Dynamics of Intersubjectivity in
British Audience Participation Political Debates

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Abstract

This thesis explores the BBC programme, *Question Time,* treating it as an instantiation of Audience Participation Political Debate (APPD). It examines the nature of political conversation with a focus on the relationship between the practices of overlap and intersubjectivity. This study also addresses the question of why overlap occurs frequently during the course of the conversation in *Question Time* and how it contributes to the construction, restoration and maintenance of intersubjectivity.

The data consists of 16-hours of recordings of *Question Time* that were aired between January and June 2016. This study uses Conversation Analysis to uncover and examine the sequence organization of overlapping talk in terms of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause. The findings demonstrate that in this APPD context overlapping questions function to solicit the breakdown of intersubjectivity and project the next turns to do repairs. In contrast, overlapping statements and applause serve as an indication of agreement and disagreement among participants, which are found to be the sites on which intersubjectivity rests.

The findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of APPD and how in this genre of hybrid media formats the practice of overlap functions. This media format provides an arena that allows the participants greater opportunities to defend and repair their political stances, as well as to display agreements and negotiate disagreements. In addition, the findings add new knowledge to our understanding of the architecture of intersubjectivity in APPD that intersubjectivity can be constructed via the mechanism of negotiation and restored and maintained via repair mechanism.

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Abbreviation

APPD: audience participation political debate

CA: conversation analysis

IR: interviewer

IE: interviewee

TCU: turn construction unit

TRP: transitional relevant place

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Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the Research

Media is a vital arena of politics. With the advent of modern communication technology, politics is now conducted and transmitted through a wide range of media formats, such as radio, television, internet and among many other. In this, politics is articulated, and rendered public and disputable. Talk held on media platforms such as television displays the nature of a relationship between the media, public opinion and public knowledge. Modern forms of media not only provided platforms that can deem certain particular issues as newsworthy and opinionable but is also the broadest and most accessible arena in which ordinary members of the public can express their opinions (Hutchby, 2006). In other words, broadcast media, ranging from radio phone-ins to television news interviews and audience participation shows, allows audiences to contribute to political debates in ways that were not previously possible. Today, as technologies converge, television and radio broadcasts can now be watched on-line. Thus, broadcast media is still a dominant format in monitoring the kind of democracy that is demanded by contemporary politics.

Since the wide application of broadcast media in the 1960s, conversation analysis (CA) as a research approach has been successfully applied to the study of talk-in-interaction in broadcast media. During the last few decades, there has been an extensive body of research on talk in interaction in radio and television. Earlier research (Clayman, 1988, 1992; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Greatbatch, 1986; Heritage, 1985; Heritage and Clayman, 2010; Hutchby 2006; Lauerbach, 2004; Montgomery, 2007; Tolson, 2006)

shows that particular attention has been devoted to news interviews, a genre in which journalists hold public figures accountable for their actions. These works have demonstrated the centrality of talk in media studies, and have generated deep insights into the interactional practices and patterns of radio and television as interactional media. Most are concerned with the studies of the question-answer sequence. In other words, these studies focus on the investigation of how to present questions and answers in the given settings, and shed light on various issues, such as the organization of turn taking (e.g., Greatbatch 1988; Heritage and Roth 1995), elementary forms of questioning and answering (e.g., Clayman and Heritage 2002, Ekstrom 2009, Harris 1991), neutralism (Clayman, 1988, 1992, 2002, 2007; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Greatbatch, 1992, 1998; Heritage, 1985; Montgomery, 2007); assessments (Heritage, 1985; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991; Pomerantz, 1984); footing shifting (Clayman, 1992, 2007; Clayman and Heritage, 2002a); adversarialness (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a, 2002b; Clayman et al. 2006, 2007) and many others.

Recent research (Ekström, 2009, 2011, 2016; Emmertsen, 2007; Hutchby, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2016, 2017; Patrona, 2006, 2011, 2012) has demonstrated that the research has been focused on news interviews in diverse broadcast formats displayed as hybrid forms. Hutchby's study (2017) identifies four types of news interview interaction in the contemporary environment of political broadcasting and shows how the hybrid political interview has provided more extreme forms of talk than the adversarial or accountability interview on several dimensions. These provide thoughtful insights for the research in other broadcast formats. Apart from the expanded research of the traditional news interviews, the exploration of the rich variety in the types of broadcast political discourses, such as talk shows and audience participation political debates (APPD), is considered as a new challenge in media studies (Ekstrom and Patrona, 2011). In media studies, the research on audience participation shows goes back to the late 1980s (Carbaugh, 1988; Ferrara, 1994; Hutchby, 1999, 2006; Livingstone and Lunt, 1994, 1999; Munson, 1993; Patrona, 2016; Priest, 1995; Tolson, 2001, 2006) and also consistently gains research attention. But most of the audience participation shows are

concerned with the conversation on the issues of audience's life. The role of audience participation in shows on political issues, such as *Question Time* programme in BBC, is still under-explored.

1.2 Research Rationale

1.2.1 The Selection of *Question Time*

Question Time is a BBC flagship television programme and holds debates on current political issues with questions raised by the co-present audience. This programme is labelled by Hutchby (2006: 39) as an 'audience participation political debate', a genre where politicians, members of the public figures and audience are brought together in the television studio to debate topical issues in response to questions set by audience members (This will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4). *Question Time* has attracted significant attention when the public have to make decisions on political events, such as local or general elections, referendums among other forms of political participation.

One important aspect of APPD is that it has presented a different format of management to those found in traditional media formats. In news reports, the media normally underpins a large proportion of news and current affairs broadcasting, seeking to limit the access of ordinary people and concentrating on allowing one expert voice for reports. In news interviews, it has long been accepted that it is the interviewer's role to question the interviewees on behalf of ordinary people and for the benefit of the audience at home (Schudson, 1994). Public figures seek to demonstrate that they represent the interests of their constituents while they talk to broadcast journalists in the context of broadcasting. It is a form of broadcast talk that the public receive at homes. In contrast, in APPD, members of the audience are allowed to raise questions and all participants, including panel members and members of audience, can have their say on the debated issues. It is believed that APPD plays a significant role in the enactment of the democratic process, providing a live forum for direct encounters between members of the public and politicians, beyond the traditional forms of mediated encounters between

studio journalists and politicians.

Another important aspect of APPD is that it constructs a different management of interaction to that in traditional media formats. Regarding interaction, news reports and news interviews display a two-party communication which is restricted between journalists or interviewers and the interviewees. This kind of conversation is implemented through a question-answer format. In APPD, a variety of participants are involved in the conversation which displays to be a multi-party conversation, occurring among the chair, politicians, elites and audience. It is a semi-structured form of talk in which participants are allowed to self-select to speak in some occasions. In this sense, as early stated in Section 1.1, news interviews have been extensively studied during the past decades but APPD as a type of media talk in politics is still under-explored. Thus, it is of significance to conduct a research on this multi-party interaction which has not been given equal attention.

1.2.2 Research Focus

In CA, intersubjectivity is central to social interaction (Heritage, 1984b). This treats intersubjectivity as a form of mutual understanding which is concerned with the management and accomplishment of actions. These actions are woven into the procedural infrastructure of interaction (Schegloff, 1992). It is achieved on a turn-by-turn basis, displaying as the recipient's understanding of the prior speaker's utterance. This means that the achievement of intersubjectivity relies on the interactants' understanding of their counterparts. From this perspective, while participants understand one another and display that understanding through their interactional conduct, intersubjectivity is achieved and talk-in-interaction is accomplished. In the studies of intersubjectivity in social interaction, the practices of overlap and repair are found to be as the kinds of resources which can be used to illustrate the breakdowns and restorations of intersubjectivity or mutual understanding (Schegloff, 1992).

Overlap is an interactional practice which can be defined as an encounter where

interactants do not wait for their turns to speak but instead speak before the prior speaker has finished speaking. It is found that talk in overlap can be problematic, though not necessary (Schegloff, 1992). In the studies of overlapping talk, research shows that some overlapping talk displays as problematic and needing to be resolved. Examples of this include Bilingual Play (Cromdal, 2001) and hearing impaired interaction (Skelt, 2013) among others. In some educational settings (Anstey and Wells, 2013; Konakahara, 2015), overlap is found to be unproblematic and serves as an interactional facilitator to move the conversation forward. While the display of the result can be problematic or unproblematic, both display to be related to the understanding of the prior talk in the conversation, which involves in the issue of intersubjectivity.

The analysis of *Question Time* shows that the most striking feature is that overlap frequently occurs in the course of the debate. This raises the question over why overlap occurs so frequently in APPD. This study assumes that the emergence of overlap in the course of APPD is mostly associated with intersubjective problems, which forms the research focus of this study. That is, this study intends to find out how the participants in the APPD setting manage the communicative breakdowns and restore intersubjectivity through their spoken conducts. Although the existence and importance of intersubjectivity is documented, the way in which intersubjectivity transpires in APPD and the role it plays in shaping social interactions is not well understood.

1.2.3 The Advantages of CA as the Research Methodology

CA is a qualitative and micro-analytic method for studying real-life interaction and is widely recognized as the leading methodology for investigating communication (Drew, Chatwin, & Collins, 2001; Heritage & Maynard, 2006; Robinson, 2011; Robinson & Heritage, 2014). The reasons for the selection of CA as the methodology for this study are as follows.

Firstly, CA favors *naturally occurring data* as opposed to experimental forms of data that are set up by researchers and has the potential to be a result of subjective intentions

and theoretical assumptions. CA operates closer to the phenomena that are concerned with spoken resources. This feature signifies the practice that CA works on recordings, which can repeatedly be listened to or watched, and utilizes detailed transcripts, rather than coding and counting representations in discourse analysis or corpus linguistics. The preference for naturally occurring data is in accordance with the data selected by this study which is a database of video-recordings of the BBC programme *Question Time*.

Secondly, CA takes action construction and sequence organization as its top agendas which is considered to be the optimal research approach in this study. CA shares Austin's (1962) original insight that speakers are not simply describing a state of affairs, but are instead performing actions. CA also views that the exploration of the sequential management and linguistic construction of social actions in interaction can better unravel how conversation can be accomplished. That is, when we speak, we are actually doing something. With this view, when we examine the conversation, we are investigating how participants manage actions sequentially; how they design actions in turns at talk; and how their co-participants recognize what each is doing; how they attribute actions to the other's talk or conduct. This is in line with the central concern of this study, which is to be displayed in the analysis of this study.

Thirdly, CA takes an observational and objective perspective. It conducts empirical observation for the inductive understanding of social interactions on how they are organized, while avoiding subjective interpretations. Drew, Chatwin and Collins (2001: 67) claim that "it (CA) does not require subjective interpretations to be made of what people mean, but instead is based directly observable properties of data, and how these affect the interactional uptake by the other participants. Hence, these properties can be shown to have organized, patterned and systematic consequences for how the interaction proceeds". In other words, CA is concerned with the description of the sequential facts rather than inference of motives behind interaction. This is the most suited to the research interest of this study which is to uncover the sequential

organization of overlap in the ongoing conversation.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research aims to examine the phenomenon of overlap in relation to intersubjectivity in *Question Time*, which is found to occur frequently in the setting of APPD. The analysis of the programme shows that speakers do not always take turns to speak. That is, conversation does not occur in a linear question-answer sequence in the programme. Very frequently, speakers disrupt the ongoing conversation and compete to speak, resulting in overlap. This raises the question of why questions and answers in *Question Time,* an instantiation of APPD, do not occur one after another and once-at-a-time. This leads to the core assumption behind the research which is that the overlap is related to the intersubjectivity of the speakers. More specifically, the occurrences of overlapping talk are assumed to be due to the fact that communicative problems emerge in the course of communication. Based on the observation, overlaps in *Question Time* appear to occur frequently in the form of questions, statements and applause. These constitute the research focus of this study. In this, the research assumption in this study is formulated as the following research questions:

1) How do overlapping questions occur in the setting of APPD and how do they contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity?
2) How does overlapping statements and applause occur in the setting of APPD and how do they contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity?
3) How do the findings of overlap occurring in the setting of APPD shed light on the architecture of intersubjectivity?

By addressing the above questions, this study aims to contribute to the growing body of work which explores intersubjectivity in the hybridity of political discourse in terms of overlapping talk. Up to now, not much research into the genre of APPD has considered the construction of intersubjectivity. Thus, this study aims to add to the knowledge of how intersubjectivity is constructed, broken down, repaired and

maintained in the interaction in APPD. Finally, a setting such as the one for the current study is not only "new" in the sense that it is under-researched but also it is worthy of empirical investigation to further understanding the mechanism of the intersubjectivity in this given context.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 is the background chapter which addresses the background and motivations for writing this thesis. It also introduces the rationale of this study in terms of the selection of the data, the research focus and the research approach. In addition, this chapter presents the research questions as well as the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 covers the introduction of the related notions and aspects of CA, including turn-taking system, preferences, sequence organization, overlap and repair. This chapter also emphasizes the importance of the key concepts in the fundamental mechanism of intersubjectivity, which supports the study of this research.

Chapter 3 provides the description of the supportive dimensions in the construction of intersubjectivity. It begins with the introduction of the notion of intersubjectivity and its distinction from other approaches. It then presents the dimensions which are directly related to the construction of intersubjectivity, including accountability, epistemic (dis)asymmetry and affiliation. This also explains how these dimensions are interrelated to shape and reshape the construction, restore and maintenance of intersubjectivity.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the data, methodology and analytical procedures of the research, including data collection (4.1), genre description (4.2), research tools (4.3), transcription (4.4) and analytical procedures (4.5). Specifically, Section 4.1 explains the data in terms of the motivation and principle of data collection. Section 4.2 explicates how genre *Question Time* is defined in this study, presents the description of generic features of *Question Time* and introduces the format of *Question Time*. Sections 4.3 and

4.4 introduce the application of Audacity, including the principle of transcription, the choice of manual or automated transcription and the examples of transcription. Finally, Section 4.5 introduces the data process and analysis.

Chapter 5 focuses on the detailed description of the occurrences of overlapping questions. The description will figure out in what manners overlapping questions occur, what functions they serve and how they contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity.

Chapter 6 focuses on the detailed description of the occurrences of overlapping statements and overlapping applause. The description aims to find out the ways that overlapping statements and overlapping applause occur, the functions they service and how they attribute to the construction of intersubjectivity.

Chapter 7 will draw together the findings of Chapters 5 and 6 to the discussion of the occurrences of overlap in relation to intersubjectivity. This chapter also discusses the implications of the findings for the nature of overlap, intersubjectivity and APPD.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter. This chapter summarizes the main findings of the research and the discussion of the analyses in Chapters 5 -7 respectively, explicating how they address the research questions. In addition, it highlights the empirical and theoretical contributions of this study to the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity from CA perspective. It ends with the discussion of the limitations of this study and the future research.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Foundations

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the key concepts in CA research, including turn-taking, preference, sequence organization, overlap and repair which are considered as the foundation of this research. The turn-taking system as the basic mechanism of conversation is explained in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 presents the description of sequence organization, its features and operating principles. Section2.4 introduces the concept of overlap, its classification and resolution. Section 2.5 explicates the definition of repair, its dimensions and placement. All these interactional aspects are considered to be the foundation in the examination of intersubjectivity which is the research focus of this study.

2.2 Turn-taking

The essential feature of interaction is that people take turns to talk. That means that people normally talk one after another. As such, the ways in which turn-taking is organized, how participants accomplish orderly turn-taking, and the systematic resources that are used in this accomplishment are seen as the central concerns of CA. For instance, in the examination of news interviews, it is found that the interaction of this format is implemented through an orderly sequence of question-answer (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Heritage, 1992). In the course of a conversation, participants are fundamentally constrained. Interviewers (IRs) are restricted to questioning the interviewees, and interviewees (IEs) are restricted to only answering the interviewer's questions. Thus, it is expected that the interviewee should await the completion of the interviewer's question before offering his/her answer.

Regarding the organization of turn-taking, Sacks, et al. (1972) describe "turn" in terms of two main components, namely, 'turn constructional unit' (TCU) and 'turn allocation unit', and a set of rules. Regarding TCUs, they are characteristic with two key features.

