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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 grained 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, unrated 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 unratiated 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 is 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 unrati

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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> parliament was held on November 2007 in accordance with the same electoral law followed during the 14<sup>th</sup> parliamentary elections in 2003 (Awad, 2008).

The 16<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 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 (Dyrel, 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 unrated (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 unrated designations to refer to participants' heckling interactions, they point out "the heckler disrupts the public speaker through unrated 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 unrated 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 section 2.3 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, unrated 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 unrated. 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 unrated 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<sup>1</sup>, 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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?

[Terasaki 1976:45] cited in Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998, p. 15).

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-constructural 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).

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

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

### 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]
  - b. Eavesdroppers (non-official), “non-official” followers of talk (p. 132).

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).

		address	recipient	participant	channel-link
Participants reception roles	interlocutor	+	+	+	+
	indirect target	-	+	+	+
	intermediary	+	-	+	+
	audience	-	-	+	+
Non-participants reception roles	overhearer	-	-	-	+
	targeted overhearer	-	+	-	+
	ultimate destination	-	+	-	-

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:

Productive		Receptive
animator	<i>mechanical</i>	receptor
author	<i>rhetorical</i>	interpreter
principal	<i>responsible</i>	judge

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, chooses 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 Goffmans’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:

Ratified participants		1 >>>	2 >>>	1 >>>	2 >>>	>>>
Speaker		judge	inmate	judge	inmate	
Others	addressed	inmate	judge	inmate	judge	
	unaddressed	legal staff	legal staff	legal staff	legal staff	

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 on this perspective, O’Driscoll (2018, p. 47) suggests the following participation-framework pattern:

		<b>Dominating communication</b>				Subordinate communication			
Ratified participants		>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	
Speaker		<b>judge</b>	<b>Soto</b>	<b>judge</b>	<b>judge</b>	judge	staff	judge	staff
Others	addressed	<b>Soto</b>	<b>judge</b>	<b>Soto</b>	<b>judge</b>	staff	judge	staff	judge
	unaddressed	<b>staff</b>	<b>staff</b>	<b>staff</b>	<b>staff</b>	Soto	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	judge	staff	staff	Soto
Others	addressed	Soto	judge	staff	judge	Soto	staff
	unaddressed	staff	staff	Soto	Soto	judge	judge

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 unrated 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.

5. And Sean's always being nice to her.=
6. And he's always being assholes to us. (2.5)
7. Whenever we play basketball
8. He always tries to play with- Janis,
9. But he never plays with me. ((crying))
10. Sarah: Even if we're better than Jan// is.
11. Aretha: He's letting Janis play baseball.
12. He's not letting- us- me play.

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 356)

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:::

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 356-357)

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).

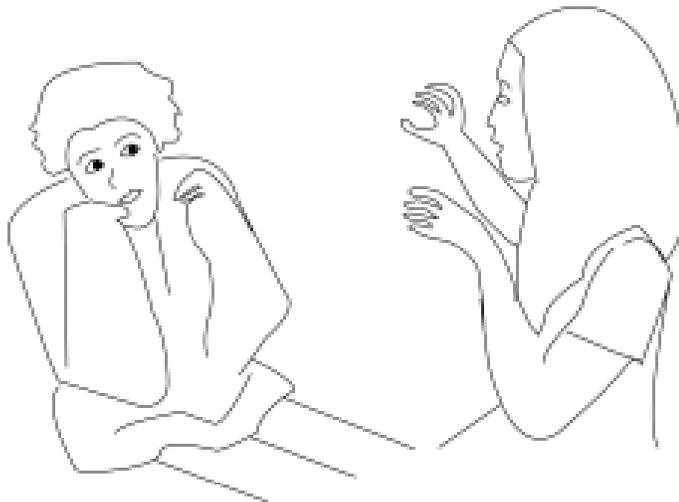


Figure 1. Quotation gestures

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 358)

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))

25. Sarah: Let's go  
 26. Sarah: Play on the [teeter totter].  
 27. Angela: [We could play on the swings.  
 28. Angela: What  
 29. Aretha: I like sitting here and being mad and talking about people.  
 30. Sarah: Eh heh-heh!  
 31. Angela: eh hih-hih!  
 32. Sarah: I decided to leave. ((getting up from bench and standing behind Aretha))  
 33. Angela: ((puts leg over bench facing Aretha)  
 34. Angela: Well what can you do. I mean like  
 35. I- I mean like- you guys are like  
 36. I don't judge anybody because you guys know,  
 37. that like I just, you know, follow you guys.
- (Goodwin, 2007, p. 362-363)

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<br>And they wanna have fun<br>*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)

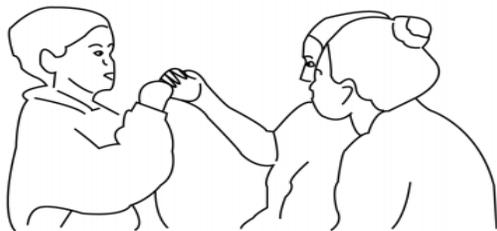
When Sarah utters “Gimme some- Gimme some sugah,” she leans her body around Aretha’s body and displays the position of a fashionable model while Angela looks on (line 6; see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Sarah embracing Aretha during a glamor pose.

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 367)

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).



(Goodwin, 2007, p. 367)

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).



Figure 4. Aretha and Sarah's initial collaborative clap with Angela at distance.

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 369)



Figure 5. Angela's delayed entry into the celebratory collaborative clap.

(Goodwin, 2007, p. 369)

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 unrated 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 unratiated 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 rabbleroising propaganda!)” (20<sup>th</sup> 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

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

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
2. H: HUUUU (screams).
3. EC: Truth! All right ...
4. AUD: ((laughter))

EC: raises his fist as a mock gesture of support, then smiles.

[...]

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!

EC: grasps the microphone and mockingly imitates the heckler who in the manner of a singer interrupted him with screams

(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  
((NR leaves the podium, H approaches him, and a debate begins))

H: hold up the sign with the text “CUT THE WAR NOT THE POOR”; then the sign is turned, and it reads: “Bring Our Troops Home Now” (first four words in black, “Now” in red, supposedly with the goal of emphasis); the sign is moved towards the centre of the stage, right next to NR

NR: looks at the camera, then smiles and slowly turns round; half way through he uses a handkerchief to rub his mouth (potential sign of embarrassment/anger) and then turns towards H

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

(Kádár, 2014, p. 24).

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<sup>2</sup>:

#### Example 10

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

---

<sup>2</sup> 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 cro:ss, (.)
2. because they put the- (0.5)
3. (people on the cross)
4. Heckler: [my friends it was] the ro:mans who invented the cross
5. Speaker: look look look look
6. Heckler: not the Egyptians.
7. Audience: zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz<sup>3</sup> ...

(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,
2. And commissions, and all this sort of thing.
3. Heckler: but they don't actually work 'cause they don't
4. Speaker: [er]<sup>4</sup> [Sic]
5. Heckler: actually cover half the groups they shou:ld do
6. (0.5)
7. <I mean what about me= I'm subject to discrimination
8. Not because of the colour of my skin or
9. Anything I do or wear

---

<sup>3</sup> (buzz of activity, loud buzz)

<sup>4</sup>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. thing since sliced bread. .h no:w no::w that  
 3. Speaker 2: [ no (I didn't say that)] [Sic]  
 4. Speaker1: we've realized what saddam Hussein is, (.)  
 5. an (.) I deplore al:l dictators. (0.5)  
 6. 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 belie:ve” while the heckler interrupts through a parallel syntactic structure, “but you don't want” to complete the turn with a quite different sense.



## 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 wi:ves, (.) because
2. they=we know the arabs don't make love to you
3. very we:ll.
4. Aud: hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh
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: hahahahahahah

(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]
6. Heckler: =welcomed by the grenadan people.

7.  
8. 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 i::s the official language of new zealand?  
 3. (0.5)  
 4. Heckler: english (.) and maori.  
 5. Speaker: [english [Sic]  
 6. ( ) : engl ish:  
 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 rea:son 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.
7. now.
8. AUD: [hahhhhHHHHHHHHhhhhhHHHhhhhhhh [Sic]
9. Speaker: [hang on [I
10. Speaker: I want to also say
11. ( ): ( )
12. Heckler: are you gay?
13. Speaker: you might you might be keen but I'm not
14. ( ): [heheheheh] [Sic]
15. Speaker: I was
16. Heckler: [ye:a:h [Sic]
17. Speaker: [I was homosexual then I saw you I [Sic]
18. Changed my mind
19. AUD: hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhHHHHhhhhhhhhh
20. 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-Harashsheh, 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 to 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<sup>5</sup> 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

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<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup>). However, there are some cases in which they can deliver speeches from the podium if the CP approves (Article 104<sup>7</sup>). 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)<sup>8</sup>. 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 unrati-fied 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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<sup>6</sup> Article 104 of the internal regulations of the parliament.

<sup>7</sup> Article 104 of the internal regulations of the parliament.

<sup>8</sup> 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

	Setting	Number of Cases
1.	Heckles by public audiences in the gallery	(18)
2.	Heckles by Members of Parliament	(38)
		Total = 56

#### 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.

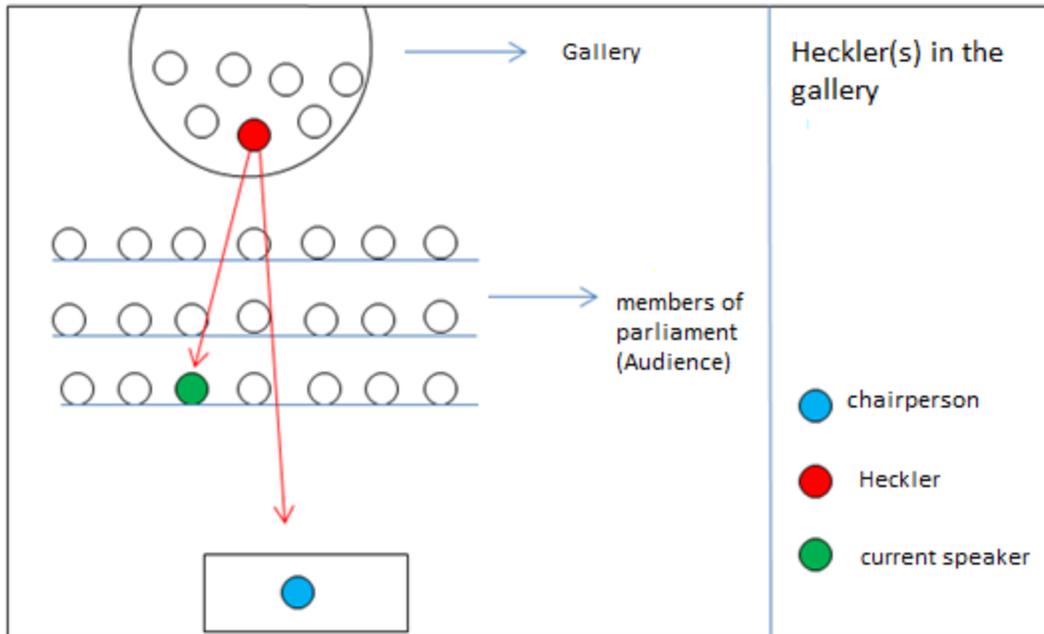


Figure 7. Heckling by public audience in the gallery

### 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.

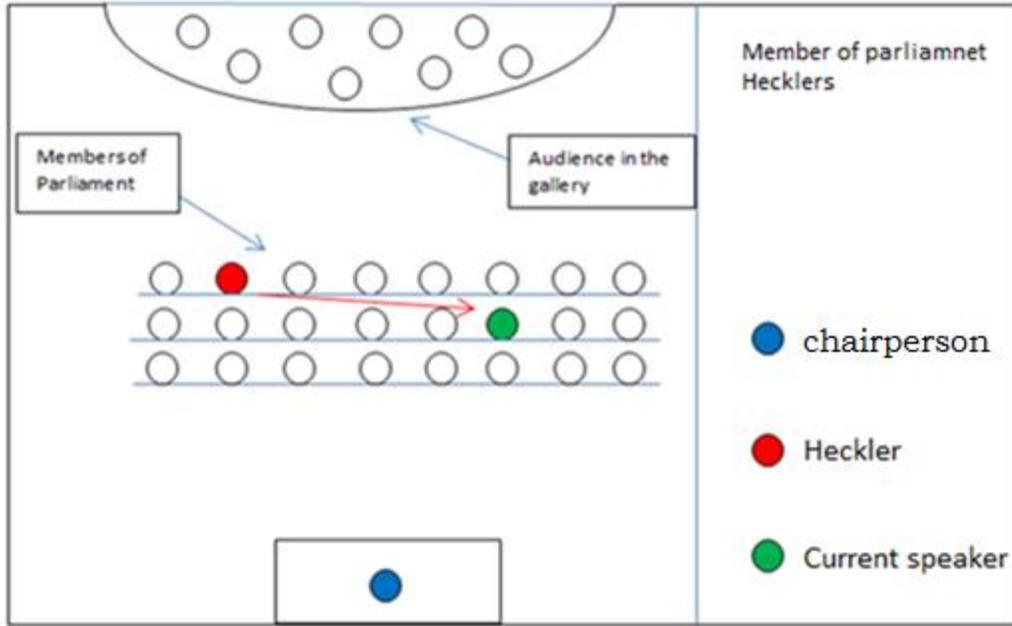


Figure 8. Heckling by Members of Parliament

### 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.

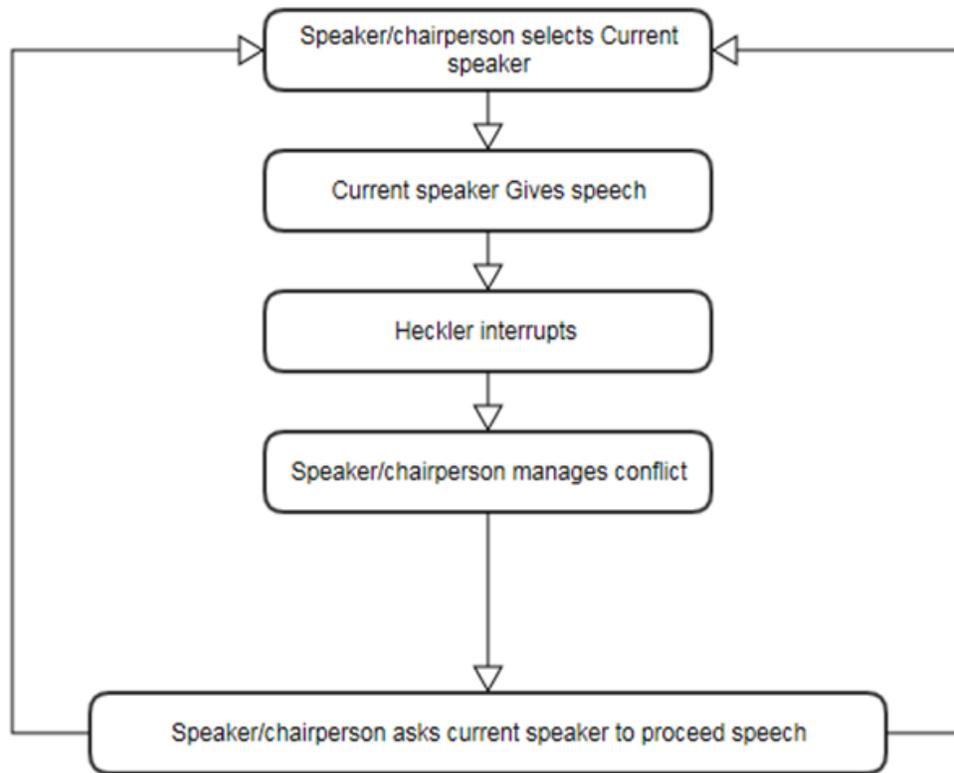


Figure 9. The operation of heckling

(Shaw, 2000, p. 406)

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 unrated 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 unrated to rated (Goffman, 1981). Participants who are not rated to speak are not allowed/permitted 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, McIlvenny (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 unratiſed 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 ratiſed 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 specifiſable 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: ?rai;s ?lexwa ?zzumula (2.0) ?na men ?ham mutat?  
mutat?labat bina?  
Chairperson brother colleagues for importance  
requirements establishing  
**chairman brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most  
requirements for requirements for establishing**
2. CS: ?ddawala ?lʕasriya (.) huwa ?lʕmal bi?ħkam ?ddustu:r  
watʕdi:l aħkamihi  
State modern is working rules  
institution and its amendments  
**modern state is by applying what the constitution  
stipulates and its amendments**
3. CS: letuwakib ?ttat?awr( ) filʕa::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 masʿlhat ?lbilad walʿeba:d]  
Appropriate benefit of country and people  
**[To cope up with the benefit of the country and its  
people]**
5. UP:→ [saʿadet ?lna?b (.)saʿadet ?lna?b]  
excellency MP excellency MP  
**[ your excellency (.) your excellency) ]**
6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaʿef=  
PRT parliament one hundred and eleven  
**parliament one hundred and eleven =**
7. CS: =[ walilhefað ʿla 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**

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: (.) waʿadat?lhokoma (.) ma taza:l moltazima  
ʿnda wʿdeha (.)  
As promised the government still committed to its  
promise  
**As the government had promised and still it is  
committed to its promises**
2. CS: la yomkin ?n tarfʿ (.) ?sʿar ?lkahruba:? (.) ?la (.)  
bilʿwda ?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: bidʹabtʹ kama ʹltazamna (2.0)

Exactly as we have pledged

**Exactly as we have pledged (2.0)**

4. UP: <dawer ʹbadi:l thani> daw [ lat ʹrraʹi:s ] yeir  
rafʹ ʹlʹsʹa:r

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 ʹala ʹala ( ) ʹani  
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 reciprocity, 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?  
Chairperson brother colleagues for importance  
requirements establishing  
**chairman brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most requirements for requirements for establishing**
2. CS: ?ddawala ?lʕasriya (.) huwa ?lʕmal bi?ħkam ?ddustu:r  
watʕdi:l aħkamihi  
State modern is working rules  
institution and its amendments  
**modern state is by applying what the constitution stipulates and its amendments**
3. CS: letuwakib ?ttatʕawr( ) filʕa::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 masʕlħat ?lbiɫad walʕeba:d]  
Appropriate benefit of country and people  
**[To cope up with the benefit of the country and its people]**
5. UP: [ saʕadet ?lna?b (.)saʕadet ?lna?b]  
excellency MP excellency MP

- [ **your excellency (.) your excellency** ]
6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaʕef=  
PRT parliament one hundred and eleven  
**parliament one hundred and eleven =**
7. CS: =[ walilħefað 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**

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 ?lnaʕb”, 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”<sup>9</sup>. 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

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<sup>9</sup> 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 reciprocity 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 ?lna?b ?lmuhtaram= ((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 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 Saleiku: ( )  
State President minister state President I  
supplicate to you  
**Your Excellency (0.5) Your Excellency I  
supplicate to you**
4. CS: [( ) ]
5. UP: wilmalik Abdallah [( (.) ] ?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 θALTʔʃER [ 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. Summons 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 unrated 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 unrated 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 unratiſed Member of Parliament intervenes to tell the CP that there is a proposal to be diſcuſſed.

