

**The Social Organisation of Watching Television:
A conversation analytic investigation of assessments
in TV audience interaction**

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Abstract

Watching television has long been a central part of the daily lives of many people, families and groups all around the world. For example, recent statistics indicate that the average time spent on TV watching in the US is 2.8 hours per day. In the national context of this study – Turkey – the figure is as high as 4.1 hours per day. Most TV watching takes place in households where people watch TV together with their family or friends. Even though it occupies a considerable amount of time in people's lives, *how* people watch TV together as a social activity still remains under-researched. This study examines the social practices performed by an audience (a group of Turkish females) while they are watching a reality TV show (marriage show) together, by examining (1) how they organize their talk during TV watching, and (2) what social and cultural practices are achieved through this activity.

The study employs the methodologies of conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) to the examination of video-recordings of people watching a reality TV show. Analysis of the recordings reveal that one of the most common social actions performed by this specific audience group is making 'assessments', relevant to what is being watched. As such, the main focus of analysis is placed on how assessments are produced and sequentially positioned, in addition to explicating the social and cultural functions of doing assessments during social TV watching.

A fine-detailed analysis of the production and the organisation of assessments during TV watching contributes to our understanding of the organisation of 'continuing states of incipient talk' (CSIT) which has been given little consideration in previous literature. By examining the issues relevant to sequential positioning and response relevance in assessment sequences during TV watching, this study provides insights into the organisation of CSIT while at the same time emphasizing the importance of the activity type that people are engaged in while examining organisation of talk.

This study also has significant implications for adopting micro-analytic research in media audience studies. By examining the actual video-recordings of TV watching, this study demonstrates (1) how people constitute themselves as a social group who has a shared understanding of the world, and (2) how cultural norms and expectations are co-constructed and perpetuated through social TV watching.

*This thesis is dedicated to my dear son, Eren.
I am deeply sorry for the time we spent apart.
Ayri gecirdigimiz hergun icin cok uzgunum.
Seni çok seviyorum*

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List of Abbreviations

CA:	Conversation analysis
CBA:	Category bound activities
CSIT:	Continuing states of incipient talk
CST:	Continuously sustained talk
DP:	Discursive psychology
EM:	Ethnomethodology
LVE:	Lapsed verbal encounters
MCA:	Membership categorization analysis
MCD:	Membership categorization device
O-side:	Object side
S-side:	Subject side
TCU:	Turn constructional unit
TRP:	Transition relevance place
UAG:	Uses and gratifications

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Watching television is a huge part of the daily lives of millions of people around the world. Recent statistics suggest that 99% of the households have at least one TV set in the US¹, and the average number of TVs in a household in the UK is 1.83². When we watch television at home, it is very often that we watch it with other people, with our families or with friends. While watching television with other people, we tend to talk to each other at the same time. Watching television with others is very commonly done as a 'social' activity during which people share their understanding of what they are watching, create bonds with other people, or just talk about their lives. As such, it can be argued that

the television set is the centrepiece of most living-room geographies and it is at the heart of domestic social action. Therefore it seems rather obvious that television should be bound up with our everyday interactions. (Wood, 2009:1)

It can, therefore, be argued that social TV watching involves at least two tasks: 1) watching television, and 2) interacting with each other. Both the watching of television and the organisation of everyday interaction have been the focus of much academic research; however, they have typically been researched in different realms of social sciences. Media audience researchers have investigated questions such as how people read or interpret media texts (encoding/decoding model), why they watch what they watch (uses and gratifications model), etc. Researchers interested in social interaction, on the other hand, have explicated the organisation of everyday mundane interaction, which is commonly referred to as *ordinary talk*, in great detail (Jefferson, 1973, 1988, 1996; Mondada, 1998; Raymond, 2004; for an overview of relevant literature on ordinary conversation see Section 2.3). However, to my knowledge, studies which bring together these two different research agendas and look into the

¹ <http://www.statisticbrain.com/television-watching-statistics/>

² <http://www.tvlicensing.co.uk/about/foi-licences-facts-and-figures-AB18/>

interactional organisation of talk during TV watching remain limited (except for a handful, Beck, 1995; Gerhardt, 2006; Matthewson, 1992). This study focuses on understanding the interactional practices of a particular TV audience (Turkish females) through investigating the organisation of their talk when they are engaged in watching daytime reality TV.

In this study, analysis of talk during TV watching led to various crucial areas of investigation. These areas include: 1) assessment sequences, 2) organisation of ‘continuing states of incipient talk’, and 3) implications of micro-analysis of interaction (such as the methodology used in this study, conversation analysis) for media audience research.

The initial focus of this study is specifically on how *assessment sequences* are organized during TV watching. Assessments in various settings have gained much attention from conversation analysts (Antaki, 2002; Antaki et al., 2010; Fasulo & Manzoni, 2009; Filipi & Wales, 2010; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Heritage, 2002, Heritage & Raymond, 2005, Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Mondada, 2009; Pomerantz, 1984, etc.), however, to my knowledge, previous studies have not investigated assessment sequences during TV watching. The reason for focusing on assessment sequences is the fact that they are one of the most prevalent actions performed by the viewers in this corpus. As such, assessments in the corpus have been identified, collected, and analysed with regard to their sequential positioning, whether / how they are responded to, and their social, interactional and cultural functions.

A close examination of assessment sequences has also revealed some intriguing observations about the organisation of ordinary talk in a broader sense. Four decades ago, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) argued that the organisation of continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) is different from organisation of the continuously sustained talk (CST). That is, when people are *just* talking – as in phone conversations – (CST), the organisation of their talk would be different from when people are doing something else while talking (CSIT), such as when they are having dinner, watching television, etc. Even though much ordinary talk takes place while people are also engaged in another activity, talk that takes place in such cases has not been fully investigated,

despite Schegloff & Sacks' (1973) call for exploring the organisation of CSIT. The analysis of assessment sequences in this study will provide an empirical investigation of Schegloff and Sacks' preliminary observations about the organisation of CSIT. Therefore, in addition to the organisation of assessment sequences, this study focuses on its implications for organisation of talk in a broader sense, and more specifically for organisation of CSIT.

Additionally, this study investigates the organisation of talk among a group of Turkish females, who are peers and know each other, while they are watching a particular kind of TV programme: a reality dating show. This has been an under-investigated setting not only in conversation analytic research but also by researchers who are interested in media audiences. As such, another point of interest in this study is to understand the interactional practices of a particular group of media audiences in a particular setting, and its implications for media audience research in a broader sense.

1.2 Research overview

This study explores the interactional practices of groups of Turkish women watching a daytime reality TV show together by specifically focusing on assessments that they produce during the viewing. The methodology adopted in this study is conversation analysis (CA), which has proved to be an effective tool to analyse assessments in interaction and which has also been introduced to the studies of media audience in recent years (Gerhardt, 2006; Wood, 2001, 2007, 2009). In addition to CA, Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) has also been used to specifically analyse the social categories that are evoked during TV watching in order to explicate social and cultural actions performed through assessments. This section will present a brief description of the research context and an overview of CA and MCA.

1.2.1 Research context

The data for this thesis consists of 12 hours of video recordings of women watching a reality TV show in Turkey. There are 15 participants in total, the ages of whom range between 18 and 65. In each recording, there are at least three women watching the show together. It is important to note that the participants in this study are neighbours and friends, and it is very common for them to get together and watch reality TV shows together. Therefore, it can be argued that the data consists of naturally

occurring conversations which is a very crucial feature of conversation analytic research (the importance of naturally-occurring talk for CA will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

To understand the research context fully, it is important to provide an overview of the TV programme that the participants are watching. For this study, the participants are recorded while they are watching a particular kind of reality TV show: the ‘marriage show’ which has become very popular in Turkey since the beginning of 2000s. The main stated objective of marriage shows is to help people find a marriage partner. Unlike the dating shows in Western media, such as *Blind Date*, *Dinner Date* or *Take Me Out*, in the marriage shows in Turkey, thousands of weddings have already resulted from people meeting on the shows.

At the time of data collection, there were four different marriage shows presented on Turkish national TV channels. One of the shows was on ATV, *Esra Erol’la Evlen Benimle* (Marry Me – With Esra Erol) which aired from 3pm to 6.30 pm every weekday (3.5 hours a day). Another show was on Star TV, called *Zuhal Topal’la izdivac* (Marriage – with Zuhal Topal), showed between 11.10 am and 3am every weekday (4 hours a day). The show that was recorded for this study is called *Su Gibi* (Like Water), which was on TV from 12.15pm to 3pm (3 hours) every a day. In total, every weekday, marriage shows take up to 10 hours of most popular TV channels in Turkey.

This popularity indicates two intriguing dimensions: 1) audience demand and 2) participant demand. In order for these shows to continue, there has to be demand from the TV audience. However, the demand from the audience is not sufficient in itself, as there has to be enough numbers of participants on the show as well. The statistics suggest that these programmes have a daily waiting list of almost four thousand people and only 14 of them get a chance to appear on the screen which again indicates the popularity of the show. Participants in the show are from all around Turkey with various social, economical and educational backgrounds³. The format of the show is

³ 59% of the participants in the show are male and 41% are female. 20% of participants are aged between 18 and 25, 35% between 26 and 40, 45% over 40

as follows: The participants in the show introduce themselves (age, marriage history, children, occupation, etc.) and they expect for candidates to call or attend the show to meet them. The moment when a participant and candidate first meet, the first conversation between them, most of their decision-making process, and most of the time wedding party, all take place live on the show (The TV show will be described in more detail in Chapter 4).

Even though talk that takes place in the TV show is very interesting, the data for this study consists of talk among the TV audience who are watching the show at their homes. As was mentioned before, the organisation of ordinary talk has been the focus of much conversation analytic research. Studies investigating ordinary talk have taken their data mostly from phone conversations (e.g. Antaki, 2002; Arminen, 2005; Arminen & Leinonen, 2006; Drew & Chilton, 2000; ten Have, 2002; Hopper, 1990, 1992; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1991, 2003; Lee, 2006; Lindstorm, 1996; Luke, 2002; Schegloff, 1979, 2002; Szczepek, 2009; Wright, 2011), or dinner table talk (Mondada, 2009; Sterponi, 2009). However, the context of this research adds a very significant and intriguing aspect to the analysis of ordinary talk as the talk is mediated by the TV show. Mediated conversations have been mostly focused on by researchers in computer-mediated communication (Hutchby, 2001, 2003; Jenks, 2009a, 2009b; Jenks & Brandt, 2013). Talk which takes place on television shows also has gained consideration from conversation analytic research (e.g. Bovet, 2009; Butler & Fitzgerald, 2010; Clayman, 1988; Poullos, 2010). Talk that is mediated through the TV, on the other hand, has not gained much attention from conversation analytic researchers except for a handful of studies (to be outlined in Section 2.2.3). Therefore, talk among the TV audience during TV watching still remains an under-investigated but very a widespread and intriguing context. The context for this research will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

1.2.2 Research methodology

The research methodology adopted in this study is Conversation Analysis (CA). In addition to CA, Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is also used to analyse the categories that emerge in talk during TV watching. The rationale behind choosing CA and MCA as the research methodologies in this study can be best understood through an overview of basic principles of these methodologies.

Conversation analysis and MCA have developed in different trajectories over the years, but both methodologies adhere to the same theoretical principles, which are derived from ethnomethodology. Conversation analysis, highly influenced by Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, is a methodology developed by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, in the late 1960s for the systematic analysis of naturally-occurring spoken interaction: talk-in-interaction (e.g. Sacks 1995; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977 for early seminal CA papers). The principle objective of CA is "to uncover the often tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008:12).

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) uncovered some interactional organisations which reveal the characteristics of organisation of talk-in-interaction. ten Have (1999) groups these interactional organisations as:

- a) *turn-taking organisation*: how turns at talk are organized. For example, one person speaks at a time and there is minimal gap and minimal overlap when speaker change occurs.
- b) *sequence organisation*: how utterances in interaction are produced in the progression of talk, preceding the one that is produced just before and creating the context for the next utterance.
- c) *repair organisation*: the organisation of dealing with various kinds of trouble in the interaction's progress.
- d) *the organisation of turn-design*: how an individual turn at talk is positioned and formulated in order to achieve a social action.

Of the interactional organisations state above, sequence organisation and the organisation of turn design have greatly informed the analyses (Chapter 5 and 6) in this study.

To investigate the organisation of interaction rigorously and empirically, CA methodology poses strict principles on the analyst to restrict the analysis only to issues and observations which are demonstrably relevant in the data. The most fundamental feature of CA is its emphasis on adopting a strictly emic perspective which refers to “the perspective of how the participants display for one another their understanding of ‘what is going on’” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008:13). Another important principle of CA is not dismissing any detail *a priori*, which is best reflected in the highly detailed transcription system used by conversation analysts.

Conversation analysis is a data driven and bottom-up process and the analyst should not “approach the data with any prior theoretical assumptions or assume that any background or contextual detail are relevant” (Seedhouse, 2005:167).

The underlying ethnomethodological principles of CA and MCA, having an emic perspective, adopting a data-driven and bottom-up process and the emphasis on fine-details of naturally-occurring interaction, made CA and MCA the most appropriate methodologies to use in this study. Throughout this study, all of the principles stated above are strictly adhered to. In Chapter 3, CA will be discussed in more detail in terms of its theoretical underpinnings, as will be the process of using the methodology. In the next section, the present study’s objectives and relevance will be overviewed.

1.3 Objectives and relevance of the study

As outlined in previous sections, the main objective of this study is to examine the interactional practices of a particular group of TV audience (Turkish females) when they are watching a reality TV show (marriage shows) with their peers. Preliminary observations following data collection suggested that offering assessments is one of the most common actions performed by the participants in this study, which led to assessment sequences being selected as the main focus of analysis.

As such, assessments sequences have been identified, collected, and analysed. A conversation analytic approach to data analysis, as mentioned earlier, requires a data-

driven approach in research design. As such, most CA research is guided by more generic research questions which will not create any *a priori* assumptions about the data. This research, then, is guided by the following research questions:

1. How are assessments sequentially organized during TV watching?
 - a) In which sequential positions do the assessments occur?
 - b) How are the assessments responded to?
 - c) Which social and interactional practices are accomplished through assessments during TV watching?
2. What does this analysis of assessments tell us about organisation of ‘continuing states of incipient talk’ in a broader sense?
3. How can conversation analysis contribute to media audience research?

These research questions are considered worthy of investigation for various reasons. First of all, this study contributes significantly to conversation analytic research which explores assessments in interaction by investigating the production of assessments during TV watching specifically, which still remains an under-researched setting and activity. The contributions which this study makes to the literature on assessments are as follows: 1) it investigates assessment during an activity (TV watching) which is shaped by continuing states of incipient talk mediated by television which has not been fully explored before, and 2) assessments in the corpus mostly consists of assessments of people on the TV show with regards to their personality, physical appearance, and eligibility as a marriage partner which adds a very intriguing dimension as such assessments have implications for cultural and social norms and expectations (which is analysed by using MCA).

Another reason for investigating this setting is that it contributes to our understanding of the organisation of ordinary talk broadly, and more specifically it provides insights into the organisation of continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT). Schegloff highlights the importance of studies on CSIT by suggesting that “understanding the practices, actions and particularly the sequences of actions of continuing states of incipient talk” might truly break new ground (2010:47).

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

In this chapter, an overview of this study has been provided by outlining the research context, purpose of the study and the significance of this study for the broader domain of social interactional research. The next chapter will review the research literature relevant to this study. Chapter 2 will begin with an overview of earlier approaches to media audience research and how a conversation analytic approach is being adopted to investigate audience talk in more recent years (Section 2.2). In the following section, literature related to Goffman's concepts of focused vs. nonfocused interaction as well as Schegloff and Sacks' point on the differences between continuing states of incipient talk and continuously sustained talk will be reviewed (Section 2.3). The final section (Section 2.4) will provide a review of literature on assessments from a conversation analytic perspective. In this section, relevant literature on the sequential positioning, preference organisation, epistemic rights, response relevance and also social and cultural functions of assessments will be presented.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the research methodology used in this study: Conversation Analysis (CA). The chapter will initially provide a brief overview of the theoretical underpinnings of CA by discussing how it is related to Ethnomethodology (EM) and the common features of EM and CA. Following this, basic principles of CA will be overviewed. Then, the interactional organisation of talk will be discussed from a CA perspective by focusing on a) adjacency pairs, b) turn-taking organisation, c) preference organisation and d) repair organisation. Even though the main methodology used in this study is CA, there are some parts of analysis which draw upon the tools provided by Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), a methodology which is very closely related to CA and follows the same ethnomethodological principles. As such, an overview of MCA will also be provided. The last sections in Chapter 2 will address reliability, validity and also strengths and limitations of CA as a research methodology.

Chapter 4 will provide an overview of research design. The first section will describe the setting of the reality TV show that the participants in the data are watching, and also the setting of the viewers who are watching the show. Following this, an overview of the viewers who participated in this study will be provided. Section 4 will describe the data collection process and ethical considerations in relevance to the data

recording. How data is transcribed and analysed will also be considered in this chapter.

Chapters 5 and 6 will provide analyses of data which are relevant to the overall aims of this study. In Chapter 5, how assessments are sequentially positioned during TV watching will be analysed by providing examples of each sequential position that assessments are found to occur. These positions include: 1) breaking an ⁴adjournment/re-initiating talk, 2) in, and related to, ongoing talk; 3) in, but not related to, ongoing talk and 4) signalling / initiating an adjournment. Chapter 6 will discuss how/whether the assessments are responded to during TV watching. This chapter will initially provide the analysis of cases when a first assessment is not responded to and, following this (in Section 6.2), second assessments which are provided in response to first assessments will be analysed in detail. This analysis will consider whether the second assessments are offered as agreements or disagreements, as well as how the agreements and disagreements are done.

In Chapter 7, the preceding two analytic chapters will be discussed in more detail in relation to the research literature presented in Chapter 2. The first section (7.1) is on assessments which will be considered in terms of 1) sequential positioning, 2) response relevance, 3) preference organisation and 4) social and cultural functions. Based on the discussion on assessments during TV watching, broader issues relevant to the organisation of continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) will be overviewed in the Section 7.2. While discussing the organisation of CSIT, specific consideration will be given to the 1) re-initiation of talk, 2) adjournments, and 3) response relevance. The last section (7.3) will discuss the contributions the findings make to research on social interaction and to media audience research. Chapter 8 will conclude the thesis by offering a summary of the findings, and outlining some recommendations for future research.

⁴ ‘Adjournment’ is used to define the lapses in the corpus during which the viewers all orient towards the TV. Adjournments are always broken by re-initiation of talk.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This study uncovers *how* a group of people (Turkish women who are peers and known to each other) watch daytime reality TV show (marriage show) together by investigating the sequential organisation of talk that takes place during the viewing. More specifically, how *assessments* are structured and organized during TV watching will be examined. Television and its audiences have been widely investigated by media audience researchers, while at the same time, the organisation of talk has led to a considerable amount of research from a conversation analytic perspective; however, a very common phenomenon of our times, talk-in-interaction that takes place while people are watching television together, has not been investigated fully.

Through an analysis of assessment sequences, this study provides an understanding of the interactional practices of the participants while they are watching a reality TV show in a particular context, and subsequently contributes to our understanding of TV watching as a social activity in general as well as the organisation of interaction during TV watching. It is important to note that this does not imply that the findings of this study will be applicable to all types of TV watching. The organisation of talk might vary across different TV programmes, such as soap operas, football matches, documentaries, and also in different settings, for instance in a household in the US where a group of teenagers are watching a dating show. That is, the findings of this study exclusively highlight the interactional practices of the participants in this study while they are watching a specific reality TV show (marriage show).

In this chapter, previous research of relevance to this study will be discussed. There will be three main areas of literature that will be reviewed which include 1) media audience research, 2) the organisation of ordinary talk, and 3) assessments. In Section 2.2, a review of media audience research will be provided by briefly discussing various approaches which have been adopted and developed throughout its relatively short history. These approaches include media effects model, uses and gratifications model, encoding/decoding model, and the ethnographic turn in audience research. Another approach which will be discussed in this section is a micro-analytic approach

to audience research. Since this is the approach adopted in this study, it will be discussed in more detail in order to demonstrate the relevance of this study to previous media audience research.

The fact that the audience are engaged in TV watching while at the same time talking to each other (and sometimes to the TV) has a crucial role in the way the talk is organized. Section 2.3 will review the literature on the organisation of ordinary talk across different activities and settings by highlighting the distinction between cases when people are ‘just talking’ and those when they are doing something else while talking at the same time. This distinction will be discussed through Goffman’s notion of focused/unfocused talk and its relation to Schegloff and Sacks’ definitions of continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) and continuously sustained talk (CST). A clear definition of these concepts will enable a deeper understanding of audience talk during TV watching.

In the present research, the analysis of talk-in-interaction will mainly focus on how assessments are structured, sequentially organized and occasioned by the participants. Thus, previous literature on assessments is highly relevant. Section 2.4 will provide a review of conversation analytic research on assessments by specifically looking at 1) sequential positioning of assessments, 2) preference organisation, 3) indexing epistemic rights and 4) the embodied production of assessments. There also exists research on assessments in a closely related field, discursive psychology (DP). The last sub-section in Section 2.4 will review assessments from a discursive psychological perspective. Discursive psychology will not be used as a research methodology in this study; however, some concepts and definitions of discursive psychological studies on assessments are highly relevant to this study. As such, a review of assessments from a DP perspective is also necessary.

Deriving from ideas and concepts from media audience research, MCA, and studies of assessments from a CA perspective, this study will analyse and explain how the participants in this study watch a particular TV show, and how they organize their talk during watching.

It is important to note that, by adopting a conversation analytic approach, this study only contributes to understanding *how* people watch television by examining the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction among the audience during actual TV watching. That is, *why* people watch particular media, or what they interpret from the TV shows will not be addressed in this study (unless it is made relevant and talked about by the audience).

2.2 Media audience research

Media audience research, which mainly deals with the relationship between media texts and its audience, dates back to the 1920s and 1930s. Since its beginning, “the history of studies of the media audience can be seen as a series of oscillations between perspectives which have stressed the power of the text (or message) over its audiences and perspectives which have stressed the barriers "protecting" the audience from the potential effects of the message” (Morley, 2014:1). In this section, these oscillations will be outlined, and the progression of TV audience research will be explained through a discussion of main approaches in the field. These approaches include 1) media effects model, 2) uses and gratifications model, 3) encoding/decoding model, 4) ethnographic approach and 5) micro-analytic approach. In examining these approaches, the issues that have not been addressed thoroughly in previous media audience research will be highlighted and the contributions that this study will offer will become clear.

The 'media effects model' (or 'hypodermic needle' model) is one of the initial approaches to media audience research which was developed by the Frankfurt School, particularly by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1947). The rise of the Nazi occupation of Germany during the 1930s was crucial in constructing the main arguments of this model, as for the authors, mass media was the most effective tool in mass propaganda. In this model, the media text is seen as having the power to “inject” their audiences with particular “messages”, which will cause them to behave in particular ways” (Morley, 2014:1), whereas the audience is regarded as a mass of subjects who can be controlled by the media. The effects model which sees the media audience as passive and media to be highly powerful received severe criticism in the 1950s and 60s, for having a patronizing approach to media audience. These criticisms

led to development of a new approach, the uses and gratifications model (UAG henceforth).

Two pioneering studies in the 1950s – Herzog (1954), which investigated the reasons behind listening to daytime radio serials, and Berelson et al. (1954), which studied newspaper strikes from the point of view of the readers – can be regarded as the early examples of the UAG model. Even though there are early examples of studies adopting a similar approach to UAG, Katz (1959) is commonly seen as the father of the approach. In his editorial, Katz (1959: 2) emphasizes the importance of investigating what people “do with the media” instead of only focusing on what “media do to people”. Thus, UAG researchers focused their attention on the functions of the media and aimed at explicating why and how people use the media (Benteley, 2012). This approach also reflected the shift in how the audience are seen by the researchers. Unlike the passive audience in media effects research, Katz *et al* (1974) stated that UAG approach assumes that audience are selective in their media choice and they select the media that will gratify their needs. That is, the audience is not seen as passive and vulnerable any more but they are rather regarded as active and selective individuals who can also explain their motivations in selecting particular media when asked in surveys and interviews.

To identify the gratifications that audience get from their engagement with particular media texts, UAG scholars have carried out various studies with different audience groups focusing on different media texts. In an earlier study on radio audience, Mendelson (1964) found that radio was used for its functions of providing information, companionship and relaxation. In their research on the uses of various media texts, Rosengren *et al.* (1985) found that people use media for the purposes of relaxation and entertainment as well as to satisfy their personal needs, such as connecting to people in other parts of the world, gaining a better insight in them and also their values.

UAG researchers have widely investigated TV audience and why people watch particular TV shows, such as soap operas, quiz shows, talk shows, etc. McQuail, Blumler, and Brown (1972, 2000) have investigated the uses and gratifications that people gain while watching quiz shows and they have offered a typology, called

“mediaperson interactions” (p.447). This typology includes diversion, personal relationships, personal identity, and surveillance. In a more recent study on TV audience, Rubin (2009) stated similar outcomes as television is found to be used for escapism, companionship, learning and relaxation purposes.

UAG research is highly criticized for not having a clear definition of its key concepts. Rubin (2009) discusses that even the distinction between the central concepts of “uses” and “gratifications” have not been clearly defined. Researchers adopting this approach “attach different meanings to concepts such as motives, uses, gratifications, and functional alternatives, contributing to fuzzy thinking and inquiry” (Ruggiero, 2000: 12).

Ruggiero (ibid.) discussed three other main criticisms of the UAG approach as follows: 1) being too individualistic, which makes it hard to generalize findings or provide predictions beyond the participants in the studies, 2) being too compartmentalized, which prevents synthesis of different research findings and prevents conceptual development, 3) problems with the validity of self-report data. Wood (2009) emphasizes another possible problem of UAG research from a feminist perspective. She criticizes this approach for being premised upon a mentalistic account of 'need' and ignoring the social and cultural dimensions. Such studies, according to Wood, provide a “dangerous apparatus given the contentious history in which women’s pleasures have been too easily associated with failing personal traits” (p. 101).

Despite the existing criticisms of earlier UAG studies, there is still an abundance of research adopting this approach to explicate the Internet uses of audience, for example Charney (1996), Eighmey (1997), King (1998), Korgaonkar & Wolin (1999) and Lin (1999) who all found similar motivating factors in the use of Internet, such as entertainment, interactivity, information and convenience. For uses and gratifications scholars, the basic question remain the same:

Why do people become involved in one particular type of mediated communication or another, and what gratifications do they receive from it? (Ruggiero, 2000: 29)

Ruggiero (ibid.) proposes that by including various concepts, such as interactivity, demassification and interpersonal aspects of mediated communication, UAG model can be modernized to meet the needs of researching new media technology. A major limitation of UAG approach is that it restricts the focus on *why* people use the media, and does not allow for investigating *how* they use it. The question of how the audience watch media later led to development of another approach in media audience research: encoding/decoding model.

2.2.1 Encoding/Decoding Model

Against the backdrop of the effects model and the UAG approach to audience research, Stuart Hall (1980) developed his groundbreaking ‘encoding/decoding model’ of audience research in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Britain. With Hall’s model, the main question in UAG research ‘*why* people use media’ is altered to ‘*how* people use media’. The basic premise of this model is that every media text is encoded with messages and the audience decode these messages by utilizing the resources around them.

In his review of encoding/decoding model, Morley (2014) discusses its relationship to the previous two main models of media audience research. He argues that Hall’s model agrees with effects theorists’ notion that institutions which produce messages have the power to set agendas and define issues. However, Morley suggests that the model also incorporates UAG notion of active audience, and so asserts that the audience can make various meanings from the signs and symbols media provide. However, unlike the uses and gratifications model, which is mostly concerned with individual psychologies, the encoding/decoding model is concerned with the relationship between the social structures and the audience interpretations.

The key premises of Hall’s encoding/decoding model are as follows; 1) the same event can be encoded in more than one way, 2) the message always contains more than one potential reading, 3) messages encoded one way can always be decoded in a different way (Morley, 2014). These premises led to highly debated notions of encoding/decoding model: “preferred reading” and “polysemy”. Schröder (2000) defines the preferred reading as “...the connotative meaning inscribed in the text,

which is produced by the hegemonic framework governing mass media production routines” (p: 238). Even though Hall (1980) proposes that there is a preferred reading of a text, he also acknowledges that an audience might resist the preferred reading or adopt a negotiated position, which implies that the audience might accept some of the values in the preferred reading and defy some others. Polysemy, on the other hand, refers to the diversity of meanings in a text (Fish, 1980). Fiske (1989) too has argued that television is a polysemous medium and audience might respond in various ways to the same television text.

This model was then applied to empirical data by Morley (1980), who supported Hall's theoretical position by investigating the British current affairs programme *Nationwide*. In Morley's research, *Nationwide* audience groups were from different socio-cultural backgrounds and it was found that different audience groups adopted different positions in relation to media discourses. These positions include dominant, negotiated or oppositional positions. In the dominant position, the audience accepts the preferred reading of the text whereas negotiated position refers to the cases where audience might partially agree with the preferred reading. Oppositional position, on the other hand, means when the audience disagree with the preferred reading of the text.

With its key concepts and premises, the encoding/decoding model has been widely adopted in media audience research since its first proposal. However, despite its popularity among media researchers, this model still has its own limitations. One of the main limitations of this model is its applicability to entertainment shows. Seiter (1999) asserts that even though Hall's model works for news and non-fiction TV shows, there will be many problems to apply it to an entertainment show, as the message or a preferred reading in such shows is not easy to identify. Another shortcoming of the model stems from its focus on meaning processes of class and class struggle whereas not elaborating on any other relevant social categories like gender, age or ethnicity (Morley, 1992). Being limited to only class and class struggle, the model does not provide a general model for audience reception (Schröder, 2000).

The studies which aimed to investigate other social categories than class has subsequently led to development of a new approach in media studies which has been called as ‘ethnographic turn’ in media studies which will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.2 Ethnographic turn in media audience research

With the new insights into audience research that are brought up by the earlier models, audience were started to be seen as active, texts seen as dynamic, meaning seen as context-dependent, and readings as potentially divergent (Livingstone, 2000). This new perception of the relationship between the media and its audience subsequently led to the emergence of qualitative and empirical studies roughly starting from the mid 1980s, which gained its methodological apparatus from ethnographic approaches. This ethnographic turn in audience research is also called the New Audience Research (Corner, 1991). The main aim in ethnographic media audience research is to provide insights into *how* different audience groups use the media. For this purpose, various data collection techniques, such as interviews, focus groups and participant observations have been used to explicate different readings of media texts.

Hartley (2002) defines the main characteristics of the ethnographic media audience studies as giving the audience (or sometimes ‘reader’) a chance to present their own point of view in open interviews and during participation observation. As such, with the ethnographic turn, audience researchers preferred qualitative methods over quantitative methods, and they started using more interactive data collection techniques such as interviews and focus groups. Another crucial feature of ethnographic media studies is the perception of media use as a part of daily lives of people rather than an isolated activity which consequently leads to research being designed to investigate media use as it is situated in the daily lives of people.

Key examples of early ethnographic studies in media audience research aim at investigating various audience groups, such as female audiences (Ang, 1985; Brown, 1994; Gray, 1992; Hobson, 1982), children (Buckingham, 1993), different ethnic groups (Gillespie, 1995), family households (Lull, 1991, 1995; Morley, 1981, 1986),

different cultural groups (Liebes and Katz, 1990), etc. The ethnographic turn the media audience research has deepened our understanding of the contextualized viewing within the practices of everyday life (Livingstone, 2000), and also the relationship between media texts and the production of identity (Wood, 2007).

However, this approach has been criticized for diminishing the power of the text while emphasizing the importance of the context which then leads media theory to “lose itself and specificity of its research agenda in the rapidly expanding domain of interdisciplinary cultural theory” (Livingstone, 2000: 194). Another criticism of ethnographic research in media audience research rises from the methodologies adopted in data collection. Most ethnographic research uses interviews and focus groups as main ways to collect data. As Staiger states:

reception studies research cannot claim to say as much about an actual reading or viewing experience by empirical readers or spectators as it might like. Several factors intervene between the event and any possible sense data available for its study... Reporting, whether through a crafted ethnographic interview or a published review, is always subject to the problem of retrieval. (Staiger, 1992:79-80)

To overcome the problems addressed by Staiger, the ethnographic strand of TV audience research has been taken one step further by adopting a more ethnomethodological perspective which enables the researcher to move closer to the audience. Even though the main focus of this research is on TV audience, it is also worth mentioning that a wave of ethnomethodological perspective can be seen in other strands of audience and reception research. For instance, some researchers in Literary Reception Studies, which was dominated by ethnographic approaches until recently, are now adopting ethnomethodological principles to approach their data (e.g. Allington, 2008; Allington & Benwell, 2012; Benwell, 2009, 2012; Erikson and Aronsson, 2009; Swann and Allington, 2009). In such research, instead of asking viewers to ‘report’ their viewing, an approach which has been rightly criticized as limited, researchers investigate what is actually being said during TV viewing, or

during a book group talk. This approach to audience research will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.2.3 Conversation analytic approach to audience research

Studies adopting a conversation analytic approach to audience research can be traced back to the 1990s. For example, Matthewson (1992) audio-recorded female students while they watched soap operas and a quiz show, and examined the details of their talk. In her analysis, Matthewson (*ibid.*) focuses on the utterances addressed ‘to’ the television, and utterances spoken ‘with’ the television. She also briefly addresses the organisation of turn-taking, demonstrating that lapses can be permissible during TV watching. Notwithstanding the insights that this study offers to understanding audience interaction during TV watching, the study seems to fall short by not providing a fine-detailed sequential analysis of the data, as only isolated turns are provided, and talk on television is not taken into account. Lack of video recordings also limits the findings in terms of understanding the organisation of talk.

Beck (1995), on the other hand, observed and video-recorded 7 male students in a common room of a dormitory while watching football games over several weeks. She uses ethnography and conversation analysis to explicate how what she labels ‘interpretative communities’ is co-created by its members through interaction that takes place while watching television. Her detailed analysis of recorded data demonstrates that the fans of a football team construct themselves as an ‘interpretative community’ by 1) displaying knowledge of shared terms; 2) participating in an ongoing commentary of the game; and 3) through overt identification of allegiance to the football team. Although the study adds to our understanding of TV watching communities, and their co-construction, as with Matthewson's study, Beck (*ibid.*) does not analyse in fine detail the interactional organisation of audience talk during TV watching, the interplay between the media text and talk among the viewers, or the viewers’ embodied conduct while watching TV.

More recently, Gerhardt (2006) carried out another study on watching football. Adopting a micro-analytic approach, Gerhardt analysed recordings of English families and friends watching football on television. Even though, both Beck and

Gerhardt investigate the talk during football watching, Gerhardt provides a more detailed analysis of recorded data as well as considering the talk that takes place on the TV and taking the gaze and body orientations of the viewers into consideration. She investigates talk among the audience as well as talk directed to the TV. She uses concepts and methodologies from interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis to analyse her recordings. In her analysis, Gerhardt (ibid.) particularly applies “the concepts of the 'watch' (Scollon, 1998), and 'participant role' (Goffman, 1981; Levinson, 1988) to the data (Gerhardt, 2006: 127). Unlike Beck’s use of the term ‘interpretative communities’, Gerhardt draws on the already established concept of 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Much like Beck (1995), Gerhardt (ibid.) identifies the strategies that viewers use to constitute themselves as a ‘community of practice’ as football fans and experts as follows: 1) direct address to the TV; 2) signalling independent knowledge and emotions. Another point of discussion made in the paper is the role of television as a “party to the talk at home”. This is done by respecting commentators’ turns, providing second pair parts for the commentators’ turns, and thus constructing a single, coherent talk which involves commentators’ talk.

Gerhardt’s research on people watching football together on TV provides invaluable insights for media researchers and conversation analysts. She demonstrates how people construct themselves as football fans through their talk. She also exemplifies how the audience can interpret scenes on the screen collaboratively. In a further study, Gerhardt (2007) also investigates gaze during TV watching. She shows that the lack of gaze over long stretches of talk in her data is not treated as problematic by the TV viewers which suggests that Goodwin’s gaze rules might be suspended during TV watching. She identifies three contexts where gaze takes place: 1) humour; 2) inviting a reaction towards what just happened on the screen, and 3) while offering an evaluation of something on the screen. This study is the only micro-analytic research investigating management of gaze among a group of people while they are watching football on the television.

Another recent micro-analytic study of media audience is Wood’s (2001, 2007, 2009) research on how audiences interact with the TV (as opposed to with each other while watching TV). In her research, she explores the practice of talking back to the

television set while women are watching daytime TV *on their own*. Wood's study (ibid.) adopts a multi-disciplinary perspective, drawing on resources from sociolinguistics, CA, pragmatics, ethnomethodology, and social theory, as well as cultural studies influenced by feminist researchers.

In her research, Wood is concerned with daytime, talk-based TV shows in Britain in the late 1990s, including *Kilroy* (BBC), *Vanessa* and *The Time, The Place* (ITV), and some magazine programmes such as *Good Morning* (BBC) and *This Morning* (ITV). For this study, Wood carried out fieldwork with 12 women who watch daytime television regularly. During the fieldwork, Wood recorded the women's talk as they watched the shows at home and on their own, while at the same time recording the talk that took place on the show in the TV studio.

Wood (2007) claims that despite the existence of some theoretical insights into media's communicative relationship with its audiences – that is, how the talk in broadcasting is received in the context of the home – this relationship has not been methodologically and empirically investigated in the previous literature. Then she suggests that to understand the relationship between media and the audience, it is vital to interrogate the social interaction that occurs between the audience and the broadcasters during television watching. Wood's study shows that the audiences engage with the text dynamically during the viewing by providing utterances as responses to, or comments on, the broadcasting. Wood (ibid.) defines this phenomenon in her recordings as a 'mediated conversational floor', "one which is lifted out from face-to-face contexts and stretched across time and space, a phenomenon which reproduces the dislocated conditions of modernity" (Giddens, 1991, cited in Wood, 2007:80).

By taking mediated conversational floor and the dynamic engagement of the audience into consideration, Wood (2001, 2007, 2009) proposes 'text-in-action' as an alternative methodology for media audience research. She suggests that through the use of this methodology, audience reception "can be analysed as *events* of dialogic social action, transcending distinctions of text and context" (Wood, 2007: 80). Adopting a text-in-action approach to her data, Wood categorizes the audience responses into three levels of engagement; primary, secondary and territory responses, each of which she suggests accomplish different social actions.

Wood (ibid.) identifies three different ways that *primary responses* can be recognized in the data. First one is the use of second person pronouns directed at a participant on the TV show, which is “a significant aspect of para-social conversational exchange” (2007:81). Second, the use of minimal responses, news receipts or response tokens which signal the active participation of the audience. The last one is when an audience completes a turn initiated by a speaker in the studio. Wood (ibid.) demonstrates through these responses that simultaneous talk is a feature of women watching daytime television which at the same time shows that conventional conversation analysis turn-taking rule of one speaker speaks at a time does not necessarily apply to mediated conversational floor.

Secondary responses, on the other hand, occur in two forms: 1) formulations, and 2) argumentative interrogations. Formulations are produced by the audience in the form of a report of what has just been said in the show. These formulations sometimes provide challenges to the text or conventional norms which demonstrate “the level of intricate personal negotiation that is sustained as a process in these dynamic engagements” (Wood, 2007:93). Argumentative interrogations are mostly produced when the audience is most engaged with an argument in the studio. As the speakers in the studio cannot hear the audience talk, the audiences do not have to attend to face-needs of other speakers and thus can be more aggressive.

The third category of responses Wood identifies is *tertiary responses*, which refers to the use of personal experience by the audience to interactively make sense of the TV show. By using their personal experience, the audiences negotiate the text and, at times during this negotiation, shift their position in relation to the topic at hand and formulate their own opinion based on their own experience.