One is that they have the property of 'projectability'. That is, it is possible for participants to project what the next turn is and at what point it is likely to end. This concept will be utilized in Chapters 5 and 6 to explore the relationship between the question-answer sequence and the questions and answers in conversation. The second feature is that TCUs are typically associated with 'transition-relevance places' (TRPs) at their boundaries. That is, at the end of each unit there is a legitimate TRP between the speakers. As far as the rules of conversation is concerned, by operating at an initial TRP, they provide for three main possibilities: (a) that if the current speaker selects the next, then the speakership is transferred to the selected party; (b) that if the current speaker does not select the next speaker, then self-selection is permitted, but is not required; and (c) that if the selected party does not take up the speakership, then current speaker may, but need not, continue. The two components and the set of rules constitute the mechanism of turn-taking system. The three possibilities are used to examine how the speech exchange occurred in APPD in cases utilized in this study.

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Following from this, Sacks, et al. (1974) also claim that forms of talk are arrayed along a continuum. At one end of this continuum is mundane conversation with a locally unpredictable system of turn-taking. At the other end are more institutional forms of conversation whose turn-taking systems pre-specify not only the turn order, but virtually all of the other important features that are locally managed in conversation. Therefore, the operations of turn-taking systems between everyday conversation and institutional conversation are significantly distinct. In mundane conversation, the sequences of what people say and do are not determined in advance (Sacks, et al., 1974). In this sense, conversations are normally unpredictable. Regarding mundane conversation, Garcia (2013: 58) claims that "there are no assumptions or limits on what types of topics can be discussed, or what if any content has to be addressed in anyone's turn. Conversationalists typically end up discussing something, but that topic typically emerges through the joint action of participants rather than having been pre-specified". This indicates that topics can come up freely and are displayed in a variety of ways. Participants are free to shift the topics of conversations and any participant can initiate

and divert a new topic. Participants typically end up discussing topics through the joint action rather than having been prespecified. In addition, the methods used to organize the exchange of turns at talk may vary with culture, the identity or social standing of the participants, and the nature of the activity in which the talk is embedded.

In contrast to this, in institutional conversation, the topics, contributions and order of speakership are organized from the outset in an explicit and predictable way. This kind of organization involves special turn-taking procedures that can be described as special turn-taking systems. Studies of news interviews (Alfahad, 2015a, 2015b; Clayman, 1988, 1992, 2002; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Greatbatch, 1992, 1998; Heritage, 1985; Hutchby, 2011, 2017; Montgomery, 2007) have revealed that the correlation between role and turn type gives the turn-taking system its notable feature. That is, the participants are fundamentally constrained. IRs restrict themselves to questioning and IEs restrict themselves to answering IR questions, or responding to them. This constraint shapes the forms taken by the participants' talk and the order in that they talk to, which are called "turn-type preallocation" (Atkinson and Drew, 1979). Here, the activities of asking and answering questions are preallocated to the roles of IRs and IEs. Additionally, in television news interviews, it is the IR who leads the conversation by selecting the topic of talk. However, Watson (1990) also argues that the turn-taking system cannot be reduced to a mere succession of questions and answers. The format of a news interview essentially constitutes a context in which a journalist seeks to elicit information from one or more newsmakers, experts, or eyewitnesses for the benefit of a radio or television audience. These constraints on the production of types of turns operate with respect to the institutional identities interviewer /interviewee and specify that the incumbents of these roles should confine themselves to asking questions and providing answers. Similarly, in courtroom examination, the turn-taking system preallocates question and answer turns to the counsel and witness respectively, but leaves the size and content of those turns to be interactionally managed (Atkinson and Drew, 1979).These reflect the use of a system of turn-taking that differs from the one employed for mundane conversation in that it pre-allocates particular types of turns to

speakers with specific institutional identities. The features of institutional conversation are utilized to explain the features of APPD in Chapter 4 – 4.2.2.

While turn-taking in conversation displays some intrinsic rules, whether it is in mundane conversation or institutional conversation, it is important to understand that it is generally not the case that a turn is produced because of the rules. Rather, the way in which a turn is taken displays an orientation to the rules. There is not an internalized rule that causes the action. The rule does not precede the action. Rather, the rule is discovered in the action. The aim is not to develop a prescriptive set of rules which are supposed to lie behind action, but to describe and analyze the situated practices of rule used in actual contexts of interaction (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 51). This insight is of significance in developing the awareness that the investigation of interaction is a process of unveiling the underlying rules in conversation. As turn-taking is regarded as the bedrock of intersubjectivity, it will be taken as an overarching term to guide the examination of intersubjectivity throughout this research.

2.3 Sequence Organization and Preference

2.3.1 Sequence

A sequence is defined by Schegloff (2007b: 9) as being "a course of action implemented through talk" which is regarded as clustering of turns at talk. It refers to the actions which occur one after the other on the turn-by-turn basis. When we take turns as "action", we are actually dealing with sequences of actions, namely, "sequence organization" or "the organization of sequences." Sequence organization is like a site in which the participants in a conversation perform actions through talk. Thus, there is an essential consideration that the central concern of talk-in-interaction is the examination of *action* rather than *topicality*; that is, the concern is more for what it is *doing* than for what it is *about* (Schegloff, 2007: 1). Specifically, talk-in-interaction is concerned with how social interaction is organized sequentially; how turns relate to sequences; how sequences relate to activities; and how sequences and activities relate to an overall structural organization of a given interaction. Thus, in examining

conversation, the central concerns is about sequence organization.

In sequence organization, an adjacency pair is a base and minimal sequence which is characterized by the feature of 'nextness' and the fact that each utterance has a reflexive relationship with what comes prior, and with what comes next (Sacks, 1992). The relationship of adjacency or "nextness" between turns is central to the ways in which talk-in-interaction is organized and understood. Adjacency pair organization is operated based on the rule of relevance. That means that, given a first pair part, only certainly types of second pair parts are possible. A first pair part projects a prospective response which is a limited set of possible second pair parts. Conversations often begin with the exchange of greetings and conclude with the exchange of farewells as canonical two-part sequences. An initial 'hello' is often met with another 'hello' in the next turn, constituting an adjacency pair. More importantly, a first pair part is understood by the recipients to display their understanding of the just-prior turn and to embody an action responsive to the just-prior turn.

The importance of the adjacency pair concept is that most adjacency pair types have varying forms for the part of the second pair. This leads to the question of how intersubjectivity or mutual understanding is accomplished and displayed by reference of adjacency pair in talk. Participants can use the adjacency pair mechanism to display to one another their ongoing understanding and sense-making of one another's talk. This means that when the first pair part is produced, it creates an expectation that an appropriately matched second pair part will be the next action in the interaction. And if it is not produced, its absence will be oriented to by the other participants, who may display this orientation in their response to its absence. For example, a participant may try to repair the absence of the second pair part by repeating the first pair part, thus giving the recipient a second chance to respond.

Although the basic two-part sequence can and does stand on its own in social interaction, many sequences can involve one or multiple forms of sequence expansion. Adjacency

pairs may be expanded in various ways. Sequence expansion can precede, intervene in, or follow the base sequence. These positions constitute the three primary forms of expansion: pre-expansion, insert expansion and post-expansion. Pre-expansion is an expansion before the occurrence of a base first pair part, such as pre-invitation, pre-announcement and pre-request and the like. Insert expansions refer to sequences that are inserted between the first and second pair parts of an adjacency pair. Insert expansions can be divided into post-firsts and pre-seconds (Schegloff, 2007). Post-expansions refer to those sequences that follow the second base pair part. Sequence expansion can reveal a variety of interactional goals. Forms of expansion are significant for participants in indicating stance, managing affiliation or alignment, or dealing with issues of intersubjectivity. It is for this reason that understanding how turns are organized into sequences, as well as how and when they are expanded, provide us with substantial evidence to understand what it is that the participants are doing in and through interaction. The concept of sequence organization is applied in the analysis of question-answer sequence and the display of the schemas in Chapters 5 and 6, and the discussion in Chapter 7.

2.3.2 Sequence and Preference

In CA, preference is used to refer to the social and interactional features of sequences (Schegloff, 2007). It reflects the option of selecting one course of action over another in a sequence organization. In conversation, a participant may be able to choose among alternatives to design a particular contribution to the talk and these choices may have different interactional options. For example, a request can be either granted or rejected. Regarding the responses to a request, there are many ways in which a request maybe granted (e.g. "sure", "certainly", "of course") or rejected (e.g. "sorry, I am busy that day", "no way!"). In ordinary conversation, interaction exhibits a systematic bias that favors expressions of agreement over disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984), and more generally approving and affiliative actions over hostile and disaffiliate ones (Heritage 1984a: 265–80). In panel interviews, a debate-framed opening sets an agenda that licenses and encourages expressions of disagreement for the occasion of the interview

(Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 301).The panelists are there to disagree. This displays that disagreement is favored over agreement.

Preferred actions are routinely constructed differently from dis-preferred actions. Ordinarily, preferred actions are accomplished early, in a straightforward and unelaborated way. In contrast, dis-preferred actions are routinely delayed, mitigated and accounted for. As preferred actions are produced straightforwardly, Pomerantz (1984: 65) notes that, in the case of agreement, agreeing actions take up the entire turn at talk and are accomplished with stated agreement components. Disagreements, on the other hand, are often prefaced and may be accomplished with a variety of turns, including partial agreements or partial disagreements. Dis-preferred responses may threaten the face of the co-interactant, embarrass them or lessen their status. Therefore, participants tend to avoid dis-preferred responses, if possible. This is one of the reasons why preferred second pair parts are more common than dis-preferred second pair parts. To minimize threats to face or social awkwardness that a dis-preferred action might create, dis-preferred responses are constructed differently than preferred responses. Dis-preferred responses are typically preceded by some form of delay, are generally formulated indirectly and are typically formulated with mitigation techniques and/or accounts or explanations for the dis-preferred response (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007a). It is noted that "well" is disagreement-implicative, projecting that a declination of the invitation is coming (Garcia, 2013: 71). Sacks (1987) finds that there is an overwhelming preference for answers to agree with the trajectories of the questions to which they respond. A recent ten-language study (Stivers, et al., 2009) has shown that confirming answers were more frequent in all ten languages, and similarly that disconfirming answers are produced with more delay in all ten languages. As such, disagreements, disconfirmations and rejections that are performed with delays, prefaces, mitigation, and accounts generally are interpretable as instances of dis-preferred action. In the context of self-deprecating assessment, Pomerantz (1984) notes that disagreements with prior speakers are preferred responses while agreements display as dis-preferred.

The term *preference* has been employed to characterize the non-equivalent alternatives (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984). The alternative types of second pair part which a first pair part makes relevant are not equivalent, or equally valued. In other words, they are not 'symmetrical alternatives' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973:314). This can be seen in the different responses from different participants during the debates in this study throughout Chapters 5 and 6. Thus, there is a sense in which preference structures play an important role in the maintenance of social solidarity. This can be seen in the case of self-deprecations. In self-deprecations, agreeing with the prior turn would be actually tantamount to endorsing the speaker's self-criticism. Thus, virtually, self-deprecations prefer disagreement; correspondingly, a speaker who wishes to agree with the self-deprecation tends to do so using a dis-preferred turn format (Pomerantz, 1978). That is, disagreements take preferred forms while agreements are produced as dis-preferred (Kotthoff, 1993). For compliments, rejecting a compliment can be seen to be the preferred response because it can be interpreted as displaying modesty whereas accepting a compliment might be seen as arrogant or immodest (Garcia, 2013: 67).

2.3.3 Preference Principle

One important preference principle is recipient design, which refers to how speakers design their talk by orienting to a preference for contiguity. A notable result of the preference for contiguity is that if there are two questions in a turn, the last question usually gets answered first (Sacks 1987). The fact that disagreements are typically found late in turns indicates that there must be a class of objects which come before the disagreement. These objects can be seen in a way as preparing for the forthcoming disagreement. One member of this class is silence. When a dis-preferred first pair part is produced, it may be followed by a silence or no response (Pomerantz, 1984). This displays a particular analysis or interpretation of the silence as a product of a co-interactant's not having heard the prior utterance, not understanding it, or tacitly disagreeing with it. To pursue a response, the speaker normally implements three types of remedies which are clarification, check out the facts and change the assertive position.

The other preference principle is culturally shared preference principles referring to "If possible, minimize stated rejections of requests" (Sidnell and Stiver, 2014: 210). Note that which type of second pair part is preferred may vary from one society to another. For example, Chong (2006) compares how gifts are offered and accepted in the United States and South Korea. In the United States, if one is given a gift, the preferred response is to accept the gift and thank the gift-giver (regardless of whether the gift is something you want or not). However, in South Korea the preferred response is to decline the gift at least several times before finally accepting it (Garcia, 2013: 67).

Sidnell & Stiver (2013) point out that in contrast to the analyses of preferences for responding actions, research on preferences for initiating actions is generally less developed. In general, the analyses of preference principles for initiating actions primarily have focused on their avoidance rather than their commission. Research on news delivery shows that reports of bad news are approached with great caution, with participants sometimes using practices that result in the recipient of the news being the one to articulate it (Maynard, 1996, 2003; Schegloff, 1988d, 2002c; Terasaki, 2004). Similar practices of avoidance hold for a range of initiating actions, including other-corrections, requests, and giving advice. One practice of this type is initiating a repair sequence without supplying the correction. Another practice for minimizing explicit other - corrections is to use an embedded correction (Jefferson, 1987). A third practice that is consistent with the preference principle to minimize explicitly stated other-correction is to abdicate other-correction (Jefferson, 2007).

2.3.4 Questioning in Question-answer Sequence

In social interaction, question-answer sequence is one of the most common sequence organization, in which questioning is a means through which speakers conduct their daily social interaction. This is also the case in the case studies used for this study, which is the primary focus of Chapter 5. Research has shown (Goody, 1978b; Kim, 2016; Steensig and Drew, 2008; Stivers et al., 2010) that 'questioning' is not a simple

action. Steensig and Drew (2008) explicate this phenomenon from five perspectives, among which three are considered to be supportive in the examination of the overlapping questions occurring in the data of this study.

The first concern on questions is about the linguistic resources through which utterances are constructed and recognized as questioning. In English, questions are grammatically constructed through subject-verb reversal of the declarative from, which constitutes polar questions or yes/no questions. Questions might be formed with pre-positioned interrogative words, such as when, who, where, etc., which are called *wh*-questions. There is another type of questions, known as tag questions, which are constructed through post-positioned constructions, such aren't you? Thus, in terms of the question format, how to conduct questioning is dependent on the speakers' communicative purposes.

The second concern is the functions of questions. In general, the fundamental function of questions is to seek information. However, previous studies (Kim, 2016; Koshik, 2003; Schegloff, 1984; Steensig and Drew, 2008) have shown that questions are often vehicles through which other actions, such as suggesting, inviting, requesting, challenging, complaining and complimenting and many others, are implementing. That is, very frequently, questions are found to be seeking information and soliciting an invitation or a complaint at the same time. In this, a question appears to be multi-functional in accomplishing a social action. The previous accounts on questions provide the focuses for this research to examine the overlapping question formats in the data of this study so as to find out what actions the overlapping questions implement in APPD.

The third is the constraining force of questions. In social interaction, question-answer sequence is the most common adjacency pair in conversation. Given the first pair part, the second is expectable. This also reflects on the unfolding of question-answer sequence. This is, when a question is solicited, an answer is expected. In addition, researches show that questions display variously to constrain answers through questions'

presuppositions, preference organizations, and topical and action agendas (Boyd and Heritage, 2006; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Heritage and Clayman, 2010). It can be seen that questions in nature possess the controlling force in the construction of conversation via the manipulation of questions' presuppositions, preference organization, and topical and action agendas. The three constraints will be applied to the examination of the overlapping questions in this research, which is discussed in Chapter 5 - 5.2.3.

In sum, the investigation of one of the research focuses of this study, namely overlapping questions, which is to be analyzed in Chapter 5 will be based on the studies of questioning in literature in this section.

2.4 Overlap

Overlap refers to talk being carried out by "more than one at a time" (Schegloff, 2000: 7). This study uses the term overlap to refer to the simultaneous talk by more than one at a time and avoids using the term "interruption" for two reasons. The first is that overlap is the term generally used within CA and the other is that "interruption" has negative connotations. In the seminal paper "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation", Sacks et al. (1974) claim that the organization of turn-taking practices embodies a basic feature of "one-at-a-time", with "no gap, no overlap" between turns. Thus, overlap appears as a deviant case of the existence of the turn-taking mechanism, displaying as "more than one at a time". Overlap is examined in further detail throughout Chapters 5-7. This section presents the classification, types and resolution of overlap in literature, which are assumed to be supportive for the examination of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause in this study.