Example (24) 43

1. CP: la bſawrko haſſa bſd ma txlsʿu: ( ) lʿnu: ʿnhyna  
( ) ʿlmotaħdiθi: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 ʿktafyna(.)bkalam maktu:b ħata ʿtʿrħ ma  
ladykom min moqtraħa: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 sſadat ʿraʿi:s fi moq [ taraħ  
**your excellency there is a propoſal**
4. CP: [ ſaid  
[ Mr
5. CP: Fawaz ʿzoſbi ( )  
NAME NAME  
**Fawaz Alzoubi ( )**
6. UP <la fi moqtaraħ ya aħmad 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, unratiſed Members of Parliament tend to rush into launching the reason for the heckle which pertains to “*there is a proposal.*” I believe that the unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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: sʃadt arai:s (1.0)  
your excellency  
**your excellency (1.0)**
2. UP: ya jamaʃa ʃo ?lxasxsa ( )  
PRT guys what privatization ( )  
**Ya guys what privatisation ( )**
3. CS: [ ɦaʃra:t ?lnwab ?lmoɦtarami:n]  
PRT MPs respected  
**[ respected Members of Parliament**
4. UP [ haʃo:l ?hl Mʃan ya jamaʃa]  
These PRT Ma'an PRT guys  
**[these are the people of Ma'an guys]**

5. UP: ħram tħku bilxs<sup>ʕ</sup>xs<sup>ʕ</sup>a ?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 this] murdered son**
6. MPV: [yʕni Mʕa:n ( )]  
 PRT Ma'an ( )  
**[ yʕni Mʕa:n ( ) ]**
7. CP: lw samħti ya: Hind lw samħti (.) 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: (.) 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**
2. CS: la yomkin ?n tarfʕ (.) ?sʕar ?lkahruba:? (.) ?la (.)  
 bilʕwda ?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: bidʕabtʔ kama ?ltazamna (2.0)  
 Exactly as we have pledged  
**Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)**
4. UP: <dawer ʕbadi:l thani> daw [ lat ?rra?i:s ] yeir  
 rafʕ ?lʕsʕa:r  
 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  
 hisleft hand fingers))
8. UP: <ma bnesmaħlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> ħata  
 [ ( ) ]  
 not allow you increase the rates even ( )  
**we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even  
 [( )]**

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 reciprocity, that is, to indicate reciprocity before continuing. On the other hand, post-positioned address terms can be composed "to establish reciprocity" 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 in the 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 to 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 [ ?onafed ?ollah (1.0) ?onafed 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 aʃortʔa? xoðu xalu yetʔlaʃ barra  
where the gaurds? Take him dismiss him outside  
**where are the guards? Take him dismiss him off the gallery**
5. UP [ ( )
6. CP: [ ?ʃtaqlu  
confine him  
**[confine him**
7. UP ( )
8. CP: ?ʃtaqlu  
**confine him**
9. UP ?onafed ?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 (.) ʔuma banifid ?lmalik (.) ʔuma  
banafid ʕwn ?lɣasawneh=  
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 alɣasawneh**
2. MP: =xaluh yħki  
**Let him speak**
3. UP: yaa xwan  
PRT brothers  
**brothers**
4. MP: [xalu yħki]  
**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 Alɣasawneh." 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 fukran dawalat arrai:s  
PRT thank you state President  
**Thank you your excellency**

3. UP: [dawlet raʔi:s ʔlwzra (0.5) dawlet rʔi:s ʔlwzora]  
 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 [( .) ] ʔlhaq bʔi:di  
 And King Abdullah the right is in my hand  
**And King Abdullah [( .) ] I have the right**
6. CS: ([ )]
7. UP: MIN ʕALTʔʕʕER [ SANA WANA ((stood up at the  
 edge of the gallery))  
 since thirteen years and I  
**since thirteen [ years and I**

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-constructive 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 unrated 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: sʃadt arai:s (1.0)  
your excellency  
**your excellency (1.0)**
2. UP: ya jamaʃa ʃo ?lxasxsa ( )  
PRT guys what privatization ( )  
**Ya guys what privatization ( )**
3. CS: [ ɦaðra:t ?lnwab ?lmoɦtarami:n]  
PRT MPs respected  
**[ respected Members of Parliament**
4. UP [ haðo:l ?hl Mʃan ya jamaʃa]  
These PRT Ma'an PRT guys  
**[these are the people of Ma'an guys]**
5. UP: ɦram tɦku bilxsʃxsʃa ?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: [yʃni Mʃa:n ( )]  
PRT Ma'an ( )  
**[ yʃni Mʃa:n ( )]**
7. CP: [ lw samɦti ya: Hind lw samɦti (.) istamʃna  
?la qarar Mʃa: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]**

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 Ma’an 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 it 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 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 [ rawaḥ ʔstna: 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 ʔyʃ ʔtasʃwi: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

1. CP: saʕadat ʔzomlʔ ʔnawab ʔlʔkarim ʔrjo ʔljlu:s bi  
 ʔmakinkom  
 dear colleagues MPs noble please sit at  
 your seats  
**dear colleagues and noble MPs please take your seats**
2. CP: ʔta tabdʔ [ ʔljalsa  
 to begin the session  
**to begin the [ session**
3. UP: [ ( ) bigoly bigoly ʔlʔmin  
 welʔman ʔhm min ( )  
 Tell me tell me security and safety is important  
 than  
**[ ( ) they tell me that security and safety is  
 important than( )**
4. UP: ʔwad ʔltanafat  
 NAME NAME  
**Awad Altanashat**
5. UP: (3.0)
6. CP: ya ʔbu (1.5) lw samʔtom  
 PRT PRT excuse me (plural)  
**ya ʔbu (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 be 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 unratiied 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 unratiied 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: [()]fokran]  
thank you  
**[()] thank you]**
3. UP: [ alxezy kulilxezy ] walŋar 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: baŋ 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 samħt lw samħt  
**excuse me excuse me**

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, claptrap 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

1. CS: tabyan li ?nu baqa? haða ?lmjlis lil?sbab ?lati  
 ðukerat 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**
2. CS: men muxtalaf ?l?exwa ?l?ði:na ( ) (.) ?al?fðal  
 fi ?ebqa? haða ?lmajlis  
 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: haða lu:bbi  
 this group  
**this is a group**
8. AM: ?lahu ?kbar (1.0) waltasqot? alġarab  
 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 unratiſed to speak launch straight into the reason for heckles. In 9 of the 41 instances of my corpus, Members of Parliament who are unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed Member of Parliament launches straight into the reason for a heckle by producing a question related to the CS’s speech.

##### Example (35) 38

1. CS: ?bd?(.) bi mʃlu:ma natiʃa ?l?tsalat mʃ ?ljehat  
 ?rasmiya ?lʃraqiya  
 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 (.) kalmni ʃlhatif (.)  
 qabil saʃa 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 ?ʃtiðar(.

- offered apology  
 (.) and he apologised (.)
4. H: mi:n ho =  
 Who he  
**who is he=**
5. CS: = ?lhoqoma ?lʕraqiya  
 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 ?lʕraqi  
 minister foreign Iraqi  
**[The Iraqi foreign minister**
9. H: ʃo bidu yokl  
 What want eat?  
**what is he going to take?**
10. CS: ma ʕindi ʃwaytafasi:l bidi ?ħkeha ((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 tismaʕu:ʔ (3.0)  
 can you (plaural) listen  
**can you listen ʔ (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: (.) waʕadat?lħokoma (.) 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**
2. CS: la yomkin ?n tarfʕ (.) ?sʕar ?lkahruba:? (.) ?la  
(.) bilʕwda ?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: bidʕabtʔ kama ?ltazamna (2.0)  
Exactly as we have pledged  
**Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)**
4. UP: <dawer ʕbadi:l thani> daw [ lat ?rra?i:s ] yeir  
rafʕ ?l?sʕa:r  
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**  
**[( )]**
9. CP: [ʔx Yaħya ]  
brother NAME  
**[brother Yahya]**

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

1. CS: ?ʕlnat ?lħaraka ?lislamyɑ fi ?rbid (.) watansi:qyt  
iħrak ?bna? ?ʕmal (.) 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 lilmuʔalba bi esʕla7a:t siyasiya  
Emergence a march to demand for reforms political  
**to organise a march to demand for political reforms**
3. CS: wamuħarabt ?lƒasad (.)=  
and anti-corruption  
**and anti-corruption**
4. UP: = muʕ muħim ya mʕali:k mi:n ?li ?ʕln ?lmuħim↑ ( )  
(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 samħt 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] samħt ((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 unrati ed 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 unrati ed 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 (.) xotʔab ʔsada  
ʔnawab (.) 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: [ʔnawab] ibteðħk ʕlyhom  
ʔnawab ibteðħk ʕlyhom  
The MPs fool them the MPs fool them  
**You are misleading the MPs you are misleading the  
MPs**
4. CP: mʕleif Yaħya [Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya]  
**excuse me Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya**
5. UP [( )]
6. UP: ʔnawab ibteðħk ʕlyhom = ((points with his arms  
as he speaks))  
MPs fool them  
**You are misleading the MPs**
7. CP: ya yaħya  
PRT NAME



- and tried to maintain on nerves to last minute  
**and I tried to control my tension until the last minute**
3. UP: [ wallahi ?na:k  
 kadab ]  
 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 yaħya=  
 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: ya yaħya

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”<sup>10</sup>. 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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<sup>10</sup> 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 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 Wootton, 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 complaine) 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 know, 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 stabili:re chi e che va:?**  
But we must also deci:de who’s going:?
2.                    (0.3)
3.                    **Perche ci sara qualcuno che vorra andara a ca:sa**  
Because there will be someone who wants to go ho:me
4.                    **Quel giorno li.**  
that day.
5. R-Car            **Infatt [i io vado fuori con]**  
Indee: [d I’m going out with]
6. R-Dan →            **[ eh io vorrei an ] dare**  
[eh I’d like to go ]
7.                    →            **a cas [e ma mio papa non ] vuole?**  
Hom [e but my dad doesn’t ] want?
8. R-Car            **[con mia mu:m, ]**  
[ con mia ma:mma,]
9.                    (0.3)
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. (.)
6. Les: yes.
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
11. Joy: [ what.
12. Les: well that sa:le. (0.2) at –at (.) the vicarage.
13. (0.6)
14. Joy: Oh ye:s.

(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 disaffiliative 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 complainees 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**
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 samħt(.) lw samħt  
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. S: lw samħt  
excuse me  
**excuse me**
8. UP lw samħt baħki mŕu bi aŕya lw samħt [( )  
]  
excuse me I talk to him about thing  
**excuse me I'm talking to him about an issue**  
[( )]
9. S: [lw samħt]  
If you excuse me  
**[ Excuse me ]**
10. UP:→ ya sayidi ?uŕkuru ?llah [ wallahi ma mŕna no:kil  
?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:ŕ  
mamnu:ŕ titkalam min fo:g]  
PRT PRT forbidden forbidden to talk from above  
**[ brother you are not  
allowed to speak from above]**
12. S: lw samħt =  
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 straight forward 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 emphasising 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 ʕAMI XALUNA NEħKI (( UP addresses talk to the guards))  
PRT PRT let me speak  
**YA ʕAMI LET ME SPEAK**
3. Aud: () xalu yeħki  
**() let him speak**
4. UP XALUNA NħKI (.) ISMAʕUNA YA NUWAB  
Let us speak listen us PRT MPs  
**LET ME SPEAK (.) LISTEN TO ME MPS**
5. UP YA MOħTARAMI:N (.) YA ħUKUMA YA MUħTARAMA (.)  
PRT respected PRT government PRT respected

6. UP        **RESPECTED (MPs) YA RESPECTED YA GOVERNMENT (.)**  
 BIDNA GADIAT JOMRUK ĞMAN    ((guards physically  
 struggle the UP))  
 We want issue customs Amman  
**WE WANT THE ISSUE OF AMMAN CUSTOMS**
7. CP:        Xalu yeħki xalu yeħki  
**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<sup>ç</sup>  
 ((MP approaches to UP))  
**=that's enough**
10. UP        MĞAN ?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 ĥaĥrat aĥabit?  
PRT dear officer  
**ya dear officer**
14. UP:→ ?ĥna ?rbaʕi:n sana wĥna ʕumal naʕmal tanzil wa  
taĥmi:l (.) mush emklfi: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**
15. UP: xazinet ?ddwla wala ?y dinar (.) ?uju:rna min  
?tujar (.) ?aji bidi ?lif baʕd  
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: ?rbaʕi:n saneĥ ĥaĥa ?lʕat?a? ?lu ( )  
weĥna 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: = ʕusem ?ʕarikeĥ?  
Name of company  
**What's the name of the company**
18. UP: ?ĥna ʕam ?nadi=  
we are calling  
**we have been reporting**
19. AM: = ʕusem ?ʕarikeĥ  
Name of company  
**what's the name of the company?**
20. UP: muʕ ?maklfi:n xazinet ?ddawleh wala taʕri:fiwaĥde  
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 baĥĥada [eĥa- ]  
and I bet if  
**and I bet if-**
22. CP: [xala::s]  
enough

[ **that'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 unrated 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 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. S: lw samht  
excuse me  
**excuse me**

8. UP lw samħt baħki mŕu bi afya lw samħt [( ) ]  
 excuse me I talk to him about thing  
**excuse me I'm talking to him about an issue [( ]**

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 (.) Œuma banifid ?lmalik (.) Œuma  
 banafid ŕwn ?lzasawneh=  
 implore god and implore the King and implore NAME  
 NAME  
**I implore to Allah and I implore to the King and I  
 implore to ŕwn ?lzasawneh**
2. MP: =xaluh yħki

3. UP: **Let him speak**  
yaa xwan  
PRT brothers  
**brothers**
4. MP: [xalu yḥki]  
**Let him speak**
5. UP:→ [beiti bidu ] yegaʕ ʕalyi  
My house will fall on me  
**My house is going to fall**
6. UP: wallah ?lʕaði: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 yegaʕ ʕalyee maʕanʔllah  
Will fall on me for god's sake  
**It is going to fall on me for god's sake**
8. UP: maʕanʔllah terḥamu:ne:  
**For god's sake have mercy on me**
9. UP: maʕanʔllah  
**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: saiydi 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 faleiku: ( )  
State President minister state President I  
supplicate to you  
**Your Excellency (0.5) Your Excellency I supplicate to you**
4. CS: [( )]
5. UP: wilmalik fbdallah [( .) ] ?lhaq b?i:di  
And King Abdullah the right is in my hand  
**And King Abdullah [( .) ] I have the right**
6. CS: ([ )]
7. UP: →MIN θALT?sfER [ 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 fALA MUHAMAD  
(.)  
Hold head of corruption (.) prayers to Muhammad  
**I HAVE BEEN SUFFERING FROM CORRUPTION PRAYER TO  
(PROPHET) MUHAMMAD**
10. UP: [ >MAN QTLA NAFSUN BIYEIR NAFS ?W FASADUN FIL?Rd<sup>c</sup>  
FAK?NMA<]  
**whoever killed a soul, except for a soul slain, or  
for Sedition in the earth**
11. CP: [lw smhti wein rejal ?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?]**

12. UP: QATLA ANAS JAMi:SN WAMAN AñYAHA FK?NMA AñYA  
ANASJAMi:SN  
**It should be considered as though he had killed all  
mankind"**

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 there 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 the 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.

