced without a preface to it (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). In other words, the IR prepares or winds down before he formulates an appreciation at which point the IR produces a couple of moves (see line 1, 2, & 3). Moreover, the response to appreciation appears to be optional, as the IE has not reacted to the IR’s appreciation.

In summary, appreciation is a very common strategy used by participants to move a conversation to closure. In addition, appreciation is used as a signal that there are no further topics to be discussed in the conversation, and that participants can now move to terminate the conversation. In ordinary conversations such as phone calls, the response to appreciation, is typically through acknowledging the thanks through tokens such as “Okay”, whereas in other settings, such as the news interviews, the response would either be exchanging the same appreciation term “thanks/thanks, or it could be an optional response; that is no verbal response to appreciation.
7.2.3.3 Arrangements

Arrangements are also considered closing implicative. Button (1987, p 143) claim, “Arrangements have been seen to be closing implicative but not terminal elective. That is, they move out of closing but this movement is minimal and provides for the termination if closing following a minimal return to the arrangement.” In Example 96, Julie and Helen are coordinating to bring the conversation to closure through referring to future arrangement:

1. Julie: .hh Yeah hh (. ) b’d I really won’ know much
2. more ‘ n that until Kris gives me a call tuh
3. say wha’ she’ s gonna do.
4. (0.2)
5. Julie: Then I’ll know more about it.
6. (0.2)
7. Helen: Yeah
8. (0.2)
9. Helen: → So lemme know w’ ts happenin when yih know.
10. Julie: → Yeah okay I’ll call yuh then.
11. Helen: Okay:
12. Julie: Okay
13. Helen: By [ bye
14. Julie: [bye :

In line 9, Helen enters into closing through producing “So lemme know w’ ts happenin when yih know.” Helen makes a future arrangement in line 10, and Julie accepts Helen’s arrangement through “Yeah okay I’ll call yuh then.” The future arrangement sequence offers a connection between the current conversation and a future conversation. Moreover, they orient to the prospective of conversational closing of social relationships (Liddicoat, 2007).
In Example 97, the participants in the conversation are a doctor and a patient and they are bringing the conversation to closure through making future arrangements.

Example 97 CRACKING HANDS (1.515.2) cited in (Robinson, 2001, p.644)

856. DOC: ‘hhh They’ll contact you. Uh: with the
857. Appointment for the dermatologist.
858. (.)
859. PAT: Okay.
860. DOC: should you hear within a couple of weeks
861. PAT: Alright.
862. DOC: Okay,
863. PAT: Uh [ huh,
864. DOC: [ I’ll see you again in a month
865. PAT: Oka [ y.
866. DOC: [ Get a sugar again before- right be [ forehand.
867. PAT: [ Yeah I – well I
868. PAT: better remember to take the- (.) this thing
869. Back. I didn’t last time
870. DOC: O (h) k (h) ay.
871. (3 . 4)
872. DOC: Bye now.
873. PAT: By : e.

In line 856, the doctor launches an arrangement sequence through announcing and proposing for confirmation: “They’ll contact you. Uh: with the appointment for the dermatologist.” In response to the future arrangement, the patient produces a confirmation using “Okay.” The arrangement appears to be the last topic, which is framed in a closing implicative environment (Robinson, 2001).

In sum, the sequence of arrangement is a closing implicative action which is typically composed of two turns. The first turn consists of the arrangement i.e. “I will see you in a month”, whilst the second turn consists of an acknowledgment such as “okay / yeah.” The arrangement sequences are typically formulated in order to link the current conversation
with a future conversation. This is because participants may have not completed a debated topic, and they propose and confirm the arrangement in the current conversation in order to bring the conversation to closure.

7.2.4 Closing heckles

The closing of heckles in the Jordanian parliament shares some similarities with closings in ordinary conversations; however, it is worth noting that there are some differences. These differences distinguish the closing of heckles from casual conversations. It is significant to know about the design of closings in ordinary conversation as well as news interviews because they inform us that closings are negotiated over several turns. In other words, participants collaborate between each other in order to close the interaction. However, closings in this study are different in the sense that participants do not collaborate between each other, and that closings are brought about by a single speaker i.e. the CP in a single turn. This section aims to shed the light on the analysis of closing heckles led by the CP. The closing of heckles section is divided into three sub sections, these are; termination of heckles, the closing implicative actions for public audience members, the closing implicative actions for unratified members of the parliament.

7.2.4.1 Termination of heckles

In ordinary conversation, termination is produced through mutual collaboration and negotiation between participants (Button, 1990). Participants produce termination of relevant actions to propose and bring about the closing of the conversation. However, termination of heckles for UPs is different because it is not achieved through mutual collaboration. Instead, the interaction is brought to a close in a unilateral fashion. Recurrently the CP ends the interaction without securing the collaboration of the UP. Since the context of the study deals with an institutional setting, where the internal regulation of the parliament stipulates that UPs in the gallery should not interfere with the parliamentary business; the situation is very different from ordinary interaction. It is pertinent to note that CPs of the parliament possess institutional powers which enable them to prevent heckles either in the gallery or during another MP’s speech. The majority of the analysed cases reveal that it is the CP(s) who initiate the closing of the interactions, and this is because it is their responsibility to close heckles launched by UPs. CP(s) usually attempt to manage
the closure of an unsanctioned interaction in order to keep the session progressing smoothly.

On the other hand, the termination of heckles which are committed by unratified Members of Parliament are similar to public audience members in the gallery. The CP and the unratified Members of Parliament do not exchange farewell tokens as in ordinary conversation. Instead, the CP frequently initiates the closing of an interaction using the closing implicative environment.

In sum, participants do not negotiate the closing nor do they exchange farewell tokens such as bye/bye or its equivalents. However, heckles are brought to closure through the closing implicative actions. It is worth mentioning that in ordinary conversation, speakers usually share control of the talk. However, in this study, the CP’s responsibility is to end intrusions by the UP. That is, the CP has the authority and obligations to close an interaction, whilst other speakers do not have this. In the following section, I will closely analyse how the CP uses such strategies to bring the interaction of heckles to closure.

7.2.4.2 The closing implicative environment for public audience members

As indicated, the closing implicative environment is defined as several components after which closing is a common activity and that closing may be relevant. Nevertheless, this does not mean that closing will occur after such actions (Liddicoat, 2007). This section presents the closing actions which are used by the CP to close heckles. The data analysis informs us that the CP typically uses the following strategies to bring the interaction to closure: instructing others’ as a means of closing the heckles, acknowledgements, and arrangements.

7.2.4.2.1 Instructing others as a means of closing the heckles

Commonly in my corpus, the CP moves the interaction to closure through demanding the security guards dismiss public audiences from the gallery. In 5 of the 18 instances, the CP closes the heckles through invoking parliamentary protocols and through subsequent use of force. In Example (98), the UP instructs the security guards to take the heckler from the gallery.
Example (98) 3

4. UP: laday waθaqeq ladai waθaqeq tazwi:r ((throws a bunch of papers to MPs))
   I have documents I have document fraud
   **I have documents I have fraud documents**

5. UP: (1.0) fasa:d (0.5)
   corruption
   **(1.0) corruption (0.5)**

6. MP: [ sawru:ha] ( )
   Take a photo of it
   [ take a copy of it] ( )

7. CP:→ [ Xuðu PRT ba]ra xuðu PRT bara ya axwan
   Take him out take him out brothers
   [ take him out ] take him out brothers

8. CP: tfdal ax ibrahi:m
   Please brother Ibrahim
   **You may speak brother Ibraheem**

Line 7 overlaps with line 6, where the CP launches a demand, using “*Take him out take him out brothers.*” Here, the CP addresses the talk to the security guards telling them to disqualify the UP from the gallery which means that the UP has no further opportunity to speak. Unsurprisingly, participants do not collaborate in bringing the interaction to closure.

The CP demands the guards to dismiss the UP, whilst the UP has not yet finished talking. The nature of this closure arises from the “asymmetry” (Hutchby, 1996a) of the participants: the CP is able to prevent the UP from further participation by having him removed by the guards. This shows that the CP’s role is to terminate intrusions made by heckler. It also shows that he has the power to close the interaction whilst other speakers do not have. Similarily in Example (99), the CP calls for the security guards to dismiss the heckler from the gallery.

Example (99) 17

1. CS: [ ((stands at the podium, smiles then looks at UP and takes out his glasses))

2. UP [ ?onaʃed ?ollah (1.0) ?onaʃed dawlat arai:s
   (standing at edge of gallery))
   Supplicate to God supplicate to state President
   **I supplicate to God I supplicate to his Excellency**

3. UP [ ( )
   (points with his hand as he speaks))

4. CP:→ [ wein aʃort?a? xoðu xalu yet?aʃ barra

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where the guards? Take him dismiss him outside
where are the guards? Take him dismiss him off the
gallery
5. UP: [ ( )
6. CP: [ ?$taqlu
confine him
[confine him
7. UP: ( )
8. CP: ?$taqlu
  confine him

Line 4 overlaps with line 3, at which the CP initiates announcing closure of the interaction through demanding the security guards to dismiss the heckler from the gallery using “where are the guards? Take him dismiss him off the gallery.” In this turn, the CP does not address the talk to the heckler, but to a third party in order to close the interaction. Participation framework is significant here, as the CP nominates the security guards to become ratified to handle the heckler. In line 9 the UP contests the guards by producing a supplication term “I supplicate to Allah” which denotes that he has not yet finished speaking. This shows that UPs may not be given the chance to complete their talk.

Example (98) and Example (99) are very similar in their design of instructing others’ to close the interaction. Firstly, the CP is the one who initiates the closing and it is produced for his needs. Secondly, the CP recruits a third party (i.e. the security guards) to dismiss the heckler from the gallery. Thirdly, the closing of the interaction does not necessarily mean that it will occur, especially if the heckler challenges the guards to keep hold of the floor (see Example (99)).

Example (100) is slightly different in the sense that the closure is followed by a warrant for closing. The CP instructs the security guards to dismiss the heckler off the gallery followed by a warrant for the closing.

Example (100) 6

21. UP: ?SKOT WALLA (. ) ?SKOT WALLA ( )=
  ((talks to guards))
  Shut up PRT  shut up PRT
  SHUT UP (. ) SHUT UP
22. MP: =la ya axi: [( )
Not PRT brother
No brother [ (                 ) ]

23. UP: ( [                  ] )

24. CP: [ arjo exrajha ] mn ?ljurfa

Please dismiss from the gallery because she
delivered her message

[ Please dismiss her ] off the gallery because she
has delivered [ her message ]

25. UP: [ rud Cälîy]=

Reply on me

[ Respond to me ]

26. CP: [= lw smhtî (.) lw smhtî ya ?xtî lw smhtî ]

((sharp tone))

excuse me excuse me PRT sister excuse me

=[ excuse me ( . ) excuse me sister excuse me ]

27. UP: [= ( bidi eyah) ]

((UP struggles with guards)))

I WANT HIM

In line 24, the CP attempts to close the interaction through demanding the security guards
dismiss the heckler from the gallery. The closing in this example consists of the expression
“please”, followed by the demand “dismiss her off the gallery”, and the reason that she had
delivered her message “because she delivered her message.” Offering a warrant has been
noted, in such a case the warrant for closing the conversation is embodied in the very
practices used to close the conversation. However, Sidnell (2010) argues that there are
other ways in which a conversation may come to close, and it is useful to consider those in
which the warrant for closing is announced. In the above example, the warrant is used after
the CP demands the third party (guards) to dismiss the UP off the gallery. Here, we can
observe that warrant is produced after the CP instructs the guards. In response to the CP,
the UP appears to be contesting to retain the floor, as she produced a TCU at line 25 using
“respond to me”, which overlaps with line 24. This indicates that the UP does not wish to
close the interaction, as she has not yet finished talking.

The above analysis shows how the CP closes the interaction through urging the security
guards to dismiss UPs from the gallery. This kind of closing however, is only restricted to
the CP as he has institutional power to instruct the guards. Instructing the guards to dismiss
the heckler outside the gallery demonstrates the notion of “asymmetry” (Hutchby, 1996a) which rests in the hands of the CP. What distinguishes this form of closure from other forms of closures in casual conversations is that actual conversations are based on collaboration (Schegloff, 1968, 2002) between participants, whilst in the parliamentary context, closings are distinguished by uncollaborative closing; that is the CP announces closing, whilst UPs do not cooperate to bring the interaction to closure. It is worth mentioning that when the CP addresses the guards, it does not really mean that closing will happen, as in many cases UPs physically challenge the security guards and contest to keep hold of the floor. This means that UPs still have not finished talking, and they do not wish to close the interaction (Liddicoat, 2007 p. 259).

In sum, instructing others’ to close the heckle is composed of a single turn and it is initiated by the CP. This occurs when the CP launches a demand to a third party (the security guards) in order to dismiss the heckler from the gallery. This means that the UP will have no opportunity to participate in the interaction.

7.2.4.2.2 Acknowledgements
In my corpus, the CP moves the interaction to closure through producing an acknowledgment of the personal demand made by a member of public audience. In 3 of the 18 instances, the CP launches into an acknowledgment of the personal demand. The closing sequence of this type is not straightforward, and this is because when the CP initiates the closing, UPs do not always cooperate with the CP. In other words, UPs do not easily withdraw from the interaction especially when the CP initiates the closing. For the first example of acknowledgements, see Example (101). The CP aims at closing the interaction by producing an acknowledgment.

Example (101) 1

9. CP: =Xalas_CI
   (MP approaches to UP))
   =that’s enough
10. UP MJAN ?LLA=
    For sake God
    FOR GOD’S SAKE
11. →CP: =weslat [ weslat
    Acknowledged acknowledged
In line 9, CP begins “winding down” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) to the closing of the interaction using “that’s enough.” In line 11, the CP continues to produce an acknowledgement using “it’s acknowledged it’s acknowledged” in response to the UP’s demand. Here, we can observe that the CP makes a short form of “your message is acknowledged.” However, UP does not yet acknowledge the CP’s confirmation “it is acknowledged” as a closing, as he continues to make supplication using “FOR GOD’S SAKE” in a rather high tone. Again, in line 18, the CP produces the same confirmation through “it’s acknowledged brother it’s acknowledged”, but in a rising tone. So far, we can notice that the CP is taking several actions to close the sequence whilst the UP is not being collaborating with him, as he continues to make supplication expressions (see lines 19, 21, & 23). In line 20, the CP produces the last closing attempt through “Okay the government listened to you the MPs have listened to you.” By this, the CP tries to convince the UP that his message has been successfully delivered to the government and Members of Parliament, which is known as a “warrant” for the closing (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). It should be noted that the closure of the sequence in Example (101) is very similar to the closing implicative environment (Schegloff, 2007, Liddicoat, 2007). This means that the CP attempts to bring the closure using a couple of moves, such as acknowledging that the complaint is received. Like several other cases, it is pertinent to note that the UP is not responsive to the CP’s closure attempts, as this makes it even more difficult for the CP to close down the interaction.
For a second example of acknowledgement, see Example (102). The CP manages the situation through offering an acknowledgement to the UP.

Example (102) 16

20. UP: muj ìmaklfìn xazinet ?ddawleh wala tạri:fiwahde
    not charging the funds of government not a Fils
    ((currency)) one
    we do not charge the government’s funds not even a single Fils
21. UP: w?na bathada [eða- ]
    and I bet if
    and I bet if-
22. CP: [xala::s]
    enough
    [ that’s enough -]
23. UP [ ( )
24. CP:→ [ waslat ?resale ya ?bni
    Acknowledged message PRT son
    your message is acknowledged son
    25. UP (                                          )
26. CP: weslat ?resale xalasʕ
    Acknowledged the message enough
    your message has been acknowledged that’s enough
27. UP: ( ) daxli:n ʕillah wa
    I supplicate to Allah and
    ( ) I supplicate to Allah and
28. UP [ ( )]
29. CP: [ weslat aresala xalina nʕref neʃtayil] ʕad
    xalasʕ ((sharp tone))
    acknowledged the message let us do work       PRT
    enough
    [message is acknowledged let us get back to
    business] ((Sharp tone))
30. UP: ((leaves the gallery))

In line 22, the CP produces a pre-closing using “that’s enough” which overlaps with line 21. Here, the CP initiates the pre-closing, so that the opponent will understand that the interaction is moving to closure. However, the UP is not willing to let go of the floor easily, as it is evident that he has not finished talking (see line 23). Again, the CP produces another closing at line 24, through “your message has been acknowledged.” In addition, in line 26, the CP repeats the same closing again possibly to withdraw him from the interaction. The last closing attempt appears to be a successful one, at which the CP produces the closing
at line 29, through “the message is acknowledged let us get back to business”, followed by a warrant for closing that is “let us get back to business.” Noticeably, the CP produces the latter turn in a sharp tone in order to exhibit disaffiliation to that of the UP. Consequently, the UP acknowledges the closing through withdrawing from the interaction and leaves the gallery (see line 30). For a deviant case, see Example (103). The CP launches an acknowledgment to close the interaction.

Example (103) 9

23. S: [lahtha lahtha] ( ) lahtha lahtha
hold on hold on ( )
24. S: lahtha hal? babçaəlak nas hal? babçaəlak nas
Hold on PRT send to you somebody PRT send to you somebody
hold on I will send somebody to you I will send somebody to you
25. UP: ( )
26. S: xalasʕ xalasʕ hal? babçaəlak nas
that’s enough that’s enough PRT send to your somebody
that’s enough that’s enough I will send somebody for you
27. Aud: ( )
28. UP: ?llah yustur ġbeitak ?llah yustur ġbeitak ((UP holds fence of the gallery))
God saves you god save you
God bless you god bless you
29. CS: biidi ?kmil hadethi dawlet arr?i:s
need continue talking state President
I want to complete my speech your excellency
30. CP: fukran dawlat arr?i:s
thank you state President
thank you your excellency

In line 23, the S produces a pre-closing component using “hold on hold on” which is an indication that the S will produce further talk. In line 24, the S continues to launch an acknowledgement using “I will send somebody to you I will send somebody to you.” Through this, the S provides an acknowledgment to the UP’s personal demand. In line 28, the UP offers gratitude to the S using “god bless you.” Through this gratitude, it is enough to indicate that the UP has stopped making intrusions to the interaction.
In summary, the action of acknowledgement consists of a single sequence of talk, which is initiated by the CP as the last topic. The CP produces acknowledgement as a means of closing the interaction, which is linked to the personal demand of the UP. The acknowledgment allows the UP to withdraw from the interaction without producing a verbal response to the CP acknowledgment.

7.2.4.2.3 Arrangements

Closing an interaction through arrangements denotes that participants arrange for future interaction (Button, 1987; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The arrangement sequence is typically composed of one sequence that is composed of the arrangement (FPP) and the acceptance/rejection/ignorance of the sequence (SPP). If the UP offers gratitude this means he accepts the proposal, then begins to close the interaction. Out of the 18 instances, I found 2 instances of involving arrangements. First, see Example (104).

Example (104) 9

20. bdy ⽩da yhi ⽩mūʃkilty (.)) ((guards surround
UP))
Need somebody solve problem
I need somebody to solve my problem
21. UP: bdy ⽩da yehi ⽩mūʃkilty (.)) mi:n yhi ⽩mūʃkli ))==
(crying))
need somebody solve my problem who will solve my problem
I need somebody to solve my problem (.)) who will solve my problem
22. UP (]
) 23. S: [laḥtha laḥtha] ( ) laḥtha laḥtha
hold on hold on ( )
24. S: laḥtha hal? babaʔalak nas hal? babaʔalak nas
Hold on PRT send to you somebody PRT send to you somebody
hold on I will send somebody to you I will send somebody to you
25. UP: ( )
26. S:→ xalašc xalašc hal? babaʔalak nas
that’s enough that’s enough PRT send to your somebody
that’s enough that’s enough I will send somebody for you
27. Aud: ( )
In line 26, S1 produces an arrangement to the UP using “*that’s enough that’s enough I will send someone to you I will send someone to you.*” Here we can observe that the S1 makes arrangements to send one of his assistants to the UP in the gallery. The time of this is not explicitly stated, but it appears that he will send him immediately. Thus, the arrangement occurs immediately after the interaction closes which indicates that it is the last topic to be discussed. It is evident that the UP acknowledges the closing of the interaction at which the UP produces a form of prayer “*god save your home god save your home*” at line 28 as a form of gratitude, which is an indication that the arrangement is recognized and accepted.

For a second example of the use of arrangements, see example (105). The UP complains to Members of Parliament about the case of the death of his younger son. However, the CP has not given him enough opportunity to follow up with expanding his complaint. The CP closes the interaction through making a future offer to see him at his office.

Example (105) 2

9. CP: lw samḥt tfadal mʕali ?lwazi:r ((guards struggle UP))
   *If you excuse me go ahead your excellency minister excuse me you may speak your excellency*

10. MP: [hada meʔal la ahl mʕan]
    *this is example for people Ma’an*
    *[this is an example of Ma’an citizens]*

11. UP [( ) bijah jalalet ?lmalik ]
    *((Guards, dismiss UP))
    [( ) sake his majesty the King]*
    *[for sake of his majesty the King]*

12. MP: ya ibnil ḥalal Ismaʕo
    PRT PRT listen
    *Listen*

13. CP: lw samḥt(.) mʕali ?lwazi:r
    *excuse me excuse me your excellency minister*
In line 19, the CP initiates the closing through arranging to meet the UP with “I will meet you in my office if you please”, which overlaps with line 19, as the security guards physically dismiss the UP of the gallery. Making arrangements is thought to be a ‘special status topic’ in conversations (Button, 1990). Participants typically treat the last topic, following which the termination of an interaction becomes relevant possibility (Button, 1987; Robinson, 2001; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Moreover, the UP has not been given the enough opportunity to respond to the arrangement proposed by the CP, which indicates that the UP has not collaborated with the CP.

In English conversations, Liddicoat (2007) argues that arrangements have a number of properties, which allow arrangements to be closing implicative. Participants firstly ‘negotiate’ (Button, 1987) the closing of arrangement. That is, participant A initiates the arrangement and consequently participant B confirms or rejects it. If we take a closer look at Example (104) & Example (105), we can observe that arrangements offer a connection between the current conversation and the future conversation and offer an orientation to the possibility of conversational closing (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 262). Including arrangements can suggest future meeting, implying desire a future encounter (Button, 1990). Arrangements permit for the closing of the current conversation to propose additional prospective topics for talk, which could be held until the next conversation (Button, 1987). In other words, speakers close the current conversation and arrange a future encounter to
discuss a new topic of talk. Invoking an occasion of future interaction can allow for the possibility that any “hitherto unmentioned mentionables” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 303) might be postponed and discussed on that later occasion.

It is worth noting that arrangements in heckles are an effective strategy for closing an interaction. Button (1987) argue “that their data reveal that arrangements are by far the most predominant ‘sequence type’ to appear in closing, and it would seem that they are a prototypical way to actually initiate a closing sequence” (p.144). I agree with this claim, as the data of the current study shows that arrangements launch a closing sequence. However, arrangements are used in a limited frequency where UPs complain to Members of Parliament about a personal demand.

The CP invokes an action that will be accomplished after the current encounter is terminated. These actions include future arrangements that are related to the compliance of the UP i.e. complaining about a personal problem such as “How am I going to feed my children?” or parliamentary procedures such as “this is an unjust legislation it has to been omitted.” Once the CP initiates future arrangements; for instance, “I will meet you in my office” or “I will send someone to see you”, the response of UP’s ought to be acceptance or a rejection. However, UPs often offer gratitude or make no response to the arrangement, which could be an indication of acceptance.

In summary, the arrangement action is usually composed of a sequence; a proposal involving future arrangement and appreciation. This arrangement deals with discussing the last topic of the interaction as well as a practice that the CP uses to close illegal intervention encounters. Moreover, the arrangement turn is formed to bring about closure but in an implicit way.

7.2.4.3 The closing implicative environment for unratified Members of Parliament

This section presents the closing actions which are used by the CP to close heckles for Member of Parliament. The data analysis informs us that the CP routinely uses the following strategies to bring the interaction to closure: announcing closure, appreciations, demands to obey the rules, and warnings to suspend the session of the parliament.
7.2.4.3.1 Announcing closure

Announcing closure is one of the ways one of the participants may move a conversation to closure (Liddicoat, 2007). In this study, the CP always launches the announcement of the closure of an interaction. A predominant action which allows the CP to announce the closure as a next activity is when UPs disrupt a speaker during a speech. Thus, it becomes necessary to announce the closure in order to keep the orderliness of the parliament session progressing. Alternatively, the CP may also dismiss Members of Parliament who violate the internal regulations, especially when the UP (such as a Member of Parliament) insists on disrupting a CS’s speech or affecting the progress of parliamentary sessions, however, this kind of occasion has not been witnessed in the data. In 4 of the 18 instances, the CP announces the closure of the interaction. For the first example of announcing closure, see Example (106).

Example (106) 20

12. CP: [ya Yahya] (.) ya Yahya
   PRT NAME (.) PRT NAME
   [ ya Yahya ] (.) ya Yahya
13. UP: [?nawab lazim yekhaʃu:k min ?lqaʃa haʃi=
   MPs must dismiss from the this hall
   The MPs must dismiss you out of this hall [ parliament ]
14. CP: →= xalas yahya xalas inhi (.) ?llah yerða Ɂleek (.)
   Enough Yahya enough end it God mercy on you
   [That’s] enough Yahya put an end to this (.) gods mercy on you (.)
15. CP: yahya m2leish
   Yahya please
   Yahya please
16. CP: tfedal dawalt ?raʔi:s (2.0) tfedal dawalt
   ?raʔi:s
   you may state President you may state President
   you may speak your excellency (2.0) you may speak your excellency

In line 14, the CP announces the closure of the interaction using “that’s enough Yahya end it (.) god’s mercy on you.” Here we can observe that the announcement of closure occurs in an imperative form, as the CP demands the UP to cease talking using “end it”; this indicates that the CP talks explicitly about the closing. When the CP utters an explicit
announcement of closure, it does not mean that a UP will definitely withdraw from the interaction. The analysis of the data has shown that UP participants (particularly Members of Parliament) do not easily withdraw from an interaction if they have not made their point or have not been successful in fulfilling their demands.