2.4.1. Classification of Overlap Onset

CA views the positioning of an utterance in the ongoing conversation as fundamental to the understanding of its meaning and to the analysis of its significance as an action.

Sacks et al. (1974: 706) identify overlap either as occurring at TRP or non-TRP. This is applied in the cases examined in Chapter 5. According to Sacks et al. (1974), when overlaps occur at TRPs, the occurrences of overlap is "common, but brief". When overlaps occur at non-TRPs, some of them may display as choral production while others may result in a substantial incursion into the current speaker's utterance in progress. The former does not intervene the flow of the conversation. However, the latter displays to disrupt the ongoing conversation and indicates the emerging problems. Though other researchers also propose their classification, such as Jefferson (1984a) and Drew (2010), this study adopts the classification of TRP and non-TRP to conduct the observation and analysis of the occurrences of overlap since this division gives more attention on the flow of the conversation, which is the central concern of this research.

In respect to overlap onset resources, Schegloff (2000) notes a series of verbal features that are deployed by speakers in the course of competitive overlap. These include speech rate, cut-offs, sound stretches and repetition or recycling of prior material. Apart from these, it is found that, in bilingual conversation, code-switch may function as a "turn security device" to enhance second speakers' chance to gain the floor (Cromdal, 2001). In the investigation of overlapping talk, Gorisch et al. (2012) find that the overlapping speaker may use a pitch contour to match the current speaker's contour to align with his/her talk. Interestingly, in British university settings, Konakahara (2015) illustrates that overlapping questions are employed by the international students from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds international to mobilize the development of ongoing interaction. Apart from verbal resources, non-verbal resources are found to be profound in the participation of overlap speech. Lee et al. (2008) find that hand movements is important resources in the discrimination between turn-competitive and non-competitive overlaps. In the study of French mundane conversations, Mondada and Oloff (2013) show that gestures during overlap is associated with the onset of problematic overlaps. In addition, Skelt (2013) also find that the availability (or non-availability) of the gaze and potential recipiency of the hearing-impaired co-participant is significant in the initiation and resolution of overlapping talk between hearing-

impaired participants and their experienced communication partners. These studies indicate that non-verbal resources along with verbal resources play a significant role in the produce of overlapping talk.

2.4.2 Competitive Overlap and Non-competitive Overlap

Overlapping speech instances are characterized as briefness which displays the feature that overlaps most often occur at possible completion turns, that is, around the TRP where the current speaker should terminate his or her turn (Sacks et al, 1974). However, it is found that overlap can actually occur at any point in the ongoing turn (Jefferson, 2004), displaying as being competitive or non-competitive in relation to turn-taking system (Schegloff, 2000).

Competitive overlaps are normally considered as those utterances which are employed to compete for the turn-space between speakers (Jefferson, 1984, 2003; Schegloff, 2000). They demonstrate that speakers do not drop out of the overlap but continue, being aware that overlap is taking place. This is associated with turn competition. Two different types of competitive overlap have been proposed as 'competitive incomings' (French and Local, 1983) and 'simultaneous start-ups' (Schegloff, 2000). The former displays as that the incomer is intended to compete for the floor before the current speaker completes his/her turn while the later displays as that more than one overlapping speakers start simultaneously to compete for the speakership with the current speaker.

There is a general consideration that competitive overlap normally occurs at non-TRP. However, French and Local (1983) argue that the overlap at a non-TRP does not always characterize the incoming speech as turn-competitive. What makes the incoming turn appear as turn-competitive is not directly related to the location of overlaps but the combination of prosodic features of higher pitch and increased loudness. That is, an incoming occurrence to be treated as turn-competitive is normally to be designed with relatively high pitch and loud volume. Studies (Kurtic et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2008;

Schegloff, 2000) have revealed that prosodic features, including frequency height, intensity, speech rate, cut-offs, sound stretches, repetition and recycling of prior material and rhythm, are important resources for turn competitive overlaps in the course of the ongoing turn.

In addition, in the case of competitive overlap, competing for the conversational floor may be associated with attempts at conversational dominance and may have negative impacts on the self-esteem of a conversation partner (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Moreover, it may have several negative implications, such as the disruption of the flow of conversation and decreased efficiency in fulfilling the function of the conversation (Schegloff, 2000).Therefore, in everyday conversation, competitive overlap is largely avoided, with either partner adopting devices and behaviors for the minimization of gaps and overlap or drop out quickly as they arise in conversation.

With regard to non-competitive overlaps, those occurring at TRP display as "terminal overlaps" or "simultaneous starts" while some others incurring in the ongoing turn display as "continuers" (Schegloff, 1982), "backchannel" (Yngve, 1970), or "response token" (Gardner, 2001; Stivers, 2008) and "conditional access"(Schegloff, 2000). According to Lerner (1999a, b), non-competitive overlaps can be classified as collaborative and choral overlaps. All these types of instances display that the overlapping speakers do not intend to compete for the floor. Overlaps are treated as appropriate in these circumstances. The division of competitive overlap and non-competitive overlap is applied in the analysis of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause throughout Chapters 5 and 6.

2.4.3 Overlap Resolution

Conversation, especially mundane conversation, mainly displays as a cooperative activity. As mentioned previously, the general system of turn-taking is that people talk one after another. Normally, the next speaker does not start to speak until the prior speaker finishes. Therefore, any co-speech or simultaneous speech turns might hinder

the hearing of information or the joint understandings of the participants. Consequently, in some settings, overlapping talk may appear as interruptive, though not necessarily. Participants' efforts to resolve overlap demonstrate their normative orientation to the (re)establishment of the state of one-party-at-a-time. Dropping out is regarded as the "first-order" resolution device which is used to resume the state of one-at-a-time in talk (Jefferson, 2004; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2000; Sidnell, 2012). This is used in the analysis of all the occurrences of overlapping questions, statements and applause throughout Chapters 5 and 6.

Though overlapping talk might intervene the flow of conversation and normally need to be resolved, it is found that it is not always the case. In the conversation between a mother and a child with auditory neuropathy, overlap displays to contribute to mutual understanding and serves to progress the talk in the activity of shared book reading (Anstey and Well, 2013). In the casual English as a lingua franca conversation, international students from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds utilize overlapping questions to actively contribute to the development of ongoing interaction on social occasions in British university setting (Konakahara, 2015). In the conversation between individuals with dementia and their frequent communication partners, overlapping talks are found to facilitate the flow of the conversation.

2.5 Repair

2.5.1 Definition of Repair

Repair is defined as the "practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation, which include such things as misarticulations, malapropisms, use of a 'wrong' word, unavailability of a word" (Schegloff, 1987a: 210). It is a notable recurring feature throughout Chapter 5. Actually, conversations do not always go smoothly. Understanding problems may arise in the course of talk when speakers do not or cannot express themselves clearly, recipients fail to hear clearly or interactants cannot understand each other and so on. As such, repair is used to ensure that communication does not freeze in its place. Some actions are

taken so that intersubjectivity is restored, and communication can be carried on and completed. Schegloff (1992) takes repair in conversation as "the last defense of intersubjectivity". In other words, when problems or troubles arise in communication, repair can function as an action to fix them. Thus, this is assumed to be in relation to the phenomenon of overlap occurring frequently in the data of this study and to be in supportive in the examination.

2.5.2 Dimensions of Repair

Repair is a mechanism in conversation that displays a distinction between who initiates repair and who makes the repair. The dimensions of the organization of repair are classified as self-initiated repair which occurs in all positions and other-initiated repair which is initiated in the next turn after the trouble-source turn (Schegloff et al., 1977). Both self-initiated and other-initiated repairs are featured with the suspension of the progressivity of the interaction. Normally, self-initiated repair in same-TCU interrupts the progressivity of the turn whereas other-initiated repair interrupts the progressivity of the sequence (Kitzinger, 2012: 231). This classification is used to analyze how the intersubjective problems were resolved in Chapter 5. As far as the issue of who has the priority for to do the repair, it is found that the first opportunity for repair goes to the speaker of the talk that embodies trouble, that is, to the speaker of the trouble source (Sacks, et al., 1974). As such, most trouble is resolved within the same turn of talk. The next opportunity for repair goes, in the next turn of talk, to other speakers (Schegloff, 1992). That means that the repair is done in a separate turn.

Self-initiated repair is a type of repair in the same TCU which a current speaker interrupts the ongoing progressivity of talk, before reaching possible completion, to fix some possible trouble in speaking, listening, or understanding. Self-initiated repair can be further divided into self-initiated self-repair and self-initiated other-repair. It is found that repair initiated by the current speaker in the same turn as the trouble source initiation is typically implemented by non-lexical perturbations in speech, such as cut-offs, sound stretches and pauses (Schegloff, 1979b; Schegloff *et al.,* 1977). Sound

stretches are a typical device that is often used in word searching. It is therefore employed within a word to serve to initiate repair of some next element. Apart from these, self-initiated repair can also be carried out by repair operations as replacing, inserting, deleting, searching, parenthesizing, aborting, sequence jumping, recycling, reforming, and reordering speech (Kitzenger, 2012).

Other-initiated repair is sequence which indicates that the prior speaker has trouble in hearing or understanding an utterance or part of the prior speaker's utterances. Research has demonstrated that a repair sequence is an adjacency pair consisting of two main parts (Schegloff et al., 1977: 365). The first pair part is the repair-initiation turn which displays trouble in hearing or understanding the preceding turn; usually, this is done with a question. This question places a constraint on the recipient to provide an answer. The second pair part is a turn which is employed to resolve the issue. In multi-person interactions, a unique type of other-initiated repair sometimes occurs, namely, repair that can be initiated by more than one speaker. This multi-person interactional format seems to be used by the second (and sometimes third) repair initiation speaker to show affiliation through which the conversation structurally displays as a two-party interaction. Consequently, they do not seem to act as separate speakers but more as a single 'party' of speakers (Schegloff, 1995).

Additionally, other-initiated repair is a cooperative behavior which displays as a joint work by communicators to reach mutual understanding in communication (Clark and Schaefer, 1987; Robinson, 2014; Schegloff, 2000). As earlier stated, other-initiations are more likely to occur in the next turn after the trouble source. However, there are still possibilities for repair to occur during the turn in which the trouble source occurs. That is, it is possible for a recipient to interrupt the current speaker during the current turn. The systematic relations between the three turns, namely, trouble source, repair initiation and solution show that other-initiated repair has system properties, meaning that there is a range of different formats for other-initiation of repair (Dingemanse, Blythe and Dirksmeyer 2014; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; Schegloff 1997a).

These vary along a continuum from 'weak' to 'strong' which ranges from open class form, category-specific interrogatives, repeat of the trouble-source turn to candidate understandings. Being the weak format of initiation of repair, the open class forms, such as "*Pardon*?", "*Sorry*?", "*What*?", do not identify the repairable items in the prior turns, or specify the nature of the difficulty which the speakers have in understanding what their co-participants have just said. They leave 'open' what is the repairable trouble which the speaker is having with the prior turn (Drew, 1997). As such, the targets of open class forms of other initiated repair are not specific. In the implementation of repair, there is a general rule in the selection of repair initiation – use the strongest one if you can (Svennevig, 2008).

2.5.3 The Placement of Repair

In a conversation, the types of repair are associated with sequential locations for repair. In general, repair is identified in terms of its location in five positions, namely, same turn repair, transition space repair, second position repair, third position repair and fourth position repair (Kitzinger, 2012).

Regarding *same turn repair* in the ongoing conversation, speakers normally implement the fixing solution of the trouble in their talk through the employment of self-initiated repair before the completion of their TCU. Even when the trouble source is located at the terminal placement of the TCU, speakers can cut it off so as to initiate repair within the not-yet-completed TCU. In the same turn repair, apart from fixing the problems or troubles in speaking, hearing and understanding, repair can also be used in the service of the action the speaker means to be doing with the talk. Repair can also be used to 'fine-tune' a turn in the service of the action(s) speakers mean to be doing. Upgrading or downgrading the force of the action of a turn is a common way of 'fine-turning' a turn (Liddicoat, 2007).

Transition space repair is the instance that speakers initiate repair in the transition space after the whole of the terminal element of the TCU is produced. Since the transition

space is vulnerable to start-up from another speaker, repairs initiated in transition space are regularly started with audible haste, and may find themselves in overlap with an incoming speaker. Some later initiations of transition space repair are found to be launched after a gap of silence at the end of the TCU. They have been displayed as interactionally-motivated vehicles for a different action. However, the repair initiated in the transition space can target a trouble-source that is not the terminal element of the TCU. In some instances, many transition space repairs may not be embodied with explicit signals that repair is thought to be. But when signals are used, they are most likely to display as the lexical repair prefaces such as "I mean", "well" or "actually" that are used in the same TCU (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2010). In general, repair operations in the transition space make them similar to same turn repair. As far as it is concerned, there is little systematic research on transition space repair so far (Kitzinger, 2012).

Third turn repair is characterized with the same features as transition space repair, except that there is intervening talk from another speaker. "What differentiates the cases is the presence or absence of talk from another between repairable and repair. Otherwise, they are cut from the same cloth." (Schegloff, 1997a: 36). In other words, in a segment which consists of three turns, the repair is positioned in third turn after the second turn which does not indicate any problems or troubles. More specifically, 'turn 1' is the utterance that embodies a trouble-source; 'turn 2' is the utterance from another speaker who neither claims nor embodies any 'trouble' with the prior turn; in 'turn 3', the speaker of the first turn goes back and repairs the trouble source. That is, it is considered that third turn repair is undertaken after a response which treats the trouble source turn as communicatively adequate, and which does not reveal any 'misunderstanding' of it. This is significantly distinctive from third position repair.

Regarding *third position repair,* when speakers respond to a prior turn, they express in the following turn that they have a misunderstanding of that prior turn. When problematic understandings occur, speakers who produced the misunderstood talk can undertake to repair the misunderstanding, and this can thus constitute "third position

repair" (Schegloff. 1992). Schegloff (1992b) has proposed four typical formats for third position repair which consist of a repair-initiating component; an agreement/acceptance component; a rejection component and the repair proper. Vast majority of third position repair occur after the trouble source. Since other-initiated repair can adumbrate trouble that goes beyond speaking, hearing or understanding the talk, third position repair as a typical other-initiated repair can be regarded as a fix of the problematic understanding of the first turn produced by the trouble speaker. Therefore, Schegloff (1992) describes third position as "the last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity". Based upon the classification of the repair position outlined in this section, third position repair is the type of repair discussed in Chapter 5.

Fourth position repair is very infrequently employed as most problems are dealt with. However, possibilities still remain. Fourth position repair allows an opportunity for a recipient of original trouble source to repair a problem of understanding which has become evident as a result of talk produced in the third position. Schegloff (1992) explicates fourth position repair with the following schema:

> A: T1 (e.g. Q1)
> B: T2 (e.g. A1)
> A: T3 (e.g. Q2)
> B: …   ←

In this schema, Speaker A speaks for one turn, (T1), which turns out to be a trouble source, which normally takes the form of a question. Speaker B produces a sequential next turn, (T2). If T1 is an initial question, then T2 can be assumed to be an answer to that question. However, if T2 displays a problematic understanding of T1, the following turn, (T3), can produce a follow-up question which functions as a form of initiated-repair. Following T3, in fourth position, B gets back to undertake to address the issue in T1 with a repair. The illustration demonstrates that third position repair allows a speaker of some trouble source to deal with a problematic understanding whilst fourth

position repair allows the recipient of the trouble to do the repair. The former displays as other-initiated self-repair whilst the latter as other-initiated other-repair. In the studies of fourth position repair, very frequently, in the classroom interaction, when a student's response is treated as inadequate by the teacher, the third-position turn can, for example, be a repair-initiation seeking a correction by the student in the fourth turn of the sequence (Sidnell and Stiver, 2012: 598).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attended to the concepts in CA relevant for the analysis chapters and laid the foundation for the exploration of the research focus - intersubjectivity. In CA, turn-taking system is regarded as the bedrock of intersubjectivity and constructed through the unfolding of the turn-by-turn conversation which is regarded as "the architecture of intersubjectivity" (Schegloff, 2000). To examine the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity, interactional issues, such as preference, sequence organization, overlap and repair, need to be taken into consideration. Next chapter focuses on the introduction of intersubjectivity and its attributive dimensions.

