Politeness strategies in a television interview

Kimiko Nakamura
The center for General Studies and Liberal Arts

Introduction
The objective of this essay is to examine a variety of aspects of linguistic politeness in interpersonal communication. Human beings express politeness through not only language activities but also extralinguistic factors such as gestures and facial expression, and paralinguistic factors such as prosody and pause. This essay will focus on the linguistic aspects of politeness; first, an overview of the three theories will be provided in addition to some strategies that are all related to positive and negative politeness. Then, this essay will attempt to analyse how these strategies work in actual conversation.

Method
In this paper, the topic of how pragmatics can be applied to explain communication problems or issues is explored through conversation analysis. The conversation is quoted from The Ellen DeGeneres Show, often abbreviated as Ellen, which is a television talk show in the United States and is hosted by comedian and actress Ellen DeGeneres. An interview between Ellen and Senator Hillary Clinton is chosen for the analysis. In interviewing, the role of the anchor is to 'elicit information' and to 'probe' the guest for verifying the views being discussed (Greatbatch 1998, p.166). Unlike the normal conversation in our daily lives, this set of activities is conducted on the basis of politeness strategies within the agreed 'social norms' of the television interview (Culpeper 2009, p.524). Additionally, a variety of linguistic strategies is used effectively in order to enliven the program and to manage the flow of the interaction; the strategies are deeply connected with politeness strategies such as compliment, backchannel, and hedge. The analysis in this paper will concentrate on exploring how conversation works in such communicative events.

Transcription
The basic version of the transcription notation system which was developed by Gail Jefferson (1984) is used for transcribing the interview. This enables text to transferred from spoken form to written form. According to Edwards (1993), transcription should be conducted on the basis of the principles of category design, computational tractability, and visual display. The interview is transcribed using these concepts.

Analysis
1. Politeness theory
By introducing the notion of politeness into the field of language activity analysis, the language use of human beings has been clarified as something that is not simply an impersonal tool for exchanging information but a more intricate action deeply related to the social context and situation that it takes place in. This essay will focus on the three theories advocated by Brown and Levinson (1987), Lakoff (1990), and Leech (1983) and analyse the practical conversation by applying each theory to it.
A. Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that human beings have two desires: positive face, which is the desire to be liked and appreciated; and negative face, which is the desire not to be imposed and intruded upon. During interaction, although face-threatening acts (FTA), which hurts the face of either the speaker or hearer, sometimes occur, politeness strategies are used to mitigate such FTAs. Politeness strategies that can possibly achieve this goal are divided four different stages:

1. Bold on Record: A direct way of saying things, without any minimization of the imposition, in a direct, clear, unambiguous, and concise way.
2. Positive Politeness: The intention to avoid giving offence by placing emphasis on friendliness using exaggeration, in-group markers, avoiding, joking, tag questions, etc.
3. Negative Politeness: Attending to a person's negative face and including expressions of indirectness, apologies, and consideration.
4. Off-record Strategy: An indirect strategy that uses language indirectly and removes the speaker from the possibility of being imposing.

The important thing here is choosing the appropriate strategy, taking into account the force of the FTA—it's power, distance, and imposition ranking (Bowe and Martin 2007, p. 30).

Example 1

23 E: And >we're / back with< Senator Hillary, Hillary Clinton. ↓ (.) So:.; uh; turns out, uh.; eh (.), related to Angelina Jolie (.) and we / found a picture >that I couldn't believe I don't know what<, why we haven't / seen this / picture of\you. Let's see Angelina first of all. (2.0) And / look at YOU. (A composite photograph of Angelina Jolie and Hillary is shown and crowd are laughing))

In the above two sentences, the imperative forms, 'let's see' etc. and 'look at you', are used, which could be seen as a Bold on Record strategy. However, there is no conventional FTA here but one which is staged for a television interview in order to create humour.