Similarly, in Example (107) the CP moves the interaction to closure by talking explicitly about the closure as a relevant action.

Example (107) 55

11. CP:  la la
   no no
12. UP:  ( )
13. CP:  ya Hind ?rjoki mʃlʃ ax yahya ?hki
   PRT NAME please please NAME speak
   Ya Hind please please Yahya speak
14. UP:  ( [ ] )
15. CP:  → [Hind ?NHEINA MIN ?LMOWDuːʕ]
   NAME end the matter
   Hind end the matter
   agree colleague NAME NAME
   I agree with colleague Bassan Albtoush
17. UP:  ( [ ] )
   ?lʔanwyə ?lʕama
   agree colleague NAME NAME with regard the secondary schooling
   I agree with Bassam Albtoush rearding the secondary schooling

In line 5, the CP produces an address term of the recipient “Hind” followed by announcement of closure using “we ended the matter.” Here, it is observed that the CP talks about the closure as the last topic and no further talk is due. Moreover, it is observed that the CP talks explicitly about the closure, in particular when he utters “we ended the matter.” It is notable that the design of Example (106) & Example (107) takes the form of imperative. This supports the view of Clayman & Heritage (2001, p.78) that “… announcement[s] generally have an imperative character, and at least imply that time has run out.”
For a different case, the CP moves the interaction by informing the UP that his point is acknowledged. In order to illustrate this, see Example (108)

Example (108) 44

8. CP: < xalasˁ xalasˁ xalasˁ>
enough enough enough
<enough enough enough>

this law arbitrage I demnd from you
system point
this is an arbitrage law I demanded from you a
system point

10. UP: bagolak ma fi nesˁab=
say no there quorum
I’m telling you there is no quorum=

11. CP: → = xalasˁ ħkeit ?li ʕindk
enough you said PRT have
= enough you made ʕli your point

12. UP: ʕid ya sidi ʕid =
count PRT PRT count
count ya sidi count =

13. CP: = xalasˁ ħkeit ?li ʕindk
enough you said what PRT have
= enough you made your point

14. UP: ʕid ya sidi ʕid
count PRTsir

In line 11, the CP announces the closing of the interaction using “enough you have made your point” (see lines 11 & 13). By this, the CP inexplicitly suggests that the UP has delivered his point and no further talk is due. In other words, the CP produces an announcement which is very similar to the closing implicative environment (Liddicoat, 2007) to withdraw him from the interaction. Moreover, when the CP produces this, it invokes an indeterminate external condition that has an impact on the speaker’s ability to proceed in the current conversation (Button, 1990; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). A typical and obvious way to close an interaction is done explicitly; that is, talking about the closure “Please end it.” This announcement of closure is noticeable because the initiator of closing talks clearly about the closing. However, most closures appear not to include such announcements, instead they are done through a closing implicative environment but without talking explicitly about closure as a relevant activity (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 261).
Example (108), we have seen that the CP does not explicitly move to the closure by asking the UP to withdraw from the interaction, instead, he does it through talking inexplicitly about closure as a relevant activity, that is “you made your point.”

In sum, the announcement of closure consists of a single turn of talk, which is initiated by the CP as an ultimate need. The announcement of closure is produced either explicitly or inexplicitly. The former one occurs when one of the participants talks clearly about closure as a relevant activity using an imperative character such as “end it”, whilst the latter occurs when one of the participants talks inexplicitly about closure such as “you made your point.” The participants of the interaction do not negotiate the closing of the sequence, instead, the addressees of the announcement withdraw from the interaction.

7.2.4.3.2 Appreciation

Appreciations, thanking and offering gratitude are actions which participants use to close a conversation (Liddicoat, 2007). An important question is raised; how is appreciation used in an institution setting such as the Jordanian Parliament? As I have indicated, the literature informs us that design of appreciations is designed in an implicit way which participants use in order to move a conversation to an end. The typical way of terminating the interaction occurs when the CP initiates the closing through thanking the UP for his/her participation. In ordinary conversations, appreciations are usually acknowledged through exchanging tokens such as “thank you.” However, in the context of this study, a response to “thank you” appears to be optional (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). In other words, the UP does not exchange thank you with the CP. The analysis of the data reveals that appreciations are found, but in a limited frequency (out of the 41, I found 5 instances), and this is due to the fact the UPs illegally intervene. Thus, it may be a reason why the CP does not offer appreciation for their inappropriate attitude.

What follows are three examples of appreciation where the CP aims at terminating the interaction. Firstly, in Example (109), some Members of Parliament gather in the parliament gallery as a way of protesting against the government. One of them disrupts the CS speech through “THEY SOLD IT” in a loud voice (see line 2). The CP intervenes to manage the situation.
Example (109) 19

8. UP: ((stood up and approaches to the end edge of the balcony))
9. UP: The Royalty] sold not left in the royalty [The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is left in the RJ
10. CP: → tab ʃokran ilko ?rjo ?n nahtarem [?ljalsa] PRT thank you kindly we should respect the session PRT thank you kindly we should respect [the session]
11. UP [ma thal] eshi bilmalakia klo ba3ooha= not left thing in the royalty everything is sold [nothing is] left in the (royal Jordanian) they have sold it
12. CP: xoðlak ʕadeh= PRT PRT ((expression used to express disaffiliation))

In line 10, the CP produces an appreciation to Members of Parliament who protest in the gallery using “thank you all” followed by a demand to obey the rules using “we should respect the session.” Here, it is clearly observed that appreciation occurs at the beginning of the turn. When the CP uses the strategy of appreciation, this means that he does not seek to continue the talk with the UP. In addition, we can see that the CP uses the latter expression by addressing the talk in a plural form “all” instead of addressing the UP to respect the session, despite that it is only one Member of Parliament who disrupts the CS. For a deviant case, see Example (110). The UP criticises the Prime Minister and the minister of interior for talking whilst a Member of Parliament gives a speech. The CP intervenes to manage the situation through demanding the UP to respect the internal regulations.

Example (110) 35

6. CP: [lw samḥt] excuse me [excuse me]
7. CP: Abo Abo Haditha= PRT PRT NAME
In line 12, the CP produces two TCUs. Firstly, the CP launches a demand to obey the rules of the internal regulations, followed by an appreciation token thanks.” In contrast to example (109), the appreciation is positioned at the end of the turn. The CP aims to close the interaction using an appreciation token “thanks.” Through the appreciation token, the CP shows that there is no more talk will be produced and that the appreciation is the last topic.

In Example (111), the Member of Parliament raises a banner written on it “the gas of enemy is occupation” at which she protests against the government’s decision of importing gas from the State of Israel. Throughout the interaction, she raises the banner, whilst the CP attempts to manage the situation through convincing her to put down the banner. Moreover, the UP contests with the CP, and in particular, refuses to submit to the directions and the decisions of the parliament.
Example (111) 46

53. MP: masˁlḥt ?lurdon gabil kol haða [(         )
      the benefit of Jordan is more important than all of
this
54. CP: [ ya Hind ]
      [ PRTNAME   ]
      [ ya Hind   ]
55. CP: s?dˁtˀar yʕni (             ) sokran
      I’m obliged to PRT
      I’m obliged ti yʕni
56. MP: ((takes banner from UP))
57. CP: (              ) thank you

In the last line of the interaction, the CP produces appreciation (line 57) using “(    ) thank you”, which occurs directly after the UP puts down the banner. It is observed here that the CP produces this expression in order to terminate the interaction. When the CP uses the strategy of appreciation, this means that he does not seek to continue the talk with the UP. Also, we can see that the CP uses the latter expression by addressing the talk in a plural form “all” instead of addressing the UP to respect the session, despite that it is only one Member of Parliament who disrupts the CS. In the above example, we have seen that participants do not exchange “bye/bye” tokens, but rather, the CP may initiate the closing through thanking the UPs. Responses to appreciation do not occur, as UPs often recognise the closure through appreciation which is a closing implicative. A remarkable observation can be seen where appreciation is produced without an in advance notice or “preface to final thanks” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Thus, the CP treats the appreciation as a closing implicative at which he expects the UP to recognise the closing and withdraw from the interaction. In ordinary conversations, participants close a conversation through exchanging thanks in which the initiator of closing produces the FPP and the recipient of the closing or the second participant acknowledges the appreciation with a SPP of the adjacency pair through “Thank you.” However, in this study the CP initiates the closing as a FPP, whilst the UP recognizes the closing through withdrawing from the interaction. If silence and non-verbal behaviour (Goodwin, 1981) were observed, this would possibly mean that the SPP of the adjacency pair is marked.
In sum, appreciations are always launched by the CP in order to terminate the interaction. Although appreciations are used as a mean of moving a conversation to closure in casual conversations, in this study they are used to terminate an interaction. The typical way for using appreciation is by saying it on its own in a single turn, as in example (111). Other forms of appreciations can be produced within talk, either pre-positioned appreciation as in example (109) or post-positioned appreciation as in example (110).

7.2.4.3.3 Demands to obey the rules

Demands are used as an interesting strategy to terminate an interaction through telling the Members of Parliament of the internal regulation. The design of demands to obey the rules of the internal regulations obligates UPs not only to limit their participation but also to withdraw from interaction. In 5 of the 41 instances, the CP launches in demanding the UPs to obey the rules of the internal regulations. First, see Example (112).

Example (112) 43

7. CP:  
8. UP fi moqtarah qodim there proposal submitted a proposal has been submitted  
9. Aud: ()  
10. CP:→ lw samhlu (. ) ?ruj ?nkom tahtaremo ?ne€?am ?ddaxili= ((sharp tone)) excuse me (plural) (. ) please you respect the internal regulations Excuse me please I hope that you respect the internal regulations =  
11. UP: =s€adat ?ra?is fi moqtarah ( )= Your excellency there proposal =your excellency there is a proposal  
12. CP: =n€am fi €edet moqtarahat sat?ra€ha bitas€wi:t ((in sharp tone)) (1.0) Yes there some proposal will give through voting =yes there are some proposal I will give to you through voting

In line 10, the CP produces the expression “excuse me”, followed by a demand to obey the rules of the internal regulations “please I hope that you (plural) respect the internal
Demanding Members of Parliament to follow the internal regulations is an implicit way of closing. Members of Parliament should be aware that disciplinary actions would take place if they do not apply the regulations. In other words, if a Member of Parliament seeks to disrupt a speaker while talking, the CP may take actions, such as dissolving the session for ten minutes, or even it could reach to dismiss a Member of Parliament of the parliament of that day’s sitting. However, using such actions depends on various circumstances such as the CP’s point of view and the internal regulations procedures for dissolving a parliament session etc. A predomination feature has been noticed where the CP produces the demand in a sharp tone, which projects disaffiliation to the UP’s illegal intervention, as well as to other members who may plan to illegally intervene.

For a second example of demands to obey the rules of regulations, see Example (113). The CP manages an illegal intervention where a Member of Parliament (UP) sits in the parliament’s gallery in company with other Members of Parliament. It is uncommon for Members of Parliament to sit in the gallery, but this is an exceptional case, where these members protest against the government.

Example (113) 19

8. UP: ((stood up and approaches to the end edge of the balcony))
[The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is left in the RJ
10. CP:→ =tab jokran ilko ?rjo ?n nahtarem [?ljalsa] PRT thank to you kindly we should respect the session
PRT thank you kindly we should respect [the session]
11. UP [ma thal] eshi bilmalakia klo ba3ooha=
not left thing in the royalty everything is sold
[nothing is] left in the (royal Jordanian) they have sold it
12. CP: xoðlak ʕadeh=
PRT PRT
((expression used to express disaffiliation))
In line 11, the CP produces two TCUs of closing. The first one is an appreciation to Members of Parliament who are seated in the gallery through “thank to you.” Here the CP offers appreciation not only to the UP who have illegally intervened in the CS, but also to all Members of Parliament who are seated in the gallery. The second TCU comprises of a demand to obey the regulations using “kindly we should respect the session.” Demands to obey the rules of the internal regulations is a powerful strategy to close the interaction, because such a demand affects the opponent and they will orient to the CP. For a third example of demand, see Example (114). The UP criticises the Prime Minister and the minister of interior for talking whilst a Member of Parliament gives a speech. The CP intervenes to manage the situation through demanding the UP to respect the internal regulations.

Example (114) 35

4. CP: [lw samḥt] excuse me [ excuse me ]

5. UP: [sˁawir ?lʔam] sˁawir ?lʔam ( ) record the media record the media [media record it ] media record it ( )

6. CP: [lw samḥt] excuse me [excuse me ]

7. CP: Abo Abo Haditha= PRT PRT NAME Abo Abo Haidtha=

8. UP: =moʃ ʕeeb ?lʔaki hað not shame this talk =Isn’t it shame to say this

9. UP: ( )

10. CP: [ lw samḥt lw samḥt ] excuse me excuse me [ excuse me excuse me ]

11. UP: ( [ ] )


13. UP: ((sits down))
The CP aimed to disengage the UP using multiple expressions (see lines 4, 6 and 10). In line 12, the CP produces three TCUs; in the first one, the CP addresses the UP with his name through “[please Abu Haditha]” which overlaps with line 11, followed by a demand to obey the rules of internal regulations using “respect the internal regulations.” Within the same line the CP continues to produce an appreciation through “thanks” in order to close the interaction (see line 12). Demanding Members of Parliament in this example shows that the CP addresses the talk to the UP in a direct way using “respect the internal regulations thanks.”

In sum, demands to obey the rules of the internal regulations consist of a single turn, which is initiated by the CP as the closing of the interaction. The CP demands UPs to obey the internal rules of the parliament. The typical design of demand occurs in an imperative character using “please respect the internal regulations.” It appears that demands are an effective device for closing heckles, as UPs withdraw from interactions.

7.2.4.3.4 Warnings to suspend the session of the parliament

The CP may exercise control over Members of Parliament who are unratted to speak in terms of warning them before suspending the parliament session. In 5 of the 41 instances, the CP warns Members of Parliament to suspend the parliament session. Before the CP announces the closure of the interaction by suspending the parliament session, he often makes a preface to it. In order to illustrate this, see Example (115).

Example (115) 25

       If want you respect parliament MPs presumed to respect the chairship and
       If you respect the parliament of MPs presumably you should respect the chairship and
19. tahtarimu ?niðam ?daxili
       respect the regulations internal
       respect the internal regulations
       ?ljlsa
I obliged to adjourn the session to I adjourn the session

I obliged to adjourn the session to I adjourn the session

21. MPs: lyʃ tirfaʕ ?ljalsa
why adjourn the session
why did you adjourn the session

In line 20, the CP warns Members of Parliament that the session will be suspended using “I obliged to adjourn the session to.” This warning shows that the closing is imminent. In the same turn, the CP continues to launch an announcement of closing the parliament session using “I adjourn the session.” Through this turn, it is observed that the CP makes an explicit announcement of closing the interaction based on his needs. The announcement of closure occurs because the CP is not successful in bringing the interaction to an end. Also, the UP is not collaborative with the CP in closing the interaction. This announcement shows that there will be no talk from the CP’s side in the parliament.

Similarly, in Example (116) the CP initiates the closing of the interaction by warning Members of Parliament in the gallery that the session of the parliament will be suspended for ten minutes.

Example (116) 55

10. CP: (2.0) tfdal (. ) ?smholi (1.0)
You may allow me
(2.0) please ( . ) allow me (1.0)

11. Aud: (  ) ((inaudible voices from the gallery))

?li bilʃurfa ( . ) ya
PRT brothers ( . ) PRT brothers PRT the gallery ( . )
PRT in the gallery ( . ) PRT
ya brothers ( . ) ya brothers in gallery ( . ) ya
brothers ?li in the gallery ( . ) ya

?rfʕ ?ljalsa w?xli ?l
PRT PRT in gallery I obliged I obliged to suspend session and evacuate the
?xwan ?li in the gallery ( . ) I’m obliged ( . ) I’m
obliged to suspend the session and evacuate the

?lʃurfa ida lazam ( . ) ?rfʕ

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gallery obliged to suspend the session and evacuate the gallery if must
the gallery (.) I’m obliged to suspend the session (. ) and evacuate the gallery if necessary I suspend the session
the session for ten minutes suspend the session
the session for ten minutes I shall suspend the session
16. Aud: (( )) bravo bravo
(( )) well done well done

In line 13, the CP warns Members of Parliament who reside in the gallery using “I’m obliged (.) I’m obliged to suspend the session.” Here, it is observed that the CP shows that the closing of the parliament session is forthcoming if they do not stop from making disruptions of the session. Again in line 14, the CP warns them again but this time he adds “and evacuate the gallery if necessary.” This shows if member in the gallery were not corporative with the CP, the closing of the parliament session will be imminent. In lines 14 and 15, the CP announces the closure of the interaction using “the session for ten minutes suspend the session I suspend the session.” Example (115) and Example (116) are very similar in terms of their design. For example, the occurrence of the warning occurs approximately before the CP makes the announcement. In other words, the CP issues the preface of the announcement and then immediately rushes into announcing the closure.

Alternatively, the CP may launch into suspending the parliament session without making any warning. This is illustrated in the Example (117).

Example (117) 22

14. CP: haḍa ?lkala:m ya yahya (.) la yaliːq bi majlis
?na:wab ya yahya
this talk PRT NAME not suits in the parliament MPs PRT NAME
it is inappropriate to speak like this in the parliament ya Yahya
15. CP: la yaliːq bimajlis ?na:wab ya yahya=
not suit parliament MPs PRT yahya
it is inappropriate to speak like this in the parliament ya Yahya
16. CS: ?na ?ogadim ḟakwa (1.0)
I submit complaint
I (shall) submit a complaint

17. CP: haða la yaliːq bimajlis ?naːwab haða ?lkalam
this not suit the parliament MPs this talk
this is inappropriate to speak like this in the parliament

18. Aud: ((inaudible ))

19. CP: torfʕ (. ) torfʕ ?ljalsaː ila sabaːh ( )
torfʕ ?ljalsa ila sabaːh yom yad
adjourn adjourn session morning adjourn session to
morning tomorrow

session adjourned to morning session adjourned to tomorrow morning

In line 19, the CP announces the closure of the interaction using “session adjourned to
tomorrow morning.” Here, there are two observations. First, the CP launches in
announcing the closure without issuing a warning. Second, the design of the announcement
shows that the CP is hurrying to close the interaction. In Example (117), the CP makes a
straightforward closure by announcing the closure of the interaction. This is what makes
this example different from Example (115) & Example (116). Warning participants of talk
has been examined in the news interview. For instance, Clayman & Heritage (2002) have
shown that warnings are produced in order to encourage the interviewees to limit their
responses in the midst of the final answer-in-progress. In this study, warnings are used as
a means to preface that the announcement of closure is imminent.

In sum, warning a Member of Parliament who is unratified to speak is always initiated by
the CP in order to announce the closure of the interaction. The warning occurs before the
parliament session is suspended by the CP; this shows that the closing of the interaction is
imminent.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to look at the closings of heckles, in particular by the CP. The
findings of this chapter show that interactions are brought to a closure in a unilateral
fashion. Participants do not negotiate the closing of heckles and thus there is no termination
of an interaction. The most remarkable finding is that the CP always initiates the closing
of an interaction using the closing implicative environment: instructing others’ as a means
of closing the heckles, acknowledgements, arrangements, announcing closure,
averagements, demands to obey the internal regulations of the parliament, and warning to
suspend the session of the parliament. The participation framework is significant in closing heckles. In ordinary conversation, participants usually have equal status and equal rights to the floor, especially when closing the interaction. Consequently, this results in extended sequences of closure where participants collaborate and negotiate the closing. In this study, however, the rights and the roles of participants are very different (from each other and from ordinary talk). This has a significant impact on the way closings are done, especially with the CP doing closings. Therefore, closing interactions in this study are unilateral and brief because of the effect of the participation framework.

Having discussed the closing of heckles by the CP, I will move to the last chapter of the thesis which is the conclusions. In the following chapter, I will summarize the findings of each research question.
Chapter 8   Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1  Introduction
This study investigates how heckles are launched and managed by recipients in the Jordanian parliament. In this chapter, first, the researcher presents the contribution of the study. Second, the researcher offers a summary of the findings of the research questions. Third, the implications of the study are highlighted. Fourth, the limitations of the study are discussed. Finally, the researcher suggests some recommendations for future research.

8.2  Contribution of the study
The aim of this study is to uncover the construction of heckling in the Jordanian parliament using the methodology of CA as well as considering the participation framework. The use of CA alongside the consideration of the participation framework (Goffman, 1981), the notion of activity type (Levinson, 1979), the notion of participation framework patterns (O’Driscoll, 2018), and the analytic framework of the forms of embodiment and social organization (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), facilitates the analysis of heckling in the Jordanian parliament. The use of these strands enabled a fined gained analysis of the ways in which hecklers gain entry into the interaction, what they do with the floor, and how other participants respond to these incursions. In addition, this study has shown how allocated certain roles in the Jordanian parliament influences people’s rights to speak and how they can violate the regulations of the parliament to participate. It is worth noting that the use of CA in its own right would not have proved to be productive, as in various occasions it is needful to make use of the components as mentioned above in order to show how unratted participants gain entry to the interaction and how the participation framework affects the turn-taking system of conversations. Thus, combining these strands is highly significant because they are inseparable. Therefore, more scholars are urged to take into consideration the use of the participation framework alongside the mentioned strands when using the CA approach.

Common research into interaction pays attention to talk when participation is not disputed. However, the participation framework of this study is rather unusual. Unratified
participants who want to make a contribution to an interaction, first need to work out the floor i.e. gain access to the floor. This is because their participation is illegal; they are not permitted to enter an interaction and make a contribution. Consequently, because of the participation framework, recipients of heckles do not orient to them simply because their participation is unratified. Recipients of heckles commonly tend to produce various terms in order to disengage hecklers from producing further talk such as “let him finish” or “do not interrupt him.” If a heckler does not leave the floor of the interaction and proceed with talking, the CP may begin to move the interaction to closure using a closing implicative environment device, such as announcing closure or reminding the UPs of the internal rules of the internal regulations of the parliament. The overall analysis informs us that heckling in the Jordanian parliament is a violation of the internal rules of the parliament. Because of the participation framework in this study, unratified participants are treated as not part of the interaction, and their contribution is illegal in terms of the recipient’s point of view.

8.2.1 Institutional interaction

This section sheds the light on the contributions of institutional interaction of this study. First, I review the common features of institutional interactions, and then I shall show how this study develops work on institutional interaction. Much of the research on institutional interactions occur when participants follow the rules of institutional interaction, as in courtroom interactions (Drew, 1992), classroom interaction (Seedhouse, 2015), doctor patient interaction (Drew, Chatwin, & Collins, 2001). For instance, the rules of the institutional interaction in courtroom proceedings are based on question-and-answer sequences. The judge’s role is to question the accused and the latter is required to provide an answer. This shows that institutional interactions involve ‘particular constrains’ on participants (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 22) However, institutional interactions, such as in this study, are informed by disobeying the rules. That is, UPs do not follow the rules of the parliament as well as the CP’s directives or demands. The data analysis has shown how UPs violate the rules of parliament, and what happens when UPs break the rules. This study also shows how allotted certain roles in institutional contexts impacts people’s rights to speak and how they can disobey the rules to become speaking participants. In this study, the CP and the CS are ratified participants in which they are legal to participate in parliamentary debate. Other participants, such as prime minister, ministers, Members of
Parliament, and audience members in the gallery are unratified to participate. Thus, these allowable contributions and rights and obligations of participants are an important aspect of parliamentary interactions.

In this study, the core goal or task of institutional interactions is often the achievement of parliamentary debate. That is, the chairperson’s goal is to assign a CS to give a speech and accordingly the CS orients to the chairperson’s directive, as in:

CP: Tfadal
    You may
    **Please go ahead**
CS: jukran dawalat arrai:s
    thank you state President
    **Thank you your excellency**

This means that participants are not allowed to take part in the interaction unless the CP asks them to do so. On the other hand, UPs have a different goal which is to make a point in the parliament. Furthermore, parliamentary interaction involves ‘particular constraints’ (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 22) which are enforced by the internal regulation of the parliament. Nevertheless, these constraints are not always accepted by UPs which leads them to make illegal interventions. For example, UPs tend to disrupt the speech of the participant who holds the floor to make a point. In this case, the CP may react to this intrusion by telling the UP not to make a disruption as in “do not interrupt him” or simply by uttering the phrase “excuse me” to show that the intrusion is inappropriate. The CP’s reaction to heckles in the parliament is enough to indicate that parliamentary interactions are “normally informed by goal orientations of a relatively restricted conventional form” (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 22). Moreover, parliamentary interaction is associated with certain ‘inferential frameworks’ (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 22). This suggests that participants who are involved in institutional interactions may interpret utterances in a way they might not in other conditions. For example, when a public audience member utters “I have nothing to feed my children” it depicts that he is making a complaint and requesting the parliament members to do something for his issue. In sum, these three dimensions: goal orientation, restrictions and inferential framework are the core features that support the study of institutional interactions.
8.2.2 Types of heckling

This section looks at the types of heckling in the Jordanian parliament which emerged from the analysis. The first type of heckling which is more like by what we mean when we use the term *heckle*. This occurs when public audience members heckle Members of Parliament in response to an assertion or statement (McIlvenny, 1996a). Public audience members tend to express an opposition against Members of Parliament who make a statement or action in the parliament, such as making some kind of amendment to the institution, establishing a new legislation, or signing a treaty with the Israeli government. This means that public audience members closely observe and evaluate the performance of the parliament, and as a result they launch heckles to register disagreements or to advise Members of Parliament to do something. According to the data analysis, the first type of heckling appears to lead to a rather heated interaction, because public audience members shout out loudly. On the other hand, the analysis of the responses to heckles do not indicate that there are annoyed or irritated by hecklers except for in one rare case where a Member of Parliament mocked the heckler for his intervention. Yet, the parliament does not take disciplinary actions against such violations to the best of my knowledge.