Chapter 3 Intersubjectivity and Attributive Dimensions

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the discussion of intersubjectivity and its attributive dimensions. Section 3.2 discusses the role of intersubjectivity in CA, including the origin, definition, interactional, institutional and cultural features. This also explicates the three dimensions which contribute to the construction of intersubjectivity, namely accountability, epistemics, (dis)affiliation. Section 3.3 explains the relation between accountability and intelligibility and their contribution to the construction of intersubjectivity. Section 3.4 accounts for how the asymmetry between speakers functions as the driving force of conversation. Section 3.5 describes how (dis)affiliation is established on the basis of intersubjectivity and how intersubjectivity and (dis)affiliation come into play to demonstrate the fulfillment of the goal of APPD. Through the review of the four issues in this chapter, it is expected to show how accountability, epistemics and (dis)affiliation co-operate to contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity in one way or another. If the review in Chapter 2 is the foundation of

3. 2 Intersubjectivity

3.2.1 Intersubjectivity in Conversation Analysis

The concept of intersubjectivity in conversation analysis stems from the study of the situated, interactional and performative nature of intersubjectivity which is emphasized by Goffman (1959), Garfinkel (1984) and Schegloff (1992). Ethnomethodology initially came to the attention of researchers studying the relationship between talk and intersubjectivity. This is further developed by conversation analysts. In ethnomethodology, intersubjectivity was conceived of as primarily a condition for communication. Intersubjectivity is proposed by Garfinkel (1984) as the shared, but often implicit, taken-for-granted assumptions that enable human communicative interaction. He suggests that the tightly woven intersubjective fabric of assumptions

tends only to become visible when breached. To make these intersubjective assumptions visible, and thus researchable, he instructed his students to break the common assumptions of social interaction and record what happened. By asking "How are you?", the participant would ignore the routine and expected response as being called a 'ritual' utterance by Goffman. This breaching experiments led to many significant theoretical insights into the nature of intersubjectivity. It was found that the participants' sense of mutual understanding and trust in a shared reality is profoundly disrupted in the social interaction when the conversation does not undergo within conversation convention.

In CA, intersubjectivity acknowledges that as embodied social agents we share in some degree of a ''co-conception or co-orientation to the world' (Schegloff, 1992: 1296). By making sense of one another's actions and displaying this understanding in their social conduct, participants at talk collaboratively accomplish mutual understanding through turn-by-turn interaction, displaying as a social process (Heritage 1984a; Schegloff 1991). This process is described by Heritage as being the "architecture of intersubjectivity" (1984: 254). By giving a relevant response, participants implicitly display their understanding of the prior turn, demonstrating intersubjectivity. Conversely, a non-relevant next response reveals a speaker's problematic understanding of the prior turn, thus implying a breakdown in intersubjectivity. It is the next turn that displays achievements or breakdowns of intersubjectivity. This is used as the main principle in the examination of the intersubjectivity in the question-answer/response sequence in the data collected for this study. In sum, CA, regards intersubjectivity as shared understanding which relies on joint communication. It emphasizes that understanding should be treated as a collective achievement in social activities.

3.2.2 Intersubjectivity as a Collective Achievement

As illustrated in the previous section, intersubjectivity is not seen as an internal mental process, but it is instead taken as interactive processes through which intersubjectivity

is negotiated turn-by-turn in conversation. Intersubjectivity is treated as a relational phenomenon. A turn at talk is assumed to be connected to the previous turn in a certain manner, meaning that a turn at talk performs a kind of interpretative work of its predecessor. For example, a turn produced as an acceptance displays that its speaker understands the previous turn as an offer, directed at them. Any turn at talk displaying an understanding of the previous turn at talk has been described as "the building block of intersubjectivity" (Heritage, 1984a: 256). This is a generic feature underlying in the turn-by-turn interaction. Therefore, intersubjectivity is not something abstract, remote or impossible to achieve, rather intersubjectivity is routine and even mundane. Intersubjectivity is "woven into the very warp and weft of ordinary conversation." (Schegloff, 1992: 1299)

Since intersubjectivity is a consequence of moment-by-moment interaction, one of the essential forces that drives the conversation is recipient design (Sacks et al., 1974). As such, conversation analysts rely on the next turn as a proof procedure to check recipients' understandings of the turns. This procedure is called "next-turn proof procedure" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008: 13). However, it is argued that participants do not rely exclusively on next-turn interaction to manage intersubjectivity, at least in terms of current speakers assessing whether or not recipients understand current talk. Robinson (2014)'s study shows how conversationalists can manage intersubjectivity without relying on next turn but through conversation's generic organization of repair by reference to repair-opportunity spaces. He finds that, at each next transition-relevance place, if recipients do not take up the structurally provided opportunities to initiate repair, if current speakers do not enact self-repair, and if current speakers continue speaking by producing a next turn, then both current speakers and recipients tacitly orient to recipients as having understood the current speaker's immediately prior actions. That is, current speakers do not always or necessarily rely on recipients' next-turn talk as a proof-procedure for assessing recipients' understandings of immediately current talk. Current speakers may extend their turns in ways that presuppose that recipients understood immediately prior talk. This evidence demonstrates that

intersubjectivity does not solely rely on next turn as proof but generic organization of repair.

In addition, throughout everyday communication, intersubjectivity, namely mutual understanding, is rarely explicit in conversation (Heritage, 2007; Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1992). Most frequently, it is constructed, exhibited, and sustained by means of implicit procedures through ongoing mutual interaction. Schegloff (1992) notices that, when the first pair part does not get responded and results in silence, it does not mean that the first pair part does not get understood. Virtually, the person who is observed to be "not talking" can be heard to be "not answering". That is, silence constitutes a relevant absence. It is relevance rules that implicitly bind actions together and make up as adjacency pairs. Therefore, intersubjectivity is an underlying factor in the procedural organization of talk-in-interaction, and it is operated implicitly.

3.2.3 The Progression and Breakdown of Intersubjectivity

Progressivity is an important mechanism which governs the organization of talk-in-interaction. Schegloff (2007:14-15) defines that "moving from some element to an audible-next-one with no interference is the embodiment of, and the measure of, progressivity". This indicates that the principle of progressivity embodies an orientation to the temporal advancement of talk within turns and sequences. As mutual understanding is necessary for the successful progression of interaction, the maintenance of intersubjectivity takes priority over progressivity. When understanding appears to have been breached, it must be remedied in the first place. In other words, if one participant does not understand the other's prior action, or if their action is not an appropriate next to the previous action, then it has to be overcome before a sequence of actions can continue. In this sense, progressivity and mutual understanding are inextricably intertwined. Talk can only progress on the condition that mutual understanding is displayed. Should the understanding appear to be threatened, the progress of the activity at hand will be put on hold. The absence of any repair within the turn-taking system indicates that the conversation is unproblematic. Conversely, a

non-relevant next response reveals a speaker's problematic understanding of the prior turn, thus implying a breakdown in intersubjectivity and displaying to be in need of repair.

When mutual understanding is breached, repair functions should be employed as a device to restore the sequence progressivity of conversation. The breakdown of mutual understanding often appears in the turn after the problematic turn, which is known as 'third position repair' (Schegloff, 1992b).This means that, when intervenes appear in sequence contiguity between current and next and defers sequence completion, next-turn repair is the main resource to resume sequence progressivity (Schegloff, 1992, 2007; Schegloff et al., 1977). As such, it is the next turn that displays breakdowns or achievements of intersubjectivity (Heritage, 2007; Lucas M. Seuren, et al., 2016; Sterponi and Fasulo, 2010). Efforts by interactants, such as conversational repair, constitute a normal aspect of dialogue as participants strive to address problems to their mutual understanding. Therefore, conversation analysts rely on the next turn as a proof procedure to check participants' understandings of the turns. Thus, recipients' understandings are demonstrated in the course of their next-turn talk. As such, repair after next turn is regarded by Schegloff (1992) as "the last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity" which consistently holds the attention in CA (Dingemanse et al., 2014; Dingemanse and Engield, 2015a; Manrique and Enfield, 2015b; Schegloff et al., 1974).

3.2.4 Intersubjectivity in Institutional and Cultural Settings

It is widely noticed that CA looks at conversation more within the text for its explanations, and avoids reference to phenomena beyond the text, such as cultures or social institutions. The main goal of CA is to perceive actions in contingencies which is different from other linguistic disciplines. Thus, intersubjectivity should be thought of as a process that occurs in group interaction and collaboration in the ongoing conversation. However, some argue that talk is apparently situated in institutional and cultural contexts. For example, Talamo and Pozzi (2011) illustrate their model of joint

understandings using the interactions of tutors in an e-learning project who most likely shared many cultural assumptions about their roles and activities. Additional background on the participants, their work environment, and their shared cultural understandings would help understand the role that their dialogue is playing in creating intersubjectivity. Similarly, Correa-Chavez and Roberts (2012) hold that any analysis of interaction failing to take cultural patterns of communication and interaction into account is necessarily incomplete. In Sacks' study (1992) of a Californian earthquake, he found that people who had house guests at the time may well have found themselves apologizing for the earthquake. As such, Sacks (1992a: 226) claims that "culture is an apparatus for generating recognizable actions" or an "inference-making machine" (1992a: 119). This study agrees with Sacks (1992a) claim that the operation of intersubjectivity may as well be distinctive in different settings.

3.3 Accountability and Intersubjectivity

In CA, intersubjectivity generally relies on accountability in demand of intelligibility. Accountability refers to the intelligibility of conduct in interaction (Schegloff, 2000). In other words, interactants manipulate their conduct in social interaction on a turn-by-turn basis in pursuit of the establishment of mutual understanding on the basis of intelligibility which requires the implementation of account. That means that the operation of the architecture of intersubjectivity fundamentally relies on interactants making their actions accountable for intelligibility. To make the conduct in interaction accountable to establish intersubjectivity, speakers have to put the principle of recipient design as the priority (Robinson, 2013). That means that current speakers need to account for their talk design so as to make the recipients understand what they say. Thus, mutual understanding is something of a collaborative enterprise, in which the accountability of talk is operated and accomplished through the speaker's projection of initiation and the recipient's understanding of the prior utterance.

According to Robinson (2013), accountability is primarily associated with two senses. One is the accountability of conduct's action. The other is accounting for conduct in

interaction. Regarding the accountability of conduct's action, it is about the accounts that can be employed to constitute a conduct, namely an action. It is related with action formation and action recognition. In other words, in interaction between two speakers, the turn that the first speaker designs for the next speaker relies on how the first speaker describes it, or accounts for it. That means speakers construct their conduct so as to be recognized as an action by the recipients. Mutual intelligibility requires that speakers design their actions that others can discern in them what speakers intend (Wootton, 1989). This is the first sense which Robinson (2016) calls as "accountability of conduct's action".

With respect to accounting for conduct in interaction, there are two central concerns which are focused on the responsibility or morality and preference in interaction. Firstly, in interaction, interactants are morally responsible consistently for recognizing, understanding, and adhering to relevance rules in the course of conversation. This responsibility constrains interactants to abide by the rules. Actions that shirk this responsibility need to provide accounts for the irresponsibility in terms of its breach of relevance rules. Secondly, there is a principle of preference which manipulates the expectation of the construction of responses. When speakers produce a dispreferred response, they are normally expected to account for doing so in some way and in the same turn as their dis-preferred action. Similarly to the preference for self-correction, there is a preference for self-accounting. When responders fail to provide accounts for dis-preferred responses, other interactants normally initiate solicitations to pursue them (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Ford, 2001; Ford, Fox and Hellerman, 2004; Robinson, 2009). In this study, accountability normally is referred to the second sense - accounting for conduct in interaction, which is discussed throughout Chapter 5 and Chapter 7 – 7.2.1 and 7.2.2.

3.4 Epistemic Asymmetry and Intersubjectivity

In social talk-in-interaction, apart from the demand of accountability for intelligibility, intersubjectivity also relies on the parties' shared epistemic knowledge about the world

in the process of information transmission (Clark, 1996; Enfield, 2006; Garfinkel, 1967b; Mead, 1934; Schutz, 1962b; Tomasello, 2008). The distribution of the speakers' epistemic knowledge is generally considered as the motive which drives the talk forward. The social distribution of knowledge can form the basis of epistemic communities who possess specific forms of knowledge (Holzner, 1968). Heritage (2013) holds that the congruency of epistemic stances between participants plays an important role in the turn design in talk-in-interaction. Meanwhile, he also asserts the influence of epistemics in action formation and sequence organization in talk-in-interaction, which plays an important role in the intersubjectivity between speakers in the interaction.

The design of questions communicates the extent to which the questioner may already have some access to the information solicited: this can be understood as the questioner's epistemic stance. The questions are designed in terms of the epistemic gradient they establish between questioner and respondent. Different question formats indicate different epistemic knowledge between questioner and respondent as the examples shown below:

Q1 Yes/no interrogative: *Are you married*?
Q2 Statement + interrogative tag: *You're married, aren't you*?
Q3 Yes/no declarative question: *You're married*?

Q1 conveys that the questioner does not have prior knowledge of the respondent's marital status, and represents a deeply sloping epistemic gradient between an unknowing (K-) questioner and a knowledgeable (K+) respondent. By contrast, Question 2 conveys a strong hunch as to the likelihood of a particular response, and a shallower "K-" to "K+" epistemic gradient. Q3 indexes a still stronger commitment to the likelihood that the respondent is married and a correspondingly shallow "K- to K+" epistemic gradient. Q1, an "unknowing" stance of a yes/no interrogative, invites elaboration and sequence expansion while Q3, the "knowing" yes/no declarative form,

invites confirmation of "known information" by the recipient, who is projected as an authoritative source (Raymond, 2010; Turner, 2008). Heritage (2013) claims that "one driver of conversational sequence is built out of the 'seesaw' of K+ /K−epistemic positions". Therefore, an 'unknowing' epistemic stance as intends to invite elaboration and projects the possibility of sequence expansion whist the more 'knowing' formats represented tend to invite confirmation and sequence closure (Heritage, 2010; Heritage and Raymond, 2012; Raymond, 2010).

It is considered that epistemic asymmetry warrants conversational contributions and thus motivates and drives sequences of interaction (Heritage, 2013). On this 'epistemic seesaw', both K+ and K−epistemic stances can form the basis for sequence initiation and expansion. If the epistemic seesaw can drive topical talk forward, the arrival at epistemic 'balance' is implicated in the closure of sequences, topics, and indeed of whole conversations (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Sequence closing thirds (Schegloff, 2007b) such as *oh* that implement a 'change of state' proposal to indicate that an information gap is now filled are one means of sequence and/or topic closure (Heritage, 1984a). Another is the use of idiomatic expressions that, in Drew and Holt's (1998) analysis, begin a process of disengagement from the concrete details of a topic, while adding nothing new and avoiding the expression of either K + or K−positions. A third form of epistemic balance, briefly illustrated here, involves what Jefferson (1981b) terms topic attrition/topic hold in which neither party adds anything significant to the sequence.

Institutional interactions are frequently characterized by a variety of asymmetrical relationships between institutional parties. One of these relationships involves epistemic knowledge, or the distribution of knowledge, and rights to knowledge, between the parties (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 1997; Lee, 2016). In a study of investigating how medical patients present their ailments to physicians, Heritage & Clayman (2010) make a distinction between what are presented as "known" and "unknown" medical problems. When patients believe they have a clear-cut and

legitimate medical condition, the problems appear to be routine illness defined as "known" problem. Patients tend to present these types of "known" problems with a brief overview of symptoms. However, when problems are difficult to put into words, the use of narrative is a real advantage because it allows the patient to tell the story of their problem. This can be done in their own words, in an order of their own choosing, incorporating elements sensation and context, reaction of others, the reasoning process by which some interpretations were discounted and others entertained, and by which revisions in perspective emerged. In short, narratives permit the patient to give an account of illness that is under their control and develops mutual understanding, even when the speaker may feel less grounded than they may in other circumstances.