In this scene, for the purpose of indicating a closer relationship between Angelina Jolie and Hillary, a composite photograph is created in the studio as a joke; along with this joke, the strategy of Bold on Record is used as a joke as well. This time, the strategy is beneficial for shortening the distance between the guest and the audience as well as for avoiding FTA. Thus, it can be called a positive politeness strategy.

Example 2

18 H: / that made / such an impression on \ me (.) <and> I'm going to do everything I can (.) <to make sure> that (.), you know, <people like you> and, for sure, and another have a <chance to have>, you know, RIGHTS to be able to go to the / hospital too ↓, inherit / property too ↓, make sure that you can list somebody as a / beneficiary insurance policy.

="We just have to(.) MAKE THIS much <more fair>.

These utterances use a positive politeness strategy. The hearer in this conversation should be assumed to be not Ellen but the audience and ordinary citizens. Although it is unsurprising that Hillary would think about the benefits of citizens as a politician, she, at first, notices and attends the hearers' concerns; then, she offers and promises to come up with policies to address the concerns. These factors are all included in the positive politeness strategies. Additionally, prosody such as voice pitch and timing shows that this statement is not usual interaction but a kind of declaration of a campaign pledge (Archer 2012, p.96). As a candidate (at the time) for the position of President of the United States, she needs to protect her own positive face in front of the public and make good use of the force of the media.
B. Geoffrey Leech

Leech (1983) proposed the principle of politeness which grew out of, and was designed to complement, Grice's cooperative principle (CP) as follows:
- Maxim of Quality: Trying to make your contribution true
- Maxim of Quantity: Providing the appropriate amount of information
- Maxim of Relation: Being relevant; never saying what has nothing to do with the question
- Maxim of Manner: Being perspicacious (Archer 2012, p.52)

On the basis of CP, Leech advocates six new maxims of politeness which can be applied to any utterance that may be perceived by a speaker to cause potential problems. They are as follows:
- Tact Maxim: Maximizing the benefit to others; minimizing the cost to others
- Generosity Maxim: Maximizing the cost to self; minimizing the benefit to self
- Approval Maxim: Maximizing the praise of others; minimizing the dispraise of others
- Modesty Maxim: Maximizing the dispraise of self; minimizing the praise of self
- Agreement Maxim: Maximizing the agreement between self and others; minimizing the disagreement between self and others
- Sympathy Maxim: Maximizing the sympathy between self and others; minimizing the antipathy between self and others

Example 1

51 E: Well, u:h, I'm going to bowl (.) with eh, YOU. I'm not a good / bowler, but when (.) wecome back, <I'm going to bowl with you>, but first I wanna talk about, before we go to---

In this interaction, Modesty Maxims can be seen. At the end of the program, the host and guest have to play a bowling game; however, most guests tend to express some anxiety about this. Hillary is no exception. Then, Ellen utters, 'I'm not a good bowler'; thus, by maximizing her dispraise of herself, Ellen, as the host of the program, attempts to mitigate the effect of FTAs on the guest. A negative politeness strategy is thought to be used in this manner. As a result, the negative politeness of the guest can be protected, which is the essential role of television anchors. Among the Leech's maxims, tact and generosity are to be applied as well.

Example 2

30 H: Can / I see that one too?=
31 E: =Yes, because I think (.) it's AMAZING to see / you (1.5), how / closely related you are.(3.0) (an composite photograph with Madonna are demonstrated and crowd cheering) You are in good shape! o
32 H: / Thank you! Now, <I, I, I> want to know >where you got< that picture. =We, we have kept that picture under lock and key during this campaign. NOBODY was / supposed to / see that picture ↓.
33 E: <I had that > / home. (2.0) Um,(3.0) so let's talk about, o uh, first of o (.) I, you DO have a great sense of humor. = You pulled a prank on the press, (.) uh the media [recently.]
34 H: [I did.]