The second type of heckling is related to making complaints by public audience members. Heckles of this type are not in response to a particular assertion or statement or any parliamentary business. Instead, they are produced in order to convey personal demands e.g. poor financial conditions and social life concerns e.g. being fired from work. Therefore, the majority of public audience members tend to use the gallery of the parliament to look for a solution for their life problems and concerns. The response of recipients to such heckles shows that they display affiliation with public audience members e.g. by allowing them to take the floor to launch their telling or by arranging to meet with them. Thus, such heckles may be different form of heckles of the first type. This type may not be seen as a form of heckling because heckling is presumed to be launched based on statements or debate in prior talk. Yet, Kádár (2014, p. 3) argues that heckling does not necessarily occur in response to a particular assertion, as on some occasions heckling may be a pre-designed performance i.e. heckling which may need preparation work. I agree with
this claim, as in one example, a Member of Parliament raises a poster written on it “gas of enemy is an occupation” (see section 5.5.1, Example 66). This shows that heckling can be a pre-designed performance which requires preparation work. It should be noted that the pre-designed heckling does not necessarily occur in response to prior talk or debate at the time the heckler is in the interaction. Instead, it is launched in response to incidents or actions in the past i.e. before the interaction took place.

The third type of heckling occurs amongst Members of Parliament i.e. when a Member of Parliament heckles another member in response to a particular assertion. This type of heckling is very similar to the so-called ‘illegal intervention’ (Shaw, 2000). In this situation, heckling may not seem to be heckling in a real sense, in contrast to the first type. It occurs when Members of Parliament illegitimately intervene in each other’s speeches because they may consider themselves as part of the interaction. However, I still see that disruptions of speakers in the parliament as heckling. There are several forms of responses to this type of heckling by recipients such as displaying disaffiliative facial expressions, arguing with the heckler, or treating the intervention as inappropriately timed.

The first type of heckling is very similar to heckling which occurs at stand-up comedy and at the Speakers’ Corner at Hyde Park in terms of the target of heckles. Whilst the second type of heckling is seen as an unusual heckling behaviour, which is instrumental and related to the UP’s life or concerns. The third type of heckling is identical to the illegal interventions, which have occurred at the British House of Commons. I consider that both of the terms “illegal interventions” and “heckling” can be used interchangeably.

In sum, this study looked at three kinds of heckling: heckling, complaints, and illegal interventions. These forms enable us to understand what is heckling and what is not heckling for the purpose of this study.

8.2.3 The exercise of power in the parliament

The CP is considered as the most powerful person due to their statutory power to manage and maintain control over the parliament. The exercise of power in the parliament is related to heckling interactions in various ways. There is always a struggle of power to win the
floor of the interaction. In heckling interactions, the UP typically launches the first turn to gain access to the floor through the use of ‘interruptions’ of the CS’s talk (Fairclough, 1989, p.44). Although UPs are in a weaker position, they tend to establish dominance over the floor in order to make a point before contesting with the CP. The CP is in a more powerful position than the UP when the former attempts to manage the intervention by UPs. According to the analysis, signs of power can be observed in institutional interactions in which the CP reacts to heckles by interrupting the UP when he/she bids to the floor of the interaction. Thus, the more powerful person e.g. the CP can constrain and limit the contribution of the less powerful one e.g. the UP (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Wooffitt, 2005).

There are various linguistic devices which can be used to exercise power in institutional interactions such as the use of “imperative” character (Simpson & Mayr, 2009, p.152). The analysis of the data informs us that the CP uses the imperative form to manage heckles in different situations. For instance, the CP utters the phrase “do not interrupt him” after the heckler makes an intervention. The use of the imperative character may be an indication of the exercise of power in institutional setting. In other instances, it has been observed that the CP uses the imperative character when dismissing public audience members of the gallery through the use of physical force.

The exercise of power is also apparent in closing heckles especially when the CP launches a warning (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) to Members of Parliament to suspend the parliament session. In such occasion, the CP may launch a warning for UPs who are not cooperative with him to bring the interaction to closure using “I’m obliged (.) I’m obliged to suspend the session.” The exercise of power in this instance is very effective, as it will make control over the parliament when Members of Parliament do not collaborate with him to close illegal interventions.

Member of Parliament, particularly CSs, may be seen in a powerless position when being disrupted by UPs simply because they do not always respond to UPs. On the contrary, their lack of responses to UPs is not because of being in a powerless position, however, they do not seek to break the internal regulations of the parliament i.e. they do not argue with hecklers. For example, when the Prime Minister was heckled by a Member of Parliament,
the former did not respond to the heckler despite the fact that he is a more powerful position than him. Thus, if the utterances of the UPs are often heeded, this is not enough evidence that Members of Parliament or speakers are in a powerless position.

8.3 Main Findings

This section looks in great detail at the findings of the of the four analytical chapters. The research questions are reiterated below, combined with the answers which appeared as a result of my analysis.

1. How do hecklers achieve participation and gain the speakership when they are not ratified participants?

In general, gaining speakership is a major problem for participants who are not ratified to speak. In other words, it is very difficult for UPs to gain speakership in order to make a contribution to interaction, because they are not permitted to participate according to the rules of institutional interaction. The analysis of the data has shown that UPs frequently launch heckles not only near TRP, but also in gaps/pauses in the CS’s speech to minimize the effect of their illegal. The findings have shown that UPs produce heckles via several strategies, these are: summons, supplication, announcements, and launching straight into the reasons for heckling. In the following, I will summarize each one of these techniques.

The first finding has shown that the summons and answer sequence is produced to grab the recipients’ attention (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 2007). However, summonses are also launched when UPs attempt to enter an interaction in the parliament. Summonses use various forms of address terms such as “your excellency” or “respected MPs.” The common design of address terms as a summons is that public audiences launch them in a separate turn as in “your excellency (...) your excellency” (see section 4.3.1, Example (21), line 5). On the other hand, public audience members produce address terms as a summons followed by a supplication term in order to secure the interactional space. For instance, in section 4.3.1, Example (23), line 3, the UP summons the Prime Minister using “your excellency your Excellency” followed by a supplication phrase “I supplicate to you.” This is an interesting strategy to keep hold of the floor. In addition, Members of Parliament who
are unratiﬁed to speak also produce address terms as a summons and immediately followed by the heckle or reason for the heckle in order to gain the speakership. For instance, in section 4.3.2 Example (24), line 3, a Member of Parliament produces “your excellency there is a proposal”. This shows that the heckler produced the summons with the heckle or the reason for the heckle in one single turn. In spite of that, the recipients’ responses do not show that they are welcomed to become unratiﬁed participants. The analysis has shown that the CP may react to such heckles by ignoring the UP or by treating the heckle as inappropriately timed (McIlvenny, 1996a).

The second ﬁnding has shown that public audiences launch into supplication at the ﬁrst turn in order to enter the interaction in the parliament. Public audiences embark on supplication using religious phrases, i.e. supplicating to Allah (God), to particular recipients such as the Prime Minister, or to the CP of the parliament. For illustration, in section 4.4 Example (27), line 2, the heckler produces a supplication to gain access to the ﬂoor using “I supplicate to God I supplicate to his Excellency.” The supplication teller does not necessarily produce it in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament; my corpus indicates that they seek personal demands or aim to complain against an absent party. The analysis of the responses to supplication indicate that they might be successful especially when Members of Parliament afﬁliate with the heckler by saying “let him speak”. In another example, I found out that the CP did not allow the audience member to become unratiﬁed, and thus demanded the security guards to dismiss him from the gallery. Thus, not all instances of supplication enable UPs to gain access to the ﬂoor.

The third ﬁnding has shown that unratiﬁed Members of Parliament produce announcements at the ﬁrst turn of talk when they attempt to enter the interaction in the parliament. The design of announcements does not occur in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament. Instead, they are launched in connection to incidents that occurred in the past (Heritage, 2012). For instance, in section 4.5, Example (30), line 4, the heckler launches into an announcement using “these are the people of Ma’an guys.” This statement is a preface to the heckler’s follow up before she gets to the heart of the matter. Thus, an announcement can be seen as a powerful tool for establishing heckles.
Lastly, the results of this investigation show that UPs launch straight into the reason for heckles at the first turn of talk. The production of such heckles occurs in response to prior talk in the parliament and they are short and straightforward; that latter view is supported by McIlvenny’s (1996a, p. 37). Public audience members produce various actions such as, accusations, advice giving, and mocking expressions. For instance, in section 4.6.1 Example (33), line 3, the public audience member launches straight into the reason for the heckle using an accusation “all the shame and disgrace for those who have betrayed the Jordanians.” Such a heckle invites Members of Parliament to comment on it. In another example, a Member of Parliament re-accuses the heckler using “walak you are anomalous.” The CP’s response to such heckles is to disengage the heckler from making further disruption to the parliament, as in Example (33), line 8, “excuse me excuse me” (See section 4.6.3). The response of the CS to such illegal interventions commonly involves ignoring the UP. If heckles are ignored, they are referred to as “floating heckles “McIlvenny (1996a, p.36).

This study has also shown that Members of Parliament who are unratted to speak also launch straight into heckles or the reasons for their heckles by producing various actions such as questions, giving advice, and accusations. The design of launching straight into the reasons for heckles is that UPs get to the crux of the matter without needing to produce actions such as summonses or pre-sequences, etc. For example, in section 4.6.2, Example (35), line 4, a Member of Parliament who is unratted to speak produces a wh-question to gain information with regard to the name of the person who apologized to the Minister of the Interior using “who is he=.” The design of this question is to gain information. In response to that, the CS produces an answer to the question, which was delayed until he acknowledged the question (line 8) using “the Iraqi minister of interior.” Members of Parliament may also launch straight into the reason for heckling using accusations. For example, in section 4.6.2.1, Example (38), line 3, the UP produces an accusation of the CS using “you are misleading the MPs.” The design of the accusation informs us that the UP gets to the heart of the issue, instead of summoning the CS through an address term. This is supported by (McIlvenny, 1996a, p. 37) that a heckle is “often precisely formed, syntactically or semantically, to draw upon just prior talk.”
2. How do hecklers construct their heckles: What actions do heckles involve?

This question aims to look at the construction of actions which involve heckles in the Jordanian parliament. CA approach was very useful in examining the interactions, as it enabled us to see in great detail how these actions are produced by UPs and how recipients of heckles respond to them. The findings inform us that UPs produce recurrent actions, these are: indirect complaints, announcements, demands, and disagreements. In the following, I shall summarize the main findings of this question.

The first finding of the analysis has shown that public audience members frequently launch indirect complaints. There are a number of observations with regard to indirect complaints. First, the design of indirect complaints is related to personal problems. Second, the design features of indirect complaints are not in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament, and they are produced in order to gain a solution for their personal problems. Third, indirect complaints are related with ‘extreme case formulations’. For example, in section 5.2.1, Example (43), line 10, the UP produces a complaint using “I swear that I and my children have nothing to eat.” The UP indirectly complains to Members of Parliament who are not accountable for his problem. In other words, the UP indirectly complains about his poor financial condition to Members of Parliament. This shows that the indirect complaint is not in response to prior talk. Moreover, the design features of indirect complaints are related to ‘extreme case formulations’. When the UP utters, “I have nothing to feed my children”, it shows that he uses ‘extreme case formulations’ (Pomerantz, 1986) to show that he is in need of desperate help. In addition, the design of indirect complaints is connected to epistemics. For example, in section 5.2.1, Example 44, line (6), the public audience member launches an indirect complaint through referring to it in a direct and deliberate way, such as “we want the issue of Amman customs.” Although the UP implicitly refers to his complaint in this way, he may have been not be able to explain his problem clearly. Here, the term epistemics is clear where the UP produces the turn in that he assumes shared knowledge between him and the addressees (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Drew, 2018).
The second finding has shown that public audience members launch into announcements to convey ‘news on their own initiative’ (Schegloff, 2007). The analysis of the data reveals that announcements are very similar to news headlines (Clayman, 1991; Clayman & Heritage, 2002). In other words, before a public audience member gets to the crux of the matter, they provide a general idea of the reason for the heckles. The announcements is a telling which is simple and short and it is not in response to an assertion or statement. For example, in section 5.3.2, Example (46), the UP uses a solid announcement, but in the form of a question using “how am I going to feed my children” (line 6). The UP demonstrates to other participants of his personal concern, in which that he encountered terrible financial conditions leading to the production of such an announcement. The design features of the announcement also enlighten us that it is dramatic and extreme (Herman, 1995). For example, in section 5.3.2, Example (47), the UP produces a strong announcement using “My house is going to fall on me” (line 5). The UP dramatizes the announcement by telling the recipient that his house is going to fall. Similarly, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak may also produce announcements, but in response to parliamentary procedures led by the CP, such as the voting system and selecting a new speaker in the parliament. Members of Parliament produce announcements to argue the parliamentary procedures which are managed by the CP. In section 5.3.3, Example (50), the UP launches an announcement which is strong, short, and simple using “this is against the regulations” (line 3). This shows that the UP disputes against the CP’s decision on voting procedure, because the number of members in the parliament is below in two thirds of the whole members. Thus, the UP makes such announcement to show that the voting procedure contradicts with the internal regulations. The CP’s response to this intrusion is observed in line 5, where he demands the UP to sit down.

The third finding has shown that demands typically occur in response to an assertion or statement in the parliament and are thus usually relevant to the ongoing activity of the parliament. Public audience members and Members of Parliament produce demands in response to prior proceedings and their design is associated with the concept of advice giving (Hutchby, 2006; Heritage & Sefi, 1992). For instance, in section 5.4.4, Example (52), the public audience member produces a demand directed at a Member of Parliament, saying “stop the constitution amendments” (line 10). This demand is launched in response
to the constitution amendments and the demand is designed in an imperative character (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). Public audience members also produce advice giving via obligations. For example, in section 5.4.4, Example (54), the public audience member launches a stronger form of advice giving using an obligation “it must be omitted immediately” (line 6). The CP, however, does not take such demands into consideration because public audience members are not legally part of the interaction. The CP often recruits the security guards to discharge any public audience members who take part in the parliamentary debate.

Similarly, Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate also produce demands in response to an assertion/statement in the parliament, and they occur during the ongoing activity in the parliament. More specifically, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak produce demands in the form of advice giving. For example, in section 5.4.5, Example (56), line 4 the UP produces a demand using “look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates.” This demand occurs in response to prior talk with regard to the increasing of energy rates. The design of the demand takes an imperative form, as the UP produces the verb “look” for the purpose of advising the CS not to increase energy rates. Thus, demands are associated with the concept of advice giving based on prior proceedings. Moreover, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak also produce demands to become ratified participants. For example, in section 5.4.5.1, Example (59), line 15, the UP produces the demand using a declarative form “Now I want to speak”. The UP produces such a demand in order to become a ratified participant and participate in the parliament’s interaction. Members of Parliament design such demands for the purpose of making a contribution to the interaction. However, such demands are not often accepted by the CP. The response of the CP is observed at line 17, where he produces “please maintain silence dear colleagues.” This response is enough to indicate that the CP aims to disengage the UP from entering the interaction.

Lastly, the current research has shown that Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate launch disagreements in response to a statement or assertion. Disagreements are launched in a prompt and straightforward manner using negations without consulting the CP. For example, in section 5.5.1, Example (65), line 17, the UP launches a disagreement
using a negation “no you should defend the tribes you want to swear at the tribes.” Here, it is observed that the design of the disagreement occurs in the form of a negation which shows that the UP is disagreeing with the CS with regard to the issue of tribes. Moreover, Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak express disagreements using a negative assessment. For example, in section 5.5.2, Example (68), line 10, the UP produces an address term “ya sidi” followed by an assessment to show disagreement, using “this talk is unacceptable.” The UP negatively assess the position of the CP, in particular when he utters “if there is anything on the structure of the proposal leave it for next session” (line 8).

3. How do other speakers (particularly the CP) respond to heckles?
This section looks at the responses to heckles and in particular the response of the CP. The general design features of the responses have shown that UPs are not welcomed to make a contribution to an interaction due effect of the participation framework. The response to heckles can be either non-active or active responses. Non-active responses happen when other participants, especially the CP, do not orient heckles (see section 6.1). However, the findings have shown that there are common ways in which the CP reacts to heckles, these are: disengaging the UP from the interaction; demands, granting the speakership, and telling responses. In the following, I shall go through a summary of the main findings.

The first finding has shown that the CP aims to disengage the UP from making intrusions using the expression “excuse me” because public audience members are anonymous to Members of Parliament. Public audience members do not often react to the expression “excuse me”, which shows that they ignore the CP, or they produce further talk to keep hold of the floor. For instance, in section 6.2.1, Example (73), line 9, the CP utters the expression “excuse me” directly after the UP summons Members of Parliament. In terms of the response to the expression “excuse me”, the UP does not orient to it, as he continues to produce further intrusions after the CP had produced “excuse me.” It is worth noting that when the CP produces the expression “excuse me”, it does not necessarily mean that he will produce further talk. Rather, the CP utters the expression “excuse me” in its own right, without uttering further talk after it. My initial observation of the term “excuse me” may be an indication to prevent the UP from producing talk. However, it does not necessarily
mean that it will stop the UP from speaking. It noticeably appeals to the participation framework that heckle turn has violated the interaction. In contrast, the response of the CP to intrusions by Members of Parliament occurs in different formulas, such as uttering a) the names of UPs; b) institutional address terms such as “your excellency”; and c) expression like “excuse me.” For example, in section 6.2.2, Example (77), line 4, the CP utters “excuse me Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya” to draw the attention of the UP. Through this turn, the CP aims to disengage the UP from establishing an interaction with the CS. In response to that, the UP does not orient to the address term and instead he “ignores” (Bilmes, 1997) the CP, and continues to talk (see line 5 at the point at which it overlaps line 4). However, the UP (Member of Parliament) does not respond to the CP, which shows that there is a lack of response to the CP.

The second finding of responses to heckles is that the CP utters demands as a response to intrusions by Members of Parliament who are unratified to participate. Demands share resemblances to “directives” (Craven & Potter, 2010) such as “do not interrupt him” or “let the speaker talk” and the like. The response to demands is presumably stopping talk from the UPs side. For example, in section 6.3, Example (79), line 12, the CP produces the demand “do not interrupt him please.” Through this demand, it is observed that the heckle is inappropriately timed. The response of the CP appears to be successful because the UP was prevented from entering the interaction, and thus the CS resumed his speech (line 15). In Example (80), the CP utters an address term of the UP and follows it with a demand using “Abdallah let the minister speak” (line 9). Here, it is observed that the CP demands the UP to let the CS to complete his speech. McIlvenny (1996a) argues that when recipients of heckles utter “let me finish” it indicates that the heckle is inappropriately timed. Besides, the CP also aims to disengage the UP from establishing an interaction with the CS. In terms of the response to the demand, it was observed that the UP withdrew from the interaction because the UP did not produce further talk after the demand. Hence, demands seem to work effectively to disengage UPs from establishing talk with the CS.

The third discovery is that the CP may grant some public audience members permission to become ratified participants. More specifically, the CP grants public audience members permission to be ratified by demanding the security guards to give them permission to
speak i.e. demand a third party. In section 6.4, Example (83), line 7, the CP allows the public audience member to become a ratified participant using “let him speak let him speak.” The design of this demand informs us that the CP addresses the talk to the security guards, instead of the public audience member himself. The sequence of granting a public audience member permission to speak is composed of two turns: the demand and the acceptance of it. Granting speakership is linked to the participation framework in which UPs are given the permission to speak. The role of the public audience member changes from being an unratified to a ratified participant. The analysis has shown that the CP accepts the public audience member becoming a ratified participant if he/she does not interfere with parliamentary business. Thus, the CP welcomes audience members expressing their personal complaints.

Lastly, the current study has shown that tellings can be seen as form of an argument that the CP undertakes in order to rationalise his claims or actions in the parliament. That is, the CP produces a telling to remind Members of Parliament who are unratified to speak of the reason for the heckles. This telling is also associated with the concept of informing news which is already known to the UP. For example. In section 6.5, Example (86), line 17, the UP argues with the CP regarding the procedures led by him in which he criticizes him for selecting specific Members of Parliament in order to accept a parliamentary proposal. The CP launched a telling using “It was distributed brother Nedal to you five days ago you ’re managed.” It is observed that the CP offers an “account” (Maynard, 1997) for the UP’s interference, and also it seems that the CP reminds the UP that the business schedule was distributed amongst Members of Parliament five days before. The CP justifies the reasons for selecting some speakers instead of selecting all Members of Parliament. Thus, the delivery of news in this study takes the form of a reminder which entails that news has already been delivered.

4. How does the CP close heckles?
This section looks at the findings of the chapter entitled “The Closing.” Although heckles are initiated by the UP, they do not always cooperate to bring the interaction to closure. The overall findings have shown that the CP always initiates closing using the closing
implicative environment, including: instructing others’ as a means of closing the heckles, announcing closure, acknowledgements, arrangements, appreciations, demands to obey the internal regulations of the parliament, and warning to suspend the session of the parliament. In the following, I shall go through a summary of the main findings.

The first finding has shown that the CP closes the interaction through instructing others’ as a means of closing the heckles. Instructing others’ to close the interaction happens when the CP invokes parliamentary protocols i.e. directing the security guards, in order to dismiss him/her from the gallery. In other words, UPs will not have the opportunity to participate in the interaction. Moreover, instructing others’ to close the interaction refers to the internal needs of the person (the CP) who initiates the closing. For instance, in section 7.2.4.2.1, Example (98), line 7, the CP launches a demand using “take him out take him out brothers.” There are a number of observations in this instance. First, the CP directs the security guards to disqualify the UP from the gallery. This means that the UP will not have the chance to speak. The CP has institutional powers to prevent the UP from participating by having him/her removed from the gallery. The public audience members do not negotiate the closing because they are forced by the security guards outside the gallery. Thus, the public audience member will lose the opportunity to speak and participate in an interaction. Hence, there is no response from the UP’s side in response to the announcement of closure. In another example, the CP may instruct others’ as a means of closure followed by a warrant for closing. For example, in section 7.2.4.2.1, Example (100), line 24, the CP demands the security guards to dismiss the audience member using “dismiss her off the gallery” followed by a warrant for closing using “because she delivered her message.” This supports Schegloff & Sacks’s (1973) view of warrants for closings. The response of hecklers to an announcement of closure is rather unusual. Hecklers do not always cooperate with the CP when the latter initiates the announcement of closure. Thus, hecklers tend to challenge for the floor when the security guards forcibly dismiss UPs from the gallery.

The second finding has revealed that the CP initiates the sequence of acknowledgement as the last topic. This acknowledgement comprises of a single sequence and allows the UP to withdraw from the interaction because it fulfils his/her personal demand. For example, in
section 7.2.4.2.2, Example (101), line 11, the CP continued to produce an acknowledgement using “it is acknowledged it is acknowledged.” Through this, it is observed that the acknowledgement is uttered in response to the UP’s complaint earlier in the interaction. Although the CP utters the acknowledgement, the UP has not cooperated with the CP to bring the interaction to closure. This led the CP to produce a warrant for closing the interaction using “Okay the government listened to you the MPs have listened to you” (line 20). So, the acknowledgement sequence is associated to the UP’s indirect complaint and it is used as a mean of closing the interaction.

The third finding has focused on the arrangement sequence. The arrangement sequences is typically composed of sequence; a proposal of a future arrangement and an appreciation. The arrangement deals with discussing the last topic of the interaction. Moreover, the arrangement sequence is designed to talk about closure in an implicit way. For example, in section 7.2.4.2.3, Example (104), line 26, the CP produces an arrangement to close the interaction using “that’s enough that’s enough I will send someone to you I will send someone to you.” Through this, it is observed that the CP makes an arrangement to send one of his assistants to the UP in the gallery. This arrangement is the last topic to be discussed before the interaction moves to closure. This supports the views of Button (1990) and Schegloff & Sacks (1973) on the arrangement sequences. In line 28, the UP utters “god save your home god save your home” which is a form of appreciation which informs us that the arrangement is acknowledged.

In terms of closing heckles by Members of Parliament, the CP frequently uses some strategies to close down the interaction, and these are: announcing closure; appreciations; demands to obey the rules; and warning to suspend the parliament session.

The first finding has shown that the CP announces the closure of the interaction by talking explicitly or implicitly about closure. For example, in section 7.2.4.3.1, Example (106), line 14, the CP announces the closure of the interaction using “that’s enough Yahya end it (.) god’s mercy on you.” The design of this announcing of closure occurs in an imperative form by uttering “end it.” This supports the view of Clayman & Heritage (2001) that announcements have an imperative character. Also, the design of the announcement is explicit because the CP talks about closure as the last topic and no further talk is due. In
another example, the CP talks about closure in an inexplicit way using “enough you have made your point” see section 7.2.4.3.1, Example (108). Through this turn, the CP shows that the UP has made his point and that no further talk is due. In addition, when the CP produces such an announcement, it invokes an unspecified external condition that has an influence on the speaker’s ability to continue in the current conversation (Button, 1990; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Thus, announcing the closure of an interaction allows the UP to withdraw from the interaction.