Wood argues that these responses provided by the viewers during TV watching demonstrate “the discursive potential for the viewer to have a part in constructing the broadcast text for themselves” (2007: 100). That is, the text is mutually constructed by the talk that takes place on TV and viewers’ responses to this talk. By using a micro-analytic approach, Wood deepens our understanding of ‘text-in-action’, allowing us to see the role of broadcasting in everyday practices of life that takes

place at home. It is important to note that Wood's study focuses on the relationship between talk at home and talk on the TV show- this study, however, approaches the data from a different angle by focusing on talk that takes place among the TV audience- as such it could be argued that the focus of this study is *text-in-interaction*. Previously discussed approaches to media audience research, UAG and encoding/decoding model, both acknowledge that the audience are active while interpreting a media text and that the text itself is dynamic; however, they are limited in explaining how this actually happens. The ethnographic studies which aim to show how audience receive media in their everyday context still fall short in the data collection techniques used, such as focus groups and interviews, which do not offer a direct access to what is actually happening during watching. Micro-analytic approaches to audience research, on the other hand, have the potential to offer invaluable insights into the fine details of how people use the media texts in their everyday life.

The focus on talk during TV watching makes it relevant to understand whether/how this talk will differ from the other forms of talk that take place in our everyday lives, such as sitting with family and friends in a living room without a TV. In the next section, concepts in the research literature which aim to identify different forms of talk in different settings and activities will be discussed.

2.3 Organisation of ordinary talk

From its very beginning, conversation analytic research has investigated the organisation of interaction by examining both institutional (e.g. Sacks' analysis of talk during group counselling sessions, 1995) and ordinary talk (e.g. Schegloff, 1979); however, until Atkinson and Drew's work on court interaction (1979), the distinctive features of *institutional* talk had not been examined in its own right. Following their work, conversation analysts have approached ordinary conversation and institutional talk as distinctive forms of talk. In their edited collection of studies on institutional talk, *Talk at Work*, Drew and Heritage (1992) argued that ordinary conversation is

...a kind of benchmark against which other more formal or 'institutional' types of interaction are recognized and experienced. Explicit within this perspective is the view that

other ‘institutional’ forms of interaction will show systematic variations and restrictions on activities and their design relative to ordinary conversation (1992:19).

As is illustrated in the above quotation, institutional interaction has often been understood in comparison to *ordinary talk*. However, it appears that exactly what ‘ordinary talk’ is has not been clearly defined, and as such, a potential misunderstanding is that ‘ordinary talk’ refers to any form of interaction which occurs outside of an institutional setting, or without an institutional goal. From this position, it is possible for another misconception to arise: that all forms of non-institutional interaction are structured similarly. This is obviously not the case – much like with institutional interaction, activity, occasion and setting all play a role in the organisation of non-institutional interaction. In their study on embodied interaction, Streeck *et al* (2011) argue that talk, body, encompassing activities and features of the setting are all interwoven during the course of building an action. Thus, if one wants to examine how an action is built, all of these features need to be addressed in the analysis. That is, the organisation of ordinary talk might not necessarily follow the same organisational rules across various activities and settings; the organisation of talk when two friends are sitting in a café may not be the same as when children are playing a game, or when two women are shopping together as they might all show some differences.

Two different dichotomies, focused vs. unfocused interaction (Goffman, 1963) and ‘continuous states of incipient talk’ (CSIT) vs. ‘continuously sustained talk’ (CST) (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) are very significant resources to investigate the organisation of ordinary talk in different settings and activities. However, the precise boundaries between these two dichotomies of states of conversation have been unclear (Stivers & Rosanno, 2010) as how they relate to each other and differ from one another has yet to be discussed clearly in the literature. Instead, these dichotomies have been referred to by researchers without elaborating on the differences or similarities but as a means to refer to situations where participants are either “just talking” or talking as well as engaging in other activities (Syzmanski, et al. 2006; Mondada, 2009). The next section aims at explicating Goffman’s conceptualization of focused vs. unfocused encounters as well as ‘lapsed verbal encounters’, while Section

2.3.2 will provide a discussion on CSIT vs. CST. This will be followed in Section 2.3.3 by a brief discussion of how these different conceptualizations of states of talk can be complementary to each other.

2.3.1 Focused vs. unfocused interaction

Goffman (1963) argues that the communicative behaviour of people who are present to each other can be understood in terms of two different interaction types. The first one is *unfocused interaction* which is “the kind of communication that occurs when one gleans information about another person present by glancing at him, if only momentarily, as he passes into and then out of one’s view” (p: 34). Such interaction deals with what can be communicated between people by the mere copresence in the same social situation. Examples of such unfocused interaction include students studying in the library or pedestrians walking pass each other on a street.

The second type deals with *focused interaction*, “the kind of interaction that occurs when persons gather close together and openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention, typically by taking turns at talking” (p: 35). He calls such social arrangements as an ‘encounter’ or a ‘focused gathering’ (1961: 17). It is important to note that even though Goffman (1961) proposes that taking turns at talk is a typical way that single focus of attention is sustained in focused encounters, he also reminds that “it is not the only kind of activity upon which focused gatherings are built” (p: 18). That is, focused encounters do not always have to be cases where “just talking” occurs. Focused gatherings include a jury deliberation, a game of cards, a couple dancing, a task jointly pursued by persons physically close to one another, love-making, boxing, etc. (Goffman, 1961).

Goffman (1963) acknowledges that not all communication arrangements can be defined as focused or unfocused. Instead, some encounters “seem to lie halfway between mere copresence and full scale coparticipation” (p: 126). These are the encounters when 1) two or more people might be treated by others as “being together”; 2) they have the right to start a conversation at any moment; however, 3) they do not have to sustain a continuous conversation. Goffman (1963) defines these encounters as “lapsed verbal encounters” (p: 126). Two people walking together, or dozing next to each other on the beach, some women knitting together, or a family

sitting around the kitchen fire can all be claimed to engage in a kind of ‘lapsed verbal encounter’. Goffman further argues that people who are engaged in lapsed verbal encounters can avoid the problem of “safe supplies” which he defines as “the need to find a sufficient supply of inoffensive things to talk about during the period when an official state of talk prevails” (p: 126). That is, when a family is sitting in their living room watching a soap opera, one family member might say something, which does not get responded to for a minute or two, then another family member can provide an additional comment, but there is no requirement for them to sustain continuous talk.

Even though they do not stem from a CA mentality, Goffman’s observations of different types of interaction and the difference in organisational structure of talk across these interaction types have been elaborated upon by Sacks and Schegloff from a conversation analytic perspective in the early 70s.

2.3.2 Continuing states of incipient talk vs. continuously sustained talk

In their research on conversational closings, Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 325) proposed that there is a distinction between continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) when turn-by-turn talk is followed by lapses and starts again, and continuously sustained talk (CST), in which a continuous state of conversation has a clear starting and closing point. Examples of the former would include: open-plan workplaces, which involves different types of multi-activity, such as working while chatting with a colleague (Mondada, 2008); engaging sporadically in talk while a couple is watching television together (Couper- Kuhlen, 2010), or passengers traveling in the same car (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Phone conversations, psychotherapy sessions, and interviews, on the other hand, provide examples of CST. This distinction proposed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) is highly relevant and crucial for indicating the significance of findings of this study. The data in this study consists of CSIT during TV watching and in order to be able to analyse and understand the organisation of talk in this corpus, a thorough understanding of CSIT is necessary.

To be able to highlight the differences between CSIT and CST in terms of conversational closings, it is necessary to initially understand how closings are achieved in CST which has been investigated by Sacks and Schegloff (ibid.) in detail. Turn taking machinery and the organisational features of talk-in-interaction, which

will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, creates certain problems for closing a conversation. In order to close a conversation, it is not sufficient for speakers to just stop talking as this will make any first prospective speaker be heard as 'being silent'. Instead of just stopping talking, the speakers have to suspend the transition relevance place and arrive at a point during their conversation where "one speaker's completion will not occasion another speaker's talk, and that will not be heard as some speaker's silence". That is, closing a conversation requires the coordination of the suspension of the transition relevance of possible utterance completion (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, 295).

In their analysis of how closings are achieved in phone calls, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) reveal that adjacency pair formats are employed in closing sequences which they refer to as 'terminal exchanges'. They propose that by using an adjacency pair format, the first speaker can propose a first part of a terminal exchange which can then be appreciated and agreed by the second speaker in the second pair part of a terminal exchange. By revealing an agreement to the first pair part of a terminal exchange, the second pair part can lift the transition relevance after its occurrence.

However, for a terminal exchange to achieve a closing, it should be placed following a properly initiated closing section. "utterances of the form "we-ell, O.K." etc. operate as possible pre-closings when placed at the analyzable (once again, to participants) end of topic"(Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, 305). To signal the end of a topic, speakers can 1) use the pre-closings collaboratively, or 2) they can offer a proverbial formulation of conventional wisdom.

When a possible pre-closing is offered by one of the speakers, it does not always necessitate the closing to take place as after a possible pre-closing, such as we-el, OKAY, a new topic might be introduced by one of the speakers. It is only when none of the participants to a conversation initiate a new topic after a possible pre-closing that the possible pre-closing can actually initiate a closing section.

The example below demonstrates a case where a possible pre-closing succeeds in initiating a closing section. In this example, the end of the topic is signaled by the use of a proverbial formulation in line 2. The next speaker agrees this formulation in the

next turn which signals the end of the topic. The speakers then initiate a closing section collaboratively and close the conversation with a terminal exchange in Lines 5 and 6.

Example 2.1 (from Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: 307)

1 Dorrinne: Uh-you know, it's just like bringin the- blood up.
2 Theresa: Yeah well, THINGS UH ALWAYS WORK OUT FOR THE //BEST
3 Dorrinne: Oh certainly. Alright // Tess.
4 Theresa: Uh-huh,
5 Dorrinne: G'bye.
6 Theresa: Goodnight

Schegloff and Sacks (ibid.) note that the findings of their study 'Opening Up Closings' only hold for CST when closing a conversation clearly ends a state of talk. However, for other cases in which CSIT takes place, their findings do not hold, as people who are engaged in sporadic spates of talk do not need to close segments with closing sections and terminal exchanges. The authors argue that there might be long lapses during CSIT but these lapses might not be an attributable silence or a termination, but rather *adjournments* in talk. There are some general features of adjournments which enable the researcher to identify a lapse as one. Firstly, no matter how long an adjournment lasts, it is always broken by re-initiation of talk. That is, an adjournment is not the termination of talk, but rather it is the suspension of talk during CSIT. Second, as the speakers in this corpus are engaged in TV watching, this activity heavily influences what the speakers do during an adjournment. During all adjournments in the corpus, the speakers orient towards the TV through their gaze and body and they treat the adjournment as a time for watching the show silently. Schegloff and Sacks (ibid.) state that such adjournments seem to be done in ways different from closings but they do not provide any empirical evidence to show how these adjournments are done differently then closing segments in CST. This study will elaborate on the preliminary observations made by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) by providing a fine detailed analysis of how adjournments are done during CSIT.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) also point out that opening up a conversation will also be different when people are engaged in a CSIT; for example, every time an episode of talk is started, it does not require the kind of opening or greeting exchange expected

in an encounter of CST. How conversations begin has received much attention in the field of conversation analysis (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1979, 1986; Gumperz, 1982; Coupland et al., 1992; Hopper, 1992). The study of conversation openings has been extensively on phone call openings (e.g., Hopper, 1992; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1991; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1979, 1986; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2002).

Schegloff (1979, 1986) describes different sets of opening sequences of phone calls as follows: 1) summons-answer sequence, 2) the identification-recognition sequence, 3) the exchange of greeting tokens, and 4) the 'how are you' sequences. These 'routines' are prevalent in openings of face-to-face conversations as well. However, these observations are only valid for CST and they do not explicate how talk is re-initiated while people are engaged in CSIT. This study will aim at explicating how talk is re-initiated during CSIT which has not been given much consideration in the previous literature.

These differences between CSIT and CST indicate that not all forms of ordinary talk follow the same interactional organisation but instead "how a conversation is carried on in its course is sensitive to the placement of the conversation in an interaction episode or occasion" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p.325).

In the last four decades since these terms were first used, there has been very limited amount of conversation analytic research which focuses on the organisation of CSIT. Even though there have been many studies using data from such settings, this feature of conversation has either been neglected or has not been addressed explicitly. Only a number of papers mention CSIT, mostly as footnotes (e.g., Kushida, 2011), or without any elaboration on the concept (Mondada, 2008).

More recently, a study carried out by Stivers and Rossano (2010) on how responses are mobilized in interaction brought up the importance of addressing the issues relevant to the differences between the organisation of CST and CSIT (Schegloff, 2010: 46). In their study, Stivers and Rosanno (ibid.) suggest that "response relevance is best conceptualized as on a cline such that speakers can rely on turn-design resources to increase the response relevance of a turn beyond the relevance inherit in

the action performed” (p: 4). The turn-design features that are considered to be crucial for response relevance are as follows: 1) interrogative lexico-morpho syntax, 2) interrogative prosody, 3) recipient-focused epistemicity, and 4) speaker gaze. In response to Stivers and Rosanno’s paper, Schegloff (2010) and Couper-Kuhlen (2010) both provided commentaries in the same special issue of ROLSI.

Notwithstanding the different issues they raised in their commentaries, both Schegloff (ibid.) and Couper-Kuhlen (ibid.) advise that while investigating responses in interaction, one must take into account the type of occasions in which these interactions are taking place.

Schegloff (2010) notes that, Stivers and Rosanno are attempting to “deconstruct the packaging materials of turns at talk” whereas it would be more advisable to “step onward on the ladder of granularity and entertain the relevance of the overall structural organisation of the occasions” (p: 46). As “*the dichotomy between ‘continuously sustained talk’ and ‘continuing states of incipient talk’ is a highly relevant dimension of overall structural organisation of interactional episodes*” (ibid.: emphasis added).

Schegloff (ibid.) suggests that vast majority of cases where CSIT takes place involve people who are copresent in the same place and therefore share sensory access to the same environment, e.g., people travelling together, which is in fitting with Goffman’s definition of ‘lapsed verbal encounters’ as in both cases people 1) share the same environment and 2) they do not have to sustain continuous talk. To illustrate the different organisational features of CSIT, Schegloff (2010) uses ‘registering noticings about the environment’, one of the things that people can do in such cases, as an example. He claims that these noticings may generate a line of talk. However, by registering a noticing, a person “puts an offer” for further talk, but does not “require” it (p: 47). Schegloff argues that when there is no response to these noticings, a response pursuit might occur. Or, a noticing might not be responded to and no response pursuit takes place in which case there is a “long (and not problematic) silence” (absent but not noticeable absent) (p: 47). With this example, Schegloff demonstrates how the organisation of CSIT might be different from CST and he argues that Stivers and Rosanno’s paper provides the occasion for taking these issues

up. However, he insists that the aim should be "...understanding the practices, actions, and particularly the sequences of actions of continuing states of incipient talk" (p: 47)

While Schegloff draws on ideas similar to those of Goffman mentioned earlier, he does not specifically mention them. However, Couper-Kuhlen (2010) refers back to Goffman's conceptualizations of focused encounters and nonfocused gatherings in order to provide an understanding of how different encounters entail different organisations. More specifically, she notes that the concept of "interchanges" which is offered by Goffman as a characteristic of focused encounters is a reference to the conditional relevance. Kendon (1988, p: 31) defines "interchanges" as successive doings that are "treated by the participants as being somehow linked together, often in such a way that B's doing is regarded as some sort of response to A's previous doing (cited in Couper – Kuhlen, 2010: 35). 'Interchanges' in this sense is basically the CA notion of conditional relevance, which is central to the whole theory of social interaction from a conversation analytic perspective. Couper-Kuhlen (ibid.) further states that conditional relevance has never been claimed to hold for nonfocused gatherings, such as people waiting in a waiting room, not has it been found to hold in CSIT, "which are characterized precisely by the absence of a tightly organized exchange of doings, or orientation to something being due next, of a common "clock" (Couper-Kuhlen, 2010: 35).

She goes on to argue that data excerpts used by Stivers and Rosanno occur in situations where participants are not "just talking" but also engaging in other activities such as, e.g., making hamburgers, eating desert, cleaning the table, etc. and

in such situations, not providing responses may in fact be one way in which copresent parties construct an encounter as nonfocused. Lack of response relevance, seen in this light, would be a hallmark of nonfocused encounters. (p: 35)

When an encounter is treated as nonfocused, the response pursuit by one of the participants, she argues, might be seen as an attempt to change the status of the encounter to a focused one. This would suggest that orientations (or otherwise) to

response relevance might be a tool for participants to negotiate whether an encounter is focused or nonfocused.

While agreeing with Couper-Kuhlen's argument that response relevance might be employed as a tool by the participants to construct the type of encounter they are engaged in, I propose that it is important to clearly define what is meant by different types of encounters as there exists a confusion in the definition of concepts such as focused interaction, nonfocused interaction, or focused gatherings. Couper-Kuhlen (2010) refers to cases where the participants are engaged in 'just talking' as focused gatherings; however, Goffman's examples of focused gatherings, such as a couple dancing or a group of people playing cards games, do not fit with this notion of 'just talking'. Use of the term nonfocused interaction is also problematic as in Goffman's sense (he uses the term unfocused), this type of interaction is only concerned with the mere presence of people in the same situation whereas Couper-Kuhlen uses nonfocused interaction to refer to situations where participants are not 'just talking' but engaged in other activities as well, such as making hamburgers, watching TV, etc.

To overcome the confusion in the use of these terms, I propose that Goffman's concept of 'lapsed verbal encounters' should be used to define the encounters where the copresent participants are not 'just talking', but instead engaged in other activities which enables them to sporadically engage in spoken interaction. By doing so, it becomes possible to overcome the problems in categorizing some encounters, such as a group of people watching TV together, as either focused or unfocused.

Goffman's notion of 'lapsed verbal encounters' is in line with what Schegloff and Sacks defines as CSIT. An encounter in which talk does not have to be continuously sustained can be labelled as a LVE, whereas the organisation of talk that occurs in such encounters can be defined as CSIT. Even though there exist the observations and definitions of LVEs and CSIT, empirical evidence to demonstrate how talk is organized in such encounters remains very scarce. The database used in this study, a group of women watching TV, provides an example of a LVE where CSIT takes place. As such, it will provide an empirical analysis of the organisation of CSIT during a lapsed verbal encounter.

A close analysis of the recorded data reveals that one of the most common social actions that is performed during watching this particular TV show is offering assessments. For this reason, assessments are the main focus of analysis in the present study. Assessments in interaction have been examined widely in conversation analytic research over the years (however, they have never been investigated while people are watching TV). In the next section, available research on assessments will be reviewed.

2.4 Assessments

While participating in social life, to achieve and display a *congruent understanding* (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) of an activity or an event that they are engaged in, to demonstrate their rights to express an opinion, and also to have particular knowledge about an object or event (Heritage, 2002), or just as a means to deal with the experiences they have (Rasmussen, 2010), people routinely make assessments. As a social action that occurs regularly in everyday talk, assessments have provided conversation analysts a way of exploring features of talk-in-interaction.

Goodwin & Goodwin (1987) point out that the term “assessment” can be used to refer to a range of events and thus there are some definitional issues. They initially distinguish between an *assessment segment* and an *assessment signal*. By assessment segment, they refer to “a specific, segmental unit in the stream of speech” such as the adjective ‘beautiful’ (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987:6), whereas an assessment signal refers to the nonsegmental phenomena such as intonation which indicates that assessments are not limited to verbal expressions. They also note the difference between an *assessment action* which can be used to “designate a particular type of speech act” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987:8), performed by an actor, whereas an *assessment activity* refers to assessments that involve multiple participants and are interactively constructed. Finally, Goodwin and Goodwin uses the term *assessable* to refer to the entity which is being evaluated.

In the following research on assessments, however, the issues raised by Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) concerning the definitions of assessments have not been tackled in more detail. Instead, more recent studies define assessment as “a term given by conversation analysts to a kind of action in which some object, person, situation or activity is being evaluated” (Edwards & Potter, 2012); or “to refer to an evaluative

act, typically performed by an utterance that contains a negative or positive predication of a referent or a state of affairs expressed by the subject or the object of the sentence” (Sarjonen & Hakulinen, 2009: 281). This study will use the term assessment in the sense that is defined by Edwards and Potter (2012) and Sarjonen & Hakulinen (2009), on the other hand, assessment sequence will be used to refer to the assessments which are produced as an interactive activity by more than one participant.

There is a growing body of conversation analytic work which explores assessments in talk-in-interaction across different settings; both institutional and non-institutional, and focusing on different aspects of assessments; preference organisation, sequential positioning, epistemic stance and, more recently, the multimodal aspects of assessments. There is also some research in discursive psychology which investigates what assessments do as a part of various social practices (Wiggins & Potter, 2003; Edwards & Potter, 2012).

In her pioneering work on assessments, Pomerantz (1984) pointed out to three major aspects of assessments; 1) sequential positioning, 2) preference organisation, and 3) epistemic stance all of which have been widely investigated by conversation analysts in the past three decades. While explicating the agreement and disagreement in assessment sequences, Pomerantz (1984) provided valuable observations about preference organisation. She also briefly referred to the issue of epistemic stance in assessments as while producing an assessment of an activity or an event, speakers claim access to knowledge about the activity or event and this claimed access becomes available to co-participants. In her study, however, Pomerantz did not focus on epistemic stance as a point of analysis. The management of epistemic stance in assessments has later been analysed in detail by Hayano (2011), Heritage (2002), Heritage and Raymond (2005), Raymond and Heritage (2006) and Lindström and Heinemann (2009). In addition to Pomerantz’s initial observations about assessments, more recently there has been an emphasis on multimodal aspects of assessments as well.

The following sections will discuss conversation analytic and discursive psychological research on assessments. The section will be divided into five sub-

sections; 1) sequential positioning, 2) preference organisation, 3) epistemic stance, 4) multimodal analysis, 5) discursive psychology.

2.4.1 Sequential positioning

Some CA research on assessments has attempted to identify how assessments are systematically positioned and occasioned within talk-in-interaction. In her seminal paper, Pomerantz (1984) showed that assessments are “occasioned conversational events with sequential constraints” (1984:58) and she identified three main loci for their occurrence: a) on the occasion of participation, 2) within speakers’ reports of previously participated activities, 3) in next turns to initial assessments. Despite opening up a wide research agenda on sequential positioning of assessments, Pomerantz (1984) only focused on the third case when a second assessment is produced following an initial assessment. She argued that on the production of a first assessment, the next sequentially relevant action is a second assessment which then becomes consequential for the structure of the talk.

More recently, Filipi and Wales (2010) compare the assessments produced by children and adults in task based talk to the Pomerantz’s (1984) findings for adults in ordinary conversation. Their main focus of analysis is to find out whether second assessment is a relevant next action in task-based talk as it is in ordinary talk. They have found that a second assessment was expectable following a first one in task-based talk. However, in some cases, examination and comparison of task results become possible relevant next actions following a first assessment. In such cases, second assessments might be offered after examination/comparison of the task, or the second assessment might not occur at all. The authors have also compared their findings on preference organisation to that of Pomerantz’s which will be discussed in the next section.

Fasulo and Manzoni (2009), on the other hand, point out to the distinction between assessing a past event or activity and assessing something present in the immediate environment. The authors argue that in Pomerantz’s (1984) work on assessments as adjacency pairs this distinction did not emerge significantly. In their study, Fasulo and Manzoni (*ibid.*) analyse assessments of objects with which participants are engaged at the time of producing the assessment. In their analysis, they have found that

assessment can create relevance for a type of response to show the respondent's position, however; these responses do not necessarily have to be in the form of a second assessment. They argue that the positioning of first assessment and second assessment as in the form of an adjacency pair turns into a more complex sequential organisation "in which a first assessment locates a target and creates a slot for the recipient's consideration of it; this evaluative phase forms the basis for the subsequent alignment or misalignment with the initial assessment" (p: 374).

Despite the cases discussed above in which a second assessment might not be offered immediately following a first assessment, Pomerantz's argument that "when a speaker assesses a referent that is expectably accessible to a recipient, the initial assessment provides the relevance of the recipient's second assessment" (1984: 61) still holds true for the majority of assessment sequences examined in CA literature. This will be an important point of investigation in this study as assessments produced in the corpus are related to what is available at that moment on the TV show.

Another sequential position that assessments are found to occur is 'closings'. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) note that closing of stories and topics is one of the most frequent sequential positions that assessments might occur. They argue that assessments enable the speakers to show appreciation of the ongoing talk without proposing that the other participants should continue talking about the same topic forever. Thus, they are extensively used to close stories and topics.

Antaki (2002) also examines the use of assessments as a resource for closing talk; however, he focuses solely on how turn-initial high grade assessments in telephone conversations can be used to display resuming a closing which was suspended earlier in the talk. He also shows that using a high-grade assessment not only resumes a closing but it might also "display a claim to 'ownership' of the closedown sequence" (Antaki, 2002: 5). In a following study, Antaki *et al.* (2010) compare the use of high-grade assessments in an institutional setting, during interviews with people who have a learning disability to the findings of the previous study by Antaki (2002). This study shows that in an institutional setting, high-grade assessments are not offered necessarily as relevant to the content of the previous answer, but they might be used

to signal the closure of a topic, or a segment of the interview or the whole interview with success.

In a recent study, Mondada (2009) explicated the positioning of assessments in dinner conversations. She has also found that assessments are used as closing of sequences and topical developments. Her findings differ from the previous studies on assessment as closings in that the assessments examined by Mondada (*ibid.*) demonstrates that when an action is being completed, by inserting a food assessment in this position, the participants achieve the closing of that action. That is, the assessment offered at the closure is not relevant to the previous talk or story but it is about the food instead. She indicates that by placing an assessment at a closure of an action, the participants can initiate new actions regarding the food.

While supporting the previous findings, Mondada (2009) also provided new insights into how assessments are positioned and occasioned in everyday talk. Apart from closings, Mondada (*ibid.*) identified two more contexts that the assessments occur during dinner conversations: 1) when food is presented which is mostly the case at the beginning of the meal and 2) at ‘delicate’ moments characterized by emerging disagreements and conflicts. In such moments, offering a food assessment re-focuses the attention on the food which enables the participants to initiate an alternative action which might eventually lead to the closure of disagreement or conflict. By examining the sequential positioning of assessments in dinner talk, Mondada (2009) demonstrates participants’ orientation to the ongoing sequential organisation, and how they “adjust their contributions to its temporal and interactional features” (Mondada, 2009:13).

The studies discussed above suggest that assessments occur at specific sequential positions systematically. The assessments can be placed 1) following an initial assessment; 2) at closings of topics, stories, interviews, etc.; 3) at ‘delicate’ moments, 4) on the occasion of participation, e.g., when the meal is presented (specific to dinner conversations). Despite the abundance of research on assessments positioned following first assessments, more research is required to examine sequential positioning of assessments in different social contexts.

2.4.2 Preference organisation

Preference organisation has been another aspect of assessments that has gained attention from conversation analysts. Preference organisation here refers to a form of normative organisation where preferred actions are “seen but unnoticed” while dispreferred actions are either simply noticeable and accountable or they are noticeable, accountable and sanctionable (Boyle, 2000; Bilmes 1988; Heritage, 1984) Pomerantz (1984) shows that upon a possible completion point of an initial assessment, agreement/disagreement becomes relevant. By demonstrating how differently valenced assessments can be used to display agreement/disagreement in adjacent first and second assessments, Pomerantz (1978, 1984) suggests a preference structure for assessment sequences arguing that the preferred response to a first assessment is mostly an agreement while she also agrees that there are some cases where disagreement might be the preferred response such as receiving compliments or complaints. In her analysis, Pomerantz (1984) found that in cases when agreement is the preferred response, there are three different possible forms of agreement that can be offered: 1) upgraded assessments which indicate a strong agreement; 2) same-level assessment which can be used to show agreement as well as to preface a disagreement; and 3) downgraded assessments which can regularly engender disagreement sequences.

Pomerantz (1984) identifies some features of the relationship between the preference structure and how the turns are designed in assessment sequences. She states that when an agreement is sought, strong or upgraded agreements are delivered with a minimal gap. However, dispreferred second pair parts are not offered immediately following the first assessments. Instead, some delay devices, such as ‘well’, ‘uhm’, etc are deployed in such cases. The dispreferred responses are also offered less explicitly than the preferred ones.

Filipi and Wales (2010) provide supporting evidence to the findings of Pomerantz (1984) concerning the preference organisation in assessment sequences. In their study on task-based talk, they have found only one instance of disagreement which shows that the next preferred action following a first assessment is mostly an agreement. They have also found that the majority of the agreements in their study are made through the use of same evaluations or weakly stated agreements.

Ogden (2006) also agrees with the metric suggested by Pomerantz (1984) on the valence of first and second assessments. He further demonstrates that the interactants not only use lexical resources but they mobilize phonetic resources simultaneously while offering an upgraded second assessment.

Rasmussen (2010), on the other hand, focuses on the assessments which are not agreed but rather challenged and contested mostly through insults which take place in a Danish school for children with special educational needs. The study shows that participants can achieve a common understanding and being members of a social group through the use of agreements in assessments. However, when the second speaker disagrees with the initial assessment concerning a social conduct, not only the assessment but also the person who offers the assessment is contested.

As the studies discussed above demonstrate, preference organisation is a delicate issue in producing the assessment sequences. Agreement and alignment with an initial assessment can highlight the congruent understanding, shared experiences concerning what is being assessed whereas disagreement and misalignment might raise issues regarding the first speakers' rights to assess, access to knowledge about what is being assessed and also lack of shared experience and understanding. Thus, it is important to provide detailed explanations of how preferred and dispreferred actions are carried following a first assessment.

2.4.3 Indexing epistemic rights

While producing an assessment, speakers claim access to knowledge about the activity or event being assessed and this claimed access becomes available to co-participants (Pomerantz, 1984). The claim to access to knowledge about an assessable brings along issues related to “the distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what participants can accountably know, how they know it, and whether they have rights to describe it’ (Heritage & Raymond, 2005:16). How epistemic claims are raised and negotiated in and through assessment sequences have been analysed in detail by Heritage (2002), Heritage and Raymond (2005), Raymond and Heritage (2006) and Lindström and Heinemann (2009).

In an assessment sequence, as discussed earlier, a first assessment engenders a second assessment and it also seeks for an agreement. However, offering an assessment in the first position also implies that the speaker who offers the first assessment has the primary rights to evaluate what is being assessed (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). This implied claim leads to some issues concerning the epistemic rights of the speakers. When assessment sequences are examined in fine detail, it is found that the speakers deploy different interactional resources to overcome the issues regarding epistemic rights which are raised by the sequential positioning of the assessments. Resources used by the speaker who offers a first assessment for indexing epistemic rights are as follows: 1) Unmarked first assessments which are simple declarative evaluations mostly used to assess the immediate experience. These assessments do not strengthen or weaken the epistemic rights of the speaker. 2) Downgraded first assessments: these assessments are used to modify the claim to primary epistemic rights which is indexed by positioning of the first assessments and they are instead designed to demonstrate downgraded epistemic access to what is being assessed. *Tag questions* can be used in first assessment to downgrade the epistemic claims since by inviting an agreement from the second speaker, use of tag questions cedes the primary epistemic rights to the co-participant. Another means to downgrade the first assessment is use of *evidentials* which marks “mediated access to a referent” (Heritage & Raymond, 2005:19). 3). Upgraded first assessments: a first assessment can be upgraded by the use of *negative interrogative* which strongly invites a type-conforming, agreeing second assessment.

Heritage and Raymond (2005) also explicate how epistemic rights can be managed in the second position assessments, again through a number of resources. The first resource that a speaker can deploy is using simple declarative forms as a response to a first position assessment which claims similar access to a referent, mostly in the immediate environment. The second resource is upgrading the claimed epistemic access in second position assessments. To upgrade a second position assessment, a speaker can a) assert a position as ‘previously held’; b) upgrade with an “oh-” prefaced (Heritage, 1984, 1998) assessment to index epistemic independence, or c) the speaker can usurp the ‘firstness’ of the first position assessment by using tag questions or negative interrogatives. It is important to note that while downgrading a first assessment, the use of tag questions can upgrade a second assessment. Negative

interrogatives, on the other hand, can be used to upgrade both first and second assessments.

2.4.4 The embodied production of assessments

Pomerantz's groundbreaking research on assessments is mainly focused on assessment sequences which involved past events and activities and how a second speaker can align with the first assessment. However, how the assessment sequences are organized when the assessed referent is available in the immediate environment and the use of multimodal resources to produce assessments have not gained much attention in the earlier CA research on assessment. In their pioneering work, Goodwin (1984, 1986) and Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, 1992a, 1992b) demonstrate that gaze, nods, body orientation and facial expression are all used by the speakers integrated with the verbal expressions to produce assessment sequences. In a more recent study, Goodwin (2007) examines talk among three preadolescent girls while they are making assessments about a baseball team leader in the school who excluded them from the game and also his girlfriend who is in the team. The girls make assessments relevant to friendship as a 'relationship category'. Through the way they construct the assessments, two of the girls demonstrate that their minds are together whereas the third girl's comments on the issue at hand are either treated as sanctionable or ignorable. By examining the spatial positioning of the bodies of the girls, their facial expression and their talk, Goodwin (*ibid.*) shows how inclusion and exclusion are managed in this specific context. This study provides the researchers with a good example of how the use of multimodal resources by the participants can be integrated into the analysis of talk-in-interaction to explicate assessment sequences. This section will discuss the studies which emerged following Goodwin and Goodwin's research on multimodal organisation of assessment sequences.

In 2009, ROLSI published a special edition on 'Assessments in Social Interaction' which includes research on the multimodal sequential organisation of assessments in both institutional contexts (Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Mondada, 2009; Fasulo & Manzoni, 2009) and also non-institutional social contexts (Ruusuvaori & Peräkylä, 2009). Lindström and Heinemann (2009) examine the use of low-grade and high-grade assessments in Danish and Swedish care giving situations where a social worker is helping out an elderly citizen to carry out the daily activities. While doing

their analysis, Lindström and Heinemann (2009) pay great attention to the body and gaze orientation of the participants using video recordings of the data and they integrate the use of multimodal resources to their analysis of the verbal interaction. While integrating the multimodal resources used by the participants into their analysis, Lindström and Heinemann (*ibid.*) do not solely focus on the use of these resources but instead they analyse these resources to explicate how different valenced assessments are produced at different points in interaction. Their study shows that when a practical task performed by the home-helper comes to an end a low-grade assessment is produced by the senior citizen. High-grade assessments, however, are very rare and they are almost never used in sequences to evaluate a task performed by the home-helper.

Fasulo and Manzoni (2009), on the other hand, focus on the use of embodied features as the main analysis point of their study. They examine the assessments of mutable objects which they define as objects that can be monitored and changed and also are available to the participants in the immediate environment. They argue that in such cases, when a first assessment is produced it creates a relevance for a response which does not necessarily have to be a second assessment. They demonstrate that the response to an assessment of a mutable object can be to display that one has access to it and to actively perform appraisal at that very moment. After demonstrating that responses to assessments might not be verbal, Fasulo and Manzoni (2009:363) argue that “a) the assessment sequence includes embodied features that must be taken into account to understand both what the assessment is doing and the temporality of action and response and (b) assessments can be read in terms of action formation, namely they can be proposing or preventing some form of alteration in the object”.

Much like Fasulo and Manzoni (*ibid.*), Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä (2009) mainly examine the use of multimodal resources, specifically facial expressions, in assessment sequences; however, they focus on ordinary talk in a Finnish context. They demonstrate that facial expressions may foreshadow, accompany, or follow the verbal expressions encoding the speaker’s stance and assuring an appropriate response. This finding indicates that facial expressions are integrated with the verbal expressions of an assessment in a way that they can “stretch the temporal boundaries of an action: to make some aspect of it begin before the turn at talk that conveys it begins, and to

make some aspect of it persist after the turn at talk that has conveyed it has been completed” (Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä, 2009:393). In her study on the interaction between a car dealer and a customer who just bought a car, Mondada (2009) also integrates the multimodal actions to the analysis of assessment sequences in order to reveal how assessing practices can display alignment and affiliation as well as disaffiliation, resistance and distinct rights to assess.

Research which investigates the embodied production of assessments demonstrates that to be able to fully understand how assessments are structured and responded to, it is vital to include facial expressions, body orientations and also gaze into the analysis of spoken interaction.

2.4.5 Discursive psychology on assessments

Assessments or evaluative expressions have gained much attention in social psychology as a means to understand and explicate the underlying attitudes of people. As an alternative to this approach, discursive psychologists started to investigate the use of assessments in talk-in-interaction to explain what these expressions are doing as part of varied social practices (Wiggins & Potter, 2003). This study does not carry out a discursive psychological analysis, however, it uses the insights provided by DP to recognize an action as an assessment and also explanations for the different kinds of assessments. These contributions by discursive psychology (DP) to the study of assessments will be explained in detail throughout this section.

Edwards and Potter (2012) identify six features for an action to be recognized as an assessment and argue that an action has to have at least one of the following six features to qualify to be an assessment: 1) explicit use of semantic evaluators, e.g. good, bad, awful, etc.; 2) lexical descriptions/formulations that contain inherent assessments, e.g., creep, bastard, etc.; 3) object-dependent assessments which are hearable as assessments only contextually such as tall/short when applied to a jockey; 4) uptake as a criterion by a next turn in conversation which is the classic ‘next turn proof procedure’ in CA; 5) embodied assessments which can convey an assessment in their own right or accompany a verbal assessment; 6) modalized assessments through the use of modalizing expressions such as “I think”, “it seems’, etc. to subjectivize object side assessments. The list of the features proposed by Edwards and Potter

(ibid.) provides conversation analysts and discursive psychologists with a valuable source to study assessments as the previous literature have not explicitly dealt with how an action can be recognized as an assessment.

In their study of food evaluations in natural interaction, Wiggins and Potter (2003) focus on two distinctions in production of assessments: 1) subjective vs. objective; 2) category vs. item. Subjective vs. objective assessments have later been defined by Edwards and Potter (2012) as subject-side assessments (S-side) which index a characterization of the person who makes the assessment, and object-side assessments (O-side) which index the assessed object.