In this set of interactions, a number of approbations are observed. However, sentence 33 will be focused on in this part. After showing the photograph made as a joke by the television staff, Hillary makes up an entertaining story to go along with the photograph. Thus, Ellen, appreciating Hillary's sense of humour, seems to utter this sentence. Ellen, who is originally a comedian, maximizes her praise of Hillary, and so this utterance can be judged as an approbation. At the same time, this is a positive politeness strategy that can protect Hillary's positive face.

C. Robin T. Lakoff

Lakoff (1990) defines politeness as 'a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction
by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange’. On the basis of this definition, she illustrates the rules of pragmatic competence: '1) Don't impose 2) Give options 3) Make [the addressee] feel good - be friendly’ (Lakoff 197, p.329). Additionally, the strategies required for following each rule are 1) keeping distance 2) accepting deference, and 3) having camaraderie.

**Example 1**

56 E: We're / back with Senator Hillary Clinton and uh, (. ) we are gonna bowl in just a second, (. )= and, uh, I'm just, I / feel like if there is anything that you wanna, uh, address about the Bosnia thing if people have anything they are holding on to, (. ) if you want to / respond to that ↓.

57 H: / Well, you know, that was about / ten years ago;’

Sentence 56 can be applied to the rule of giving options. Based on the flow of the program, the host and guest are going to play a game of bowling; however, Ellen encourages Hillary to talk about Bosnia by using the subjective mode, which allows Hillary to make a choice. This can be said to protect Hillary's positive face as a politician; in this way, careful attention to the guest, who is a celebrity, is paid. Moreover, the fact that Ellen avoids demanding that Hillary go bowling is thought to be the off-record strategy of politeness. However, in fact, it seems that some political power is at play here, from the perspective of critical discourse analysis (Archer 2012, p.130). As a politician and a Presidential candidate with significant influence in society, Hillary was thought to be making an appearance to have her views heard and to get more support for her activities. Therefore, naturally directing their conversation to Hillary's political speech and protecting her positive face seems to be Ellen's role as an anchor.

**Example 2**

75 H: Well, (. ) you know, >this is one of< those stressful situations. (5.0) (throwing the bowl) Oh!/ Made you / look good!

76 E: Yeah, / thank you. (. ) That's why I / like you. (. ) Again! (3.0) Making me / look good? I think you're fantastic. And I, I, uh, just, just, keep going and uh, people should decide...'.

In this set of interactions, Ellen and Hillary praise each other, which makes them feel good and establishes their familiarity with each other. This follows not only the rules of Lakoff (1990) but also compliment theory and Leech's approbation maxim. Additionally, a positive politeness strategy that ‘includes both the speaker and hearer in the activity’ is used by both women to keep each other's positive face (Brown & Levinson 1987).

2. Other strategies related to politeness theories

**A. Compliment**

According to Holmes (1995), compliment is a speech act that shows praise or approval for the works, appearances, and tastes of other persons. It is an emotional act linked with participants' feelings and relationships, and it has the effect of fulfilling hearer's positive politeness and, at the same time, softening FTAs such as judgment, requirement, and apologies (Brown & Levinson 1987). In general, compliments are said to be used between people who are of a 'similar age and status' in order to compliment givers and facilitate them to tighten their relationship. Holmes (1995) mentions that females provide and gain significantly more compliments to and from one another than they do to and from males or than males do to and from one another. Compliments which are given by females have a tendency to be focused on personal matters and use 1st and 2nd personal pronouns. In terms of responses to compliments, there is acceptance, mitigation, rejection, defection, and evasion.
Example 1
2 Hillary: It's great to / SEE you.
3 Ellen: Oh, it's great to see / YOU=you look, >I don't know how< but, rested <and and> SHINY / and BUBBLY.