The second finding has shown that the CP uses appreciations to close down the interaction. In section 7.2.4.3.2, Example (109), line 10, the CP utters an appreciation term using “thank you all we should respect the session” The CP uses the strategy of appreciation to show that he does not seek continue with talk with the UP. In comparison to ordinary conversations, participants do not exchange appreciations. Rather, responses to appreciations do not occur, as UPs recognise closure through appreciation. Also, an appreciation is produced without an advance notice or preface to final thanks (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). This shows that the CP moves quickly to close the interaction.

The third finding relating to closings is demanding Members of Parliament to obey the rules of the internal regulations. Demands are composed of a single turn, they occur in an imperative character, and they seem to be an effective device for closing interactions. For example, in section 7.2.4.3.3, Example (112), line 10, the CP utters “excuse me”, followed by the demand “please I hope that you (plural) respect the internal regulations.” Demanding Members of Parliament to obey the internal regulations is an implicit way of closing through which Members of Parliament should be aware that disciplinary actions will take place if they do not apply the regulations.

Lastly, the current study has shown that the CP may close the interaction by producing a warning to suspend the session of the parliament. In doing so, the CP first prepares for the closing using a warning. For Example, in section 7.2.4.3.4, Example (115), line 20, the CP notifies Members of Parliament of closing the sitting using “I obliged to adjourn the session.” In the same turn, the CP continues to launch an announcement of closing the parliamentary session using “I adjourn the session.” Here, it is observed that the CP makes an explicit announcement of closing the interaction based on his needs. The CP uses such
a strategy especially when he fails to keep good management of heckles during the parliamentary session. In a different example, the CP may launch into suspending the parliament session without prefacing with a warning. In section 7.2.4.3.4, Example 117, line 19, the CP announces the closure of the session using “session adjourned to tomorrow morning.” This shows that the CP is rushing to close the interaction without making a warning. Thus, warnings are used as a means to preface that the announcement of closure is about to happen.

8.4 Implication of the study

The findings of the study have a number of significant and useful implications for future practice. First, the findings of this study will help in organizing debate for Members of Parliament, and the public audience, by gaining a better understanding of heckling. Members of Parliament should recognise that public participation should be taken into consideration because civilians have the right to make a contribution to parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, public audience members who complain to Members of Parliament about their personal and social problems should know that the parliament may not be a suitable channel through which to seek help. In order to resolve their personal issues, the parliament may take actions to establish a complaint office to receive citizens’ problems and social concerns. Thus, it is hoped that public audience members would accomplish solutions to their personal demands instead of showing up at the galleries and sharing their concerns with the parliament and public.

Second, it is very difficult to claim that heckling should be avoided because it is a prohibited behaviour and it generates conflict between Members of Parliament. Conflict is part of the debate. Thus, illegal interventions which occur between Members of Parliament should be organised in a better way to take into account other Members of Parliament’s opinions. In other words, the parliament should offer the opportunity to Members of Parliament to comment on the speeches of the CSs. This means that their contribution to the debate would be legal and ultimately they would have a fair debate in the parliament.

As an insider researcher I am aware of the nuances of the texture of the Jordanian society. It is comprised of citizens of diverse backgrounds. The majority are Jordanians with tribal affiliations. They tend to be more conservative when it comes to choosing between
democracy and their values. This entails that verbal conflict might result in ‘aggression’ (Kádár & Davies, 2016) and physical encounters – in one rare case, it resulted in weapon threats inside the parliament. It is widely known that conflict is part of the debate, but the Jordanian society has some peculiarities which constrain the dynamic of the parliamentary debate. Thus, this study aims to help Members of Parliament gain a better understanding of heckling so that they can create a framework for organizing debates in the parliament.

8.5 Limitation of the study

During the current study, several limitations have emerged. One big limitation of the study is that it was reliant on YouTube interactions which makes it rather difficult to determine how the collection is representative. I suspect that a lot of brief unsuccessful heckles never made it on YouTube. Therefore, I have ended up with more of the successful heckles. Another limitation was that capturing the non-verbal language was not always possible. Observing the non-verbal aspects such as body language was an obstacle, especially when the cameraman focused on the heckler and therefore did not capture the body language of the CS and the CP. Observing the CS and the CP’s body language could offer a significant contribution in terms of the responses and how they react to heckles. However, this does not have a great effect on the data transcription. Another limitation is that the number of heckling cases found was below the researcher’s expectations. The target was to collect 100 heckling cases. However, during the three months of data collection, the researcher only managed to collect 56 heckling cases from YouTube. Therefore, analysing more data may offer different results in the two analysed settings. Nevertheless, this does not have impact on the validity of the findings.

8.6 Recommendation for further research

The findings of the study indicate several suggestions for further research. There are several areas which are noteworthy for further examining the study of heckling. It is significant to study political heckling in a Jordanian setting, whether in the public meetings domain, or in institutional meetings such as meetings at the Royal Cultural Centre. These settings offer an enormous contribution to the dynamics of heckling and how recipients manage such behaviour. Another potential area of interest would be comparing Jordanian heckling with western heckling i.e. heckling at the Austrian Parliament (Stopfner, 2013). I
believe that there is still plenty of room to undertake more studies of heckling in several settings in order to describe and examine this interesting phenomenon. It would also be fruitful to conduct a study on more heckling incidents in the Jordanian parliament by observing an adequate number of hours of a parliament session. Examining more hours would mean that there is the potential for more heckling incidents to take place. These incidents would lead to a better understanding of how heckles are launched and how recipients manage such behaviour.
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### The phonemes of spoken Jordanian Arabic

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>ع</td>
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<td>voiced bilabial stop</td>
<td>بب</td>
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<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>voiceless dental stop</td>
<td>تن</td>
</tr>
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<td>voiceless inter-dental fricative</td>
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<td>voiced palatal affricate</td>
<td>(Jordanian Arabic) ج</td>
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<td>fricative voiced alveolar</td>
<td>(Standard Arabic) ج</td>
</tr>
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<td>voiceless glottal fricative</td>
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<td>Approximant velar</td>
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</table>
y  palatal semi-vowel  ي

Short vowels
I  high, front
A  low, back
U  high back
E  mid front
O  mid back

Long Vowels
I:  high front
A:  low back
U:  high back
E:  mid front
O:  mid back
Transcription conventions

The transcription symbols adopted for this thesis are those conventionally used for CA work, devised by Gail Jefferson (adapted from Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996:461-465). The corpus was transliterated into the Roman Alphabet and then transcribed at a later stage. This also entailed introducing a list of symbols to present sounds that do not occur phonologically in English (see Appendix 2). Moreover, for analytic purposes, we have avoided the use of some conventional transcription symbols in the transliteration process. Hence, double letters, for instance, are used to indicate: (i) long vowels in words like salaam ‘peace,’ and (ii) a default stress on a consonant, known as shadda ‘accent,’ as in ennas ‘the people,’ rather than a colon or an underline, respectively.

[] Utterances starting simultaneously are linked together with either double or single left-hand brackets.

] When overlapping utterances do not start simultaneously, the point at which an ongoing utterance is joined by another is marked with a single left-hand bracket, linking an ongoing with an overlapping utterance at the point where overlap begins.

[ The point where the overlapping utterances stop overlapping is marked with a single right-hand bracket.

= When there is no interval between adjacent utterances, the second being latched immediately to the first (without overlapping it), the utterances are linked together with equal signs.

(0.2) When intervals in the stream of talk occur, they are timed in tenths of a second and inserted within parentheses either within an utterance, or between utterances.

: Punctuation is not used to mark conventional grammatical units in these transcripts, but, rather, attempts to capture characteristics of speech delivery. For example, a colon indicates an extension of the sound syllable it follows.

. A period indicates a stopping fall in tone, not necessarily the end of a sentence.

, A comma indicates a continuous intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences.
A question mark indicates a rising inflection, not necessarily a question mark.

Indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably faster than the surrounding talk.

Marked rising and falling intonation is indicated by upward and downward pointing arrows immediately prior to the rise or fall word Emphasis is indicated by underlining.

Capital letters are used to indicate an utterance, or part thereof, that is spoken much louder than the surrounding talk.

A degree sign is used to indicate a passage of talk that is quieter than the surrounding talk.

Audible aspirations (hhh) and inhalations (.hhh) are inserted in the speech where they occur.

Double parentheses are used to enclose a description of some phenomenon that may not be transcribable, such as a cough.

In addition to the timings of intervals and inserted aspirations and inhalations, words (or parts thereof) enclosed within single parentheses are in doubt.

points to the phenomenon of interest

smile voice

creaky voice
The data

FIRST SETTING

1

1. UP: (( UP struggles with guards))

2. UP: YA ʕAMI XALUNA NEħKI (( UP addresses talk to the guards))
   PRT PRT let me speak
   YA ʕAMI LET ME SPEAK

3. Aud: ( ) xalu yehki
   ( ) let him speak

4. UP XALUNA NhKI (.) ISMAʕUNA YA NUWAB
   Let us speak   listen us PRT MPs
   LET ME SPEAK (.) LISTEN TO ME MPS

5. UP YA MOħTARAMI:N (.) YA hUKUMA YA MUħTARAMA (.)
   PRT respected PRT government PRT respected
   RESPECTED (MPs) YA RESPECTED YA GOVERNMENT (.)

6. UP BIDNA GADIAT JOMRUK ʕMAN ((guards physically struggle the UP))
   We want issue customs Amman
   WE WANT THE ISSUE OF AMMAN CUSTOMS

7. CP: Xalu yehki xalu yehki
   let him speak let him speak

8. UP DAXLI:N ʕLLA WA JALALET SYDNA= ((points his arms toward MPs))
   I supplicate to God and to his highness our King
   I SUPPLICATE TO GOD AND TO HIS HIGHNESS OUR King=

9. CP: =Xalasʕ
   ((MP approaches to UP))
   =that’s enough

10. UP MʕAN ?LLA=
    For sake God
    FOR GOD’S SAKE

11. CP: =weslat [ weslat
    Acknowledged acknowledged
    = its acknowledged [ its acknowledged

12. UP: [MʕAN ?LLA ↑=
    Sake of god
    FOR GOD’S SAKE↑=

13. CP =weslat [risaltak; xalasʕ ya zalame
    acknowledged your message that’s enough PRT PRT
    =your [ message is acknowledged↑ that’s enough

14. UP: [ ( )

15. UP: ( )
Supplicate to god [ and to you and ] MPs of people
I SUPPLICATE TO GOD [ AND TO YOU ] THE MPS
OF CITIZENS
17. MP:
   [ > jwaijwai< ]
easy easy
   [ >take it
take it easy< ]
18. CP: weslat ya aXi weslat;
Aknowldged PRT PRT acknowldged
its acknowledged its acknowledged;
19. UP MʃAN ?LLAĦ
Sake of god
FOR GODS SAKE
20. CP: xalasʕ hai ?lhukuma samʕat [hai ?lnawab
   smʕu ]
   enough PRT government listened PRT MPs listened
   enough the government listened [ the MPs listened
to you]
21. UP
   [MʃAN ?LLA]
   Sake of god
   [ for god’s sake ]
   samħtu
   PRT MPs PRT dear MPs respected
   if you please
   MPs [ dear respected ] MPs if you
   please
23. UP
   [MʃAN ?LLA ]
   sake of god
   [ for god’s sake ]
24. CP: iʔa samħtu qodimat
   If you please proposed
   If you please it was proposed

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBCCr7U2bdg

2
Part of conversation is missing

1. UP ( (stood at edge of gallery))
2. UP ( ) egrator saʕat [waʕateia ?lhaya ( )]
   ( ) eight hours and the benefit of
   life ( )
   ( ) eight hours [and the benefit of
   life ( )]
3. CS: [ya zalame xalina nehki] PRT PRT let me talk [let me speak ]
4. UP bijah [jalalet ?lmalik] ((pointing with his arm as he speaks)) sake his majesty the King for the sake [ of his majesty the King]
5. CP: [lw samḥt] If you excuse me [ excuse me ]
6. MP: [jo hada meθal] la ahl mʕan what he is example of citizens (NAME of city) [what he is example ] of Ma’an’s citizens
7. UP bijah [ jalalet ?lmalik] ((guards approach and resist him)) sake his majesty the King for sake [ of his majesty the King]
8. CP: [ la lw samḥt] If you excuse me [ excuse me ]
9. CP: lw samḥt tfadal mʕali ?lwazi:r ((guards struggle UP)) If you excuse me go ahead your excellency minister excuse me you may speak your excellency
10. MP: [ hada meθal la ahl mʕan] this is example for people Ma’an [this is an example of Ma’an citizens]
11. UP [ ( ) bijah jalalet ?lmalik ] ((Guards, dismiss UP)) ( ) sake his majesty the King [( ) for sake of his majesty the King]
12. MP: ya ibnil ħalal Ismaʕo PRT PRT listen Listen
13. CP: lw samḥt( .) mʕali ?lwazi:r excuse me excuse me your excellency minister excuse me ( .) excuse me your excellency
14. UP ( )
15. AUD: ( )
16. CP: ?na baltqi fi:k bimaktabi eða samḥt I will meet you my office If you please I will meet you in my office if you please
17. AUD: ( )
18. MP: xaleni ana ( ) let me ( )

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3

1. CP: < lw samḥt lw samḥt> ya axwan
   excuse me excuse me PRT brothers
   <excuse me excuse me> ya brothers

2. UP: ((stands on the edge of the gallery))

3. Gs: ((approach to the UP))

4. UP ladāy waθaeq ladai waθaeq tazwi:r ((throws
   a bunch of papers to MPs))
   I have documents I have document fraud
   I have documents I have fraud documents

5. UP (1.0) fasā:d (0.5)
   corruption
   (1.0) corruption (0.5)

6. MP: [ sawru:ha] ( )
   Take a photo of it
   [ take a copy of it ] ( )

7. CP: [ Xuðu PRT ba]ra xuðu PRT bara ya axwan
   Take him out take him out brothers
   [ take him out ] take him out brothers

8. CP: tefdal ax ibrahi:m
   Please brother Ibrahim
   You may speak brother Ibraheem

   the next time they will hang on Ahmad ?lsafadi
   <next time they will control us Ahmad ?lsafadi

10. MP: ( ) (2.0)

11. CP: <amrak amrak>
    <Yes I will yes I will>

12. MP: ( )

13. CP: bas yiji: dorak ( )
    When come your turn=
    When your turn come

14. CP: tefdal ax Ibrahi:m ċabdalla
    you may speak brother NAME
    you may speak brother Ibraheem Abdallah

    In the name of Allah the most gracious the most kind
   Your excellency brother respected
   Your excellency respected brothers

   Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5TX6Qq9vp1Y

4
1. UP1: (   ) ma bixaf ?llah ma bxaf ?llah (   )
   beʕto wazi:r ?lnaqil
   not afraid Allah no afraid Allah sold to
   minister of transportation
   he is not afraid of God he is not afraid of God
   sold to minister of transportation
2. biwiju:d jami:l mjahid
   face NAME NAME
   face Jamil Mjahid
3. UP2: niʃhad yaʕni
   To beg PRT
   do you want us to beg PRT
4. Gs: wasalna lilnawab (    )
   We reported to MPs
   We reported it to MPs
5. UP2: nish7ad ya3ni (    ) itha bidko nish7ad bnish7ad
   nish7ad a7san
   to beg PRT if want to beg we beg
   to beg is better
   do you want us to beg if you want us to beg
   begging is better
6. Gs: intan tqool wwaslna lilnawab
   you say reported to MPs
   you said that it is reported to MPs
7. UP1: ba3oha ba3o alnaqwl ba3o illi bideer ha?at alnqil
   mustathmir mustathmir
   sold sold the transporation sold the one who
   controls transporation businessman businessman
   they sold the transporation they sold to the one
   who controls the transporation a businessman
8. Kuwa\'ti illi bideer ha?at [ alnaqel
   Kuwaiti PRT controls the parliament of
   transportation
   A Kuwait who controls the parliament of
   transportation
9. UP2: [ nash7ad bido nish7ad
   Shall we beg want to beg
   Shall we beg do you want us to beg
10. UP1: Kuwaiti illi bideer ha?et alnaqil`
   Kuwaiti PRT controls parliament of transportation
   **A Kuwaiti who controls the parliament of transportation**

11. UP1: Kuwaiti ille bideer ha?at tantheem alnqel 450 alf sa?q
   Kuwaiti PRT controls parliament transportion 450 thousand driver
   **A Kuwaiti who controls the parliament of transportation 450 thousand driver**

12. mas?ol 3anhom wahad Kuwaiti
    responsible them someone Kuwaiti
    controlled by a Kuwaiti

Retrieved from YouTube: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVc6mmowLsw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVc6mmowLsw)
1. CP: Tfadal ( )
   You may ( )
   Please go ahead
2. CS: saiydi jukran dawalat arrai:s
   PRT thank you state President
   Thank you your excellency
3. UP: [dawlet ra?i:s ?lwzra (0.5) dawlet r?i:s ?lwzora]
   ana daxi:la Çaleiku: ( )
   State President minister state President I supplicate to you
   Your Excellency (0.5) Your Excellency I supplicate to you
4. CS: [( )]
5. UP: wilmalik Çbdallah [( . )] ?lhaq b?i:di
   And King Abdullah the right is in my hand
   And kind Abdullah [( . )] I have the right
6. CS: [( )]
7. UP: MIN ØALT?qEE [ SANA WANA ] ((stood up at the edge of the gallery))
   since thirteen years and I
   since thirteen [ years and I
8. CP:→
   [ law sa-
   If you-
   [if you (excuse me)
9. UP: MASIK RAS ?LFASSAD (. ) WETKU TSALU ÇALA MUHAMAD (.)
   Hold head of corruption (. ) prayers to Muhammad
   I HAVE BEEN SUFFERING FROM CORRUPTION PRAYER TO
   (PROPHET) MUHAMMAD
10. UP: [ >MAN QTILA NAFSUN BIyEIR NAFS ?W FASADUN FIL?Rdë
   FAK?NMA<] whover killed a soul, except for a soul slain, or
   for Sedition in the earth
11. CP: [lw smhti wein rejâl ?lamn ?lmawjudi:n bilshurfa; ]
   Excuse me, where men of the security available in the gallery
   [Excuse me, where are the available security officers in the gallery?]
   It should be considered as though he had killed all
   mankind”
13. UP: hay wasçlu:ha la rai:s ?lwzra= ((shows a
   letter to MPs))
PRT pass it to Prime Minister

pass this to the Prime Minister

14. CP: =lw samḥt (.)[ xu澳大ha] ʕla maktab arrai:s=
Excuse me take her to the President’s office
kindly take her to the President’s office

15. UP: [ amaneh ]
PR

16. UP: =Aʕt?i:HA LARAI:S ?LWZRA ENTA AΘANI (( throws a letter to MPs))
pass it on to the Prime Minister PRT PRT
PASS IT TO THE Prime Minister

17. MP: hatiha jay hatiha
Give it to us PRT give it to us
give it to us give it to us

18. UP: HAY AMANE BRAGBTKOM ENTU WILMALIK ġBDALLAH
PRT PRT with sincerity you and the King Abdullah
WITH YOUR SINCERITY TO ALLAH TO YOU AND TO King ABDALLAH

19. UP: ESMAʕU [ BEIT ESHʕER
Listen to section of a poem
LISTEN TO THE POEM

20. CP: [ (                 )

21. UP: ?SKOT WALLA (. ) ?SKOT WALLA ( )=
((talks to guards))
Shut up PRT shut up PRT
SHUT UP (. )SHUT UP

22. MP: =la ya axi: [ (                 )
Not PRT brother
No brother [ (                 )

23. UP: ( [                     ]

24. CP: =[ arjo exrajha ] mn ?lʃurfa lenha
wassalat [ resaletha
Please dismiss from the gallery because she delivered her message
[Please dismiss her] off the gallery because she has delivered [ her message

25. UP: [ rud ġalyi=
Reply on me
[Respond to me

26. CP: =[ lw smḥti (. ) lw smḥti ya ?xṭi lw smḥti]
((sharp tone))
excuse me excuse me PRT sister excuse me
=[ excuse me (. ) excuse me sister excuse me ]

27. UP: [ [ bidi eyah)
] ((UP struggles with guards)))
I WANT HIM
1. H1: ((sets fire on the Israeli’s flag from the parliament’s balcony))

2. MP: ya ?xwan
   PRT brothers
   ya ?xwan

28. CP: [( )]
29. UP: [( )]
30. CP: muʃ hek murjaʕat ?ldawa?r (.)=
    this is not the way to address the parliament (.)=
31. UP: =wedi IYAH
    Want him
    I need HIM
32. CP: [ muʃ hek murjaʕat ?ldawa?r]
    Not how addressing the administrations
    this is not the way to address the parliament
33. UP: [( )]
34. Am: [>jwaiʃwai<
    Bit bit
    take it easy take it easy
35. UP: SAYIG ʕLEEK ?LLAH ARAI:S YA RAI::S
    PRT for Allah the Prime Minister PRT prime
    FOR GODS SAKE I WANT THE PRIMIE MINISTER
36. MP: jwaiʃwai
    Bit bit
    take it easy take it easy
37. MP: jwaiʃwai =
    Bit bit
    take it easy take it easy
38. UP: =BIDI ARAI:S ANA
    WANT THE Prime Minister I
    =I WANT THE Prime Minister
39. UP: ANA BIDI ARU:h LAʕNDU
    I WANT TO GO TO HIM
40. UP: BIDI ARU:h LAʕNDU
    Need to go to him
    I need to go and see him
41. CP: lw samḥti lw samḥti
    excuse me excuse me

End of video
Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svQrZD2KnUI
3. CP: ya 7aras ?almajlis xoth ?l3allam la ynzal 3al 3al?xwan
PRT guards parliament take the flag not to fall on brothers
ya guards of the parliament take the flag so it won’t fall on brothers

4. H2: HATHA HWA 7AL ALSHA3B ALORDONI
5. This is status of the Jordanians
This is the status of the Jordanians

6. CP: (                          )
7. H2: AL SH3B ALORDONI AL3ATHEEM AL SH3B ALORDONI AL3ATHEEM
citizens Jordanian the great citizens Jordanian the great
The great Jordanian citizens The great Jordanian citizens

8. H2: AL SH3B ALORDONI AL3ATHEEM citizens Jordanian the great
The great Jordanian citizens

9. H2: kono 3aqad almas?oliya bas kono 3aqad almas?oliya be PRT responsibility PRT be PRT responsibility
be responsible for your duty, just be responsible for your duty

10. H2: xalas ya rajol i7na tal3een itwakal 3allah enough PRT PRT go out entrust God
enough we are going out entrust in God

11. H3: ?7na bidna mawqif bism alsha3ab alordoni bism alsha3ab alordini
We want position name of Jordanians in the name of the citizens Jordanian
we want a position on behalf of the Jordanians in the name of the people

12. H3: bism alsha3ab alordoni bidna mawqif bism alsha3ab name citizens Jordanian we want position in the name of the people the name of the people we want a position for the people

DELETED FROM YOUTUBE

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDmhDAyQFb0
1. CP: [ ( )]
2. UP: [ ( )] ((struggles with guards at the edge of the gallery))
3. UP: ?нтum ?rhab [yi:::n]
you are terrorists
you are terro[ rist:::s ]
4. AM: [ yah ?x]
   PRT brother
   [ brother ]
5. CP: ( [ )
6. UP: [ ( ) ] w haɗa qanu:n ja:?r (.) yajeb haɗfu
   fawran (.)
   and this law unjust must deleted
   immediately
   [ ( )] this is an unjust legislation it must be omitted immediately
7. AM: ma bis‘i:r yht?u ?ydhom Čleiha wehna hakeina ( )
   Not should put hands they on her and we said
   They shouldn’t put their hands on her we said that
8. Aud: ( [ )
9. CP: ?walan (1.0) Lam yulad ?lganun qit? (2.0)
   first of all not born the law never
   first of all (1.0) legislations are never born (2.0)
10. UP: wahad bas bihkom=
    One just governs
    Only one who governs =
11. CP: = taʕamlau mĨha bikul lut?f wehteram eĨa ehtajat
    Treat her with all politeness and respect if she
    protests
    =treat her with courtesy and respect if she
disagreees
12. CP: (( guards dismiss UP))