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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed Members of Parliament argue against the procedures led by the CP. In 6 of the 41 instances, unratiſed 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) 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 [ rawaħ ?stna: lewyf btſaridſ  
PRT wait why refute?  
**[rawaħ wait why do you refute?**
7. MP: xalsſ ya nidal  
That’s enough NAME  
**That’s enough Nedal**
8. UP→ ?yſ ?tasſwi:t [ ( )  
what’s voting [ ( )

9. CP: what is the voting for? [( )]  
 [fi ra?i:s wozora  
 PRT Prime Minister  
**fee 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 ?ʕyli=  
 picking issue  
**cherry picking issue=**
12. CP: = twozʕ ʕlyk ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ?yam ka:n ]  
 bistit?aʕtk toktob  
 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 bisʕi:r halaki]  
 Not acceptable this talk  
**[ it's unacceptable what you said]**
14. CP: mulhð[atak ʕlyh]  
 comments on it  
**(write) your comm[ents on it ]**
15. UP [ ma bisʕi:r] ( )  
 not acceptable ( )  
**[this is unacceptable] ( )**
16. Aud: ( )
17. CP: haða wozif zaman ya (.) niðal ya niðal haða wozif  
 hatha wozif  
 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*



- this is an arbitrage law I demanded from you a system point**
9. UP: bagolak ma fi nes<sup>ab</sup>=  
say no there quorum  
**I'm telling you there is no quorum=**
10. CP: = xalas<sup>h</sup> ħkeit ?li ħindk  
enough you said PRT have  
**= okay you made ?li your point**
11. UP: ħid ya sidi ħid =  
count PRT PRT count  
**coun ya sidi count t=**
12. CP: = xalas<sup>h</sup> ħkeit ?li ħindk  
enough you said what PRT have  
**= enough you made your point**
13. UP: ħid ya sidi ħid  
count PRTsir
14. CP: ħkeit ?li ħindk  
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 unratiſed to

speakers 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 →BAʕOOHAA (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 togʕod ( )=  
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**
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: →[?lmalakya] baʕoha maðal ?ʃi bilmalakia=  
The Royalty] sold not left in the royalty  
**[The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is left  
in the RJ**
10. CP: = tab fokran 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 baʕooha=  
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

1. CS: ?rai;s ?lexwa ?zzumula (2.0) ?na men ?ham mutat?  
mutat?labat bina?  
Chairperson brother colleagues for importance  
requirements establishing  
**chairperson brothers and colleagues (2.0) the most  
requirements for requirements for establishing**
2. CS: ?ddawala ?lʕasriya (.) huwa ?lʕmal bi?ḥkam  
?ddustu:r watʕdi:l aḥkamihi  
State modern is working rules  
institution and its amendments  
**modern state is by applying what the constitution  
stipulates and its amendments**
3. CS: letuwakib ?ttat?awr( ) filʕa::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 masʕlḥat ?lbiḥad walʕeba:d]  
Appropriate benefit of country and people  
**[To cope up with the benefit of the country and  
its people]**
5. UP: [ saʕadet ?lḥaʕb (.)saʕadet ?lḥaʕb]  
excellency MP excellency MP  
**[ your excellency (.) your excellency) ]**
6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaʕef=  
PRT parliament one hundred and eleven  
**parliament one hundred and eleven =**
7. CS: =[ walilḥefaḍ 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 ?tʕdilal ?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



- Where guatds PRT brothers  
**where are the guards brothers**
18. UP: =eħtarmu ?ʃABA:::B (1.0)  
 Respect the youth  
**respect the YOUT::: H (1.0)**
19. AM: ( )
20. UP: eħtarmu ?ʃabab bas eħtarmu ?ʃabab (2.0)  
 respect the youth just respect the youth  
**respect the youth just respect the youth (2.0)**

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 haða qanu:n ja:?r (.) yajeb haðfu  
 fawran (.)  
 and this law unjust must deleted  
 immediately  
**[ ( ) ] this is an unjust legislation it must  
 be omitted immediately**
7. AM: ma bis<sup>ʕ</sup>i:r yħt<sup>ʔ</sup>u ?ydhom ʕleiha weħna ħakeina ( )  
 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<sup>ʔ</sup> (2.0)  
 first of all not born the law never  
**first of all (1.0) legislations are never born  
 (2.0)**
10. UP: waħad bas biħkom=  
 One just governs  
**Only one who governs =**
11. CP: = taʕamlau mʕha bikul lut<sup>ʔ</sup>f weħteram eða eħtajat  
 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 atʔaŋmi ʔwladi =  
help me I want to feed my children
16. MP: = ( )
17. UP: la lw samħt lw samħt ʔna bidi ((guards  
struggle with H)  
not if you excuse me if you excuse me I need  
**no excuse me excuse me I need**
18. UP: waħad yeħil muŋkilti  
someone solve my problem  
**someone to solve my problem**

19. UP: UŌKURU ?LLAH (.) bidi atʔaʕmi ?wladi (.) (.) bidi  
 ?tʔaʕmi ?wladi  
 remember god I want to feed my children  
**REMEMBER GOD (.) I need to feed my children (.)**
20. → bdy ħda yħil muʕklty (.) ((guards surround  
 UP))  
 Need somebody solve problem  
**I need somebody to solve my problem**
21. UP:→ bdy ħada yeħil muʕkilty (.) mi:n yħil muʕklty  
 ((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: [laħtha laħtha] ( ) laħtha laħtha  
**hold on hold on ( )**
24. S: laħtha hal? babʕaθlak nas hal? babʕaθlak 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?lħokoma (.) 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**
2. CS: la yomkin ?n tarfʕ (.) ?sʕar ?lkahruba:? (.) ?la  
(.) bilʕwda ?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: bidʕabtʔ kama ?ltazamna (2.0)  
Exactly as we have pledged  
**Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)**
4. UP:→ <dawer ʕbadi:l thani> daw [ lat ?rraʕi:s ] yeir  
rafʕ ?l?sʕa:r  
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 bnesmaħlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> ħata  
[ ( ) ]  
not allow you increase the rates even  
( )  
**we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even  
[( )]**
9. CP: [ax Yaħya]  
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 Yaħya

Please please not NAME  
**Please please no 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
23. UP: tʔbig ʔneðam ʔddaxli  
apply regulations internal  
**apply the internal regulations**
24. CP: yaħya  
NAME  
**Yahya**
25. CP: tatʔbi:g ʔneðam ʔddaxli mafru:d ʔleik  
Application the internal regulations obligatory on  
you  
**Applying the internal regulations is obligatory for  
you**
26. UP:→ tʔbig ʔneðam ʔddaxli [ ya sʔadet ʔraʔi:s  
apply the internal regulations PRT your excellency  
**apply the internal regulations [ ya your  
excellency**
27. CP: [ʔna matʔbig ʔniðam  
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 reciprocity 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

11. CP: ya ?xi [ muf heik muf heik ?zumula? ]  
 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 fasʕlu min ?lmajlis [ ( ) ]  
 vote on suspending him from the parliament  
**The voting for suspending him from the parliament**
15. UP2: [ haða yajib  
 fasʕlu 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 mħmad mħmad ?g3ud ya mħmad  
 ?ntaheina  
 colleagues please PRT NAME (x2) sit PRT Mohammad  
 end it for

colleagues please ya Mohammad sit (down) Mohammad we  
had enough  
21. min ?lmawdu:ʕ  
the subject

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

7. CP: saʕadat ?zoml? ?nawab ?l?karim ?rjo ?ljlu:s bi  
?makinkom  
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  
**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 ?ltanafat  
NAME NAME  
**Awad Altanashat**
11. UP: (3.0)
12. CP: ya ?bu (1.5) lw samhtom  
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 hakeit  
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 taħet ?lqoba  
for you under the dome  
**for you in the parliament**
17. CP: ?rju ?nkom tħafeðo ʕala ?lhodo? ( ) [  
?l?xwa ?zomla? ]  
please you maintain on silence  
dear colleagues  
**please maintain silence [ dear colleagues ]**
18. UP: [ leesh ?lhodoo2 ]  
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 unrated 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**
2. CP: dawalt dawalt ra?i:s ?lwozra: ?tfdal=  
State state President minister you may  
**your excellency you may (speak)**
3. UP: ((approaches to podium))
4. UP: → =?na bidi ?hky  
I want speak  
**I want to speak**
5. MP: ?hki ʕlstand  
speak on the podium  
**Speak from the podium**
6. UP: () meθl ma bidy  
like I want  
**as I want to**
7. CP: Aħmad Aħmad=  
NAME NAME  
**Aħmad Aħmad**
8. UP: =ma bij[u:z tiħki] mʕy ( )  
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 an 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 to become a ratified participant using an imperative form.

Example (61) 23

6. CP: batmna: ?lyk tog?od ya yaħya  
 I wish on you to sit down PRT NAME  
**I wish you sit down ya Yahya**
7. UP:→ Iʃtʔini majal ?ħki  
 Give path speak  
**Give me permission to speak**
8. CP: ma bʃtʔi:k ( )  
 not give you ( )  
**I will not give you ( )**
9. UP: ya si:di Iʃtʔini ?lneðam ?ddaxli  
 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 in 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**
7. **the hell em I gonna live.**

(Pomerantz, 1984, p.72).

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

15. CS: w?na la ?quluha wala ?qulu beimaʃdʃal ?defaʃ  
 ʃan ?nafs li?nnani  
 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 mawdʃiʃ ?ldifaʃ ʃan ?lnafs  
 not in situation defend myself  
**I'm not in a situation to defend self**  
 subject of defending for the self  
**for the subject of defending myself**
17. UP:→ la bidak ?dafiʃ ʃan ?lʃʃaʃr bidak tiʃlat?  
 [ʃalʃshaʃr ( )]  
 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? ?gʃod]  
 calm sit  
**[calm (down) sit (down)]**
19. CS: ?GʃOD=  
 sit  
**sit [down]**
20. UP: ?na ma [bagʃod]  
 I not sit  
**I do not sit (down)**
21. CS: [ʃgod ]  
 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 unratiied 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**
4. CP: ?ða tkramti [ sawat ?lmajils bi ] ?dam rafi? yafi9t?at  
?θna? ?ljalsa  
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 ?ftayl ?la ?tas?wi:t  
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 unratiified 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 ?ʃyli=  
picking issue  
**cherry picking issue=**
12. CP: = twozʕ ʕlyk ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ?yam ka:n ]  
bistit?aʕtk toktoḅ  
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 comm[ents on it ]**
15. UP [ ma bisʕi:r] ( )

- not acceptable (                    )  
**[this is unacceptable]**(                    )
16. Aud: (                    )
17. CP: haḏa wozif zaman ya (.) niḏal ya niḏal haḏa wozif  
hatha wozif  
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: wozif flyk fi jadwal ?fma:l  
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 ]ʕneðam haða ?lbayan  
xali:h laljalsa ?θania=  
[ 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**
11. CP: ?lʔan (.) ?lband ?lthi yali:h eða samħto  
now provision which next if you please  
now the next provision if you please
12. CA: [ ( ) kitab dawlat raʔi: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 ( )**



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: Ḥbdala xali ?lwazi:r yḥki (.) <Ḥbdala 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 (.) ?smḥoli (1.0)  
 You may allow me  
**(2.0) please (.) allow me (1.0)**

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: xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> hkeit ?lli ʕndak xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> ( )  
 enough said PRT your enough  
**enough you ?lli made your (point) enough**
2. UP → ya sidi [haði ?ham mobadra ] mʕali ?ra?i:s ma  
 bs<sup>ʕ</sup>awt  
 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 lniðam ma fi ( )  
 against regulation  
**this is against the regulations there is not ( )**
5. CP: [xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> ( ) ] ?ogʕod  
 enough sit  
**enough ( ) sit down**
6. UP: [la yojad nisa:b ] ma bas<sup>ʕ</sup>wit mʕali ?ra?i:s  
 not available quorum not vote excellency  
 President  
**there is no quorum I will not vote your  
 excellency**
7. CP: ( )
8. CP: < xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> xalas<sup>ʕ</sup>>  
 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 unrated 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 unrated 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 unrated 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 unrated 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 unrated 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

1. CP: ?almutaħ [deθ azzami:l Raid ?ħjazi:n]  
The speaker colleague Raid alhajazin



[ ( ) Prime Minister's article number  
10163 date on 3/08/2015 ( ) ]

13. UP: [ ( ) ]

14. UP: yaxi waħed ?la  
PRT one is Allah  
**yaxi (say) Allah is one ((demand to believe that  
Allah is one))**

15. CP: tfdal ostað Bssam  
You may Mr NAME  
**You may (speak) Mr Bassam**

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



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 samħt lw samħt  
**excuse me excuse me**
9. CP: furkan lakum fukran lakum  
thank you all thank you all  
**thank you all thank you all**
10. UP: () [( )
11. CP: [ ?uðakrkum b?na hunalik jalsa tafreʕya assaʕa  
ʕafarah wanusʕ  
sabaħan  
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 unratiſed.

Other ratiſed 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 ?lmuhtaram= ((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 baḥki mſu bi aſya 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 ]**
10. UP: ya sayidi ?uḍkuru ?llah [ wallahi ma mſna no:kil  
?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. 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 unratified 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: (.) waʒadat?lhokoma (.) ma taza:l moltazima  
ʒnda wʒdeha (.)  
As promised the government still committed to its  
promise  
**As the government had promised and still it is  
committed to its promises**

2. CS: la yomkin ?n tarf? (.) ?s?ar ?lkahruba:? (.) ?la  
 (.) 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: bid?abt? kama ?ltazamna (2.0)  
 Exactly as we have pledged  
**Exactly as we have pledged (2.0)**
4. UP: <dawer ?badi:l thani> daw [ lat ?rra?i:s ] yeir  
 raf? ?l?s?a:r  
 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 ?ala ?ala ( ) ?ani  
 look for for ( ) other  
 look for (something) else
7. CS: ((stops speech, looks at UP, simultaneously moves  
**his left hand fingers))**
8. UP: <ma bnesma?lak terfa? ?las?ar> ?ata  
 [ ( ) ]  
 not allow you increase the rates even  
 ( )  
**we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even  
 [( )]**
9. CP:→ [ax Ya?ya]  
 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 Ya?ya  
 Please please not 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 (.) fla (.) xotʔab ʔsada  
ʔnawab (.) 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: [ʔnawab] ibteðhk flyhom ʔnawab  
ibteðhk flyhom  
The MPs fool them the MPs fool them  
**You are misleading the MPs you are misleading the  
MPs**
4. CP:→ mɕleif Yaħya [Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya]  
**excuse me Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya Yaħya**
5. UP [( )]
6. UP: ʔnawab ibteðhk flyhom = ((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: ʔnawab moʃ gadrin yefofu:k [ ( ) ]  
MPs not able to see you  
The MPs are not able to see you
9. CP: [Yaħya ya Yaħya] arju:k  
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 produce 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- (.) Yaħya ?lsʕu:d ismʕ  
ihtrim nfsek  
and it reach to NAME NAME listen respect yourself  
**and it will rise - (.)Yaħya ?lsʕu:d listen respect yourself**
5. CP:→ lw [samħt  
excuse me  
**excu[se me**
6. CS: [ ʕndma ytklm ?lʕordonyi:n ?ʕoraf?  
when talk Jordanians honourable  
**[ when honourable Jordanians speak**
7. CP:→ [ lw samħt  
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 ?lraʕi:s?=  
 possible this excellency CP  
**is this possible your excellency? =**
11. CS: = bisʕi:r lama bitʕlig bidk tismʕ jawab ʕtʕli:gak  
 possible when comment want listen answer your  
 comment  
**It is possible when you comment you will hear an  
 answer**
12. CP: la: tqatʕo lw samht  
 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed to speak is to listen to the speech of the CS and the CP. Unratiſed participants may ask for a system point which allows them to be ratiſed 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 ratiſed 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 ratiſed 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 muʃtz muʃtz  
PRT NAME NAME  
**[ya Mutaz Mutaz**
10. UP: bisʕi:r had sʕadat ?lraʕi:s?=  
possible this excellency CP  
**is this possible your excellency? =**
11. CS: = bisʕi:r lama bitʕlig bidk tismʕ jawab ʕtʕli:gak  
possible when comment want listen answer your  
comment  
**It is possible when you comment you will hear an  
answer**
12. CP:→ la: tqatʕo lw samht  
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 ji  
not say anything  
**he didn't say anything**
15. CS: ?lmadyu:niya ?lmadyu:niya ?lmadyu:niya (.)  
**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] samḥti ((in sharp tone))  
 let me finish excuse me  
**[let me finish please]**  
**let me continue please ((in a sharp tone))**  
 9. CP:→ ʕbdala xali ?lwazi:r yḥki (.) <ʕbdala 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) tʕdal (.) ?smḥoli (1.0)  
 You may allow me  
**(2.0) please (.) allow me (1.0)**  
 11. Aud: ( ) ((inaudible voices from the gallery))  
 12. CP: ya ?xwan (.) ya ?xwan ?li bilʕurfa (.) ya axwan ?li  
 bilʕurfa (.) 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

11. CS: ?ʕlnat ?lħaraka ?lislamyā fi ?rbid (.) watansi:qyt  
iħrak ?bna? ?ʕmal (.) ʕn  
announced party islamic in CITY cooperation party  
northern people party  
**The Islamic party of Irbid announced in cooperation  
with northern publics' party**
12. CS: xru:j bimasi:ra lilmuṭʔalba bi esʕla7a:t  
siyasiya  
Emergence a march to demand for reforms political  
**to organise a march to demand for political reforms**
13. CS: wamuħarabt ?lfasad (.)=  
and anti-corruption  
**and anti-corruption**
14. UP: = muʕ muħim ya mʕali:k mi:n ?li ?ʕln ?lmuħim↑ ( )  
( (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: lw samħt txlini ?kmil↓  
PRT if you excuse me let me finish  
**if you excuse me allow me to finish**
17. CP: [ ((rings the bell)) ]
18. CS: [ xalini ?kmol lw] samħti ((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

13. CS: ?bd?(.) bi mʕlu:ma natija ?lʔtsalat mʕ ?ljehat  
 ?rasmiya ?lʕraqiya  
 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 (.)  
 qabil saʕa 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**
15. CS: (.) waqadm ?ʕtiðar(.)  
 offered apology  
**(.) and he apologised (.)**
16. H: mi:n ho =  
 Who he  
**who is he=**
17. CS: = ?lhoqoma ?lʕraqiya  
 government Iraqi  
**the Iraqi's government**
18. CS: ((looks to his colleague 'interior minister'))
19. H: [ booo] ((expression of disagreement))
20. CS: [ wazi:r ?lxarijiya ?lʕraqi  
 minister foreign Iraqi  
**[The Iraqi foreign minister**
21. H: ʃo bidu yokl  
 What want eat?