Because this interaction is a part of greeting, both interlocutors attempt to express their familiarity. In Ellen's utterance, she praises Hillary's appearance by using the syntax form of a compliment: [NP BE (LOOKING) ADJ]. This is also linked with one of Lakoff's rules ('Make [the addressee] feel good - be friendly'). Both theories help interlocutors develop a camaraderie with each other. Additionally, based on Leech's maxims, this utterance can be judged as both an approbation and as sympathy. The utterance is used as not only a positive politeness strategy but also as a compliment; Ellen's first role as an anchor, which is to produce circumstances where guests can be at east while talking, is completed.

Example 2
15 E: /All of the things that you / talk about (.) are are (.) important to me (.) and important <to to to> everyone. (.) / One thing that's very important to / me and / another REASON that I like you so much (.) uh: just today this was just announced that you're going to / defend gay rights as president and / ELIMINATE / INEQUALITY for same sex couples ( . ). (clapping and admiring)

Although Hillary addresses her insistence about various matters of policy in utterance numbers 14 and 16, from Ellen's utterance number 15, it can be seen that she totally agrees with Hillary's theories. Additionally, in order to express her admiration, Ellen use the phrase '…is important for me' twice. Repetition of the same word or phrase helps speaker emphasize matters. Generally, compliments are paid between people of a similar age and status, as mentioned above (Holmes 1995); however, in the case of a TV interview, despite the flow and the floor being determined by the anchor, in terms of power, the guest is significantly stronger-and a politician or celebrity like Hillary is all the more so. The anchor has an obligation to protect his or her positive face. Therefore, it is no wonder that Hillary is significantly praised by Ellen like in this utterance. There is also the fact that Ellen is a gay woman, which means that she brings something genuine about herself into the conversation—which is both face maintaining to Hillary (agreement with her stated opinions) and face threatening (should she ever wish to change her opinions).

B. Backchannels
Backchannels 'represent rather special functions where the listener informs the speaker that his message has been received, understood, agreed to and/or has caused a certain effect, thereby supplying him with direct feedback’ (Orestrom 1983, p.24). Verbal responses such as 'uh-huh', 'mhm', 'yeah', 'right', and 'okay', and non-verbal communication such as gestures, gaze, and prosody are included in it. Each of these items of backchannels contribute to supporting the smooth flow of interaction and to expressing the listeners' feelings.

Example 1
16 H: Ah:: (.) / I want I want I want to tell you a story (.) about that because… And all the sudden, / the partner was non-/entity,
17 E: Um-/ hum?
18 H: / that made / such an impression on me…
=We just have to / MAKE / THIS <much more fair.>
19 E: / Yes. (1.0) That is what we /want. (2.5) I / LIKE it, I / LIKE it.

The story told by Hilary continues from 16 to 18, and 17 is the point of the interval; then, Ellen makes use of the backchannel in order to show her understanding or acceptance of the story so far. Additionally, it is used as a device for facilitating the flow of the conversation. 'Yes' is used in utterance 19 to show agreement. This 'Yes' can also be judged as
a positive politeness strategy mint to protect Hilary's positive politeness by asserting a common ground. Additionally it fulfils Leech's maxims of agreement and approbation; Ellen's utterance after 'yes' proves that she totally agrees with Hillary's opinion, which succeeds in giving a good impression to the audience about her ulterior motives.

Example 2

6 H: >Now<, we were in New /York/ together (1.0) some /months ago. (.) We were / talking about how sometimes,> you know<, when you're all / KEYED UP and you're working so / HARD. It's / KIND of difficult to find time to sleep.=
7 E: =Right.=
8 H: =Right. / <So> <THIS IS> one of the secrets to my >being able to sleep< on airplanes and in CARS and it makes <SPECIALLY FOR> my campaign ↓ (.) there only to existence and (.) you have / one and / I have one ↓. It's called a / BACKING (.) and you >put it< around your / neck.