Similarly, Lee (2016) examines reservation-related calls to an airline service and found epistemic asymmetries in the distribution of knowledge between air passengers and service agents. The results indicate that these are tied to, or rooted in parties' roles and identities (Lee, 2016: 196). Generally, service agents are expected to possess more knowledge concerning reservation services, while customers can be more knowledgeable on reservation-related matters from prior reservation-making experience. When customers enter calls with credible, and often detailed, reservation-related knowledge, they tend to initiate courses of action related to such knowledge by seeking confirmation of its accuracy. They do so in ways that orient towards and defer to agents' epistemic authority. The agents' answers confirm that the parties have incongruous knowledge while the customers tend to initially acknowledge or accept agents' information, and then go on to construct counter-informings that pursues resolution to the knowledge incongruity. Lee's (2016) research suggests that the epistemic asymmetries and the customers' accountability, grounded in institutional contexts can extend over the initiation and unfolding sequences of action. Relative to service seekers, service providers tend to have more institutional expertise and knowledge (Heritage, 2013), as well as more direct, immediate, and current access to institutional information. As such, service providers tend to have epistemic privilege and authority relative to service seekers. The concept of 'epistemic asymmetry' is

discussed in Chapter 5 – Section 5.5 and Chapter 7 – 7.2.3.

3.5 (Dis)affiliation and Intersubjectivity

In CA, (dis)affiliation and (dis)alignment are two distinct terms which have been used to explain different types of responses by reference of preference. Affiliation is associated with preferred response and supportive of solidarity while disaffiliation with dis-preferred response and destructive of solidarity (Schegloff, 1984). In early studies, "(dis)affiliation" and "(dis)alignment" are two terms which are interchangeably used to refer to the same responsive actions. Stivers (2008) is the first to make a distinction between the two concepts in the environment of storytelling. Regarding (dis)alignment, according to Stivers, aligning action is referred to the response which is supportive of the telling of story whereas dis-aligning action is referred to the one which is disruptive of the telling. It is agreed that alignment and dis-alignment are concerned with the structural level of (non-) cooperation while affiliation is referred to the response that supports and endorses the teller's stance, or point of view whereas disaffiliation as the opposite (Stivers, Mondada and Steensig, 2011). As such, affiliative and dis-affiliative actions are more concerned with those responses which either support or oppose the prior speakers' stances. That is, (dis)affiliation is normally involved in the affective level of cooperation in that affiliative responses maximally match the prior speaker's evaluative stance, display empathy and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action. This study adopts and use (dis)affiliation as a term in the analysis because it refers to a kind of responsive action in association with affective stances which suits the interest of this study. This concept is employed in the discussion of overlapping statements and applause throughout Chapter 6 and in Chapter 7 – 7.3.

Affiliation or dis-affiliation can be accomplished via verbal and non-verbal resources. In the employment of verbal resources, one way of providing a strong agreement with the co–participant's prior assessment is to preserve the syntactic format and evaluative term of the prior assessment but add an intensifier to the responding turn (Pomerantz, 1984a). In the reception of complaint stories, Couper-Kuhlen (2012) finds that verbal

resources, such as congruent negative assessment and by-proxy justification, are used to demonstrate affiliative reception. According to Stivers (2008), assessments and second stories are important resources which can be employed to accomplish the affiliative reception at story completion and thus demonstrate the recipient's affiliation with the storyteller's stance. Thus, the examination of the verbal resources can ensure the understanding of how affiliative and dis-affiliative actions are accomplished.

Regarding the contribution of non-lexical resources to affiliation and disaffiliation, phonetic and prosodic resources, acknowledgement token, laughter, applause and the like play an important role in the construction. These prosodic and nonverbal practices used for affiliation and disaffiliation are widely found in talk-in-interaction. In the study of a carer-child interaction (Anstey and Wells, 2013), it was noted that the child, Ricky, responds to phonetically designed invitations from Mother to complete her turn. Ricky responds frequently in overlap with a pitch pattern that closely matches his mother's. It is accompanied by nods or other gestures of agreement. Ricky's behaviors indicate that he is orienting to the overlapping turns as an embodiment of interactional understanding and affiliation between himself and his mother and he displays that at this point in the interaction that they share the same agenda. In interaction, *mm hm, uh, huh* and *yeah* as a collection of tokens are found to treat the turn as still in progress (Goodwin, 1986b; Jefferson, 1984; Goodwin, 1980; Schegloff, 1982; Stiver, 2008). In addition, the analysis of interactional organization of jokes displays that laughter forms the primary response for conveying an understanding of the joke and take the affiliative side (Jefferson, Sacks, 1974a; Sacks and Schegloff, 1987).

As a type of non-verbal resources, applause is frequently used in political discourse to pursue affiliation, especially in audience participation setting. In this setting, the audience's responses and reactions can function as the "next turn proof" to display their understanding and affiliation to the speakers' stances. Studies (Hutchby, 2001, 2006; Montgomery, 2000; Tolson, 2006) show that the participants are not passive listeners but can make collective reactions such as applause to participate in the political talks

and display their agreements on political stances. The presence of a studio audience during the interview and debate generates a situation for the politicians in which they can obtain instant reactions to what they say. It gives the politicians the opportunity to construct and use strategies to invite the co-present audience to support their political stances and establish affiliation via applause. Studies (Atkinson, 1984a; Bull, 2000; Bull and Wells, 2002; Bull, 2006; Bull and Feldman, 2011; Bull and Miskinis, 2015; Eriksson, 2009; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986) show that invitation can be achieved through a wide range of rhetorical devices.

In sum, affiliation and disaffiliation can be used to describe a general feature of interaction and social relation that is tied to the construction of intersubjectivity. Based on the existing research, Lindstrom & Sorjonen (2013) point out that further research in the comparisons of the affiliative potential of action formats within a given larger activity could provide a more fine-grained appreciation of affiliation as a dynamic phenomenon which contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and explicated the theoretical underpinnings of intersubjectivity and its dimensions. It accounts for the origin of intersubjectivity in CA, the breakdown and restoration of intersubjectivity and how intersubjectivity is related to the dimensions of accountability, epistemics and (dis)affiliation. The central concept intersubjectivity and its contributive dimensions are used to observe and discuss the data and findings of this study in the analysis chapters and discussion chapter. The next chapter introduces the data, transcription method and analytical procedures.

Chapter 4 Methodology and Data

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an account of how the data is gathered and processed, which includes a description of the data, the principles for data selection, and the approach to the transcription and procedural analysis of the data. Section 4.2 defines *Question Time* in terms of genre, and describes its format and generic features. Section 4.3 presents the source of the data and the principle of collection of data. Section 4.4 provides the principle of data transcription. Sections 4.5-4.7 introduce the application Audacity, the details of how the data is coded and the glossary of the transcription codes. Section 4.8 provides an explanation of the data process and the analytical procedures.

4.2 Data Description

This section introduces the development of the TV media format and the classification of audience participation debate shows. Based on the classification used in the literature, *Question Time* is defined in terms of genre (Section 4.2.1). Following this, this section provides the detailed description of the format and generic features of *Question Time* to give a general picture on how *Question Time* is produced and organized as a political debate (Section 4.2.2).

4.2.1 Defining the Genre

TV shows with audience participation were created as a new format in media broadcasting in 1930s, shortly following the development of TV in the late 1920s. This type of show allows ordinary people to have a chance to share their personal stories. In the 1990s, audience participation debate shows were created and became increasingly popular with a focus on communicative features more as sharing or providing advice and suggestions for the audience's life (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994). According to Hutchby (2006), audience participation debate shows are presented as three main types: *the issues-based show*, *the confrontation-based show* and *the audience participation*

political debate. Issues-based shows emphasize participants' debating about topical social issues, and usually involves 'experts' or, occasionally, celebrities, such as guests. Examples within this sub-genre include the American shows *Oprah*, *The View*. These shows emphasize ordinary people's private issues and concerns. *Confrontation-based* shows demonstrate a set of confrontations between friends, partners, and family members with commentary from an 'expert' or the host at the end of each show, such as *Jeremy Kyle* in the UK and *Jerry Springer* in the USA. The *audience participation political debate* shows focus on the debate between politicians, celebrities and members of the public who are brought together in the television studio to debate political issues in response to questions raised by audience members, such as *Question Time* in the UK.

Question Time is a political program which is broadcast on weeknights during prime time hours on BBC. It is part of a genre of audience participation TV shows that is set up to encourage debate and dispute about the latest political issues between politicians, the political elite, and the studio audience. As such, this research adopts Hutchby's classification (2006) and defines *Question Time* as a genre of audience participation political debate. It is "a form of mediatized political discourse that involves politicians in direct address to co-present audiences" (Hutchby, 2006: 142). This type of shows provides a public arena in which politicians, public figures and private citizens can express their political opinions on issues in the public domain. A central part of this genre as an institutionalized media format involves participants being invited by the host to 'have their say' on certain matters of concern.

4.2.2 The Format and Generic Features of *Question Time*

Question Time is broadcast on the BBC as a flagship program, displaying distinctive features in format in itself. Firstly, the participants of *Question Time* consist of variable participants, including the chairperson (the chair in the dataset is David Dimbleby), a panel of five participants (which normally is composed of three participants representing the major political parties and two 'celebrity' participants who are not politicians), and the co-present audience. The program is manipulated through

questions and answers. In each program, based on the latest political issues, three or four overarching questions from the studio audience are normally raised. The host selects the panel members and the studio audience to participate in the debate.

In terms of the layout of seating in the programme, the chair sits and conducts the debate from the centre of the semicircle of participants. On each side of him sits two or three panel members. The audience sits face-to-face with the panel. Questions are submitted by the audience before the program goes on air. The program-makers select some to put to the panel. During the program, the chair selects the given members of the audience to put their question to the panel and gives each panel member an opportunity to answer the question and respond to each other's points. In terms of the organization of the program, it is split into four phases. The first phase is the opening of the show. The chair begins by introducing the panel members. In the second phase, the chair sets the agenda by inviting an audience member to raise a question. In the third phase, the chair recursively selects panel members and audience members to answer the question and respond to answers. In the fourth phase, the chair closes the agenda by selecting the next audience member to raise a new question.

As a popular APPD TV show, *Question Time* displays some distinctively generic features as a political talk. Firstly, unlike political speeches, APPD is characterized with unscripted talk. APPD is a type of live TV broadcast that Goffman (1981) defined as "fresh talk". Though the politicians and elites in APPD may have well planned and prepared their stances and talks in advance, their talks cannot be scripted throughout the real time of the live show. Mostly, they need to give creative response to one another in the course of the production of the conversation, especially when they are challenged by different parities. This fits well within the aim of CA to better understand phenomena related to naturally-occurring language use. Secondly, APPD features as a semi-structured multi-party conversation. As far as being semi-structured, the organization of the conversation in *Question Time* is based on a certain format. That is, the programme always starts with the sequential organization as the introduction of the

panel members, the audience's question, a selection of a panel member to give response. After this, there is an opportunity for a selection of next speaker or a self-selection. As for being a multi-party conversation, the exchange of speech could occur as once-at-a time or in overlap, which display the purpose of the communication.

Thirdly, *Question Time* displays an "alignment-saturated" discourse (Hutchby, 2006). This show is a conversation between professionals and everyday people, which is regarded as a 'lay' and 'expert' discourse (Living-stone and Lunt, 1994). In APPD, the politicians represent profession in politics who speak for their parties whereas the celebrity participants and the studio audience represent the public who express their own individual opinions. As an institutional talk, APPD is characterized with profound agreements and disagreements between two opposing parties. On the one hand, the panel members are polarized into two opposing parties. They disagree with one another in answering the audience's questions. The aim of the debate among speakers is to recruit the audience to their side. In this environment, disagreement is an intrinsic feature of the encounter and displays disaffiliation. On the other hand, in the course of the debate, the audience do not remain uninvolved or disinterested. Rather, they actively express their collective affiliation and disaffiliation with panel members via applauding, jeering and so on. It is worth noting that (dis)affiliation is not a static state of affair which pre-exists in the talk. Rather, it is a dynamic process which is in a changing state. The debate displays how (dis)affiliations are generated, sustained, challenged and changed in the course of talk.

4.3 Data Collection and Methodology

There are two reasons for selecting *Question Time* as data. One is that this program is a media format that is distinctive from news interviews, political debate and audience participation shows. It features as a multi-party conversation which allows the politicians, public figures and the public to participate in the debate to have a say in political issues. How these individuals converse about politics is of interest for this research. The other is that the data was recorded during the EU referendum. Given the

temporal period covered, the majority of the conversations in the dataset are concerned with the topic of the EU referendum which lead to heated debates in the course of the show.

In light of the research methodology, this study follows the CA approach and took qualitative methodology as research approach. Regarding the question of how much data should be collected for a CA study, Schegloff (1995) has once said that one case may be enough to show and explicate an interactional pattern, demonstrating that CA is a qualitative-oriented research. In the consideration of data quantity, many (Alasuutari, 1996; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; ten Have, 1999) advocates the principle of saturation. That is, when more added data does not provide more different information for the description of the properties of a given category, the amount of the data is seen to be sufficient for the given study. In terms of the selection of samples as data, ten Have (1999: 146) proposes two strategies which are called 'theoretical sampling' and 'comprehensive data treatment'. Based on the above arguments, this study holds that a case study may not be sufficient and a collective samples could provide more supportive evidence for the claim made by the case study. Thus, to provide sufficient evidence for the claim made by unmotivated observation, this study built a dataset of *Question Time* which consists of 16 episodes which equates to 16 hours of recordings in total. The time frame for the dataset was from January, 2016 to June, 2016. It is expected that more instances of the target phenomenon can serve as supportive evidence for the claims made by this study.

4.4 The Principle of Transcription

Transcription is a crucial step for the study of conversation analysis. The basic idea concerning transcription is that transcription is not a substitute for the data but is instead "a possible way of presenting the data" (Psathas and Anderson, 1990). That is, each transcript is produced for a certain purpose. Transcripts are not objective. Different techniques of transcription manifest the viewer's attention to different phenomena, which also makes for the selective nature of transcripts (Heritage and Atkinson, 1984:

12). Ten Have (1999:94) conceives of transcription as a form of 'translation'. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) regard the transcript in CA 'as a "representation" of the data. By using transcription as a partial representation of the recorded talk, not as substitutes for the original recordings, is widely acknowledged by CA researchers (Heritage, 1984b; 2013; Liddicoat, 2007; Psathas & Anderson, 1990; ten Have, 2002, 2007). Transcripts and recordings are reflexively tied together in the production of their mutual intelligibility. That means that they can reflect each other and be used to make each other intelligible (Mondada, 2007).

Regarding how to transcribe the data, Jefferson (1985:27) suggests that without "close looking at the world" one might not know such phenomena exist, and that the absence of a range of phenomena from the data base upon which theories about the social world are built can be consequential. It is for this reason that striving for a detailed transcript is explicitly seen as worthwhile in CA and exactness is valued as a criterion of quality. However, Mishler (1991) argues that a transcript that is too detailed is difficult to follow and assess. A more useful transcript is a selective one. Thus, this study agrees that filtering process is a principle that should be used as a guidance of transcription (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006). As such, the transcription of this study mainly focuses on the utterances occurring in the form of overlap that informs the research objectives of this study. Those which do not occur in the form of overlap are not coded in detail.

It is generally agreed that manual transcription and automated transcription are two important tools in processing CA data. In recent times, in order to save the labor of this work, automated transcription has become prevalent. However, Moore (2015) argues that the impact of automated transcription on and potential contributions to CA research should be carefully considered. A reliance on automated transcription may lead researchers to lack familiarity with the data. Without a good understanding of the data, researchers may lose key aspects of the phenomenon they are trying to investigate. Sidnell (2010: 23) holds that transcription is the actual process of working from recordings, replaying them sometimes hundreds of times attempting to hear precisely

what is being said. Therefore, this thesis chooses not to rely on automated transcription but to take the advantage of the subtitles of the TV programme and writing down the standard orthographic transcripts manually so as to get familiar with and develop a good understanding of the data. Though the aid of onscreen subtitles is useful, it is found that there exist many grammatical mistakes and missing information. Therefore, the recordings are listened to repeatedly with the aid of Audacity to ensure that words can be obtained as accurately as possible. Apart from this, in order to capture the verbal and non-lexical features, such as the timing and sequencing, the speech delivery and so on, this study uses Audacity as a supportive software. The next section introduces the application of Audacity in greater detail.

4.5 The Application of Audacity

Audacity is a freely accessible multi-track audio editor which captures the detailed verbal resources in recordings, such as timing, overlap, applause, prolonged silences, emphasis, volume, and many others. In addition, Audacity allows researchers to highlight individual portions of a file and listen to them repeatedly. This function can facilitate to identify the onset and offset of overlap more accurately. Audacity also allows to select a small portion of conversation, slow the speed of the talk and capture the features of verbal resources, speech delivery and non-lexical resources to meet the research needs.