- what is he going to take?**
22. CS: ma ʕindi ʃwaytafasi:l bidi ʔhkeha ((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)) ʔnsaf (1.0) ʔnsaf (.) ʔnsaf  
ʔhdaʔi  
**((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), and Example (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 unrated 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 ƐAMI XALUNA NEħKI (( UP addresses talk to the guards))  
PRT PRT let me speak  
**YA ƐAMI LET ME SPEAK**
3. Aud: () xalu yeħki  
**() let him speak**
4. UP XALUNA NħKI (.) ISMAƐUNA YA NUWAB  
Let us speak listen us PRT MPs  
**LET ME SPEAK (.) LISTEN TO ME MPS**
5. UP YA MOħTARAMI:N (.) YA ħUKUMA YA MUħTARAMA (.)  
PRT respected PRT government PRT respected  
**RESPECTED (MPs) YA RESPECTED YA GOVERNMENT (.)**
6. UP BIDNA GADIAT JOMRUK ƐMAN ((guards physically struggle the UP))  
We want issue customs Amman  
**WE WANT THE ISSUE OF AMMAN CUSTOMS**

- 7.→ CP: Xalu yeḥki xalu yeḥki  
**let him speak let him speak**
8. UP DAXLI:N ʕ?LLA WA JALALET SYDNA= ((points his arms to MPs))  
 I supplicate to God and to his highness our King  
**I SUPPLICATE TO GOD AND TO HIS HIGHNESS OUR King=**
9. CP: =Xalas<sup>ʕ</sup>  
 ((MP approaches to UP))  
**=that's enough**

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: banifidullah (.) Өuma banifid ?lmalik (.) Өuma  
 banafid ƒwn ?lzasawneh=  
 implore god and implore the King and implore NAME  
 NAME  
**I implore to Allah and I implore to the King and I  
 implore to ƒwn ?lzasawneh**
16. MP:→ =xaluh yħki  
**Let him speak**
17. UP: yaa xwan  
 PRT brothers  
**brothers**
18. MP:→ [xalu yħki]  
**Let him speak**
19. UP: [beiti bidu ] yegaƒ ƒalyi  
 My house will fall on me  
**My house is going to fall**
20. UP: wallah ?lƒađi: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 yegaƒ ƒalyee mafan?llah  
 Will fall on me for gods sake  
**It is going to fall on me for gods sake**
22. UP: mafan?llah terħamu:ne:  
**For gods sake have mercy on me**
23. UP: mafan?llah  
**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 ħaras ?lmajlis  
           PRT guards parliament  
           **ya guards of the parliament/parliament**
6. UP     (     )
7. CP:→ ya ðabet? >xalu: yeħki xalu yeħki <  
           PRT officer >let him speak let him speak  
           **ya officer >let him speak let him speak<**
8. AM:    ya ?xi xalu yeħki  
           PRT PRT let him speak  
                           **let him speak**
9. CP:→ xalu yaħki  
           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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 ( ) 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 ?ʕyli=  
picking issue  
**cherry picking issue=**
12. CP: = twozʕ ʕlyk ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ?yam ka:n ]  
bistit?aʕtk 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 bisʕi:r halaki]  
Not acceptable this talk  
**[ its unacceptable what you said]**
14. CP: mulhð [atak ʕlyh]  
comments on it  
**(write) your comm[ents on it ]**
15. UP: [ ma bisʕi:r] ( )  
not acceptable ( )  
**[this is unacceptable] (**  
)
16. Aud: ( )
17. CP:→ haða wozif zaman ya (.) niðal ya niðal haða wozif  
hatha wozif  
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: wozif ʕlyk fi jadwal ?ʕma: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: ħram tħku bilxs<sup>s</sup>xs<sup>s</sup>a ?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 ( )]  
 PRT Ma'an ( )  
**[ yʕni Mʕa:n ( ) ]**
- 7.→ CP: [ lw samħti ya: Hind lw samħti (.) 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]**
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 ʔkθr ħirsan ʃla Mʃa:n ʔkθar min ʔbnaʔ  
Mʃa: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 ʔbno hudir damu ( )  
murdered son blood wasted ( )  
**his son is murdered his blood is wasted**
11. CP: tʃdal mʃali araʔi:s  
**go ahead your excellency**
12. CS: sʃadt ʔraʔi: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**
4. CP:→ ?ða tkramti [ sawat ?lmajils bi ] ʕdam rafiʕ  
yafi9tʔat ?θna? ?ljalsa  
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 ʕla ?tasʕwi: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. unratiſed Members of Parliament, of talk.

In terms of responses to the news telling, unratiſed 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 | 2. Pre-closing FPP |
| pre-closing SPP    | topic talk SPP     |



terminal sequence



continued conversation

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:=
- 7. Vicky:       =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.

Example 91 [MK 2:11] (Cited in Liddicoat, 2007, p. 259)

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-bye,=  
 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:

Example 96 [JH:5:09-22] (cited in Liddicoat, 2007, p262)

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 unratiated 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 unratiſied Members of Parliament are similar to public audience members in the gallery. The CP and the unratiſied 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 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) 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]t 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. Similarly 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 [ ?onafed ?ollah (1.0) ?onafed 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 afort?a? xoðu xalu yet?laŋ 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 ?onafed ?ollah

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 ?lfurfa  
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 ʕalyi=  
Reply on me  
**[Respond to me**  
26. CP: =[ lw smḥti (.) lw samḥti ya ?xti lw samḥti ]  
((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 expressed by ten Have (2007) and Schegloff & Sacks (1973). Schegloff & Sacks (1973) 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<sup>ε</sup>  
 ((MP approaches to UP))  
**=that’s enough**
10. UP MjAN ?LLA=  
 For sake God  
**FOR GOD’S SAKE**
11. →CP: =weslat [ weslat  
 Acknowledged acknowledged

- = its acknowledged [ its acknowledged**
12. UP: [MʃAN ?LLA ↑=  
Sake of god  
**FOR GODS SAKE↑=**
13. →CP =weslat [risaltak↑ xalasʃ ya zalame  
acknowledged your message that's enough PRT PRT  
**=your [ message is acknowledged↑ that's enough**
14. UP: [ ( )
15. UP: ()
16. UP: DAXLI:N ʃ?LLA [ WAʃLEIKO WA] ʃNWAB ASHAʃB  
Supplicate to god [ and to you and ] MPs  
of people  
**I SUPPLICATE TO GOD [ AND TO YOU ] THE MPS OF  
CITIZENS**

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: muf ?maklfi:n xazinet ?ddawleh wala taʕri: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 [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 ʕ?llah wa  
I supplicate to Allah and  
**( ) I supplicate to Allah and**
28. UP [ ( ) ]
29. CP: [ weslat aresala xalina nʕref neʕtayil] 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: [laḥtha laḥtha] ( ) laḥtha laḥtha  
**hold on hold on ( )**
24. S: laḥtha hal? babʕaθlak nas hal? babʕaθlak 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? babʕaθlak 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 fence of the gallery))  
 God saves you god save you  
**God bless you god bless you**
29. CS: biidi ?kmil ḥadethi dawlet arrʔi:s  
 need continue talking state President  
**I want to complete my speech your excellency**
30. CP: ʃukran dawlat arrʔi: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 acknowledgment 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 arranges 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 ħda yħil muſkilty (.) ((guards surround UP))  
Need somebody solve problem  
**I need somebody to solve my problem**
21. UP: bdy ħada yeħil muſkilty (.) mi:n yħil muſkilty  
((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: [laħtha laħtha] ( ) laħtha laħtha  
hold on hold on ( )
24. S: laħtha hal? babſaθlak nas hal? babſaθlak 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:→ xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> hal? babſaθlak 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 arrʕi:s  
need continue talking state President  
**I want to complete my speech your excellency**
30. CP: ʃukran dawlat arrʕi:s  
thank you state President  
**thank you your excellency**

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 of one 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 samʕt 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 meʕal 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 ʕalal Ismaʕo  
PRT PRT listen  
**Listen**
13. CP: lw samʕt(.) 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 samħt  
 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 ( )**
19. →CP: ana baltaqi fi:k bimaktabI iða samħt  
 I will meet you my office If you please  
**I will meet you in my office if you please**
20. CP: tfadal mǧally ?lwazi:r  
**You may speak your excellency**
21. CS: Saǧadet ?rrai:s  
**Your excellency**

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 be 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 Yaḥya] (.) ya Yaḥya  
PRT NAME (.) PRT NAME  
**[ ya Yahya ] (.) ya Yahya**
13. UP: [ʔnawab lazim yekḥafu:k min ʔlqaʕa haḏi=  
MPs must dismiss from the this hall  
**The MPs must dismiss you out of this hall [ parliament ]**
14. CP: →= xalas yaḥya xalas inhi (.) ʔllah yerḏa 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  
Yahya please  
**Yahya please**
16. CP: tfedal dawalt ʔraʔi:s (2.0) tfedal dawalt  
ʔraʔi: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 yaħya ?ħki  
 PRT NAME please please NAME speak  
**Ya Hind please please Yahya speak**
14. UP: ( [ ] )
15. CP:→ [Hind ?NHEINA MIN ?LMOWDu:ʃ  
 NAME end the matter  
**Hind end the matter**
16. CS: ?u?yeid ?zzami:l [bassam ?lbtu:ʃ ]  
 agree colleague NAME NAME  
**I agree with colleague Bassan Albtoush**
17. UP: [ ( ) ] )
18. CS: ?o?yid ?zami:l bassam ?lbtu:ʃ bi xsoos  
 ?lθanwya ?lʃama  
 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: < xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> xalas<sup>ʕ</sup>>  
 enough enough enough  
**<enough enough enough>**
9. UP: haða qanu:n muwa:zna ?na tʔalbt mink noqtʔit niðam  
 this law arbitration I demnd from you  
 system point  
**this is an arbitration law I demanded from you a  
 system point**
10. UP: bagolak ma fi nesʕab=  
 say no there quorum  
**I'm telling you there is no quorum=**
11. CP:→ = xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> hkeit ?li ʕindk  
 enough you said PRT have  
**= enough you made ?li your point**
12. UP: ʕid ya sidi ʕid =  
 count PRT PRT count  
**count ya sidi count =**
13. CP: = xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> hkeit ?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). In

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: [ʔlmalakya] baʕoha maðal ʔʕi bilmalakia=  
The Royalty] sold not left in the royalty  
**[The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is left in the RJ**
10. CP:→ = tab ʕokran ilko ʔrjo ʔn naħtareḡ [ʔljalsa]  
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 baʕooha=  
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 samħt]  
excuse me  
**[excuse me ]**
7. CP: Abo Abo Haditha=  
PRT PRT NAME

- Abo Abo Haidtha=**
8. UP: =moʃ ʕeeb ?lhaki hað  
not shame this talk  
**=Isn't it shame to say this**
9. UP: [ ( ) ]
10. CP: [ lw samħt lw samħt  
excuse me excuse me  
**[ excuse me excuse me**
11. UP: ([ ) ]
- 12.→CP: [ʔrjo ʔbu ħadi:θa] ʔnak tiħtarim ʔneðam  
ʔddaxli tisl  
[please NAME ] you (singular) respect the  
internal regulations thanks  
**[please Abu Haditha] respect the internal  
regulations thanks**
13. UP: ((sits down))
14. AUD: ( )
15. CP: ʔoskot ya Mħmd ʔnta  
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**

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:           masʕlħt ?lurdon gabil kol haða [(            ) ]  
          the benefit of Jordan is more important than all of  
          this
54. CP:                           [ ya Hind            ]  
                                  [ PRTNAME        ]  
                                  [ **ya Hind**        ]
55. CP:           sʔdʕtʔar yʕni (                    ) ʃokran  
          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 moqtaraḥ qodim  
there proposal submitted  
**a proposal has been submitted**
9. Aud: ( )
10. CP:→ lw samḥtu (.) ?rju ?nkom taḥtaremo ?neð'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: =sʕadat ?raʕis fi moqtaraḥ ( )=  
Your excellency there proposal  
**=your excellency there is a proposal**
12. CP: =nʕam fi ʕedet moqtaraḥat sat'raḥha 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*

*regulations.*” 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 predominance 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))
9. UP: [ʔlmalakya] baʕoha maðal ʔʕi bilmalakia=  
[The Royalty] sold not left in the royalty  
**[The Royal Jordanian] has been sold nothing is left in the RJ**
10. CP:→ =tab ʕokran ilko ʔrjo ʔn nahtarem [ʔljalsa]  
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 baʕooha=  
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 samħt]  
excuse me  
**[ excuse me ]**
5. UP: [s<sup>ʕ</sup>awir ?l?ʕam] s<sup>ʕ</sup>awir ?l?ʕam ( )  
record the media record the media  
**[media record it ] media record it ( )**
6. CP: [lw samħt]  
excuse me  
**[excuse me ]**
7. CP: Abo Abo Haditha=  
PRT PRT NAME  
**Abo Abo Haidtha=**
8. UP: =moʃ ʕeeb ?lħaki hað  
not shame this talk  
**=Isn't it shame to say this**
9. UP: [ ( ) ]
10. CP: [ lw samħt lw samħt  
excuse me excuse me  
**[ excuse me excuse me**
11. UP: ( [ ] ) ]
- 12.→CP: [ʔrjo ?bu ħadi:θa] ?nak tiħtarim ?neðam  
?ddaxli tislm  
[please NAME ] you (singular) respect the  
internal regulations thanks  
**[please Abu Haditha] respect the internal  
regulations thanks**
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 unratiſed 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

18. CP: iða bidku ti7tarmu majlis ?lnawab yuftrað ?n  
 tahtarimo ?lri?asa wa  
 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**
20. CP:→ ?na mothtar ella raf? ?ljlsa ?lla ( ) ?raf?  
 ?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: lyf tirfaŋ ?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 (.) ?smħoli (1.0)  
You may allow me  
**(2.0) please (.) allow me (1.0)**
11. Aud: ( ) ((inaudible voices from the gallery))
12. CP: ya ?xwan (.) ya ?xwan ?li bilfurfa (.) ya axwan  
?li bilfurfa (.) 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**
13. CP:→ ?xwan ?li bilfurfa(.) ?na s?ðt?ar (.) ?na saðt?ar  
?rfŋ ?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**
14. CP: →?lfurfa (.) saðt?r ?n ?rfŋ ?ljalsa (.) w?xli  
?lfurfa iða lazam (.) ?rfŋ

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 I  
 suspend the session**

15. CP:→ ?ljalsa lemudat ?shr daqa?q ?rf? ?ljalsa  
 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: haða ?lkala:m ya yaħya (.) la yali:q bi majlis  
 ?na:wab ya yaħya  
 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 yali:q 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 fakwa (1.0)

- I submit complaint  
**I (shall) submit a compliant**
17. CP: haða la yali:q bimajlis ?na:wab 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 ?ljalsa: ila sabaħ ( )  
 torfʕ ?ljalsa ila saba:ħ 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 unratiſed 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, appreciations, 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 finely 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 unratiſed 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. Unratiſed

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 unrati ed. 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, unrati ed 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 rati ed 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 unratiied 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: fukran 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 unrati ed 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 ratified 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 ratified, 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 unrati ed 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 unratiified 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 unratiified 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 unratiified 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed to speak also produce demands to become ratiſed 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 ratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 unratiſed 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 unrati ed 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 rati ed participants. More specifically, the CP grants public audience members permission to be rati ed 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 unrated 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 unrated 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 inexplicitly 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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## VOLUME 2

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*The phonemes of spoken Jordanian Arabic*

ʔ	voiceless glottal stop	ء
B	voiced bilabial stop	ب
T	voiceless dental stop	ت
θ	voiceless inter-dental fricative	ث
ʒ	voiced palatal affricate	ج (Jordanian Arabic)
dʒ	fricative voiced alveolar	ج (Standard Arabic)
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	ح
X	voiceless velar fricative	خ
D	voiced dental stop	د
ð	voiced inter-dental fricative	ذ
r	alveolar tap	ر
z	voiced dental fricative	ز
s	voiceless dental fricative	س
ʃ	voiceless palatal fricative	ش
tʃ	voiced palatal fricative	تش
s <sup>ʕ</sup>	voiceless fricative alveolar	ص
t <sup>ʕ</sup>	stop voiceless emphatic	ط
ð <sup>ʕ</sup>	voiced fricative emphatic	ظ
d <sup>ʕ</sup>	voiced emphatic stop	ض
ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative	ع
ɣ	voiced velar fricative	غ
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative	ف
g	voiced velar stop	ق (Jordanian Arabic)
q	voiceless uvular stop	ق (Standard Arabic)
k	voiceless velar stop	ك
l	alveolar lateral	ل
m	bilabial nasal stop	م
n	alveolar nasal stop	ن
h	voiceless glottal fricative	ه
w	Approximant velar	و

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.
WORD	Capital letters are used to indicate an utterance, or part thereof, that is spoken much louder than the surrounding talk.
°word°	A degree sign is used to indicate a passage of talk that is quieter than the surrounding talk.
hhh.& hhh	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 NEḥKI (( UP addresses talk to the guards))  
PRT PRT let me speak  
**YA ʕAMI LET ME SPEAK**
3. Aud: ( ) xalu yeḥki  
( ) **let him speak**
4. UP XALUNA NḥKI (.) ISMAʕUNA YA NUWAB  
Let us speak listen us PRT MPs  
**LET ME SPEAK (.) LISTEN TO ME MPS**
5. UP YA MOḥTARAMI:N (.) YA ḥUKUMA YA MUḥTARAMA (.)  
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 yeḥki xalu yeḥki  
**let him speak let him speak**
8. UP DAXLI:N ʕ?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<sup>ʕ</sup>  
((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 GODS SAKE †=**
13. CP =weslat [risaltak† xalas<sup>ʕ</sup> ya zalame  
acknowledged your message that's enough PRT PRT  
**=your [ message is acknowledged† that's enough**
14. UP: [ ( )
15. UP: ( )

16. UP: DAXLI:N ʕ?LLA [ WAʕLEIKO WA] ʕNWAB ASHAʕB  
 Supplicate to god [ and to you and ]  
 MPs of people  
**I SUPPLICATE TO GOD [ AND TO YOU ] THE MPS  
 OF CITIZENS**
17. MP: [ > ʃwaiʃwai< ]  
 easy easy  
**[ >take it  
 easy take it easy< ]**
18. CP: weslat ya aXi weslat↑  
 Acnowldged PRT PRT acnowldged  
**its acknowledged its acknowledged↑**
19. UP MʃAN ?LLAH  
 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 ]**
22. CP: ya nuwab ya [hathrat ?lnuwab] ?lmuhtarami:n iða  
 samhtu  
 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: iða samhtu 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 ( ) ʕamn saʕat [waʕateia ?lhaya ( )]  
 ( ) eight hours and the benefit of  
 life ( )  
 ( ) **eight hours [and the benefit of  
 life ( )]**

3. CS: [ya zalame xalina neħki]  
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 samħt]  
If you excuse me  
**[ excuse me ]**
6. MP: [fo hada meθal] la ahl mƣan  
what he is example of citizens (NAME of city)  
**[what he is example ] of Ma'an's citizens**
7. UP bijah [ jalalet ?lmlik] ((guards  
approach and resist him))  
sake his majesty the King]  
**for sake [ of his majesty the King]**
8. CP: [ la lw samħt]  
If you excuse me  
**[ excuse me ]**
9. CP: lw samħt tfadal mƣali ?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 mƣan]  
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 Ismaƣo  
PRT PRT listen  
**Listen**
13. CP: lw samħt(.) mƣali ?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 samħt  
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 ( )**

19. CP: ana baltaqi fi:k bimaktabI iða samħt  
 I will meet you my office If you please  
**I will meet you in my office if you please**

Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0HSNIb2opk>

3

1. CP: < lw samħt lw samħt > 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 laday 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) 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**
9. MP: <?lmarra ?ljaya> bint?u ʒalya ya aħmad assafadi  
 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: tfdal ax Ibrahi:m ʒabdalla  
 you may speak brother NAME  
**you may speak brother Ibraheem Abdallah**
15. CS: bism?lah ?raħman ?lrħi:m  
**In the name of Allah the most gracious the most kind**

16. CS: sʕadet arrai:s ?luxwa ?lmuhtaramu:n  
Your excellency brother respected  
**Your excellency respected brothers**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5TX6Qq9vpIY>

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: niʕhad 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 wwasalna lilnawab  
you say reported to MPs  
**you said that it is reported to MPs**
7. UP1: ba3oha ba3o alnaqwl ba3o illi bideer haʕat alnqil  
mustathmir mustathmir  
sold sold the transportation sold the one who  
controls transportation businessman businessman  
**they sold the transportation they sold to the one  
who controls the transportation a businessman**
8. Kuwaiti illi bideer haʕat [ 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 transportation 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>