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXv9wEhP5Tk
3. UP Dawlat Sami:r ?lma?b ?lmuhtaram= (stands at edge of gallery))
State NAME MP respected
respected MP state Samir
4. CS: =DAWALAT ARAI:S
state President
your excellency
5. S: lw samḥt(.) lw samḥt
excuse me excuse me
excuse me (.) excuse me
6. UP: wein bidi ?uκil ana we?wlad\. Where want eat I and children
How am I going to feed my children?
7. S: lw samḥt
excuse me
excuse me
8. UP lw samḥt bahki mʕu bi aʃya lw samḥt [(
)] excuse me I talk to him about thing
excuse me I’m talking to him about an issue
[(
9. S: lw samḥt]
If you excuse me
[ Excuse me ]
?na wewladi] PRT PRT remember God I swear not have to eat I and my children
remember Allah I swear that I and my children have nothing to eat
11. S: [ ya ?xhi mamnu:ʕ mamnu:ʕ
titkalam min fo:g] PRT PRT forbidden forbidden to
talk from above
[brother you are not allowed to
12. S: lw samḥt = excuse me
Excuse me=
13. UP: wallаhi ma ?rυ:h [mi:n bidu:] God not leave who will
I swear to god I will not go who will
14. S: [lw samḥt]
excuse me [excuse me ]
15. UP: yxdimni bidi atʔaʃmi ?wlad\. = help me I want to feed my children
16. MP: = (  
17. UP: la lw samht lw samht ?na bidi   ((guards struggle with H))
   not if you excuse me if you excuse ne I need
   no excuse me excuse me I need
18. UP: wahad yehil muʃkilti
   someone solve my problem
   someone to solve my problem
   ?t?aʃmi ?wladi
   remember god I want to feed my children
   REMEMBER GOD () I need to feed my children ()
20. bdy ħda yhil muʃkilty ()   ((guards surround UP))
   Need somebody solve problem
   I need somebody to solve my problem
21. UP: bdy ħada yhil muʃkilty () mi:n yhil muʃkilty
   ((crying))
   need somebody solve my problem who will solve my
   problem
   I need somebody to solve my problem () who will solve my
   problem
22. UP [(  ]
23. S: [laʃtha laʃtha] (  ) laʃtha laʃtha
   hold on hold on (  )
24. S: laʃtha hal? babʕaʃlak nas hal? babʕaʃlak nas
   Hold on PRT send to you somebody PRT send to you
   somebody
   hold on I will send somebody to you I will send
   somebody to you
25. UP: (  )
26. S: xalasʕ xalasʕ hal? babʕaʃlak nas
   that’s enough that’s enough PRT send to your
   somebody
   that’s enough that’s enough I will send somebody
   for you
27. Aud: (  )
28. UP: ?llah yustur ʕbeitak ?llah yustur ʕbeitak ((UP
   holds the fence of the gallery))
29. CS: biidi ?kmil ʕadethi dawlet arrʔi:s
   need continue talking state President
   I want to complete my speech your excellency
30. CP: jukran dawlat arrʔi:s
   thank you state President
   thank you your excellency

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqSn7Q6fTrQ
The speaker colleague Raid alhajazin
   the [speaker colleague Raid alhajazin]
2. UP [ ( ) ]
3. UP: wein rahu ?lmilyarat
   Where gone the trillions
   What happened to the trillions?
   ?ʃawabkeh]=
The speaker which is next colleague Zaid
   Alshawabkeh
   [The next speaker ] [colleague Zaid
   Alshawabkeh]
5. UP [ ( ) ] [ ( ) ]
6. UP =min ayna laka haða
   Where from have this
   Where did you get this from
7. CP: tfadal doktor Raid=
   You may doctor Raid
   You may (speak) doctor=
8. UP → =wein rahu ?lmilyarat ?li mʕhum (2.0)
   Where gone billions which have
   =What happened to the billions which they posses
   (2.0)
9. CP: tfadal ostað Raid=
   You may Mr Raid
   You may (speak) Mr Raed
10. AM: = <xali:h yet?laʔ jwaʃjwai>=
   Let him go bit bit
   Let him exit little by little
11. CS: =katabna (2.0)
   we wrote
   we wrote (2.0)
12. AM: < jwaiʃwai > ġaleih
   Little by little on him
   Take it easy on him
13. CP: ((rings bell))
14. CP: tfadal jami:l
   You may Jameel
   You may (speak) Jameel
15. AM: ( )
16. CS: katabna sat?er (1.0) tarakna sat?er (1.0) hafeðna
   ?addrs
We wrote a line left a line memorised lesson

Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s8GqiN0GtjQ

11

1. Aud: ( )
2. UP: wallah la al3an abouk ya kalab ya klab ya anthal wala ( ) ya xawana ya God PRT curase father PRT dogs PRT dog villain PRT PRT traitors PRT
   God’s curse on your father you dog, you dog you villain ya traitors ya
3. baltagia ya thugs PRT thugs ya
4. Gs: ((take the UP out of the gallery)
5. UP: baltagia thugs
6. Gs: la tothrob not harm him do not harm him
7. UP: baltagia thugs
8. Gs: (( take the UP outside the gallery))
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=caZhv5wFIzk

12

1. CS: ?rai;s ?lexwa ?zzumula (2.0) ?na men ?ham mutat? mutat?labat bina? Chairoerson brother colleagues for importance requirements establishing chairman brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most requirements for requirements for establishing
3. CS: letuwakib ?ttat?awr( ) filGaːlam amutayyar bistimrar
Keep up with development in world changing constantly
To constantly keep up with the development of changing world
[To cope up with the benefit of the country and its people]
[ your excellency (.) your excellency) ]
6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaʃef=PRT parliament one hundred and eleven parliament one hundred and eleven =
7. CS: =[ walilhefaʔ ʕla kayan ?adawla] To maintain on the existence of the state =[ and to maintain the existence of the country]
8. UP: [ ( )]=
9. CP: = lw samḥt excuse me = excuse me
10. UP: wagfu ?tʃdilat ?ddustu:ria stop amendments constitution stop the constitution amendments
11. CPL alʔmen guards
12. UP: [ ( )] waqfoo ?taʃdilat ?ddustu:ria Stop constitution amendments [ ( ) ] stop the constitution amendments
13. CP: [ ?lʔmen] guards [ guards ]
14. UP: ( ) ?tʃdilat addustu:rya ( ) addustu:r xatʔ aḥmar Amendments constitution ( ) constitution red line ( ) constitution amendments ( ) the constitution is a red line
15. UP: [ʔeḥtarmu ?ʃabab eḥtarmu ?lʃabab] eḥtarmu ?ʃabab respect the youth respect the youth respect the youth [respect the youth respect the youth] respect the youth respect the youth
16. AM: [haʔdo:1 ?ʃabab gacdi:n betnagʃu ]
These youth sit discuss
[the youths are discussing ]

Where guatds PRT brothers
where are the guards brothers

18. UP: =ehtarmu ?jABA:::B (1.0)
Respect the youth
respect the YOUT::: H (1.0)

19. AM: ( )

20. UP: ehtarmu ?jabab bas ehtarmu ?jabab (2.0)
respect the youth just respect the youth
respect the youth just respect the youth (2.0)

21. Aud: ((inaudible voices))

22. AM: maʕku ħaq
you have right
you have the right ((mockingly way))

23. CS: dawlat arrai.rs [ ?uxwa azzumla? ]
State President brothers colleges
your excellency [ brother and colleagues ]

24. AM: [ ?lhaq mu ʕleik ]
The right it not on you
[ the right is not on you ] ((mockingly way))

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bz43mIPBm50

13

1. CP: law samaħt law samaħt ya ?xwan
excue me excue me PRT brothers
excuse me excuse me ya brothers

2. UP: laday waθ?q (.) lady waθ?q tazwi:r
I have documents (.) I have documents fraud
I have documents I owe fraud documents

3. UP: ((throuws a bunch of papers to MPs belw him))

4. UP: fassad
corruption

5. CP: xoðo:h bara koðooh bara ya ?xwan
Take him out take him out PRT brothers
take him out take him out ya brothers

6. CP: tfadly oxt ( )
You may sister
You may (speak) sister ( )

7. MP: marا θaniya ( ) ʕlayna ya Ahmad Alsafadi
time next on us PRT NAME NAME
the next time on us ya Ahmd Alsafadi

8. Gs: (( Guards take the UP outside the gallery))
Realized to em that stay of parliament for reason which mentioned now
I realized the existence of this parliament now for the different reasons which

From different brothers colleagues better to keep this parliament
From different brothers & colleagues the best to maintain this parliament

3. CS: [wa ?ubyen lilnuwab bema ja?u bihi]
((looks at H))
and show to MPs for what they have come for
[I will determine to the MPs for what they have come to]

Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest
[Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest ]Allah is the greatest

5. AM: (      )

6. Aud: ((clapping))

7. AM: haða lu:bbi
this group
this is a group

Allah greatest shall fall the Arab
Allah is the greatest (1.0) and the Arabs shall fall

9. AM: la: la: deru balkom
No no care yourselves
no no be careful of yourselves

10. CP: bil?izin=
excuse me
excuse me=

11. AM: =?luh ?kbar (7.0) ((looks at MP and smiles))
Allah is the greatest
Allah is the greatest (7.0)

12. AM: eða samħt
   If you excuse me
13. CP: tfðal (1.0) dagi:ga dagi:ga dagi:ga ?ða samħt
dagi:ga eða samħt dagi:ga
   you may one minute (x3) if you please one
   minute (x2)
you may (1.0) one minute (x3) if you please one
   minute (x2)
   la yatadaxlu filmajles
   If you excuse me assumed AUD who are in the
gallery no interfere in parliament
If you excuse me one minute audience in the
gallery should not interfere with the parliament
   ?ljurfαa
   The person who release the noises I ask him to
   leave the gallery
I ask the person who made the noise to leave the
gallery
16. we?lammn ?l?am yet?lαu
   and national security dismiss him
   and the guards shall dismiss him
17. UP (( H walks out of the gallery))
18. Aud: ((various voices))
   decision chairperson decision chairperson this
   the chairperson’s decision this is the
   chairperson’s decision
20. CP: xalașρ?ntaheina lan ?smaħ bilfawðα bi bi la min
   ?nnaðara ?kalna dru:s takfi
   Enough ended it not permit chaos in in from
gallery PRT ate lessons enough
   enough end it I will not allow this kind of chaos
   in gallery we had enough lessons

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T3EFDEXIkJ4
Shame all the shame and disgrace for those

all the shame and disgrace for those who

4. UP: baʕ edam ?alurduni=
Sold the blood of Jordanians

5. AM: = walak ya hamil
PRT PRT anomalous
walak you are anomalous

6. AUD: ( )

7. UP: ( ) ((( struggling with guards)))

8. CP: lw samħt lw samħt

9. CP: fiurkan lakum fiukran lakum
thank you all thank you all

thank you all thank you all

10. UP: ( ) [()]

11. CP: [ ?uðakrkum b?na hunalik jalsa taʕreʕya asaʕa
ʕafarah wanaʕ sabahah
Reminding you there will session legislative hour
ten and half morning

I remind you there will be a legislative session on

10:30 in the morning

12. UP: ( ) ((guards dismiss UP))

13. AUD: ( )

14. AM: ?erðaʕ (3.0) rumiş ?erðaʕ
Suck          go suck
Suck (milk) go suck ((mockery; treating the UP as
immature enough))

15. AM: rümiş ?rðaʕ ħali:b
Go suck milk

Go such milk ((mockingly expression))

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WrMAVHj8Y

Part of conversation missing

1. UP ((Guards struggle with UP to prevent him from
reacting to MPs))

2. CP: ya ħaras (.) ya ħaras (1.0)

11 Deleted from YouTube.
PRT guards PRT guards
ya guards (. ) ya guards (1.0)

3. CP: ḫaras ?lmajlis
guards parliament
guards of the parliament/parliament

4. UP ( )

5. CP: ya ḫaras ?lmajlis
PRT guards parliament
ya guards of the parliament/parliament

6. UP ( )

7. CP: ya ḏabet >xalu: yehki xalu yehki <
PRT officer >let him speak let him speak
ya officer >let him speak let him speak<

8. AM: ya ?xi xalu yehki
PRT PRT let him speak
let him speak

9. CP: xalu yahki
let him speak
let him speak

10. CP: ḫki ḫki ya ʕami
speak speak PRT PRT
speak speak

11. Aud: ((various voices)) (5.0)

12. UP ( )

13. CP: ya ḥaḍrat aḏabit?
PRT dear officer
dear officer

14. UP: ḫna ṭbaʔi:n sana wħna ḍumal naʔmal tanzil wa
tahmi:l (. ) mush emklfi:n
we forty years we labourers work upload and
download not charge the
we have been working for forty years as labourer
upload and download (. ) and we don’t charge the

15. UP: xazinet ṭddwla wala ṭy dinar (. ) ṭuju:rna min
?tujar (. ) ṭaji bidi ṭlif baʔd
funds government not Dinar payments from
merchants PRT after forty years
government’s funds (. ) we get our payment from
traders (. ) after forty years

16. UP: ṭbaʔi:n sanæh ḥaḍa ʔlʕatʔa? ʔlu ( )
weħna ʕam ?nna:di=
Forty years this tender its
we are calling
after forty years I see this tender ( )
and we have been reporting=

17. AM: = jusem ʔʃarikeh?
Name of company
What’s the name of the company

18. UP: ?hna ʕam ʔnadi=
we are calling
we have been reporting
19. AM: = ʃusem ʔʃarikeh
Name of company
what’s the name of the company?
20. UP: muj ʔmaklfi:n xazinet ʔddawleh ʕala taʃri:fiwahde
not charging the funds of government not a Fils
((currency)) one
we do not charge the government’s funds not even
a single Fils
21. UP: w?na bathada [eða- ]
and I bet if
and I bet if-
22. CP: [xala::s]
enough
[ that’s enough -]
23. UP [ (   )
24. CP: [ waslat ʔresale ya ʔbni
Acknowledged message PRT son
your message is acknowledged son
25. UP (                                      )
26. CP: weslat ʔresale xalasʕ
Acknowledged the message enough
your message has been acknowledged that’s enough
27. UP: (                                      ) daxli:n ʕal?llah wa
I supplicate to Allah and
(   ) I supplicate to Allah and
28. UP [ (   )]
29. CP: [ weslat aresala xalina nʕref neʃtaʔil] ʕad
xalasʕ ((sharp tone))
acknowledged the message let us do work PRT
enough
[message is acknowledged let us get back to
business] ((Sharp tone))
30. UP: ((leaves the gallery))

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xo_9biWL9-s
2. UP  [ ?onaʃed ?ollah (1.0) ?onaʃed dawlat arai:s
((standing at edge of gallery))
Supplicate to God supplicate to state President
I supplicate to God I supplicate to his Excellency
3. UP  [ ( ) ((points with his hand
as he speaks))
4. CP:  [ wein aʃort?a? xoðu xalu yet?laʔ barra
where the gaurds? Take him dismiss him outside
where are the guards? Take him dismiss him off the
gallery
5. UP  [ ( )
6. CP:  [ ?ʕtaqlu
confine him
[confine him
7. UP  ( )
8. CP:  ?ʕtaqlu
confine him
9. UP  ?onaʃed ?ollah
I supplicate god
I supplicate to god
10. CP:  xoðu:h (2.0) [xoðu:h] (1.0) haða moʃ masraḥ
titʕawadu ʕaleh
take him           take him           this is not
a theatre to get used to
take him (2.0) [(take him](1.0) this is not a
theatre to get used to
11. Aud:  [laughter ]
12. CP:  tiju etsibu ʕadinya min hon yalah=
come swear PRT from here PRT
To come and swear to everybody here PRT
13. UP  = [ ( )
14. CP:  [ʔʕtaqlu (1.0)
confine him
[confine him (1.0)
15. UP  [ ( )
16. CP:  [ʔʕtaqlu (4.0) ((Guards take UP off the
gallery))
confine him
[ confine him (4.0)
17. CP:  ?eȟjizo ʕindak (.) wxod hawi:tu
Keep him with you take his ID
arrest him and take his ID
and give to me later
and hand it to me later

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PlFuFN_WbgQ
1. UP: ḥmad ?binku zai mahu ?bn ?alwt?n (1.0) yala ya wazi:r ya ( ) ?na ahmad you son like son motherland PRT PRT minister I ahmad is your son like your motherland (1.0) son yala ya minister ( ) I

2. Gs: ( (approach to heckler) )

3. UP: ( (raises her arms as she talks) )

4. UP: banaʃid ?lmalık banaʃdk ya ʃalalit ?lmalık ?nak tunә?r ?bni ḥmd supplicate king supplicate majesty king for I supplicate to the king I supplicate to his majesty the king for

5. bigabr u ?nsˁif ḥmad gabru ḥmd mә?luːm ḥmd ḥahiːd ( ) ʕalei his grave justice ahmad grave ahmad oppressed ahmad martyr on him I want justice for ahmad who is in grave ahmad was oppressed ahmad is martyr ( ) on him

6. haram haram ?hko ya nuwab ?hku ya ʃaˁb ?li belagi unfair unfair speak PRT MPs speak PRT people PRT find it’s unfair it’s unfair speak PRT MPs speak PRT people PRT find ʕal ʕal wa g fu ya jamaˁt ?lxәir ?tgәu ?lah ?taqu ?lah bigdˁiet ?bni stop PRT guys good praise allah praise allah issue my son ( ) stop ya good people praise allah praise allah for my son’s case

7. ( ) wagfu ya jamaˁt ?lxәir ?tgәu ?lah ?taqu ?lah bigdˁiet ?bni stop PRT guys good praise allah praise allah issue my son ( ) stop ya good people praise allah praise allah for my son’s case

8. Gs: ( (female guard approaches to heckler and holds her from shoulder) )

9. UP: ḥmad ḥmad ?bni ʔani ?m ( ) ḥaraːm haraːm ḥaraːm ya nuwaːb ahmad ahmad my son other PRT unfair unfair unfair PRT MPs ahmad ahmad my other son PRT it’s unfair
it’s unfair it’s unfair ya MPs
10. ya nuwab janantuni xams sni:n xams sni:n wana b'ilfarḍ mawatu:na
PRT MPs crazy five years five years and
In street crazy
Ya MPs you made us crazy five years five years and I’m in street you made us crazy

make sick unfair on you praise allah PRT majesty king praise allah you say
you made us sick it’s unfair praise allah YOU’RE YOUR majesty the king praise allah you say

12. ḍan ?lkaz wilḥaz mawtu:na ūjū yaz wu kaz mawatu:na weino weino dam
about kerosene and gas crazy what gas and kerosene crazy where where blood
about kerosene and gas you made us crazy what gas and kerosene I’m crazy where is where is the blood

13. ūḥmad ūlsbeihī dam ūḥmad ūlsbeihī weinu
NAME NAME blood NAME NAME where is
NAME NAME the blood of ahmad where is it

14. Gs:((hold heckler from her hand))
15. Gs:((Dismiss heckler off the gallery))
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHfymxRQK8E

SECOND SETTING
19
1. CS: (                ) wa?lsiyada ?lwat?ania
and sovereignty national
(                ) and national sovereignty

2. UP: BA꾼OHHAA (2.0)
THEY SOLD IT (2.0)

3. CP: lw samḥt ya Yahya ihna wadenak tnzil ?z zamola?
excuse me PRT Yahya we sent you to down colleagues
excuse me ya Yahya we sent you to bring the colleagues

4. CP: moʃ togṣod (                )=
not to sit down
but not to join them

5. UP = la ūna min?am ?lhom ya sidi ma widi
not I joining to them PRT PRT not I don’t

No No I’m joining them ya seidi I don’t want

6. UP:  nzal ?na monðam lazzomla? (.)
to come down I’m joining to the colleagues (.)
to come down I’m joining my colleagues (.)

7. CP:  

8. UP:  ((stood up and approaches to the end edge of the balcony))

9. UP:  [?lmalakyə] baʔoha maʔal ?ji bilmalakia=
The Royalty] sold not left in the royalty
[The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is
left in the RJ

10. CP:  =  tab jokran ilko ?rjo ?n nahtarem [?ljalsal]
PRT thank to you kindly we should respect the
session
PRT thank you kindly we should respect [the
session]

11. UP:  [ma thal] eshi

12. bilmalakia klo ba3ooha=
not left thing in the royalty everything is sold
[nothing is] left in the (royal Jordanian) they
have sold it

13. CP:  xoðlak ʕadeh=
PRT PRT
(expression used to express disaffiliation)

14. CS:  =tab ya ?x Yahya
PRT PRT brother NAME
=tab ya  brother Yahya

15. UP:  ((raises his hands above his head to make timeout
sign))

16. CS:  (1.0) wa hona ?otālib (.). min sʕadat ?lwazeer (.).
biwadʕeʕ
and here I demand from your excellency minister

to
(1.0) and here (parliament) I demand (.). from
your excellency (.). to establish

17. CS:  majlis ?lnawab bi (    ) ?ljahu:d ?lmabðola (.)
1ʕʃadat ?lmablɣ ʔlmahu:b
the Members of Parliament (    ) efforts to
demand (   ) restore the looted funds
the Members of Parliament (    ) to demand and
restore the looted funds

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sSCvlkw4q2M
1. CS: (3.0) wa (1.0) fi radi (. ) ʕla (. ) xot?ab ?sada
?nawab (. ) wa
And in response on speeches MPs and
(3.0) and (1.0) in my response (1.0) to MPs
speeches (. ) and

2. CS: mudaxlatihim (1.0) [taðkert] ((CS gazes at
UP))
their interventions (1.0) I remembered

3. UP: [?nawab] ibteðhk ʕlyhom
The MPs fool them the MPs fool them
You are misleading the MPs you are misleading the
MPs

4. CP: mˤleiʃ Yahya [Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya]
excuse me Yaḥya Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya

5. UP [ ( ) ]

6. UP: [?nawab ibteðhk ʕlyhom = ((points with his arms
as he speaks))
MPs fool them
You are misleading the MPs

7. CP: ya yahya
PRT NAME
ya Yahya

8. UP: [?nawab moʃ gadrin yeʃofu:k [ ( ) ]
MPs not able to see you
The MPs are not able to see you

9. CP: [Yahya ya Yahya] arju:k ya YAHYA
NAME PRT NAME I beg you NAME
Yahya Ya Yahya please Yahya

10. Aud: ((various voices))

11. UP: [ ( ) ]

12. CP: [ya Yahya] (. ) ya Yahya
PRT NAME (. ) PRT NAME
[ ya Yahya ] (. ) ya Yahya

13. UP: [?nawab lazim yekhaʃu:k min ?lqaʔa haði=
MPs must dismiss from the this hall
The MPs must dismiss you out of this hall
[parliament ]

14. CP: = xalas yahya xalas inhi (. ) ?llah yerda ʔleek
(. )
Enough Yahya enough end it God mercy on you
[That’s] enough Yahya put an end to this (. ) gods
mercy on you (. )

15. CP: yahya mʔleish

313
Yahya please

Yahya please

16. CP: tfedal dawalt ?ra?i:s (2.0) tfedal dawalt ?ra?i:s you may state President you may state President
you may speak your excellency (2.0) you may speak your excellency
17. CS: (6.0) ((gazes at UP, crosses his hands, and moves his mouth))
18. CP: dawlat ?rras ?tfadal state President you may
you may [speak] your Excellency
19. UP: ma bido yhki balaj not wish speak PRT
If he doesn’t wish to speak that’s fine
20. CP: YA YAHYA ?RJU:K PRT Yahya please
YA Yahya please
21. MP: [ ma: bisi:r ya yahya not acceptable PRT Yahya
this is unacceptable ya Yahya
22. UP: [ ma bidu yahki balaj= not want speak PRT
If he doesn’t wish to speak that’s fine
23. CP: =Yahya ?anheina (1.0) xalasʕ Yahya= Yahya end it enough Yahya
Yahya end it that’s enough Yahya
24. CS: =mʔali ?ra?i:s Honourable chairperson
Your excellency
25. CP: (. ) mʕle;j (2.0) ya axwan rai:s ?lwozara yatahadaʕ ili bihib yastami? Excuse me PRT brothers President prime talks
PRT like listen
( . ) excuse me (2.0) brothers the PM is delivering a speech and we should listen
26. CP: ywafiq ?wla ywafiq mawdʕoʕ ʔani lakin ʔahu yetklam wnsmaʕ agree or disagree subject other but his right to talk and listen
27. CP: wijhit naðaro ?rjuku point of view beg you
[to his] point of view please

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHqzV6juzf0
1. CS: kama: (.) waʕadat?lhokoma (.) ma taza:l moltazima ʕnda wʕdeha (.)
As promised the government still committed to its promise
As the government had promised and still it is committed to its promises
Not possible to increase rates of electricity except in consultation to MPs
rates of electricity (energy) will not be increased only in consultation with MPs
3. CS: bidʕabt? kama ?ltazamna (2.0)
Exactly as we have pledged
Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)
Look on alternative other state President instead increasing rates
look for an alternative your Excellency instead of increasing the rates
5. CS: [ waaa ]
and
[and ]
6. UP: dawer ʕala ʕala ( ) ʔani
look for for ( ) other
look for (something) else
7. CS: ((stops speech, looks at UP, simultaneously moves his left hand fingers))
8. UP: <ma bnesmahlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> hata [ ( ) ]
not allow you increase the rates even ( )
we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even [( ) ]
9. CP: [ax Yahya]
brother NAME
[brother Yahya]
10. CS: ((turns his face straightforward, then scratches his nose with his left hand, and then gulps with his mouth))
11. CS: ʕrjuk ʕrjuk la Yahya
Please please no NAME
Please please no Yahya
12. CP: kalam marfu:ð haða
Talk is unacceptable this
What you said in unacceptable

Yahya please let the Prime Minister continue

15. Aud: ( ) majles ?nawab
( ) the parliament

16. CP: ?zomla?
colleagues

17. Aud: ( (various voices))

18. MP: iʃu: halʕadeh↑ jɔo halʕadi hai↑
what habit what habit
what habit is this↑ What habit is this↑

19. UP: ((UP physically attacks the Member of Parliament))

20. CP: ((rings bell)) bas ya (.) yahya (.) yahya (4.0) ogṣod ya ?buruman
enough PRT(.) yahya (.) yahya (.) yahya (4.0) sit
sit PRT abu ruman

sit PRT abu ruman <sit PRT abu ruman> <sit PRT abu ruman>
sit down abu ruman <sit down abu ruman> <sit down abu ruman>