Example 2.2 G: 50:03:45 (from Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987)

```
1   Dianne:      Jeff made an asparagus pie
2                   it was s::so[: goo:d
3   Clacia:      [I love it.
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In the example above, there are two assessments; the first one is in line 2 “it was s::so[: goo:d” which explicitly uses a semantic evaluator “good” which assesses the asparagus pie. The assessment in line 2 provides an example for the O-side assessments. The second assessment takes place in line 3 “I love it” which characterizes the assessor instead of what is being assessed. Thus, the assessment in line 3 can be classified as a S-side assessment.

Based on the distinction between S-side and O-side assessments, Edwards and Potter (2012) found three different types of assessments. First one of these assessment types is ‘modalized O-side’ assessment where O-side assessments are used with modalizing expressions such as “it seems like a nice day”. Second type of assessments is ‘S-O flips’ where the speaker uses both an S-side assessment and an O-side assessment in the same assessment turn, e.g., ‘it is lovely’, ‘I like it’. The last assessment type is a fusion where “a semantically subject-side expression is used syntactically as an object attribute” (Edwards & Potter, 2012: 9), e.g., ‘it is a depressing/exciting/worrying situation’.

Edwards and Potter (ibid.) pointed out that these assessment types do not occur randomly in talk, but rather they all have different uses depending on the actions being performed through these assessments. They have observed that O-side assessments are the most commonly used assessment type and argued that one possible reason for O-side assessments to be more common is that “they are more generally applicable” (p: 10) whereas S-side assessments require personal experience of what is being assessed. This feature of S-side assessments, on the other hand, enables the speaker to individuate an assessment and to claim personal experience concerning the assessed. As they offer a subjective opinion, S-side assessments also enable speakers to disagree without contradicting each other. Wiggins and Potter (2003) point out that S-side assessments also provide the interactants with a good way of making compliment receipts, whereas by using O-side assessments, compliments can be made.

Edwards and Potter (2012) have found that S-O flips also have their own particular uses in interaction. As they demonstrate an alignment and completeness of subject and object side of an assessment, they provide an appropriate way to close topics. Fusions, on the other hand, provide the interactants with a way of expressing subjective opinion or appreciation of something that they do not have first hand experience of-, e.g., ‘that’s sad’.

The second distinction pointed out by Wiggins and Potter (2003), category vs. item assessments, have also provided researchers with a different perspective in the analysis of assessments. In their study, Wiggins and Potter (ibid.) make a comparison between the assessments offered for a category of food and the assessments that are offered for a specific food item. They have highlighted that item assessments and category assessments both have their own uses. Item assessments have been found to be used to 1) limit general implications, 2) manage rhetorical conflict, 3) make compliments, and 4) “justify particular actions that relate to particular category members rather than the category as a whole” (Wiggins & Potter, 2003: 526). Category assessments, on the other hand, are used to refuse offered food or drink and/or to establish likes and dislikes about food as lasting over time instead of for one single occasion.

While not focusing solely on issues raised by conversation analysts in investigating assessments, findings of DP research on assessments can be benefited while analysing data from a CA perspective.

Research on assessments which started as an analysis of single assessments or assessment-response sequence as adjacency pairs has been built on by including the issues relevant to epistemic stance and also including the features of embodiment in the analysis. However, while investigating assessments, both CA and DP researchers have mostly ignored or not topicalized the activity and setting within which the assessment takes place, except for some recent studies, such as Mondada (2009) who examined assessments during dinner table talk. This study will contribute to conversation analytic research on assessments by including embodiment into the analysis as well as taking the activity (TV watching) and setting into account.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, the research of relevance to this study has been discussed. Section 2.2 provided a brief overview of the history of media audience research starting with media effects model, followed by a discussion on UAG, encoding/decoding model and ethnographic turn in the audience research, which then led to a discussion of a micro-analytic approach to audience research adopted in this study. In this section, studies using a micro-analytic approach to audience research, which are still very scarce, were discussed in detail.

In Section 2.3, the focus was on the audience talk during TV watching and whether/how it is different from other types of talk in everyday life. Two dichotomies, Goffman's focused vs. unfocused interaction as well as lapsed verbal encounters and Schegloff and Sack's continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) vs. continuously sustained talk (CST) were discussed in this section. Following the discussion of these interactional concepts, it was proposed that audience talk during TV watching (at least in the context of this study) provides an example of a lapsed verbal encounter where CSIT takes place.

Finally, in Section 2.4, research on assessments was discussed, as assessments form the main focus of analysis in this study. The findings of earlier research on sequential

positioning of assessments, preference organisation, indexing epistemic rights, and embodied production of assessments was presented. Following that, what constitutes an assessment, category vs. item assessments, and S-side vs. O-side assessments have been discussed from a DP point of view.

Review of the relevant literature presented in this chapter indicates that this study will have significant contributions to fill the gaps in existing literature on 1) assessments in interaction, 2) the organisation of CSIT, and also it will have important implications for 3) media audience research. Section 2.2 demonstrated that it is only very recently that conversation analysis is being introduced and accepted as a methodology to investigate the practices of media audience during the actual viewing. That is, by adopting a CA approach, *how* TV is watched can be understood thoroughly. By analysing talk among particular groups of TV audience, this study will discuss the practices during actual viewing and lead to advancements of CA as a suitable methodology for audience research. In Section 2.3, the organisation of ordinary talk has been discussed which indicated that there is a gap in CA research in investigating ordinary talk across different activities. By focusing on an activity (TV watching), this study will contribute to our understanding of the organisation of talk when people are engaged in another activity, namely CSIT. Lastly, and most importantly, Section 2.4 discussed the literature on assessments in interaction. By investigating the organisation of assessments during CSIT, and also focusing on the social and cultural practices accomplished through the use of assessments, this study will provide significant new insights into the organisation of assessments in talk-in-interaction.

The next chapter will outline the basic principles and theoretical underpinnings the methodology adopted in this study: conversation analysis.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter will discuss the research methodology employed in this study, which follows the principles of conversation analysis (CA). In addition to CA, membership categorisation analysis (MCA) will also inform the analysis in cases when social categories are demonstrably relevant to the participants. The rationale behind adopting CA in this study is the fact that CA fits perfectly with the aims of this research which is investigating interactional practices of TV watchers during TV watching. Another important factor in adopting a CA approach in this study particularly is the fact that the data is in Turkish. I share the same mother tongue and also cultural membership with the participants in this study. In order to keep the analysis based on data and decrease the effect of my own common sense knowledge about the data, with its ethnomethodological principles, CA has been selected as the most appropriate and rigorous methodology to use in this study. MCA, on the other hand, has been used, as the content of the TV show that the participants are watching, is loaded with discussions about various social categories, especially the ones relevant to gender roles and expectations. As such, this is reflected in talk among the participants watching the show at home. In order to be able to analyse the categorial work done by the participants during the viewing, the tools of MCA have been necessary.

To be able to understand CA and MCA thoroughly, it is important to know the underlying principles of the methodology, which are highly influenced by Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (EM). Section 3.2 will provide a discussion on the relationship between EM and CA by specifically focusing on the two ethnomethodological principles: a) indexicality, and b) normative accountability, both of which are central to CA and MCA. In Section 3.3, the basic principles of CA will be discussed. Following this, an explanation of the organisational features of talk, as CA research has uncovered and explicated, will be provided. These organisational features of talk, e.g., repair and turn-taking, are the foundations upon which following CA studies can build. As such, it is important for any CA research to have a clear understanding of these features. Following this, Section 3.5 will move onto a discussion of MCA, which is also utilized in this study. Section 3.6 will consider issues relevant to CA and

MCA's reliability and validity as research methodologies. Limitations and strengths of the methodologies will be discussed in the Section 3.7, which is followed by the summary.

3.1 Introduction to Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) is a methodology and a theory of social interaction developed by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, in the late 1960s and 70s (see e.g. Sacks 1995; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977, for early seminal CA papers). The focus of CA research is the systematic analysis of naturally occurring talk and other conduct in interaction. The name of the methodology is misleading as CA is not only concerned with ordinary conversation but it is also interested in interactions in various interactional and social contexts, both institutional and non-institutional, such as suicide prevention hotline (Sacks, 1992); legal settings (Drew, 1992); medical settings (Robinson, 1998); emergency dispatch centers (Zimmerman, 1992); family dinners (Mondada, 2009); among many others. Conversation analytic theory starts with the perspective that conversation does not occur in an unsystematic way but rather it has its own structures and order which can be analysed in an empirical and methodological way. Sacks has defined this feature of interaction as “order at all points” (1984: 22). At the time Sacks began to propose this, it was a rather radical idea compared to the then dominant Chomskyan view, which regarded naturally occurring talk as too “messy” to be systematically analysed (Chomsky, 1957, 1965).

CA further argues that it is only through this orderliness that meaning and mutual understanding among participants in interaction becomes possible. Thus, one of the principle objectives of CA is “to discover and explicate the practices through which interactants produce and understand conduct in interaction” (Drew, 2005: 75). From a CA perspective, interactants rely on some procedures while producing their utterances and it is the same procedures that enable them to make sense of other interactants' talk. The explication of these procedures used by participants to ensure and maintain mutual understanding has been one of the main analytic focuses of CA research (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Seedhouse, 2004).

From a CA perspective, while managing this intersubjectivity, participants are not solely communicating their thoughts and knowledge, but they are *doing* things such as inviting, complaining, apologizing, offering, requesting, etc. which are “primary forms of social action” (Drew & Heritage, 1992:2). That is, while conversation is being studied, it is not only the talk itself but also how this talk performs social actions which is being investigated. Schegloff (1991:46) explains this approach to spoken interaction as “talk amounts to actions” and therefore defines CA as an approach to social action (Schegloff, 1996) which “seeks to uncover the practices, patterns, and generally the methods through which participants perform and interpret social action” (Drew & Heritage, 1992:2).

While being a very influential *theory* of social interaction, CA has developed as a rigorously *empirical* approach to the formal study of social interaction. For conversation analytic research, the first step is to collect video/audio recordings of naturally occurring talk. Naturally occurring talk, in a CA sense, refers to data collected *in situ*, which ordinarily and routinely occurs in the setting under investigation, and is not orchestrated or provoked by the researcher (Mondada, 2006, 2009). When CA research initially began, only audio recordings were available and the focus of research was solely on talk. More recently, the availability of video recordings has expanded CA’s initial interest in talk to the role of gesture, gaze, and other bodily conduct in interaction (e.g. Streeck, et al, 2011).

The reasons conversation analysts insist on working with actual recordings of talk instead of hypothetical or experimentally produced talk have been discussed widely in the literature (Sacks, 1984; Heritage, 1984, Sidnell, 2010). One of the main reasons pointed out by Sacks (1984) is the fact that while producing hypothetical versions of the talk, we are constrained by what the audience think as reasonable. Thus, when an analyst produces a hypothetical stretch of talk, the possibility of its occurrence might be objected to by others. By using the recordings of real conversations, however, “we can find things that we could not by imagination, assert were there” (Sacks, 1984b: 25).

Another consideration relevant to the use of recordings of naturally occurring talk as data is the fact that fine details of talk, such as how a word is pronounced, or at what point an overlap occurs, can easily be dismissed in cases when the audio/video recordings are not available (Heritage, 1984b). These details can be all consequential to the organisation of the interaction for the participants and subsequently for the analysts. Thus, it is crucial for practitioners of CA to work with the actual recordings. Working with actual audio/video recordings also enables the analysts to listen to the data as many times as required to grasp the fine details. It also makes it possible for analysts to share their findings with others while at the same time allowing the other analysts to check the observations made and provide new and unanticipated noticings of the same data (Sidnell, 2010). All these features of using audio/video recordings of talk as the main source of data make them an indispensable part of conversation analytic research.

When the data is collected, the next step is to make transcripts of the recordings. In conversation analytic research, great importance is placed on including as much detail as possible in the transcripts. Gail Jefferson (1983, 1985) developed a transcription system which has been widely used and developed by conversation analysts since then. It must be remembered that a transcript, although highly important for analysis, is not a substitute for the data, which is the actual recording itself. Rather, the transcript serves as an analytic tool in support of the data. Transcription in conversation analytic research will be dealt with in more detail in relevance to the present study in Chapter 4.

Before discussing the principles of CA in more detail, it is crucial to understand the epistemological underpinnings of the methodology. The following section will provide a brief discussion on the principles of EM, which has influenced the CA's "mentality" (Schenkein, 1978) and methodology to a great extent.

3.2 Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis

The development of CA draws on various sources, including philosophy, social sciences, and linguistics (Schegloff, 1992); however, Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (EM) had the most prominent influence on Sack's thinking while he was developing CA as an alternative approach to sociological research. Even though CA has different

objects and agendas from EM, it is crucial to understand CA's "ethnomethodological heritage" in order to properly understand the mentality and methods of CA (Kasper, 2009: 3).

When Garfinkel was developing EM in the 1960s, the predominant paradigm in sociological research was Parsons' functionalism, which aimed to "understand how norms are internalized, such that people end up either reproducing these norms or deviating from them" (Hutchby & Woofitt, 2008:27). In a clear opposition to this functionalist approach, Garfinkel proposed that the aim of sociology should be to investigate how members of a society make sense of the social world and account for their own actions themselves (Garfinkel, 1967; Hutchby & Woofitt, 2008; Kasper, 2009).

Garfinkel initiated an alternative understanding of doing sociological research by emphasizing the importance of understanding the actions of members of a society from the members' own accounts. This idea formed the basis of ethnomethodological research which originated from the distinction between 'emic' and 'etic' perspectives in doing social research. Pike (1967) explains the difference between these perspectives such that:

the etic viewpoint studies behavior from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behaviors as from inside the system (ibid. 37).

Conversation analytic research also placed a great importance in adhering to the emic perspective. Hutchby and Woofitt define emic perspective in CA methodology as "the perspective of how the participants display for one another their understanding of "what is going on"" (2008:13). Based on the principle of emic perspective, Psathas (1995) notes that the only way for conversation analysts to uncover the organisation and order of talk, which is produced by the participants *in situ* and oriented to by them, is to analyse it from participants' displayed perspective.

While adhering to an emic perspective, EM also relies upon the notion of ‘indexicality’. In everyday talk, people do not elaborate on, or explicitly state, every single aspect of their intended meaning. Instead they use indexical expressions (e.g., here, there, that, etc.) to communicate more effectively and efficiently. However, different from linguistics, from an ethnomethodological perspective, indexicality is not only limited to deictic expressions. Cuff et al. explains the ethnomethodological understanding of indexicality:

For Garfinkel, social settings are not ‘out there’ and independent of the actions of members at any given moment. Rather, they are to be seen as ongoing accomplishments of the interactional ‘work’ in which the members of a setting or event are continuously engaged.
(1987: 174-175)

Another basic principle of EM is ‘normative accountability’. In EM, social norms are treated as “socially shared presuppositions and expectancy frameworks that participants attend to, both by acting in accordance with them and in their breach” (Kasper, 2009: 5). In our everyday lives, we act and also experience the actions of others, however, many of these actions remain ‘seen-but-unnoticed’ (Boyle, 2000). For instance, when somebody asks a question and the next speaker provides an answer this action has a ‘seen-but-unnoticed’ status. It is only when there is no answer provided after a question that this action becomes noticeable and accountable. The seen-but-unnoticed actions eventually constitute the norms. In EM, norms are seen as constitutive of action and people refer to these norms while designing their own social actions, and also to interpret the actions of others (Seedhouse, 2004).

These basic principles of EM – the emic perspective, indexicality and normative accountability – form the theoretical underpinnings of conversation analytic research (and also MCA). These principles reflect CA’s understanding of how social world is organized and they provide the tools for analysis of naturally occurring interaction.

Having explained how the “CA mentality” (Kasper, 2009: 3) was influenced by the principles of EM, the following section will discuss how these principles are interpreted and applied by practitioners of CA.

3.3 Basic principles of Conversation Analysis

While developing his own methodology to analyse naturally occurring interaction, Sacks adhered to the basic principles of EM discussed in the previous section. Having its grounds in the EM, CA poses strict principles on the analyst to restrict the analysis only to demonstrably relevant issues in the data. This principle enables the researcher to investigate the organisation of interaction rigorously and empirically, which is the main rationale behind choosing CA methodology in this study.

As mentioned in the previous section, one of the main underlying principles of CA is the argument that there is order at all points of interaction. With an interest in the organisation of naturally occurring talk, Sacks initially started analysing the recordings of calls to a suicide prevention centre. He observed that one of the most recurrent problems experienced by the people who are answering the phone is getting the caller’s name. In his first lectures given in 1964, Sacks identified the structures used by callers to avoid giving their name without actually refusing to do so. His analysis revealed that the callers were accomplishing this by employing some methodical ways, such as claiming that they can’t hear, which enabled the caller to set up the sequential trajectory in a way to avoid having to give their name.

The fact that there is order at all points in talk-in-interaction makes it essential for CA practitioners to actually look into ‘all points’ in interaction to be able to do an empirical analysis of their data. This leads to the second principle of CA: “*no order of detail can be dismissed a priori as disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant*” (Heritage, 1984: 241, emphasis added), as slight details which might seem irrelevant at first may actually prove to be consequential for how the interaction unfolds. To be able to analyse interaction without missing any points, conversation analysts use recordings of naturally occurring interaction as their primary data (as discussed in the previous section), and a highly detailed transcription system is used to make the spoken data available for intensive analysis. Through the use of audio/video recordings as well as fine-detailed transcripts, conversation analysts aim to have access to ‘all points’ in interaction.

Another principle of conversation analytic research requires the analysis to be *bottom-up and data driven*. This principle suggests that the analyst should start her/his analysis with an ‘unmotivated’ eye – “an examination not prompted by prespecified analytic goals” (Schegloff, 1996: 172). By doing so, the analyst will not be looking for an already identified phenomenon but instead it will be possible to discover new phenomena (Psathas, 1990). Adhering to this principle, the researcher will not employ any *a priori* theory or suppositions, unless it is demonstrable in the data. This is to ensure that the analysis adopts the evidenced perspective of the participants in the interaction being analysed, instead of the researcher’s own perspective or assumptions.

Conversation analytic research regards the interaction as both *context-shaped* and *context-renewing*. To understand this principle properly, it is important to highlight the use of the term “context” in CA methodology. In her discussion about the notion of context in CA, Kasper (2009) defines two kinds of context: 1) sequential, or interaction internal, context and 2) distal, interaction-external, context.⁵

Sequential context is the primary notion of context for conversation analysts as it refers to the immediate sequential environment in which a turn is produced and oriented by the participants (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). While discussing sequential context, Heritage (1984) draws attention to the context-shaped and context-renewal feature of turns in interaction. Seedhouse (2005) defines these features:

Contributions are context-shaped in that they cannot be adequately understood except by reference to the sequential environment in which they occur and in which the participants design them to occur. Contributions are context-renewing in that they inevitably form part of the sequential environment in which a next contribution will occur. (p: 166)

³ Mandelbaum (1990/91) refers to these two different notions of context as “talk-intrinsic” and “talk-extrinsic” context.

That is, how a turn at a talk is understood is shaped by the context produced by the preceding turn, while at the same time the context for the following turn is renewed by the present turn.

The second type of context, 'interaction external context', refers to a broader sense of social context in which the interaction takes place. The relationship between the organisation of interaction itself and social context has been controversial for conversation analysts. With its emic perspective, CA is concerned with only the aspects of social structure which are demonstrable in the interaction. Kasper (2009) states that for a conversation analyst "the challenge is to demonstrate rather than postulate the reflexivity of action and category, proximal and distal context, in the specific details of the talk itself" (Kasper, 2009:12). This again refers back to the importance of a data driven approach to CA research.

The principles discussed in this section have been employed in CA research to ensure that it has developed as an empirical study of talk-in-interaction. There have been various research objectives and agendas among the practitioners of CA who have slightly different interpretations of the methodology. However, despite the differences in their research objectives, all conversation analysts aim to adhere to the basic principles discussed in this section, as it is these principles that make conversation analytic research empirical and rigorous.

In the next section, some of the basic features of talk-in-interaction, as uncovered by CA research, will be outlined. They include adjacency pairs, preference organisation, turn taking and repair.

3.4 Interactional organisation

One of the intriguing features of talk-in-interaction is the accomplishment of the orderly organisation of talk by the interactants. How is it that participants of a conversation know when to start talk and also manage to link their turns together in a meaningful way? These questions placed the organisation of the talk-in-interaction at the heart of CA studies (Hutchby & Woofitt, 2008). In their attempts to reveal the characteristics of the organisation of interaction, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) uncovered some interactional organisations which are now employed widely

by conversation analysts to explore their data. It is important to note that the interactional organisations are not imposed to data by the researcher in order to understand how language works, but they are rather employed by the interactants themselves “both as an action template for the production of their social actions and as a point of reference for the interpretation of their actions” (Seedhouse, 2004: 17). This section will discuss four different types of interactional organisation identified by the previous CA research, which include: 1) adjacency pairs; 2) preference organisation; 3) turn taking; 4) repair.

3.4.1 Adjacency pairs

Adjacency pairs are one of the most easily noticeable features of conversations. It seems obvious that questions are followed by answers; greetings are followed by greetings, etc. Beginning from his earliest lectures, Sacks showed a great interest in the sequential properties of these paired turns which he later called *adjacency pairs*. While defining adjacency pairs, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) showed how it is normatively expected for the speaker of a first part to stop on the first possible completion of the first pair part, and for the next speaker to produce a second pair part which is a member of the same pair type that the first pair part belongs to. Schegloff (1968) defined this feature as *conditional relevance*, which means that “given the initial condition of a first pair part being uttered, the second part of that pair is then relevant: consequently, the absence of such a second part is a ‘noticeable absence’, and the speaker of the first part may infer a reason for that absence” (Hutchby & Woofitt, 2008:45). A close look into which social actions are accomplished through adjacency pairs in talk-in-interaction provides analysts with a great tool to understand how the interactants make sense of each other’s talk. Adjacency pairs are highly relevant to this study as a first assessment and a second assessment can be seen as an adjacency pair which makes a second assessment conditionally relevant following the first one. As such, great consideration will be given to adjacency pairs in Chapter 5 and 6.

3.4.2 Turn-taking organisation

Studies on how turn-taking is organized in conversation are based on three basic facts about conversations formulated by Sacks et al. (1974): 1) turn-taking occurs, 2) one person speaks at a time, and 3) there is minimal gap and minimal overlap when

speaker change occurs. In the proposed model of turn-taking organisation, Sack *et al.* (ibid.) point out that to understand how turn-taking works in talk, the initial step is to identify what a turn actually is. They claim that turns are made up of turn constructional units (TCUs), which can be considered simply as any complete and meaningful piece of talk. These units, they argue, are different from the context-free grammatical units, e.g., word, sentence, phrase, etc., used in traditional linguistics, but instead TCUs are context sensitive. As such, what constitutes a TCU can only be identified in context. Within the context, when a piece of talk is recognized by the other participants as possibly complete at a particular point in ongoing talk, then this piece of talk will constitute a TCU (Liddicoat, 2007) which could include only one word, a full grammatical sentence, or an exclamation, etc.

Another concept crucial to understanding the turn-taking mechanism is transition-relevance places (TRPs). TRPs are closely related to TCUs as it is when a TCU reaches a possible completion point, a possible next action is change of speaker. Such points when speaker change could take place are TRPs. A TRP, however, is not necessarily a place where speakership *does* change, but simply where it *could* occur. As in all other aspects of conversation, there is an order in how speaker change takes place. Sacks *et al.* (1974) have identified some rules that coordinate the speaker change in ongoing talk. They argue that at any TRP of an initial TCU, 1) current speaker can select the next speaker and then the selected speaker gets the right to speak next, 2) when the turn is not constructed to select a next speaker, then self-selection may occur, 3) the current speaker may continue to speak. They further argue that when the current speaker continues to speak after an initial TCU, these three rules apply again at the next TRP.

The organisation of the turn-taking system demonstrates that talk-in-interaction is locally managed and accomplished by the participants. Liddicoat (2007) argues that the overlapping talk and gaps in interaction, which might initially seem to be deviations from the turn-taking organisation outlined above, are also repaired by the participants by drawing on the rules of turn-taking, and participants “demonstrate an overall orientation to the (turn-taking) system in constructing their talk” (p: 104).

3.4.3 Preference organisation

Preference organisation mainly deals with how participants position and formulate their turns in order to achieve a social action (ten Have, 2007). As discussed in the previous sections, when a first pair part of an adjacency pair is produced, the second pair part becomes conditionally relevant. What will be produced by the second speaker as a second pair part leads to the discussion about the preference organisation. For instance, when first pair part is an invitation, the second speaker may accept the invitation or decline it. Heritage (1984) claims that there is a tendency to maintain solidarity and avoid conflict among participants of a conversation. This tendency is manifest in the organisation of preference as well. Thus, when there is an invitation, acceptance will be the preferred action whereas declining an invitation is a dispreferred action. Whether an action is preferred or dispreferred affects the ways these actions are performed. While delivering preferred actions, the speakers normally do not hesitate or delay at the start of the response, whereas dispreferred actions are generally delivered with hesitations, delays, positive comments and markers such as *well* and *uh*, and accounts for why a preferred response has not be given (Pomerantz, 1984). In this study, preference organisation in assessment sequences will be analysed in great detail which will contribute significantly to our understanding of preference organisation in assessments during TV watching.

3.4.4 Repair organisation

Repair refers to the organisation of dealing with various kinds of trouble in speaking, hearing, or understanding during the interaction's progress (Schegloff et al. 1977; Schegloff 1979, 1987, 1992, 1997). It is important to emphasize the distinction between repair and correction as the latter refers to replacing an incorrect form with a correct one, whereas repair is a broader concept which also involves correction (van Lier, 1988). Repairs are highly influential in ensuring intersubjectivity (discussed in Section 3.1) as well as the progressivity of talk as talk-in-interaction requires participants to show an understanding of the previous turn and when this does not happen because of a trouble in hearing, speaking or understanding, the talk cannot progress.

Schegloff et al. (1977), in their seminal work on repairs, define four different types of repair by distinguishing who initiates the repair and who makes the repair.

- a) self-initiated self-repair: the speaker indicates the problem and resolves it.
- b) other-initiated self-repair: the recipient indicates a problem in talk, and the speaker resolves it.
- c) self-initiated-other-repair: the speaker indicates a problem, and the recipient resolves it.
- d) other-initiated other-repair: the recipient both indicates and resolves the repairable item.

They further uncover that there is an ordering of preference for repair depending on the repair types they identified, such as self-initiation is preferred over other initiation, and also self repair is more preferable than other-repair, as the speaker who produces a repairable item is the one who is currently speaking. As such, s/he will have the first chance to resolve the problem (Sidnell, 2010). To ensure the progressivity of talk, the repair mechanism is widely used by speakers during talk-in-interaction, and so it is very important for analysts to uncover and understand how this mechanism works. Having outlined the theoretical underpinnings and basic principles of the CA methodology, this chapter will continue with an overview of MCA, which also adopts the principles of ethnomethodology while having its own distinctive objectives and research agenda.

3.5 Membership Categorization Analysis

Like conversation analysis (CA), membership categorization analysis (MCA) originated from Harvey Sacks' work in the 1960s and 70s. Even though they both share the same origins, CA and MCA have developed in different trajectories. While CA mainly deals with the sequential analysis of interaction, MCA aims to explicate "the organisation of common-sense knowledge in terms of the categories members employ in accomplishing their activities in and through talk" (Francis & Hester, 2004:21).

MCA gives researchers with a primary interest in categorial or 'topical' (e.g. gender, sexuality, ethnicity, identity), rather than sequential, issues an empirically tractable method for studying those issues, as members', rather than analysts', categories (Stokoe, 2012: 278).

Categories have been employed in various approaches to social sciences, such as native speakers / non-native speakers in second language acquisition research, women / men in gender studies, etc. What makes MCA different from other approaches is the ethnomethodological insight that Sacks brought to the research on such membership categories. From an MCA perspective, the categories are not treated as analysts' pre-defined resources but instead they are treated as a research topic in their own right. In traditional social sciences, NS categories have often been used as a baseline against which NNS members are to be judged, or other social categories such as men/women are used as a way to examine differences across social groups. MCA, on the other hand, does not assume, or even aim to find out, differences between members of social categories, but rather seeks to understand how social members *themselves* use these categories, in order to perform other social actions. As such, MCA research is concerned with "how categories are discursively produced on particular occasions and what members accomplish by using or invoking them" (Kasper, 2009:6). That is, the analyst only looks into categories that are demonstrably oriented to by the participants, and aims to explain how a participant invokes a particular membership category at a specific moment in talk, and what this invocation achieves.

In his famous example 'The baby cried. The mommy picked it up', Sacks (1972) explains how members of a culture can link different categories together. In this example, Sacks claims that the link between 'mommy' and 'baby' is hearable and it can further be hearable that 'the mommy' in this example is the mother of 'the baby'. Sacks explains this through what he calls 'membership categorization device' (MCD) and argues that 'the mommy' and 'the baby' both belong to the MCD of 'family', which links them together. Schegloff (2007) notes that different MCDs may provide for different understandings of conduct, which then leads to some observations about the categories in the MCDs, how they work and their consequentiality. Schegloff (ibid.) illustrates three characteristics of membership categories and how participants use them:

The principle characteristic of categories is their *inference-richness* (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1991, 2007). The membership categories are inference-rich as they store the common-sense knowledge that people have about the society they live in such as knowledge about what people are like, how they behave, etc. For example, when a

female participant is categorized as ‘lady’, ‘woman’, or ‘girl’, these category labels each store different inferences and can be hearable with regards to the referent. Stored by reference to membership categories, this common-sense knowledge enables the members of a society to infer and understand the use of categories in everyday talk.

The second feature of categories discussed by Schegloff (2007) is being ‘*protected against induction*’. That is, in cases when a member of a category contradicts the common-sense knowledge about the members of this category, people “do not revise that knowledge, but see the person as ‘an exception’, ‘different’, or even a defective member of the category” (2007: 469).

The last characteristic of membership categories pointed out by Schegloff (2007) is *category bound activities* (CBAs). In the example discussed earlier, ‘The baby cried. The mommy picked it up’, while explaining the connection between two categories ‘the baby’ and ‘the mommy’, Sacks also demonstrates that some actions are linked to particular categories (baby-crying). These actions or activities which are associated with particular membership categories are called ‘category-bound activities’ (CBAs). Schegloff (2007: 469) defines CBAs as follows:

among the items that compose category-based common-sense knowledge are kinds of activities or actions or forms of conduct taken by the common-sense or vernacular culture to be specially characteristic of a category’s members.

This knowledge of CBAs enables people in a society to treat certain activities as bound to certain categories which provides a common sense understanding of the world (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Kasper, 2009, Stokoe, 2006).

Based on its emic perspective, MCA research imposes two fundamental principals on the analysts while making claims about categories. These principals are: 1) *problem of relevance*: “what is demonstrably relevant to participants at the moment that whatever we are trying to produce an account for occurs” (Schegloff, 1991: 50), and 2) *procedural consequentiality*: “to show that the aspect of social-structural context in

question (setting, participant categories, macro-social processes) is demonstrably evident in the ways in which the interaction is conducted, including sequence organisation and turn formats, linguistic resources, topics, and organisation of participation frameworks” (Kasper, 2009:12-13). Schegloff (1997) exemplifies these principles by suggesting that when two people, a man and a woman, are talking with each other, their identities as a ‘male’ and ‘female’ cannot be invoked by the analyst unless the participants themselves orient to these identities as relevant and procedurally consequential.

Having now outlined the methodologies which inform the analysis in this study, issues relevant to reliability and validity of these methodologies will be discussed in the next section.

3.6 Reliability and validity

The issues relevant to reliability and validity have not been explicitly addressed in CA literature very much. Peräkylä (1997, 2004) provided the first discussion about the issues of reliability and validity in conversation analytic research, which was later elaborated on by Seedhouse (2005). As pointed out by Peräkylä (ibid.) and Seedhouse (ibid.), notwithstanding the lack of explicit discussion on these issues, CA practitioners have actually placed great importance on reliability and validity by strictly adhering to all of the aforementioned principles and practices (such as, e.g., emic perspective, recordings of naturally occurring talk, etc.).

3.6.1 Reliability

Peräkylä (1997) outlines the key factors to ensure reliability in CA research as follows: 1) selection of what is recorded, 2) the technical quality of recordings, and 3) adequacy of transcripts (p .206).

The use of audio/video recordings of naturally occurring talk distinguishes CA from other qualitative approaches in social sciences, such as ethnography, in terms of reliability (Peräkylä, 2004). As such, what is included in the recorded data is a key to ensure reliability of CA studies. For this purpose, Peräkylä (ibid.) suggests that the selection of what is being recorded and technical quality of recordings should be given great consideration by CA practitioners. However, as the data is required to be

naturally occurring – not in a laboratory experiment – it is impossible to capture everything that is happening during data collection. Despite the difficulties involved, CA practitioners are still expected to capture as much as possible. Using video-recordings instead of audio-only recordings, for instance, enables the analysts to have access to gaze and body orientation of the speakers as well as talk, which subsequently increases reliability. Also, when the cameras can capture all of the participants in the interaction being recorded, greater reliability can be ensured.

When the maximum inclusiveness and high quality is ensured in data collection, the next step for CA researchers is to produce adequate transcriptions of recorded data. As it is often not possible to include actual recordings in published research, transcriptions, which represent the actual recordings, should include as much information as possible from the recordings.

Another aspect of reliability is the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable or replicable (Bryman, 2001: 29). For CA research, if analysis is solid, and other researchers make similar observations about the same data, then reliability can be regarded to be good. To increase the reliability of their research, conversation analysts share their recorded data and transcripts in data sessions and conferences, where other CA practitioners can make observations about the data at hand. This issue will be revisited with regards to this study in Chapter 4. Furthermore, by including their transcriptions in published materials, conversation analysts makes “the process of analysis transparent for readers” (Seedhouse, 2005: 255), enabling the readers to test the analysis made by the researcher.

3.6.2 Validity

A discussion of the validity of CA research has been presented by Seedhouse (2005), where he discusses the four kinds of validity identified by Bryman (2001). These include 1) internal, 2) external, 3) ecological, and 4) construct validity.

Internal validity is concerned with “soundness, integrity and credibility of findings” (Seedhouse, 2005: 255). To achieve internal validity, the data should prove what the researchers say they prove. With its emic perspective, CA methodology provides internal validity by requiring the analysts to be able to demonstrate what they claim in their analysis of the data. As the analysis can only discuss what is demonstrable in

data, the findings of CA research are sound and credible which ensures the internal validity.

External validity refers to generalizability of the findings of a research beyond its specific context. Qualitative research, and more specifically CA, has long been criticized for not being generalizable as their findings are context-dependent. Seedhouse (2005) points out that even though CA research is context-dependent, it does not mean that it cannot produce any findings that are generalizable. He suggests that by revealing the reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction in second language classrooms, his study also provides a universal, generalizable feature of L2 classrooms anywhere in the world. Peräkylä (1997) also supports this argument by stating that CA research investigating the institutional interaction uncovers the organisation of interaction in such settings, which provides generalizable rules of interactional organisation in institutional settings.

Ecological validity, on the other hand, is concerned with the applicability of the findings of research to people's everyday life. As discussed earlier, conversation analysts use naturally occurring interaction as their data, real-world interactions which take place in people's everyday lives and are not orchestrated by the researcher. This principle of CA ensures that its findings are relevant to everyday life of people, which increases the ecological validity of such research. Recent attempts in CA research, such as Antaki's edited collection (2011) of applying CA to improve practices and services in various settings in real life provide an example of the ecological validity of CA studies.

The last type of validity to be discussed is construct validity, which is an important concept for research adopting a positivistic and etic perspective. Construct validity in such research refers to the categories and constructs developed and used by the researchers to investigate their data. For CA, which adopts an emic perspective, however, the use of the concept 'construct' is complicated as the researcher only uses the categories and constructs that are made demonstrably relevant by the participants. In the following section, strengths and limitations of CA and MCA will be outlined and discussed.

3.7 Strengths and limitations of CA and MCA

Despite its roots in sociology, CA has now become a multi-disciplinary methodology, which is applied in a wide range of academic areas. With its spread across social sciences, the basic principles of CA and restrictions posed by these principles to analysts led to discussions about the limitations of the methodology. The most commonly argued limitations are in the areas of a) contextual information; b) applicability to macro-level issues; and c) generalizability.

Despite the existence of a growing body of research displaying the applicability of CA methodology to issues related to broader social contexts, the contextual critiques of CA remained to be a challenge for analysts. A major criticism of CA as being non-contextual was by Michael Moerman in his book *Talking Culture* (1988), in which he suggested that there is a need for a new interpretation of doing CA. Moerman defines CA as:

a methodic practice for describing and making sense of the organisation of face-to-face interaction, for discovering what participants orient to, enforce, and accomplish in making their interactions orderly and meaningful, for learning how they build the structured integrity of experienced social life (p: 176).

Based on this definition, Moerman challenges CA for missing out a lot of important information by focusing on the organisation of face-to-face interaction from only participants' displayed, *in situ*, perspective, and not acknowledging the effects of other factors (e.g. participants' history, feelings, culture, etc.). He points out that "all the talk in the world is done by motivated, en-rolled, and encultured actors, not 'A's and 'B's" (1990/91:176). In his terms, what CA provides for researcher is 'the dry bones of talk' (1998:xi).

In response to the criticisms directed to CA regarding to the contextual limitation, Schegloff (1991) points out that CA does not disregard the existence of a social context, but it rather requires the analyst to demonstrate that an aspect of social context is visibly relevant to the participants at a particular moment.

Following this principle, there has been a wide range of research carried out using CA effectively in exploration of different social contexts. Using CA to investigate institutional settings has been one of the major research areas in CA literature which is concerned with the knowledge of a context (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Maynard, 2003; Seedhouse, 2004). These studies based their interpretation of the institutional context on the data rather than using the knowledge about a particular context to analyse their data. Seedhouse (2004) used CA to analyse classroom interaction by following the EM/CA principle of emic perspective, and based on his data, he described the interactional organisation of classrooms. *Talk at Work* (Drew & Heritage, 1992) provides a collection of studies which use CA to describe the interactional organisations of different institutional settings like courtrooms (Drew), doctor-patient interactions (Maynard), emergency calls (Zimmerman) and news interviews (Greatbatch, 1992). All of these studies can provide a description of interactional organisations of different institutional contexts while adhering to basic CA principles. Due to spatial constraints, these studies will not be discussed in detail here and the readers are referred to *Talk at Work* (Drew & Heritage, 1992) for more detailed information.