5

1. UP: banifidullah (.) Өuma banifid ?lmalik (.) Өuma banafid  
Ѕwn ?lzasawneh=  
implore god and implore the King and implore NAME  
NAME  
**I implore to Allah and I implore to the King and I implore to Ѕwn ?lzasawneh**
2. MP: =xaluh yħki  
**Let him speak**
3. UP: yaa xwan  
PRT brothers  
**brothers**
4. MP: [xalu yħki]  
**Let him speak**
5. UP: [beiti bidu ] yegaЅ Ѕalyi  
My house will fall on me  
**My house is going to fall**
6. UP: wallah ?lЅađi: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 yegaЅ Ѕalyee mafan?llah  
Will fall on me for gods sake  
**It is going to fall on me for gods sake**
8. UP: mafan?llah terħamu:ne:  
**For gods sake have mercy on me**
9. UP: mafan?llah  
**For gods sake**
10. Aud: ( )

- 6
1. CP: Tfadal ( )  
You may ( )  
**Please go ahead**
2. CS: saiydi 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 faleiku: ( )  
State President minister state President I  
supplicate to you  
**Your Excellency (0.5) Your Excellency I  
supplicate to you**
4. CS: [( )]
5. UP: wilmalik fbdallah [( .) ] ?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 θALt?fER [ 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 fALA MUHAMAD (.)  
Hold head of corruption (.) prayers to Muhammad  
**I HAVE BEEN SUFFERING FROM CURRUPTION PRAYER TO  
(PROPHET) MUHAMMAD**
10. UP: [ >MAN QTLA NAFSUN BIYEIR NAFS ?W FASADUN FIL?Rd<sup>c</sup>  
FAK?NMA<]  
**whoever killed a soul, except for a soul slain, or  
for Sedition in the earth**
11. CP: [lw smhti wein rejal ?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?]**
12. UP: QATLA ANAS JAMI:SN WAMAN ahYAHA FK?NMA ahYA ANASJAMI:SAN  
**It should be considered as though he had killed all  
mankind"**
13. UP: hay was<sup>c</sup>lu: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 samħt (.) [ xuðu:ha] ħla maktab arrai:s=  
Excuse me take her to the President's office  
**kindly take her to the President's office**
15. UP: [ amaneh ]  
PRT  
[ ]
16. UP: =Aġt'ï: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 ħBDALLAH  
PRT PRT with sincerity you and the King Adbullah  
**WITH YOUR SINCERITY TO ALLAH TO YOU AND TO King ABDALLAH**
19. UP: ESMACU [ BEIT ESHĤER  
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 ?lfurfa 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 ħalyi=  
Reply on me  
**[Respond to me**
26. CP: =[ lw smħti (.) lw samħti ya ?xti lw samħti]  
((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**

28. CP: [ ( ) ]
29. UP: [ ( ) ]
30. CP: muŋ hek murjaŋat ?ldawa?r (.)=  
**this is not the way to address the parliament (.)=**
31. UP: =wedi IYAH  
Want him  
**I need HIM**
32. CP: [ muŋ hek murjaŋat ?ldawa?r ]  
Not how addressing the administrations  
**this is not the way to address the parliament**
33. UP: [ ( ) ]
34. Am: [>ŋwaiŋwai<  
Bit bit  
**take it easy take it easy**
35. UP: SAYIG ŋLEEK ?LLAH ARAI:S YA RAI::S  
PRT for Allah the Prime Minister PRT prime  
**FOR GODS SAKE I WANT THE PRIMIE MINISTER**
36. MP: ŋwaiŋwai  
Bit bit  
**take it easy take it easy**
37. MP: ŋwaiŋwai =  
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:ħ LAŋNDU  
**I WANT TO GO TO HIM**
40. UP: BIDI ARUħ LAŋNDU  
Need to go to him  
**I need to go and see him**
41. CP: lw samħti lw samħti  
**excuse me excuse me**

End of video

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svQrZD2KnUI>

7

1. H1: ((sets fire on the Israeli's flag from the parliament's balcony))
2. MP: ya ?xwan  
PRT brothers  
**ya ?xwan**

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>

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  
**[ brother ]**  
5. CP: ( [ ] )  
6. UP: [ ( ) ] w haða qanu:n ja:?r (.) yajeb haðfu fawran (.)  
and this law unjust must deleted immediately  
**[ ( ) ] this is an unjust legislation it must be omitted immediately**  
7. AM: ma bis<sup>ˈ</sup>i:r yħt<sup>ˈ</sup>u ?ydhom Ğleiha weħna ħakeina ( )  
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 ?lqanun qit<sup>ˈ</sup> (2.0)  
first of all not born the law never  
**first of all (1.0) legislations are never born (2.0)**  
10. UP: waħad bas biħkom=  
One just governs  
**Only one who governs =**  
11. CP: = taᶑamlau mᶑha bikul lut<sup>ˈ</sup>f weħteram eða eħtajat  
Treat her with all politeness and respect if she protests  
**=treat her with courtesy and respect if she disgarees**  
12. CP: (( guards dismiss UP))  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXv9wEhP5Tk>

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 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. S: lw samht  
excuse me  
**excuse me**
8. UP lw samht bañki mŕu bi aŕya 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 mŕna no:kil  
?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:ŕ mamnu:ŕ  
titkalam min fo:g]  
PRT PRT forbidden forbidden to  
talk from above  
**[brother you are not allowed to  
speak from above]**
12. S: lw samht =  
excuse me  
**Excuse me=**
13. UP: wallahi ma ?ru:h [mi:n bidu:]  
God not leave who will  
**I swear to god I will not go who will**
14. S: [lw samht]  
excuse me  
**[excuse me ]**
15. UP: yxdimni bidi at?aŕmi ?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: waħad yeħil muḥkilti  
someone solve my problem  
**someone to solve my problem**
19. UP: UŌKURU ?LLAH (.) bidi at?aḥmi ?wladi (.) (.) bidi  
?t?aḥmi ?wladi  
remember god I want to feed my children  
**REMEMBER GOD (.) I need to feed my children (.)**
20. bdy ħda yħil muḥkilty (.) ((guards surround  
UP))  
Need somebody solve problem  
**I need somebody to solve my problem**
21. UP: bdy ħada yeħil muḥkilty (.) mi:n yħil muḥkilti  
((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: [laħtha laħtha] ( ) laħtha laħtha  
**hold on hold on ( )**
24. S: laħtha hal? babḥaθlak nas hal? babḥaθlak 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: xalasḥ xalasḥ hal? babḥaθlak 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 ḥbeitak ?llah yustur ḥbeitak ((UP  
holds the fence of the gallery))
29. CS: biidi ?kmil ħadethi dawlet arr?i:s  
need continue talking state President  
**I want to complete my speech your excellency**
30. CP: ſukran dawlat arr?i:s  
thank you state President  
**thank you your excellency**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqSn7Q6lTrQ>



We wrote line left a line  
memorised lesson  
**We wrote a line (1.0) we left a line (1.0) we  
memorised the 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  
**thugs**
6. Gs: la tothrob  
not harm him  
**do not harm him**
7. UP: baltagia  
thugs  
**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**
2. CS: ?ddawala ?l3asriya (.) huwa ?l3mal bi?hkam  
?ddustu:r wat3di:l a3kamihi  
State modern is working rules  
institution and its amendments  
**modern state is by applying what the constitution  
stipulates and its amendments**

3. CS: letuwakib ?ttat?awr( ) filʕa::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 masʕlhat ?lbiḷad walʕeba:d]  
 Appropriate benefit of country and people  
**[To cope up with the benefit of the country and  
 its people]**
5. UP: [ saʕadet ?lna?b (.)saʕadet ?lna?b]  
 excellency MP excellency MP  
**[ your excellency (.) your excellency ]**
6. UP: ya majles ?lmeih wihdaʕef=  
 PRT parliament one hundred and eleven  
**parliament one hundred and eleven =**
7. CS: =[ walilḥefað 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 ?tʕdilal ?ddustu:ria  
 stop amendments constitution  
**stop the constitution amendments**
11. CPL al?men  
**guards**
12. UP: [( ) ) waqfoo ?taʕdilal ?ddustu:ria  
 Stop constitution amendments  
**[ ( ) ) stop the constitution  
 amendments**
13. CP: [ ?l?men]  
 guards  
**[ guards ]**
14. UP: ( ) ?tʕdilal addustu:rya ( )  
 addustu:r xat? aḥmar  
 Amendments constitution ( )  
 consitiution red line  
**( ) constitution amendments ( ) the  
 constitution is a red line**
15. UP: [ʔeḥtarmu ?ʕabab eḥtarmu ?lʕabab] eḥtarmu  
 ?ʕabab  
 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 ?ʕabab gaʕdi:n betnaqfu ]

- These youth sit discuss  
**[the youths are discussing ]**
17. CP: wein ?l?men yaa ?xwan=  
 Where guatds PRT brothers  
**where are the guards brothers**
18. UP: =eħtarmu ?ʃABA:::B (1.0)  
 Respect the youth  
**respect the YOUT::: H (1.0)**
19. AM: ( )
20. UP: eħtarmu ?ʃabab bas eħtarmu ?ʃabab (2.0)  
 respect the youth just respect the youth  
**respect the youth just respect the youth (2.0)**
21. Aud: ((inaudible voices))
22. AM: maʃku ħaq  
 you have right  
**you have the right ((mockingly way))**
23. CS: dawlat arrai;s [ ?uxwa azzumla? ]  
 State President brothers colleges  
**your excellency [ brother and colleagues ]**
24. AM: [ ?lħaq mu ʃleik ]  
 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 excuse me PRT brothers  
**excuse me excuse me ya brothers**
2. UP: laday waθ?q (.) lady waθa?q tazwi:r  
 I have documents (.) I have documents fraud  
**I have documents I owe fraud documents**
3. UP: ((throws 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: mara θaniya ( ) ʃlayna ya Ahmad Alsafadi  
 time next on us PRT NAME NAME  
**the next time on us ya Ahamd Alsafadi**
8. Gs: (( Guards take the UP outside the gallery))

14

Starts at 00:48sec

1. CS: tabyan li ?nu baqa? haða ?lmjlis lil?sbab ?lati  
ðukerat 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**
2. CS: men muxtalaf ?l?exwa ?l?ði:na ( ) (.)  
?al?fðal fi ?ebqa? haða ?lmajlis  
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: haða lu:bbi  
this group  
**this is a group**
8. Am: ?lahu ?kbar (1.0) waltasqot? al?arab  
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: =?lhu ?kbar (7.0) ((looks at MP and smiles))  
Allah is the greatest

- Allah is the greatest (7.0)**
12. AM: eða samht  
If you excuse me
13. CP: tfðal (1.0) dagi:ga dagi:ga dagi:ga ?ða samht  
dagi:ga eða samht 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)**
14. CP: eða samht ?lmafrruð ?nnaðara ?lli fi ?lfurfa: ?an  
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**
15. CP: afaxis<sup>ç</sup> ?lli ?t<sup>ç</sup>laq ?s<sup>ç</sup>wat ?t<sup>ç</sup>lub minhu muyadarat  
?furfaa  
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?lamn ?lçam yet<sup>ç</sup>lçu  
and national security dismiss him  
**and the guards shall dismiss him**
17. UP (( H walks out of the gallery))
18. Aud: ((various voices))
19. Am: qarar ?ra?i:s haða qarar aria:s haða  
decision chairperson decision chairperson this  
**the chairperson's decision this is the  
chairperson's decision**
20. CP: xalas<sup>ç</sup>?ntaheina lan ?smañ bilfawða bi bi la min  
?naðara ?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=T3EFDLEXIk4>

15

1. Aud: ((clapping))
2. CP: [( )]okran]  
thank you  
**[( ) thank you]**
3. UP: [ alxezy kulilxezy ] walçar 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**
6. AUD: ( )
7. UP: ( ) ((( struggling with guards)))
8. CP: lw samħt lw samħt  
**excuse me excuse me**
9. CP: furkan lakum fukran lakum  
thank you all thank you all  
**thank you all thank you all**
10. UP: ( ) [( )]
11. CP: [ ?uðakrkum b?na hunalik jalsa tafreʕya assaʕa  
ʕafarah wanusʕ sabaħan  
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) ru:ħ ?erðaʕ  
Suck go suck  
**Suck (milk) go suck ((mockery; treating the UP as  
immature enough))**
15. AM: ru:ħ ?rðaʕ ħali:b  
Go suck milk  
**Go such milk ((mockingly expression))**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WtMAVHVWj8Y11>

16

*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)

---

<sup>11</sup> Deleted from YouTube.

- PRT guards PRT guards  
**ya guards (.) ya guards (1.0)**
3. CP: ĥaras ?lmajlis  
guards parliament  
**guards of the parliament/parliament**
4. UP ( )
5. CP: ya ĥaras ?lmajlis  
PRT guards parliament  
**ya guards of the parliament/parliament**
6. UP ( )
7. CP: ya ḏabet? >xalu: yeħki xalu yeħki <  
PRT officer >let him speak let him speak  
**ya officer >let him speak let him speak<**
8. AM: ya ?xi xalu yeħki  
PRT PRT let him speak  
**let him speak**
9. CP: xalu yaħki  
let him speak  
**let him speak**
10. CP: ?ħki ?ħki ya Ğami  
speak speak PRT PRT  
**speak speak**
11. Aud: ((various voices)) (5.0)
12. UP ( )
13. CP: ya ĥaḏrat aḏabit?  
PRT dear officer  
**dear officer**
14. UP: ?ħna ?rbaġi:n sana wħna Ğumal naĞmal tanzil wa  
taħmi: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 ?ddwla wala ?y dinar (.) ?uju:rna min  
?tujar (.) ?aji bidi ?lif baĞd  
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: ?rbaġi:n saneh haḏa ?lġat?a? ?lu ( )  
) weħna Ğam ?nna:di=  
Forty years this tender its  
we are calling  
**after forty years I see this tender ( )  
and we have been reporting=**
17. AM: = ġusem ?ġarikeħ?  
Name of company

- What's the name of the company**
18. UP: ?ħna Œam ?nadi=  
we are calling  
**we have been reporting**
19. AM: = fusem ?Œarikeh  
Name of company  
**what's the name of the company?**
20. UP: muŒ ?maklfi:n xazinet ?ddawleh wala taŒri:fiwaħde  
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 bathħada [eħa- ]  
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 xalas<sup>Œ</sup>  
Acknowledged the message enough  
**your message has been acknowledged that's enough**
27. UP: ( ) daxli:n Œ?llah wa  
I supplicate to Allah and  
**( ) I supplicate to Allah and**
28. UP [ ( ) ]
29. CP: [ weslat aresala xalina nŒref neŒtayil] Œad  
xalas<sup>Œ</sup> ((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](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xo_9biWL9-s)

17

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

2. UP [ ?onafed ?ollah (1.0) ?onafed 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 afort?a? xoðu xalu yet?laŋ barra  
where the gaurds? Take him dismiss him outside  
**where are the guards? Take him dismiss him off the  
gallery**
5. UP [ ( )
6. CP: [ ?ŋtaqlu  
confine him  
**[confine him**
7. UP ( )
8. CP: ?ŋtaqlu  
**confine him**
9. UP ?onafed ?ollah  
I supplicate god  
**I supplicate to god**
10. CP: xoðu:h (2.0) [xoðu:h] (1.0) haða moŋ masraħ  
titŋawadu ŋaleh  
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 ŋadinya min hon yalah=  
come swear PRT from here PRT  
**To come and swear to everybody here PRT**
13. UP = [ ( )
14. CP: [?ŋtaqlu (1.0)  
confine him  
**[confine him (1.0)**
15. UP [ ( )
16. CP: [?ŋtaqlu (4.0) ((Guards take UP off the  
gallery))  
confine him  
**[ confine him (4.0)**
17. CP: ?eħjizo ŋindak (.) wxod hawi:tu  
Keep him with you take his ID  
**arrest him and take his ID**
18. CP: wa ?eŋt?ini ?yaha baŋdein  
and give to me later  
**and hand it to me later**

Retrieved from YouTube: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PIFuFN\\_WbgQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PIFuFN_WbgQ)

1. UP: ?ħmad ?binku zai mahu ?bn ?alwtʔn (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: banafid ?lmalk banafdk ya ġalalit ?lmalk ?nak  
tunðʔr ?bni ?ħmd  
supplicate king supplicate majesty king for  
**I supplicate to the king I supplicate to his majesty  
the king for**
5. bigabru ?nsʔif ?ħmad gabru ?ħmd mðʔlu:m ?ħmd fahi:d  
( ) ġalei  
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. ħaram ħaram ?ħko ya nuwab ?ħku ya faʔb ?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**
- ( ) kul ?lwarag  
all papers  
**( ) all documents**
7. ( ) wagfu ya jamaʔt ?lxeir ?tgu ?lah  
?taqu ?lah bigdʔiet ?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: ?ħmad ?ħmad ?bni θani ?m ( ) ħara:m  
ħara:m ħara:m ya nuwa:b  
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  
bilfarɣ 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**
11. maradʃtuna ħaram ɣleiku ʔtagu ʔlah ya jalalit  
saidna ʔtagu ʔlah ʔbtiħku  
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. ɣan ʔlkaz wilyaz mawtu:na ju 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. ʔħmad ʔlsbeiħi dam ʔħmad ʔlsbeiħi weinu  
NAME NAME blood NAME NAME where is  
**of ahmad alsbeihi 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: ( ) waʔlsiyada ʔlwatʔania  
and sovereignty national  
( ) **and national sovereignty**
2. UP: BAɣOOHAA (2.0)  
**THEY SOLD IT (2.0)**
3. CP: lw samħt ya Yahya ihna wadenak tnzil ʔzzomola?  
excuse me PRT Yahya we sent you to down  
colleagues  
**excuse me ya Yahya we sent you to bring the  
colleagues**
4. CP: moɣ togɣod ( )=  
not to sit down  
**but not to join them**
5. UP = la ʔna minðam ʔlhom 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: [?lmalakya] baðoha maðal ?fi 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 [?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
12. bilmalakia klo baðooha=  
not left thing in the royalty everything is sold  
**[nothing is] left in the (royal Jordanian) they  
have sold it**
13. CP: xoðlak çadeh=  
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 ?otalib (.) min sçadat ?lwazeer (.)  
biwadçeç  
and here I demand from your excellency minister  
to  
establish  
**(1.0) and here (parliament) I demand (.) from  
your excellency (.) to establish**
17. CS: majlis ?lnawab bi ( ) ?ljuhu:d ?lmabðola (.)  
lçadat ?lmably ?lmanhu: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=sSCv1kw4q2M>