One problem this research faces in the application of Audacity is that it is an audio editor that only works on audio files through features like recording, editing, mixing audio tracks, and others. This means that video file needs to extract its audio before it can be imported to Audacity to perform the desired functions. Various software is available that allows the conversion of a video format into an audio one. This study chooses FFMpeg to convert the video files to Audacity supported formats. With the aid of Audacity, this study captures the useful resources from the audio recordings which serve the research purposes.

4.6 Aspects of Transcription

In this section, the convention of a more detailed transcription for the parts that were of interest for this research purposes is described. Considering the duration and the aim of this research, only those utterances which occur in the form of overlap are transcribed. The transcription is based on Jefferson's (2004b) transcription convention. This section explains the related aspects of transcription in relation to overlap as the research focus of this study in terms of transcript layout, temporal and sequential relationship, aspects of speech delivery and non-vocabulary verbal activities.

4.6.1 The Layout of Transcription

Regarding the layout of transcription, this section presents the ways of the coding of speaker identification, transcript headers, line numbers and the presentation of text which are used in this thesis. These are explained in Excerpt 4.1 as follows.

Excerpt 4.1 *Question Time*: 26-05-2016, 21:20 – 22:00

```
01   AUD1:      (The details have been omitted) …They'll be doing things that are for the people.

02              [I      think          ] [↑they need some-]

03   Cha:       [＞You think it's-＜] [you   you feel     ]

04   AUD2:      =[ ˚one to answer to. ˚]

05   Aud:       [×××××××××××××]××××××××[↑×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

06   Cha:                         |---(2.0)----| [Are you saying, are you saying in effect, you, ]

07   Cha:          you feel sa:fer in in the EU, [˚rather than outside˚?]

08   AUD2:                                [>Well, like the non-    ] discrimination and gender

09              equality laws (0.3) that were spoken about.=

10   Cha:       =˚Right. ˚
```

This excerpt shows that, for speaker identification, a shortened three-letter form of the speaker's surname is used as the presentation of speaker identification through which clear information about the participant can be easily accessed. In this study, the chair is coded as "Cha", the collective audience members as "Aud", the individual audience

member as "AUD". If more than two audience members speak in one excerpt, the audience members are coded as AUD1, AUD2, AUD3 and so on. The use of the short form of the names allows for greater clarity of speaker designation in the disposition of space. In addition, this thesis adopts the standard layout of transcript presented by Hepburn and Bolden (2017: 17). From the left to the right, the layout starts with a line number indicating the speaker's turn. Following the line number is the name of the speaker followed by a colon which is two spaces between. If there is no name-initial, this means that the speaker from the previous line continues. Following the name, there are five spaces to the right and then the rest of the right space is the site for the representation of the text. These are demonstrated in Excerpt 4.1 above. Second, the header in this thesis is labeled as the format: *Question Time: 26-05-2016, 21:20 - 22:00*, in which "*Question Time*" represents the name of the programme, "*26-05-2016*" the live time of the programme which is 26 May, 2016 and "*21:20 - 22:00*" the starting time and the ending time of the fragment. Third, this study chooses to start with line 1 in each data segment. This study also chooses to omit those lines that do not serve as crucial supports for analysis so as to save space. In addition, this study chooses not to show how many lines have been omitted. Fourth, as far as the presentation of text is concerned, Jefferson (1983) points out that a balance should be struck between having a readable standard orthographic transcript and non-standard orthographic representation in transcribing pronouncing particulars. This thesis follows Jefferson's viewpoint that the data is mainly transcribed in a readable, standard orthographic transcripts with only some non-standard orthographic linguistic tokens, such as "okay", "uh", etc.

4.6.2 The Transcription of Overlapping Talk and Overlapping Applause

The research starts by using standard orthographic transcribing. However, standard orthographic transcripts may miss many interactional features, such as timing, overlap, intonation, emphasis, volume that are central to the understanding of ongoing activities in talk (Hepburn and Bolden, 2017). Thus, coding is required. This section also illustrates how the major concerns of this research are coded.

Overlapping talk consists of those utterances which co-occur between two or more interlocutors. Following Jefferson's convention, overlap in this thesis is coded via *square brackets* with left square bracket as overlap onset and right square bracket as overlap offset. As far as the marking of overlap is concerned, Hepburn and Bolden (2017) point out that some analysts do not mark offset consistently, especially when the overlap is very short. When the offset is not marked, it is ordinarily assumed that the placement of words on the transcript more or less accurately shows when the overlap is over. However, since this research is interested in both the onset and withdrawal of overlap in talks, both onset and offset of overlap are marked in this study.

Regarding the transcription of overlapping talk between two interlocutors, it is important to decide when to break up a line and start a new line. Hepburn and Bolden (2017:27) point out that there is no need to start a new line every time. When the two parts of overlap is no longer than a line, they remain in the same line with the overlap of the shorter sentence parallel with the one in the longer sentence. However, when the overlap is long and the entire turn cannot be fitted into a single transcript line, a new line is started just before the overlap onset starts so as to fit the entirely simultaneous talk on the same line.

In the case of the overlapping talk of more than two participants, the overlapping utterances are normally put in parallel to demonstrate the co-occurrence of the utterances by different speakers. For instance,

Excerpt 4.2 *Question Time***: 02-06-2016, 14:59 - 16:32**

01   Fra: …itself will make a decision about our destiny and I don't think sets of facts are going

02   to help anybody do that. =

03   AUD1:   =[°I do. I do. °   ]

04   AUD2:   =[°You actually have. °]

05   Cha: **=[So, so you're asking] so ju- just it's a- You're asking people to to vote**

06		**Brexit without having any knowledge of the effects of leaving what it will be. Is**
07		**that what you're saying?=**
08	Fra:	=What I'm saying is …. (*The details are omitted*.)

In Excerpt 4.2, the overlapping talk occurs among three participants simultaneously. So the overlaps are coded with left square brackets in parallel, which demonstrates that the chair and two audience members respond to the panel member Frank simultaneously. In these overlapping utterances, the two audience members speak in a low volume coded with degree signs whereas the chair speaks with repetition in a relatively high volume to fight for the floor as shown in line 5. The chair who wins the floor is put in the line that follows the other two speakers for the convenience of transcribing his ensuing utterances.

Apart from the overlap between occurrences, overlap also occurs between utterance and applause. In this study, applause is coded as "X". The coding of this phenomenon is shown in the following example.

Excerpt 4.3 07-04-2016, 05:50 – 06:06

01	Cha:	[Why you are s<u>a</u>d about it at all?]=
02	Bry:	=You get my point. And-=
03	Cha:	= Yeap. =
04	Bry:	= and out e:very ti:me Europe is debated there'll be a member of the audience who says,
05		(0.3) **"Why won't people just give us the facts? (0.2) Why won't people just give**
06		**[us the facts?"]**
07	Aud:	[××××××××] ××××××××[×××] ×××××××××[××] ×××××××××××
08	Bry:	|-----(0.6)-------|[And-]|--------(0.7)------- |[So-] |--------(1.2)---------|
09	Aud:	[××××××××××××××××]
10	Bry:	[and in fact yesterday afternoon] I was door-knocking in the, in the hail and …
		(*The details are omitted.*)

As shown in Lines 7 and 8 in Excerpt 4.3, strings of X's are used to represent applause, with lower- and uppercase letters marking quiet and loud applause which can be seen in Lines 7 and 9 respectively. In addition, a dotted line broken by numbers in parentheses indicates the duration of applause that is not in overlap. As it is shown in Line 8, when the speaker completes his speaking and drops out. The applause holds the floor and lasts 0.6 second before the onset of the next overlap between applause and "And - " uttered by Bryan. One point should be clarified that, in this study, the number of X's does not indicate applause duration. The use of the number of X's is for the fitting of the coding of overlap between the utterance and the applause. The duration of applause is presented via the number in parentheses.

4.7 Transcription Codes

Based on the Jeffersonian transcription convention, a glossary of the transcription codes used in this thesis are summarized as follows:

[ ]	Square brackets	Overlaps between turns. Left bracket – start of overlap, right bracket – end of overlap
=	Equal sign	Latch, between the end of one turn and the beginning of a next, or connecting two lines that contain the same TCU
(0.4)	Time in round brackets	Intervals within or between talk (measure in tenths of a second)
(.)	Period in round brackets	Discernable silence, too short to measure
-	Hyphen/dash	Abrupt cut-off of preceding sound
:::	Colons	Extension of preceding sound
here	Underlining	Emphasis
HERE	Capitals	Loud, relative to surrounding talk
°here°	degree signs	Soft, relative to surrounding talk
> here <	'More than' symbols	Speeded up relative to surrounding talk
<here>	'Less than' symbols	Slowed down relative to surrounding talk
↑↓	Up or down arrow	Marked rise or fall in pitch, immediately following the arrow

.hhh	Audible inbreath (the more 'h's, the longer)
hhh	Audible outbreath (the more 'h's, the longer)
×	Applause
( )	Empty parentheses indicate that something is being said, but no hearing can be achieved.

4.8 Data Process and Analysis

Following the tradition of CA, this thesis adopts a data driven and bottom-up process without prior theoretical assumptions. This takes the analytic departure from the debate itself, putting the participants' own orientations in focus as the debate occurs and develops in the interaction. In addition, this thesis is also oriented to the feature of interaction as "order at all points" (Sacks, 1984: 22) and considers conversation as a linear ongoing event, which unfolds in progress and implies the negotiation of cooperation between participants along the way.

Though there is a consensus and emphasis that CA must start its work without pre-defined theories, many (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; Seedhouse, 2005; ten Have, 1999) agree that any piece of research involving CA doesn't begin blindly, especially after nearly five decades' development. In actuality, CA provides its own assumptions, its own methodology, and its own way of theorizing. The most central of the assumptions in CA is that "ordinary talk is a highly organized, ordered phenomenon'" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 13). This leads to CA's inductive approach in dealing with the data, which means that CA searches for recurring patterns in conversations. In this respect, rather than starting with a model or framework to show how participants' conversations fit it, this study follows CA tradition and aims to find what patterns emerge in the collected data and explicate how interactants produce and understand conduct in interaction through the inductive approach.

To conduct the analysis, based on the models developed by Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) and Arminen (2005), this thesis adopts three stages in the analytical process:

phenomena identification and collection building; case and collection analysis; findings presentation and discussion.

To implement a research project utilising CA, the first stage is to locate a phenomenon in the data. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) point out that the phenomenon could be a particular type of turn or a noticeable kind of sequence. According to Arminen (2005:75), identifying a phenomenon is a process to identify a generic structural feature, and then breaks it down into a set of observable and identifiable practices which themselves consist of enumerable interactional patterns. In this research, the phenomenon has been noticed in the data is the practice of overlap, which is considered to contribute to the sequential understanding of the talk-in-interaction in the format of the political debate. Therefore, the analysis starts with the identification of the locations of the occurrences of overlap in the data and find out "why that now".

After the phenomenon overlap has been located, the next step in this stage is to start assembling instances of the phenomenon of overlap into a collection. Based on the observation, overlap occurs in different format, such as question, statement, applause, laugh, etc. This study only focuses on the occurrences of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause which occur most frequently in the data. The three different types of occurrences are built into three collections. According to Sidnell (2010:31), the reason for making collections rather than basing the analysis on the first or the most interesting case is that different cases reveal different aspects or features of a phenomenon. Thus, the study of collections is therefore the study of multiple single-case examples, in which each next case demonstrates the systematic recurrent patterns which exist across participants and contexts. In reverse, it can also be used to test the robustness of a particular description of action and to refine the analysis in the light of repeated instances of an action in different instances of interaction. This thesis only includes those fragments with the occurrences of overlap in form of question, statement and applause.

After identifying the given phenomenon and defined the exclusive and inclusive instances for the collections, the first step in the second stage is to observe one after another particular occurrence of overlap, concentrating on its sequential context: the type of turn which precedes and follows it. Once the patterns are located in the sequential context in which overlap occur in the data, they are taken as the basis for the robust description. Then the next step is to analyze the collection of cases of overlap which share the similar characteristics to the case analysis. By analyzing collection of cases, it is possible to redefine and specify the original phenomenon. In this, based on the detailed analysis of cases, a relatively comprehensive findings are generalized and categorized. This process illustrates CA's insistence on building analytic accounts which are both particularized and generalized. That is, conversation analysts aim to be able to describe the specific features of individual cases, and at the same time bring those specifics under the umbrella of a generalized account of some sequential pattern or interactional device.

After formulating the typology, the final stage is to present and discuss about the findings in association with the theme of intersubjectivity. After the relatively thorough analysis of the data, the most representative cases are selected for the presentation and discussion. That is, in this stage, through the detailed presentation of the specific features of individual cases, a generalized account of some sequential pattern or interactional device will be presented through summaries. Based on the findings, a discussion will be carried out in relation to intersubjectivity - a mechanism which underlies in the sequential interaction and motivates the interaction to move forward. The discussion will illustrate how participants coordinate to create and accomplish the interactional conversation, how the interactants encounter the breakdown of the progression of the conversation and how the participants can repair and maintain the progression of the conversation and eventually achieve the mutual understanding.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the collection of data and research methodology. With

respect to data, I have presented how to define *Question Time* as a genre as well as the description of the features and format of the data. Regarding the research methodology, I have provided the reasons for a mixed transcription approach in order to increase the reliability of the transcripts by blending subtitles, traditional transcription and Audacity software. I also provide a detailed demonstration on how to code the transcripts based on Jefferson's (2004) transcription system. Finally, I show how to conduct the research in this study by listing the analytical procedures. In the next chapter, I will carry out the analysis by adopting the methodology and the selected data presented in this chapter.

Chapter 5 Overlapping Question: Defense of Intersubjectivity

5.1 Introduction

As illustrated in Chapter 1, this study aims to examine the occurrences of overlap which occur in the forms of questions, declaratives and applauses. This chapter focuses on investigating the practice of overlapping questions in the setting of APPD. Data found during the research process show that overlapping questions in this context frequently occur in the third turn, which are formulated as both interrogatives and declaratives. Overlapping questions appear to function as repair initiator in the sequence of the ongoing conversation which are regarded as the final defense of intersubjectivity (Schegloff, 1992). This chapter investigates the overlapping questions in *Question Time* as an example of APPD to find out what functions they service in the sequence organization of the ongoing conversation in order to add new knowledge to the understanding of questioning which occurs as overlap. Due to the research objectives, I only include questions that are concerned with the issues of intersubjectivity or mutual understanding in the APPD conversation and exclude those which function as speaker selection and the like that are not involved in the issues of intersubjectivity. In terms of overlapping questions, this study observes: why overlapping questions occur here-and-now, what functions they serve, what next turn they project, how overlap in the form of question is engaged in manipulating the sequence organization of talk and what contribution they make to the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity or mutual understanding in the setting of APPD.

The data also show that overlapping questions in the context of APPD occurring at both TRPs and non-TRPs appear to indicate that the prior turns have some kind of problems and need to be repaired. These overlapping questions are constituted in various forms and serve various functions in the ongoing interaction. This study shows that not only the forms of overlap but also the locations play a significant part in the ongoing conversation in the setting of APPD. Observation shows that overlapping questions

function as problematic initiators and display as *confirmation solicitation, challenge solicitation, clarification solicitation* and *holding agenda solicitation*. This chapter focuses on examining and explicating how the participants in *Question Time* make use of overlapping questions to achieve the institutional goals – voting for referendum.

5.2 Confirmation Solicitation

The data from this study show that overlapping questions are multi-functional in nature, implementing the action of seeking information as well as the action of confirmation requests. This is in line with research which claims that the action implemented by questions is rarely just that of seeking information alone (Bolden and Robinson, 2011; Kim, 2016; Kishik, 2003; Robinson and Bolden, 2010; Schegloff, 1984; Steering & Drew, 2008). Questions are vehicles through which other actions, such as requests, challenges, criticisms and complaints are accomplished. In this study, overlapping questions also seek confirmation with the characteristics that indicate requests of repair. Among different formats of other-initiated repair, confirmation repair has the character of being 'strong' which indicates a virtually adequate understanding of the prior turn (Kitzinger, 2016).