Conversation analysis has also been criticized for focusing only on the micro details of conversation and not providing any insights into the macro-level issues, such as power, gender, race, etc. It is true that the basic CA studies were focused on explicating the structural organisation of talk; however, CA has been successfully applied to studies dealing with macro-level issues. For instance, some researchers in the field of gender studies have adopted CA. Kitzinger (2000, 2007) and Stokoe (2000, 2003, 2006) have used CA methodology and successfully demonstrated how microanalysis of interaction can be used to investigate macro-level issues like gender. While applying CA to gender studies, researchers have focused on when the participants themselves invoke gender issues in the interaction. In their analysis, they demonstrate how gender is talked into being by participants' own orientations. Another critique of CA is lack of generalizability of the findings of the research. With CA, research is conducted on a relatively small data corpus and claims cannot be made beyond observations drawn from and about that corpus. Other social research methodologies prefer to generalize their findings beyond their research sample whereas with CA this is not done. While CA practitioners do not see this as a

problem, other researchers might see this as a limitation. Also see the previous section on Seedhouse's (2005) response to the claim that CA findings are not generalizable.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, the basic principles and theoretical underpinnings of CA and MCA have been outlined and the interactional organisations uncovered by CA research have been presented. As with the other research methodologies, CA (and MCA) has its own limitations. Some of these have been discussed above. However, because of its insistence on focusing on small details of naturally occurring data and its refusal to be coloured by *a priori* exogenous theory, CA proves to be a powerful tool for the empirical analysis of social interaction. In the next chapter, how this methodology is applied to the present study will be explained.

Chapter 4. Research Design

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will address issues relevant to the research design by describing: 1) the setting in which the research takes place, and 2) how the methodology discussed in the previous chapter is put into practice for the present study. As mentioned earlier, the setting for the current research is two-fold: 1) Turkish women watching reality TV at their home and 2) the TV show itself. While the data analysed in the following analysis chapters only involves talk that takes place among the audience at home, in order to understand the organisation of audience talk, an understanding of the format and the content of the TV show is crucial. As such, in the following section, the TV show will be described. In section 4.3, the setting in which the participants are recorded will be discussed and also a brief overview of participant profile will be provided. Section 4.4 will explicate the data collection procedures and discuss the ethical considerations relevant to data collection. In the final section, a number of issues regarding the transcription and data analysis will be discussed.

4.2 Marriage shows in Turkey

In the last few years, following trends in the much of the rest of the world, reality TV shows have gained great popularity in Turkey. The first reality TV show in Turkey was the Turkish version of Big Brother- *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor*- in 2001 and the wave of reality TV shows continued with Turkish version of shows such as Come Dine With Me, etc. In addition to the reality shows adopted from Western media, there is another type of reality TV show in Turkey, marriage shows, which are produced by Turkish media. Unlike Big Brother, which was heavily criticized for clashing with traditional values in Turkey, marriage shows gained an overwhelming approval and popularity (Algan, 2012). The popularity and acceptance of these shows by a huge population in Turkey might be explained by the conservative nature of the show. To be able to get married in the show the participants are obliged to get approval from their family and children if they have any. In that sense, it can be argued that what these shows provide for the participants is an arranged marriage on the TV screen.

The concept of marriage shows in Turkey dates back to the beginning of the 2000s. Soon after the first marriage show appeared on one of the private national channels, quickly receiving great popularity, other channels started to produce shows with a very similar format.

It is important to note here that these shows are not similar to the dating shows in Western countries. Firstly, the main purpose of marriage shows is to find appropriate candidates for single people who want to get *married*. Also, there is nothing marginal about the participants of these marriage shows, instead they represent a broad cross-section of Turkey, and the demographic of the shows' viewers is no different. The participants all come from different backgrounds, social classes, education levels, etc. The age level ranges between 18 and 90, with both extremes regularly represented, and other demographic factors are equally varied.

For the purpose of this study, the viewers were recorded while watching one of these shows, namely "*Su Gibi*" ('Like Water'). For almost ten years, this show has been broadcast live every weekday for 3 hours and, like all the other marriage shows, aims to introduce single men and women who want to get married to each other. Before discussing the processes prior to marriages, I will briefly introduce the setting of the show.

The show is presented by two celebrities in Turkey, one male (actor and poet) and one female (singer). There is also an audience in the studio, who are seated around the stage. Most of the studio audience consists of participants who are also there to search for a candidate husband/wife, but there are additionally others, who are there only to watch the show. There is also a band in the studio which plays music at certain times during the show, such as at the beginning of the show, when a new participant appears, after the advertisement breaks, during weddings, etc.

To become participants on the show, people who want to get married can apply via email or telephone. When they get an invitation from the show, they can appear on the TV. When a person first appears on the show, the presenters introduce the new participant by asking questions regarding the participants' marriage history, age, occupation, education, financial status, and what they expect from the candidates.



image 1 and 2: New participants being introduced

Following this, the participant stays on the show (among the audience). The part when a participant is first introduced is then made into a short video package – similar to an advertisement –which provides the basic information about the participant and her expectations. These short videos are shown regularly on the show to remind the viewers about the participants (image 3: Mrs. Gul, 53 years old, lived in England for 25 years, married twice, doesn't have any children)



image 3: short biography of a participant

Viewers watching the show at home, who are interested in a participant, can call the show and introduce themselves to the participant, and also the viewers, live on TV. If the participant wants to know the person on the phone more, s/he invites the viewer to the show. After the phone call, if the viewer gets an invitation from the participant, s/he goes to the TV studio in the following days. The participant and the candidate meet for the very first time on the show. They are given a few minutes to get to know each other, which is also watched by the studio audience and viewers at home (image 4 and 5).



image 4



image 5

Following that, the participant is asked whether s/he wants to have a coffee with the candidate. If the answer is positive, the participant and the candidate can go to the café (which belongs to the TV show) and talk to each other more (this part is private to the extent that the studio audience do not observe and it is not shown on TV). After that, usually within few weeks, the participant and the candidate make a decision about whether to get married. If they decide to get married, the wedding takes place on the show. However, they might decide not to get married in which case they can stay as participants on the show and keep looking for different candidates.

Families of the participants and the candidates also get involved in this process. They either call the show to state their opinion, or arrange a meeting with the candidate out of the show. The audience in the show are also asked their opinion about the compatibility of a participant and the candidate (image 6). As such, when a participant and candidate want to know each other more, the families, friends, audience and presenters all provide comments on what they think about the possible marriage.



image 6

The viewers at home, who cannot be heard in the show, also provide comments regarding the participants on the show, compatibility of a participant and a candidate, as well as talking about the presenters of the show. The interaction that occurs at home among a group of viewers is the main source of data for the analysis in this study. The next section will provide information about the viewers who were recorded.

4.3 Participants

As the term ‘participants’ is used to refer to people on the show, and ‘audience’ is used to refer to those present in the studio for the show’s broadcast, participants in this study will be referred to as ‘(TV) viewers’ to avoid confusion. The viewers who

were recorded while watching the show include 12 Turkish women from various age levels between 18 to 65, and from various professional backgrounds, e.g., students, housewives, retired teachers/nurses, etc. The viewers who participated in this study all share the same cultural and linguistic background as they all speak Turkish as their first language and they are all from the same city in Turkey- Usak. As such, it would not be possible to generalize the findings of this study as applying to all Turkish female TV viewers.

In each recording, there are at least three women watching the show together. Despite coming from various backgrounds, none of the viewers in this study were working / studying full time at the time the recordings were made, which enabled them to visit each other often. Different groups of women made up the corpus of recordings; each group (3-5 people) have known each other for years prior to the recordings. The data for this thesis consists of 12 hours of video recordings. Visiting each other at their homes and watching TV shows together is a common activity among all of these groups of women (e.g. images 7 and 8).



image 7



image 8

Participant	Age	Occupation
Ayşe (A)	50	housewife
Melek (M)	52	housewife
Cansu (C) -M's daughter	19	university student
Zeliha (Z)	35	housewife
Serife (S)	36	housewife
Nesli	54	retired
Fatma	58	retired
Songul	20	university student
Ilknur (Songul's sister)	20	university student
Zeynep	30	teacher
Serife	54	housewife
Semra	29	housewife

4.4 Data recording and ethical considerations

Audio/video recordings are vital for CA research as they can be replayed and they make the fine details of human action available for repeated viewings, and subsequently detailed and formal analysis (Sacks, 1984). The main function of tape-recorded conversations is “to provide access to the details of human conduct in general, and interaction in particular, in the first instance for the researcher, and secondly also to his or her audience” (ten Have, 2002: 2).

The first data collection for this research took place in August 2010. A total of 6 video-recordings were made which resulted in almost 12 hours of video-recorded data. However, the quality of the first recordings was not up to a high standard. Technical problems in some of the recordings, such as the quality of video-camera, made it impossible for the researcher to hear the data clear enough to be able to transcribe or analyse it. In one of the recordings, a viewer had her two children with her (2 years old and 5 years old). The children were playing games throughout the recording which made it hard to capture the viewers and their talk. In another recording, there were 6 women watching TV together, yet again the cameras failed to capture all of the viewers.

The first data collection, however, enabled the researcher to identify the possible problems that can decrease the quality of recordings. As such, data collection was repeated in July-August, 2011. Eight recordings were made in total, resulting in 12 hours of video-recorded data. These recordings each consist of 3-4 women, and the recordings were only made when there were no children in the room to ensure the usability of the recordings.

Prior to the recordings, the participants in this study were contacted by A (researcher’s mother), and they were invited for a visit (which commonly happens in their daily life). They were also briefly informed of the research at that point. When they arrived on the day of the recording, it was explained to them by the researcher that their visit would be video-recorded and used for research purposes in the future. No further details about what aspect of their visit would be examined, or how, were given. Following that, the participants agreed to sign a permission form and volunteered to take part in the study. The participants were specifically informed that

their images might appear in published work, or in conference presentations, which they all agreed to. Consideration was given to privacy of the viewers as much as possible. As such, they were explicitly told that the recordings would be stopped and deleted at any time they wanted, if they thought the talk they had was too private. However, none of the participants requested so. Also, their names have been anonymised in transcriptions and analyses.

During the recordings, the researcher was not present in the room (except turning the camera on and off, and serving tea at times, which is a task the researcher would often perform for guests in the home). Most of the recordings were made at viewer A's house. The camera was placed across the room from where the viewers were seated, and a voice recorder was placed on a coffee table in the corner, behind the viewers, to ensure that their talk will be clearly captured in cases when the camera could not capture the sounds.

While recording the viewers at home, the particular TV show that they were watching on that day was also recorded by using a hard-drive connected to the TV set. These TV show recordings enabled the researcher to have access to what the viewers were watching throughout their own recorded interaction.

4.5 Transcription and data analysis

After naturally-occurring talk is recorded, the next step for the researcher is typically transcription, which is an essential part of a CA research process. ten Have (2002) suggests that the purpose of having *recoding* and *transcribing* as the first two steps in a CA study is “to produce a non-perishable, transportable, and manageable representation” (p: 3) of the recorded data. Using transcriptions as a partial representation of the recorded talk, not as substitutes for the original recordings, is widely acknowledged by CA researchers (Heritage, 1984b; Jenks, 2011, 2013; Liddicoat, 2007; Psathas & Anderson, 1990; ten Have, 2002, 2007). While being indispensable for conversation analytic research, transcripts are “only ever secondary data representing the primary data of the recorded interaction” (Liddicoat, 2007:14).

What makes transcription an indispensable part of CA research process is that it enables the researcher to be able to attend to the details of recorded talk which

otherwise will not be apparent to the analyst (Heath & Luff, 1993). Transcriptions also have a practical function in publication of articles and theses. Even though some online journals can now attach the original data to the papers, published studies in written form benefit from including the transcripts to make a representation of the original data available to the readers, which in turn allows for the researchers analytic observations and claims to be scrutinized to some extent. The transcription process itself, in addition to the transcripts, is also important for the analysts. During the transcription process, the analyst gets as close to the data as possible, by repeated listenings and by paying careful attention to the fine details of the talk. This then helps the analyst to understand and analyse the recorded talk in a more thorough and comprehensive way.

CA studies follow the transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (1985) (Appendix A). These conventions enable the researcher to represent vocal aspects such as words as spoken; prosodic aspects like pitch, stress, intonation or stretched sounds, temporal aspects such as pauses and overlapping speech, as well as non-verbal elements of interaction, such as gaze, gestures, and other embodied conduct. Liddicoat (2007: 14) proposes that in transcribing talk, two considerations should be attended by the transcribers: “(1) the high level of detail found in the talk itself and (2) the accessibility of the transcript to a range of potential audiences”. He suggests that transcripts should be accessible to a range of readers so that (partial) information about the recorded talk can be provided for a written analysis of talk. These considerations lead to the problem of what should be the level of detail included in a transcript. As discussed in Chapter 3, one of the basic principles of CA methodology is that no detail should be dismissed *a priori* as irrelevant, and as such, a CA transcript should include as much detail as possible. In reality, however, the level of detail included in transcripts varies among CA practitioners. Reasons for this include the accessibility of transcriptions (as pointed out by Liddicoat, 2007) and also reasons of practicality, as transcribing 20 hours of video-recorded data can take many months. Some conversation analysts overcome this problem by initially doing a ‘rough’ or simplified transcription, then identifying the phenomenon to be investigated, and providing a detailed transcription of sequences that are relevant to the identified phenomenon.

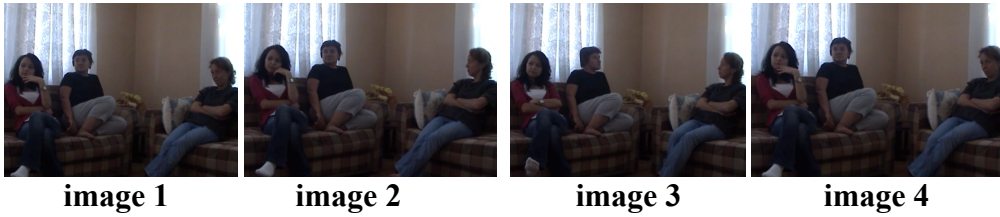
For this study, the initial step was to watch the recordings numerous times. Then, a full recording (1.5 hours) was transcribed in detail. Having watched the recordings many times, and going through the transcription, *assessments* were identified as a very common and intriguing action performed by the viewers. Following that, the recordings were watched again, the sequences which included assessments were identified, and then these sequences were transcribed in detail following the transcription system developed by Jefferson (1985).

Transcription software, Transana (2.42b, Mac version), which includes Jefferson's transcription conventions, was used in this study throughout the transcription process. Transana enables the analysts to synchronize different videos (in this case, those of the TV viewers and the show itself), to transcribe, and to link the transcripts to the recordings. For this research, it was essential to synchronize the recordings of the viewers and the show recordings to be able to have access to what the viewers were watching at the very moment when they were talking about the show. As Transana also enables the researcher to view transcripts on the same page, different recordings and transcripts were all available to the researcher during transcribing. Hazel et al. propose that using such "*linking software*" allows researchers "to handle digital recordings and their corresponding transcripts interlinked in a single environment" (2012: 13) so that the original recording and the transcript are not stored or used independently from one another. The transcriptions for this study, however, were exported into a separate Microsoft Office word document from the Transana folder to add the translations from Turkish to English, as using Transana for translations did not prove to be very effective.

Translation in transcription has not been addressed much in CA literature, apart from a few exceptions, e.g., ten Have (1999), Duranti (1997) and Liddicoat (2007). While doing translation the main problem for the transcriber is "how to deal with the different structures of the languages being transcribed so that the translation does not distort the original interaction" (Liddicoat, 2007: 46). In this study, the differences in grammars of English and Turkish, such as the word order, conjugation, etc., made it necessary for the researcher to provide a word-by-word gloss as well as an idiomatic translation. Below is an example of a transcribed excerpt, and the levels of translation used:

Excerpt 4.1: evlenilecek kadin degil

(21.18-22.36) (From left to right: C – A - M)



- 1 (2.7) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 M: **¹biseyden sonra da↑ ama Ayşe ke²siliyo**
sometime after too↑ but NAME cut down
"after a while though, Ayşe, they (candidates) stop coming"
- 3 (0.5) ((C & A are watching TV; M is looking at A))
- 4 C: **su kadin valla [(bakimli)]**
that woman really[well groomed]
"this woman is really well groomed"
- 5 M: [de:mi:↑] ((to A))
[isn't she↑]
"isn't she"

The transcriptions in this study involve three lines: the first line is in the Turkish as spoken by the participants (in bold), which presents the original data that the transcript is based on; the second line is a word-by-word gloss, which provides word-by-word translations as well as grammatical information in some cases, such as NEG stands for negative marker or QM for a question marker, to explicate the structure of the Turkish language. With this gloss, readers who do not speak Turkish can still understand the sentence structure or the points at which overlaps occur, or intonation rises, etc. The third line provides an idiomatic translation (in italics) which aims to translate the overall meaning of the original sentence into English as closely as possible. The translations included in this study have been checked by bilingual Turkish-English speakers in order to increase their accuracy and validity. As seen in the example above, a great deal of consideration was given to including as much non-verbal conduct as possible in the transcriptions. However, having three lines of transcripts as well as information about gaze, gestures and body orientation led to problems regarding the readability of the transcripts. To overcome this problem, images have been included for every transcript in the study. These images are screen

grabs of moments in the recording at which a significant non-verbal action takes place. Every image in a transcript is given a number according to the order they occur, and the point that an image starts in interaction is marked by that image number in the transcription. That is, in the above example, image 1 starts at the same time as line 2, but before this turn is completed, the viewers change their body and gaze orientations as marked in the last utterance.

It is important to remember, and emphasize that “a transcript is a created artefact, not an objective account, and that it will always be a selective representation of the data itself” (Liddicoat, 2007: 50). As such, during the analysis, the transcripts were used by the researcher alongside with the original recorded data which enabled the researcher to improve the accuracy of the transcripts while at the same time analysing the recorded data.

Data analysis started informally after the data was first recorded. At the exploratory stage, that is while listening to the data numerous times and during the transcription process, resulted in observations about various issues such as 1) how people suspend and re-initiate talk collaboratively while watching TV, 2) how people share their understanding and evaluation of what they watching, 3) membership categories specifically relevant to gender and marriage, 4) how people construct themselves as a social group with a shared understanding of the world. The preliminary observations demonstrated that the issues mentioned above are mostly performed through an assessment. Following this observation, assessments in the corpus were identified and a collection of assessment sequences was built.

Early analysis of assessment sequences was presented at conferences, shared and discussed in data sessions. This enabled the researcher to get other CA researchers’ analytic observations as well.

After a collection of assessment sequences were built and some early analysis was shared in data sessions and conferences, the issues that became evident in the data were related to 1) sequential organisation of assessments sequences, 2) the organisation of continuing states of incipient talk, and 3) social, cultural and interactional actions performed by assessments. These points will be discussed more thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

4.6. Summary

This chapter described how the research is designed by initially discussing the two-fold research setting: a) TV show, b) viewers watching the show at home. After describing the TV show, section 4.3 provided information about the viewers who were recorded while watching the show. Additionally, how data was collected and ethical issues relevant to data collection were discussed in Section 4.4. Section 4.5 addressed the importance of transcription in CA studies, and also described the transcription and analysis processed in this study.

Following the description of the processed of data collection, transcription and analysis, the next two chapters will report the outcomes of the study.

Chapter 5. Sequential Positioning of Assessments

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the focus will be on how assessments are sequentially positioned while participants are watching TV together. Previous studies, which were discussed in Section 2.2.1, have demonstrated that assessments can occur at various sequential positions and accomplish various social and interactional practices in different sequential positions. The most widely investigated positions that assessments occur include 1) following an initial assessment, in ‘second assessment’ position (Pomerantz, 1984; Heritage, 2002; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006), which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, and 2) closing an episode or a topic (Antaki et al., 2010; Antaki, 2002; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987).

More recent studies also examined the positioning of assessments at ‘delicate’ moments during dinner talk (Mondada, 2009), that is when there is a conflict or disagreement, and at transition points from one episode to another during a conversation (Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Mondada, 2009). These studies also show that speakers can accomplish various social and interactional practices by positioning assessments at specific sequential positions, such as showing understanding, offering and receiving compliments, complaints, etc.

This chapter aims at explicating the sequential positioning of assessments while the interactants are engaged in social TV watching. The analysis shows that how the assessments are positioned in talk is heavily influenced by the activity that the speakers are engaged in, as they are not ‘just’ talking, but they are at the same time watching TV together. That is, talk is not continuously sustained and the speakers are engaged in what has been described as ‘continuing states of incipient talk’ (CSIT).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the sequential organisation of talk when CSIT takes place might be different from how continuously sustained talk (CST) is organized. While investigating the sequential positioning of assessments in this corpus, it is essential to give consideration to the organisational features of CSIT. Even though some of the studies in the literature have examined contexts where CSIT takes place, such as

dinner talk (Mondada, 2009), the organisation of CSIT has not been fully addressed while analysing the positioning of assessments.

The analysis in this chapter will demonstrate that assessments in this corpus occur at four sequential positions during TV watching. These positions are: 1) re-initiating talk and/or breaking an adjournment; 2) in, and related to, ongoing talk; 3) in, but not related to, ongoing talk; 4) followed by an adjournments. Each of these sequential positions will be examined in detail in the following sections.

In addition to the positioning of assessments, this chapter will also demonstrate a very intriguing phenomenon found in the corpus which is defined as ‘undirected asides’. In the corpus, the assessments which can be considered as undirected asides have four basic features: 1) the speaker’s gaze and body orientation is towards the TV while producing the assessment, 2) there is no addressing terms used to select another viewer as the next speaker, 3) in most of the cases, these assessments are delivered quickly and with a lower voice, and 4) they mostly do not generate a second assessment. Specific consideration will be given to such assessments to investigate their relationship to the overall organisation of CSITs.

This chapter will also explicate what social, cultural and interactional actions the assessments perform in particular sequential positions. Additionally, some organisational features of CSIT will be highlighted throughout.

5.2 Re-initiating talk and/or breaking an adjournment

This section demonstrates that assessments are widely employed by participants to break an adjournment and/or to re-initiate talk during TV watching. In the corpus, the longest adjournment that takes place lasts 88.9 seconds, but this is a very rare case. In most cases, when the silent TV watching lasts for more than 20 seconds, the viewers tend to break this silence. As will be demonstrated in this section, assessments are very commonly used by viewers to break an adjournment.

These assessments might be prompted by 1) the visual images on the TV screen; 2) new information that becomes available to the speakers; or 3) by the previous

knowledge of the speakers. The excerpts below will provide examples of assessments which re-initiate talk or break the adjournment during TV watching.

Excerpt 5.1 and 5.2 will demonstrate how adjournments are broken by an assessment which is prompted by the appearance of a new person on the TV show. Excerpt 5.1 provides an example of an assessment which is produced as an *undirected aside* and which does not generate a long sequence but instead just breaks an adjournment for a very short period of time. Excerpt 5.2, on the other hand, demonstrates that offering an assessment of the person on the show might initiate a series of assessments. Excerpt 5.1 takes place immediately following the presenters of the show announcing that a new candidate husband will be introduced to one of the participants.

Excerpt 5.1

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2



image 3

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | | (12.9) |
| 2 | C: | °iyiymis adam°
°good+TM man°
"he seems like a good man" |
| 3 | | (0.5) |
| 4 | C: | yasina ragmen,
age+his despite
"despite his age" |
| 5 | | (4.2) |

This excerpt demonstrates an assessment which is offered following an adjournment when a new candidate appears on the show. During the silent TV watching in line 1, the presenters of the show invite a female participant to the stage, as there is a candidate spouse for her. After chatting with her for a few minutes, the presenters ask the participant to go to the 'meeting corner', where the participants sit and wait for the candidate to be invited.

While the participant is walking towards the meeting corner, the presenters invite the candidate spouse, Ali, to come on stage. Following this, Ali appears at the door (image 2) and starts walking towards the stage. As soon as he arrives at the stage, the camera zooms in to his face more closely (image 3). At this point, C offers a first assessment regarding the candidate “*oyiyimis adam*” which translates as “he seems like a good man”, C maintains her gaze and body orientation towards the TV and she does not use any addressing terms to select the next speaker. C also produces her assessment very quietly. As such, it can be produced, and treated, as an undirected aside. Following a 0.5 second pause in line 3, C continues her assessment in line 4 “despite his age”. During this excerpt, the viewers all keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV. In line 5, an adjournment takes place which lasts 4.2 seconds while Ali starts providing information about himself.

The assessment in line 2 demonstrates that while watching TV, the appearance of a new person on the show might occasion an assessment of that person. In Excerpt 1, C makes an assessment of the candidate’s physical appearance on the basis of his assumed age. This excerpt also shows that in this context, at times, the viewers’ might be primarily engaged in TV watching during periods of no talk, e.g. 12.9 seconds in line 1 and 4.2 seconds in line 5. However, as can be seen in this excerpt, such lapses are not treated by the participants as problematic or accountable. In such cases, an assessment might be delivered as an undirected aside, and not necessarily initiate a new sequence of talk among the viewers. Instead, as can be seen in this example, the assessment does not get responded to and talk is again suspended for another 4.2 seconds. In the corpus, it has been found that assessments might be produced as undirected asides following an adjournment which does not necessarily initiate a longer sequence of talk but still signals that talk is not completely terminated and the adjournment might be broken at any moment. However, it is more prevalent in the corpus for assessments which occur at such sequential positions, e.g., following an adjournment, to re-initiate longer sequences among the viewers.

The following excerpt takes place when the show’s participants’ pre-recorded video biographies are being displayed on the TV screen. In these videos, information about the participants’ age, occupation, previous marriage history, and their expectations

from candidates is provided for the viewers. The length of the video recording for each participant in such video-biographies is usually only a few seconds, and is usually followed by another participant's video biography.

Excerpt 5.2

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2



image 3



image 4



image 5

- 1 (5.4) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 M: bu: yirmibes yaşından [fazladır]
 thi:s twenty-five tear old [more]
 "she looks older than twenty-five."
- 3 C: [bir sürü] de↑
 [lots of] too↑
- 4 gelen var bunlara
 comer there is these+to
 "there are still lots of candidates for these
 (people in the show)"
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 A: çok fazla↑
 so many↑
 "so many↑"
- 7 (0.7)
- 8 A: su pek havalı su
 that quite posh that
 "that (woman) is rather posh, she is."
- 9 (0.2)

In Excerpt 5.2, the viewers are engaged in silent TV watching for 5.4 seconds during the opening of the show, while short video biographies of the participants are being displayed. In line 2, M re-initiates talk by proffering an assessment of a participant

whose video appears on the screen at that moment. She refers to the participant as “*bu*” (this) and suggests that “this (she) looks older than twenty-five”. M uses the information provided on the video (participant’s age) and her physical appearance to make an assessment of how the participant looks for her age (image 2). However, as the pre-recorded videos only last for a few seconds, before M completes her turn, different participants appear on the screen and this assessment does not get responded to (images 3, 4, and 5 as an example).

In overlap with M’s assessment, C proffers a new assessment in line 4, which evaluates the number of the candidates that the participants on the show gets. While C is producing the assessment, the participants appear on the screen for a second each, without any information being provided about them. C uses “*bunlar* (these)”, to refer to the participants as a group, and states “*bi suru de gelen var bunlara*” there are still lots of candidates for these [people in the show]”. This assessment demonstrates that C has some previous knowledge about the number of candidates the participants are getting. Following a 0.3 seconds pause, A upgrades C’s assessment by stating “*cok fazla* (so many)”.

Following a 0.7 seconds pause, upon A’s completion of her turn in line 6, a short video of another participant appears on the show, which prompts a new assessment “*su pek havalı su*”. A initiates the assessment by first using the demonstrative pronoun “*su* (that)”, which is embodied with a slight head movement pointing to the TV screen. Then she continues her assessment with “*pek havalı* (rather posh)” and she repeats “*su* (that)” at the end of her turn. After A’s assessment, the same participant’s video biography is displayed on the screen for another few minutes and the viewers all engage in an extended assessment sequence about the participant. Throughout this excerpt, the viewers keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV. The assessment sequence following A’s first assessment will be looked at in detail in Chapter 6.

Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 show how visual images on the show might occasion assessments which break an adjournment. In such cases, assessments can be employed by the viewers to re-initiate talk. It is also important to emphasize that the positioning of assessments in talk-in-interaction during TV watching is heavily

influenced by what is happening on the show. When the video biographies are shown on the screen briefly, the viewers might produce assessments pertaining to the participant whose video-biography is being shown on the screen at that moment, or an assessment of the participants as a group. In the above case, even though the assessments appear to be unrelated, the viewers jointly orient to this series of assessments as unproblematic. The examples above demonstrate that first appearance of a (new) participant on the show might occasion an assessment when an adjournment is taking place and in such cases, the assessment might be produced as an undirected aside which breaks the adjournment momentarily, or a longer sequence of talk might be initiated through an assessment.

The analyses show that new information which becomes available on the show might also prompt an assessment which re-initiates talk. In such cases, the viewers mostly offer assessments pertaining to participants' personality and/or cultural norms and expectations related to marriage. Two excerpts will be examined below to explicate the assessments occasioned by new information about participants on the show which re-initiate talk following an adjournment. The first excerpt is about a new participant on the show who is being introduced for the first time. The second excerpt takes place when a participant is meeting a candidate spouse on the show. In both excerpts, an assessment is offered following some new information on the show.

Just before Excerpt 5.3 takes place, a new participant, Gani Bey, is being introduced on the show for the first time. It has just been announced by presenters that Gani Bey is a 53-year-old mechanical engineer, who has been married only once, has no children, and owns seven flats. Following this information, the show's theme music starts to play and Gani Bey appears at the entrance and starts walking towards the stage.

Excerpt 5.3

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2

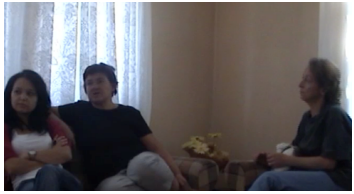


image 3



image 4

- 1 ¹(10.0)
- 2 A: **makine yüksek mühen[disi]**
mechanical advanced engi[neer]
"he is advanced mechanical engineer"
- 3 C: **[yedi] dairesi**
[seven] flats
- 4 **varmış adamın**
has the man
"he has seven flats"
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 M: **buna şimdi ne ta:lipler gelir**
to this now what candidates come
"there will be lots of candidates for him"
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 M: **²de↑mi ay↑şe**
is↑n't it (name)
"don't you think so ayşe"
- 9 A: **³((nod))**
- 10 **⁴(22.0)**
- 11 M: **°aman° geçimsiz hadi ay↑şe=**
→A
°oh° strop^{py} come on (name)
"He is so stroppy ayşe"

This excerpt demonstrates two different examples of re-initiation of talk following an adjournment, in line 2 and line 11. Re-initiation of talk in line 2 is performed through reporting what has been just said on the show, whereas in line 11, talk is re-initiated through offering an assessment. As such, the main focus of interest for this section will be on the assessment offered in line 11.

In line 1, the viewers are watching TV as a new participant, Gani Bey, is being introduced and then enters the stage. During the silent TV watching in line 1, there is a 10.0 second lapse in talk. Following the silent TV watching, in line 2, A repeats the information about Gani Bey which was just provided by the presenters, “he is advanced mechanical engineer”. In overlap with A’s turn, C also repeats another piece of information about Gani Bey “he has seven flats”. Following a 0.2 second pause, M proffers an assessment of the participant’s eligibility as a candidate marriage partner and suggests that “there will be lots of candidates for him” (Line 6). This assessment does not receive any uptake from the other viewers in the following 0.5 seconds and M pursues a response by asking A “don’t you think so Ayşe” (Line 8). While pursuing a response, M selects A as the next speaker by addressing her by name and shifting her gaze towards her (image 2). A responds to this question with a slight nod, indicating agreement, while her gaze is still orienting towards the TV (image 3). Following the nod in line 9, M also shifts her gaze and body orientation towards the TV (image 4), and an adjournment begins.

All of the viewers silently watch TV for 22 seconds, without any change in their body or gaze orientation (image 4). During this silent TV watching, Gani Bey provides information about himself and answers the questions asked by the presenters of the show. Just before M’s new assessment in line 11, one of the presenters of the show asks Gani Bey how long his previous marriage lasted for. Following this question, Gani Bey tells that he was married once for one and a half years. Upon receiving this information, M proffers a new assessment in line 11 regarding the participant’s personality, suggesting that “*o aman° geçimsiz hadi ay↑şe* (oh, he is stropy Ayşe)”. The sequential positioning of the assessment in line 11 (in overlap with Gani Bey’s informing that he has been married for one and a half years), and constructing the assessment with an *oh*-preface indicating a change-of-epistemic state (Heritage 1984,

1998), demonstrate that the new information that became available about the participant prompted a new assessment.

It is important to note that the assessment in line 11 pertains to the participant's personality in terms of his eligibility as a candidate husband. "*gecimsiz* (stroppy)" is an adjective which refers to people who are difficult to please or hard to get on with, which is not a desirable attribute for a marriage partner considering the context of the show. Prior to silent TV watching, however, M offered a positive assessment about the eligibility of the participant as a candidate husband, as demonstrated by her suggestion that there will be a lot of candidates for him. Thus, it can be argued that the information about Gani Bey, which the viewers had access to, before the adjournment in line 10 (namely, that the participant is a 53 year old mechanical engineer who has seven flats and who does not have a child) were all treated as positive attributes by M. However, during the adjournment in line 10, new information that becomes available about Gani Bey (he has been married only once for one and a half years) is treated as a negative attribute and prompts a negative assessment about the eligibility of Gani Bey as a spouse. In the following talk about the participant, M also states it explicitly that it is not appropriate for a 53 year old man to be married only for one and a half years in his life. By doing so, M is constructing "being married for one and a half years" as not expectable and not bound to the category that she evokes as "53 year old men".

This excerpt demonstrates a very common sequential pattern in the corpus, which follows three steps. First, the viewers close/suspend a topic (Line 10). Then, there is an adjournment where they all shift their orientation towards the TV and start watching the TV silently (Line 11). During the silent TV watching, a new assessment might be offered at any moment, often based on the new information that becomes available on the show as the above excerpt shows. At such sequential positions, by offering an assessment, the speakers can cease the adjournment by re-initiating talk. Apart from the sequential positioning of the assessment, the excerpt shows that through offering assessments, the viewers might also co-construct and perpetuate attributes for membership categories.

Excerpt 5.4 takes place when a female participant is meeting a candidate husband for her in the show. During their first meeting, the participant and the candidate are asking each other questions about their marriage history, where they are from, etc.

Excerpt 5.4

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2



image 3



image 4



image 5

- 1 ¹(12.4) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 M: **ondan çok geliyo buna(.)çocugu ²yok ya↑**
 because very come this+to↓(.)kid+her no * ↑
"this is why this(he) gets many (candidates)
(.) she doesn't have a child"
- 3 (0.7)
- 4 M: **demi↑ [°Ayşe°]**
 isn't it↑[°name°]
"isn't it Ayşe"
- 5 C: ³[bi de] esi ölenlere de çok geliyo↑
 [also] spouse dead too many comes
- 6 (.) dul <olanlara> [degil de
 (.) widow< ones > [not
 "there are many candidates for the ones who are
 widowed, not the ones who got divorced"
- 7 A: [e::vet=
 [ye::s

In line 1, the participant gives information about her age, previous marriage history, where she lives, and what she does for a living. There is an adjournment in talk among the viewers which lasts for 12.4 seconds while the participant is talking about

herself. Just prior to line 2, the participant tells that her husband died in an accident and she has no children. Following this information, M offers an assessment, “*ondan çok geliyo buna*↓ (*.*) *çocugu yok ya*↑” (“this is why this(he) gets many (candidates) (*.*) she doesn’t have a child”). In her turn, M makes an assessment of the number of the candidates that this participant is getting as “*cok* (many)” and she also suggests that the reason for why she is getting many candidates is the fact that she doesn’t have any children. M uses the information that has just been talked about in the show as a basis for her assessment in line 2. Thus, it demonstrates how the information that becomes available on the show might occasion an assessment among the viewers. While offering this assessment, as with the previous excerpt, M also does some categorial work. In this assessment, not having a child is constructed as a reason for getting many candidates. As such, it can be argued that not having a child is suggested as a desirable attribute for a woman who wants to get married.

Before completing her turn, M shifts her gaze towards A, projecting A’s response as a relevant next turn. In the following 0.7 seconds pause, even though M is still gazing towards A (image 2), A does not provide uptake and keeps orienting towards the TV. M, in line 4, pursues a response by asking a tag question “*demi* (isn’t it)” and explicitly addressing A by her name “*Ayşe*”. In overlap with M’s turn, C proffers another assessment in line 5. In her assessment, C starts her turn with “*bi de* (also)” which displays an agreement with M’s assessment while at the same time projecting a relevant new assessment (image 3). C continues her turn by suggesting that the widowed women get more candidates than the women who are divorced. It can be argued that this assessment turn is also occasioned by the information provided in the show, as the participant also announced (in the TV talk occurring at line 1) that her husband passed away. In her assessment, C not only assesses the number of the candidates that this participant gets, but as well she offers a category assessment (Wiggins & Potter, 2003) by suggesting that widowed women get more candidates than divorced ones. C shifts her gaze back towards the TV at the completion of her turn while at the same time A shifts her gaze towards C and offers an agreement, “*e::vet*”, in line 7 (image 4). Following the agreement, all viewers shift their gaze and body orientation back towards the TV (image 5).

The excerpt shows how the information that becomes available on the show might occasion assessments while the viewers are engaged in silent TV watching which then re-initiates talk. The assessments in this sequence also demonstrate that the viewers not only evaluate one specific participant or piece of information, but in doing so, they may also make membership categories relevant as well. Further, in and through invoking membership categories, the viewers co-construct desirable and undesirable attributes related to these categories. More specifically, in this excerpt, through the assessments in Lines 2 and 5, and the agreement token in line 7, the viewers jointly construct ‘having no children’ and ‘being widowed instead of divorced’ as positive and desirable attributes for the category ‘women who want to get married’.

The following excerpt provides a further example of how assessments are positioned following a long stretch of silent TV watching to re-initiate talk. Unlike assessments which are prompted by what becomes available on the show, the assessment that will be examined in the following excerpt is produced based on the information that has been available to the viewers beforehand.

In the corpus, there are many similar cases when the viewers use some previous knowledge to produce an assessment while they are engaged in silent TV watching. By doing so, the viewers might break an adjournment and initiate a new sequence of talk. The following excerpt provides an example of cases when previous knowledge is deployed to offer an assessment following an adjournment. Prior to the excerpt, advertisements were being shown on the TV. The excerpt starts at the same time as the show starts back after the advertisements. Each time after the show starts following the advertisements, the theme music of the show is played and accompanied by presenters and audience.

Excerpt 5.5

(From left to right: C – A - M)

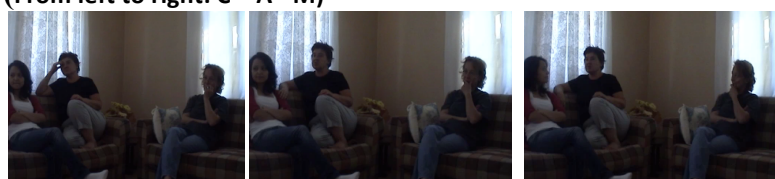


image 1

image 2

image 3



image 4



image 5

- 1 ¹(10.7) ((They are all watching TV))
- 2 A: Songul Karli ²da↑ bi cahil bi cahil ³amanin↓
 (P's name) too↑ so uneducated so uneducated oh my↓
 "Oh my! Songul Karli is so clueless, clueless!"
- 3 (0.2)
- 4 C: hic bisey ⁴bil[miyo↓ ((turns to TV))