The conversation through utterances 6 to 8 continues uninterruptedly. By responding quickly, the guest and host seem to convey their understanding of each other's story well and seem to cooperate with each other. In this case in particular, because they talk about their common troubles during travelling -after having gone a trip together – backchannels succeed in creating more cooperative circumstances between the two. This enables both the hearer and speaker to evade FTAs. Additionally, in this conversation, Hillary's utterance includes the implicature that Ellen is a specific person to her, which is where Ellen's positive face is applied. From the perspective of prosody, using fall rise, the high pitch of the voice, and slowing down the speed helps the two women applaud each other (Archer 2012, pp.100-102).

C. Hedges

Hedges are a wide range of expressions, including vague languages, that help speakers avoid speaking directly and modifying what they say (Ronald & McCarthy 1997, p.16). As Lakoff (1975) states, 'hedging devices reduce the strength of the force of an utterance'. Hedges play a role in mitigating FTAs and protecting a listener's face. Hedges often seen in conversations are 'sort of', 'kind of', 'actually', 'quite', 'tag', 'I think', etc. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), 'the communication ... may be made by a set of hedges oriented to Grice's cooperative dimensions'.

Example 1

9 E: Look at / THAT? (1.0) I have a / Hillary Backing.
10 H: ( ). It / supports, (.) it / supports your neck. ((Ellen pretends to be asleep)) So, now she takes a nap, (.) I thought I would / talk to you. (4.0) ((laughter)) >I got to / tell you<. It SAVED me >because, you know, when you are< / sleeping and you are in cars and planes >and nod like this and the neck moves like that< all SORE and everything, (.) <THIS KEEPS> a / neck and a / place. / I'm not / doing commercial, >really. < =<I'd just> I'd just thought (.) when I got one I thought.
11 E: It's / great as you look / so attractive IN it.

Hillary's utterance number 10 includes a number of hedges, and most of them are used in order to weaken her insistence. In this situation, the topic is an air pillow, which were made for Hillary's campaign and which Hillary gave Ellen to as a gift. Hillary talks about its effects enthusiastically as if she were a sales person. Thus, in the last sentence, to mitigate the force of her insistence and to protect her negative politeness, Hillary uses the hedge 'I thought' repeatedly with the auxiliary verb. Using strong insistence could send the wrong message to hearers; in other words, it might become a FTA. Therefore, by using hedges, Hillary can avoid producing such FTAs. Ellen's reply contains slight irony and can be
judged as an off-record strategy.

**Example 2**

6 H: >Now<, we were in New /York/ together (1.0) some / months ago.(.) We were / talking about how sometimes,> you know<, when you're all / KEYED UP and you're working so / HARD. It's / KIND of difficult to find time to sleep.="

As Hillary has been concerned about Ellen's health since they went New York together, she decides to give her a present which is effective Ellen's health problem. For Hillary, the causes of Ellen's problems - which Hillary had memorized — are unclear. Thus, the hedging phrase 'kind of' is used for avoiding direct interaction.

**Conclusion**

This essay examined some politeness theories and strategies related to those theories, and what kind of roles they play in the actual conversations independently or in combination with each other. However, because of the analysis of television interviews, slightly different results are seen compared to our daily-life conversations. In interviewing, protecting the face of the guest is the top priority; as a result, the FTA does not occur frequently, and strategies used throughout the whole conversation tend to be the ones that praise and compliment the guest. There seems to be a power difference between the host and the guest. In this interview, however, there are some strategies that are deliberately confrontational and hostile even though Ellen, as a host of the show, seems more concerned with maintaining her role without damaging her guest's positive and negative face. Hillary seems occupied with protecting her positive face because the audience and viewers of the interview are possible voters. This is why she seems to pay more attention to avoid using FTAs. Therefore, analysing more diverse conversations and interactions in various contexts and exploring how one can effectively maintain one's relationship with others are topics for further studies.

**References**


abstract reason based on image-schemas? 
*Cognitive Linguistics*, 1, 39-74.