In terms of the syntactic construction, confirmation request via overlapping questions in the context of APPD is interrogatively and declaratively formatted and serve different functions. This study finds that, when questions occur in the form of overlap, they serve three functions in the ongoing conversation in the request of confirmation, namely *implicative disagreement, pre-challenge* and *narrowing positioning*. In addition, overlapping questions project the next turn not only to provide confirmation but more importantly account for it. They create opportunities for the recipients to make amendments and intend to trigger the mechanism of repair. The three functions are illustrated in details in the following sections.

5.2.1 Implicative Disagreement

This section illustrates the excerpts of overlapping questions in the third position,

occurring after the question-answer sequence, which display to imply disagreements when speakers make confirmation requests. The analysis of this study shows that this type of overlapping questions occurring at both TRP and non-TRP not only pursues confirmations and but also requests for accounts. Analysis shows that this function is realized in different manners.

Excerpt 5.1 is an instance of an overlapping question that occurs at TRP, displaying as a device of pursuing confirmation of the understanding of the prior turn and posits the speakers in an implicative disagreement. Prior to Excerpt 5.1 is a question-answer sequence that talks about opinions on public services according to the recent published EU migration statistics. This question-answer sequence forms the base adjacency pair. In this sequence, in answer to the question, Caroline Lucas, the Green Party's former leader, gives a lengthy account for her opinion on the impact of migration on public services. She argues that immigration has benefits for communities, culture, and the economy (Lines 1-2). She also suggests that the economic benefits from this can be invested in those public services that are under strain (Lines 2-3). In Line 3, Lucas appears to be reaching a point of possible completion at the end of the phrase "the areas in particular". However, this turns out to be a 'turn-taking miscue' (Hanyashi, 2016: 176). The chair chimes in and disrupts Lucas while she is completing her utterance with "that are under pressure", which further specifies the situation of the public services. This results in more than minimum overlap, displaying as a mild competitive overlap between the two speakers, as shown below:

Excerpt 5.1 *Question Time:* **26-05-2016, 6:52 – 8:04**

01   Luc: …But given that there is a net benefit that people are bringing, not just in terms of

02   our communities and our cultures, but a net economic benefit, then let us use that

03   money to be able to invest in the services in areas in the particular

04   [that are under pressure.]

05   Cha: **[So <u>you</u>:: ↑<u>think</u>:,   ] in reply to Mary, your view is that the public services**

06   **can be funded properly?**

07		(0.6)
08	Luc:	I think if the political will is there, of course they can right now. We have such
09		centralization in London and the south-east that that puts pressure, irrespective of
10		[immigration.]
11	Cha:	[Right.]
12	Luc:	If we had a more balanced regional policy across the country, I think we could have
13		all the benefits and have much less pressure as well. =
14	Cha:	= Let's hear from the audience, [then I'll come back to our panel.]

As shown in Line 5, this overlapping question occurs at a point where the current turn's completion is imminent. This overlap demonstrates that the chair regards the whole prior answer turn as being relevant as the answer progresses smoothly without being interrupted. However, at the upcoming completion point, the chair does not end the conversation with a sequence-closing third, such as "*Okay*" or "*Alright*" (Schegloff, 2007b). Instead, he summarizes the answerer's previous account and requests for a confirmation via a declaratively-formatted question (Lines 5-6). This is displayed as a *non-minimal* post-expansion sequence (Schegloff, 2007b). As a confirmation question, the question in Line 5 displays that the chair has a full understanding of what the prior speaker says (Kitzinger, 2016). The function of the overlapping question is that the chair makes use of the solicitation to posit himself in an implicative disagreement and requests that the recipient either confirm her answer and provide an account or make a repair on her original stance. In this case, it turns out that the recipient of the overlapping question does not repair or change her original stance but adheres to her original stance and does so by providing further accounts that enhance her original stance.

In contrast to Excerpt 5.1, Excerpt 5.2 is an instance of an overlapping question which also occurs at TRP but displays as a latch and turn-initial overlap implemented by three self-selecting next speakers in Lines 11-13. In this example, in Lines 1-3, the Labour MP Frank Field answers a question about how the effects of leaving the EU are largely unknown because there is no precedent to such a development. Field initially expresses

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agreement with the Plaid Cymru MP Liz Roberts that the consequences of Brexit are unknown but then he suggests that voters should not make their decision solely based on the figures or facts provided by politicians. He argues that factors, such as history, background and knowledge, should be taken into consideration. This account receives an implicative disagreement as the chair evaluates it as being "exciting" in Line 4, implying a mild disagreement. Frank responds with "well-" and an inhale which occurs in overlap with the chair's mumbles and hesitation via "er". This results with an overlap in Lines 5 and 6, showing that Field intends to provide further accounts on the one hand and the chair is thinking about how to construct the talk on the other respectively.

Excerpt 5.2 *Question Time*: **02-06-2016, 14:59- 16:32**

01	Fra:	… (*The details are omitted.*) …and while of course we have to go through
02		this poetry of politicians thinking we're important and boring you with programs and
03		facts and all sorts of stunts.=
04	Cha:	=Steady on. The pr<u>og</u>rams have been rather in- e- exc<u>i</u>:ting.=
05	Fra:	=[Well, h.]
06	Cha:	=[( )] er, er-
07	Fra:	Well, I I think maybe for some it's been rather exciting. But what it does do
08		is in a sense sound everybody that we're now moving to that stage where the nation
09		itself will make a decision about our destiny and I don't think sets of facts are going
10		to help anybody do that. =
11	NA?	=[°I do. I do. °]
12	AUD:	[°You actually have. °]
13	Cha:	**=[So, so you're asking] so ju- just it's a- You're asking people to to vote**
14		**Brexit without having any knowledge of the effects of leaving what it will be. Is**
15		**that what you're saying?=**
16	Fra:	=What I'm saying is …. (*The details are omitted*.)

As shown in Excerpt 5.2, the chair drops out and Field gains the floor through the repetitions of "well" and "I". He confirms that he agrees with the chair partly on the

comment of his account as being "exciting" and continues to insist his previous argument that the facts and figure provided are not the only resources that are going to help people make the decision. Other factors should also be taken into account. This stance receives responses among participants that results in a turn-initial overlap among two audiences and the chair. They all self-select to speak simultaneously (Lines 11-13). The two audience members solicit direct disagreements in a relatively low volume and display no intentions to compete for the speakership. They both relinquish after completing their disagreements. In counter to the audience members, the chair displays a strong intention to fight for the floor by repeating "so" three times and "you're asking" twice. After the chair regains the floor, he solicits a confirmation request through summarizing his understanding of Field's stance as voting without knowing the effects of Brexit in Lines 14-15, implicating a disagreement. This overlapping question also displays to be a request for confirmation and at the same time creates an opportunity for the recipient to make a repair if any. We can also see that this confirmation request occurs as a multi-overlap and demonstrates a multi-disagreement of the two audience and the chair when they self-select to utter simultaneously, displaying that they hold the same stance as a single "party" as oppose to the current speaker in the multi-party conversation. This is in line with the function of turn-initial onset overlaps in multi-person conversation in mundane setting (Egbert, 1997; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1990: 101). As a response, Line 16 shows (*The details are omitted*) that Field responds with confirmation and clarification by fitting his answer to the same syntactic format of the question as "…I am saying…", which does not result in a change of his stance but in further accounts for his original point of view. This turn-initial onset overlap implemented by more than two participants indicates a disagreement from the three overlapping speakers in an affiliative relation and occasions the recipient either to confirm his stance and provide accounts, or make a repair on his political stance. In sum, Excerpts 1 and 2 demonstrate that the recipients of the overlapping questions do not change or repair their political stances but insist and defend their original stances. Through the expansion of the sequence organization, the political stances are exposed to a fuller extent. This process can be regarded as an effective strategy to facilitate the

mutual understanding of the politician's political stances and decision-making.

In contrast to Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2, Excerpt 5.3 is an instance of confirmation request via an overlapping question which occurs at a non-TRP and implies an implicative disagreement, featured as a device of pursuing confirmation, accounts and repair via reformulation in the competitive environment. In this excerpt, the participants talk about the same question as that in Excerpt 5.1 - their opinions on the impact of migration on public services. Lines 1-2 is an audience's accounts for his stance to the question. The member of the audience asserts that he does not support leaving the EU and emphasizes his distrust for the British government in his turn (Line 1). At the possible upcoming TRP, the chair self-selects to speak (Line 3). This occurs in overlap with the audience utterance in Line 2. Similarly to Excerpt 1, the chair takes the TCU "They'll be doing things that are for the people" as a possible completion point. But it turns out that this is also a miscue again, just like that present in Excerpt 5.1. As displayed in Line 3, while the chair is constructing a declaratively-formatted question to solicit a request to confirm his understanding of the audience's accounts, the audience continues to produce his account. The chair's utterance occurs in overlap with the audience's ensuing talk. When the chair realizes the occurrence of overlap, he cuts off at "it's" and changes the structure to "you feel". But he drops out as the audience increases the volume of applause due to the previous speaker's completion of his account. Therefore the chair chooses to cut off again and drops out while the audience speaker continues to complete his account which is in overlap with the applause.

After two seconds' of applause, the chair tries again to gain control of the floor by reformulating the request as a polar question, which he phrases as "Are you saying…?" in Line 7 and repeats the question twice to gain control of the debate. This is present in line with the claim that repetition is an effective device in competing for the speakership (Schegloff, 2000). After securing the floor, the chair recompletes this confirmation solicitation with the same syntactic structure "you feel…". The action of confirmation request is accomplished by the manner of stress and prolonged vowel on the key word

"safer", and low volume on "rather than outside" when the utterance is completed in Line 7 as shown below.

Excerpt 5. 3 *Question Time*: 26-05-2016, 21:20 – 22:00

01   AUD: (The details are omitted) ……. They'll be doing things that are for the people.

02   [I   think   ] [↑they need some-]

03   Cha: **[＞You think it's-＜] [you   you feel   ]**

04   AUD: =[˚one to answer to. ˚]

05   Aud: [××××××××××××××]××××××××[↑×××××××××× ××××××××××××××××××]

06   Cha: |---(2.0)---| **[Are you saying, are you saying in effect, you,]**

07   Cha: **you feel sa:fer in in the EU, [˚rather than outside˚?]**

08   AUD: [＞Well, like the non-   ] discrimination and gender

09   AUD: equality laws **(0.3)** that were spoken about.=

10   Cha: =˚Right. ˚

This talk exchange shows that speaker exchange can encounter competitive overlaps. The answers in the multi-party conversation has the orientation of being open to all the participants to provide responses. In other words, in the context of multi-party conversation like APPD, every turn projects the next turn as an open opportunity for participants to issue responses. In addition, in this contingency, it can be seen that confirmation requests are not just seeking the confirmation of proposition but also positing the current speaker and the self-selecting speakers in disagreement. The majority of third position overlapping questions are uttered by the chair because of the institutional role of the chair as a mediator to guide and manipulate the ongoing talk. Therefore, similarly to Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2, the overlapping question in Excerpt 5.3 demonstrates the same interactional sequence as **Schema1**. That is, the overlapping question displays the chair's understanding of the prior whole turn, positioning himself in an implicative disagreement and projects the recipient to give further accounts to defend himself in the context of multi-party conversation.

The analysis of Excerpts 5.1-5.3 demonstrates three intrinsic features of overlapping questions in this setting. First, overlapping questions as confirmation requests in the context of APPD either occurring at TRP or non-TRP have the orientation of pursing responses and accounts, and at the same time create an opportunity for the recipient to repair or change his/her stance. The findings show that recipients are oriented to providing disconfirmation, insisting on their original stances, and provide accounts for them. This is due to the fact that most of the recipients of the confirmation requests are panel members and their political statuses operate as constraints that they cannot change their political stances in the debates. Second, with regard to the targets of confirmation in relation to overlapping questions, they normally appear to be summaries or reformulations of the prior turns. Third, compared with non-overlapping confirmation requests, overlapping questions display the character that questioners display their full understanding of the prior turns and present themselves as comparatively "eager" to express their requests and at the same time show the desire of adhering to the same agenda.

Based on the above analysis, the sequence organization triggered by the action of confirmation request via overlapping questions can be formulated as **Schema 1**:

T1   Fb   A: question

T2   Sb   B: answer

T3   Fp   → C: **confirmation request**

T4   Sp   B: confirmation and accounts

T5   SCT   C: Acknowledgement and closure

In this schema, the question-answer sequence (T1 and T2) functions as the base adjacency pair and the confirmation request-account sequence (T3 and T4) as the post-expansion. In the original question-answer sequence, the questioner constrains the answerer to provide his/her political stance and construct intersubjectivity or mutual understanding. The expanded sequence provides an opportunity to repair, enhance or

maintain the intersubjectivity of the answerer's political stance on the given issue. In the context of APPD, the analysis shows that the majority of the answer-question sequences are not prone to be closed with minimal post-expansion utterances, such as *Oh* (Heritage, 1984a), *Okay* (Beach, 1993), and variants of these (e.g., *Great*). Instead, they are followed by post-expanded sequences triggered by overlapping questions, such as the ones in Excerpts 5.1-3. The overlapping questions demonstrate the chair's unproblematic understanding of the prior turns and posit him in implicative disagreements on the one hand and project the recipient to provide confirmations and give accounts to defend himself on the other. As illustrated, this type of overlapping questions does not divert or change the topic of the conversation. Rather, it offers the prior speaker an opportunity to provide further accounts and defend himself/herself in a way to enhance the mutual understanding among participants. Through the sequences of collaborative turn-by-talk in Schema 1, the mutual understanding among the participants is established (T1-T2), confirmed and enhanced (T3 -T5). This sequential organization plays a significant role in the interactional talk in APPD. Thus, this research argues that this type of overlapping questions functioning as confirmation requests and implicative disagreement is of significance in the interaction in the context of APPD. It can be seen that confirmation solicitation as a type of repair initiators does not trigger the mechanism of repair. In contrast, it functions as a significant device in enhancing mutual understanding of the political stances. As a result of enhancing intersubjectivity, it facilitates the audience to make their decisions on the political issues.

In contrast to the Excerpts 5.1-5.3 that receive confirmation and accounts, confirmation requests implemented by overlapping questions at non-TPR may not receive confirmation, or may receive confirmation but accompanied with no immediate accounts. As such, questioners may be subjected to consistently pursuing it through various means, such as reformulation, repetition, quoting, explication and the like. Excerpt 5.4 is a case via reformulation as shown below.

Excerpt 5.4 *Question Time***: 26-05-2016, 02: 53 – 04: 28**

01 Mil: *(The details are omitted.)* … let's not throw the baby out with the bathwater,

02   [leave the European Union,] and make us worse off, because that's, I believe,

03 Cha: **[◦What, what-   Yeah ◦]**

04 Mil: what would [<happen. >   ]

05 Cha: **[◦You haven't talked-◦]=**

06 Aud: =××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××[×××××××××××××]

07 Cha: |-------------------(8.0)---------------------------------|**[On on the rem<u>ai</u>n side,]**

08   **just briefly, are you embarrassed by the figures that came out, showing the**

09   **second-highest on record (0.3) [this year?]**

10 Mil: [N<u>o</u>::.   ]

11 Cha: **You're not embarrassed by it? You don't think it's [difficult   ] [for   ]**

12 Mil: [Embarrassed?][◦What◦?<]

13   (0.4)

14 Cha: **for [for   ] the campaign, no?**

15 Mil: [N<u>o</u>!]

16   (0.4)

19 Mil: ◦No◦, ↑NO.

20 Cha: Alright. Fine. Let'er- < =

21 Mil: =No, no, [I think] it is an important point, [because] I am the son of immigrants.

22 Cha: [◦(   )◦]   [◦Okay. ◦]

23   (0.4)

24 Mil: My parents came here from the Nazis. Right, (0.2) from Europe, (0.4) from Belgium.

25   From my dad in 1940, from my mum, from Poland, (0.2) after the Second World 26

26   War. They were European migrants. (0.2) Th<u>ey</u>'ve m<u>a</u>de the

27   [contribution] to this [↑country.]

28 Cha: [Okay,   ]   [◦Alright.◦]

29 Mil: And, ↑LOOK. (0.3) So I th<u>i</u>nk immigration has benefits. I think people m<u>a</u>ke

30   contributions. We've g<u>o</u>t to use the extra income generated (0.3) to relieve the

31   pressures (0.2) **[** that people here and elsewhere face.]