 no thing know+not+she
 "she knows nothing"
- 5 A: [hic bisey bilmiyo↑ ((turning to M))
 [no thing know+not+she
 "she knows nothing"
- 6 ⁵(0.4)

In line 1, the viewers are all watching the opening of the show after the advertisements silently (image 1). A, in line 2, breaks the silent TV watching when she proffers an assessment of the show's presenter. She refers to the presenter by using her full name "Songul Karli" and, following this, A pokes C (image 2) while continuing her assessment of the presenter "bi cahil bi cahil (so clueless, clueless)" and A completes her turn by saying "amanin" which can be best translated to English as "oh my!". Before A completes her turn, both C and M shift their gaze towards her (image 3). This assessment pertains to the personal traits of the presenter and it shows that A has access to enough information about the presenter to make an assessment of her "general level of knowledge". The sequential position of the assessment shows that the assessment might be prompted by the image of the presenter on the screen, but it is not based on happenings on the show at that moment, as it requires previous knowledge about the presenter. Following a short pause, C displays an agreement with the assessment offered by A, stating "she knows nothing". C shifts her gaze back towards the TV before she completes her turn (image 4). A repeats C's agreement while shifting her gaze towards M (image 5). At that point, M is already orienting towards the TV, which is followed by a shift of gaze by A back towards the TV (image 5). The assessment in line 2 demonstrates that following long stretches of

silent TV watching, the viewers might deploy some previous knowledge to offer an assessment. By doing this, the viewers break the adjournment and also re-initiate talk.

The excerpts discussed in this section show that talk might be re-initiated following an adjournment by offering an assessment. These assessments might be occasioned by the visual images available on the show, the new information provided in the show or by previous knowledge of the speakers. Such assessments not only break an adjournment and re-initiate talk, but they also demonstrate that while offering an assessment, the speakers might co-construct some cultural norms and expectations regarding marriage and eligibility of people as marriage partners.

Excerpt	What is on TV	Interactional/cultural/social functions
5.1	Visual image of a new candidate	-offered as undirected aside -breaks an adjournment but longer sequence of talk is not initiated
5.2	Short video-biographies of participants on the show	- re-initiates talk after an adjournment - unrelated assessments in consequent turns is not treated as problematic -indicates that organisation of talk is heavily influenced by happenings on the show
5.3	New information about a participant is presented	- re-initiates talk after a long adjournment (22.0 seconds) - assesses eligibility of the participant - does categorial work:
5.4	New information about a participant is presented	- re-initiates talk after a long adjournment (22.0 seconds) - assesses eligibility of the participant - does categorial work:
5.5	Presenters	- re-initiates talk
		- based on previous knowledge
		-upgraded agreement

5.3. Assessments, in and related to, ongoing talk

This section will examine the positioning of assessments which are occasioned by ongoing talk. Assessments that are analysed in this section are produced as relevant to the previous turns, and they do not occur in sequence-final or sequence-initial positions. There are two different sequential positions that assessments are produced

in such cases: 1) following a noticing/reporting/assessment-relevant description, 2) as a relevant next turn in ongoing talk.

The following excerpt is a continuation of the talk in Excerpt 5.2, which was analysed in the previous section. As was discussed in Excerpt 5.2, the viewers completed an assessment sequence about the difference between the participants' real age and how old she looks. Following this sequence, in line 1, the viewers are engaged in silent TV watching for 9.3 seconds.

Excerpt 5.6

(From left to right: Z – S – A)



image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 (9.3) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 A: **siyah saci -sariya boyamis↓ o da dibinden**
black hair blonde+to dye+TM↓ it too bottom+from
- 3 **[cikmis]**
grow+TM
"she dyed the black hair into blonde and it (dark hair) grew on the bottom"
- 4 S: **[guzel]gorunmemis=**
[beautiful] look+not+TM
"it doesn't look beautiful"
- 5 A: **=hic hos [olmamis]**
=at all nice[is+not
"it isn't nice at all"
- 6 Z: **[°he::°]**
[ye::ah]
"yeah"
- 7 (1.0)

While the viewers are watching the show in silence in line 1, the participant on the show is giving information about where she lives and what she does for a living. A breaks the adjournment in line 1 when she produces an assessment-relevant description (Edwards & Potter, 2012). In her turn, A describes the hair colour of the

participant on the screen “she dyed the black hair into blonde↓ and it (dark hair) grew on the bottom”. While producing her turn, A slightly shifts her gaze to the other viewers (image 2). Before A completes her turn in line 3, S also shifts her gaze towards A, as shown in image 3.

In line 4, S treats what has just been described by A in Lines 2 and 3 as assessable as she suggests in overlap with A’s turn in line 3 that “it (the hair) didn’t look beautiful”. The assessment in line 4 is aligned with, and upgraded, by A, “it is not nice at all”, which also receives a minimal agreement by Z in overlap in line 6. Upon establishing an agreement on the assessment offered, all the viewers shift their body and gaze orientation back towards the TV (image 1), which is a prevalent way of signalling an adjournment.

The assessment in line 4 provides an example of assessments which are made relevant by previous turn. In this example, A makes an assessment-relevant description in line 2, which is followed by an assessment in line 4. Excerpt 5.6 demonstrates that assessment-relevant descriptions can be used to project an assessment and/or to initiate talk during an adjournment. In the corpus, it is common for the viewers to proffer an assessment of what has just been described by another speaker. In this excerpt, description is made by A and S proffers the assessment; however, there are also examples of cases when the viewer who makes the description also offers an assessment of what she has just described.

The following excerpt is continuation of talk about two participants in the show. While the participant (Ergun) and the candidate husband for her (Ali) are having a conversation, a member of the audience in the show (Alev) disagrees with what Ergun says. Alev is also a participant in the show who the viewers are all familiar, as can be demonstrated by their talk previous to the excerpt. While she is speaking, image 1 is shown on the screen. In that image, another participant (Tanju) can be seen as well. This image prompts talk between M and A about Alev and Tanju.

of knowledge about the participant, and also his past experiences in the show, demonstrates the M and A's asymmetry in epistemic statuses regarding Tanju. In line 3, M says: "oh, there is also tanju". Heritage (1984) suggests that oh- prefaces can be used as a change-of-state token, which in the case of line 3 indicates that M has heard the participant's name before and she just remembered it. A's turn in line 4 displays confirmation "ye::ah" to M's statement.

In line 5, M asks a question referring back to A's turn in line 1 "does he not like anyone either" which displays an agreement on A's epistemic ownership about the participant's past experiences in the show. In Lines 1 to 5, C is excluded from the participation framework that involves A and M who are gazing towards each other whereas C's gaze and body orientation is towards the TV (image 2).

Just after M starts her turn in line 5, C shifts her gaze to M and A, and proffers her assessment about Tanju in an overlap with M's question in line 5 "Tanju is very handsome though" (image 3). This assessment about Tanju in line 5 is occasioned by the previous talk, as prior to the assessment there has been an ongoing sequence about Tanju between M and A. The positioning of this assessment performs different functions: 1) it enables C to join the participation framework which formerly involved only A and M; 2) it demonstrates that even though her body and gaze orientation was towards the TV prior to her turn, C has been attending to what is being talked about between M and A; 3) the assessment in line 6 indicates that C has access to some information about Tanju; 4) before the assessment in line 6, A has reported that Tanju has not liked anyone so far either, and M's question in line 5 elaborates on this information about Tanju "did he not like anyone either". The use of "either" by A and M suggests that Tanju is not the only one who "did not like anyone", but there are other participants like him. 'Not liking anyone' is a feature which very strongly has connotations to being arrogant. Producing the assessment in an overlap with M's question enables C to indicate her stand on what has been talked about Tanju, before A gets the floor to answer M's question. While constructing her assessment, C does not only say "tanju is very handsome", but she adds "ama (though/but)" at the end of her turn. By doing this, C responds to M's question suggesting "tanju hasn't liked anyone so far like some of the other participants in the show, BUT, he is very handsome".

Excerpt 5.7 demonstrates a case when the third viewer produces an assessment, which is occasioned by previous talk between two viewers. A close examination of positioning of the assessment has revealed many different functions that can be performed through offering an assessment in ongoing talk.

In the following excerpt, on the other hand, appearance of a participant on the show initiates talk about her, as it appears that the viewers do not have same epistemic statuses about the participant. This talk about the participant occasions an assessment in the following turns while two viewers are informing another viewer about the participant. Before Excerpt 5.8 takes place, the presenters of the show announce that there is a candidate husband for one of the participants, Ergun, who they then invite to come to the stage. The whole excerpt takes place while Ergun is walking from the door to the main stage.

Excerpt 5.8

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

image 2

image 3



image 4

- 1 ²(4.6) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 A kimmis o ki:↓
 who+TM he Adress Term
 "who is he *"
- 3 (0.2)
- 4 C izmirdeki kadina gelmis↓ (.)ogretmene↓ ((to TV))
 izmir+in woman+to come+TM↓(.)the teacher+to
 -A -TV
 "He is a candidate for the woman from Izmir(.) the

one who is a teacher"

5 (2.0) ((they are all watching TV))

6 M ya bu kadina daha once de↑ seyettiler↓
oh this woman+to earlier too↑ *↓

7 ama bu kadin (.) da problemli [zaten.³
but this woman(.) too problematic [anyway
"oh, there have been candidates for this woman
earlier as well, but she is also problematic anyway"

8 C ⁴[bu kadin
[this woman

9 problemli↓
problematic
"this woman is problematic"

10 (.)

In line 1, the viewers are all orienting towards the TV while presenters are making an announcement about Ergun. Talk is initiated by A's question about Ergun. In line 2, before Ergun appears on the stage, A asks "who is it", demonstrating that she does not know or possibly could not remember the participant who is about to appear. In line 4, C provides some information about the participant (she is from Izmir and she is a teacher). Following a 2.0 seconds pause, when all the viewers keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV, M provides more information about Ergun, which at the same time demonstrates M's ownership of some knowledge about the participant. After reporting that there have been candidates for her earlier in the show, she proffers an assessment pertaining to Ergun's personality in line 7 "but she is problematic anyway". Upon completing her assessment, M shifts her gaze towards the other viewers, while at the same time C shifts her gaze towards M (image 3). This mutual gaze lasts for a second, then both viewers (M and C) turn their orientation back towards the TV (image 4). C agrees this assessment in the following turn with a repetition of the assessment made by M.

The turn in line 7 provides an example of assessments which are produced as a relevant turn in an ongoing sequence. By asking the question in line 2, A makes it relevant for the other viewers to provide information about the participant if they have any knowledge about her. As a response to this question, C gives some information about the participant. Following a 2.0 seconds pause, M who also appear to have access to some knowledge about the participant, first tells that "there have been

candidates for her before” and then offers her assessment regarding the participant’s personality.

Assessments can be occasioned by ongoing talk in different sequential positions, accomplishing various social and interactional purposes, as shown in Excerpt 5.7 and 5.8. An assessment in such positions can 1) display the epistemic asymmetries among the viewers, 2) enable a viewer to join in a participation framework, and 3) display the speaker’s stance on a topic/participant being talked about. As discussed before, the assessments analysed in this section are occasioned by the previous talk among the viewers and the assessment is relevant to the previous talk. The next section, on the other hand, will aim to examine the positioning of assessments which are occasioned by what is happening on the show and as such they are irrelevant to the ongoing talk.

5.4 Assessments in, but not related to, ongoing talk

The previous sections have discussed 1) the occurrence of assessments following an adjournment, and 2) assessments in, and related to, ongoing talk. This section will demonstrate that assessments might also occur as a next turn in ongoing talk but they do not necessarily have to be relevant to the previous talk. Instead, these assessments might be occasioned by what is happening on the TV show. Such assessments might 1) close/suspend the previous topic (as will be discussed in Excerpt 5.9), or 2) they might not get responded to until the previous topic is closed or at times they do not get responded at all (as in Excerpt 5.10). This section discusses the positioning of assessments which are not relevant to an ongoing topic by highlighting the fact that for the speakers what is happening on the show can sometimes become more relevant than the previous turn that they produced in talk-in-interaction.

Excerpt 5.9 is a continuation of talk about S’s father. Prior to this excerpt, S has been telling, with a smile, that her father is widowed and it might be a good idea to take him to the show as well. Z makes a suggestion that he should marry S’s mother-in-law, which is treated as laughable by Z and S. A, who doesn’t know S’s father or mother-in-law, asks whether she is widowed as well. The excerpt takes place right after A learns that S’s mother-in-law is also widowed.

Excerpt 5.9

(From left to right: Z – S – A)



image 1

image 2



image 3

image 4

image 5

- 1 A: ¹aHA↑ (.) iste bir²les[tiriverin
aha then get them together
"ohh! you should match-make them then"
- 2 Z: [birlestirive::n↑ yalniz
get them together alone
- 3 cek- [cekmesin] ((with laughter))
suf- suffer+not
*"match-make them so that they don't suffer
loneliness"*
- 4 A: ³[su pek] su ((pointing to the TV))
[this very] this
*"this one is very ((I don't know what they mean
here))"*
- 5 (0.2) elli uc yasindaymis suna bakin
fifty three year-old this look
"look at her she is fifty three years old"
- 6 ((slaps her hand on her knee))

Upon learning that S's father and mother-in-law are both widowed, in line 1, A starts her turn by using an exclamation "aHA↑" with a higher intonation. "aHA↑" in this turn indicates a change-of-epistemic state (Heritage, 1984, 1998), as prior to this turn, A did not have the required knowledge to treat Z's turn as laughable. A continues her turn by repeating Z's previous turn, "birlestiriverin iste (get them together then)" with a smile. In overlap with A's turn, Z also shows agreement with what A has just said. Z delivers her turn with laughter indicating that she is also treating the talk as laughable. Still laughing, Z and A shift their gaze towards the TV before Z's turn in line 3 is completed (image 2). In the corpus, shifting gaze towards the TV is widely used by the viewers to signal the closure of a topic, as can be seen in this example.

As soon as they shift their gaze orientation towards the TV, a participant appears on the screen for the first time on that day (image 4). At that moment, A proffers an assessment of the woman who just appeared on the screen in line 4. While producing her assessment, A points to the TV (image 3) and states “*su pek su*” which can be translated as “this very this”. In her assessment, A does not use any semantically coded assessment terms but instead she only uses an intensifier “*pek* (rather/very)”. The usage of “*pek* (rather)” as an assessment occurs a few times in the corpus. In such cases, even though there is no explicit display of what specifically is being assessed about the participant, it enables the speaker who is offering the assessment to direct the attention of the others to the participant. In the above example, all three viewers are already orienting towards the TV through their gaze before the assessment is offered (image 3). Thus, it can be argued that this assessment following the gaze shift signals the closure/suspension of the previous topic about S’s father and projects further talk about the new participant.

A continues her turn as “look at her! she is fifty three years old” which is also accompanied by slapping her knee. By pointing to the TV with her hand in the beginning of her turn, slapping her knee (as an exclamation) and also telling the other participants to ‘look at the TV’ explicitly, A’s noticing in line 5 projects further assessments about the participant on the show. Following this turn, the viewers jointly construct an extended assessment sequence about the physical appearance of the participant for her age.

This excerpt demonstrates that when a new participant appears on the screen, an assessment of this participant might close/suspend an ongoing topic among the viewers and it can also be used to initiate a new topic sequence. The use of assessments as a means for closing the topics, stories (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987), and interviews (Antaki et al, 2010; Antaki, 2002) has been widely investigated in the previous literature. Unlike those studies, the excerpt above shows that an assessment of what becomes available on the TV might be used to close/suspend ongoing talk which is not relevant to what is being assessed.

In the corpus, it is very common for the viewers to shift their gaze towards the TV when an ongoing topic is about to be completed and offer an assessment of what is happening on the show to signal the closing of a previous topic and initiate a new topic sequence.

The following excerpt provides an example of cases when there is ongoing talk between two viewers while the third viewer is engaged in TV watching. Prior to Excerpt 5.10, the viewers are watching the short videos of the participants in the show and offering some assessments.

Excerpt 5.10

(From left to right: C – A - M)



- 1 (2.7) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 M: ¹biseyden sonra da↑ ama Ayşe ke²siliyo
 sometime after too↑ but NAME cut down
 "after a while though, Ayşe, they (candidates) stop coming"
- 3 (0.5) ((C & A are watching TV; M is looking at A))
- 4 C: su kadin valla [(bakimli)]
 that woman really[well groomed]
 "this woman is really well groomed"
- 5 M: [de:mi:↑] ((to A))
 [isn't she↑]
 "isn't she"
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 M: simdi ilk yeni cikinca↑(.) [boyle]=
 now first new appear↑ (.) [like this]=
- 8 A: [°evet°]
 [°yes°]
- 9 M: =bi on bes gun falan bi gelen oluyo sik si:k
 =a fifteen days or so a comer there is often
- 10 (.) ondan sonra orda cok ³bekliyon↓
 (.) that after there a lot wait+you↓

"well when you appear on the show for the first time there are candidates very often for the first fifteen days or so (.)but after that you end up waiting in the show for a long time"

- 11 **(0.4) ((A nods))**
- 12 **M:** **de:mi:↑ ((inaudible))**
 "isn't it"
- 13 ⁴**(2.0) ((they are all watching TV))**

While the viewers are still watching the short video biographies, while shifting her body and gaze orientation towards A (image 1), M says “after a while though, Ayşe, they (candidates) stop coming” (line 2). M explicitly addresses A in her turn by using her name and through her body and gaze orientation. In doing so, M selects A as the next speaker; however, A does not provide any uptake and keeps watching the show (image 2). During the following 0.5 seconds pause, M keeps her gaze orientation towards A, demonstrating the relevance of A’s response as the next action. Following this pause, C, who has also been orienting to the TV with her body and gaze, produces an assessment about the participant on the show “this woman is really well groomed”. In overlap with C’s assessment in line 4, M seeks a response to her turn in line 2 with a tag question “isn’t she”, still orienting towards A. In the 0.2 seconds pause following this, A still does not produce a response or an uptake, and also does not change her body or gaze orientation (image 2). In line 7, M continues to elaborate on the topic she initiated in line 2, which finally receives a minimal agreement by A in line 8 when she first shifts her gaze and body orientation towards M (image 3) and nods. Following the mutual gaze and agreement in line 11, M and A both shift their gaze back towards the TV.

The main point of interest, for the purpose of this chapter, is C’s assessment in line 4 which provides an example of a different sequential position that assessments might occur in. In this example, an assessment is produced in a sequential position in which A is expected to speak next. Unlike the example provided in the previous excerpt, the assessment in line 4 does not close the previous topic and does not receive any uptake but rather occurs in the middle of an ongoing sequence.

It is important to note that there is a crucial difference between Excerpt 5.9 and 5.10 in terms of the participation framework (Goffman, 1983; Goodwin, 1981). The talk that takes place prior to the assessment in Excerpt 5.9 involves all three viewers, whereas in the latter example C is not a part of the participation framework created by M. In the corpus, it is not rare for the third viewer to be excluded from the participation framework which involves the other two viewers talking to each other (image 3). In such cases, the third viewer typically continues to watch the TV. When a new participant (or information) becomes available on the show, the third viewer might proffer an assessment while other viewers are engaged in ongoing talk. The relationship between the positioning of assessments in such cases, and how and if they are responded to, will be addressed in Chapter 6.

The excerpts above show that during TV watching, assessments that are offered when there is ongoing talk are not necessarily related to the ongoing talk but instead they might be related to what is happening on the TV show. When there is ongoing talk among the three viewers, an assessment of a new participant on the show might close the previous topic and initiate a new topic sequence (Excerpt 3). If the talk involves two viewers while the third viewer is primarily engaged in TV watching, an assessment of the new participant might be produced by the third viewer which in some examples close the previous talk, and also in some cases do not get responded to until the talk among the other two viewers is closed, or it might not get responded to at all (Excerpt 4).

5.5 Assessments followed by adjournments

This section will aim to explicate the occurrence of assessments which are followed by adjournments. The viewers use assessments in such sequential positions to signal that the previous topic can be suspended/completed at that point, and also to display that agreement is reached among the viewers about what is being assessed. Following such assessments, the viewers orient to the TV through their gaze and body and start silent TV watching. In the following examples, the two most common ways – using proverbial formulation and repetition of the first assessment – that the viewers offer assessments which signal adjournments will be discussed.

The following excerpt is an extension of an assessment sequence shown previously as Excerpt 5.3, which concerned the TV show participant Gani Bey. While still watching Gani Bey providing information about himself on the show, the viewers have been co-constructing an assessment sequence about his personality and his eligibility as a candidate husband. Prior to this excerpt, the viewers have jointly created a negative assessment about Gani Bey as an eligible candidate husband.

Excerpt 5. 11

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 (5.0)
- 2 M: >bi sene evli kalmış elli yaşında< (.) ²bu bu
>one year married fifty year old< (.) this this
- 3 yaşına kadar başka hiç evlenmedi [mi hayatı]=
to that age other no marriage+NEG [QM life]=
- 4 A: ³[ya::ni]
[i me::an]
"Yeah"
- 5 M: =boyu:nca
during
"He was only married for a year, he is fifty,
hasn't he ever married again till that age"
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 M: de↓mi
isn't it
"Don't you think?"
- 8 (1.3)
- 9 M: °bu adam (0.5) sağlam bi ayakkabı değil
This man (0.5) sturdy one shoe not
"This man is not a reliable person" ((idiom))
- 10 (5.0)
- 11 M: °biz bazen evde (.) bakarken yorum yapıyoruz
we sometimes at home (.) while watching comment
"While watching the show at home, we sometimes
comment on it"

In the first line, the viewers are silently watching the show, with their gaze and body orientation towards the TV (image 1). In line 2, M starts reporting what has been previously told in the show “He was only married for a year, he is fifty”. This information is available to the other viewers as they were both present while this information was given in the show. However, reporting what has been talked about in the show, similar to the descriptions, are prevalent ways of ceasing silent TV watching and initiating an assessment sequence in the corpus. M continues her turn with a rhetorical question “hasn’t he ever married again till that age” which is accompanied by a shift of gaze towards A (image 2). It can be argued that the rhetorical question is offered as an assessment of the participant’s marriage history suggesting that this is not what is expected from a fifty three year old man.

In an overlap with M’s question, A shifts her gaze towards M (image 3) and responds to M’s question with “*ya::ni*” which indicates a strong agreement. According to next-turn proof procedure, A’s strong agreement to M’s question clearly demonstrates that A treats M’s previous turn not as a question which requires an answer, but rather as an assessment, which is available to be agreed with.

Following M’s initial assessment, there is a 0.2 seconds pause (Line 6), after which M uses a tag question “*demi?*”. Heritage and Raymond (2005: 20) argue that tag questions are used to downgrade a first assessment, as “by formulating an assessment as a question to be answered rather than as an assertion to be agreed with, the speaker cedes epistemic authority in the matter to her co-participant”. In this excerpt, however, the assessment itself is formulated as a question and agreed by the co-participant before the turn’s completion. The use of “*demi*” in line 7 demonstrates/emphasizes the established agreement between M and A in the previous lines about the negative assessment pertaining to Gani Bey’s previous marriage history.

The assessment sequence about Gani Bey’s personality and his eligibility as a husband is adjourned in line 9 by M’s assessment “*bu adam (0.5) sağlam bi ayakkabı değil*” which is a commonly used figurative expression in Turkish which literally translates as “he is not a sturdy shoe” meaning “This man is not a reliable person”. While evaluating a participant’s personality or eligibility, the viewers often

use figurative expression to offer a ‘concluding’ assessment following extended assessment sequences. By doing this, the speaker who offers the assessment exploits the cultural and social meanings of the figurative expression being used. In this example, by saying “not a sturdy shoe”, the viewer evaluates the participant’s personality, and also categorizes the participant as “not reliable”.

In this excerpt, M and A jointly construct a negative assessment of the participant’s personality. M initially problematizes the fact that the participant is 50 years old and has been married only for a year in his life, which is strongly agreed with by A. It is only after reaching agreement on this that M offers her assessment in line 9. Thus, it can be argued that the previous turns in this excerpt occasions the assessment in line 9. As such, M and A jointly construct “being married only for a year” as a not desirable attribute for the category “50 year old man”. Following the assessment in line 9, the viewers watch the TV silently for another 5 seconds. In line 11, M initiates a new topic sequence.

Excerpt 5.11 demonstrates that while evaluating a participant’s personality, the viewers might use a figurative expression to display a reached agreement and also do categorial work as these expressions are heavily loaded with cultural and social meanings. Previous research on the sequential positioning of the figurative expressions suggests that they occur mostly in topic transitions and act as a summary of the previous topic (Drew & Holt, 1988, 1995, 1998; Holt & Drew, 2005). In the corpus, such figurative expressions regularly used as a closing to the assessment sequences and are followed by adjournment which then leads to a topic change.

Excerpt 5.12 provides an example of another prevalent way that adjournments are done through the use of assessments. The excerpt takes place when a participant on the show (Alev) has been talking about herself and her expectations from a candidate husband.

Excerpt 5.12

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2



image 3



image 4

- 1 ¹(13.4) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 A: bu sanki↑ manken² olcek gibi↓ 3°giz°=
this as if model be+will like girl
"this one looks as if she will be a model. the girl"
- 3 M: =bu zaten e-e-evlenme- >evlilik kadini
this anyway m-m-marriage marriage woman
- 4 degil [bu<
not this
"this one is not a m-m-marry marriage woman anyway"
- 5 A: 4[degil canim
not *
"(she) is not canim"
- 6 (.)
- 7 C: bunda vucut da yok. manken de olamaz(.)
this body too not. model to can+not+be
- 8 at gibi gadin
horse like woman
"this (she)doesn't have a nice body either. She can't be a model (.)woman like a horse"
- 9 (.)
- 10 M: evlencek gadin degil↓ (0.3) evlense de:↑
marry+will woman not↓ (0.3)marry+if even↑
- 11 (0.3)⁵cok fazla galmaz
(0.3) very long stay+not
"she is not a woman who will marry (0.3) even if she marries, she won't stay married long"

Following the adjournment in line 1 (image 1), A initiates talk by offering an assessment about the participant on the screen by referring to her as “*bu (this)*” and pointing to the TV screen (image 2) and suggesting that “*this one looks as if she will be a model. the girl*”. At the completion point of her turn, A shifts her gaze and body orientation towards M (image 3). M, on the other hand, does not shift her gaze towards A but she still provides a response to A’s turn by offering a new assessment regarding the participant’s personality. M also uses “*bu (this)*” to refer to the participant and she suggests that “*this one is not a m-m-marry marriage woman anyway*”. In her assessment, M invokes a membership category “*evlilik kadini (marriage woman)*”, and she evaluates the participant as not a member of this category. It is important to note that the participants on the show are there to find a marriage partner, however, M still categorizes the woman on the screen as a member of “not marriage women” category. While doing this, M does not explicitly state on what basis she does this categorization, however, it is agreed by A in overlap with an upgrade. By offering an agreement, A displays M that they share the same knowledge about the attributes of the category “marriage women” and “not marriage women”, the knowledge of which is not demonstrable in the data.

After a micro pause, C offers a response to A’s initial assessment of the participant’s appearance by suggesting a disagreement. While producing her disagreement, C initially states a reason “this (she) doesn’t have a nice body. ”. Then she produces her assessment of the participant: “She can’t be a model”. C uses an idiom to assess the participant’ appearance “*woman like a horse*”. In Turkish, this idiom mostly refers to women who do not look very feminine. Following C’s disagreement, M resumes the assessment that has already been agreed upon “*she is not a woman who will marry*” by further adding that “*even if she marries, she won’t stay married long*”. Towards the end of her turn, M rests her head on her arm (image 5) and they all start silent TV watching, which lasts for 17.6 seconds.

In Excerpt 5.12, two different assessments, regarding a participant’s 1) appearance and 2) personality are produced overlapping with each other. The assessment

regarding the participant appearance in line 2 is disagreed with in lines 7 and 8 by C; whereas M's assessment about the personality of the participant in lines 3 and 4 is agreed by A in line 5. In this case, M resumes the previously agreed assessment by partially repeating the initial assessment. The viewers treat this assessment in lines 10 and 11 as an adjournment and they all move on to silent TV watching. In the corpus, (partial) repetition of a previously agreed assessment is commonly used by the viewers to signal an agreement and the completion point of an extended assessment sequence.

The following excerpt takes place after a participant on the show, who is a housewife, announces that she wishes to marry a policeman or a military officer. The viewers start an assessment sequence about this expectation of the participant, claiming that as she is a housewife, it is too much for her to expect to marry a military or a police officer. Following this sequence, A asks whether she should turn up the volume of the TV, but no one replies and they all start watching the TV. During the silent TV watching, the participant whom they were talking about is still giving information about herself and her expectations from a candidate husband.

Excerpt 5.13

(From left to right: Z – S - A)



image 1

image 2

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | | ¹ (21.8) |
| 2 | Z: | ² sanki daha yasli gibi
as if more old like |
| 3 | | gosteriyo biliyon mu
seems+3 rd PS know+you QM
"You know what she seems older" |
| 4 | | (0.3) |
| 5 | A: | otuz ikiden [°demi° ((to Z))
thiry-two+than [°isn't it°
"You mean more than thirty two, don't you?" |
| 6 | Z: | [otuz iki ya- yasindayin diyo ama↑ |

[thirty two ye-years old say+she but↑

7 **[daha büyük gozteriyo sanki**
 [more old seem+she as if
 " she says she is thirty-two but she looks as if
 she is older than that."

8 **A:** **[hm:: daha büyük gibi °evet°**

9 **(9.3)**

The viewers' gaze and body orientation is mainly towards the TV during the silent TV watching in line 1 (image 1). Along with the TV watching, the viewers also drink tea and S eats sunflower seeds. Their gaze shifts between the tea glasses and the TV screen; however, they do not gaze towards each other at all during this time.

Following this, at line 2, the assessment occurs. Image 2 above demonstrates the shift of gaze in line 2 as soon as Z starts her utterance. Shifting her gaze towards A, Z proffers the assessment "you know what, it looks as if she is older (than what she actually said)" which ceases the silent TV watching and initiates a new sequence of talk about whether the participant looks thirty-two years old or older.

The assessment in line 2 is based on the difference between the participant's actual age and how old she looks. The information about the participant's age was provided on the show a few minutes before this excerpt started and the viewers have all been watching the image of the participant on the screen before the assessment is produced. That is, it is not the information that has just become available which is being assessed. Instead, information which has been available to all of the viewers for a while is oriented to through an assessment. The not-newness of what is being assessed is reflected in the use of "*biliyon mu* (you know what)" by Z while the assessment is constructed. Following a 0.3 seconds pause, A says "You mean more than thirty two, don't you" which assures that they share the same knowledge regarding the participant's age. While answering A's question, Z re-constructs her initial assessment which was not responded to by A yet "she says she is thirty-two but she looks as if she is older than that". In line 8, A agrees with Z saying "hmm, yeah she looks as if she is older". Upon reaching an agreement about the first assessment, the viewers suspend their talk by shifting their gaze orientation towards the TV and they start an adjournment.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the sequential positions in which assessments are produced while the speakers are watching TV. It has been found that the appearance of a new participant/candidate as well as the information that becomes available on the show both might occasion an assessment, regardless of whether there is ongoing talk among the viewers or not. The assessments prompted by happenings on the TV show have been found to be important to 1) break the long stretches of silent TV watching; 2) create or change the participation framework, 3) close/suspend ongoing talk. The analysis has shown that when a new participant/candidate appears on the show, the assessments are mostly offered pertaining to the physical appearance whereas the new information that becomes available to the viewers usually prompts an assessment of personality or eligibility of the people in the show.

Section 5.2, on the other hand, showed that when the silent TV watching lasts for a long time, the viewers might use some previous knowledge to offer an assessment which subsequently breaks the silence and in most of the cases initiates a new stretch of talk. In such cases, the viewers might use some previous knowledge (age, marriage history, etc.) to make an assessment of the physical appearance of the people on the show or they might offer a personality assessment.

Sections 5.4 and 5.5 have examined assessments which are occasioned by ongoing talk/previous turn. In section 5.4, the focus has been on assessments that are offered as a relevant next turn in ongoing talk whereas Section 5.5 focused on assessments which signal or initiate adjournments.

Examination of the sequential positioning of the assessments in this chapter has also provided some insights into how viewers do categorial work through their assessments. Analyses have shown that the viewers use membership categories to produce assessments while at the same time they co-construct and perpetuate these categories and category-bound activities through the assessments they produce.

Chapter 6. Response Relevance in Assessments

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at explicating if and how assessments are responded to during TV watching. Previous studies have shown that when an assessment is offered, a second assessment is expectable. Pomerantz (1984) have pointed out that second assessments might be offered as upgrades, downgrades, same assessments or very rarely as disagreement. Previous research has pointed out to broader organisational issues while investigating assessment sequences. These issues include; 1) response relevance, and 2) preference organisation. However, as pointed out in the previous chapters, the activity type that the speakers are engaged in influences the organisation of talk and responses to assessments has never been investigated by taking the differentiation between CSIT and CST into consideration.

The first section will discuss response relevance when an assessment is offered during TV watching. The analysis shows that assessments during CSIT do not always necessarily get responded to as suggested by studies looking at assessments in CST. Instead, following an assessment there might not be a response. In such cases, the speaker who offered the assessment might not pursue a response at all and the lack of response in such cases is not treated as accountable or sanctionable by the other speakers. The next section will demonstrate that when there is no response following an assessment, the speaker might pursue a response which might eventually generate a response. However, a response pursuit does not guarantee that a response will be produced. Section 6.3, on the other hand, will solely focus on the assessments which get responded to and aims at explicating how the assessments get responded, especially by focusing on the preference organisation.

6.2 When a second assessment is not provided

In the corpus, it has been found that in some cases following a first assessment the co-participants do not produce a second assessment even though they have access to what is being assessed. As the norm in social interaction is for a first assessment to be followed by a second assessment, the lack of a second assessment is typically treated as an accountable action. This section aims at explicating such cases in the corpus when a first assessment is not followed up by a second assessment. There will be two

sub-sections, first of which will provide examples of cases when lack of a second assessment is not treated as accountable or problematic by the viewers, and the speaker who offers the assessment does not pursue a response. In the second sub-section, the focus will be on cases when the speaker who offers the first assessment pursues a response. In the following section, three excerpts will be examined to explicate the cases when no second assessment is provided.

6.2.1 No response - no response pursuit

The analysis shows that whether or not a first assessment generates a second assessment is highly dependent on 1) how the assessment turn is constructed; and 2) what is available on the show at the time the assessment is constructed. As such, mostly, assessments which are produced as an undirected aside do not generate a second assessment. An example of these cases will be provided in the first excerpt. In some cases, on the other hand, the assessments will not be responded to depending on what is available on the show, for instance an assessment which is produced just before a new participant appears on the show, or starts giving information about herself/himself is less likely to generate a second assessment. Excerpt 6.2 will illustrate such cases as well as providing an example of how the way an assessment is constructed might be effective in whether or not one gets a response. In both cases, however, the interactants do not treat the lack of a second assessment as problematic or accountable. The third excerpt in this section will exemplify a case in which an assessment is offered while there is ongoing talk about an irrelevant topic. In this example, following the assessment no response is provided, but instead the viewers watch TV silently and then resume the previous talk. Similar to the previous excerpts, no response pursuit takes place in this example.

Excerpt 6.1 demonstrates an example of first assessments which are produced as undirected asides and are not followed by a relevant second. The following excerpt will provide three examples of such first assessments.

This excerpt takes place when a female participant on the show (Ergun) is telling that she will have to leave the show in a couple of days. Prior to this excerpt, M and C are informing A about Ergun whom they have seen on the show before. Based on their previous knowledge about the participant, they suggest that Ergun is a ‘problematic’

woman. As they are watching Ergun on the show, M and C perpetuate their initial assessment about her. The fact that Ergun has been telling that she will attend the show only for a couple of days is treated by M and C as further evidence of her being problematic.

Excerpt 6.1

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2



image 3



image 4



image 5

- | | | |
|----|----|--|
| 1 | | (7.0) |
| 2 | M: | °tih° . yok °problemlı bu kadin°
°tih° . no °problem+with this woman°
"oh! no, this woman is problematic" |
| 3 | | (12.9) |
| 4 | C: | °iyiyemis adam°
°good+TM* man°
"the man seems nice" |
| 5 | | (0.5) |
| 6 | C: | yasına rağmen,
age+his despite
"despite his age" |
| 7 | | (4.2) |
| 8 | M: | bu kadin da °seyli bisey ariyo°
this woman too °thin something look for
"this woman is also after a posh* man" |
| 9 | | (4.4) |
| 10 | A: | Ayten Gokcere ben*ziyo↓ bu kadin.
name surname look like↓ this woman
"this woman looks like Ayten Gokcer" |

11 (.)
 12 M: °hm : : [: °
 13 C: [hm : :=

In line 1, the viewers are watching TV silently while Ergun is telling that she will leave the show in a couple of days (Image 1). In line 2, M repeats her initial assessment that she proffered prior to the excerpt about Ergun “oh! no, this woman is problematic”. Before the assessment in line 2, M has been watching TV more attentively as she cranes forward to the TV (image 1). However, while producing this assessment, M changes her body orientation and she leans back on the armchair (image 2). Despite the change in her body orientation, M keeps her gaze towards the TV. M delivers the assessment in a very low voice which is hardly hearable to the other viewers. The turn in line 2 can be treated as an assessment which is produced as an undirected aside. Following this assessment the viewers do not respond with a second assessment (or with anything), but keep watching TV in silence. Further, M does not pursue a response. This would all suggest that the participants themselves are all also treating M’s turn as undirected aside, i.e. talk that does not project or require a response.

While the viewers are watching TV in line 3, a new candidate for Ergun, Ali, is invited to the stage and he appears on the screen for the first time. Then, C proffers an assessment of Ali: “the man seems good”. This assessment was analysed in terms of its sequential positioning in Excerpt 5.1. But the present analysis will focus on how the assessment is constructed, and subsequent lack of response. The assessment in line 4 is produced in a very similar way to M’s assessment in line 2. C maintains her gaze and body orientation towards the TV, she does not use any addressing terms and produces her assessment very quietly, and again it does not receive any uptake from the other viewers either. While producing her turn in line 4, C uses the assessment term “*iyi* (good)” which can be used to assess various aspects of a person or a thing. It can offer an assessment of personality, or physical appearance. C positions her assessment right after the candidate is seen on the screen closely and at that point, the viewers only have access to information about the name of the candidate and who he is candidate for. Thus, the assessment offered by C can be heard as assessing the physical appearance of the candidate rather than his personality. Following an 0.5

seconds pause, C adds more information about the assessment she made “*yasina ragmen*” (despite his age) which makes it clear that the use of “*iyi*” assesses the physical appearance of the candidate suggesting that he looks good for his age.

However, while making her assessment, C still does not have information about the candidate’s age. Thus, it can be heard as the man looks good for his assumed age. C’s assessment does not receive any uptake by the other viewers even though they all have access to what is being assessed. The lack of response is not treated as problematic and the viewers continue silent TV watching in line 7. In line 8, M proffers an assessment of Ergun as “this woman is also after a posh man”.

This assessment is again produced as an undirected aside and does not receive any second assessment or a response but instead the viewers keep watching TV.

In line 10, A produces a new assessment; however, this time, the assessment is not produced in the form of an undirected aside. A first changes her body orientation and leans towards M at the very beginning of her turn, actions which are immediately responded by M, who shifts her gaze towards A (image 3). When A is producing her assessment, she points to the TV with her finger (image 4), which re-directs M’s attention towards the TV, and offers her assessment “this woman looks like ayten gokcer” (a famous actress in Turkey). On the completion point of her assessment, A gazes towards M (Image 5) which invites a response from M. Unlike the previous assessments in this excerpt, A’s assessment in line 10 is responded by both M and C with minimal agreement in lines 11-12. This assessment also initiates a longer sequence about the resemblance of the participant to the famous actress (a sequence of talk which is not included in the excerpt).

The assessments in lines 2, 4 and 8 show that in this context, at times, the viewers’ prior engagement might be watching the show whereas talk remains secondary to them. In such cases, the assessments might be delivered as undirected asides, are mostly not followed by a second assessment and they usually do not initiate a new sequence of talk. The speaker who offers the first assessment, similarly, does not necessarily seek a response and a lack of response is not treated as problematic by any of the participants. As a perfect contrast to this, the assessment in line 10 indicates that speakers might pursue a response for their assessment through the way they

construct their assessment (intonation, pitch, emphasis, etc.), and also by using the body and gaze as interactional resources. In the excerpt above, co-participants provide minimal agreement following an assessment which seeks a response and this assessment also initiates a new topic sequence. The assessments in Excerpt 6.1 demonstrate that how the assessments are constructed is highly important in generating second assessments as all three assessments which are produced as undirected asides fail to get a responded to by a second assessment whereas the assessment in line 10, which projects a response through the use of body and gaze as interactional resources, gets responded to and initiates a new sequence.

The following excerpt takes place right after a candidate (Ali Bey) for a participant (Esma) is invited to the stage. The excerpt starts when Ali Bey is seen on the screen for the first time (image 1). Lines 1-9 take place while Ali Bey is walking from the door to the stage. In line 10, he starts introducing himself by providing information about his age, his occupation and his children (image 2). Throughout the excerpt, the viewers keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV, while at the same time they are having some tea (image 3).

Excerpt 6.2

(From left to right: Z – S - A)

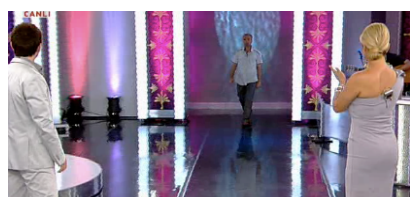


image 1



image 2



image 3

1 A: bu buna mi↑ ta:[lip °mis°
 is this+to QM↑ ca:[ndidate °TM°

"is this (one) candidate for that (one)"

- 2 Z: [he:::
[ye::ah
"yeah"
- 3 S: [°hihi
[°hmm
"hmmm"
- 4 (.)
- 5 A: iyi baka[lim °o >zaman<°
good seee[lets °>then<°
"let's see then"
- 6 Z: [iyi
[good
"good"
- 7 (0.7)
- 8 S: begenmicek onu ama↑(.)kokosa >oteki suslu<