22. CP: ?bu ruman ogṣod (.) ya axwan azomla (2.0) azzomla
istari:ħo<itfa dˁ alo:>
aburuman sit down brothers colleagues
colleagues be seated please
aburuman sit (down) (.) colleagues (2.0)
colleagues be seated <please>

23. CP: < itfadʕalo > itfadʕalo ?zomla: (.) itfadʕalo
?zomla:
you may you may colleagues you may colleagues
<please> please colleagues (.) please colleagues

take rest you may colleagues you may colleagues
be seated please colleagues(.) please colleagues

25. CP: tefdʕalu: ?zomla (5.0) ((high tone))
you may colleagues
please colleagues (5.0) ((high tone))

26. MP: xalu:na nismaʕ
let us listen
let us listen

27. CP: tefdʕalu: ?zomla ((rings the bell))
You may colleagues
please colleagues ((rings the bell))

tefd'al: sit I beg you
please sit down please

29. CP: ya ?bu ruman ismaṣni tefd'al: ?og'du: (1.0)
PRT PRT ruman listen to me you may sit (plural)
ya abu ruman listen to me please sit down (1.0)

you may colleagues colleagues sit (plural) you may (plural)
please colleagues(.) colleagues(.) sit (down)
please

31. CP: tefd'al: (.).tefd'al: (3.0) tefd'al:
you may you may you may
Please (.). please (3.0) please

PRT BROTHER SIT (.). ABU RUMMAN
YA BROTHER SIT (DOWN) (.). ABU RUMMAN

33. CP: ?og'd tfadal ?star:h mahalak
sit you may rest your seat
sit down please be seated

34. CP: <?star:h ?star:h ?star:h >
rest rest rest
<be seated be seated be seated>

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oy6h0KUMIUE
5. CP:  
=xalas ya yahya=  
enough PRT Yahya  
enough ya Yahya

6. UP:  
= wallahi ?na:k kadab ( )  
I swear to god you are lying  
I swear that you are lying

7. CP:  
yah yahya  
PRT NAME  
Ya yahya

8. Aud:  
((various voices))

9. CS:  
хаәа howa ?nnamu:әaj  
this is an example  
this is an example

10. CP:  
Yahya  
NAME  
Yahya

11. CS:  
Ian ?rod ( )  
not response  
I will not respond

12. UP:  
((UP physically attacks CS by grabbing him from  
his neck))

13. Aud:  
((MPs surround UP and prevent him from attacking  
the CS))

14. CP:  
хаәа ?lkala:m ya yahya (.) la yali:q bi majlis  
?na:wab ya yahya  
this talk PRT NAME not suit in the  
parliament MP}s PRT NAME  
it is inappropriate to speak like this in the  
parliament ya Yahya

15. CP:  
l a yali:q bimajlis ?na:wab ya yahya=  
not suit parliament MP}s PRT yahya  
it is inappropriate to speak like this in the  
parliament ya Yahya

16. CS:  
?na ?ogadim jakwa (1.0)  
I submit complaint  
I (shall) submit a compliant

17. CP:  
хаәа la yali:q bimajlis ?na:wab хаәа ?lkalam  
this not suit the parliament MP}s this talk  
this is inappropriate to speak like this in the  
parliament

18. Aud:  
((inaudible ))

19. CP:  
torfʕ (.) torfʕ ?ljalsa: ila sabah ( ) torfʕ  
?ljalsa ila sabah:ә yom әad  
adjourn adjourn session morning adjourn session  
to morning tomorrow  
session adjourned to morning session adjourned to  
tomorrow morning
23

   read article eighty nine
   READ ARTICLE EIGHTY NINE

2. CP: ga:ri ?lmade gablak ?lah yerdi’a çleik=
   read the article before you Allah (god) mercy on you
   I have read the article before you Allah (god) mercy on you

3. UP: =Igra:ha: ya sidi Igraha
   read it PRT PRT read it
   =Read it ya seidi read it

4. CP: yahya bitmna çleik togGod
   NAME I wish on you sit down
   Yahya I wish you sit down

   Your excellency read article eighty nine
   Your Excellency read article eighty-nine

6. CP: batmna: ?lyk togGod ya yahya
   I wish on you to sit down PRT NAME
   I wish you sit down ya Yahya

7. UP: IÇt?ini majal ?hki
   Give path speak
   Give me permission to speak

8. CP: ma bÇt?i:k ( )
   not give you ( )
   I will not give you ( )

   PRT PRT give me the internal regulations
   ya seidi give me the internal regulations

10. CP: ( )

11. Aud: ( )

12. CS: ( )

13. Aud: ((some Member of Parliament gather around the UP))

   PRT PRT read the internal regulations PRT Rola
   ya seidi read the internal regulations ya Rola

15. Aud: ( )

16. UP: Igra ?neşam ?ddaxli ma BIt?LO
   Read the internal regulations not have the right
   read the internal regulations HE DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT
17. Aud: (    )
18. UP: Igra ?neðam ?ddaxli
read the internal regulations
read the internal regulations
19. CP: gari gablak (        ) xali ?ra?i:s yehki
I read it before you (    ) let the President
speak
I already read it (    ) let the prime (minister) speak
Read the internal regulations PRT your excellency
read the internal regulations ya your excellency
Read the internal regulations
22. CP: yahya
NAME
Yahya
23. UP: tˀbig ?neðam ?ddaxli
apply regulations internal
apply the internal regulations
24. CP: yahya
NAME
Yahya
25. CP: tatˀbi:g ?neðam ?ddaxli mafru:d Čleik
Application the internal regulations obligatory
on you
Applying the internal regulations is obligatory
for you
26. UP: tˀbig ?neðam ?ddaxli [ ya sČadet
?ra?i:s
apply the internal regulations PRT your
excellency
apply the internal regulations [ ya your
excellency
27. CP: [?na
matˀbig ?niðam adaxli gablak
I apply the internal regulations before you
I have already applied the internal regulations

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WwtbrgbPdns
starts Min 2:26

1. ((Standing at the podium not from his seat))

   ?almaliya ?staqblat wuzor?
   I advise parliament respected PRT committee financial welcomed ministers
   **I advise the respected parliament b?na the finnancial committee welcomed**

2. CS:
   ?taxtʾiːtʾ waʾddandan
   government minister of energy minister of finance and minister of planning and many
   **the government ministers (and the) minister of energy (and the) minister of planning and many**

3. CS:
   ?axr min?lwozor? ?lkira:m nhnu mustaʾdhu:n min
   other PRT ministers respected we ready from now to the time
   **other respected ministers we are ready from now to the time**

4. CS:
   alΘi: toʾkido:n itʾl3o 3la kol ?lbyanat itʾl3o 3la
do which you approve review on all data review on all
   **which you would like to approve review all data review all numbers review**

5. CS:
   kol ( ) leman lam ytʾli3 ?maʾlmotʾl3 min daʾr
   ?hlo haΘa ?hnyalu
   all ( ) for those who not view as for those who viewed these are PRT
   **all ( ) for those who didn’t view as for those who viewed they are**

6. CS:
   ((looks at UP))

7. CS: [(fa xalini (.)) min fa dlak
   so let me from please
   **let me (speak) please**

10. UP: ( ) ?alsh3b
    **citizens**

11. CS: batrja:k ?xi
    I beg you brother
    **Please brother**

12. CS: ((changes body posture look at other side and point with his hand))
13. towards the CP above him))
14. UP: ( )
15. MP: ya ?xwan
   PRT brothers
   **ya brothers**
   (PRT brother))
16. CP: ya ?xwan ?rjook ya
   PRT brother please PRT
   **ya brother please ya**
17. CP: zaid ?lla yerΘ- ?lla yxli:k ya zaid
   NAME god mercy god let you PRT NAME
   **Zaid god’s mercy god’s mercy PRT Zaid**
18. CP: kulhum bidhum yhko o?gΨud
   [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJ1OQQ5cBN0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJ1OQQ5cBN0)

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1. CP: ( ) ?nta bidak tʕtariθ wella la?
   do you object or not
   do you want to object or not
2. UP: ( )
3. CP: [ law samaħt haðihi ?ljalsa ?stiΘna?ya
   excuse me this session exceptaional
   excuse me this is an exceptional
   session
4. UP: ((waves with his has speaks))
5. UP: ( )
6. AUD: (inaudible voices))
7. UP: tʕalu lafu:q (.) tʕalu lafu:q (.)tʕalu lafu:q
   (.)tʕalu lafu:q
   come above come above come above come above
   **lets gather in the gallery above (x4)**
8. Aud: (inaudible voices))
9. CP: jo tʕalu lafo:q jo tʕalu lafo:q
   what come above what come above
   what do you mean come above (x2)
10. Aud: (inaudible voices))
11. CP: ?na badafiʕ 3an ?lhuwuma wbadafiʕ 3an
    ?taʕriʕ ?lhwab ( )
    I defend on the government and defend on
    legislative of MPs
    **I defend the government and I defend the
    legislative MPs**
12. ?netham adaxli wahatha ?list3rath bel3athlat amam ( ) lysa ( )
the regulations internal and this display muscles
infront not
the internal regulations and this showing off
infront of is not
13. w?nma tasjeel mawafiq
but recording incidents
but to record incidents (to benefit from others)
14. CP: hatha kalam mardood walan ( )
this talk back and not
this talk is back to you and I will not
15. CP: lan ?o3t?i ( ) law samhtoo
will not give excuse me
I will not give excuse me
16. AUd: (inaudible voices))
17. CP: ?rjo min ?zomla ( ) haq ?nniqaf
please from colleagues right the debate
please colleagues right of debate
18. CP: iða bidku ti7tarmu majlis ?lnawab yuftrað ?n
tahtarimo ?lri?asa wa
If want you respect parliament MPs presumed to
If you respect the parliament of MPs presumably
you should respect the chairship and
19. tahtarimu ?niðam ?daxili
respect the regulations internal
respect the internal regulations
20. CP: ?na mohttar ella raf3 aljlsa ella ( ) arafi3
aljalsa
I obliged to ajourn the session to I
ajourn the session
I obliged to ajourn the session to I
ajourn the session
21. MPs: lyj tirfa? ?ljalsa
why adjourn the session
why did you adjourn the session
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqvY_BTac0Y

1. UP: mamno3 rafe3 alkahroba? Wala fils=
prohibited increase the energy even CURRENCY
It is prohibited to increase energy (rates) one Fils (e.g one Pence)

2. CP: =?azomla [ itha sama7to ( )
            colleagues excuse me

3. UP: [ bidko tit?la>Gu min ?ljmlis
        bnt?lʕ bidko tiyadro ?lqubba binyadir
        want us leave from the parliament we will leave
        want us leave the the dome we leave
        If you would like us to leave the parliament we will
        if you would like us to leave the dome we will leave

4. ?lquba (1.0) la rafi3 ʕla ?lkahruba? (1.0) la rafiʕ
        the dome not increase on the electricity
        the dome do not increase the energy rates

5. Aud: ((inaudible))

        wtaxfiʕ ?lmoʃtaqat ?nift?ya
        not increase electricity but decrease electricity
        and Petroleum derivatives
        no increasing electricity but decrease electricity
        and Petroleum derivatives

        owner excellency and gentlemen and colleagues
        your excellencies gentlemen and colleagues

8. UP: [ yumnaʕ manʕan ba:ttan]
        Prohibited prohibited
        strictly
        It is strictly prohibited

9. rafiʕ ?lkahruba? ʕanta law ( ) ?ljalsa mamnuʕ
        rafiʕ ?lkahrub?
        increasing energy even if
        increasing electricity even if
        from the session prohibited increase electricity
        the session it is prohibited to increase energy

10. Aud: ((inaudible voices))
        colleagues if you kind please sit in your places
        colleagues kindly be seated

12. MP: [di:r ba:lak ] laaaa
        PRT PRT not
deer ba:lal no

13. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
14. Aud: ((noises))
15. CP: ?zumula? itha samahtu ?-
        colleagues if please a-
colleagues if you please a-

((End of video due to cut))

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03sp6ugV7fg

1. Aud: ((various voices))
2. UP: ((stood up and then shouted)) LAZIM YAGDIM ISTQALTU MIN ALMAJLIS
3. obligate submit resignation from parliament
4. SHOULD SUBMIT HIS RESIGNATION FROM THE PARLIAMENT
5. ITL3 MIN HOWN Get out from here PARLIAMENT GET OUT OF HERE
6. MPs: ((two Members of Parliament to take the UP outside the parliament))
7. CP: ya YAHYA YAHYA (2.0) OG3OD YA YAHYA PRT NAME NAME sit down PRT NAME Ya Yahya Yahya (2.0) sit down ya Yahya
8. CP: i7ki ya Bassam i7ki Speak PRT NAME speak Speak ya Bassam speak
9. CS: sa3adat arrais your excellency chairperson your excellency
10. UP: ((UP struggles with the two MPs to heckle the CS again)) wallah ma ra7 I swear to god I not will I swear to god I will not
11. Axaliah ye7ki wana mawjood hon let him speak I present here let him speak when I’m present here
12. CP: YA YAHYA PRT NAME Ya Yahya
13. UP: wallah itha bi3’lat Kaman ra7 a3mal akthar min almarah almathya I swear god if he mistake once more I will do more than previous time I swear to god if he makes an offence I will do more than the previous time
14. MP: ya rajal itwakallah 3a allah
PRT man have faith in god

ya man have faith in god

15. Aud: ((various voices))

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHoMnQAJTM0

28

1. CS: ta7t qubat majlis alnawab wa alshmagh alahmar hwa ramz lilordonieen
   Under dome parliament MPs and the red scarf is
   the figure for Jordanians
   Under the dome of the parliament the Jordanian red
   Keffiya scarf is a figure for the Jordanians

2. UP1: ya khalas khalas
   PRT enough enough
   oh this is enough this is enough

3. CS: wojood qwat aldarak fee ( ) war ado
   alordonieen min khilal
   present forces gendarmerine in responded the
   Jordanians through
   The presence of the Gendarmerie forces in( )
   and the Jordanians responded through

4. alwqoof janban illa janb mawkib quwat aldarak
   standing next to each other during the martyrdom
   forces of gendarmerie
   standing next to each other during a martyrdom of
   the gendarmerie forces

5. UP2: ya sheikh
   PRT NAME
   Ya Sheikh

6. MP: khaleeh yakmil 7adeetho i3teeh dagega
   Let him continue speech give him minute
   Let him continue his speech give him a minute

7. CP: ya akhwan itha sama7to arjo i7tiram alwaqt 3ashan
   kol wa7ad yakhod
   PRT brothers if you please please respect time so
   as all of us take a chance
   ya brothers if you please please respect the time
   so as all of us take the

8. Alforsa lay7ki ( ) ostath Ibrahim Alshahahneh
   arjo an ta7tarim alwaqt
   chance to speak Mr NAME NAME please
   respect time
the chance to speak Sir Ibrahim Alshahahneh please
respect time

9. itha sama?et
if you please

DELETED FROM YOUTUBE

29

?tilfizyo:n it dˤal mawjoda
Excellency CP I wish only camera TV PRT
PRT present
Your Excellency I wish only the national television
camera to be present

2. Lʔnu sṢadat ?ra?i:s kol wahed ġndo kamara:
bisaltʔha ġla ġhalo
Because excellency CP every one has camera on
himself
your Excellency because some (MPs) have a focused
camera on themselves

3. hata ḥaljan saṢadet ?ra?i:s
Even to the committee your excellency

4. CP tʔayeb
Okay

5. UP: ( )

6. CS: hða ?lkla:m kolu tandˤiːr ḥaki ili ḥakah fawaz
saḥḥ bihaḏa ?lganuːn
This talk is useless PRT talk PRT talk NAME correct
in this law This talk is useless what Fawaz
talked about is correct for the law

7. CS: (2.0)

8. CP: ya Yahya (1.0)
PRT NAME
ya Yahya (1.0)

9. CS: sṢadat ?rrʔi:s (1.0) saṢadat ?rrʔi:s
excellency CP excellency CP
Your excellency (1.0) your excellency

10. CS: SṢa-
exc
Your-

11. CP: ya Yahya (.) tfadal xalis =
PRTNAME (.) you may finish
ya Yahya (.) please finish
12. CS: = saʕadat- ?la yegt?aʕna min jalsa (    ) min hað
?lqanu:n a: wala:
   excellency god PRT from session from this
law PRT god
   Your- God’s on this session (    ) to this
legislation PRTgod
13. CS: sʕadat ?rr?i:s
   Excellency CP
   Your excellency
14. CP: Ya Yahya
   PRT Yahya
   Ya Yahya
15. CS: haða haða haða ?lqanu:n
   this this this law/legislation
   This this this law/ legislation
16. CP: [toʃ?ab ?ya moʃdaxla [?lak min maḥdr] [haða
?l?jimaʕ ] ya Yahya
deletion any participation you from agenda this
meeting PRT NAME
   your participation will be removed from minutes of this
meeting Yahya
17. UP: [ʔḥtarim ħalak ] [ʔḥtarim ħalak] [( )]
   respect yourself respect yourself
   [respect yourself ] [respect yourself ]
18. UP: (    )
19. CP: ya Yahya
   PRT Yahay
   ya Yahya
20. UP: (    )
21. CP: Yahya
   NAME
   Yahya
22. UP: ?nta bidafeʕ Sän ?yʃ↑
you defend for what
   What are you defending
23. UP: [ bidafeʕ Sän matha ] ((FORMAL ARABIC TALK))
   Defend for what
   What are you defending?
24. CP: [((knocks with the gravel)) ]
25. UP: [ (    ) ]
26. CS: [sʕadat ?rr?i:s]
   excellency CP
   your excellency
27. CP: [ ((knocks with the gravel ))
28. CS: [sʕadat ?raʔi:s]
   excellency CP
Your excellency

29. CP: Ya Yahya =
PRT Yahya
Ya Yahya =

30. CS: =nifṭaḥ ḥalabat muṣʿaraḍa: sḥadat ?rr?i:s
open arena wrestling excellency CP
should we establish a wrestling arena your excellency

31. CP: ya Yahya xali ḥadiḵt iḏtkramit bidk tṣmal modaxla ḍa
PRT NAME let talk your if you please need make
intervention on the subject
ya Yahya let your speech if you please if you make an
intervention to subject

open arena wrestling here excellency CP
should we establish a wrestling arena your excellency

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MU4h7X5GU94

30

Transcript starts at 0.55 secs

PRT this decision committee aaa brothers please
yṣni this is a committee decision aaa colleagues [ please

2. UP: [ ( )

3. CP: [ ya sit Hind ]
PRT PRT NAME
Ya sit Hind

4. [ ( ) ]

5. CP: [ ((rings the bell))

6. MP: [ ( ) ]

7. CP: [ ya sit Hind ?rjuki]
PRT PRT Hind please
ya sit Hind please

8. UP: [ ( ) ]

colleagues this decision committee listen me
[colleagues this is a committee decision ] listen
to me

10. UP: [ ]

PRT PRT not like not like colleagues
ya ?xi not like this not like this colleagues

12. UP2: [ ( ) ]
13. Aud: ((inaudible voices))
14. UP1: ?ttaswi:t ʕla fasʔlu min ?lmajlis [ ( ) ]
vote on suspending him from the parliament
The Voting for suspending him from the parliament

15. UP2: [ haða yajib fasʔlu min ?ʃʕb ]
?luruni
this must be suspended from Jordanian
citizenship
(he) must be suspended from the Jordanian
citizenship

16. UP1: ( )
17. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
18. CP: ((rings the bell))
19. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
20. CP: ?zumla ?rjuku ya mhmad mhmad ?g3ud ya mhmad
?ntaheina
colleagues please PRT NAME (x2) sit PRT Mohammad
did it for
colleagues plase ya Mohmmad sit (down) Mohammad we
had enough from

21. min ?lmawduːʕ
the subject

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLqNn_VyD3Q

no there any respect for MP in this parliament
there is no respect for MP in this parliament

2. UP: ihna gaʃdiːn [ ( ) ]
we sitting
we are here [ ( ) ]

3. Aud: [ (scream) ( ) ]

4. UP: ( )

5. CP: [ ?ostað Yahya iða samḥt ] (1.0) tayb
Mr NAME if excuse me okay
[Mr Yahya if your please ] (1.0) okay

6. CP: ya Yahya
PRT NAME
ya Yahya

7. UP: (   )
8. CP: [ iđa fi jay ċneďam haďa ?lbayan xalī:h laljalsa ?.getService= [ if there anything on this proposal leave for next session [if there is anything on the system leave this report for next session=]
9. CS: =?mrak ya sidi your order PRT PRT =yes sir ya sidi
10. UP: ya sidi ma bsir ?lḥaki haďa PRT PRT not acceptable talk this this talk is unacceptable
12. CA: [ ( )] kitab dawlat ra?i:s ?lwozra] raqam 10163 tari:x 8/3/2015 ( ) article state President minister number date [ ( )] Prime Minister’s article number 10163 date on 3/08/2015 ( )
13. UP: [ ( )]
14. UP: yaxi wahed ?la PRT one is Allah yaxi (say) Allah is one ((demand to believe that Allah is one))
15. CP: taffle ostaď Bssam You may Mr NAME You may (speak) Mr Bassam
16. UP: (   )
17. CP: [ momkin tijlis maka:nk ya Nedal] [possible sit place you PRT NAME] [ Can you sit (down) ya Nedal ]
18. UP: ma bišizi:r ?lḥaki haďa= not acceptable talk this this talk is unacceptable=
19. CP: =la bišizi:r ?lḥaki haďa Not acceptable talk this =No this is acceptable
20. UP: [ ( )]
21. CP: [ momkin tijjles makank possible sit in your place [ can you s]it down
22. UP: ma bišizi:r = not acceptable It is unacceptable=
23. CP: =momkin tijlis makank
   possible to sit in your place
   **is it possible you sit down**
24. UP: ehna kol [(               )
   We are [(                  )
25. CP: [ ma bit?l3lak haða ?1klam xala- ma
   bit?l3lak haða ?1klam]
   No have the right this talk   PRT no have the
   right this talk
   [ you don’t have right to say this you don’t
   have right to say this]
26. CP: tfdˁal ax Bassam
   you may PRT NAME
   you may (speak) ax Bassam
27. UP: ibthtarim- (                  )
   respect
   (you should) respect- (            )
   ?nak na?b
   Thank you I respect all colleagues but you respect
   MP
   **Thank you I respect all colleagues but you (should)
   respect yourself MP**
29. UP: ma biˤi:r ?lhaky haða
   not acceptable talk this
   **it is unacceptable**
30. CS: lw samḥt ya dawalt ?rr?i:s
   excuse me PRT state President
   **excuse me ya your excellency**
31. CS: [ man men ?zomolaa ]
   Who of colleagues
   **[who of the colleagues]**
32. UP: [ ʃo hʃyle (                )]
   what PRT
   what hʃyle

**https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jyKIvuAuBg**

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   (2.0)
   what given PRT the MP which talked before a bit
   **what the MP talked about before a bit**
2. UP1: haðha zami:lak=
   this colleagues yours
this is your colleague

3. CS: =la ʕelaqata li: laa ʕelaqa li ?oskot law samhy
xalini akamil ?jlis mkanak
not related me not related me shut up excuse me
let me finish sit your place
this is not related to me (x2) shut up excuse me
let me finish sit (down)

4. xalini ?kmil ?jlis mkanak
5. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
Let me continue your excellency
Let me continue your excellency

7. CP: [ ?rju: ]
8. CP: ?an yatasiʕ sadrna ?la bʕdґna wanasmaʕ
bʕdґna wahaða
I will say I will repeat it now
I will say I will repeat it now
10. UP2: =kariruh yalla xalina nismaʕ
repeat PRT let us listen to it
repeat it yallah let us listen to it

11. CS: ((turn his face backwards toward the intruder))
12. CS: law samaht law samahet Tamir ?na ( ) ?smaʕ
sleimam ?smaʕ
excuse me excuse me NAME I listen
NAME listen
excuse me excuse me Tamit
Sulieman listen

13. UP2: tfdal tfdal ( )
you may you may
please please
14. CP: ?nki
speak
15. CS: wʔna la ?guluha wala ?gulu beimaʔdґal ?defaʕ ʕan
ʔnafs liʔnnani
and I not say it and not say sake defend
from myself because
and I don’t say it and I don’t say it for the
sake of defending myself because
16. lastu fi mawdґiʕ ?ldifaʕ ʕan ?lnafs
not in situation defend myself
I’m not in a situation to defend myself
subject of defending for the self
for the subject of defending myself
17. UP3: la bidak ?dafiʕ ʕan ?lʕjaʔr bidak tiɣlat?
[ʕalʕshaʔr ( )]
not should you defend for the tribes you want to swear at tribes
no you should to defend the tribes you want to swear at tribes

18. CS: [?ihd? ?g⪗od]
calm sit
[calm (down) sit (down)]

19. CS: ?G⪗OD=
sit
sit [down]

20. UP3: ?na ma [bag⪗od]
I not sit
I do not sit (down)

21. CS:
[?god ]
sit
[sit down]

22. UP3: [( )]

23. CS: [( ) ] mhmad [?lgatatʃa ʃindma qal ]
NAME alqatatsheh when he said
Mohammad Alqatatsheh when he said

24. UP3: [( ) ]

25. UP3: lamma tiyfat? ʃalʃaʃar ( )]
when you swear to the tribes
when you swear to the tribes

26. CS: [ ?na ma ɿlet?ʃ]
I not swear
[I did not swear ]

listen listen calm and listen
listen listen = calm (down) and listen

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdWNPKLEYB4

33

Starts: 01:04sec

Yahya
Speaker that next PRT NAME NAME you may NAME
the next speaker Yahya Alsoud you may (speak)
Yahya

in the name of Allah the most merciful the most kind (.) your excellency

3. ?na basjil ġtabi wa
   I express my regret and

4. [tahafodi ġariasa ?ljali:la bitrk ?zoml?] reservation on the presidency venerable
   reservation to the venerable presidency (CP)