**Appendix**

**Part 1**

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NVHiQ6gGV6Q

1 E: ALL right. Our first guest is running for president in one of the most COMPETITIVE races in history. Please welcome Senator Hillary Clinton.

2 H: It's great to SEE you.

3 E: Oh, it's great to see YOU. you look, I don't know how but, rested and and shiny and bubbly.

4 H: Well, here here's one of the reasons. I have a gift for you.

5 E: Really?

6 H: Now, we were in New York together some months ago. We were talking about how sometimes, you know, when you're all keyed up and you're working so HARD. It's kind of difficult to find time to sleep.

7 E: Right.

8 H: Right. So THIS IS one of the secrets to my being able to sleep on airplanes and in cars and it makes SPECIALLY FOR my campaign there only to existence and you have one and I have one. It's called a backing and you put it around your neck.

9 E: Look at THAT? I have a Hillary Backing.

10 H: ( ). It supports, it supports your neck. It. So, now she takes a nap, I thought I would talk to you. ((laughter)) I got to tell you. It saved me because, you know, when you are sleeping and you are in cars and planes and nod like this and the neck moves like that all sore and everything, this keeps a neck and a place. I'm not doing commercial, really I'd just I'd just thought when I got one I thought.

11 E: It's great as you look so attractive in it.

12 H: ( ) (go switch) your eyes.

13 E: Oh, thank you. I appreciate very much. This is this is the tickets then, because you are so busy all the time and I don't know how you do it. So I was just talking about, you know, being criticized on national television and of course you're politician you're going to get, but to be fighting for something you believe in so much and to have people, ah, are announcing that you should stop that you should let Barrack continue to save the democratic party and let Barrack continue and what is at feel. I mean I know you're strong we know we know you're strong person but still to have somebody say to you just just stop right now get out of it.

14 H: Well, you know, boys used to say that to me all the time and figured, you know, this (status) is close a:n I don't think it one of should get out we should like people vote there a lot of states even voted it yet they (deserve) a chance to have their u:h votes counted a:n I just ah feel like I'm doing this for myself obviously because I believe so much of what our country can be again once we finally get through with President Bush and (clapping) get back to be. But I also feel like I'm doing in for a lot of people who believe in me, who have voted for me, who care about what I care about and I'm not going to quit why would I quit this country's worth fighting for having a good time.(clapping) ( ).

15 E: All of the things that you talk about are important to me and important to toto everyone. One thing that's very important to me and another reason that I like you so much uh just today this was just announced that you're going to defend gay rights as president and eliminate inequality for same sex couples ( ). (clapping and admiring)

16 H: Ah:: I want I want I want to tell you a story about that because (2.0) in my mother who still alive and lives with us uh she and my dad moved to be with us when we were in Arkansas and they moved
into a condominium that they bought and it was great because then they could be with Chelsea and we used
time a lot of, and the couple next door was a gay
couple. Now my late father, you know, that was all
new to him and so he would spend a lot of time with
these men. They would come over they would help
my mother they would do yard work they sat and
talk to my father about sports, in the stock market,
and uh one-time, you might, my mother and father
were watching a television show and something
happened and there was a gay couple (on my father
said all I just don't know what I think about that my
mother said what about my neighbors do with that).
(laughing) When my father died (2.0) and after he
had this massive stroke is in the hospital for so long
and I was there Bill was there and Chelsea and my
brothers and everyone in my father was a very strong
person and although he was brain dead, he did not
die uh... and so they were thinking they would have
to move him into a nursing home and so my my
mother the people were there with her the whole time
were her two neighbors, and with my father did
finally die, it was one of his neighbors who was
there with him holding his hand. Well, fast-forward
one of the men got sick and was in the hospital but
BECAUSE they had no rights uh... his partner was
not allowed in the hospital, and the family of the
man who was SICK, who says, he's not a member of
the family they had them were together since
Vietnam one was a doctor and one was a nurse. And
all the sudden, the partner was non-entity,
17 E: Mmm-hmm
18 H: that made such an impression on me and I'm
going to do everything I can to make sure that, you
know, people like you and, for sure, and another have
a chance to have, you know, rights to be able to go
to the hospital too, inherit property too, make sure
that you can list somebody as a beneficiary insurance
policy. We just have to make this much more fair.
19 E: Yes. That is what we want. I like it, I like it.
All right, we're gonna come back and we're going to
talk about it turns out your related to Angelina Jollie.
Do you know that?
20 H: Can't you tell that?
21 E: Yeah. We got pictures...•
22 H: Oh, wait. People stop me on the street all the
time.