1. CS: (3.0) wa (1.0) fi radi (.) ʕla (.) xotʔab ʔsada  
ʔnawab (.) 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: [ʔnawab] ibteðħk ʕlyhom  
ʔnawab ibteðħk ʕlyhom  
The MPs fool them the MPs fool them  
**You are misleading the MPs you are misleading the  
MPs**
4. CP: mʕleij Yahya [Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya]  
excuse me Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya Yahya
5. UP [( )]
6. UP: ʔnawab ibteðħk 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: ʔnawab moʕ gadrin yefofu: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: [ʔnawab lazim yekħafu:k min ʔlqaʕa haði=  
MPs must dismiss from the this hall  
**The MPs must dismiss you out of this hall  
[parliament ]**
14. CP: = xalas yahya xalas inhi (.) ʔllah yerða 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

- 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 yħki balaf  
 not wish speak PRT  
**If he doesn't wish to speak that's fine**
20. CP: YA YAħYA ?RJU:K  
 PRT Yahya please  
**YA Yahya please**
21. MP: [ ma: bisi:r ya yaħya  
 not acceptable PRT Yahya  
**this is unacceptable ya Yahya**
22. UP: [ ma bidu yaħki balaf=  
 not want speak PRT  
**If he doesn't wish to speak that's fine**
23. CP: =Yaħya ?anheina (1.0) xalas<sup>ç</sup> Yaħya=  
 Yahya end it enough Yahya  
**Yahya end it that's enough Yahya**
24. CS: =m?ali ?ra?i:s  
 Honourable chairperson  
**Your excellency**
25. CP: (.) mçlef (2.0) ya axwan rai:s ?lwozara yatahada<sup>θ</sup>  
 ili biħib 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 mawd<sup>ç</sup>oç θani lakin ħaqu yetklam  
 wnsmaç  
**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**
2. CS: la yomkin ?n tarfʕ (.) ?sʕar ?lkahruba:? (.) ?la  
(.) bilʕwda ?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: bidʕabtʔ kama ?ltazamna (2.0)  
Exactly as we have pledged  
**Exactly as we have pledged (1.0)**
4. UP: <dawer ʕbadi:l thani> daw [ lat ?rraʔi:s ] yeir  
rafʕ ?l?sʕa:r  
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 bnesmaħlak terfaʕ ?lasʕar> ħata  
[ ( ) ]  
not allow you increase the rates even  
( )  
**we will not allow you to increase the tariffs even  
[( )]**
9. CP: [ax Yaħya]  
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 Yaħya  
Please please not NAME  
**Please please no Yahya**
13. UP: kalam marfu:ð haða  
Talk is unacceptable this

- What you said in unacceptable**
14. CP: Yaḥya ?rjook xali ?lra?i:s yekamil  
**Yahya please let the Prime Minister continue**
15. Aud: ( ) majles ?nawab  
**( ) the parliament**
16. CP: ?zomla?  
**colleagues**
17. Aud: ((various voices))
18. MP: ↓fu: halʕadeh↑ ↓fo 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 (.) yaḥya (.)yaḥya yaḥya  
(4.0) ?ogʕod ya ?buruman  
enough PRT(.) yahya (.) yahya (.) yahya (4.0) sit  
sit PRTabu ruman
21. CP: ogʕod ya ?bu ruman < ogʕod ya ?bu ruman > < ogʕod  
ya ?bu ruman > Yaḥya  
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 ogʕod (.) ya axwan azomla (2.0) azzomla  
istari:ḥo<itfadʕalu:>  
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**
24. CP: estariḥu: tefdʕalu: ?zomla (.)tefdʕalu: ?zomla  
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))**
28. CP: tefathalu: ?ogʕdu: arjooko

- tefdʿalu: sit I beg you  
**please sit down please**
29. CP: ya ?bu ruman ismaʿni tefdʿalu: ?ogʿdu: (1.0)  
 PRT PRT ruman listen to me you may sit (plural)  
**ya abu ruman listen to me please sit down (1.0)**
30. CP: tefdʿalu: ?zomla (.)?zomla (.)?ogʿdu: tefdʿalu:  
 you may colleagues colleagues sit (plural) you may (plural)  
**please colleagues(.) colleagues(.) sit (down) please**
31. CP: tefdʿalu: (.)tefdʿalu: (3.0) tefdʿalu:  
 you may you may you may  
**Please (.) please (3.0) please**
32. CP: YA ?XI ?OGʿOD (.) ?BU RUMAN  
 PRT BROTHER SIT (.) ABU RUMMAN  
**YA BROTHER SIT (DOWN) (.) ABU RUMMAN**
33. CP: ?ogʿd tfadal ?star:h maḥalak  
 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>

22

1. CS: ?fata?m wasaba:b (.) wa?na ?br? binafsi ?n ?nzil  
 li haḍa ?lmostawa: (.)  
 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: waḥawlet ?n ?oḥafið ʿla ?ʿsʿa:bi [ lidaqiqa:  
 ?laxira:  
 and tried to maintain on nerves to last minute  
**and I tried to control my tension until the last minute**
3. UP: [ wallahi ?na:k  
 kadab  
 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 kadab ( )  
 I swear to god you are lying  
**I swear that you are lying**
7. CP: ya yaḥya  
 PRT NAME  
**Ya yahya**
8. Aud: ((various voices))
9. CS: haḏa howa ?nnamu:ḏaj  
 this is an example  
**this is an example**
10. CP: Yaḥya  
 NAME  
 Yahya
11. CS: lan ?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: haḏa ?lkala:m ya yaḥya (.) la yali:q bi majlis  
 ?na:wab ya yaḥya  
 this talk PRT NAME not suitsin the  
 parliament MPs PRT NAME  
**it is inappropriate to speak like this in the parliament ya Yahya**
15. CP: la yali:q 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 fakwa (1.0)  
 I submit complaint  
**I (shall) submit a compliant**
17. CP: haḏa la yali:q bimajlis ?na:wab haḏa ?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 ?ljalsa: ila sabaḥ ( ) torfʕ  
 ?ljalsa ila saba:ḥ yom yad  
 adjourn adjourn session morning adjourn session  
 to morning tomorrow  
**session adjourned to morning session adjourned to tomorrow morning**

23

1. UP: ?GRA: ?LMADA: TESʕA WƏAMA:NI:N  
read article eighty nine  
**READ ARTICLE EIGHTY NINE**
2. CP: ga:ri ?lmade gablak ?lah yerdʕa ʕleik=  
read the article before you Allah (god) mercy on  
you  
**I have read the article before you god's 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 ʕleik togʕod  
NAME I wish on you sit down  
**Yahya I wish you sit down**
5. UP: sʕadet ?lra?i:s eqra ?lmadeh tesʕa wthamanin  
Your excellency read article eighty nine  
**Your Excellency read article eighty-nine**
6. CP: batmna: ?lyk togʕod ya yahya  
I wish on you to sit down PRT NAME  
**I wish you sit down ya Yahya**
7. UP: Iʕtʕini majal ?hki  
Give path speak  
**Give me permission to speak**
8. CP: ma bʕtʕi:k ( )  
not give you ( )  
**I will not give you ( )**
9. UP: ya si:di Iʕtʕini ?lneðam ?ddaxli  
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))
14. UP: ya sidi igra: ?lneðam ?ddaxli ya rola ( )  
PRT PRT read the internal regulations PRT Rola  
**ya seidi read the internal regulations ya Rola**
15. Aud: ( )
16. UP: Igra ?neðam ?ddaxli ma BITʕLʕLO  
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 yeħki  
I read it before you ( ) let the President  
speak  
**I already read it ( ) let the prime (minister)  
speak**
20. UP: ?gra ?neðam ?ddaxli ya sƣadet ?ra?i:s  
Read the internal regulations PRT your excellency  
**read the internal regulations ya your excellency**
21. UP: ?gra ?neðam ?ddaxli  
**Read the internal regulations**
22. CP: yaħya  
NAME  
**Yahya**
23. UP: t?big ?neðam ?ddaxli  
apply regulations internal  
**apply the internal regulations**
24. CP: yaħya  
NAME  
**Yahya**
25. CP: tat?bi:g ?neðam ?ddaxli mafru:d ƣleik  
Application the internal regulations obligatory  
on you  
**Applying the internal regulations is obligatory  
for you**
26. UP: t?big ?neðam ?ddaxli [ ya sƣadet  
?ra?i:s  
apply the internal regulations PRT your  
excellency  
**apply the internal regulations [ ya your  
excellency**
27. CP: [?na  
mat?big ?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=WwtbrgbPdms>

starts Min 2:26

1. ((Standing at the podium not from his seat))
2. CS: ?na ?nsʰ ?lmajlis ?lkri:m (.) b?na ?ljnna  
?almaliya ?staqlat wuzor?  
I advise parliament respected PRT  
committee financial welcomed ministers  
**I advise the respected parliament b?na the  
finnancil committee welcomed**
3. CS: Alhkoma wazi:r ?ltʰa:qa wazri:r ?lmalya wawazi:r  
?taxtʰi:tʰ waʃdandan  
government minister of energy minister of finance  
and minister of palnning and many  
**the government ministers (and the) minister of  
energy (and the) minister of planning and many**
4. CS ?axr min?lwozor? ?lkira:m nħnu mustaʃdu:n min  
?lʰan ?lla ?lwaqt  
other PRT ministers respected we ready from now  
to the time  
**other respected ministers we are ready from now  
to the time**
5. CS: alθi: to?kido:n itʰl3o 3la kol ?lbyanat itʰl3o 3la  
kol ?lʰrqam itʰl3o la  
which you approve review on all data review on  
all numbers review on all  
**which you would like to approve review all data  
review all numbers review**
6. CS: kol ( ) leman lam ytʰli3 ?ma?lmotʰl3 min da:r  
?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**
7. CS: ((looks at UP))
8. UP: [( )]
9. 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 yħko o?gʕud  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJ1OQQ5cBN0>

25

1. CP: ( ) ?nta bidak tʕtarið 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: fo tʕalu lafo:q fo 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 ?lhukuma wbadafiʕ 3an  
?tafri:ʕ ?lnwab ( )  
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 presuemed 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**
20. CP:       ?na mothtar 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:      lyf tirfa? ?ljalsa  
 why adjourn the session  
**why did you adjourn the session**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqyY BTac0Y>

26

1. UP:       mamno3 rafe3 alkahroba? Wala fils=  
 prohibited increase the energy even CURRENCY



colleagues if you please a-

((End of video due to cut))

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03sp6ugV7fg>

27

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 tp 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

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PRT man have faith in gog  
**ya man have faith in god**

15. Aud: ((various voices))

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHoMnQAJTMO>

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 gendamarine 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 sama7et  
**if you please**

**DELETED FROM YOUTUBE**

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1. CS: saʕadat ʔraʔi:s ʔna batman: bas kama:ra:t  
ʔtilfizyo: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 sʕadat ʔraʔi:s kol waħed ʕndo kamara:  
bisaltʔha ʕla ħalo  
Because excellency CP every one has camera on  
himself  
**your Excellency because some (MPs) have a focused  
camera on themselves**
3. ħata ʕaljan saʕadet ʔraʔi:s  
Even to the committee your excellency
4. CP tʔayeb  
Okay
5. UP: ( )
6. CS: ħõa ʔlkla:m kolu tandʕi:r ħaki ili ħakah fawaz  
saħħ bihaõa ʔlqanu:n  
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 Yaħya (1.0)  
PRT NAME  
**ya Yahya (1.0)**
9. CS: sʕadat ʔrrʔi:s (1.0) saʕadat ʔrrʔi:s  
excellency CP excellency CP  
**Your excellency (1.0) your excellency**
10. CS: Sʕa-  
exc  
**Your-**
11. CP: ya Yaħya (.) tfadal xalis =  
PRTNAME (.) you may finish  
**ya Yahya (.) please finish**

12. CS: = saʕadat- ʔla yegʔaʕna min jalsa ( ) min hað  
ʔlqanu: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 ʔrrʔi:s  
Excellency CP  
**Your excellency**
14. CP: Ya Yaħya  
PRT Yahya  
**Ya Yahya**
15. CS: haða haða haða ʔlqanu:n  
this this this law/legislation  
**This this this law/ legislation**
16. CP: [toʃtʔab ʔya mo]daxla [ʔlak min maħðr] [haða  
ʔlʔjtimaʕ ] ya Yaħya  
deletion any participation you from agenda this  
meeting PRT NAME  
**your participation will be removed from minutes of this  
meeting Yahya**
17. UP: [ʔħtarim ħalak ] [ʔħtarim ħalak] [(  
)]  
respect yourself respect yourself  
**[respect yourself ] [respect yourself ]**
18. UP: ( )
19. CP: ya Yaħya  
PRT Yahay  
**ya Yahya**
20. UP: ( )
21. CP: Yaħya  
NAME  
**Yahya**
22. UP : ʔnta bidafeʕ ʕan ʔyʃt  
you defend for what  
**What are you defending**
23. UP: [ bidafeʕ ʕan matha ] ((FORMAL ARABIC TALK))  
Defend for what  
**What are you defending?**
24. CP: [ ((knocks with the gravel)) ]
25. UP: [ ( ) ]
26. CS: [sʕadat ʔrrʔi:s]  
excellency CP  
**your excellency**
27. CP: [ ((knocks with the gravel )) ]
28. CS: [sʕadat ʔraʔi:s ]  
excellency CP

- Your excellency**
29. CP: Ya Yahya =  
PRT Yahya  
**Ya Yahya =**
30. CS: =niftaḥ ḥalabat musḥaraḥa: sḥadat ḥrr?i:s  
open arena wrestling excellency CP  
**should we establish a wrestling arena your excellency**
31. CP: ya Yahya xali ḥadiḥk iḥtkramit bidk tḥmal modaxla ḥa  
ḥlmawdḥoḥ  
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**
32. CS: niftaḥ ḥalabat musḥaraḥa: ho:n sḥadat ḥrr?i:s  
open arena wrestling here excellency CP  
**should we establish a wrestling arena your excellency**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MU4h7X5GU94>

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Transcript starts at 0.55 secs

1. CP: yḥni ḥaḥa qara kutla ḥaa ḥxwani (.) [ ḥrjuku  
PRT this decision committee aaa brothers please  
**yḥni 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 ḥrjuk]i  
PRT PRT Hind please  
**ya sit Hind please**
8. UP: [ ( ) ]
9. CP: [ḥzumla? ḥaḥa qara kutla] ḥsmḥuni  
colleagues this decision committee listen me  
**[colleagues this is a committee decision ] listen to me**
10. UP: [ ]
11. CP: ya ḥxi [ muḥ ḥeik muḥ ḥeik ḥzumula? ]

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- 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 fasʕlu min ?lmajlis [ ( ) ]  
 vote on suspending him from the parliament  
**The Voting for suspending him from the parliament**
15. UP2: [ haða yajib fasʕlu min ?ʃʕb ]  
 ?luruni  
 this must be suspended from Jordanian  
 citizenship  
**(he) must be suspended from the Jordanain  
 citizenship**
16. UP1: ( )
17. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
18. CP: ((rings the bell))
19. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
20. CP: ?zumla ?rjuku ya mħmad mħmad ?g3ud ya mħmad  
 ?ntaheina  
 colleagues please PRT NAME (x2) sit PRT Mohammad  
 end it for  
**colleagues plase ya Mohmmad sit (down) Mohammad we  
 had enough from**
21. min ?lmawdu:ʕ  
**the subject**

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLqNn\\_VyD3Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLqNn_VyD3Q)

31

1. UP: ma fei ?ya ?ħtiram lin?b biha:ða: ?lmajlis  
 no there any respect for MP in this parliament  
**there is no respect for MP in this parliament**
2. UP: iħna gaʕdi:n [( ) ]  
 we sitting  
 we are here [( ) ]
3. Aud: [ (scream) ( ) ]
4. UP: ( [ ) ]
5. CP: [ ?ostað Yahya iða samħt ] (1.0) tayb  
 Mr NAME if excuse me okay  
 [Mr Yahya if your please ] (1.0) okay
6. CP: ya Yahya  
 PRT NAME

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- ya Yahya
7. UP: ( [ ] )
8. CP: [ iða fi fay ʕneðam haða ?lbayan xali:h  
laljalisa ?θania=  
[ 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 ?lhaki haða  
PRT PRT not acceptable talk this  
**this talk is unacceptable**
11. CP: ?lʔan (.) ?lband ?lthi yali:h eða samħto
12. CA: [ ( ) kitab dawlat raʔi: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 waħed ?la  
PRT one is Allah  
**yaxi (say) Allah is one ((demand to believe that  
Allah is one))**
15. CP: tfdal ostað 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 biʕi:r ?lhaki haða=  
not acceptable talk this  
**this talk is unacceptable=**
19. CP: =la biʕi:r ?lhaki haða  
Not acceptable talk this  
**=No this is acceptable**
20. UP: [( ) ]
21. CP: [ momkin tij]les makank  
possible sit in your place  
[ can you s]it down
22. UP: ma biʕi: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 bitʔl3lak haða ʔlklam xala- ma  
bitʔlʕlak haða ʔlklam]  
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: tfdʕal ax Basam  
you may PRT NAME  
you may (speak) ax Bassam
27. UP: ibtʔtarim- ( )  
respect  
(you should) respect- ( )
28. CP: ʃokran ʔna bʔtarim kol ʔzomlʔ bas inta tʔtarim  
ʔnak naʔb  
Thank you I respect all colleagfues but you respect  
MP  
**Thank you I respect all colleagues but you (should)  
respect yourself MP**
29. UP: ma biʕi:r ʔlhaky haða  
not acceptable talk this  
**it is unacceptable**
30. CS: lw samʔt ya dawalt ʔrrʔi:s  
excuse me PRT state President  
**excuse me ya your excellency**
31. CS: [ man men ʔzomolaa ]  
Who of colleagues  
**[who of the colleagues]**
32. UP: [ ʃo hfyle ( ) ]  
what PRT  
what hfyle