like+won't him but↑(.) posh >the other natty<
- 9 kokosa benziyo
posh look like+she
"she won't like him though↑ (.)this one is
natty, she looks posh"
- 10 (8.2)

When Ali Bey first appears on the screen, A asks the question in line 1 "is this candidate for this one (referring to Esma)". In an overlap with A's question, both Z and S provide minimal confirmation in lines 2 and 3. Upon receiving the answer to her question, A says "let's see then" showing an interest in Esma and Ali Bey's meeting, and she takes a sip of her tea at the end of her turn. In line 6, Z proffers an assessment of the new candidate in an overlap with A's turn and she says "good" with an emphasis in the last syllable.

Following a 0.7 second pause, S responds to Z's assessment of the candidate "she won't like him though" (line 8-9). Pomerantz (1984:63) argues that "the inclusion of 'though' does the work of claiming to agree with the prior while marking, and accompanying, a shift in assessed parameters which partially contrasts with the prior". In line 8, by using "though", S shows an agreement to Z's initial assessment that the candidate is "good" but she also adds a new assessment of the possibility of the relationship suggesting that the Esma will not like the candidate even though the candidate is good. After a slight pause, S continues her turn by proffering a first

assessment pertaining to Esma's personality, suggesting that "Esma is natty, she looks posh" to explain why S thinks Esma won't like the candidate. This assessment is not responded to verbally or non-verbally by the other viewers. What follows the assessment in lines 8 and 9 is silent TV watching for 8.2 seconds until Z starts a new sequence reporting what is happening on the TV. The corpus contains a number of cases similar to this. In such cases, the sequence usually occurs as in the following pattern:

[first assessment] → [silent TV watching] → [topic change].

Even though watching TV silently following a first assessment is not rare in the corpus, in many cases the participant who offer a first assessment tends to pursue a response. In this excerpt, however, lack of response to a first assessment is not treated as problematic by any of the participants. Close examination of the assessment in lines 8-9 reveals that how the assessment is constructed and what is happening on the TV at the completion of an assessment turn are crucial in getting a second assessment following a first assessment. In this example, while producing her assessment, S keeps her gaze and body orientation towards the TV. She does not address a co-participant explicitly by their name. In other words, she does not select any specific other participant as the next speaker. There is no emphasis or intonation change in the production of the assessment, and the assessment is delivered very quickly. Even though it has been argued that offering a first assessment engenders a second assessment (Pomerantz, 1984: 61), in this case the way the assessment is produced does not necessarily project a second assessment.

Another issue concerning lack of response to this assessment is the fact that at the very moment the assessment is completed, Ali Bey starts providing information about himself (Image 2) that the viewers have not had access to before. It can be argued that learning information about a new candidate on the show takes precedence for the viewers as the next relevant action even though a second assessment would be expected in ordinary conversation at that turn.

Excerpt 6.2 provides an example of a first assessment which neither generates a second assessment nor gets a verbal or non-verbal response. Even though a response or a second assessment is a relevant next action following a first assessment, lack of

this response is not treated as problematic or accountable by any of the participants which demonstrates that the sequential organisation of assessment sequences during TV watching might have some different features compared to assessment sequences in other social contexts, such as those studied before (i.e. telephone calls, family dinner conversations, interviews, service encounters, etc.; see Chapter 2).

Excerpt 6.3 starts while the viewers are all engaged in talk about a participant that A has seen on the show before (Image 1). A has been telling S and Z that this participant on the show has been married a few times before and now she is single with no money and she is living in a hotel.

Excerpt 6.3

(From left to right: Z – S - A)



image 1

image 2

image 3



image 4

image 5

- 1 **Z:** **e hic bi adamdan↓**
 e none of the guys
- 2 **bisey [dusmemis↑↓ mi buna:?**
 something taken QM to this?
 "so has this ((she)) not taken anything from any
 of the guys?"
- 3 **A:** **[e onu diyorum yani hic bisey dusmedi mi bi maas**
 e this saying I mean nothing left QM a salary
- 4 **dusmedi mi↓ bi ev² dusmedi mi↓**
 left-->not QM a house left-->not
 "yeah this is what I mean. Has she not been left a
 pension↓. Has she not been left a house↓ (0.5) Look! this
 one is really nice, this one."
- 5 **(0.5)**
- 6 **³aha su⁴ cok hos su**
 ahh that very nice that
- 7 **(8.7)**

8 S: ⁵su firinin ustundeki kadin↓ (0.2) ilk once saban koyune
 this bakery above woman↓ (0.2) first NOUN village

9 **getirmisle:** **onu**
 been brought her
 *"the woman living above the bakery (0.2) first of all
 they brought her to Saban village ((she got married
 there))"*

In lines 1-2, Z is asking whether the participant that A was talking about prior to this excerpt did not inherit anything from any of her previous husbands. In lines 3-4, A is telling that this is what she wonders and continues her turn asking a rhetorical question "Has she not been left a pension↓. Has she not been left a house↓". At the end of her turn in line 4, A shifts her gaze towards the TV (Image 2).

Upon seeing a participant on the screen, A starts her turn in line 6 by pointing to the TV with a slight head movement and at the same time Z shifts her gaze towards the TV (image 3). Right after A starts her turn with "aha", which is used to direct attention and point to something, S shifts her gaze towards the TV (Image 4). The change of gaze orientation of the viewers signals that the previous talk before the assessment has been closed or suspended and that they are all engaged in TV watching at that moment. When A is producing her assessment "look! this one is really nice, this one" about the woman on the show, all three viewers are orienting towards the TV already (image 4). Following the assessment in line 6, the viewers watch the participant providing information about herself for 8.7 seconds. Following this (if not before), all the viewers have access to some knowledge about the woman being assessed by A. However, S and Z still do not provide a second assessment to A's first.

In terms of non-verbal responses, it is important to note that shift of gaze in image 3 and 4 occur before A offers her assessment. Thus, it can be argued that S and Z respond non-verbally to A's pointing to the TV; however, there is not enough evidence in the data to argue whether watching TV in silence provides a non-verbal response to the assessment. And even after watching the TV for some time, a second assessment would still be more relevant than what does follow; S initiates a new topic in line 8 (image 5) about a neighbor whom A and Z are also familiar with. The story that S tells about the neighbor is relevant to the talk that took place before the

assessment in line 6. In this case, A's assessment in line 6 does not generate a second assessment, however what she was telling prior to the assessment gets responded to by S with a second story.

Excerpt 6.3 provides an example of a first assessment which closes/suspends an ongoing topic and opens trajectory for the initiation of a new topic by redirecting the viewers' attention to the TV show. However, the viewers do not provide any second assessment (which would initiate a sequence relevant to what is being assessed) but instead they watch TV in silence for 8.7 seconds. Following the silent TV watching, S resumes the topic that took place prior to the assessment by providing a second story. In this example, A does not pursue a second assessment following her assessment, and the viewers do not treat the lack of a second assessment as problematic.

The excerpts discussed in this section show that the first assessments might not generate a second assessment while women are watching TV, and in the excerpts above the speaker who offers the first assessment does not pursue a response. However, what is demonstrated above is not always the case; often the speaker seeks for a response following a first assessment and in majority of the cases generates a response. The following section, however, will demonstrate that the participants might not provide a second assessment even when the first speaker seeks for a response.

6.2.2 No response - response pursuit

When the first assessment is not followed by a second assessment, the speaker who offered the assessment might often seek for a response. The response might be pursued by 1) using reformulations /repetitions / elaborations, 2) using tag questions e.g. "*demi*", 3) through gaze and/or 4) selecting the next speaker through addressing by her name. In the majority of the cases when the first speaker seeks for a response, a second assessment is provided by the co-participants. In very few cases, on the other hand, even if there is a response pursuit, the co-participants might still not provide one. In such examples, a response pursuit is often be followed by silent TV watching. If the response pursuit is followed by TV watching, the next relevant thing for the interactants is to move on to a different topic based on what is going on on the TV.

In the following excerpt, the viewers are watching pre-recorded short videos of the participants on the show. image 1 shows the viewers' body and gaze orientation while they are watching TV in line 1. When A starts her turn in line 2, she shifts her body and gaze orientation towards M (Image 2), and she then turns back to watching TV in line 3 when M overlaps with her turn by commenting on the participant on the show (image 3). The viewers keep their body and gaze orientation as seen on image 3 till line 14.

Excerpt 6.4

(From left to right: C – A - M)

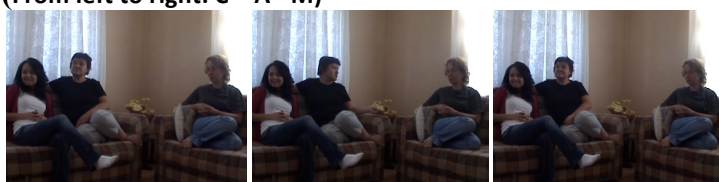


image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 (4.8) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 A: parası ol[sun ((turning to M))
money-->his have-->wish
"they want someone with money-"
- 3 M: [ay bu yirmi bes³ yasında
[oh this twenty five year old
- 4 <mıymı:s>↓ ((to TV))
<QM-->TM*>↓
"oh! is this (woman) really twenty-five
years old"
- 5 (1.7) ((they are all watching TV))
- 6 M: kızım bu çok yaşlı gösteriyö↓
girl-->my this very old seem-->ing↓
- 7 demi↑ ay:se↑
isn't it↑[name]↑
"My girl, this (woman) looks very old,
doesn't she, Ayşe?"
- 8 (6.3)
- 9 M: önce insan olsun be (.) demi↑ ((to TV))
first human be-->wish (.) isn't it↑
"first thing is to be a decent human, isn't it?"
- 10 (2.9) ((They are all watching TV))
- 11 A: .hh anam bir geliyolar sey gibi ((to TV))
.hh mum-->my a come-->they-->ing thing as if

".hh they (participants) come on the show as if they are"

After watching the participants' expectations from their candidate spouses, A suggests that "they want someone with money-" (line 1). This is interrupted by M in line 2 as M sees a short video of a new participant. The new information (participant's age) prompts an assessment-relevant statement (Edwards & Potter, 2012), "wow! is this (woman) really twenty-five years old". By interrupting A's turn with "wow", emphasizing the age, and elongating the question mark at the end of her turn, M delivers her being surprised by the new information in an interrogative form. The way this turn is constructed projects a response which can possibly be in the form of an assessment; however, in the following 1.7 seconds pause the co-participants do not respond to M's turn.

Even though M suggests that there is something surprising concerning the age of the participant and the way she looks, she does not explicitly state whether the participant looks "young" or "old" for her age. Not receiving any response from the other viewers, M proffers a another assessment in line 6, "My girl, this (woman) looks very old, doesn't she, Ayşe?". While producing this assessment, M explicitly seeks for a response from A as she uses a tag question and selects the next speaker by addressing a co-participant by her name. Use of a tag question strongly projects a yes/no answer and as it is used in the first assessment, it downgrades the epistemic authority of the first speaker and cedes epistemic rights to the second speaker (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). A only responds to M's assessment non-verbally by a slight nod. However, it appears that M does not see this nod, as both she and A keep their gaze and body orientation towards the TV during this sequence. An interesting point to note in this assessment sequence is even though M constructs her assessment in a way that strongly projects a second assessment, A does not produce a verbal second assessment and M does not shift her gaze to seek whether there will be a non-verbal response by A. That is, even though the assessment turn is designed to seek for a response, M does not problematize the lack of response and keeps watching TV.

Following a 6.3 second silent TV watching in line 8, M proffers a new assessment relevant to what is happening on the TV (a participant on the show tells that she wants

to marry a decent man). M says “first thing is to be a decent human, isn’t it?” which is again produced with a tag question projecting a response. However, the other viewers do not respond to this assessment either verbally or non-verbally. M does not seek for a response and the viewers all keep watching TV in silence till A initiates a new topic sequence in line 11.

Excerpt 6.4 shows that when a first assessment projects a second assessment, it might be responded to non-verbally, or a second assessment might not be produced at all. The lack of second assessments in such cases may not be treated as problematic by the viewers. When a first assessment is not followed by a second assessment, the viewers mostly keep watching TV in silence and an assessment/description of what is happening on the show becomes the next relevant action.

In this section, lack of responses to the assessments is examined. The first sub-section provided examples of cases when there is “no response-no response pursuit” following an assessment. The second section examined a case when there is “no response-response pursuit-still no response”. In both cases, it has been found that lack of response is not treated as accountable or problematic by the viewers. The next relevant action in such cases is found to be watching TV silently. The analyses show that even though the norm for a first assessment is to be followed by a second assessment in social interaction, while the viewers are watching TV this might not be treated as normatively accountable.

6.3 Second Assessments

This section will aim at explicating how first assessments are responded to in cases where there is a response provided by another speaker. The analysis supports the findings of previous studies (Pomerantz, 1984, Filipi & Wales, 2009, Ogden, 2009) as the majority of the second assessments are provided as agreements whereas there are only very few cases of disagreements in the corpus. Through agreement and alignment with the first assessments, the speakers can highlight the congruent understanding, shared experiences concerning what is being assessed (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). Disagreement and misalignment, on the other hand, might display lack of shared understanding of what is being assessed and raise issues of epistemic statuses of the speakers.

Agreements in the corpus are offered in the form of 1) upgrades, 2) downgrades and 3) same-level following the metric suggested by Pomerantz (1984). Each of these forms will be examined in detail in the following sections. Section 6.2.4 will analyse how disagreements are done in the corpus and in Section 6.2.5 assessments which are not responded to by explicit agreement or disagreement will be illustrated through some examples. The analysis will also focus on the interactional and social practices accomplished through the second assessments.

6.3.1 Upgraded Second Assessments

Upgraded second assessments is used to provide a second assessment following a first assessment which indicates a strong agreement. Pomerantz (1984) demonstrated that upgraded second assessments are preferable next actions, and thus they are delivered with no hesitation and no delays, but instead they are produced immediately after an assessment is offered. The following examples will be analysed to illustrate how upgraded second assessments are produced in the corpus.

A close examination of upgraded second assessments reveals that these assessment might close/adjourn the assessments sequence. In many cases, following an upgraded second assessment, the speakers might move on to a different topic or they might start silent TV watching. The first two examples below will demonstrate cases when an assessment sequence is produced over adjacent two turns by two speakers. Excerpts 6.7 and 6.8, on the other hand, will show cases when upgraded second assessments are responded to by the first speaker with another upgrade or confirmation. In such cases, an assessment sequence is constructed over three turns. Excerpt 6.9 demonstrates a case when the third speaker joins in the assessment sequence following an upgraded second assessment.

The following excerpt is a shorter part of Excerpt 5.4 which was discussed in detail in terms of sequential positioning of first assessments in Chapter 5; however, in the shorter excerpt below the focus of analysis will be on the production of upgraded second assessments.

To briefly remind of the context, the excerpt takes place while the TV show participants' pre-recorded video biographies are being displayed on the TV screen. Throughout the excerpt, the viewers keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV as seen on image 1.

Excerpt 6.5

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

- 1 C: [bir sürü] de↑
[lots of] too↑
- 2 gelen var bunlara
comer there is these → to
"there are still lots of candidates for these
(people in the show)"
- 3 (0.3)
- 4 A: çok fazla↑
so many↑
"so many↑"
- 5 (0.7)
- 6 A: su pek su

Excerpt 6.5 starts when in line 1, C produces an assessment of the number of the candidates the participants on the show get: "*bir suru de gelen var bunlara*" meaning "there are still lots of candidates for these (people in the show)". This assessment not only evaluates the number of the candidates but also displays that C has some previous knowledge about happenings in the show as the assessment is relevant to all participants as a category which requires some prior knowledge of the show. Following an 0.3 seconds silence, A agrees with C's assessment by providing an upgraded second assessment through the use of an intensifier and rising up intonation "*cok fazla*" (so many↑)" which is the preferred next relevant action following C's assessment (Pomerantz, 1984). Through her second assessment, A also displays that she has similar epistemic access to what is being assessed. In other words, she also

has enough prior knowledge about the show to make category assessments. Through their assessments, A and C manage mutual agreement and also show each other that they both have access to knowledge relevant to the show.

Following a 0.7 second pause in line 4, A produces a new assessment of another participant who appears on the screen at that moment. The assessment in line 6 initiates a new assessment sequence relevant to the participant whose video biography is being shown on the screen.

In Excerpt 6.5, the assessment sequence is constructed in two adjacent turns, the first of which proffers a first assessment and the second provides an upgraded second assessment. The upgrade in line 4 is done through the use of an intensifier “*cok*” which is a widely used means to offer upgraded second assessment. The third viewer, M, does not participate in producing the assessment but she rather keeps watching the show in silence. Excerpt 6.5 provides an example of a common phenomena in the corpus where an assessment sequence is constructed between two viewers following the [first assessment] → [upgraded second assessment] → [topic change] pattern.

The following excerpt provides another example of cases when an assessment sequence is produced in adjacent turns by two speakers, M and A, through the use of an upgraded second assessment. In this example, however, the assessment sequence is followed by a long stretch of silent TV watching before a new topic is introduced.

Excerpt 6.6

Prior to Excerpt 6.6, the viewers have been talking about a participant on the show by treating the information he is providing about himself as laughable. The excerpt starts when the viewers all stop laughing and shift their gaze and body orientation back towards the TV (image 1).

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 (0.2)
- 2 A: .hhh bak (.) su² da fena su³
 'hhh look(.) this too cunning this
 "hhh look(.) this one is also very cunning, this
 one"
- 3 (0.7)
- 4 M: bu kadın belli zaten
 this woman obvious anyway
 "this woman is obviously (cunning) anyway"
- 5 (9.4)

In line 2, A initiates her turn by directing the other viewers attention towards the TV "hh look (.)" which preempts talk about the participant on the screen at that moment. A continues her turn by producing an assessment of the participant "this one is also very cunning, this one". While producing her assessment, A shifts her gaze towards M (image 2) following the first "su (this one)" and then shifts her gaze back towards the TV on the completion of her assessment (image 3). By shifting her gaze between the TV and M while producing her assessment, A designs the turn as specifically directed towards M, and so makes it relevant for M to produce a second assessment. Following a 0.7 second pause, M agrees with A's assessment with an upgrade "this woman is obviously (cunning) anyway". M produces her second assessment by using "belli (obviously)" and "zaten (anyway)" indicating that the participant's being a cunning woman is an obvious thing which upgrades A's initial assessment. The upgraded second assessment in line 4 enables M to demonstrate that 1) she agrees with the assessment made by A regarding a participant's personality and 2) they both have similar rights to access enough knowledge to assess the personality of the participant. Similar to the previous excerpt, the assessment sequence is closed with the upgraded second assessment; however, in this case it is followed by a longer spell of silent TV watching, 9.4 seconds.

Excerpt 6.6 provides an example of assessment sequences that take place between two viewers, over two turns. The third viewer, on the other hand, keeps her orientation towards the TV and does not engage in the talk that takes place throughout this

excerpt. The assessment in this excerpt is constructed in the following pattern [first assessment] → [upgraded second assessment] → [silent TV watching].

Excerpts 6.5 and 6.6 demonstrated cases when an assessment sequence occurs over two adjacent turn. Upgraded second assessments, however, do not always lead to the closure/suspension of an assessment sequence, but in some cases they are followed by another upgrade, or a confirmation. The following excerpt will aim at explicating a case when an upgraded second assessment is followed by another upgrade or confirmation by the first speaker.

Excerpt 6.7 takes place while the viewers are watching a pre-recorded short video biography of a participant (image 1). Prior to this excerpt, the viewers offer some assessments regarding the personality of the participant and following that they start watching the participant while she is providing information about herself (image 2).

Excerpt 6.7 (From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1



image 2



image 3



image 4

- 1 (5.0) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 M: °kaç kilolu bu° ((to TV))
°oh plump this°
"°Oh, she is plump°."
- 3 (1.1)
- 4 A: baya² demi [kilolu::]³
rather isn't she plump
"she is rather plump, isn't she?"
- 5 M: [(nod)]
- 6 (0.7) ((C clears her throat))

- 7 M: çok fazla hem ((looking at TV))
 very much indeed ((looking at TV))
 "very much indeed"
- 8 (0.7) ((they are all watching TV))

In line 2, M proffers an assessment regarding the physical appearance of the participant on the show “*kaç kilolu bu*” (“Oh, she is plump”). M produces her assessment as an undirected aside, in a very low voice and without changing her gaze or body orientation (image 2). Following M’s assessment, A does not provide a second assessment immediately after but she keeps watching the TV in silence for another 1.1 seconds (Image 3). It is only after this silent TV watching that A shifts her body and gaze orientation towards M and produces a second assessment (image 3). A’s second assessment in line 4 displays a strong agreement through the use of an intensifier “*baya*”, which is similar in meaning to the English ‘rather’. In her work on preference organisation, Pomerantz (1984) found that preferred next actions are delivered with minimum pause and without any hesitancy. However, in this case there is a 1.1 second gap between first and second assessment. It can be argued that as the assessable is available to viewers at that moment, during 1.1 seconds silent TV watching, A gets a chance to examine the assessment offered by M. This is also demonstrable in the production of the upgraded second assessment in line 4. At the beginning of her turn, A turns her gaze and body orientation towards M and says “*baya demi kilolu*” (she is rather plump, isn’t she?)” with an emphasis on the adjective “plump” and upgrading with the intensifier “rather”. It is important to note the use of tag question in the construction of the turn in line 4 as A does not only offer an upgraded second assessment but she also uses a tag question which projects a response, preferably an agreement. Heritage and Raymond (2005) argue that use of a tag question in a second assessment indicates claims to epistemic independency. In this example, A does not produce her turn as simply an agreement to M’s assessment but she first watches TV for 1.1 second, then produces her assessment which enables her to display the assessment as her own. Thus, while agreeing with the assessment offered by M in line 2, A is also projecting a response to her second assessment. M provides a non-verbal response in an overlap in line 5 by a slight nod and keeps watching the participant for another 0.7 seconds. In line 7, M upgrades both her own

first assessment and also A's second assessment in line 4 through the use of intensifiers “*cok fazla* (very much)” and “*gerçekten* (indeed)”.

In Excerpt 6.7, A and M are constructing an assessment sequence concerning the physical appearance (specifically, weight) of a participant on the show. Unlike the previous two excerpts discussed in this section, the assessment sequence in this excerpt does not constitute two parts of a pair, but rather is constructed over the course of several turns between the two participants. An analysis of similar cases reveals that when the upgraded second assessment is constructed as “the speaker's own assessment” indicating epistemic independency instead of only displaying agreement, the first speaker often provides another upgrade to her initial assessment, or in some cases a confirmation token such as nods, or “*demi*” is provided by the first speaker at such positions.

Excerpt 6.8, below, was analysed earlier in the first chapter in terms of how a first assessment occurs in a mid-sequence position following a noticing. The analysis below, on the other hand, will aim to examine how second assessments are produced and agreed by the speakers. The excerpt takes place after the viewers are engaged in silent TV watching for 9.3 seconds, during which they are watching the participant in image 1 providing information about herself.

Excerpt 6.8 (From left to right: Z- S - A)



image 1



image 2

image 3

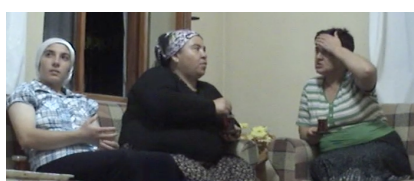


image 4

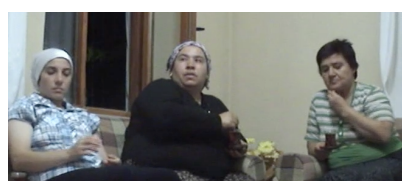


image 5

- 1 (9.3) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 A: **siyah saci -sariya boyamis↓ o da dibinden**
 black hair blonde → to dye → TM↓ it too bottom →
 from
- 3 **[cikmis]**
 grow → TM
 *"she dyed the black hair into blonde and it (dark
 hair) grew on the bottom"*
- 4 S: **[guzel]gorunmemis=**
 [beautiful] look → not → TM
 "it doesn't look beautiful"
- 5 A: **=hic hos [olmamis]**
 =at all nice[is → not
 "it isn't nice at all"
- 6 Z: **[°he:°]**
 [hmm:°]
 "hi-hih"
- 7 (1.0)

Following the silent TV watching, A starts her turn in line 2 reporting what she has noticed about the participant whom they have been watching “she dyed the black hair into blonde and it (dark hair) grew on the bottom”. This turn does not explicitly offer an assessment but it rather makes an assessment relevant in the next turn, such an action is defined by Edwards and Potter (2012) as an ‘assessment-relevant description’. While producing her turn, A initially shifts her gaze towards Z (Image 3), although Z does not return the gaze, instead she keeps her orientation towards the TV. S, however, changes her gaze and body orientation towards A, which A immediately responds to by shifting her gaze towards S (Image 4).

Thus, A and S manage mutual gaze orientation before A completes her turn and at the end of her turn, S offers an assessment of what is described by A “it doesn’t look beautiful”. This is the first assessment made about the participant’s hair color and A agrees with this assessment with an upgrade through the use of an intensifier “*hic* (at all)” which is delivered immediately after S’s assessment “it isn’t nice at all”.

The previous excerpts in this section demonstrated how assessment sequences are constructed in two-pair turns by two speakers; however, in this excerpt, in an overlap with A’s upgraded second assessment, Z shifts her gaze from the TV and looks down (image 5) while producing a minimal agreement. Thus, the assessment is produced as

[first assessment] → [upgraded second assessment] → [minimal agreement by the 3rd viewer]. This pattern allows the third speaker to partially engage in the assessment sequence while she can keep watching the show at the same time. After line 6, all viewers turn their gaze orientation towards the TV, then S starts telling about a neighbor who also dyed her hair.

Excerpt 6.8 shows a case in which second assessment is provided in the form of an upgrade through the use of intensifiers. Different from the previous excerpts in this section, Excerpt 6.8 provides an example of cases when the third speaker joins in the assessment sequence by providing a minimal agreement following an upgraded second assessment. By doing so, Z can keep her engagement in the TV show while at the same time joining in the talk that takes place among A and S. Therefore, assessment sequences can (but need not, as the previous excerpts have shown) constitute three turns by three different speakers.

The examples above illustrated how upgraded second assessments are produced in the corpus. It has been found that these assessments might close/suspend an assessment sequence, might be followed by another upgrade or a confirmation by the first speaker, and they might also enable the third speaker who has not been engaged in the talk before to join in the talk by offering an agreement. The following section will deal with same assessments which are the most commonly used form of agreement following the first assessments in the corpus.

6.3.2 Same level assessments

The most prevalent form of agreement following a first assessment is the production of a same assessment where “a recipient asserts the same evaluation as the prior speaker’s evaluation” (Pomerantz, 1984:66). Same assessments can be produced as 1) minimal agreements, such nods, “*hmmm*”, “*he*”, “*evet*”, 2) by echoing the first assessment, or a part of it, or 3) by using more than one of these forms in combination, e.g., “*evet*” delivered with a nod. The excerpts below will provide examples of each one of these forms.

The first form to be analysed is minimal agreements following a first assessment. Minimal agreement tokens are very commonly used by the viewers to provide an

agreement. These agreements are mostly delivered in a lower voice and without a mutual gaze between the first and second speaker. The viewers all keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV during the assessment sequence.

Excerpt 6.9

Excerpt 6.9 takes place while a participant in the show is being introduced by the presenters for the first time. The body and gaze of all of the viewers are oriented towards the TV while the new participant is being introduced (Image 1).

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 ¹(0.2)
- 2 **M:** **buna şimdi ne ta:lipler gel²ir**
to this now what candidates come
"there will be lots of candidates for him"
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 **M:** **de↑mi ay↑şe**
is↑n't it (name)
"isn't it Ayşe"
- 5 (.)
- 6 **A:** ((nod))
- 7 ¹(23.00)

Upon receiving the information about the participant's age, occupation, and assets, M offers a first assessment regarding the participant's eligibility as a candidate husband in line 2. M shifts her gaze towards A before she completes her assessment (Image 2). Following a 0.5 seconds pause, A does not provide a response to M's assessment; however, M keeps her gaze orientation towards A during the pause. Then, M pursues a response by addressing A explicitly using her name and continuing her assessment with a tag question "*de↑mi Ay↑şe (isn't it Ayşe)*". A responds to this question with a very slight nod. No mutual gaze takes place between A and M as A keeps her orientation towards the TV. Following A's slight nod, M shift her gaze back to the TV

(image 3) and the viewers all watch the new participant for the following 23 seconds in silence. This excerpt provides an example of cases when nodding is used as a resource to display an agreement with the previous assessment.

The following excerpt shows an example of how minimal agreement tokens are used to offer a same assessment. The excerpt occurs while the presenters of the show and the audiences are singing a song to open the show.

Excerpt 6.10

(From left to right: Z – S - A)



image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 (15.0)
- 2 S: **seda sayan gibi olmus bu::**
 Seda Sayan like happen thi::s
"this (the presenter) looks like Seda Sayan"
- 3 (1.0)
- 4 A: ²°hmmm: °³
"hmmm:"
- 5 (15.3)

After watching opening of the show for 15.0 seconds, S offers an assessment of the female presenter of the show in line 2 “*Seda Sayan gibi olmus bu::*”. Seda Sayan is a very famous female singer and talk show presenter in Turkey and in her assessment, S refers to the female presenter of the show as “*bu (this)*” and suggest that she looks like Seda Sayan. While producing her assessment, S does not select a next speaker, nor does she shift her gaze and body orientation. In the following 1.0 second pause, the viewers keep watching the show while the female presenter can still be seen on the screen, and A responds to S’s assessment with a minimal agreement which is hardly hearable. A shifts her gaze very quickly towards S at the beginning of her turn (image 3) and she orients back towards the TV at the completion of the turn (image 3). The viewers then keep watching TV in silence for another 15.3 seconds until a

new participant appears on the show.

Excerpt 6.11 also takes place during the opening song of the show but among different viewers. Similar to the previous excerpt, silent TV watching occur for a long time while the show is opening.

Excerpt 6.11

1 (5.2)
2 A: °ne güzel uyumlu giyiniyo[lar°]
°what nice well-matched dress+[they]°
"their dress styles are so nicely matched"
3 M: [°hm:°]
°hm:°"
4 (8.3) ((they are all watching TV))

After a 5.2 seconds of silent TV watching, A offers an assessment in the form of an undirected aside which evaluates the dressing style of the presenters of the show "their dress styles are so nicely matched". In line 3, M responds to A's assessment by providing a minimal agreement which is also produced in a low voice. Following the assessment sequence, the viewers keep watching TV in silence for another 8.3 seconds.

The following excerpt takes place while a participant is being invited to the show to meet a new candidate who wants to marry her. While the participant is walking towards the stage, audiences in the show also appear on the screen.

Excerpt 6.12

(From left to right: Z- S - A)

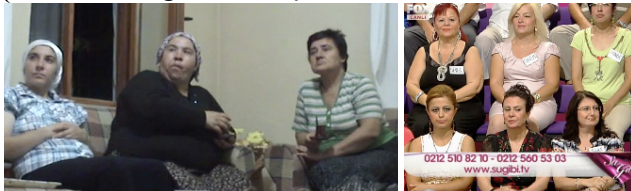


image 1

image 2

1 (6.2)
2 S: burda oturanla: >gelenleden< guzel ha[::]
here sit+they: >come+they< beautiful oh[::]
"the ones in the audience are more beautiful"

than the participants"

3 Z:

[°he : : °
"ye : : ah"

4

(7.4)

In line 2, S makes an assessment of the audiences in the show suggesting that "the ones in the audience are more beautiful than the participants". This assessment is responded by Z in line 3 with a minimal agreement which is followed by silent TV watching (line 4).

Another way same evaluations might be produced is through "echoing" (Pomerantz, 1984). In such cases, second assessments are offered by repeating the first assessment or a part of it. Excerpt 6.13 provides an example of how same evaluation is offered as an agreement following an assessment.

The excerpt takes place after the viewers are engaged in evaluation of suitability of a participant and a candidate for her.

Excerpt 6.13

(From left to right: Z – S - A)



image 1



image 2



image 3



image 4

1

¹(1.3)

2 Z:

e : : : (0.2) bu evlilik (.)
e : : : (0.2) this marriage (.)

3

guzel² olmaz
nice be+not
"this marriage can't be nice"

4 (.)

5 A: ³olmaz
 be not
 "it can't be"

6 Z: ((nods))

7 ⁴(0.2)

In the first line, the viewers are watching the show while the participant and the candidate are talking to each other (image 1). Following that, Z offers an assessment regarding the suitability of the participant and the candidate by suggesting “this marriage can’t be nice”. Before completing her assessment turn, Z shifts her gaze towards A (image 2) which A responds by a shift of gaze towards Z (image 3). After a micro pause, A agrees with Z’s assessment by partially repeating the assessment “*olmaz*” meaning “it can’t be” while at the same time raising her head (image 3). Immediately after A’s turn, Z displays further confirmation by nodding. When the agreement is reached, both Z and A shift their gaze back towards the TV and keep watching the same people on the show.

The excerpts analysed in this section provide examples of a very common form of agreement in the corpus where a minimal agreement, nod, or echoing is produced following a first assessment to display same evaluation. The analyses of these excerpts demonstrate that minimal agreements are mostly produced when the viewers are mainly engaged in TV watching. The first four cases discussed above the viewers keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV throughout the assessment sequences. Providing a minimal agreement without any gaze shift does not project further talk and enables the speakers to keep the assessment sequence to minimal, which consequently enables them to keep TV watching as the main engagement at that moment. Excerpt 6.13, on the other hand, shows that (partial) repetition of the first assessment can be used as a means to offer same evaluation as well. Unlike the other excerpts which focused on minimal agreements, in this excerpt there is a mutual gaze between the first and second speaker which is followed by TV watching after the speakers displayed agreement.

A close examination of similar cases in the corpus demonstrate that happenings in the show might have an important role in which form of agreement will be produced following a first assessment. While a new participant or candidate is being invited to the show for the first time, or during the opening of the show – in other words, when there is new information available on the show – the viewers prioritize watching the show and tend to keep the interaction among themselves to short exchanges. As such, by providing a minimal agreement without a shift of gaze, or by partial repetition they manage to respond to an assessment displaying their participation in the talk without projecting further talk on the topic.

6.3.3 Downgraded second assessments

Responding to a first assessment with a downgraded second assessment is another form of agreement identified by Pomerantz (1984). She defined a downgraded agreement as an evaluation of the same referent in the first assessment with weakened assessment terms. As Pomerantz (ibid.) argues, downgraded second assessments might engender disagreement sequences; however, in this corpus the use of downgraded second assessments is very rare. Excerpt 6.14 below will demonstrate one of the very few cases where a second speaker downgrades a first assessment. The excerpt takes place while the viewers are watching two participants (image 5) commenting on another participant on the show

Excerpt 6.14

(From left to right: Z – S – A)



image 1



image 2

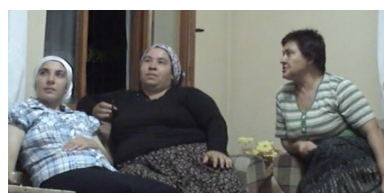


image 3



image 4



image 5

1 (5.1) ((they are all watching TV))

2 A: **su kadin cok hos**
 this woman very lovely
 "this woman is very lovely"

3 (0.8)

4 S: **su kenardaki mi**↑
 that on this side QM↑
 "is it the one on that side"

5 (.)

6 A: **tarih ogretmeni³ymis**↑↓
 history teacher
 "she is history teacher"

7 (0.6)

8 Z: **guzel ((to TV))**
 "beautiful"

9 (0.3)

10A: **cok °hos bi kadin°**
 very °lovely a woman°
 "a very lovely woman"

11 (5.7) ((they are watching TV))

After the women appear on the screen (image 5), A offers an assessment of one of the women on the screen in line 2, stating “*su kadin cok hos* (this woman is very lovely)”. A starts her turn with a demonstrative pronoun “*su*”, meaning “that” in English, while at the same time pointing to the TV screen (image 1) to indicate which woman she is assessing. After an 0.8 seconds pause, S asks a clarification question, also pointing to the TV screen (image 3) “*su kenardaki mi*” asking whether it is the one on the side that she is pointing to. In line 6, A provides more information about the woman she is assessing and shifts her gaze towards S (image 2). Following an 0.6 seconds pause, S produces a second assessment “*guzel* (beautiful)” without any gaze shift (image 4). Z’s absence of gestures, and way of producing the second assessment, do not match A’s animated, enthusiastic, production with the use of an intensifier, thus it can be seen as a downgraded second assessment. A demonstrably orients to Z’s second assessment as a downgrade, by repeating the second assessment “*hos* (lovely)”, with the intensifier “*cok* (very)”. Following this, the viewers all shift their gaze back towards the TV and starts watching TV silently.

In this excerpt, first assessment in line 2 is not immediately responded by a second assessment, but instead followed by a clarification question-answer. It is only following this question-answer that Z offers a downgraded second assessment in line 8. A, in line 10, reasserts her initial assessment. This is in fitting with Pomerantz's (1984) argument that speakers often reassert stronger assessment when their first assessment is responded by a downgrade.

6.3.4 Disagreements

The majority of first assessments in the corpus are responded to in agreement or not responded to at all. Disagreements, on the other hand, are found very rarely in the assessment sequences produced by the viewers while they are watching TV. The excerpts below will demonstrate two separate cases when a first assessment offered by one of the viewers is disagreed with or challenged.

Prior to Excerpt 6.15, A has been telling S and M about previous happenings in the show, which S and M had not seen. While A is telling the story, S and Z participate in the telling of the story verbally (continuers, clarification requests) and non-verbally (through their body and gaze orientation towards A). When the story reaches a completion point, Z shifts her gaze towards the TV, which is followed by a gaze shift by A and S. The excerpt starts when all three viewers' gaze orientation is towards back to the TV (image 1).

Excerpt 6.15

(From left to right: Z - S - A)



image 1

image 2



image 3

image 4



image 5

1 ¹(1.1)

2 A: ²aha su cok hos
aha this very lovely
"Oh! This one is very lovely".

3 (1.6)

4 Z: yakından baktin mi hos degil Ayşe abla
close+from look+when lovely not NAME

5 o [be:↑
she [be:↑
"when you look at her closer, she is not lovely
Ayşe Abla be"

6 A: [°degil ³mi°
[°isn't she°
"isn't she"

7 (.)

8 Z: °de[gil°
°not°
"she isn't"

9 S: [hih-hih

10 (0.3)

11 Z: ⁴hih-hih-HIH ¹.hhh

12 (1.4)

13 A: BANAZLI cikti gi:z↓ ((poking S))
Town name+from appear gi::rl↓
"someone from Banaz was on the show giz"

In line 1, the viewers are watching a participant while she is talking with the presenters of the show (image 5). Upon seeing the participant on the show, A points to the TV screen by slightly raising her head (image 2) which is accompanied by "aha" mostly used to 1) direct the other viewers' attention to the screen or to a specific person on the screen, or 2) as a pre-announcement to indicate that the speaker is about to say something about what is currently available on the screen. As the viewers' attention is already on the screen in this line, it can be argued that A uses "aha" as a pre-announcement in line 2. A continues her turn by offering an assessment of the participant "cok hos" meaning "very nice". This assessment is followed by 1.6 seconds silent TV watching when the viewers keep their body and gaze orientation towards the TV (image 2). After the silent TV watching, Z provides a response to A's

first assessment “when you look at her closely, she is not nice Ayşe Ablâ” which is produced as a disagreement to A’s first assessment. In this turn, disagreement is a dispreferred second pair part following a first assessment. As argued by Pomerantz (1984) second speakers use some delay devices (uhm, well, etc) and they tend to use more implicit terms while producing a dispreferred response.

While producing her response, Z initially suggests a different condition “when you look at her closer”; however, it is important to note that the image on TV screen does not change after A’s assessment, in other words, Z does not have a ‘closer’ access to the way the participant looks at that moment. There can be two arguments relevant to this assessment sequence 1) Z has prior knowledge to the referent thus can assess her under a different circumstance (when looked at closer); or 2) she uses “*yakından*” to mean “more carefully” to soften her disagreement by offering her evaluation under different circumstances from A. There is not enough evidence in the data to determine which of these cases applies to this sequence; however, it can be argued that by designing her turn in this way, Z can delay the disagreement to the end of her turn and softens the disagreement by offering it under a different circumstance than A does. In this turn, Z refers to A as “*Ayşe Ablâ*” . “*Ablâ*” means ‘elder sister’ in Turkish and it conveys a close friendship as well as respect for another person. This address term also serves as a softener to offer a disagreement as Z very rarely uses “*Ayşe Ablâ*” to refer to A in the corpus.

In overlap with Z’s disagreement, A uses a partial repetition of Z’s assessment turn “*degil*” which indicates the disagreement meaning “not”, shifts her gaze down, away from the TV (image 3) and adds the question marker “mi”. By asking Z “*degil mi*” meaning “isn’t she”, A cedes the epistemic authority at this issue to Z and does not reassert her initial assessment. As a response to A’s question, Z partially repeats her assessment “*degil*” which overlaps with S’s quiet laughter. Z joins S’s laughter loudly and shifts her gaze towards A; however, it does not lead to a mutual gaze as A is already orienting towards the TV screen at this point (image 5). A does not produce an agreement or a disagreement to the assessment made by Z and she does not join the laughter. Following a 1.4 second silent TV watching, A initiates a new topic by reporting that there is a participant on the show from Banaz (the town that the viewers are from).

Excerpt 6.15 demonstrates that while producing a dispreferred response to a first assessment, the speaker might use different devices to soften the disagreement, such as offering a different circumstance or addressing the recipient with her name. This excerpt provides an example where the first speaker whose initial assessment has been disagreed with, and in this case the first speaker cedes the epistemic authority to the second speaker without displaying any alignment or misalignment with the disagreement offered by the second speaker. Instead, in line 13, A initiates a new topic relevant to what has happened on the show before. By doing so, the viewers close a disagreement sequence without invoking any conflict or disaffiliation even though they have not reached on an agreement.

The following excerpt will examine another case of disagreement in which different membership categories are invoked by the viewers to evaluate the physical appearance of a male participant who wears nail polish.

Excerpt 6.16 takes place while the viewers are watching a male participant, Ozan, on the show meeting a candidate for him (image 6). Prior to this excerpt, the viewers have watched Ozan dancing first, then providing information about himself. C has offered a few negative assessment regarding Ozan's physical appearance, personality, and the way he dances which were mostly agreed by the M and A, followed by M's assessment of incompatibility of the participant and the candidate. The excerpt starts when M's assessment is interrupted by C.

Excerpt 6.16

(From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

image 2

image 3



image 4

image 5

image 6

- 1 M: ¹°havali ari[yo↓]°
 °posh looking for↓°
 "he is looking for someone posh"
- 2 C: [tirnak²larina da↑(.) cila surmus↓
 [on his nails too↑(.)nail-polish paint↓
 "he is (also) wearing nail polish"
- 3 (.)
- 4 A: ³ciddi::↑=
 rea::lly↑=
 "really↑"
- 5 C: =ay:: ⁴[cok igrenc]
 =oh:: [very disgusting]
 "Oh! It is very disgusting"
- 6 M: [canim kua]formus↓ herhalde
 [canim hair-dresser of course
- 7 sur[cek
 paint+will
 "canim he is a hair-dresser. Of course he will
 wear (nail polish)"*
- 8 C: [E HER ERkek kuaforu (.)b- boyle
 [E EVERY MAn hairdresser(.)l-like that
- 9 tirnagina sey mi surcek↑
 on his nail thing QM paint↑
 *"Er would every male hairdresser wear nail-polish
 like him"*
- 10 (0.5)
- 11 C: ⁵ay bu cok igrenc ay::↓
 oh this very disgusting oh::↓
 "Oh! This is very disgusting, oh!"
- 12 (0.6)
- 13 M: guzel olsun diye °boyamistir°
 nice so that paint+him+TM
 "he must have worn it so that it looks nice"
- 14 (35.5)

In line 1, M continues giving explanation for why she thinks the participant and the candidate are not suitable for each other claiming that the participant is looking for someone “*havali*” meaning “posh”. In an overlap with M’s turn, C does noticing, and observes that the participant is wearing nail polish. Slightly after starting her turn, C shifts her gaze towards to other viewers (image 2). Even though the female candidate is also wearing nail polish at that moment, it is not treated by C or another viewer as

noticeable or assessable. In the corpus, this is the only case when wearing nail polish is being talked about. Thus, it can be argued that C makes the participant's gender relevant while doing noticing about his appearance as it is only when a man wears nail polish that it is treated as noticeable which subsequently indicates that wearing nail polish is not a category-bound activity for men.