Part2
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2EwLn5L0cjU
((Cheering and Clapping))
23 E: And we're back with Senator Hillary, Hillary
Clinton. So, uh, turns out, uh, eh, related to Angelina
Jolie and we found a picture that I couldn't believe I
don't know what, why we haven't seen this picture of
you. Let's see Angelina first of all. And look at you.
((crowd laughing))
24 H: You know, I really admire what she's doing on
behalf of uh, you know, charity and HIV AIDS and
a lot of uh, work around the world, uh, I've done
some events with her and she's really committed.
25 E: So it makes sense so you are all related.
26 H: Well, apparently so.
27 E: Now this, this is the odd one, which I did not
know. You are also cousins with Madonna.
28 H: That's true.
29 E: So.
30 H: Can I see that one too?
31 E: Yes, because I think it's amazing to see you,
how closely related you are. ((Crowd cheering)) You
are in good shape!
32 H: Thank you! Now, I, I, I want to know where
you got that picture. We, we have kept that picture
under lock and key during this campaign. Nobody
was supposed to see that picture.
33 E: I had that home. Um, so let's talk about, uh,
first of all, I, you do have a great sense of humor.
You pulled a prank on the press, uh the media
[recently.]]
34 H: [I did.]
35 E: You wanna talk about that?
36 H: Well, I uh, went into a press conference, and
said that I had something very important to talk about, that there've been a lot of questions raised about this campaign and whether it would go on and how long it would last and how we would resolve it because, you know, neither one of us has enough delegates to get the nomination. And therefore, I had decided to challenge Barack to a bowl-off. (laughter) I wanted him to get his campaign out of the gutter. (Crowd "ooh") I wanted to count all the pins and I would spot him to frames. And, this, uh, you know, the press was sitting there, your personal admirer and friend, Chris Mathews, was in the front row. (whooping)

37 E: Uh-huh, yeah.
38 H: Yes, and I, you know, I had guards, armed guards between him and me.
39 E: Good, don't, don't dance with him, don't do it.
40 H: No, well, I feel like he man handles me every night.
41 E: Yeah, yeah, those of you who didn't see when Chris Mathews was on, uh. (Laughing and clapping) It's not right.
42 H: I couldn't believe it.
43 E: It's not right.
44 H: No, well
45 E: No, it's not right. Alright so
46 H: He looks like he is enjoying that way too much.
47 E: Yeah, I know. But he was, he was just laughing like after [was over.]
48 H: [Yeah.]
49 E: He didn't even realize what happened. What ( ).

50 H: Well, that happens a lot [Ellen: yeah] in, in the political coverage [Ellen: yeah] I get, so, I, I, you know, did this and they were, you know, and then I said "April Fools", [Ellen: yeah] and they kind of got it.
51 E: Well, uh, I'm going to bowl with eh, you, I'm not a good bowler, but when we come back, I'm going to bowl with you, but first I wanna talk about, before we go to break, you have a new policy uh, for uh, breast cancer, uh, [Hillary: right] and let's talk about that.