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jyKIvuAuBg>

32

1. CS: ma tafðala bihi ʔnnaʔb ʔlði taʔadth qabla qalii:l  
(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 ʔoskot law samʔy  
xalini akamil ʔjlis 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 excue me  
let me finish sit (down)**
4. xalini ʔkmil ʔjlis mkanak
5. AUD: ((inaudible voices))
6. CS: xalini ʔkmil ʔna saʕadat [ ʔraʔi:s ]  
Let me continue your excellency  
**Let me continue your excellency**
7. CP: [ ʔrju: ]
8. CP: ʔan yatasiʕ sadrna ʔla bʕdʕna wanasmaʕ  
bʕdʕna wahaða
9. UP: ʔna ma qultuhu sʔukarirhu ʔlʔan=  
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 samaʔt law samaʔet Tamir ʔna ( ) ʔsmaʕ  
sleiman ʔsmaʕ  
excuse me excuse me NAME I listen  
NAME listen  
**excuse me excuse me Tamit listen  
Sulieiman listen**
13. UP2: tfdal tfdal ( )  
you may you may  
**please please**
14. CP: ʔhki  
**speak**
15. CS: wʔna la ʔquluha wala ʔqulu beimaʕdʕal ʔdefaʕ 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 mawdʕiʕ ʔldifaʕ ʕan ʔlnafs  
not in situation defend myself  
**I'm not in a situation to defend myself**  
subjet of defending for the self  
**for the subject of defending myself**
17. UP3: la bidak ʔdafiʕ ʕan ʔlʕʕaʔr bidak tiʔlatʔ  
[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? ?gʕod]  
calm sit  
**[calm (down) sit (down)]**
19. CS: ?GʕOD=  
sit  
**sit [down]**
20. UP3: ?na ma [bagʕod]  
I not sit  
**I do not sit (down)**
21. CS: [?god ]  
sit  
**[ sit down]**
22. UP3: [( )]
23. CS: [( ) ] mħmad [ʔlqatatʃa ʕindma qal ]  
NAME alqatatsheh when he said  
**Mohammad Alqatatsheh when he said**
24. UP3: [( ) ]
25. UP3: lamma tiylatʔ ʕalʕaʕaʔr ( )]  
when you swear to the tribes  
**when you swear to the tribes**
26. CS: [ ?na ma ʔletʔt]  
I not swear  
**[ I did not swear ]**
27. CS: ?smaʕ ?smaʕ ?hda wismaʕ  
listen listen calm and listen  
**listen listen = calm (down) and listen**
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdWNPkLEYB4>

33

Starts: 01:04sec

1. CP: ?lmothdiθ ?lōi: yali:h ?lax Yaħya ?sʕu:d itfdal  
Yaħya  
Speaker that next PRT NAME NAME you may NAME  
**the next speaker Yahya Alsoud you may (speak)  
Yahya**
2. CS: bism ?lah ?raħman ?raħi:m (.) saʕadat ?raʕi:s

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- name Allah merciful kind excellency CP  
**in the name of Allah the most merciful the most kind (.) your excellency**
3. ?na basjil ?tabi wa  
 I record regret my and  
**I express my regret and**
4. [taħafodi ?ariasa ?ljali:la bitrk ?zoml?]  
 reservation on the presidency venerable  
**reservation to the venerable presidency (CP)**
5. H: [( ) ]
6. CS: ya Hind ?la [yxliki] ((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] ( ) [ ?awra  
 kaḏaba] ((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 PRT NAME  
**ya Hind ya Hind ya Hind**
12. H: **ma tzawid ?alqawmia ?l?arabia ... (1.0)**  
 do not add further information on the Arabian  
 nationalism
13. CS: [S?adt ?rr?i:s]  
 excellency CP  
**[your excellency]**
14. H: [lama enħat?o ] fi ?lsoujoun sho [sawet] ((MP  
 approaches UP))  
 when were in prisons what do  
**when they were in prison what did you do**
15. CS: [S?adet] ?ra?i:s  
 excellency CP  
**your excellency**
16. ya Hind ?ogo?di ya Hind ((CS looks at H &  
 waves his arm))  
 PRT NAME sit PRT NAME  
**ya Hind sit (down) ya HIND**
17. CP: ?og?od ya ?ħki ya Yaħya

- 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: OGOʕD:I ((slamming his hand on the  
 desk roughly))  
 sit  
**sit down (feminine)**
21. H: Lama ʔnħatʔo fi esjoon ʃo 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: ʔlislam fo:g rasak (.) ʔlislam fo:q rasak  
 islam above head yours islam above head yours  
**Islam is above your head (.) islam is above your  
 head**
24. CP: ya Hind=  
 PRT NAME  
**ya Hind**
25. H: = ʔlʔslam ʕrasi 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 ʔsju:n  
 In prisons  
**[( ) ] in prisons**
28. CP: bʕdi:n ya Hind ʕad ma ħkeity [xalasʕ wslat  
 PRT PRT NAME PRT you talked enough acknowledged  
**bʕdi:n ya Hind ʕad you spoke enough it is  
 acknowledged**
29. H: [ʕeeb halħaki (1.0)  
 shame this talk  
**this is shame (1.0)**
30. CP: xalasʕ sakt nahom ʔogʕdi=  
 enough silenced then sit  
**enough we silenced them sit (down)**
31. =ʕeib  
 shame

- =shame**
32. CP: xalas<sup>9</sup> ya Hind (2.0)  
enough PRT NAME  
**enough ya Hind (2.0)**
33. CS: bism ?lah ?rħman ?raħi:m=  
**in the name of Allah the most merciful the most kind**
34. CP: =Yahya 9eed mn ?l?wal  
NAME start from beginning  
**=Yahya start from the beginning**
35. CS: wasalto waslam 9la sayd ?lmorsali:n  
**prayers be upon our prophet Muhammad**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qTpf6tDg7d4>

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1. CS: yajib ?n naqra? ?lfatiħa<sup>12</sup> 9la hað ?lmajlis  
wafahada:t ?zzu:r ?lti gudimat  
must to read Fatiha (opening verse in Quran) on  
this parliament witnesses false which proposed  
**we must read Fatiha on this parliament false  
witnesses which have been proposed**
2. ha[ ða ?lyum fi 9mman la yaju: la yaju:z ( )  
la yaju:z] la yaju:z  
this day in Amman not acceptable not  
acceptable not acceptable  
**today [ in Amman it is unacceptable (x2) ( )  
it is unacceptable (x2)**
3. CP: [ ( ) ]
4. CS: la yaju:z la yaju:z ( 1.5) ?ða samħat  
not acceptable (x2) if please  
**it is unacceptable (x2) if you please**
5. CP: ( ) ]
6. CP: ( )
7. CS: xalini ?kmil xalini ?kmil xalini ?kmil ?ða samħt  
let me finish (x3) if please  
**let me finish (x3) if you please**

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<sup>12</sup> 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))

9. CP: ( ) law samħt ?sseid ?hmad ?ljalu:di  
?lōi yali:h (2.0)  
excuse me Mr Ahmad Aljaloudi  
which after  
**excuse me Mr Ahmad Aljaloudi**  
**the next (speaker)**

10. la ( ) ?ssyid Ahmad aljaloudi  
not Mr NAME NAME  
**no Mr Ahmad Aljaloudi**

*CUT in video*

11. CS: ʃiuhu:d su:?  
witness false  
**you are evil witnesses**

12. CP: ( )

13. CS: ʃiuhu:d su:??=  
witnesses evil  
**you are evil witnesses**

14. UP: = inta ( )  
you

15. CS: wallahi ?nakom ʃiuhu:d su:??  
**Allah you are witness false**  
**I swear to god that you are evil witnesses**

16. UP: ?uskut  
**Shut up**

17. CS: wallahi ?l3athi:m ?nkom [ʃiuhu:d ] su:?  
Allah the greatests you (plural) are witnesses  
false  
**I swear to god that you are evil witnesses**

18. CP: [ ?zomola? ]  
colleagues  
**[ colleagues]**

19. CS: ( )

20. UP: ( )

21. CP: ?na sa?ktob ?ltawsiyat ?lmawjouda mudʃtadr ?ktub  
?ltawsiyat ?lmawjouda  
I will write recommendations available obliged to  
write the recommendations available  
**I will write the registered recmmendaions I'm**  
**obliged to write the registered recommendations**

22. AUD: ((inaudible voices))

23. CP: law samaħtu ( 2.0) ya ʒassaf law samaħtu ?na  
excuse me PRT NAME excuse me  
**excuse me (2.0) ya Assaf excuse me**

END OF VIDEO

35

1. UP: ma beħtrim ?na?eb wolħkoma gaŋd btedˆħk ŋEIB  
Not respect MP and the government is laughing  
shame  
**you do not respect MPs and the government is  
laughing SHAME**
2. UP: haða ?lmawdˆooŋ ( ) min wazi:r ?ddaxlia ( )  
this subject from minister of  
interior  
**this topic ( ) from the minister  
of interior ( )**
3. UP: [ŋeeb ?lħaki ] hað  
Shame talk this  
**[This talk is ] shame**
- 4.→ CP: [lw samħt]  
excuse me  
**[ excuse me ]**
5. UP: [sˆawir ?l?ŋam] sˆawir ?l?ŋam ( )  
record the media record the media  
**[media record it ] media record it ( )**
- 6.→ CP: [lw samħt]  
excuse me  
**[excuse me ]**
7. CP: Abo Abo Haditha=  
PRT PRT NAME  
**Abo Abo Haidtha=**
8. UP: =moŋ ŋeeb ?lħaki hað  
not shame this talk  
**=Isn't it shame to say this**
9. UP: [ ( ) ]
- 10.→CP: [ lw samħt lw samħt  
excuse me excuse me  
**[ excuse me excuse me**
11. UP: ( [ ] ) ]
- 12.→CP: [ʔrjo ʔbu ħadi:θa] ʔnak tiħtarim ʔneðam ʔddaxli  
tisl̩m  
[please NAME ] you (singular) respect  
the internal regulations thanks  
**[please Abu Haditha] respect the  
internal regulations thanks**
13. UP: ((sits down))
14. AUD: ( )

15. CP: ?oskot ya Mħmd ?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>

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1. CS: ?na bagu:l bilħqu:q ?lmadannya ?lli btitŕlaq  
bitŕli:m belhququ almadannya  
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 btitŕlaq bitŕli:m [wa besħa besħa]  
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))
8. CP: ?zoml? ?zoml? ya ya ?zomla ya salim ?rawafda ya  
MħMAD  
colleague colleagues PRT colleagues PRT NAME NAME  
PRT NAME  
**colleague colleagues ya colleagues ya Samil  
Alrawashdeh ya MħMAD**
9. CP: [ MħMAD]  
NAME  
**[MħMAD]**
10. UP: [ haða mardu:d ŕleik ?lklam haða  
this back on you the talk this  
**this talk is back to you**
11. CP: Mħmad xali:k mŕi=  
Mħmad let you with me

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- Mħmad keep up with me**
12. CS: =haða ?lkla:m mardu:d ?leik ( ) ?eib ?leik  
 tiħki [ ?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 Mħmad ]  
 PRT Mħmad  
**[ ya Mħmad ]**
14. CS: xlini ?kmil ħki xlini ?kmil ħki  
 Let me finish talk let me finish talk  
**Let me finish my speak let me finish my speech**
15. CP: ?ħki m?i ma titnawf m? zumla?k  
 talk to me not argue your colleagues  
**talk to me do not argue your colleagues**
16. UP: m?ali ?rra?i:s ?na qult ?loma baqu:l ?lhuqu:q  
 ?lmadaniya ya jama?a  
 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 bnihki ya jama?a ħuqu:qhum ħuqu:qhum ( )  
 Rights their I said PRT guys rights their  
 rights their  
**their rights I said their PRT guys their rights**  
**their rights**
18. UP: haða mu? mawd?u?k  
 this not your topic  
**this is not your topic**
19. CS: mawd?u?  
**topic**
20. CP: ?ntaha ya mħmad waqtak  
 over PRT Mohammad time  
**your time is over Mohammad**
21. UP: haða mu? mawd?u?u  
 this not your topic  
**this is not your topic**
22. CP: ?zami:l ?lqatat?a ?rju:k ?tfdal  
 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 colleagues]**
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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1. CS: ?bd?(.) bi mflu:ma natija ?l?tsalat m? ?ljehat  
?rasmiya ?l?raqiya  
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 (.) kalmni ?lhatif (.)  
qabil safa 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 ??tiðar(.)  
offered apology  
**(.) and he apologised (.)**
4. H: mi:n ho =  
Who he  
**who is he=**
5. CS: = ?lhoqoma ?l?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?raqi  
minister foreign Iraqi  
[The Iraqi foreign minister
9. H: fo bidu yokl  
What want eat?  
**what is he going to take?**
10. CS: ma ?indi fwaytafasi:l 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?u:† (3.0)  
can you (plaural) listen  
**can you listen † (3.0)**
13. CP: ((rings the bell)) ?nsaf (1.0) ?nsaf (.) ?nsaf ?hda?i

((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 received the  
memorandum from this parliament**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mNumZrjIho>

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1. CP: saʕadat ?zoml? ?nawab ?l?karim ?rjo ?ljlu:s bi  
?makinkom  
dear colleagues MPs noble please sit at  
your seats  
**dear colleagues and noble MPs please take your  
seats**
2. CP: ħta 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 ?ltanafat  
NAME NAME  
**Awad Altanashat**

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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 ?lyh  
call on him  
**( ) call at him**
8. AM: ?nsaf  
NAME  
**Insaf**
9. UP: hasa ?na bidi ?hki ya ?bo Laith iða ma hakeit  
bafa?ilha  
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 tahtet ?lqoba  
for you under the dome  
**for you in the parliament**
11. CP: ?rju ?nkom thafeðo ?ala ?lhodo? ( ) [ ?l?xwa  
?zomla? ]  
please you maintain on silence dear  
colleagues  
**please maintain silence [dear  
colleagues ]**
12. UP: [leesh  
?lhodoo2 ]  
why silence  
**[why silence ]**
13. UP: lei? ?lhdu:? ?ei? ?l?min wil?man ya ?bo  
[Laith  
why silence what safety and security PRT PRT  
Laith  
**why silence what is safety and security ya ?bo  
Laith**
14. CP: [ ma biju:z  
Not accepted  
**[ it is  
unacceptable**
15. CP: [( ) nerfa? s'otna  
bihaðhi ?tari:ga ]  
raise our voice in  
this way  
**[( ) raise our voice in  
this way ]**

16. UP: [ eif ?l?min wil?man ?eif ?l?min wil?man ( )  
 ?hl mʕa:n ]  
 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 tʔmaʕatha  
 ?ddwla ?3tʔathom  
 Mʕan city rebel city PRT government supports it  
 the government support  
**Maan is a rebel city the government supports it  
 the government supports it**
19. UP: [ʔraðe ?ddewan ʃyalo ?wladhom ʕhʕa:bna: ]  
 land the royal hired their sons before us  
**[land the royal court hired their sons before us]**
20. CP: [ lw samhti: ( ) ] haða ?lklam  
 excuse me this talk  
**[ excuse me ( ) ] this talk**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBAKQqFz9H4>

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1. CS: wa ma oreed an aquluhu fi hathihi al3ojala ana  
 honak ba3th wozora  
 and PRT want to say in this PRT there  
 is some ministers  
**and what I want to say is that there are some  
 ministers**
2. wamasʔleen (0.5) qad asba7oo 3ʔbʔan 3la alwatan  
 walmuwatin waʔsba70  
**and officials PRT became a burden on the  
 motherland and became**
3. adatan min adwat al7irak kawazeer almyah mthalan  
 althi [ lam yo3tee min]  
 a mean of the means of movements such as minister  
 of water who not give  
**a mean of one of the movements such as the  
 minister of water who did not give**
4. UPs: [ ( ) ]
5. waqtihi wajohdihi liwazarat almiyah bigadari ma-  
 bi- bigadari ma a3ta

his time and effort to ministry of water PRT give  
to PRT give to his

**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  
ba3rfesh 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](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-lQmlx_dXw)

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1. CP: tfdal dawlat ?ra?:is  
you may state President  
**you may (speak) your excellency**
2. CP: dawalt dawalt ra?i:s ?lwozra: ?tfdal=  
State state President minister you may  
**your excellency you may (speak)**
3. UP: ((approaches to podium))
4. UP: =?na bidi ?hky

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- I want speak  
**I want to speak**
5. MP: ?hki ʕlstand  
speak on the podium  
**Speak from the podium**
6. UP: ( ) meθl ma bidy  
like I want  
**as I want to**
7. CP: Aħmad Aħmad=  
NAME NAME  
**Aħmad Aħmad**
8. UP: =ma bij[u:z tiħki] mʕy ( )  
not acceptable talk with me  
**It is [ unacceptable to speak] to me like this**
9. CP: [Aħmad]
10. CP: mʕlyʃ ?trja:k =  
please I beg you  
**Please I beg you=**
11. UP: =ma biju:z  
**not acceptable**  
It is unacceptable
12. CP: Aħmad tf[ dal  
NAME you may  
**Aħmad please (leave the podium)**
13. UP: [ ( )
14. CP: Aħmad tfdal  
NAME you may  
**Aħmad please (leave the podium)**
15. CP: [Aħmad tfdal Aħmad tfdal]  
NAME you may NAME you may  
**Aħmad please Aħmad please**
16. UP: [( )
17. CP: [ya ?xy ?tfdal ya Aħmad ya Aħmad ?tfdal  
PRT PRT you may NAME PRT NAME you may  
**ya ?xy Aħmad ya Aħmad ya Aħmad please**
18. UP: [( )
19. CP: Aħmad ?tfdal  
NAME you may  
**Aħmad please**
20. UP: ( ) ((walks away from the podium))
21. CP: Aħmad tfdal  
NAME you may  
**Aħmad please**
22. CP: dawlat ra?i:s ?lwozara:  
state President minister  
**Your excellency**