In the completion of her turn, C shifts her gaze back towards the TV when at the same time A slightly leans towards C and displays that she finds the noticing made by C surprising by asking "*ciddi::*" meaning "re::ally" with an emphasis in the first syllable, prolongation of the word accompanied by a rising intonation (image 3). A's turn in line 4 does not offer an explicit negative/positive assessment about the noticing made by C; however, she treats the fact that Ozan might be wearing nail polish as surprising. By displaying surprise, A also agrees that wearing nail polish is not a category bound activity for men. Immediately after A completes her turn, C offers an explicit assessment "*ay:: cok igrenc*" which means "oh:: very disgusting" and shifts her gaze towards M who has not participated in the topic until that point (image 4).

M responds to C's assessment in an overlap by invoking another category, hairdresser, which is relevant to Ozan and she suggests that "he is a hairdresser, of course he will wear nail polish". By doing this, M does not offer disagreement with the categorization suggested by C, but she instead disagrees with C's assessment by invoking another category for which she argues wearing nail polish is "of course" a category-bound activity. While producing her assessment, M keeps her gaze orientation towards the TV and even though C is gazing towards her there is no engagement in mutual gaze. In an overlap with M's turn, C challenges the categorization suggested by M by asking a rhetorical question "will EVERY MAle hair dresser wear the thing then?". C starts her turn rather loudly, emphasizing the words "every" and "male" and by asking a question which disagrees that wearing nail polish is a category-bound activity for male hairdressers. Then, she shifts her gaze orientation back towards the TV and repeats her initial assessment by upgrading her assessment using "*ay::*" in the beginning and end of her turn with prolongation "*ay bu cok igrenc ay::*" and her gestures.

Following a 0.6 seconds pause, M suggests “he might have worn nail polish so that it looks beautiful”. M, in this turn, displays disagreement with C’s assessment in line 11 without invoking categories such as male or hairdresser, but she instead proposes that this action might not be relevant to the categories but instead it might be individual preference of what looks beautiful.

In the above example, the viewers do not reach on an agreement regarding whether it is “disgusting” for a male candidate to wear nail polish or not. C reasserts her initial assessment that it is disgusting whereas M does not display any agreement with this evaluation throughout the excerpt. At this point, the viewers all shift their body and gaze orientation towards the TV and they continue silent TV watching for 35.5 seconds.

Excerpt 6.15 and 6.16 demonstrated two different cases when an assessment is disagreed by a co-participant. In the first example, the speaker who offers the disagreement uses different means to soften her assessment, such as invoking different conditions, delaying the disagreement, choice of addressing terms. In the second example, on the other hand, the disagreement is offered by invoking different membership categories which also softens the disagreement. In both examples, the viewers do not reach an agreement and do not elaborate on the topic which caused disagreement. Instead, they either initiate a new topic relevant to happenings on the show or just start silent TV watching. By doing so, the viewers manage to close the disagreement sequence without invoking conflict.

6.3.5 No explicit display of agreement/disagreement

In the corpus, there are cases when an assessment is responded to by a co-participant without explicitly displaying an agreement or disagreement. This sub-section will deal with examples of such cases and aim at explicating an alternative way that assessments are responded to. The first two excerpts will demonstrate how a viewer can initiate talk relevant to her own life by using the first assessment which is about the TV show. The third example, on the other hand, will demonstrate a case where second speaker only provides factual information relevant to the assessment without displaying any alignment or misalignment with it.

Excerpt 6.17 takes place while the viewers are watching some pre-recorded videos of previously married couples on the show.

[assessment] → [new topic relevant to viewers' own lives]

Excerpt 6.17

- 1 (7.3) ((they are all watching TV- babies))
- 2 A: .hh (0.1) iyi bisey ya:: yalnizlari
.hh (0.1) good something DM* alone+Pl
- 3 birlestiriyo demi?
get together isn't it
".hh (0.1) it (the show) is a good thing though, it helps
single people to find a match, doesn't it?"
- 4 (0.3)
- 5 S: tchi (0.3) aslinda bizz >bubami da gotsek
tchi (0.3) in fact us >dad+my too take
- 6 buraya ne guzel olcek
here how beautiful will+be
- 7 birini de [biz bulup <gelsek ya↑
someone too [we find <come+wish↑
"tchi (0.3) how nice it would be, in fact, if we took
my dad to this show as well and find someone for him"
- 8 A: [yalniz mi?
[single QM
"is he single"
- 9 (0.3)

After watching the videos for 7.3 seconds in line 1, A offers an assessment of the TV show. In her assessment, A evaluates the show as a “good thing” and continues her assessment by providing a reason for her assessment “*yalnizlari birlestiriyo* (it helps single people to find a match)” A completes her assessment turn with a tag question “*demi* (isn't it)”. This question normatively makes it relevant for the co-participants to provide a yes/no type answer (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Following a 0.3 seconds pause, S responds to the assessment offered by A stating “how nice it would be, in fact, if we took my dad to this show as well and find someone for him”. In her turn, S does not provide a type fitting answer to A's assessment. As such, it does not display an explicit agreement or disagreement. Instead, S answers the question implicitly and makes her own life relevant as a response to A's generic evaluation of

the TV show. By doing so, S initiates a long stretch of talk among the three viewers about her father and his marriage history.

The following excerpt provides an example of a similar case where the second speaker initiates talk relevant to her own life at a turn where a second assessment is projected. Excerpt 6.18 takes place when the viewers are engaged in silent TV watching for 28.0 seconds during when a new candidate appears on the screen and starts introducing himself.

Excerpt 6.18

- 1 (28.00) ((they are watching TV))
- 2 S: **yirmiyedilik goster miyo gi::↓**
 twenty seven seem+not girl
 "he doesn't look twenty seven (girl) Adress Term"
- 3 (0.4)
- 4 Z: **Bayram da bu yastaydi evlendiginde**
 name too this age+was marry+he+when
 "Bayram was at that age too when he got married"
- 5 (0.3)

Upon receiving the information about the candidate's age, in line 2, S offers an assessment of how old the candidate looks for his age by suggesting "he doesn't look twenty seven". Following a 0.4 seconds pause, Z produced a response to S's turn in line 1 "Bayram was at that age too when he got married". This turn initiates talk about who Bayram is. Later in the talk, which is not included in the excerpt, it becomes evident that Bayram is Z's husband and a long stretch of talk takes place about Bayram and Z's marriage. In this example, S's assessment in line 2 is not agreed or disagreed by the other viewers, but instead S uses one part of this assessment "twenty seven years old" to initiate talk about her husband who was also at that age when he got married.

The following excerpt shows a similar case where there is no explicit display of agreement/disagreement with an assessment, but different from the previous two examples, the second speaker in the following excerpt only provides factual information regarding the assessment.

Excerpt 6.19 starts while the viewers are watching the re-opening of the show after the advertisements. The presenters of the show can be seen on the screen singing during the 8.3 seconds silent TV watching in line 1.

Excerpt 6.19

- 1 (8.3) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 C: **bu zayıflamis demi↑ bu kadın**
 this thin+got isn't she↑this woman
- 3 **çok kilo[luydu**
 very fat+was
 "this woman got thinner, didn't she↑ she was very
 overweight"
- 4 A: **[elli bes kiloyum diyomus↓**
 [fifty five kilo+I say+she
 "she says she is fifty five kilos"
- 5 (6.5) ((they are all watching TV))

In line 2, C offers an assessment of the female presenter of the show by initially referring to her as “*bu* (this)” and making a comparison between how she looked before and how she looks now suggesting that “she got thinner” and pointing that “she was very overweight”. C also uses a tag question in her assessment turn which strongly projects a second assessment.

In an overlap with C’s turn, A says “she (the presenter) says she is fifty five kilos”. While producing her turn, A does not display an agreement or disagreement as she only reports what she knows regarding the presenter’s weight. It might e argue that there is an implicit agreement as “being fifty five kilos” might be considered as “thin”. However, it is not possible to demonstrate this agreement in the data as C does not respond to this information verbally or non-verbally. Following A’s turn, the viewers all silently watch TV for 6.5 seconds.

The examples above illustrate how the viewers respond to assessments without displaying explicit agreement or disagreement. In Excerpts 6.17 and 6.18, the second speaker uses one part of the assessment to initiate talk which is still relevant to what is being assessed. However instead of providing a second assessment, this turn initiates

talk regarding the speaker's own life. In the last example, on the other hand, the second speaker only reports factual information relevant to the assessment which does not get any uptake by the other viewers.

6.3.6 Summary

The analysis of how second assessments are produced demonstrates that the majority of the second assessments are offered as agreements in the corpus. The forms of agreements found in the data upgrades, same evaluations and downgrades- are in fitting with the forms illustrated by Pomerantz (1984). Upgraded second assessments are mostly proffered by using intensifiers and lexical items. In the corpus, it has been found that speakers might close the assessment sequence following an upgraded second assessment [first assessment] → [upgraded second assessment]. It has also been found that following an upgraded second assessment the first speaker might 1) produce an upgrade for the second assessment, 2) agree with the upgrade, or 3) use “*demi*” indicating a strong confirmation, as seen in the following pattern [first assessment] → [upgraded second assessment] → [confirmation/upgrade by the 1st speaker]. Upgraded assessment sequences can also be produced by three speakers offering upgrades/confirmations to each other throughout an extended assessment sequence.

Downgraded second assessments are not very prevalent in the corpus. There is only limited number of cases of downgraded second assessments in the data. Excerpt 6.14 provided an example of one of these cases.

The most common form of agreement used in second assessments is, on the other hand, same-level or weak second assessments which supports the findings of Filipi and Wales (2009). The analysis showed that there are three ways that speakers offer same-level/weak second assessments; 1) nods (especially when the second speaker is engaged in TV watching), 2) minimal agreement tokens such as hmmm, hee, evet , 3) echoing by (partially) repeating the first assessment. In some cases, the second speaker might use some of these forms at the same turn while producing a second assessment such as using a minimal agreement token while nodding.

The speakers in the corpus do not disagree with each other very often. There only a few cases where a disagreement demonstrably occurs. Excerpts 6.15 and 6.16

demonstrated two cases of disagreements. The analyses showed that while disagreeing with a first assessment, the speakers might use laughter, addressing terms, and different membership categories to soften the delivery of their assessments.

The analysis also revealed that the response for a first assessment might not necessarily be in the form of a second assessment, but it might rather 1) initiate a new topic sequence somehow relevant to the assessment turn, or 2) provide/ask for more information about what is being assessed without displaying a demonstrable agreement or disagreement with the assessment.

Chapter 7. Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This study has explored the interactional practices of television audiences in terms of the organisation of talk-in-interaction while they are engaged in TV watching.

Preliminary observations following data collection suggested that one of the most commonly performed actions by the audience during the viewing is offering ‘assessments’. Not only during TV watching, but also in all other activities in our daily lives – such as at dinner tables with our family, during business meetings, while shopping with friends, when we want to initiate a conversation with the person sitting next to us on public transport, in classrooms, at restaurants, etc. – we regularly make assessments. Being so prevalent in talk-in-interaction, assessments have gained much attention from conversation analytic research. To my knowledge, however, there has been no studies on assessments during TV watching. As such, this study fills a gap in the research literature on assessments in social interaction. Over the preceding two chapters, the following questions have been considered through micro-analysis:

1. How are assessments sequentially positioned and organized?
2. How/are assessments responded to?
3. Which social, cultural and interactional practices are accomplished through assessments?

The findings of the analyses in the preceding chapters make significant contributions to 1) the literature on assessments in talk-in-interaction and 2) understanding the organisation of ordinary talk which occurs while the speakers are engaged in another activity.

The findings demonstrate that a) sequential positioning of assessments is heavily influenced by the activity type (TV watching) that the speakers are engaged in, b) how assessments are constructed is also influenced by the activity type (e.g., undirected asides), c) widely acknowledged norms regarding response relevance following an assessment do not seem to apply to assessments that are produced while the speakers are watching TV; and d) speakers employ assessments to co-construct

and perpetuate cultural norms and expectations, while at the same time forming themselves as a ‘community of practice’ with a shared understanding of the world.

While the main focus of analysis has been on assessment sequences, the research findings also shed extra light on the organisation of ordinary talk in a broader sense and more specifically on the organisation of the ‘continuing states of incipient talk’ (CSIT). Previous studies have argued that the organisational features of CSIT would be different from that of continuously sustained talk (CST) (Couper- Kuhlen, 2010; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2010). Even though much conversation analytic research has used data from settings where speakers are engaged in CSIT, how talk is organized when the speakers are not just talking, but also engaged in another activity, has not been given enough consideration. The analysis of assessment sequences in Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate that the organisational features of such sequences are different compared to assessments that are produced in CST. These differences will be highlighted and further discussed in this chapter.

While focusing on assessments during TV watching, the findings of this study also have broader implications for explicating the relationship between talk-in-interaction and activity type that the speakers are engaged in. As argued by Streeck *et al* (2011), in order to understand a social action thoroughly, talk, body, encompassing activities and features of the setting are all vital elements that need to be taken into consideration in the analysis. I argue that this study provides significant empirical evidence to show the interwoven relationship between setting, activity and the organisation of talk.

The analysis of the talk of audiences while they are watching a TV show also provides insights into how micro-analytic approaches, specifically conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA), can contribute to media audience research. The study shows that some of the limitations of earlier approaches in media audience studies can be eliminated by adopting a micro-analytic approach which enables the researcher to have access to recordings of actual TV viewing. As such, the practices of TV audiences during the viewing can be identified and analysed in fine detail.

The following section (7.2) will discuss these observations in more detail in relation to the previous literature on assessments, in terms of sequential positioning (Section 7.2.1), response relevance (Section 7.2.3), preference organisation (Section 7.2.4) and social and cultural actions performed by assessments (Section 7.2.5). Following this, the overall findings will be considered more broadly in relation to the organisational features of CSIT (Section 7.3). Then, how this study, and in more general terms micro-analytic research, can contribute to media audience studies will be discussed (7.4). Section 7.5 will offer some concluding comments.

7.2 Assessments during TV watching

Previous conversation analytic research on assessments (Chapter 2.3) has investigated assessment sequences in various ordinary and institutional settings such as: phone calls (e.g., Pomerantz, 1984), dinner table (Mondada, 2009), task-based activities (Filipi & Wales, 2010), doctor-patient consultations (Jones, 2001), salesman interactions (Clark, Drew and Pinch, 2003), parent-teacher talk (Pillet-Shore, 2003), etc. To my knowledge, assessment sequences which occur during TV watching, however, have not been examined before. In this study, preliminary observations following the data collection have pointed out that offering an assessment is the most commonly performed action by the TV audience during the viewing. As such, a thorough understanding of how assessments are produced during TV watching will contribute to the existing body of research on assessments while at the same time providing insights into the organisation of talk during TV watching.

This section will discuss the findings of Chapters 5 and 6 in terms of 1) sequential positioning of assessments; 2) preference organisation in assessments; 3) response relevance following an assessment; and 4) social, cultural and interactional actions performed through assessments.

7.2.1 Sequential Organisation of Assessments during TV watching

Previous research on the sequential positioning of assessments have identified various positions within talk-in-interaction in which an assessment might occur. However, specific consideration has not been given to the organisation of assessments during continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT), even though some of the examples were taken from such data (e.g., Filipi & Wales, 2010; Fasulo & Manzoni 2009). As such,

the positions that have been identified to date have been assumed to hold for talk that takes place across various activities and contexts. This study, on the other hand, demonstrates that the sequential positioning of assessments might be different during CSIT compared to CST and it might be heavily influenced by the activity type that the speakers are engaged in.

This study demonstrates that, during TV watching, assessments might occur at various sequential positions performing different actions. These positions include 1) breaking an adjournment; 2) in, and related to, ongoing talk; 3) in, but not related to, ongoing talk; 4) followed by an adjournment; and 5) as a second assessment following an initial assessment. Some of these positions, such as second assessments or assessments that are relevant to ongoing talk, are in fitting with the findings of previous CA studies on assessments. However, as far as I am aware of, no other studies have identified breaking an adjournment during CSIT as a sequential position in which assessments are commonly found to occur. Also, even though assessments as closings have been discussed in previous literature, not many studies have explicated how they might be employed during CSIT at the beginning of an adjournment. Assessments which are unrelated to the topic of ongoing talk also have been given very little consideration in previous literature (Mondada, 2009). Identifying these sequential positions has implications for understanding how speakers organize their talk when they are engaged in another activity (in this case, TV watching). This section will discuss the occurrence of assessments in these sequential positions during TV watching by comparing the findings of this study with the previous research.

The first sequential position that assessments are found to occur is *to break an adjournment*. The analysis in Section 5.2 explicated the use of assessments as a way to break an adjournment and (potentially) re-initiate a topic sequence among the speakers. Before moving to the discussion on the re-initiation of talk, it is important to note that offering an assessment during an adjournment does not always generate a new topic sequence. That is, an assessment might be offered in the form of *undirected aside* (assessments which are produced very quietly, without any gaze shift, and without using any address terms) such as in Excerpt 5.1, in which case the adjournment is still broken with an assessment, but no subsequent talk occurs. Such

assessments achieve breaking an adjournment and they also present an opportunity to re-initiate talk. In some cases, such as Excerpt 5.2, this offer is taken up by the other speakers and talk is re-initiated, but in most cases when an assessment is produced as undirected aside during an adjournment, it only breaks the silence momentarily and following this assessment the adjournment is resumed.

Assessments which are produced as undirected asides during an adjournment are common phenomena in the corpus. It is intriguing as in our everyday face-to-face interaction, making an assessment in the form of an undirected aside might be an accountable and in some cases a sanctionable action. While having chats with friends in a café, if one participant makes an assessment (or even just says something) very quietly, without making eye contact with others and without addressing another participant, s/he might be held accountable for this action. However, in this corpus, while people are watching TV together, making an assessment in the form of an undirected aside is not treated as problematic or accountable. Following this observation the question arises: why do speakers produce assessments in the form of an undirected aside during TV watching? A close examination of sequences where such assessments occur shows that they are produced when there is a long lapse in the talk, and something interesting (such as introduction of a new participant, or meeting of a candidate and a participant) is happening on the show. One possible answer to this question, then, is that by producing an assessment as an undirected aside at such sequential positions, the speakers orient to TV watching as a ‘social’ activity that they are engaged in with other participants, while at the same time not initiating a topic sequence, so that they can resume silent TV watching.

The analysis shows that adjournments during TV watching mostly last for less than 20.0 seconds, and the viewers are inclined to break adjournments before the silence becomes too long. Offering an assessment in the form of an undirected aside enables the participants to break adjournments. By doing so, the viewers manage to simultaneously construct TV watching as a ‘social’ activity and also watch the show silently when they want to be able to follow the happenings on the show closely. In order to give a clear answer to this question, however, analyses of a bigger collection of cases of undirected asides during TV watching would be necessary.

Excerpt 5.2 provides an example of a very rare case in the corpus. In this example, an assessment re-initiates talk, however, it does not constitute a topic sequence. Instead, there is a series of unrelated assessments which pertain to different people and different 'assessables'. It has been found that similar cases of series of unrelated assessments only occur when the short video-biographies of TV show participants appear on the screen. As such, while demonstrating that an adjournment might be broken by an assessment, this excerpt also provides an example of how the happenings on the TV show influences the organisation of talk and that it is vital to take into consideration the activity that the speakers are engaged in, in order to fully understand the organisation of their talk. The norm for face-to-face interaction is that the previous turn creates the context for the following turn and in this way topic development is achieved in conversation. As such, during continuously sustained talk, if one speaker makes an assessment, the next relevant action for the second speaker is to offer a second assessment relevant to the first one. However, some examples in this study show that when the speakers are watching this particular reality show, a first assessment might be followed by another first assessment and also it is possible to have yet another first assessment of a different assessable in the third turn. As discussed above, this only occurs when the viewers are watching the very short video-biographies of participants on the show which provides the viewers with information about different participants while at the same time with the visual image of the participants. In such cases, offering assessments, which are not relevant to each other, in subsequent turns is not accountable but rather treated as unproblematic by the viewers. I argue that such sequences can be seen as a feature of CSIT that occurs during TV watching, but there is room for more research on such sequences across various TV shows as well as other activities where CSIT takes place, in order to fully understand this phenomenon.

Apart from Excerpt 5.1 and 5.2, all of the other excerpts in Section 5.2 show how an assessment is used to re-initiate talk following an adjournment. The analysis shows that these assessments might be prompted by 1) the visual images on the show, 2) by the new information that becomes available on the show or 3) based on the speakers' previous knowledge. It has been demonstrated that when the assessment is based on a visual image on the TV screen, it mostly pertains to the physical appearance of people on the show, whereas the assessments prompted by the new information and the ones

which are based on the speakers' previous knowledge offer an evaluation of personal traits or the eligibility of the participants on the show as a marriage partner.

A close examination of assessments which re-initiate talk and which just momentarily break an adjournment indicates that the way an assessment is constructed and what is happening on the show mostly determine whether a new topic sequence is being initiated. I will discuss this point in more detail in Section 7.2.2. However, for the purposes of this section it will be sufficient to point out that during TV watching, assessments are deployed to break an adjournment.

The second position that assessments are found to occur is as *a relevant next turn in ongoing talk*, as has been discussed in Section 5.2. In such cases, assessments are very commonly offered following a noticing, a report of what has been talked about in the show, or following an assessment-relevant description. Even though it has not been explicitly discussed in the previous literature, most assessments that have been investigated occur at such sequential positions. In terms of sequential positioning of assessments, the findings of Section 5.2 do not provide insights additional to those in the existing literature on assessments. However, the findings also show that assessments in such sequential positions achieve to alter the participation framework, which is a very significant observation for understanding the social actions performed through assessments. Changes in participation frameworks through the use of assessments occur in very intriguing ways. One pattern found in the corpus is when two viewers are engaged in talk, the third viewer who is not participating in the talk and watching the show might join in the talk by offering an assessment related to the ongoing talk. Assessments offered in this sequential position change the participation framework and enable the third viewer to join in the framework involving the other two viewers. By doing so, the third viewer can display her stance on the topic being talked about, while at the same time displaying her epistemic status. As such, by producing an assessment, the third viewer becomes a participant in the ongoing talk (see Excerpt 5.7 for an example of this).

Assessments which occur as a next relevant turn in ongoing talk fit in with previous research, however, not many studies have shown how assessments which are not relevant to the ongoing talk are produced. In her study on assessments during dinner

talk, Mondada (2009) demonstrated that the speakers can offer an assessment of food when there is ongoing talk on another topic, in which case the topic might be closed and a new topic might be initiated regarding the food. However, as far as I know, no other studies have shown the positioning of an assessment which is not related to the ongoing talk. Section 5.3 provided examples of cases when an assessment which is occasioned by what is happening on the TV show is produced while there is ongoing talk on another topic. It has been found that when an irrelevant assessment is offered, the previous topic might be suspended/closed, and a new topic sequence might be initiated related to the assessment (e.g., Excerpt 5.9).

To make an assessment of something unrelated to ongoing talk might be an accountable action in many cases, such as during an interview, during a consultation with your GP, etc. However, during TV watching it might occur often without being treated as problematic. While walking with some friends, however, even if there is ongoing talk, somebody might make an assessment of a car, a dress, a café, etc., or as demonstrated by Mondada (2009) while having dinner there might be assessments offered about food even though there is ongoing talk on another topic.

These examples as well as the fine detailed analysis of excerpts in Section 5.3 in this study suggest that accountability of making an assessment which is unrelated to the ongoing talk is mostly determined by the activity type that the speakers are engaged in. In institutional talk, such as interviews or in a court room, this might be treated as problematic, and also in ordinary talk which is shaped by continuously sustained talk, offering an irrelevant assessment might still be an accountable action. As such, I argue that making an assessment which is unrelated to the ongoing talk is treated as unproblematic only during continuing states of incipient talk, such as TV watching or dinner table talk. It can be argued that this is a unique feature of CSIT to allow speakers to make assessments which are not related to ongoing talk.

Another sequential position identified by the previous research that assessments are found to occur in is closings. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) showed that assessments are commonly used to close stories and topics, as they enable the speakers to signal that the ongoing talk has been understood and appreciated and by doing so they do not project further talk and the closing is achieved. Antaki (2002) also explicated the use

of assessments to resume a closing during phone conversations, whereas Antaki *et al.* (2010) investigated assessments during the interviews where assessments are again employed by the speakers to signal the closure of a topic. These studies have used examples mostly from CST, such as interviews and phone conversations. Mondada's (2009) study on dinner table talk found that assessments are also offered as closings during dinner talk. However, the assessments offered at such positions are not related to the ongoing topic but they are about the food instead. She showed that by offering an assessment of food, the speakers achieve closing the previous topic and by doing so, they can also initiate new topics relevant to the food. The findings of Section 5.4 build on the observations made by Mondada (2009), as the speakers employ assessments of what is happening on the TV show to adjourn the ongoing talk.

Section 5.4 focuses on the use of assessments which are *followed by adjournments* during TV watching. The examples show that the speakers might offer an assessment related to the previous topic which then suspends the talk and initiates an adjournment. It has been found that assessments which signal an adjournment, commonly occur when an agreement about the assessment is established among the viewers. The analysis in Section 5.4 demonstrates that there is a very prevalent pattern employed by the speakers to signal an adjournment. They initially display an explicit established agreement 1) by using a proverbial formulation, 2) by providing a second assessment, or 3) by repeating the initial assessment, which is either accompanied or followed by a shift of gaze and body orientation back towards to the TV. By doing so, the viewers signal that an adjournment is initiated and they keep their gaze and body orientation towards the TV and watch the show silently until talk is re-initiated by one of the viewers. How these adjournments during TV watching differ from the closing sections of CSTs will be given consideration in Section 7.2.2.

The last sequential position to be discussed for an assessment to occur is following an initial assessment; that is, as *a second assessment*. The issues relevant to the occurrence of second assessments in this corpus has been analysed in detail in Section 6.2.

The analysis in Section 6.2 provides supporting evidence to demonstrate that while people are engaged in TV watching, first assessments are not always followed by a

second assessment (Fasulo & Manzoni, 2009; Filipi & Wales, 2010). Instead, as it was explicated in Section 6.1, a first assessment might not get responded to at all. Issues related to response relevance will be discussed in more detail in the next section. However, it is sufficient for the purpose of this section to state that, in terms of sequential positioning of assessments, 1) a second assessment doesn't necessarily have to come immediately after a first assessment (i.e. it could come somewhere else); and 2) a first assessment isn't necessarily always followed by a second. Also, the excerpts in Section 6.2.6 demonstrate that an initial assessment relevant to the TV show might initiate a new topic about a speaker's own life, or it might be responded to by providing more information relevant to what is being assessed. In both cases, a first assessment is responded to, but this response is not in the form of a second assessment. The analyses in Section 6.1 and 6.2.6 both provide evidence that a first assessment is not always followed by a second assessment as in an adjacency pair format, but instead a second assessment might be provided later in the talk or might not be provided at all.

As such, while agreeing with Pomerantz's initial observations that the positioning of a second assessment following an initial assessment is a very prevalent feature of talk-in-interaction, this study shows that this rule is not applicable to all contexts and settings. That is, when speakers are engaged in TV watching, what is happening on the show might become more relevant for the speakers than providing a second assessment, or they might use an assessment to initiate a new topic relevant to their own lives instead of providing a second assessment. This observation highlights the importance of the activity type on the organisation of talk as some rules (e.g., a first assessment is followed by a second assessment) that are accepted as norms in social interaction (Edwards & Potter, 2012) might not hold for interaction that takes place during different activity types.

Findings of this study on the sequential positioning of assessments significantly contribute to our understanding of assessments in talk-in-interaction and also the organisation of talk during TV watching. In this section, I have demonstrated that assessments are employed by the speakers to jointly re-initiate and adjourn the talk, to change participation frameworks, to break the long lapses in talk and to construct TV watching as a 'social' activity. Some features identified in this section, such as

producing assessments in the form of undirected asides, offering unrelated assessments during ongoing talk, producing unrelated assessments of different assessables in consecutive turns, all highlight some specific features of the organisation of talk during TV watching, as well as highlight some of the differences between CST and CSIT. Further studies will be needed to examine whether these features are only found in talk that occurs during TV watching or whether they are found in other activities associated with CSIT.

7.2.2 Response relevance in assessment sequences

This section will discuss the findings of Chapter 6 with regards to response relevance following an assessment during TV watching. As discussed in the previous sections, Pomerantz (1984) argued that when an initial assessment is produced, the next sequentially relevant action is the production of a second assessment. The findings show that a first assessment 1) might be responded to later in the talk; 2) might not be responded to at all, and 3) might be responded to but not necessarily in the form of a second assessment. This finding has significant implications for understanding what we classify as ‘ordinary talk’, as it shows that even most widely accepted norms regarding ordinary talk might be more flexible depending on the activity type and whether the talk takes place during CSIT or CST. As such, the findings of Chapter 6 are crucial to opening up a new path to approach the study of ‘ordinary talk’.

As discussed in the previous section on sequential positioning of assessments, however, an initial assessment is not always followed by a second assessment. More recent studies have also pointed out that what follows an initial assessment might be highly influenced by the type of activity and setting the speakers are engaged in, for instance, if the speakers are engaged in task-based talk, following an initial assessment the next relevant action might be to examine what is being assessed (Fasulo & Manzoni, 2009). These studies have demonstrated that a second assessment might be provided later in the talk, or might not be provided at all.

It is important at this point to emphasize that providing a second assessment is not the only way to respond to an assessment. Even though most of the responses in this corpus are in the form of a second assessment, in some cases the response is not provided as a second assessment. Instead, the speakers might respond to an

assessment by introducing a new topic relevant to one of the speakers' personal lives without making it explicit whether they agree with the initial assessment.

Alternatively, they might provide/request more information about the initial assessment (as the excerpts in Section 6.2.6 demonstrate). As such, it can be argued that assessments mostly project a response as the next relevant action whether or not it is produced as a second assessment.

The analysis in section 6.1, on the other hand, demonstrates that an assessment does not always generate a response. It has been found that while the speakers are watching TV, an assessment might not get responded to at all. In such cases, the first speaker might 1) treat this 'absence' as not problematic or accountable; 2) pursue a response and get responded to, or 3) pursue a response but not get responded to.

An examination of the cases in Section 6.1.1 in which assessment responses are absent and not pursued by the first speaker reveals that these assessments are mostly produced as undirected asides while all the speakers are orienting towards the TV, such as in Excerpt 6.1. In such cases, it can be argued that the assessment is constructed in a way that it might still be responded to, but does not necessarily project a response. In other words, a response is possible, but a lack of response is not treated as accountable and the first speaker does not seek for a response. In some other cases, on the other hand, assessments might be produced so as to clearly project a response, such as through the use of address terms, gaze shift, etc., but still might not get responded to. The analysis shows that these examples only take place when the happenings on the show, such as the appearance of a new participant, takes precedence over the talk and the speakers orient towards the TV without providing a response to an initial assessment. In such cases, the next sequentially relevant action for the speakers is to suspend the talk, watch the show silently and then re-initiate talk relevant to what is happening on the show.

The analysis of section 6.1.2 examined assessments which do not get responded to initially, and for which a response is pursued. A response might be pursued by employing various resources, such as 1) reformulation / repetition / elaboration of the initial assessment, 2) tag question, (e.g., *demi*), 3) shift in gaze and/or body orientation, and 4) selecting the next speaker through addressing her by name. In

some cases, only one of these resources may be employed, whereas in some others, all of these resources might be used in trying to generate a response. The analysis shows that depending on what is happening on the show, the response might be delivered in the form of a minimal agreement, such as a nod, and the next relevant action for the speakers is to initiate an adjournment during which they all watch the show.

It has been found that response relevance in assessment sequences are heavily dependent on 1) how the assessment is constructed; and 2) what is happening on the TV show when the assessment is produced. As such, if the assessment is produced as an undirected aside, the lack of a response is not treated as accountable or problematic. If the assessment is constructed in a way to explicitly project a response, preferably a second assessment, whether or not the response will be provided is highly influenced by what is happening on the TV show. Response relevance during CSIT in a broader sense will be given consideration in Section 7.2.3.

7.2.3 Preference Organisation in Assessment Sequences

Preference organisation in assessment sequences has been given great consideration by conversation analysts (e.g. Pomerantz, 1975, 1978, 1984; Filipi & Wales, 2010; Ogden, 2006; Rasmussen, 2010). Pomerantz (1984) suggested that the preferred response to an initial assessment is mostly an agreement, except for cases such as receiving compliments and complaints. She identified three forms of agreements: 1) upgraded assessments, 2) same-level assessments, and 3) downgraded assessments. More recent studies also support the findings of Pomerantz (*ibid.*) by demonstrating that disagreements are dispreferred and they occur very rarely in assessment sequences (e.g. Filipi & Wales, 2010; Ogden, 2006). The findings of Section 6.2 shows that these observations also apply to the current study and the rest of this section will discuss those findings. This section analysed how second assessments are offered and it has been found that majority of the second assessments display agreement. Three forms of agreement types were identified - upgrades, same-level and downgraded agreements – which provide further supporting evidence to Pomerantz’s preliminary observations.

A close analysis of how upgraded second assessments are produced reveal that an upgraded second assessment might enable the speakers to close/suspend the

assessment sequence by showing that agreement is established. As such, the next relevant action for the speakers following an upgraded second assessment is mostly 1) to initiate an adjournment, or 2) to initiate a new topic sequence relevant to the show. However, an upgraded second assessment does not always occur in two adjacent turns, but it might be performed over several turns. In such cases, the assessment sequence is produced in the following format:

initial assessment → upgraded second assessment → upgraded third assessment by the first speaker.

The analysis shows that when a third upgraded assessment is offered by the first speaker, following an upgraded second assessment, the epistemic statuses of the speakers relevant to what is being assessed are raised. That is, by providing another upgraded assessment, the first speaker reclaims her ownership of the right to make the assessment. In some cases, on the other hand, the assessment sequence is constructed over several turns jointly by all of the viewers, thus taking the following pattern:

initial assessment → upgraded second assessment → agreement by the third viewer. By doing so, the third speaker joins in the participation framework and an agreement is reached among all speakers.

Another type of agreement which occurs very frequently in the corpus is same-level agreements. Such agreements are produced in three forms; 1) minimal agreements, e.g., nods, “*hmm*”, “*evet*”, etc., 2) (partial) echo of the first assessment, and 3) minimal agreements combined with echo of the first assessment. Section 6.2.3 demonstrated that same-level assessments are mostly produced when the viewers are primarily engaged in TV watching, and in such assessment sequences there is usually no mutual gaze among the speakers. By providing a same-level agreement, especially without shifting gaze or body orientation, the second speaker does not project further talk. As such, same-level assessments are mostly followed by an adjournment.

Another important observation is the fact that, unlike what has been argued in the previous literature, not all agreements are offered with minimal gap. Instead, even an upgraded second assessment, which is highly preferred as a response, might be offered after a lapse of a few seconds. In such cases, following an initial assessment,

the second speaker might examine what/who is being assessed first, or might just wait until what she has been watching (such as a new participant introducing herself) is over on the show, before responding with a second assessment. As such, it can be argued that, at least during social TV watching, preferred responses are not always produced in the same way as has been shown in the previous literature. This again evidences the fact that turn design and sequential organisation in assessment sequences is highly influenced by the activity the speakers are engaged in.

Downgraded second assessments which might engender disagreement sequences are very rare in the corpus. Section 6.2.4 provides an example of a downgraded assessment sequence. This section shows that an initial assessment might be followed by some clarification questions, in order to identify who is being assessed. Following the clarification, a downgraded second assessment is produced, which is followed by the first speaker's repetition of her initial assessment. This analysis supports Pomerantz's argument that when an initial assessment is responded to with a downgraded second assessment, the first speaker reasserts the initial assessment mostly through a stronger assessment. This example also highlights that while constructing assessment sequences, the speakers mutually orient to the epistemic status of each other. By reasserting the initial assessment, the first speaker claims the ownership of her epistemic rights about what is being assessed.

Disagreements also occur very rarely in the corpus. An analysis of the very few disagreement sequences in Section 6.2.5 show that speakers orient to disagreements as dispreferred second pair parts. They deliver such second assessments by softening the disagreement through a) laughter, b) use of certain address terms which indicate intimacy and/or respect to the other speaker, and c) by invoking various membership categories, mostly relevant to gender, to demonstrate that the disagreement can be resolved by taking category-bound activities into consideration. The analysis shows that following a disagreement, the speakers shift their orientation towards the TV and initiate an adjournment. By doing so, they avoid elaborating on the disagreement and during the adjournment they re-initiate talk by introducing a different topic relevant to the show.

Preference organisation in assessment sequences in this corpus is mostly in keeping with Pomerantz's initial observations. However, in terms of turn design, there are some differences which are caused by the fact that the speakers in this corpus are engaged in TV watching. As such, it is not always predictable how a preferred or dispreferred response will be constructed. That is, an agreement might be delivered after a long pause as the speakers are watching TV whereas a disagreement might be offered in overlap with the initial assessment.

Previous sections have discussed the sequential organisation, response relevance and preference organisation in assessment sequences during TV watching. The next section will draw on the observations made in previous sections as well as the analysis chapters to identify what social and cultural functions are performed through the assessments.

7.2.4 Social and Cultural actions performed through assessments

This section will discuss the interactional, social and cultural actions that are performed through assessments in this corpus. In terms of social actions, how TV viewers construct themselves as a 'community of practice' with a shared understanding of the world will be discussed. Cultural actions performed through assessments, such as co-constructing membership categories, will also be given consideration. Edwards and Potter (2012) have argued that while offering an assessment, speakers "don't do pure assessing" (p.16), following Sack's (1992) argument that while doing formulating, the speakers do not do pure formulating but perform other social actions with it. They state that:

People don't go around evaluating things, rating things, revealing their experiences, just for the sake of it. When they do that, it's generally in the service of some other action such as making a complaint, or a proposal, or giving and receiving a compliment (p.19, emphasis in original).

The assessments in the corpus are almost always relevant to the TV show that the speakers are watching. They make assessments regarding, for example, 1) the physical appearance of the people on the show, 2) personal traits of these people, and

3) their eligibility as a marriage partner. Even though very rarely, the speakers also make assessments of the TV show in general. As such, the assessments they make are not directly relevant to themselves, and the people they offer assessments for are not present in the talk and cannot hear the speakers. This enables the speakers to make assessments without raising concerns regarding the face issues highlighted by Goffman (1963).