52 H: Well, I know your mom is a survivor and uh, we lost my incredible mother-in-law to uh, breast cancer during Bill's first term and first year in office. And I've just been really committed, I've had so many friends and uh, we all know people who have survived and people who haven't, and I just think we should set a goal of curing breast cancer within the next decade. (Cheering and clapping) We should make it absolutely, totally curable and, I (pause) I, I also really want to try figure out what causes it, because we just don't know why some people are susceptible. I think it's probably a combination of your genes and your environment and your behaviors, but we don't know quite how, how all that quite fits together. And we haven't done enough research. And we also have to get to universal health care, which means, quality affordable health care for everyone because too many people (pause). I, I've been working on this for about 15 years and I've met women who have said "I've found a lump in my breast but I don't have insurance and I went to the doctor and they said, well, we'll just watch it, because there was no way to pay for doing anything. I've met women who were 62 and got diagnosed and are waiting to get on Medicare in order to afford the surgery. I mean, this is so wrong and everywhere I go, Ellen, I meet people who postpone medical care, get sicker than they should, and even die because they don't health, health insurance, so I want to make sure that we get the cost of diagnosing and treating breast cancer, but every other disease, affordable for everyone. There shouldn't be a privilege to get health care, it should be a right and I think we can do that in America and breast cancer will be ensured to help.
53 E: I, I agree. Alright, we have to take a break and uh, we are going bowl together and I got to tell you, I don't know how well I'm going to do, but I'll try.
54 H: Well, you know, all we can do is try.
55 E: Alright, we'll be back for bowl.
56 E: We're back with Senator Hillary Clinton and uh, we are gonna bowl in just a second, and, uh, I'm just, I feel like if there is anything that you wanna, uh, address about the Bosnia thing if people have anything they are holding on to, if you want to respond to that.
57 H: Well, you know, that was about ten years ago, obviously, and you know, when um, uh, we were going in there we were told that there was going to be spi, sniper fire in the hills. There wasn't in the airport. And I made a mistake, although I wrote it in my book and told everybody what had happened then and uh, I wasn't trying to mislead anybody. I was just trying to remember the best I could at a moment in time. And just recently the man who was the president of Bosnia uh, at that time has said, you know, that he was worried about the safety conditions uh, of the situation. But for me, it's about what we do know and how we go forward. I'm proud that I have represented our country in more than 80 countries, including war zones, and I think that international experience puts me in a good place to be able to be the president. Because we have a lot of damage we are going to have to undo, that we are going to inherit next January. So, uh, I feel really ready and prepared to be the commander and chief and uh, to take on all the responsibilities and to be the, you know, the president that leads our country back on the right track.
58 E: Alright, we are going to go bowl.
59 H: Oh my gosh.
60 Alright.
61 H: I bet there are some good bowlers in this audience.
62 E: I bet there are.
63 H: Oh, we need some help! We need some help.
64 E: No, no don't cheat. Now, you're, you're probably really good though, because there was a bowling alley in the White House, right?
65 H: I know, but, I have not bowled since I left the White House.
66 E: Clearly, you were going to stop by the pins. It's over here, look at this. Don't, no!
67 H: Oh, we are going to be way back here?
68 E: Yeah, you are going to be way back here.
69 H: Oh! You gotta go first because it's your show.
70 E: Uh, no no! I'm the host so you're the guest so you should go first.
71 H: Oh no, after you Ellen, after you!
72 E: Alright, I really don't know how to bowl.
73 H: You can do it, we are all pulling for you.
74 E: Alright, I think you kind of uh,
75 H: Well, you know, this is one of those stressful situations. Oh! Made you look good!
76 E: Yeah, thank you. That's why I like you. Again! Making me look good! I think you're fantastic. And I, I, uh, just, just, keep going and uh, people should decide. I think it's wrong for anyone to tell somebody, whoever you are for, everyone has the right to vote for whoever. But to tell someone to get, it's our vote, it's we're the people that should choose who [our president is.]
77 H: [That's right, that's right].
78 E: Thank you for being here. Thanks everyone!