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1. CP: la bƒawrko hassa bƒd ma txls<sup>ƒ</sup>u: ( ) l?nu:  
?nhyna ( ) ?lmotha<sup>h</sup>di<sup>h</sup>i: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 ?ktafyna(.)bkalam maktu:b ħata ?t<sup>ƒ</sup>rh ma  
ladykom min moqtraħa: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 sƒadat ?ra?i:s fi moq [ taraħ  
**your excellency there is a proposal**
4. CP: [ said  
[ Mr
5. CP: Fawaz ?zoƒbi ( )  
NAME NAME  
**Fawaz Alzoubi ( )**
6. UP <la fi moqtaraħ ya aħmad keif la>  
not there proposal PRT NAME why not  
**<no there is a proposal ya Ahmad why no>**
7. CP: ( )
8. UP fi moqtaraħ qodim  
there proposal submitted  
**a proposal has been submitted**
9. Aud: ( )
10. CP: lw samħtu (.) ?rju ?nkom taħtaremo ?ne<sup>h</sup>ƒ'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: =sƒadat ?ra?is fi moqtaraħ ( )=  
Your excellency there proposal  
**=your excellency there is a proposal**
12. CP: =nƒam fi ƒedet moqtaraħat sat<sup>ƒ</sup>raħha bitas<sup>ƒ</sup>wi: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: [satʔraha]  
will propose  
I will give to you
14. UP [tasqotʔ ha] ðihi: ?lħokoma  
Fall this government  
**I hope this government collapses**
15. UP qotʔ haðihi ?lħokoma  
Fall this government  
**I hope this government collapses**
16. CP: [ ya]  
PRT  
**[Ya]**
17. UP [ tas] qotʔ haðihi ?lħokoma  
Fall this government  
**I hope this government collapses**
18. MP: Yaħya  
NAME  
**yahya**
19. CP: ya Yaħya  
PRT NAME  
**ya Yahya**
20. MP: ehh  
**Ehh**
21. CP: Yaħya ((cough))  
NAME  
**Yahya**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7dp9ZgENgIo>

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1. CP: xalasʔ ħkeit ?lli ŋndak xalasʔ ( )  
enough said PRT your enough  
**enough you ?lli made your (point) enough**
2. UP ya sidi [haði ?ham mobadra ] mŋali ?ra?i:s ma  
bsʔawt  
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 lniðam ma fi ( )  
against regulation



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 Alsisi**
3. CS: a3to alsis arba3ta3esh milliyar 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  
 ya tariq  
 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: **any MP must be a guardian of the Jordanian citizens**  
 la ya ahmad inta mosh wasi 3ala alsha3ab alordoni  
 inta 3abir 3an raiyak wo  
 not PRT NAME you not guardian on citrizens  
 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 bista7mil alkalilmeh  
 yensa7ib ansa7 ansa7 asna7  
 I I I advise those who not tolerate the  
 speech to withdraw I advise I advise I advise  
**I advise those who do not tolerate the speech to  
 withdraw I advise them**
31. elle ma bit7amal alkalimeh 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 ya Mustafa**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W1AxDQsYJyc>

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**
4. CP: ?ða tkramti [ sawat ?lmajils bi ] ʕdam rafiʕ  
 yafi9tʕat ?θna? ?ljalsa  
 If you please voted the parliament PRT not  
 raise banners during session

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**If you please [the parliament voted for] not raising posters during the session**

5. UP: [ ( ) ]
6. UP: la bidi ?ʃtayl ʃla ?tasʃwi:t  
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↑**
8. UP: tasʃwi:t  
**voting**
9. CP: ya ?xwan (.) man mʃ ʃdm rafiʃ ?lyafetʃat birafʃ  
?lʃaidi  
PRT brothers who agrees not raising banners hand  
raising  
**Brothers (.) who agrees with not raising banners  
raise your hands**
10. CP: tʃðali ʃaidi  
there you go PRT  
**there you go ʃaydee**
11. UP: kolhom?  
**all of them?**
12. CP: ?rju min ?zami:la ?n tabtaðil wa tħtarim qara  
?lmajils ?ða 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: ( )
14. CP: ?ða takrmti ?rju ?ħtiram (.) ?rjo ?ħtiram qarar  
?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)**
17. CP: ya sit Hind ?trja:ki ?n tħtrmi ?la qara ?lmajlis  
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))
19. CP: ?nti ( ) yʃni ?rjuki ?nti wasalti risaltek wa  
lysat ?lqadiya bilʃsrar

- you ( ) PRT I beg you conveyed your message not  
issue insistence  
**you ( ) yʕni please you conveyed your message  
the issue isn't insistence**
20. CP: wataʕnod lan ?stamir filjalsa w?nti rafiʕa  
?lyafit?a dʕid 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: [ʔða tkramti ]  
If you kindly  
**[ if you please ]**
22. UP: [( [ ] )]
23. CP: [ʔða-] **[if you- (please)]**
24. CP: ?lʔylabiya birafʕ [( ?lʔaidi ?ða takramti]  
the majority raise hand if you kindly  
**the majority with [hand raising if you please]**
25. UP: [( )]
26. CP: moʕ bisʕdad ?no ?hna ( ) ?rju ?rju ʕdam taħdi  
?lmajlis  
not not please please not compete the  
parliament  
**we are not bisʕdad ( ) please please don't  
compete the parliament**
27. CP: bi birafdʕ qara ?lmajlis  
to disregard decision parliament  
**to disregard the parliament's decision**
28. UP: [( )]
29. CP: [ʔnti zami:la moħtarama ] walaki kol ?lʔħtiram  
wataqdi:r la tataħdi  
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 ?lmajlis eða samħti  
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 tʔalama ?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 coucil's decision if you  
please  
**ya Mrs Hind there is a coucil's decision if you  
please**
36. UP: ((talk to another MP who approached her))
37. CP: Ya sit (1.0) Hind ?rju ?nla to?st?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**
38. CP: ?rjo ?n la to?st?li jalsat ?lmajlis (.) ?tha  
samhti  
**Please don't disrupt the parliament's decision  
(.) if you please**
39. Aud: ( ) (3.0)
40. UP: ( [ ] )
41. CP: [ eða samhti ] ?lylibiya ?mot?laqa bilmajlis  
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 s'adiq w?na ( )  
**[ no ] I don't change and I'm honest and  
( )**
45. CP: ?ri?asa wa tħtrmi ?lmjlis haða la yaju:z laki ?n  
titħdi  
**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 jafu ?le?lam [ ( ) ]  
**PRTNAME look at the media [( ) ]**
49. UP: [ ?ltas'weet ] ?ltas'weet ylat  
**[ the voting ] the voting isn't  
correct**
50. CP: ?tas'wi:t saħ mi?a bilmi?a walmajlis yarfd'  
t?ariqat ?lti ?t?amol 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: mas<sup>l</sup>ht ?lurdon gabil kol haða [( )]  
**the benefit of Jordan is more important that all  
 of this**
54. CP: [ ya Hind ]  
 [ PRTNAME ]  
 [ PRTHind ]
55. CP: s?d<sup>s</sup>t?ar y?ni ( ) fokran  
**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=G7obSSYTkco>

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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 alqatatsheh  
**= [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](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 [ tfadal  
excuse me let us continue go ahead
4. UP: [ hathi amrekia  
this American  
**this is American**
5. CP: kan honalik tasweet leiqlfal 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**

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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 [ rawaħ ?stna: lewyf btʕaridʕ  
PRT wait why refute?  
**[rawaħ 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 [ ( )  
**what is the voting for? [( )**
9. CP: [fi ra?i:s wozora  
PRT Prime Minister  
**fee the Prime Minister**
10. UP ( ) mafruð azomla? kolhom ( ) muʃ ?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 ?ʃyli=  
picking issue  
**cherry picking issue=**
12. CP: = twozʕ ʕlyk ?x Nedal gabl [ xams ?yam ka:n ]  
bistitʔaʕtk 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 bisʕi:r halaki]  
Not acceptable this talk

- [ its unacceptable what  
you said]
14. CP: mulhō [atak ʕlyh]  
comments on it  
**(write) your comm[ents on it ]**
15. UP [ ma bisʕi:r] ( )  
not acceptable ( )  
**[this is unacceptable] ( )**
16. Aud: ( )
17. CP: haḏa wozif zaman ya (.) niḏal ya niḏal haḏa wozif  
hatha wozif  
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: wozif ʕlyk fi jadwal ʕma:l  
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: wozif ʕlyk haḏa gbil xams ʕyam ʕḏa kon ( ) bas  
ʕla ma: 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 waḥad yoktob mulaḥḏa  
PRT nobody writes comments  
**feko Nobody of you wrote any comments**
23. UP ( [ ] )
24. CP: tfdal dawlat [ʕraʕi:s ]  
go ahead your excellency  
**go ahead your excellency**
25. UP [( [ ] )
26. CP: [ tfdʕal dawalt araʕi:s (1.0)  
go ahead your excellency  
**[go ahead your excellency  
(1.0)**
27. UP ʕḥna ʕntaxbnak ʕfan tiʕtʕi ( ) muʕ  
We elected you to give ( ) not  
**(1.0) we elected you to give ( ) not**
28. UP ʕrbʕa xmsa=  
**Four five**

29. CP: = [winti ?ntaxabou:k ?fa:n tqdim mulaħð?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: ?la jadwal ?l?smal=  
On the schedule business  
**on the business schedule**
32. UP =ma bis?i:r ?lhaki haða  
Not acceptable talk this  
**It is unacceptable what you said**
33. UP ( ) ma bis?i:r ?lhki haða  
( ) not acceptable talk this  
( ) **it is unacceptable what you said**
34. CP: t?yb ma:fi  
Okay PRT  
**Okay mashi**
35. UP ( )
36. CP: tfd?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>

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1. CS: s?er alnaft? ?am ynzil (1.0) t?ab keef est?wanet  
el?az ?am tet?la?†  
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: ( ) ?lo?ordieen=  
**Jordanians**
3. CS: =hada asso2al (.) hada assso2al  
**this question (.) this question**
4. UP: ( )
5. CS: hada so?al=  
**this question**
6. UP: ( )
7. CS: ana batwajah lesa?adet ?ldoctor s?adet eldoctor  
bassam esmaħli



- [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 ?kØr ħirsan ʕla Mʕa:n ?kØar 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 mʕali ara?i:s  
**go ahead your excellency**
12. CS: sʕadt ?ra?i:s=  
**your excellency =**
13. UP = ma raħ axli wazi:r ?lmalya yħki ?za ma bixlini  
?ħki  
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 rħ ?xlih yħki ?za ma bitxalini ?ħki  
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 samħti  
?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]**

18. CP: ?lmoħafōa [ wa wojha? ?lmoħafōa wa ?la wazi:r  
 ?ddaxliya  
 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 samħti ( )]  
 excuse me ( )  
**[ excuse me ( )]**
21. UP [ ( ) ?na bdi ?ddalni ?ħki  
 ( ) I want keep talking  
**[( ) I will keep talking]**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0HSNIB2opk>

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1. CS: ?na btalib birad ?lmuōkra [ ?lniybiya ?lm]uqdamā  
 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 Œleiha wintaheina  
 voted voted the parliament on it and we finshed  
 it  
**The parliament has voted on it and finished it**
5. Aud: ( )
6. CP: dkto:r mħmad ?lsŒudi  
 Dr. NAME NAME  
**Dr. Mohammad Alsuidi**
7. Aud: ( )
8. CP: bŒdein ?Œti  
 later hand in  
**hand it in later**

9. UP: hati bo:sa ya bint hati hita 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: ?eif ya Yahya ya bosa eish  
what PRT NAME PRT kiss what  
**what is it Yahya ya what kiss**
11. Aud: ( )
12. CP: yaa ?tha samht ?ða smhat (2.0) ?ða samht 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 ?rra?i:s ya sʕadqat ?rai:s ( )  
niḥki  
Your excellency PRT your excellency ( )  
speak  
**Your excellency ya your excellency  
speak**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rU1kiBHMH5E>

53

Starts at 2:13 mins

1. CS: ?ʕlnat ?lḥaraka ?lislamiya fi ?rbid (.) watansi:qyt  
iḥrak ?bna? ?ʕmal (.) 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 lilmutʕalba bi esʕla7a:t  
siyasiya  
Emergence a march to demand for reforms political  
**to organise a march to demand for political  
reforms**
3. CS: wamuḥarabt ?lfasad (.)=  
and anti-corruption  
**and anti-corruption**

4. UP: = muf muhim ya mʕali:k mi:n ?li ?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 ↑**
5. Aud: ( )
6. CS: ↑saiydi: lw samħt 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] samħti ((in sharp tone))  
 let me finish excuse me  
**[let me finish please]  
 let me continue please ((in a sharp tone))**
9. CP: ʕbdala xali ?lwazi:r yħki (.) <ʕbdala 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))
12. CP: ya ?xwan (.) ya ?xwan ?li bilʕurfa (.) ya axwan  
 ?li bilʕurfa (.) 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**
17. CP: ?xwan ?li bilʕurfa(.) ?na sʕõtʕar (.) ?na  
 saʕõtʕar ?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**
18. CP: ?ljurfa (.) saʕõtʕr ?n ?rfʕ ?ljalsa (.) w?xli  
 ?ljurfa iða lazam (.) ?rfʕ  
 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**
19. CP: ?ljalsa lemudat ʕshr daqa?q ?rfʕ ?ljalsa  
 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>

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1. CS:       ?na ?lmadyoniya qad irtfaʿt ila 22 milyar wa 300  
          milyo:n dolar mʿ  
          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 ?lʿam 2015 [ (.)  
          end the year 2015  
          **end of year 2015       [ (.)**
3. UP:       [ (    ) ]
4. CS:       wa ?nha satasʿl ila- (.) Yaḥya ?lsʿu:d ismʿ  
          iḥtrim nfsek  
          and it reach to       NAME NAME listen respect  
          yourself  
          **and it will rise - (.)Yaḥya ?lsʿu:d listen  
          respect yourself**
5. CP:       lw [samḥt  
          excuse me  
          **excu[se me**
6. CS:       [ ʿndma ytklm ?lʿordonyi:n ?ʿoraf?  
          when talk       Jordanians honourable  
          **[ when honourable Jordanians speak**
7. CP:       [ lw samḥt  
          excuse me  
          **[excuse me**
8. CS:       [ ?btiḥtarim nafsak wibtogʿod  
          respect       yourself and sit  
          **[respect yourself and sit down**
9. CP:       [ ya muʿtz muʿtz  
          PRT NAME NAME  
          **[ya Mutaz Mutaz**
10. UP:      bisʿi:r had sʿadat ?lraʿi:s?=  
          possible this excellency CP  
          **is this possible your excellency? =**
11. CS:      = bisʿi:r lama bitʿlig bidk tismʿ jawab ʿtʿli:gak

possible when comment want listen answer your  
comment

**It is possible when you comment you will hear an  
answer**

12. CP: la: tqatʔso lw samht  
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 ji  
not say anything  
**he didn't say anything**
15. CS: ?lmadyu:niya ?lmadyu:niya ?lmadyu:niya (.)  
**indebtedness indebtedness indebtedness (.)**
16. UP: ( )
17. CP: xala:sʕ  
**enough**
18. CS: qad waslat (1.0) ?bu ?lbasʔat ?ugʕud mhlk  
may reached PRT PRT sit your place  
**it has ranked (1.0) PRT PRT sit down**
19. CS: [ wbla:f tismʕ kaman kilma  
otherwise hear another word  
**[ otherwise you will hear another word**
20. CP: [ lw samht  
excuse me  
**[ excuse me**
21. CP: lw samht 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 samht  
Excuse me  
**[ excuse me**
24. CS: [ ʕindma yataklm ?lʔurduni:n [ ?lfurafʔ ?nta  
tagʕod  
when talk Jordanians honourable you sit  
**[ when honourable Jordanians [ speak you sit down**
25. CP: [lw samht 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))
28. CS: mʕaly ʔrrʔi:s bʕʕtaðer bas bidi ʔkmil ʔniqaf  
excellency CP apologize but want continue  
discussion  
your excellency I apologize but it I need to  
pursue my speech
29. CS: liky la yoqatʔeʕni ʔhd  
so not interrupt me anybody  
**so that nobody would interrupt me**

Retrieved from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEGN4H-nd2o>

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1. CS: ʔmanat ʕamman konto tonkif ʔmi:noha lʔnaho ʔbuhu  
bizzamanat ʕabasak  
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 ʔna
3. Raʔi:s wozzraa nazilt ʔla ʔla  
Prime Minister came down to to  
**The Prime Minister came down to to**
4. CP: yaʕya 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: [ mʕlf ] bimawthuʕna 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 interefere  
**it not your business to interefere**
8. UP: =la ma bisi:r  
No not acceptable  
**No it is unacceptable**
9. CP: ma btit [ dxli  
not interefere

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- you should not interfere**
10. UP: ([ )
11. CP: la la  
**no no**
12. UP: ( )
13. CP: ya Hind ?rjoki m?l? ax ya?ya ??ki  
PRT NAME please please NAME speak  
**Ya Hind please please Yahya speak**
14. UP: ( [ ])
15. CP: ↓[hind ?NHEINA MIN ?LMOWDu:ʕ↑  
NAME we ended the subject  
**Hind we ended the subject**
16. CS: ?u?yeid ?zzami:l [bassam ?lbtu:f ]  
agree colleague NAME NAME  
**I agree with colleague Bassan Albtoush**
17. UP: [ ( ) ]
18. CS: ?o?yid ?zami:l bassam ?lbtu:f bi xsoos ?l?anwya  
?lʕama  
agree colleague NAME NAME with regard the  
secondary schooling  
**I agree with Bassam Albtoush rearding the  
secondary schooling**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzLje6gSGTs>

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1. CP: muʕtaz (.) ?rju:k lilmara ?l?xi:ra bagu:l (1.0)  
↑?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 processs of voting**
2. ↑muʕtaz ma fi kalam a?na? ?ttaswi:t↓ (2.0)  
NAME there is not talk during the voting  
**Mutaz no talking during the voting**
3. "?ljna ?l?ti tali:ha ?lli hia ?ljna ?l?qtisʕadya  
wal?est?mar (2.0)  
the committee which next is committee economical  
and investing  
**the next committee is the economical and  
intesting committee**
4. UP: ( )
5. CP: muʕtaz ?na ma bidi ??sbak ʕal kilmi ?lli ?na  
sam3tha (0.5) ?lkilma ?lli

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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. ḥakeitha wsamṯtha ma bidi ḥsbak [ ʕleiha]  
ʔrju:k (.) LʔNO ḥASBK  
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 ʔtʔrḥha ʔmam ʔlmjlis ʔlʔan  
(0.5)  
The word not let me utter in front the parliament  
**You for the word you said do not let me utter it  
in front of the parliament**
9. UP: [( )]
10. CP: [ʔlʔqtisʕadya walʔst]ḫmar mʕ man mʕ ʔllijna  
(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 ʔlxitab naltazim bilʔxlaq wlʔdab  
aydʕan fi xitʔabna swaʔ mʕ  
when speaking obey morals and ethics also in  
our speech whether with  
**you should obey the rules of ethics and morality  
during speeches whether**
12. ʔrais ʔw m3 ʔʕḫaʔ ʔlljna  
the chairperson or members committee  
**with the chairperson or with members of the  
committee**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIpU4U13VEw>