As discussed in the previous sections, the speakers employ assessments very frequently to re-initiate and suspend the talk, which makes it possible for the speakers to signal when they want to 'just' watch the show and when they want to engage in talk. That is, the speakers can jointly construct their encounter as a lapsed verbal encounter without facing many troubles in re-initiating and suspending talk.

Assessments, however, do not only provide resources for the speakers to organize their interaction, but they also perform a crucial social action by enabling the speakers to construct themselves as a 'community of practice' with a congruent understanding of the context they are in and a shared understanding of the world in a broader sense. Two micro-analytic studies, by Beck (1995) and Gerhardt (2006), have investigated participants watching football together as a social activity. One common observation made by these studies is that through watching football together the audience form a 'community'. Beck (ibid.) defines these communities as 'interpretative communities' whereas Gerhardt (2006) labels them as 'communities of practice', a term which was initially used by Lave and Wenger (1991). Both studies identify some strategies that football fans use to constitute themselves as a community. As discussed in Section 2.2.3, Beck (1996) suggests that these strategies include 1) displaying knowledge of shared terms, 2) participating in ongoing commentary, 3) through overt identification of allegiance to the football team. The strategies identified by Gerhardt (2006), on the other hand, are 1) direct address to the TV, and 2) signalling independent knowledge and emotions.

The TV audience in this study also use some strategies to form themselves as a 'community of practice'. How they achieve this is mostly through the preference organisation of assessment sequences is mostly related to preference organisation. As discussed previously, when they are responded to, assessments are mostly met with an upgraded or same-level second assessment. Pomerantz (1984) argues that agreement

and alignment with an initial assessment is a way of displaying congruent understanding and shared experiences concerning what is being assessed.

Disagreements, on the other hand, raise issues relevant to shared understanding and also epistemic rights to make an assessment. Even though there are still a few examples of disagreements in the corpus, the analysis shows that disagreements are produced very delicately by employing various resources to soften the misalignment. Through regularly agreeing with each other, and handling occasional disagreements very delicately, the speakers construct themselves as a community of practice with a shared understanding of what is being assessed.

Another strategy employed by the viewers is displaying a shared knowledge about participants on the TV show as well as people from their daily lives, e.g., some neighbors, friends, etc. While talking about ‘other’ people that they have a shared knowledge about, the viewers in the study tend to make a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (especially while talking about the participants on the TV show). Such distinction is demonstrable in the way they refer to the TV show participants, as they usually choose words like ‘these (people)’ to refer to the participants whereas they refer to themselves as ‘us’ which enables them to construct a ‘community of practice’. Also, while making assessments, the viewers use broader cultural norms and values and they demonstrate that they share an understanding of such norms and values through the ways they respond to each other.

To sum, the strategies used by the viewers to form a ‘community of practice’ include 1) prevalence of upgraded agreements, 2) softening (very rare instances of) disagreements through various resources, such as laughter, use of address terms that signal the close friendship, etc., 3) displaying shared previous knowledge about the people on the TV show, 4) displaying shared knowledge of people in their neighbourhood, 5) making a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ while talking about the participants on the show, and 6) display of shared cultural norms and values, especially through invoking membership categories.

While constructing themselves as a community of practice, the speakers also co-construct and perpetuate cultural norms and values, specifically ones which are

relevant to gender roles and expectations. The issues concerning the co-construction of cultural norms have not been focussed on in one single section, however, throughout Chapter 5 and 6, many examples have demonstrated how assessments perform as a way to perpetuate, and in some cases challenge, cultural norms and expectations. For instance, Excerpts 5.3 and 5.9 (which involve the same TV show participant) demonstrate that, for the speakers who are watching the show, “being married for only 1.5 years” is not attributable to the category “53 year-old men”. The analysis shows that the speakers make a negative assessment of the participant’s eligibility as a marriage partner based on the information that he has been married for only 1.5 years. As such, they construct the cultural norm as “a man should have been married for a longer period of time (more than 1.5 years) if he is 53 years old”.

The co-construction of cultural norms and expectations as shown above has many implications for understanding broader cultural issues. Another example is provided in Excerpt 5.4, which reveals that ‘being widowed’ and ‘having no children’ are more expectable and desirable of a ‘woman who want to get re-married’. In this specific example, the eligibility of the female participant as a marriage partner is assessed very positively. This excerpt also highlights some crucial concerns regarding gender roles and expectations, as while constructing ‘being widowed’ as a positive attribute, the viewers at the same time perpetuate negative attitudes towards ‘divorced women with children’.

Such cultural norms can be highly influential in everyday life. As such, it is very important to highlight how these norms and expectations are perpetuated in everyday talk. In these examples, it can be seen that normative gender roles and expectations are continuously recreated and co-constructed in, and through, talk. When ‘being divorced’ is constructed as an undesirable attribute for a woman who wants to get married in everyday interaction among ordinary people, this has much broader implications in terms of women’s rights and equality. On the other hand, there are examples of talk on the TV show which also perpetuate the norm that ‘being widowed’ is more preferable than ‘being divorced’ (as TV show talk is not the focus of this study, however, such examples are not included). Further studies are needed to investigate the construction of normative gender values in the marriage shows in Turkey as it will shed light on how such norms are constructed publicly.

7.3 Organisation of Continuing States of Incipient Talk

From its beginning in the early 1960s, conversation analytic research has developed two main research agendas: a) the organisation of everyday ordinary talk, and b) the organisation of institutional talk. Despite the abundance of studies on institutional talk across various settings (healthcare, courtroom, police, customer services, etc.), research on ordinary talk has not explicitly addressed the relationship between the organisation of talk and the activity type and setting. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) pointed out that while analysing ordinary talk, it is important to take the distinction between continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) and continuously sustained talk (CST) into consideration. More recently, in response to Stivers and Rosanno's study on mobilizing responses, Schegloff (2010) and Couper-Kuhlen (2010) suggested that in order to explicate response relevance in talk, one has to address the distinction between CSIT and CST. In addition to the rules of response relevance, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) noted that when CSIT is taking place, closing segments and openings of talk will be different from CST, as when people are engaged in sporadic spates of talk, there might be long lapses which are not an attributable silence or termination of talk. They label such lapses as adjournments; however, they do not provide any empirical evidence demonstrating this phenomenon. Even though the importance of further studies on organisation of CSIT has been emphasized as early as 1970s, to my knowledge, it has not been fully addressed in previous conversation analytic research. As such, this study has made significant contributions to understanding the organisation of CSIT in terms of 1) how talk is re-initiated after lapses, 2) how adjournments are initiated, and 3) the norms governing response relevance during CSIT. Explicating the organisation of talk during CSIT also has implications for a better understanding of ordinary talk in a broader sense.

In this section, the findings of the Chapter 5 and 6 with regards to the organisation of CSIT will be discussed by highlighting how it differs from the organisation of CST. These differences will be discussed in three sub-sections: 1) openings of CST vs. re-initiation of talk during CSIT; 2) closings vs. adjournments; and 3) response relevance.

7.3.1 Re-initiation of talk during CSIT

Despite the abundance of studies on conversational openings in continuously sustained talk (CST) (e.g., Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1979, 1986; Gumperz, 1982; Coupland *et al*, 1992; Hopper, 1992), how talk is re-initiated during continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) has not been given much consideration in previous conversation analytic research. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) have suggested that re-initiation of talk during CSIT would be different from conversational openings, as the routines which are prevalent in openings of phone calls and face-to-face conversations would not occur in re-initiation of talk in CSIT. These routines include 1) summons-answer sequence, 2) identification-recognition sequence, 3) exchange of greeting tokens, and 4) 'how are you' sequences.

In this corpus, some of these routines – mostly greeting tokens and 'how are you' sequences – occur at the very beginning of the talk among the speakers. Following the initial opening of the conversation, the viewers get engaged in continuously sustained talk until they start watching the TV show. As the analysis is concerned with the talk that occurs during TV watching, the opening sequences of viewers' talk before they start watching TV have not been investigated in this study. When the TV watching starts, however, talk is suspended regularly so that the speakers can watch the show silently. As discussed before, such lapses are called 'adjournments' during CSIT. The analyses show that assessments are commonly employed by the speakers to re-initiate talk following an adjournment. The analysis in Section 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 show that the speakers might offer an assessment, which might be occasioned by the appearance of a new person on the show, by the new information that becomes available to the viewers or based on their previous knowledge, in order to re-initiate talk.

While re-initiating talk, the speakers mostly shift their gaze and/or body orientation towards another speaker. This shift in their gaze and/or body orientation happens after the speaker produces first few words of her assessment as seen in the example below.

Excerpt 5.5: cahil songul karli

(10.17-11.08) (From left to right: C – A - M)



image 1

image 2

image 3

1 ¹(10.7) ((They are all watching TV))

2 A: Songul Karli ²da↑ bi cahil bi cahil ³amanin↓
(P's name) too↑ so uneducated so uneducated oh my↓
"Oh my! Songul Karli is so clueless, clueless"

This excerpt demonstrates a very prevalent way of re-initiating talk among the viewers following an adjournment. That is, the first speaker produces few words while still orienting towards the TV, then shifts her gaze and/or body orientation towards another viewer. Following this, mutual gaze is usually sustained and at least two viewers are in the same participation framework and talk is re-initiated (as shown in image 3).

Even though offering an assessment is the most pervasive way to re-initiate talk during TV watching, there are other ways that the speakers re-initiate talk, such as making noticings of what is happening on the show, making an assessment-relevant description, or reporting what has just been said on the show. In such cases, the next relevant action is making an assessment of what has been noticed, described, or reported. The excerpt below provides an example of how talk is re-initiated with an assessment-relevant description.

Excerpt 5.6: sac boyama

(24.31-25.0) (From left to right: Z – S – A)



image 1

image 2

image 3

- 1 ¹(9.3) ((they are all watching TV))
- 2 **A:** **siyah saci -sariya boyamis,2 o da dibinden**
black hair blonde+to dye+TM↓ it too bottom+from
- 3 ³[cikmis]
grow+TM
"she dyed the black hair into blonde and it (dark hair) grew on the bottom"
- 4 **S:** [guzel]gorunmemis=
[beautiful] look+not+TM
"it doesn't look beautiful"

This excerpt demonstrates that while producing an assessment-relevant description to re-initiate talk, the viewers shift their gaze and/or body orientation following the same pattern as offering an assessment. It can be seen on the images that when A starts her turn, they are all orienting towards the TV, as there is a 9.3 seconds adjournment. After a few words, first A slightly shifts her gaze, then S shifts her gaze and body orientation towards A. Thus, mutual gaze is achieved before A completes her turn and talk is re-initiated.

As such, it can be argued that instead of the greetings, summons/answers sequences, etc. which are employed in conversation openings in CST, the speakers might use 1) assessments, noticings, reports, assessment-relevant descriptions, 2) their gaze and/or body orientation, and 3) creating various participation frameworks, as a means to re-initiate talk during CSIT. However, it is important to note that re-initiation of talk during CSIT is not always guaranteed by employing one of these resources, as some assessments or noticings might not get responded to. Issues related to response relevance will be discussed in Section 7.2.3.

7.3.2 Adjournments

This section will discuss the findings of the analyses of assessment sequences in Chapter 5 and 6 to identify how adjournments in continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) differ from the closing segments of continuously sustained talk (CST). In the corpus, it has been found that during TV watching, talk is not continuously sustained, as assumed by Schegloff (ibid.), but instead there are adjournments which are varied in terms of their length as some of them might last only 2.0 seconds, whereas it is also very common to have adjournments which last 15.0 seconds.

Similar to the closing segments of CST, initiating an adjournment creates some problems with regards to the turn taking machinery and the organisational features of talk-in-interaction, as the speakers have to suspend the transition relevance. That is, to initiate an adjournment the speakers have to coordinate the suspension of the transition relevance of possible utterance completion successfully, which is similar to what is required for closing segments in CST.

Like closing sections of CSTs, adjournments also have their own systematicity. The analyses demonstrate that pre-closings and terminal exchanges do not occur in CSIT in the same way as they are employed in CST. Even though there are many examples of the use of adjacency pairs before an adjournment, these adjacency pairs are not in the form of a terminal exchange but rather they are used in an 'assessment + agreement' form (e.g., Excerpts 5.4, 5.5, and 5.7). In such cases, an assessment is offered by one of the speakers which is agreed by another speaker in an adjacent turn, mostly by displaying a minimal agreement, such as a head nod, and following that an adjournment is initiated. In some other examples, the speakers might use proverbial expressions while offering their assessment which might also signal an adjournment (e.g., Excerpt 5.12, 5.13).

The analysis has shown that adjournments might occur following an assessment – agreement pair, or after an assessment which is delivered as a proverbial expression displaying an established agreement. However, a close analysis of the exact moment when the speakers orient to an adjournment is usually initiated through a shift in gaze and/or body orientation. It has been found that there is a systematicity in gaze and/or body shift which signal adjournments which is similar to the way talk is re-initiated. That is, the speaker who offers the agreement or offers an assessment in the form of a proverbial expression shifts her gaze towards back to the TV *before* completing her turn, as do the other members of the participation framework at that moment. In some cases, however, the second speaker shifts her gaze back to the TV before the first speaker completes her turn. In such cases, the first speaker shifts her gaze back to the TV before/when she completes her turn. When all of the viewers are orienting towards the TV through their gaze and body, an adjournment is demonstrably initiated.

As such, it can be argued that adjournments usually occur after an agreement is established. Similar to the terminal exchanges in closing a conversation in CST, an adjacency pair of assessment + agreement might be employed by the speakers to display an agreement. However, in CSIT, gaze and body orientation play a more crucial role in initiation of an adjournment. When an agreement is reached, one of the participants in talk shifts her gaze back towards the TV, the other participant shift her gaze back towards the TV with a minimal gap following the participant who shifts her gaze first. This gaze shift very commonly occurs towards the end of the turn which displays an established agreement. Change in gaze orientation and display of an establish agreement can collaboratively initiate an adjournment during TV watching.

7.3.3 Response Relevance in CSIT

A recent debate on response relevance has highlighted the importance of addressing the differences in the organisation of continuing states of incipient talk (CSIT) and continuously sustained talk (CST). Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that there are certain features of turn design which are crucial for response relevance. These features include 1) interrogative lexico-morpho syntax, 2) interrogative prosody, 3) recipient-focused epistemicity, and 4) speaker gaze. In response to Stiver-Rossano's argument, Schegloff (2010) and Couper-Kuhlen (2010) suggest that whether the speakers are engaged in CSIT or CST might be consequential in determining response relevance and these features alone are not sufficient to explicate what makes a response relevant. Schegloff (2010) exemplifies his argument by claiming that when people are together they might register noticings about the environment they are in. He argues that in such cases, the noticing might be responded to, or in some cases might not be, in which case there is a long but not problematic silence following the noticing. With this example, Schegloff (ibid.) argues that when people are engaged in CSIT, the features identified by Stivers and Rossano (ibid.) might still not generate a response. Couper Kuhlen (2010) further argues that lack of responses in such cases might be one way in which co-present parties construct an encounter as non-focused, in which case the lack of response relevance would be a hallmark of non-focused encounters.

The analysis in Chapter 6.1 provides examples of cases when an assessment does not get responded to. Even though the norm for a first assessment is to be followed by a

second assessment, the analysis shows that while the viewers are watching TV, a lack of a second assessment following a first one might not be treated as normatively accountable. It has been found that when there is no response, the first speaker might not pursue a response at all, and a lack of response in such cases is not treated as accountable or problematic by the viewers (Section 6.1). When no response is provided and no response pursuit takes place, the next relevant action for the speaker is to initiate an adjournment and start watching TV silently. This, then, takes the form of the following pattern:

[first assessment] → [silent TV watching] → [topic change]

The analysis of assessments which do not generate a second assessment reveals that turn design features are highly influential in making a response relevant, as suggested by Stivers and Rosanno (2010). Assessments which are produced without any gaze and/or shift in body orientation, without selecting a next speaker and with no changes in intonation usually fail to generate a response. However, in some cases, an assessment is produced in a way that has all of the turn design features suggested by Stivers and Rosanno (2010) to be crucial in response relevance, but still fails to generate a response while the speakers are engaged in TV watching (e.g. Section 6.2). The analysis demonstrates that even though turn design features can be crucial in getting a response, the activity type (TV watching) and what is happening on the TV are the determinant factors in whether or not a response is produced. If the speakers are engaged in TV watching (especially when a new candidate is introduced or when a meeting is taking place on the TV show) the assessment might not get responded to at all or might be responded to later in the talk.

This section has discussed the differences between CSIT and CST in terms of organisation of talk. More specifically, how opening segments of CST are different from re-initiation of talk during CSIT, how closings segments are organized differently in CST compared to the adjournments in CSIT, and finally how the norms regarding response relevance can be more flexible during CSIT have been discussed. The issues relevant to the different organisational features of CST and CSIT, to my knowledge, have not been addressed through empirical evidence in the previous literature. As such, I argue that the discussion in this section provides very significant contributions to micro-analytic research on ordinary talk. However, we still do not

know whether these observations apply to other settings and activity types in which CSIT takes place. As such, it is important to keep in mind that the findings of this section are specifically relevant to the organisation of CSIT during TV watching, and specifically watching a reality TV show, as watching different types of TV shows might also influence the organisation of talk and for these participants. Further studies which analyse CSIT in other activities, and also during other types of TV shows, are required to explain the rules governing the organisation of CSIT more comprehensively.

7.4 Using Conversation Analysis in media audience research

This study builds on the findings of the previous micro-analytic research on media audience (Beck, 1995; Gerhardt, 2006, Matthewson, 1992; Wood, 2001), which has been very scarce until recently. To understand the practices of TV audiences, it is crucial to have a close analysis of video-recorded data of people actually watching TV, as it is only through such analysis that researchers can unpack and understand the actual viewing experience. In this study, I have analysed the talk of a TV audience while they were watching a very particular reality TV show in Turkey. In terms of its context, this study offers some insights into an under-researched setting, as no other studies have investigated the practices of audiences who are watching reality TV shows. As such, I will argue that this study has important contributions to media audience research. In addition to that, this study contributes to the development of CA as a means to conduct media audience research.

7.4.1 How can micro-analytic approaches compliment previous approaches?

This section will initially discuss how micro-analytic approaches (CA and MCA specifically) can enable the researcher to overcome some of the limitations, such as 1) using self-reported data, and 2) using pre-conceived social categories, of earlier approaches to media audience research (MAR).

Media audience researchers have adopted various approaches to explicate the relationship between the audience and the media. As discussed in Section 2.2.2, these approaches include a) media effects model, b) uses and gratifications model (UAG), c) encoding-decoding model, d) ethnographic approaches, and e) micro-analytic approach. Even though media audience studies have a wide range of interests, the

question of 'how people watch television together socially' has not been given much consideration. The previous models tried to answer questions like 'why people use particular media' as asked by UAG researchers, or 'how people use the media' as has been asked by researchers using Encoding/Decoding Model. However, even in the latter model, the emphasis is on the audience interpretations of the media texts.

Ethnographic researchers, on the other hand, tend to look at how different audience groups use the media, such as children, females, various ethnic groups, etc. Each of these previous models of media audience research provides valuable insights to understand the relationship between the media and audience. However, how watching TV together as a social activity is achieved has not been focussed upon by any of the previous models. As Scollon (1998: vii) argues "there have been virtually no studies of the social practices by which the discourses of the media are appropriated in common face-to-face interactions".

Micro-analytic approaches to media audience research provide the researcher with the necessary tools to unpack how people watch TV together through the close examination of video recordings of actual viewing. Studies adopting a micro-analytic approach to TV audience research, however, have been surprisingly scarce. Previous studies which adopt a micro-analytic approach to TV audience research (Matthewson, 1992; Beck, 1995; Gerhardt, 2006, Wood, 2001) have not yet investigated watching 'reality shows' which is very prevalent in everyday lives of millions of people all around the world. This study has provided a fine-detailed analysis of video-recorded data of how women (in a particular context) watch a particular reality TV show (marriage show) together. The analysis contributes to our understanding of how micro-analytic approaches can enable the researchers to explicate the social practices performed during watching a reality TV show.

The first limitation of earlier approaches is the use of self-reported data, which is collected by using various data collection techniques such as interviews, focus groups, etc. Such data only enable the researcher to access a self-reported, second hand account of media use which raises issues regarding the difference between the actual viewing experience and what has been retrieved later on by the participants in the study. Recent studies using a micro-analytic approach overcome the problems of

reported data by using the recordings of actual viewing experiences and analysing these recordings in fine detail, which subsequently enables the researcher to move closer to the audience. This study shows that through a micro-analysis of video-recorded data, researchers can unpack the organisation of talk in fine detail and also explicate the embodied conduct of the viewers during TV watching.

Using pre-conceived social categories as a starting point is another limitation that needs to be addressed in earlier approaches to media audience research. Micro-analytic studies, on the other hand, do not use social categories as a starting point, instead enabling the research to demonstrate how these categories are co-constructed and invoked by the viewers themselves. For instance, while analysing a group of people watching football together, researchers adopting a micro-analytic approach aim at identifying how this specific group of people construct themselves as football fans, unlike the earlier models where the starting point would be how/why football fans watch TV. This study also adds to our understanding of how viewers invoke various social categories such as men, women, divorced men/women, widowed men/women etc., and co-construct the incumbent activities and expectations of such social categories during TV watching. As such, micro-analytic approaches, specifically MCA, can demonstrate 1) how TV audience construct themselves as a social group, and also 2) how they can co-construct social categories in a broader sense.

7.4.2 Contributions of this study to media audience research

This section will discuss how findings of the preceding two chapters can enhance our understanding of the practices of TV audience in relation to media audience studies. The findings will be considered in relation to the earlier research literature and they will be discussed in terms of:

- 1) the dilemma of managing gaze and talk simultaneously during social TV watching
- 2) eliminating an a priori approach to social categories
- 3) perpetuating and co-constructing cultural norms and values.

To understand how TV watching is achieved as a social activity, it is important to understand how the viewers employ their gaze and body orientation and organize

their talk during TV watching. While watching TV together, people are faced with two dilemmas: 1) how to initiate and suspend talk so that they can interact with each other while at the same time watching TV, and 2) how to successfully manage their gaze orientation in a way that enables them to see what is happening on the TV, while at the same time adhering to the ‘gaze rules’ of face-to-face interaction. Micro-analysis provides invaluable insights in order to understand how the viewers manage this potential problem.

Gerhardt (2007) has examined how gaze orientation is managed on a turn-by-turn basis while people are watching football together. In her study, Gerhardt aims at understanding how viewers choose between looking at the TV screen or looking at their co-interlocutors during TV watching. She has found out that gaze rules suggested by Goodwin (1980) can be more flexible while people are watching TV together. The gaze rules proposed by Goodwin (1980) for conversation in general are: “Rule 1: A speaker should obtain the gaze of his recipient during the course of a turn at talk.” “Rule 2: A recipient should be gazing at the speaker when the speaker is gazing at the hearer” (Goodwin, 1980: 287). However, Gerhardt (ibid.) demonstrated that these rules do not apply to interactions which takes place when people are watching football on TV together. Instead, she proposed that gaze takes place in the following cases 1) humour; 2) inviting a reaction; and 3) while offering an evaluation. She examines the first two cases when gaze takes place in detail however she does not discuss the last context, offering an evaluation, which triggers gaze, in much detail. She briefly states that:

First, regarding the primary media text, utterances such as “good pass that was” or “foul for sure,” where participants take an evaluative stance against the media text, are accompanied by gaze. Also, when the participants tell stories, instances of evaluation (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) are marked by gaze. (Gerhardt, 2007:99)

This study contributes to Gerhardt’s observations regarding gaze orientation during TV watching by specifically explicating how the viewers use gaze while

offering assessments. It has been found that in most of the cases, when a viewer makes an assessment, it is accompanied by a gaze shift towards another viewer. In such cases, talk is re-initiated among the viewers. However, as has been highlighted previously in this chapter, at times the viewers might produce an assessment in the form of an undirected aside, in which case the viewers all keep their gaze orientation towards the TV and such assessments are not followed by a second assessment.

It has been found that gaze is employed by the viewers to indicate whether further talk is projected following an assessment or whether talk should be suspended. For instance, when an initial assessment is responded with a minimal agreement, it is usually delivered without any gaze shift. As such, no further talk is projected and an adjournment takes place. However, upgraded second assessments are mostly produced with a gaze shift towards the viewers and further talk is projected. This observation implies that gaze orientation is employed by the viewers to jointly display when they will be watching TV and when they will engage in a conversation.

Apart from gaze orientation, the viewers also organize their talk by orienting to the fact that they are watching television while at the same time talking with each other. The organisation of talk during TV watching was discussed in depth in the previous section.

Micro-analysis of talk-in-interaction during TV watching eliminates the problem of using social categories *a priori* which has been one of the main criticisms of other approaches to media audience research. Instead of starting from supposedly established social categories, such as ‘how *men* watch TV’, micro-analytic approaches provides insights into how these social categories are constructed by the audience. Adopting an ethnomethodological perspective, MCA investigates social categories as topics for analysis, as opposed to ‘traditional’ approaches in social sciences which use social categories as a resource for analysis.

TV watching not only enables an audience group to form themselves as a ‘social group’, but has also implications for broader cultural norms and expectations as

discussed in the previous section. While forming themselves as a social group, the participants also co-construct cultural norms and values, especially, in the case of this corpus, regarding the eligibility of men and women as marriage partners, and more generally, gender roles and expectations incumbent with the membership categories 'men' and 'women'. It is only through a micro-analysis of audience talk that researchers can closely examine how TV watching as a social activity can be used as a means to co-construct and perpetuate broader cultural norms and expectations.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 in relation to previous literature on a) assessments, b) continuing states of incipient talk, and c) media audience research. It is argued that this study significantly contributes to research on all of the stated areas, as it has been demonstrated that assessment sequences are organised differently during TV watching compared to other settings and activities, such as those investigated in previous literature. Response relevance has also been found to have very specific norms in assessment sequences during TV watching. Through a close analysis of assessments, I have also pointed out that organisation of talk during CSIT show differences compared to the organisation of CST. The organisation of CSIT has remained an under-researched topic in micro-analytic research and this study provides very important observations to explicate the features of organisation of CSIT. As such, the findings of this study have broader implications for understanding ordinary talk across different settings and activities. Finally, it has been discussed that this study has implications for using micro-analytic approaches in media audience research. Through a close analysis of video-recordings of actual TV viewing, this study has shown *how* people watch a particular TV show and how social and cultural categories, norms and expectations are co-constructed and perpetuated through the TV watching. As such, this study significantly contributes to both conversation analytic research and media audience research.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

In this chapter, final conclusions regarding the aims of this study, relevant literature and the data analysis in the previous chapters will be presented. For this purpose, each research question will be revisited and the importance of the findings will be highlighted.

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the organisation of naturally-occurring talk among a TV audience while they are actually watching television together.

Investigation of talk during TV watching has significant contributions 1) to broadening our understanding of organisation of ordinary, everyday talk and 2) to media audience research, by providing an empirical analysis of moment-by-moment actual viewing. In investigating the naturally-occurring talk among a group of female friends while they are watching a reality TV show in Turkey, this primary aim is achieved.

The organisation of talk-in-interaction which takes place during TV watching is found to bear differences to the organisation of ordinary talk in a broader sense. More specifically, this study focused on assessment sequences, as assessments were identified as one of the most prevalent and intriguing actions performed by the viewers in this corpus. The first research question asked:

“How are assessments sequentially organized during TV watching?”.

This question was then followed by three sub-questions each addressing a more specific aspect of sequential organisation of assessments.

- In which sequential positions do the assessments occur?
- How are the assessments responded to?
- Which social, cultural and interactional practices are accomplished through assessments during TV watching?

Findings suggest that in terms of sequential organisation of assessments, the activity type (TV watching) that the speakers are engaged in has a very significant role. Some sequential positions that assessments are found to occur in this study, such as second

assessments as a relevant turn in ongoing talk, are in fitting with the observations made by the previous research (e.g. Pomerantz, 1984). However, this study has also shown that there are very particular sequential positions in which assessments occur when the speakers are engaged in TV watching, e.g., breaking an adjournment, initiating an adjournment, or as an irrelevant turn in ongoing talk.

The second sub-question also led to some observations which demonstrate that norms governing response relevance following an initial assessment can be more flexible when the speakers are engaged in TV watching. This is contrary to widely acknowledged norms in conversation analytic research (Pomerantz, 1984; Drew & Potter, 2012), and so then again highlights the important role that the activity type plays in the organisation of talk.

An investigation of the cultural and social practices achieved through assessments during TV watching has demonstrated that the speakers employ assessments 1) to construct themselves as a social group with a shared understanding of the world, and also 2) to co-construct and perpetuate cultural norms and expectations, specifically the norms and expectations relevant to gender and marriage. At an interactional level, on the other hand, assessments are used to construct TV watching as a ‘social’ activity during which the speakers manage watching television and talking to each other at the same time. That is, assessments are used as a means to initiate and/or suspend talk.

The second research question was “What does this analysis of assessments tell us about organisation of ‘continuing states of incipient talk’ (CSIT) in a broader sense?”. This follows calls from conversation analytic researchers (Couper- Kuhlen, 2010; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2010) to afford more analytic attention to this topic. Findings have demonstrated that the organisation of CSIT is different from the organisation of continuously sustained talk (CST) in terms of 1) openings of CST vs. re-initiation of talk in CSIT; 2) closings of CST vs. adjournments in CSIT; and 3) response relevance.

This is a very significant contribution to our understanding of social interaction in a broader sense, as these findings show that organisation of ordinary talk needs to be reconsidered in terms of activities, settings and contexts. Much similar to the studies

on the organisation of institutional talk in different institutions, more research is required to investigate the organisation of ordinary talk across different activities and settings.

The final research question was “How can micro-analysis of interaction contribute to media audience research?”. Contrary to earlier approaches to media audience research – such as uses and gratifications, encoding/decoding, etc. – micro-analytic approaches enable researchers to move closer to the audience (Gerhardt, 2006) and by doing so, the researcher has access to the actual viewing experience. More specifically, this study has demonstrated how people organize their talk, their gaze, and their body orientations during TV watching. It has also shown how people co-construct and perpetuate cultural norms and how they construct themselves as a social group during TV watching. What makes the contributions of micro-analytic research to media audience studies so significant is that it not only provides observations or second-hand claims about how people watch television, but instead provides a detailed description of the social and interactional practices engaged in during the viewing.

Despite the contributions of this study to these areas of research, there still remains much to be investigated about talk-in-interaction during TV watching. In the next and final sections, recommendations for future research will be outlined.

8.1 Methodological considerations

In this section, possible limitations of this study will be acknowledged and defended. The possible limitations fall under the following areas: 1) data collection 2) participant representativeness and generalizability of findings, 3) presentation of data, and 4) analysis of the cultural aspect of the data.

One of the possible limitations of data collection is not having access to the talk among the participants relevant to the TV show when they are not being recorded. As stated in earlier chapters, the participants in this study are peers who know each other and visit each other very often. It is worth acknowledging that the participants might talk about the TV show even at times when they are not watching the show. As they are all familiar with people on the TV show, they might have talked about them

before or after the recording. As a researcher, I only have access to the recordings of their talk during the viewing. Also, there are cases when the participants in this study all watched an earlier episode of the TV show together and talked about a particular person on the show. During the recording, the same person might be still on the show and the participants might refer to their previous talk about this person which is again not accessible for the researcher. However, as with any other type of research, it is not possible to have access to all aspects of the data and also from a conversation analytic perspective, the main focus is on the analysis of turns as they occur in their immediate context which is available to the researcher.

Representativeness of participants and generalizability of the findings can be seen as other possible limitations of this study. The data only involves a group of participants (female, friends, living in the same town) who are watching a particular reality TV show. As such, the data is not representative of a very large group. People from different countries, or even other cities in Turkey, might hypothetically display significantly different norms of interaction from those uncovered in this study. Also, in terms of the TV show, it should be acknowledged that findings of this study are only valid for this particular reality TV show. If the same participants were watching a different TV show, some of the findings might be very different. Even though the findings of this research might not be valid for other groups of TV audience and different types of TV shows, this study provides invaluable insights into understanding this particular setting, and this has implications for understanding social interaction and TV watching in a broader sense.

In terms of its content and generalizability, another possible limitation of this study is that some of the findings might be particular to Turkish culture, especially how categorial work is done in interaction. However, adhering to principles of emic perspective and only talking about what is demonstrably relevant to the participant themselves, and as it has not emerged in the data, I have not approached the data by taking its being Turkish into consideration.

Another possible limitation is with regard to the presentation of data in terms of 1) transcription, 2) translation, 3) gaze and gestures. The data for this study is twofold – audience talk at home and talk on the TV show. Therefore, there are two different

interactions taking place at the same time, and this poses great difficulties for transcription. For the purposes of this study, only talk among audience at home is represented in the transcripts included . It can be argued that in order to be able to analyse talk sequentially, talk that takes place on the show could also be included in the transcription. When I first started transcribing the data, I tried to include transcription of talk on the TV show. However, including transcription of the talk on the TV show made the transcripts illegible and most of the time, the exact details of the talk in the show were found (after analysis) to be inconsequential for the analysis of audience talk. As such, while doing the analysis, instead of a detailed transcription of TV show talk, I have included a brief description of what is being talked about on the show before and during an excerpt that is being analysed. Screen grabs of what the audience at home are watching while they are talking is also included in the transcripts in order to overcome some of the representational limitations of not including TV show talk in the transcript itself.

Another possible limitation with the presentation of data is the translation. As the data is in Turkish, it had to be translated into English. Since the talk involves many cultural terms and idioms, providing the same meaning in the translation was very problematic. In order to overcome this limitation, data was presented to other bilingual Turkish speakers and also discussed with native English speakers to make sure that the glossary in the transcript provided the meaning as closely as possible. In addition to the translation itself, how to present the translated versions in the transcript has to be addressed, as the sentence order in Turkish is different to the English. For that reason, in the second line of the transcript a word-by-word translation is presented which is followed by a gloss in the third line. Lastly, screen grabs which demonstrates gaze orientations and gestures of the audience at home as well as the screen grabs of TV screen are included in the transcripts in order to be able to make it available for readers who do not have access to the actual recordings.

These issues should be constantly considered by conversation analysts, particularly as researchers increasingly examine interaction in other languages and involving modes of conduct other than only spoken; striking a compromised balance is important, as is acknowledging and emphasizing that representation of data in a written form is very

different from analysing the data, which should always be done in the original language and using the primary data source (i.e. the video/audio recordings).

8.2 Recommendations for future research

In light of the previous chapters, this section will suggest some possible directions for future research. Firstly, it is strongly recommended that more research be conducted based on an extended empirical database in this research setting. How people watch reality TV marriage shows together as a social activity is a fascinating interactional context in Turkey. For instance, researchers might investigate similar settings in different parts of Turkey and also consider having male TV audiences in addition to groups of female audiences which will provide a broader perspective on audience talk during watching marriage shows in Turkey.

Despite touching upon some cultural and social actions performed through assessments, this study does not put too much emphasis on the more macro-level issues that could be investigated in this interactional setting. For instance, the concepts of ‘marriage’ and ‘gender roles and expectations’ can be investigated in more detail as, while watching this type of reality TV show, people co-construct and perpetuate cultural norms and expectations constantly. More research is needed to fully understand the role marriage shows play in constructing Turkish cultural norms.

Also, similar settings in different countries should be investigated to be able to make cross-cultural comparisons and to identify what is particular to Turkey and Turkish culture. Cross-cultural comparisons will enable researchers to have a better understanding of whether there are any differences in how reality TV is watched in different settings, which will consequently highlight the generalisable features of the organisation of TV audience interaction during reality TV watching.

Additionally, more studies should be conducted to explore the interaction among the TV audience while they are watching other kinds of TV shows. As mentioned earlier in the preceding chapters, the findings of this study are only valid for the specific participants who took part in this study and also the specific type of TV show that they are watching. That is, even if same groups of people are recorded, if they are watching for instance a soap opera, or the news on TV, etc., the organisation of their

talk might differ in some ways. As such, not only different groups of people around the world, but also audience interaction during viewing various types of TV shows should be investigated.

Moving out of this specific setting, research on how people interact with other forms of media, such as mobile technology based media (such as Twitter), during TV watching would be welcome. Becoming a widespread phenomenon, interacting with TV shows through Facebook or Twitter, will be very fascinating and also helpful to understand interaction between the TV audience and the TV shows as well as interaction among the audience.

There are an (ever-increasing) abundance of ways in which people interact simultaneously with each other and with various media, the vast majority of which still require empirical investigation; this present study has made one small, but (it is believed) significant, step in beginning to make sense of what is a large and fascinating part of our everyday lives.

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Appendix A: Transcription conventions

- [[]] Simultaneous utterances – (beginning [[] and (end]])
- [] Overlapping utterances – (beginning [] and (end])
- = Contiguous utterances
- (0.4) Represent the tenths of a second between utterances
- (.) Represents a micro-pause (1 tenth of a second or less)
- :
- Sound extension of a word (more colons demonstrate longer stretches)
- .
- Fall in tone (not necessarily the end of a sentence)
- ,
- Continuing intonation (not necessarily between clauses)
-
- An abrupt stop in articulation
- ?
- Rising inflection (not necessarily a question)
-
- Underline words indicate emphasis
- ↑ ↓
- Rising or falling intonation (after an utterance)
- ° °
- Surrounds talk that is quieter
- hhh
- Audible aspirations
- hhh
- Inhalations
- .hh.
- Laughter within a word
- > >
- Surrounds talk that is faster
- < <
- Surrounds talk that is slower
- (())
- Analyst's notes
-
- Onset of gaze
- *
- Imprecise translation