5. H: [( ) ]

6. CS: ya Hind ?la [yxiliki] ((looks at heckler))
   PRT Name Allah let you
   ya Hind   for god’s sake

7. H: [( )]

8. CS: [?lislami:n mawju:di:n ya Hind
   Islamists present   PRT NAME
   the Islamists are present ya Hind

9. H: [( )] [?lislami:n mawju:di:n] ( ) [ θawra
   kaðaba] (((H stood up))
   Islamists present   revolution lying
   [( ) the Islamists are present( ) and
   this revolution is fake

10. CP: [ xalas ya Hind]
    enough PRT NAME
    enough ya Hind

11. CP: [ya Hind (. ) ya Hind ] ya ?oxt Hind
    PRT NAME PRT NAME PRT NAME PRT NAME
    ya Hind ya Hind ya Hind

12. H: ma tzawid ʕalqawmia ?lʕarabia ... (1.0)
    do not add further information on the Arabian
    nationalism

13. CS: [Sʕadet ?rr?i:s]
    excellency CP
    [your excellency]

    approaches UP))
    when were   in prisons what do
    when they were in prison what did you do

15. CS: [Sʕadet] ?ra?i:s
    excellency CP
    your excellency

16. ya Hind ?ogoʕdi ya Hind   ((CS looks at H &
    waves his arm))
    PRT NAME sit PRT NAME
    ya Hind sit (down) ya HIND

17. CP: ?ogʕod ya ?ʔki ya Yahya
sit PRT speak PRT NAME
sit (down) speak ya Yahya

18. CS: [ʔogʕdi ya Hind
sit PRT NAME
sit (down) ya Hind

19. H: [inaudible…]

20. CS: OGΌD:I ((slamming his hand on the
desk roughly))
sit
sit down (feminine)

21. H: Lama ʔnoʔtʔo fi esjoon jo saweit ya Zakarya aʃeix
when put in prison what did PRT NAME NAME
when they were put in prison what did you do ya Zakariah ʔlsheix

22. CP: ya (2.0) ((CS changes body posture to talk to
H))
PRT
ya (2.0)

23. H: ʔlislам foːg rasak (. ) ʔlislам foːg rasak
islam above head yours islam above head yours
Islam is above your head (. ) islam is above your head

24. CP: ya Hind=
PRT
ya Hind

25. H: =ʔlʔslam ʕɾasi wrasak
islam head me and head yours
=islam is above my head and your head

26. CP: [ya (1.0) ya ʔoxt Hind ya Hind]
PRT
PRT
PRT
NAME
PRT
Hind
[Ya (1.0) ya ʔoxt Hind ya Hind]

27. H: [( )] fi ʔsjuːn
In prisons
[( )] in prisons

28. CP: bʕdiːn ya Hind ʕad ma ʰkeity [xalasʕ wslat
PRT
PRT
NAME
PRT
you talked enough acknowledged
bʕdiːn ya Hind ʕad you spoke enough it is
acknowledged

29. H: [(ʕеeb halhaki (1.0)
shame this talk
this is shame (1.0)

30. CP: xalasʕ saktnahom ʔogʕdi=
enough silenced then sit
enough we silenced them sit (down)

31. =ʕеib
shame
The first verse in Quran is Surat “Alfaitha”. In daily prayers, Muslims often recite Fatiha. However, Muslims also use reciting Fatiha when in obituary.
8. AUD: ((inaudible voices))

   ?ləi yali:h (2.0)
   excuse me Mr Ahmad Aljaloudi
   which after
   excuse me Mr Ahmad Aljaloudi
   the next (speaker)

10. la ( ) ?ssiyid Ahmad aljaloudi
    not Mr NAME NAME
    no Mr Ahmad Aljaloudi

   CUT in video

11. CS: ċiuhud su:?
    witness false
    you are evil witnesses

12. CP: ( )

13. CS: ċiuhud su:?=witnesses evil
    you are evil witnesses

14. UP: = inta ( )
    you

15. CS: wallahi ?nakom ċiuhud su:??
    Allah you are witness false
    I swear to god that you are evil witnesses

16. UP: ?uskut
    Shut up

    Allah the greatests you (plural) are witnesses false
    I swear to god that you are evil witnesses

18. CP: [ ċomola? ]
    colleagues
    [ colleagues]

19. CS: ( )

20. UP: ( )

    ?ltawsiyat ?lmawjouda
    I will write recommendations available obliged to
    write the recommendations available
    I will write the registered recommendations I’m
    obliged to write the registered recommendations

22. AUD: ((inaudible voices))

23. CP: law samahtu (2.0) ya ċassaf law samahtu ?na
    excuse me PRT NAME excuse me
    excuse me (2.0) ya Assaf excuse me

END OF VIDEO
1. UP: ma behtrim ?na?eb wolhkoma gašd btedʾhk ċEIB
Not respect MP and the government is laughing
shame
you do not respect MPs and the government is
laughing SHAME

2. UP: haša ?lmawdʾooʃ ( ) min wazi:r ?ddaxlia ( )
this subject
from minister of interior
this topic ( ) from the minister of interior ( )

3. UP: [ċeeb ?lḥaksi ] haš
Shame talk this
[This talk is ] shame

4. CP: [lw samḥt]
excuse me
[ excuse me ]

5. UP: [sˤawir ?lʔam] sˤawir ?lʔam ( )
record the media record the media
[media record it ] media record it ( )

6. CP: [lw samḥt]
excuse me
[excuse me ]

7. CP: Abo Abo Haditha=
PRT PRT NAME
Abo Abo Haiditha=

8. UP: =moʃ ċeeb ?lḥaksi haš
not shame this talk
=Isn’t it shame to say this

9. UP: ( )

10. CP: [ lw samḥt lw samḥt
excuse me excuse me
[ excuse me excuse me

11. UP: ( [ ])

tislm
[please NAME ] you (singular) respect
the internal regulations thanks
[please Abu Haiditha] respect the
internal regulations thanks

13. UP: ((sits down))

14. AUD: ( )
15. CP: ?oskot ya Mḥmd ?nta
       shut up NAME you
       shut up Mohammad
16. MP: (                         )
17. CP: kamil ya Naif kamil ya Naif
       Continue PRT NAME continue PRT NAME
       Continue ya Naif continue ya Naif
Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKU3rLfc2WQ

       I said by rights civil that related education by right civil
       I said by the civil right that are related to education with the civil rights
2. UP: [ (                         ) ((waving with is hands as he speaks))]  
3. CS: ?li btitʕlaq bitʕli:m [wa besʕha besʕha]
       that related to education and to health health
       that is related to education and to health health
4. UP: [ (                         ) ]  
5. UP: (                         )  
6. CS: [ ya ] ya axi
       PRT PRT PRT
       ya ya axi
7. UP: (                         ) ((leaves his seat and exists the parliament))
       colleague colleagues PRT colleagues PRT NAME NAME
       colleague colleagues ya colleagues ya Samil Alrawashdeh ya MḥMAD
9. CP: [ MḥMAD]
       NAME
       [MḥMAD]
10. UP: [ haʃa mardu:d ʕleik ?lklam haʃa
        this back on you the talk this
        this talk is back to you
11. CP: Mḥmad xalihk mʕi=
       Mḥmad let you with me
Mhmad keep up with me

12. CS: =haða ?lkla:m mardu:d ℓleik ( ) ℓeib ℓleik

tīhkī [ ?lkllam haða ]
this talk back on you shame shame
say talk this
this talk is back to you shame shame to
say talk like this

13. CP: [ ya Mhmad ]
PRT Mhmad
[ ya Mhmad ]

Let me finish talk let me finish talk
Let me finish my speak let me finish my speech

15. CP: ?hki mṢi ma titnawʃ mṢ zumlaʔk
talk to me not argue your colleagues
talk to me do not argue your colleagues

?lmadaniya ya jamaʃa
Your excellency I said PRT with the right
civil PRT guys
Your excellency I said ?loma with the civil
rights ya guys

17. Huqu:qhom bnihkī ya jamaʃa ḥuqu:qhum ḥuqu:qhum ( )
Rights their I said PRT guys rights their
their rights I said their PRT guys their rights
their rights

18. UP: haða muʃ mawḍuʃk
this not your topic
this is not your topic

19. CS: mawḍuʃk

20. CP: ?ntaha ya mhmad waqtak
over PRT Mohammad time
your time is over Mohammad

21. UP: haða muʃ mawḍuʃu
this not your topic
this is not your topic

colleague NAME please go ahead
colleague Alqatatsheh please go ahead

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uDS6vGGSUtY
1. AUD: ((various voices))
2. AUD: wein nuwab ?rbid wein nuwab ?rbid
   where MPs CITY where MPs CITY
   Where are Irbids MPs where are Irbids MPs
3. UP: talabna min rais majlis alnawab (   )
   al7izib al?slami
   we asked from chairperson MPs
   movement party
   we have asked the [chairman of parliament (   ) Islamic party
4. CP: [law samahto azzomlaa]
   [excuse me collegues]
5. UP: [laqad qam 3adad min] alnwab alda3meen
   PRT      did group of MPs supporting
   [a group of honourable MPs] have supported
6. CP: law sama7to law sam7to
   excuse me excuse me
7. UP: laqad qam 3adad min alnwab almohtrameen bida3mina
   PRT did group of MPs respected to
   support us
   honourable MPs have supported and stood up with
   us
8. UP: wein nawab irbid
   Where MPs (city)
   where are Irbid
9. AUD: ((various voices))
10. CP: alokhwa azzomlaa fi alshorfa ana sathtar an arfa3
      aljalsa
      brothers colleagues in gallery I obliged to
      suspend the session
      brothers in the gallery I will be obliged to
      suspend the session
11. CP: waokhli alsurfa
      evacuate the gallery
      and evacuate the gallery
12. ana sathtar an arfa3 aljalsa wokhli alshurfa
    I obliged to suspend the session evacuate the gallery
    I will be forced to expel the session and
    evacuate the gallery
13. ((various voices))
14. AUD: ((clapping))
15. AUD: rafa3 aljalsa rafa3 aljalsa
    Suspended the session suspended the session
    he suspended the session he suspended the session
16. AUD: bravo raf3 aljalsa
bravo suspended the session
bravo he suspended the session

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=433yJZNvZps

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   begin with information result contact with bodies
   official Iraqi
   I begin (.) with a piece of information in to contact
   with Iraqi authorities

2. CS: waxasatn wazi:r ?lxarijiya (.) kalmnī ẓlhatif (.)
   qabil sa?a taqribn
   specially minister foreign
   spoke me phone
   ago hour approximately
   specially the foreign minister (.) he talked to me
   over the phone (.) approximately an hour ago

3. CS: (.) waqadm ?Ṣti∂ar(.
   offered apology
   (.) and he apologised (.)

4. H: mi:n ho =
   Who he
   who is he=

5. CS: = ?lňhqoma ?lňraqiya
   government Iraqi
   the Iraqi’s government

6. CS: ((looks to his colleague ‘interior minister’))
7. H: [ booo] ((expression of disagreement))
8. CS: [ wazi:r ?lxarijiya ?lňraqi
   minister foreign Iraqi
   [The Iraqi foreign minister

9. H: ʃo bidu yokl
   What want eat?
   what is he going to take?

10. CS: ma ẓindî jwaytafasi:l bidi ?ḥkeha
    ((looks at UP, Aud, then at CP))
    PRT have some details want to speak
    ma I have some details to tell

11. Aud: ( )

12. CP: momkin tismaʃuː (3.0)
    can you (pluralal) listen
    can you listen ‹ (3.0)

13. CP: ((rings the bell)) ?nsaf (1.0) ?nsaf (.) ?nsaf ?hda?i

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((rings the bell)) insaf (1.0) insaf (.) insaf calm down

Retrieved from YouTube:  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ua7kGeBP8A

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1. UPs: ((two MPs raise a poster written on it “ citizens call for Winter time”))
2. CS: bism allah arahman arahim (3.0) saidi arrais (6.0)
   In name god the merciful the kind your excellency
   In the name of Allah the most merciful the most kind your excellency
3. UPs: ((MPs put down the poster))
4. CS: arjo an obayin (2.0) anaho wab3d an taslmna
   muthkirata majlisikom
   please to clarify PRT after we received memorandum your parliament
5. please I clarify that after we receieved the memorandum from this parliament

Retrieved from YouTube:  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mNumZrjlho

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   ?makinkom
   dear colleagues MPs noble please sit at your seats
   dear colleagues and noble MPs please take your seats
2. CP: hta tabd?  [ ?ljalsa
to begin the session
to begin the [ session
3. UP:  [ ( ) bigoly bigoly ?l?min wel?man ?hm
   min ( )
   Tell me tell me security and safety is important than
   [ ( )they tell me that security and safety is important than( )
4. UP: ?wad ?ltanaʃat
   NAME NAME
   Awad Altanashat
5. UP: (3.0)
6. CP: ya ?bu (1.5) lw samhtom
   PRT PRT excuse me (plural)
   ya ?bu (1.5) excuse me
7. UP: (        ) bitnadi ʕlyh
    call on him
    (        ) call at him
8. AM: ?nsaf
    NAME
    Insaf
    bafaʕilha
    Now I want to speak PRT PRT NAME if I don’t speak
    fire it up
    Now I want to speak ya ?bo Laith if I don’t
    speak I burst
10. UP: ?lak tahet ?lqoba
    for you under the dome
    for you in the parliament
    ?zomla? ]
    please you maintain on silence dear
    colleagues
    please maintain silence [dear
    colleagues ]
12. UP: [leesh
    ?lhodoo2   ]
    why silence
    [why silence   ]
    [Laith
    why silence what safety and security PRT PRT
    Laith
    why silence what is safety and security ya ?bo
    Laith
14. CP: [ ma bijuːz
    Not accepted
    [ it is
    unacceptable
15. CP: [(  ) nerfaʕ sʕotna
    bihaʔhi ?tariːga   ]
    raise our voice in
    this way
    [(  ) raise our voice in
    this way   ]
   PRT security and safety PRT security and safety
   people Ma’an
   [ security and safety  security and safety ( )
   people of Ma’an]
17. CP: ( ) qabil ?n tabd? ?ljalsa
   before PRT begin the session
   ( ) before ?n the session begins
18. UP: Mʕan madina motamrida saret ?ddwla t?maʕatha
   ?ddwla ?3t?athom
   Mʕan city rebel city PRT government supports it
   the government support
   Maan is a rebel city the government supports it
   the government supports it
   land the royal court hired their sons before us
   [land the royal court hired their sons before us]
20. CP: [ lw samhti: ( ) ] haʔa ?lklam
   excuse me this talk
   [ excuse me ( ) ] this talk
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBAKQqFz9H4
his time and effort to ministry of water PRT give to PRT give to his
time and his effort to the ministry of water as much as he gave his

6. UP: [ heey ( ) ]
   PRT
   hey

7. CP: limasla7atihi alxasa 3la aldwar alsabi3 fahal
   yusla7 hatha alwazeer fi mithl
   benefit personal on roundabout seventh useful
   this minister in
   Personal benefit on the seventh roundabout so is
   this minister useful in

8. hathihi althroof al?stithna?ya

9. CS: oreed ?an okamil 3taratho alzomola? alnawab ma
   ba3rfe? la sabeit aldeen
   need PRT continue contradict colleagues not know
   why I did not swear
   I need to continue colleagues you contradict and
   I don’t know why I did not swear

10. wala shrabit xamir walla kafarit 3aleesh bitsay7o
    ( )
    and did not drink wine and did not disbelieve why
    do you shout ( )
    and I did not drink wine and I did not disbelieve
    why do you shout then

11. shokran saidi arais
    thank you your excellency

12. CP: khalas ya fawaz shokran
    That’s enough PRT NAME thank you
    That’s enough ya Fawaz thank you

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-lQmlx_dXw
I want speak
I want to speak

5. MP: ?hki ġlstand
speak on the podium

Speak from the podium

6. UP: ( ) meøjl ma biday
like I want
    as I want to

7. CP: Ahmad Ahmad=
NAME NAME
Ahmad Ahmad

8. UP: =ma bij[u:z tihki] m§y ( )
not acceptable talk with me

It is [ unacceptable to speak] to me like this

9. CP: [Ahmad]

10. CP: m§lyf ?trja:k =
please I beg you
Please I beg you=

11. UP: =ma biju:z
not acceptable
It is unacceptable

12. CP: Ahmad tf[ dal
NAME you may
Ahmad please (leave the podium)

13. UP: [ ( )

14. CP: Ahmad tfdal
NAME you may
Ahmad please (leave the podium)

15. CP: [Ahmad tfdal Ahmad tfdal]
NAME you may NAME you may
Ahmad please Ahmad please

16. UP: [ ( )

17. CP: [ya ?xy ?tfdal ya Ahmad ya Ahmad ?tfdal
     PRT PRT you may NAME PRT NAME you may
     ya ?xy Ahmad ya Ahmad ya Ahmad please

18. UP: [ ( )

19. CP: Ahmad ?tfdal
NAME you may
Ahmad please

20. UP: ( ( ) ((walks away from the podium))

21. CP: Ahmad tfdal
NAME you may
Ahmad please

22. CP: dawlat ra?i:s ?lwozara:
state President minister
Your excellency
1. CP: 
la bʃawrko hassa bʃd ma txlsʔu: ( ) lʔnu: ?nahyna ( ) ?lmotahdiʔi:n
Not consult you now after you finish ( ) because we finished the speaker
No I will consult you now after you finish because we ceased the speakers

2. CP: 
wetgulu ?ktafia(.n)bkalam maktu:b ʔata tʔrh ma ladykom min moqtraha:t
You say enough talk written so I propose what you have PRT proposals
then you say we had enough in a written form so I give you a proposals

3. UP: 
sʕadat ?raʔi:s fi moq [ taraḥ
your excellency there is a proposal

4. CP: 
[ said
[ Mr

5. CP: 
Fawaz ?zob ( )
NAME NAME
Fawaz Alzoubi ( )

6. UP: 
<la fi moqtaraḥ ya ahmad keif la>
not there proposal PRT NAME why not
<no there is a proposal ya Ahmad why no>

7. CP: 
( )

8. UP: 
fi moqtaraḥ qodim
there proposal submitted
a proposal has been submitted

9. Aud: 
( )

10. CP: 
excuse me (plural) (.) please you respect the internal regulations
Excuse me please I hope that you respect the internal regulations =

11. UP: 
=sʕadat ?raʔis fi moqtaraḥ ( )=
Your excellency there proposal
=your excellency there is a proposal

12. CP: 
=nʕam fi ʕedet moqtaraḥat satʔrahha bitasʔwi:t ((in sharp tone)) (1.0)
Yes there some proposal will give throughvoting
=yes there are some proposal I will give to you through voting

13. CP: [sat?raha] will propose I will give to you

14. UP [tasqot? ha] ḍihi: ?lhokoma Fall this government
   I hope this government collapses

15. UP got? haḍihi ?lhokoma Fall this government
   I hope this government collapses

16. CP: [ ya] PRT [Ya] PRT

17. UP [ tas] qot? haḍihi ?lhokoma Fall this government
   I hope this government collapses

18. MP: Yahya NAME yahya

19. CP: ya Yahya PRT NAME ya Yahya

20. MP: ehh Ehh

21. CP: Yahya ((cough)) NAME Yahya

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7dp9ZgENgIo
this is against the regulations there is not ( )

5. CP: [xalasº ( ) ?og¢od

   enough sit

   enough ( ) sit down

6. UP: [la yojad nisa:b ] ma basºwit m¢ali ?ra?i:s

   not available quorum not vote excellency

   President

   there is no quorum I will not vote your excellency

7. CP: [( )]

8. CP: < xalasº xalasº xalasº>

   enough enough enough

   <enough enough enough>

9. UP: haดา qanu:n muwa:zna ?na t¢albt mink noqt¢it

   niδam

   this law arbitrage I demnd from you

   system point

   this is an arbitrage law I demanded from you a system point

10. UP: bagolak ma fi nesºab=

    say no there quorum

    I’m telling you there is no quorum=

11. CP: = xalasº hkeit ?li ¢indk

    enough you said PRT have

    = okay you made ?li your point

12. UP: ¢id ya sidi ¢id =

    count PRT PRT count

    coun ya sidi count t=

13. CP: = xalasº hkeit ?li ¢indk

    enough you said what PRT have

    = enough you made your point

14. UP: ¢id ya sidi ¢id

    count PRTsir

15. CP: hkeit ?li ¢indk

    you said PRT have

    you made ?li your point

16. CP: ?hki

    speak

17. UP: ( )

18. CP: ( ) kmil ya (2.0)

    continue PRT

    continue ya (2.0)


    depending on the system increasing rates

    taking into consideration the system of increasing the rates

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKr0wZsjMeY
1. CS: am alfeen wa ithna3ish wa alfeen wathata3esh i3tooh tisa3ta3esh milyar year two thousand and twelve and two thousand and thirteen gave him nineteen billions

In two thousand and twelve and two thousand and thirteen they gave him nineteen billions

2. CS: dollar (.) a3too mosri tisa3ta3esh milyar dollar jaboo alsisi (1.0) a3to alsis dollar gave to NAME nineteen billion dollars brought NAME gave NAME dollar they gave Morsi nineteen billion dollars they brought Alsisi they Alsis

3. CS: a3to alsis arba3ta3esh millyar dollars (.) hathool nafshom 7olfa?na they gave NAME fourteen billion dollars these allies they gave Asisi fourteen billion dollar these are allies

4. UP: hatha alkalam mosh sa7i7 this talk not true this is not true

5. Aud: ((various voices))

6. UP: ( ) 3eeb shame

7. CP: ya akhwan ya ( ) ya ahmad alragid PRT brothers PRT PRT NAME NAME

Ya brothers ya ya Ahamd Alragid

8. CP: ya akhwan zameel yata7adath bi ( ) bi haqo wa lam yatahadath wa PRT brothers colleague speaks about his right and not talk about ya brothers our colleague talks about his right and does not talk about

9. lam yoqati3 a7ad minkom (.) kamil ya talib not interrupt somebody of you continue PRT NAME do not interrupt somebody of you continue ya Talib

10. CS: jabo mursi jabu mursi wa3tooh tisa3ta3esh milyar lama aja hoo ma a3too brought NAME brought and gave him nineteen billion when he appointed they not give they brough Mursi and gave him nineteen billion dollars when he was appointed

11. tisa3 ta3esh milya kan tarakoo bala masari
nineteen billion dollars PRT leave him Mursi
nineteen billion dollars kan leave him Mursi

12. CS: ayna na7no [ ayna na7no ayna]
Where are we where are we

13. UP: [ ( )]

14. UP: hatha tamada kitheer 3al eslam
this PRT too much to Islam
he attacked islam

15. CP: la lam yatamada 3al eslam
no not attacked Islam
No he did not attack Islam

16. UP2: sho 3alaqtu belslam ille by7kee elzalamaeh
what relation to islam what he said the man
what has that got to do with Islam

17. AUD: ((various voices))

18. CP: lam yata7adath 3an ameer almomineen ta7adath 3an
rais dawalah
he not talk as a leader he talked about a state
President
he did not talk as a leader he talked about a state
President

19. CP: kamil ya talib
continue PRT NAME
continue ya Talib

20. UP: ( [ ])

21. CP: [ ya Mustafa ] ya Mustafa
PRT NAME PRT NAME
ya Mustafa ya Mustafa

22. AUD: ((various voices))

23. CP: hatha min haq alzameel an yatahadath ama inta ama
mithil ma otee7 ilak
this is the right of colleague to talk but you
just as you talked
this is the right of the colleague to talk just as
you have the right

24. Anta mithil ma ta7adathet ( ) tfdal
you like have talked go ahead
Tariq
just as you have talked go ahead
Tariq

25. AUD: ((various voices))

26. CP: yallah ya tariq ma biseer alkalam
PRT PRT Tariq this is unacceptable
yallah ya Tariq this is unacceptable

27. UP: aya na?ab lazim yakoon wasay bi alsha3ab alordoni
( )
any MP must be a guardian of the Jordanian citizens

28. CP: la ya ahmad inta mosh wasi 3ala alsha3ab alordoni inta 3abir 3an raiyak wo not PRT NAME you not guardian on citizens Jordanian you give your point of view
no ya Ahmad you are not a guardian of Jordanian citizens you only say your point of view

29. allah yertha 3aleik ya akh ahmad doctor ahamd la tnasib 7alak
 god’s mercy on you PRT PRT NAME Dr. NAME no assign yourself
god’s mercy on you ya akh Ahmad Dr. Ahmad do not assign yourself

30. CS: ana ana ana bansa7 elle ma bistamik alkalmeh yensa7ib ansa7 asna7
 I I I I advise those who not tolerate the speech to withdraw I advise I advise I advise I advise them
I advise those who do not tolerate the speech to withdraw I advise them

31. elle ma bit7amal alkalmeh yensa7ib
those who not tolerate the speech to withdraw
those who do not tolerate the speech to withdraw

32. Aud: ((various voices))

33. CP: ya Mustafa ya Mustafa (1.0) ya Mustafa yaghi ya Mustafa
PRT NAME PRT NAME PRT NAME NAME PRT NAME
Ya’ Mustafa ya Mustafa ya Mustafa

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W1AxDQsYJyc

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1. UP: ((raises a poster written on it “gas of enemy is an occupation”))
2. CP: bas hađa qarar majlis=
PRT this decision parliament
bas this is a parliament’s decision =

3. UP: =bidi tswi:t
want voting
= I want voting

If you please voted the parliament PRT not raise banners during session
If you please [the parliament voted for] not raising posters during the session

5. UP: [ ( ) ]
6. UP: la bidi ?ʃtayl ʃla ?taswi:t
not want to work on voting
I want to work on voting
7. CP: ya (.) ya siti ?rju:ki↑
PRT PRT I beg you
ya (.) yasetti please↑
8. UP: taswi:t
voting
9. CP: ya ?xwan (.) man mʕ ʃdm rafiʕ ?lyafetʔat birafʕ
?lʔaidi
PRT brothers who agrees not raising banners hand raising
Brothers (.) who agrees with not raising banners raise your hands
10. CP: tfdali ʕaidi
there you go PRT
there you go ʕaydee
11. UP: kolhom?
all of them?
12. CP: ?rju min ?zami:la ?n tabtaʔil wa tḥṭarim qara
?lmajlis ?ʔa takrmti
Pledge the college to respect the decision of parliament if you please
I pledge to the colleague to respect the decision of the parliament if you please
13. UP: ( )
?lmajlis
If you kindly please res[pect please respect decision parliament
Kindly please respect (.) please respect the parliament’s decision
15. Aud: ( )
16. CP: ya sit Hind (2.0)
PRT Mrs NAME
ya Mrs Hind (2.0)
PRT Mrs Hind I beg you respect to decision parliament
ya Mrs Hind please respect the parliament’s decision
18. MP: ((approaches to UP and talks with her))
lysat ?lqadiya bilʔsrar
you (   ) PRT I beg you conveyed your message not issue insistence
you (   ) y temas please you conveyed your message the issue isn’t insistence

20. CP: wata'[n]od lan ?stamir filjalsa w?nti rafi'sa
lyafita' d'id qarar ?lmjlis
stubborn not continue session and you raise poster against decision parliament
stubborn I won’t continue with the session if you raise poster against the decision of the parliament

21. CP: [?da tkramti ]
If you kindly
[ if you please ]

22. UP: [ (   ) ]

23. CP: [?da-] [if you- (please)]

the majority with [hand raising if you please]

25. UP: [ (   ) ]

?lmjlis
not not please please not compete the parliament
we are not bis'dad (   ) please please don’t compete the parliament

27. CP: bi biraf'd qara ?lmjlis
to disregard decision parliament
to disregard the parliament’s decision

28. UP: [ (   ) ]

you colleague respected for you all respect and appreciation not compete
[you’re a respected colleague] and all the respect is to you don’t compete

30. CP: qarar ?lmjlis e'da samhti
decision parliament if you please
the parliament’s decision if you please

31. UP: ((talk to MP who approached to her))

32. CP: lan tastamir ?ljalsa t'alam ?nti muxalifa qanu:n qarar ?lmjlis
not proceed session as long you against law decision parliament
I won’t proceed with the session as long as you’re against the parliament’s decision
33. CP: [ ya Hind ]
   PRT NAME
   [ya Hind]
34. UP: [ (   )]
35. CP: ya sit Hind fi qarar majlis eða takramti
   PRT Mrs NAME there is a council’s decision if you
   please
   ya Mrs Hind there is a council’s decision if you
   please
36. UP: ((talk to another MP who approached her))
37. CP: Ya sit (1.0) Hind ?rju ?nla toʕt?li jalsat
   ?lmajlis
   PRTMrs (1.0) NAME please don’t disrupt the
   parliament’s session
   ya Mrs (1.0) Hind please don’t disrupt the
   parliament’s session
   samḥti
   Please don’t disrupt the parliament’s decision
   (. ) if you please
39. Aud: (   ) (3.0)
40. UP: ( [   ] )
   sawatat
   [ If you please ] the ultimate majority voted in
   the parliament
42. CP: ?laghlabia mosh- ?laghlabia
   the majority not- the majority
43. UP: ( [   ] )
44. CP: [ la ] ?na ma byer w?na sˤadiq w?na ( )
   [ no ] I don’t change and I’m honest and
   (   )
45. CP: ?ri?asa wa thtrmi ?lmjlis haða la yaju:z laki ?n
   tithdi
   The parliament and you should respect it’s
   unacceptable to challenge
46. Aud: (   )
47. UP: ((talks to MPs who approached her))
48. CP: ya Hind [afu ?leʕlam [(   ) ]
   PRT NAME look at the media [(   ) ]
49. UP: [?ltasˤweet] ?ltasˤweet ylat
   [ the voting ] the voting isn’t
   correct
50. CP: ?tasˤwi:t sah mi?a bilmja?a walmajlis yarfdˤ
   t?ariqat ?lṭi ?tˤamol biha
   the voting is correct 100 percent and the
   parliament neglects your attitude
51. Aud: (   )
52. CP:  lazim tnafoi qarar ?lmajlis ya Hind
        you have to obey the parliament’s decision

PRTNAME
you have to obey the parliament’s decision
PRTHind
53. MP:  masˁlhaft ?lurdon gabil kol haḍa [(            )
        the benefit of Jordan is more important that all
        of this
54. CP:  [  ya Hind ]
        [ PRTNAME ]
        [ PRTHind   ]
55. CP:  s?dˁt?ar yʕnif (       ) jokran
        I’m obliged to PRT
56. MP:  ((takes banner from UP))
57. CP:  (            ) Shokran
        (            ) thank you

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7obSSYTko

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1. UPs:  (( Knocking on the tables))
2. Aud:  (( Various voices))
3. CP:  ((Rings the bell)
4. UPs:  (( Knocking on the desks))
5. Aud:  ((Various voices))
6. CP:  3abdallah mosh hek alkalam
        Abdullah this is not a way to speak
7. Aud:  ((various voices))
8. CP:  law sama7et Jameel
        excuse me NAME
        excuse me Jameel =
9. PMP:  hatha alzameel alqatatshesh
        = [this is the candidate ?lqatatshesh
10. CP:  ma ra7 a3teekom ?lforsah bas lali yastahiq
11.  [ I will not offer the opportunity
        I will give the opportunity for whom he wishes

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32TkZKVw_BQ

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1. CP:  (            ) bab alneqash ]
        PRT the debate
Bab the debate

2. UP: [ ( ) ]

3. CP: etha sama7et khalina nkamil [ thfadal excuse me let us continue go ahead

4. UP: [ hathi amrekia this American this is American

5. CP: kan honalik tasweet leiqfal bab alneqash wa lan yakoon there was voting to withdraw the debate and it will not be there was voting to withdraw the debate and it will occur

6. UP2: ( ) wallahi ghair yetwasot loh 3abdallah alnsoor 3’sban I swear to god that PRT for NAME NAME forcibly I swear to god that PRT for Abdalla Alnsor is being forced

7. 3anhom wallah ghair 3asban 3ano abdallah alnsoor rakhislhom

8. UP2: ( )

9. UP3: khaleeh yakmloo
   Let him speak

10. Aud: ((various voices))

11. CP: tfadal ya akh jameel

12. UP2: ( ) arba3a wa sab3een sana 3a3ed hanaka
    Four and seventy year sitting there
    Seventy four year being there

13. Aud: ((various voices))

14. CS: shokran dawlat alrais shokran Thank you state President thank you Thank you your excellency

15. CP: shokran elak
    Thanks to you
    Thank you

16. CP: tfadal ya akh jameel
    you may PRT PRT NAME go ahead ya akh Jameel

17. CS: shokran sa3adet alrais
    Thank you your excellency
1. CP: tfdal dawlt ?ra?i:s
    Go ahead your excellency
    go ahead (speak) your excellency
2. CS: saydi ?r[ ?i:s ]
    your excellency
    your excellency
3. UP [ ( ) ] ((CS looks at H))
4. UP [ ]
5. CS: [ saydi ?rr?i:s (1.0) ?waln
    Your excellency (1.0) first of all
    [Your excellency (1.0) first of all
6. UP [ rawaḥ ?stna: lewyʃ btʃaridʃ
    PRT wait why refute?
    [rawaḥ wait why do you refute?
7. MP: xalsʃ ya nidal
    That’s enough NAME
    That’s enough Nedal
8. UP ?yʃ ?tasʃwi:t [ ( )
    what’s voting [ ( )
    what is the voting for? [ ( )
9. CP: [fi ra?i:s wozora
    PRT Prime Minister
    fee the Prime Minister
10. UP ( ) mafruʔ azomla? kolhom ( ) muʃ ?rbʃa
    xamsa
    ( ) assumed colleagues all of them ( )
    not four five
    ( ) it is assumed that all colleagues should ( )
    and not four or five
11. UP tingaya ?ʃyli=
    picking issue
    cherry picking issue=
12. CP: = twozʃ ʃlyk ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ʃam ka:n ]
    bistitʃaʃtk toktob
    Distributed to you PRT NAME before five days you managed to write
    It’s distributed to you ?x Nedal five days ago
    you’re managed to write
13. UP [ ma bisʃi:r halaki]
    Not acceptable this talk
[its unacceptable what you said]

14. CP: mulhô [atak ċlyh] comments on it

(write) your comment[ents on it]

15. UP [ ma bisċi:r] ( ) not acceptable ( ) [this is unacceptable] ( )

16. Aud: ( )

17. CP: haďa wozį़ zaman ya (.) niďal ya niďal haďa wozį़ hatha wozį़

This distributed ago PRT NAME this distributed
It’s distributed ya Nedal it’s distributed a while ago Nedal it’s been distributed

18. CP: wozį़ ċlyk fi jadwal ?țiːmaːl

distributed on you in the schedule business
it has been distributed to you on the business schedule

19. UP ( )

20. CP: ya ?x Nedal ((sharp tone))
PRT PRT NAME

ya ?x Nedal ((sharp one))

21. CP: wozį़ ċlyk haďa gbil xams ?yam ?ɓa kon ( ) bas ċla maː yabdo ma ( )
distributed on you this before five days if PRT ( ) but PRT not appears
this has been distributed to you five days ago
Nedal but it appears no

22. CP: fiku wahad yoktob mulahďa
PRT nobody writes comments

feko Nobody of you wrote any comments

23. UP ( )

24. CP: tfdal dawlat [ʔraʔiːs ]
go ahead your excellency
go ahead your excellency

25. UP [( ) ]

26. CP: [ tfdˤal dawalt araʔiːs (1.0)
go ahead your excellency
[go ahead your excellency (1.0)]

27. UP ?ḥna ?нтaxbnak ċjan tiʕtiʔi ( ) muʃ

We elected you to give ( ) not (1.0) we elected you to give ( ) not

28. UP ?rbʕa xmsa=
Four five
29. CP: = [winti ?ntaxabou:k ʕʃa:n tqdim mulaħða'atak gbil xams ?yam
You elected you to give comments before five days
= [ and they have elected to write your comments
five days ago
30. UP [ ( ) ]
31. CP: ʕʃla jadwal ?l?ʕalmal=
On the schedule business
on the business schedule
32. UP =ma bis'ʕi:r ?lhlki haða
Not acceptable talk this
It is unacceptable what you said
33. UP ( ) ma bis'ʕi:r ?lhlki haða
( ) not acceptable talk this
( ) it is unacceptable what you said
34. CP: t'yb ma:jì
Okay PRT
Okay mashi
35. UP ( )
36. CP: tfd'邝al dawlat ?ra?i:s
go ahead your excellency
37. CS: sydi ?ra?i:s
PRT the President
Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jXMZI4zobXY

50
1. CS: sʕer alnaft? ʕam ynzil (1.0) t'ab keef est'wanet
price of oil is decreasing PRT how cylinder of
gas is increasing
The oil price is decreasing t'ab how is it the
cylinder of gas is increasing
2. UP: ( ) ?loʕordièeen=
Jordanians
3. CS: =hada asso2al (.) hada assso2al
this question (.) this question
4. UP: ( )
5. CS: hada soʕal=
this question
6. UP: ( )
7. CS: ana batwajah lesaʕadet ?ldoctoor sʕadet eldoctor
bassam esmahli

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I address to your Excellency
NAME excuse me
I address to your Excellency
Bassam excuse me

8. CP: azzomlaa [ azzomlaa
Colleagues colleagues

Get out get out get out
resine resine resine

10. Aud: ((various voices))
Get out get out get out
resign resign resign

12. CP: ( )
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mJqTamHYQ-U

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1. CS: s¢adt arai:s (1.0)
your excellency
your excellency (1.0)

2. MPV: ya jama¢a jo ?lxasxsa ( )
PRT guys what privatization ( )
Ya guys what privatization ( )

3. CS: [ ha¢ra:t ?lnwab ?lmohtarami:n]
PRT MPs respected
[ respected Members of Parliament

4. UP [ ha¢ol ?hl M¢a:n ya jama¢a]
These PRT Ma’an PRT guys
[these are the people of Ma’an guys]

5. UP: hram thku bilxs¢xs¢a ?l?a:n ha¢ [ ha¢ ?bu ha¢ ]
?bnu qutil unfair talk on privatization now this father this
PRT this son murdered
it’s unfair to talk about privatization now this
father [ this abu this] murdered son

6. MPV: [y¢ni M¢a:n ( )]
PRT Ma’an ( )
[ y¢ni M¢a:n ( )]

7. CP: [ lw samhti ya: Hind lw samhti (. ) istam¢na ?la qarar M¢a:n]
excuse me PRT NAME excuse me we listened to
decision of Ma’an
[excuse me ya Hind excuse me (. ) we have listened
to the Ma’an report]

8. UP
[ hudir damu ( ) ?nta ma ʕm bitrod wla ( )]
wasted his blood ( ) you not PRT reply nor
[ has been murdered … you don’t 3am respond nor ( ) ]

9. CP:
[wa nħno muʃ ?kθr hirsan ʕla Mʕa:n ?kθar min ?bna? Mʕa:n ( )]
and we not more careful on Ma’an more than PRT
Ma’an
and we don’t take good care of Ma’an more than its people
[…]

10. UP
qutil ?bno hudir damu ( )
murdered son blood wasted ( )
his son is murdered his blood is wasted

11. CP:
tfdal mʕalī araʔi:s
go ahead your excellency

12. CS:
sʕadt ?raʔi:s=
your excellency =

13. UP
= ma rah axli wazi:r ?lmalya yhki ?za ma bixlini
?hki
Not will allow the minister of finance talk if
you not allow to talk
= I will not allow the minister of finance to
talk if you don’t let me talk

14. UP
ma rh ?xlih yhki ?za ma bitxalini ?hki
Not will allow him to talk if you not allow me to
talk
I will not allow him to talk if you don’t let me
to talk

15. CP:
Ya Hind
PRT NAME
ya Hind

16. UP
hudir dam ?bno min [ sani wa wazi:r adaxliya
biskir ?lbab fi wijhu ]
Blood wasted his son since a year and minister of
interior closes the door in his face
his son blood was wasted a year [ ago and the
minister of interior closed the case]

17. CP:
[?na balatgi fi:h lw samhti
?stmʕna ?la nawab]
I shall meet him if you please we have listened to
Ma’an’s MPs
[I shall meet him if you please we have listened
to Ma’an’s MPs]
Province and the leader of the region and to
the minister of interior
Province [ and to the (tribe) leaders of the
province and to the minister of interior
19. UP [ hudir dam ?bno wawazi:r ?ddaxliya
biskir ?lbab biwijho
His blood was wasted and the minister of interior
closes the door to his face
[His blood was wasted and the minister of
interior closes the door into his face
20. CP: [lw samḥti (          )]
excuse me (          )
[ excuse me (          )]
(          ) I want keep talking
[(          ) I will keep talking]
Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0HSNlb2opk

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I demand to resubmit the proporsal
parliamentary given
I demand to resubmit the given parliamentary
proposal
2. UP: [ sho hatha ]
what this
what is this
3. CS: [ min as-
from PRT -
from as-
4. CP: [ sawat sawat ?lmajlis Çleiha wintaheina
voted voted the parliament on it and we finished it
The parliament has voted on it and finished it
5. Aud: (          )
6. CP: dkto:r mḥmad ?lsʕudi
Dr. NAME NAME
Dr. Mohammad Alsuidi
7. Aud: (          )
8. CP: bʕdein ?ʕti
later hand in
hand it in later
9. UP: hati bo:sa ya bint hati ħita ya bint hati bo:sa ya bint
   give kiss PRT girl give PRT PRT girl give kiss PRT girl
   give me a kiss girl give me a kiss girl give me a kiss girl
10. CS: ?eiʃ ya Yahya ya bosa eish
    what PRT NAME PRT kiss what
    what is it Yahya ya what kiss
11. Aud: (                     )
12. CP: yaa ?tha samḥt ?dā samḥt (2.0) ?dā samḥt dkto:r ghazi
    PRT excuse me excuse me excuse me Dr NAME
    Yaa excuse me excuse me excuse me Dr Ghazi
13. Aud: (                     )
14. CP: dkto:r ghazi
    Dr NAME
    Dr Ghazi
15. CS: saʕadit ?rraʔi:s ya sʕadqat ?raiʔi:s (                     )
    nihki
    Your excellency PRT your excellency (                     )
    speak
    Your excellency ya your excellency speak

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rU1kiBHMHSE

53

Starts at 2:13 mins

   ih rak ?bna? ?ʃmal (.) ġn
   announced party islamic in CITY cooperation party
   northern people party
   The Islamic party of Irbid announced in cooperation with northern publics’ party
2. CS: xru:j bimasi:ra lilmuʔalba bi esʔlaʔa:t siyasiya
   Emergence a march to demand for reforms political
   to organise a march to demand for political reforms
3. CS: wamuharabt ?lfasad (.)=
   and anti-corruption
   and anti-corruption

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   ((CS looks at H))
   not important your excellency who PRT announce
   important
   =it is not important your Excellency the
   important matter is who/what has been announced ↑

5. Aud: ( )

6. CS: ;saiydi: lw samḥt txlini ?kmil;
PRT if you excuse me let me finish
   if you excuse me allow me to finish

7. CP: [ ((rings the bell)) ]

8. CS: [ xalini ?kmol lw] samḥti ((in sharp tone))
   let me finish excuse me
   [let me finish please]
   let me continue please ((in a sharp tone))

9. CP: <bdala xali ?lwazi:r yḥki (.) <bdala xali
   (CS looks at CP)
   Abdallah let the minister speak (.) Abdallah let
   the minister
   <Abdallah let the minister speak (.) Abdallah let
   the minister>

10. CP: (2.0) tfdal (.) ?smholi (1.0)
   You may allow me
   (2.0) please (.) allow me (1.0)

11. Aud: ( ) ((inaudible voices from the gallery))

   ?li bilʃurfa (.) ya
   PRT brothers (.) PRT brothers PRT the gallery (.)
   PRT in the gallery (.) PRT
   ya brothers (.) ya brothers in gallery (.) ya
   brothers ?li in the gallery (.) ya

   PRT PRT in gallery I obliged I obliged to
   suspend session and evacuate the
   ?xwan ?li in the gallery (.) I’m obliged (.) I’m
   obliged to suspend the session and evacuate the

   ?ljurfa iøa lazam (.) ?rfẓ
   gallery obliged to suspend the session and
   evacuate the galley if must
   the gallery (.) I’m obliged to suspend the
   session (.) and evacuate the gallery if necessary

   the session for ten minutes suspend the session
   the session for ten minutes I shall suspend the
   session
20. Aud: ((( )))) bravo bravo
(( (( )))) well done well done

Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VngGpwV8grQ
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WwtbrgbPdns

54

1. CS: ?na ?lmadyoniya qad irtfaʒt ila 22 milyar wa 300 milyo:n dolar mʕ
that deptness had may increased to 22 billion
300 million dollar with
The deptness had increased up to to 2.3 Trillion dollars by

2. CS: nihayet ?lʕam 2015 [ (.)
end the year 2015
end of year 2015 [ (.)

3. UP: [ ( )

ihtrim nfsek
and it reach to NAME NAME listen respect yourself
and it will rise - (. ) Yahya ?lsʕu:d listen
respect yourself

5. CP: lw [samḥt
excuse me
excu[se me

when talk Jordanians honourable
[ when honourable Jordanians speak

7. CP: [ lw samḥt
excuse me
[excuse me

8. CS: [ ?btihtarim nafsak wibtogʕod
respect yourself and sit
[respect yourself and sit down

9. CP: [ ya muʕtz muʕtz
PRT NAME NAME
[ya Mutaz Mutaz

10. UP: bisʕi:r had sʕadat ?lraʔi:sʔ=
possible this excellency CP
is this possible your excellency? =

11. CS: = bisʕi:r lama bitʕlig bidk tismʕ jawab ʕtʕliːgak
possible when comment want listen answer your comment
It is possible when you comment you will hear an answer

12. CP: la: tqatʔ Go lw samḥt
not interrupt him excuse me
do not interrupt him please

13. UP: ( ) ((stood up from his place and to speaks to CS))

14. MPV: ma ḥaka ji
not say anything
he didn’t say anything

indebtedness indebtedness indebtedness (.)

16. UP: ( )

17. CP: xala:sʕ
enough

18. CS: qad waslat (1.0) ?bu ?1bastʔat ?ugʕud mhlk
may reached PRT PRT sit your place
it has ranked (1.0) PRT PRT sit down

19. CS: [ wbla:ʃ tismʕ kaman kilma
otherwise hear another word
[ otherwise you will hear another word

20. CP: [ lw samḥt
excuse me
[ excuse me

21. CP: lw samḥt ya ?x muʕtz
excuse me brother NAME
excuse me brother Mutaz

22. CS: ?ugʕod
((pointing with his arms towards the heckler))
sit
sit down

23. CP: [ lw samḥt
Excuse me
[ excuse me

taqʕod
when talk Jordanians honourable you sit
[ when honourable Jordanians [ speak you sit down

25. CP: [ lw samḥt la txatbo
excuse not address him
[excuse me do not address him

26. CP: la: txatʔbu la txatʔbu
not address him not address him
do not address him do not address him
27. CS: ((points with his index finger towards CP))
excellency CP apologize but want continue
discussion
your excellency I apologize but it I need to
pursue my speech
29. CS: liky la yoqat?eʕni ?hd
so not interrupt me anybody
so that nobody would interrupt me

Retrieved from YouTube:  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEG4H-nd2o

55
bizzamanat habasak
parliament Amman were ( ) mayor because his
father in the past paid you
Amman parliament was mayor because his
father paid you in the past
2. ʔrb3i:n sana fahaða kalamon hatha kalamon mrfu:th
ʔnta tonagith ?na
3. Raʔi:s wozzraa nazilt ?la ?la
Prime Minister came down to to
The Prime Minister came down to to
4. CP: yahya bimowthuʕna bimawðuʕna
NAME to our subject our subject
Yahya keep to the subject keep to the subject
5. UP: ma bisi:r ( [ ] )
not acceptable
it is unacceptable
6. CP: [ mʕʕ ] bimawðuʕna bimawðuʕna (.) ya Hind ya
Hind
Please to our subject to our subject PRT NAME
PRT NAME
Please keep to the subject (X2) ya Hind
ya Hind
7. Ma ʔlk ʕelaqa tidaxli=
not business to interfere
it not your business to interfere
8. UP: =la ma bisi:r
No not acceptable
No it is unacceptable
9. CP: ma btit [ dxli
not interfere
you should not interfere
10. UP: ( )
11. CP: la la
   no no
12. UP: ( )
13. CP: ya Hind ?rjoki mC1ʃ ax yahya ?hki
   PRT NAME please please NAME speak
   Ya Hind please please Yahya speak
14. UP: ( )
15. CP: ↑[hind ?NHEINA MIN ?LMOWDu:ʕʃ]
       NAME we ended the subject
       Hind we ended the subject
       agree colleague NAME NAME
       I agree with colleague Bassan Albtoush
17. UP: ( )
       ?lʕama
       agree colleague NAME NAME with regard the secondary schooling
       I agree with Bassam Albtoush regarding the secondary schooling

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzLje6gSGTs

   ↑?na ?l?an fi ʕamlyat >ttaswi:t
   NAME please for the last time say
   I now in process voting
   Mutaz for the last time please
   I’m now in the process of voting
2. ↑muʕtaz ma fi ʕalam aʔna? ?ttaswi:tʃ
   NAME there is not talk during the voting
   Mutaz no talking during the voting
   walʔestʔmar (2.0)
   the committee which next is committee economical
   and investing
   the next committee is the economical and interesting committee
4. UP: ( )
5. CP: muʕtaz ?na ma bidi ʔhsbak ʕal kilmi ?lli ?na
   samʔtha (0.5) ?lkilma ?lli
NAME I not want judge you for word which I heard word which

Mutaz I don’t want to judge you for the word which I heard

6. hakeitha wsamʕtha ma bidi ?hsbak [ ʕleiha] ?rju:k (.) L?NO ?hASBK said and listened no want judge for it please because judge said and listened I don’t want to judge you for it please because judging

7. UP: [( )]

8. CP: ʕALKILMA la txlini ?t?r̓h̓ha ?mam ?lmjlis ?l?an (0.5) The word not let me utter infront the parliament You for the word you said do not let me utter it infront of the parliament

9. UP: [( )]

10. CP: [?l?qtisʕadya wal?st] Omar mʕ man mʕ ?llijna (4.0) ((bell rings)) economical and investing with who with the committee who is with the economical and investing committee

11. CP: (5.0) ʕinda ?lxitab naltazim bil?xlaq wl?dab aydʕan fi xitʔabna swaʔ mʕ when speeching obey morals and ethics also in our speech wether with you should obey the rules of ethics and morality during speeches whether

12. ?rais ?w mʕ ?ʕdaʔ ?lljna the chairperson or members committee with the chairperson or with members of the committee

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIpU4U13VEw