32 Cha: [You've said that. David Davis.   ]

In this excerpt, Ed Miliband, the former leader of the Labour Party, is asked about the potential pressure on public services in light of recently published EU migration figures. Miliband answers that the UK will be better off economically by remaining in the EU and that EU funding can be used to relieve any pressure felt on UK public services. When Miliband is reaching a possible point of completion in Line 1, the chair attempts to halt the conversation with a *wh*-question to attempt to solicit a request. However, this results in an overlap in Lines 2-3. The chair drops out whereas Miliband continues to produce talk to make a comment on the previous stance – leaving the EU. At the upcoming possible completion point in Line 4, the chair self-selects to speak again. He reformulates his previous request with a negative declarative, which suggests that he tends to predispose a *yes* answer. Before he completes, he is interrupted by the audience's applause as shown in Lines 5 and 6. After eight seconds of applause, the chair once again reformulates the request with an interrogative as shown in Lines 7-9.

In response to the confirmation request via a polar question, Miliband replies with a prolonged vowel sound and emphasis on *no* in Line 10. But he does not provide accounts for his answer. Schegloff (2007) points out that dis-preferred answers normally follow mitigation and accounts. As Miliband does not give any accounts (Line 10), the chair reformulates the polar question into a negative declaratively formatted question and paraphrases it into a compound sentence to pursue the accounts for the negative response in Lines 11 and 12. This elicits Miliband to responds with the solicitations of problem sources - "Embarrassed?" and "What?" - and solution in triplicate (i.e., "No"). Again, no accounts are provided. This could be that Miliband does not take it necessary or intends to avoid it. That's why the chair reformulates the last request as a declarative. It projects that he fully understands Miliband's answer is "No". Therefore, in Line 20, the chair utters "alright" and "fine" which demonstrate his acknowledgements. Following the acknowledgments, while he is thinking how to construct the ensuing talk as the hesitation marker "er" shows, he is disrupted by Miliband. It displays that Miliband fully understands what the chair expects from him.

He repeats *no* twice and accounts for his disconfirmation. As it happens, Miliband provides a lengthy account for his negative confirmation. In the course of Miliband's account, the chair utters four go-ahead and acknowledgement utterances which indicate that this is what he expects. After Miliband completes his accounts, the chair makes an acknowledgement and this stretch of conversation comes to completion. In general, this case demonstrates that the confirmation questioner is subjected to pursuing accounts for the negative confirmation. When the recipient fails to provide accounts, the questioner may pursue it by means of a series of reformulation.

With respect to the type of confirmation requests receiving no immediate account, the questioner may pursue it by means of repeating of the request via overlapping questions. This can result in extended overlaps. In Excerpt 5.5, in response to the statement made by Prime Minister David Cameron, the Plaid Cymru MP Liz Saville Roberts accounts for her support of Cameron. In addition, she also explicates the Conservative government's plans on building houses. Rather than supporting leaving the EU, she states that remaining in the EU and reforming the education system can give young people more opportunities. When it comes to a possible completion point "reform out education system", the chair self-selects to express his opinion via the token "Em" (Line 3). It turns out that Roberts does not drop out but continues to produce her talk (Lines 3 and 4). During the process of her argument, the chair tries to disrupt her again and request her to confirm whether it is necessary for David Cameron to initiate a referendum, which occurs five times. This leads to an extended overlap in Lines 5, 7, 12, 13, 16, 20, as shown below.

Excerpt 5.5 *Question Time*: 02-06-2016: 54:40 – 55:30

01   Rob: …(0.4) I get out of bed in the morning to think about: how can we make Britain

02   the most successful country? How can we reform our education [system] to give

03   Cha: [Em.   ]

04   Rob: young people [like Frank's] constituents more opportuni[ties?]

05   Cha: **[What-   ]   [do] you think [it was-]**

06   Rob: Th<u>a</u>t's what I'm exci[ted by- frankly   ] on the 24th of J<u>u</u>:ne.

07   Cha: **[Do you think it was necessary?]**

08   (.)

09   Cha: Yeah.

10   (.)

11   Rob: =I, I want us to vote to remain in the EU and then I want us to get on [with]

12   Cha: **[Do] you**

13   **think it [was-   ]**

14   Rob: [what's] really important [some] of these key challenges =

15   Cha: [Okay.]

16   Cha: **= [Do you think it is necessary?]**

17   Rob: =[we are talking about   ] like housing like [education like health.]

18   Cha: [Alright.   Em   Yeah.]

19   (0.2)

20   Cha: **but do you think it was necessary** cuz the woman …*(The details are omitted.)* =

21   Rob: =There was a very good point made earlier …*(The details are omitted.)*

22   Cha: You're at the back. [Alright.]

23   Rob: [But   ] I think it's important we have this debate and I think

24   it's a healthy debate.

It can be seen that, in response to Roberts' account, though the chair gives a *yes* confirmation in Line 9 and there is an unmeasured pause, in the pursuing turn, the chair's request does not receive an uptake. Instead, Roberts goes on with her talk in Lines 11, 14, and 17 that result in an extended overlap with the chair. During Roberts' contribution, the chair attempts to interrupt and solicit the same request in Line 12 and 13, but he fails to get a response. In Line 15, he responds to Roberts' account with an acknowledgement "Okay", which functions as a progressional overlap. What follows in Line 16 is a fourth request solicitation that again results in an overlap with Roberts. Roberts on does not drop out but continues to produce her turn of talk. When she is reaching the possible completion point in Line 17, the chair solicits his response with

an acknowledgement in Line 18. Following a pause of two-tenths of a second, the chair self-selects to re-initiate the same request for a *fifth* time and accounts for it. Roberts then responds to the chair's request and provides accounts for it; this act serves as a completion and the conversation comes to close. In sum, this excerpt illustrates that when a confirmation request does not receive confirmation and the expected accounts, the questioner may keep pursuing it through repetition until he/she successfully achieves it. Additionally, when the confirmation request is confirmed and accounted for, the conversation will end even in instances where repetition has drawn it out.

Excerpt 5.6 is another instance of the type of confirmation request via overlapping questions which does not receive confirmation features as pursuing confirmation and accounts by means of the combination of reformulation, quote and explication. Here the speakers discuss the potential of future economic risks and tariffs that could be imposed upon Britain after leaving the EU. The leader of the House of Commons, Chris Grayling, states in response that he does not believe that there would be increased EU tariffs on British exports bound for European markets since the UK imports more from the EU. From this, he argues that an economic crisis will not happen. In response to this, the chair initiates a confirmation request at an upcoming TRP in Lines 2-3. This turns out to be a miscued completion point which results in a more than minimum overlap as Grayling completes his turn whereas the chair self-selects to solicit a confirmation request (Lines 2 and 3). The overlapped speaker, Graying, drops out after he accomplishes his account. In this stretch of talk, the overlapping speaker, the chair, disrupts and halts the progression of the talk because he wants to convey his disagreement. The chair gains the floor and solicits a confirmation request via an interrogative in Lines 2-3 as shown below.

Excerpt 5.6 *Question Time***: 09-06-2016, 25:30-25:56**

01   Gra: …(*The details are omitted.*) It's not going to hap[pen.]   [°I admit°]

02   Cha: **[Are] you saying [there'll]**

03   **be no tariffs raised against Britain (0.6) exporting to Europe?**

04		(.)
05	Gra:	But, why would the Euro[peans. ( )]
06	Cha:	**[because I heard Nigel Farage say.] You said five**
07		**[percent] [might happen, didn't you? And it was] [cheaper] and cheaper than**
08	Gra:	[Yeah.] [But but but] [the reason]
09	Cha:	**paying into [the EU.]=**
10	Gra:	[but the] reason that we all have a free trade agreement is they will
11		have to accept putting tariffs on the goods they sell to us. And we buy more from
12		them than they buy [from us] =
13	Cha:	[Alright.]
14	Gra:	= And it would cost EU jobs if they damage their access to our market
15		=[which is why they wouldn't do it.]
16	Cha:	=[But the, Ni-,] Nigel Farage.

After a pause, Graying responds with "but" that indicates a disagreement with the chair. Following this, he constructs a challenge through a *why*-formatted interrogative (Line 5). Before he completes, he is halted by the chair. The chair explicates why he poses the question. This is implemented through quoting Farage's statement and paraphrasing (Lines 6-7). During the chair's speech, Grayling repeatedly competes for the speakership. This ends up with an extended overlap in Lines 7- 10. When the chair is reaching the completion point, Grayling gains the floor to continue with the account for the request by the chair. Only when the request receives the relevant accounts does the spate of talk come to the completion.

Base on the illustration of the Excerpts 5.4 -5.6, the confirmation request via overlapping question occurring at non-TRP can be sequenced as **Schema 2**:

T1	F_b		A: Question
T2	S_b		B: Answer
T3	F_{p1}	→	C: **Confirmation request**

T4 S_{p1} B: No Confirmation / Confirmation without accounts

T5 F_{p2} C: Re-request

T6 S_{p2} B: No confirmation / Confirmation without accounts

                  … (recur)

Tn F_{pn} C: Re-request

Tn_1 S_{pn} B: Confirmation with accounts

Tn_2 SCT: C: Acknowledgement and close the episode

Schema 2 further confirms that overlapping questions as confirmation requests have the orientation of pursuing confirmation and accounts in the context of APPD. In addition, overlapping questions also display the character of the unproblematic understanding of the prior turns but implicate disagreements. In other words, overlap in the form of questions can function as repair initiators. The analysis shows that confirmation solicitation via overlapping questions, as a type of repair initiator, does not evoke the mechanism of repair. The responses to the overlapping questions display that the recipients do not virtually repair or change their political stances. Instead, they defend and maintain their original points of view through the provision of accounts. These are implemented through expanded sequences in the conversation. Through the elaboration of the conversation, the intersubjectivity among participants and the overhearing audience is constructed, confirmed and enhanced. This is crucial for the public to make decisions on the political issue – the referendum campaign.

5.2.2. Pre-challenge

The analysis shows that there is a type of confirmation requests functioning as pre-challenge via overlapping questions. Specifically, it functions not only as a confirmation of the questioner's understanding of the prior talk but also as laying the groundwork for the ensuing challenge. Excerpts 5.7-5.8 are the cases in point.

In Excerpt 5.7, Paul Nuttall, the then deputy leader of UKIP, gives a lengthy account to argue against the claim that it is racist to want to leave the European Union. Nuttall

states that he believes that the UK needs to be able to better control its borders and immigration into the country. He further emphasizes that this can only be achieved by leaving the EU. When Nuttall is reaching a possible completion point, the chair interrupts with an "En:" which results in a recognitional onset overlap (Line 2). Following this, the chair initiates a declarative that appears to request a confirmation of the figure about the new jobs which occurs as a latch. It turns out to be an initiation of a problem source. Nuttall treats "four out of five" as a hearing problem and corrects it as "five out of six" (Lines 3-4). In response to the repair, the chair solicits a confirmation question in form of a declarative (Lines 5-6). This design of the declarative question implies that the chair accepts the repair of the figure "five out of six" as the correct information. Then, he starts to account for his understanding of the figure. This account is formulated as a confirmation request in the form of declarative which is difficult to challenge. In addition, this account also functions as laying down an argumentative ground for the recipient. The question is designed as a declarative and has the effect of inviting a 'yes' answer and a relevant affirmative response.

In response to this request, there is a pause of four-tenths of a second which indicates a delayed and dis-preferred response in Line 8, an upcoming disagreement. This type of delayed device indicates a lack of immediately forthcoming talk (Pomerantz, 1984). As Pomerantz (1984) puts it, when the recipient finds that he/she is being asked to agree with a statement that he/she is in the position of disagreement, he/she may initially respond with silence. Following the pause, Nuttall responds with a yes confirmation, the hesitation preface token - "Er". In response to Nuttall's hesitation, the chair initiates a challenge in Line 9. As it turns out, the chair responds with a challenge via a *why*-interrogative that functions as another request for further explication for the *yes*-confirmation in Line 8. As it is shown in Lines 11-16, Nuttall accounts for *yes* confirmation but in a manner of disagreement. Only when Nuttall provides his further accounts for the problem arising from the confirmation request does the chair solicit the closure of the conversation in this spate of talk in Line 19.

Excerpt 5.7 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016, 01:52 – 03:57**

01 Nut: …but the only way we will do that is by leaving the European [Union] on June 23$^{rd.=}$

02 Cha: [En:]

03 Cha: =**And that figure you gave four out of five new jobs?**=

04 Nut: =Five out of six.

05 Cha: = **Five out of six, in fact, does include half of them and people who live here**

06   **already and the British citizens just happened to be born outside Britain.**

07   (0.4)

08 Nut: Er, ↑yeah. =

09 Cha: = So ↑why give the ↑wrong figure?

10   (0.3)

11 Nut: Well, well, well ↑acTUAlly tha:t a 5.2 million foreign workers now in Britain

12   ↑one in six of the workforce and 2.2 million of those people **(0.7)** have come from

13   within [the   ] European Union.

14 Cha: [Okay].=

15 Nut: = You need, and ↑look! The problem with immigration isn't just economic

16   because … and what people aren't integrating [in the] great community.

17 Cha: [Okay.]

18   (0.8)

19 Cha: Yvette Cooper.

This section of talk can be sequenced as containing the following steps:

T1 F$_b$ A: Question

T2 S$_b$ B: Answer

T3 F$_{p1}$ **C: Confirmation request / pre-challenge**

T4 S$_{p1}$ B: yes confirmation

T5 F$_{p2}$ C: Challenge

T6 S$_{p2}$ B: Accounts

T7 SCT: C: Acknowledgement

It can be seen that the question – answer sequence is expanded due to the two arising problems in the answer turn. One is about the figure, the other is the reason of the belief of the deal. Thus, they motivate the expansion of the question-answer sequence. The first problem is targeted by the confirmation solicitation functioning as pre-challenge and the second problem is targeted by the solicitation of a challenge. Through the collaborative co-operation in the talk, the politician's political stance unfolds in more detail and, thus, become more intelligible to the audience.

Another example can be found in Excerpt 5. 8. In response to the question whether it is feasible to have access to the single market and still control the UK border, *The Times* columnist Melanie Phillips makes use of "believe" twice to express that she thinks it is possible to maintain both the single market and border control. However, during her argument, Phillips utters "er" in many occasions, especially in Line 6, when she utters it three times when mentioning "a deal". In addition, Phillips also changes her syntactic structure from "I believe" in Lines 1 and 5 to a passive voice "I am also led to believe" in Line 7. But before she completes her account, she is interrupted by the chair. She cuts off and relinquishes the floor to the chair. This indicates that the prior turn is problematic. As it turns out, the chair targets "the deal" as the problem. In Line 8, the chair solicits a confirmation request in the form of declarative, projecting a *yes* confirmation. Similarly to the case in Excerpt 7, this confirmation request counters a pause of two-tenths of a second in Line 9. Phillips answers with a prolonged "ye:s" in Line 10, which indicates a lack of uncertainty. Following this, the chair interrupts and responds with the second confirmation request in Line 11. These two requests function to point out the problems of arguments to be too subjective in Lines 1-7 and register the recipient to give factual accounts.

Excerpt 5.8 *Question Time:* **30-06-2016, 01:28 – 02:20**

01   Phi: .h, (0.6), I beli:eve that technically it is. Um, but that most of the discussion has

02   about, has been about, for example, the Norway model, um, which is a group of

03   countries, er, in the, er, European Economic Area, er, which er have access to the (04)

04		single market, er, but which, er, adhere to the rules of free movement of people's (05)
05		and that's what most of the discussions being about. Um, I beli:eve that it is
06		possible to negotiate a deal with the:, er, er, er, single market without having er a 07
07		loss of border control. Um, I'm also led to believe what I read and- =
08	Cha:	**=A d<u>ea</u>l. Sorry, access to the single market means no tariffs.**
09		(0.2)
10	Phi:	Ye:[s.]
11	Cha:	**[J<u>us</u>t] as we have at the moment.=**
12	Phi:	=I- I believe so, but I- I mean- =
13	Cha:	=↑Why you believe it?=
14	Phi:	=I'm-, because I have been given to understand that is the case. But I'm phrasing…

As expected, Phillips responds with a *yes* confirmation in the form of the same syntactic structure "I believe so" in Line 12. Following this, she continues with "but I- I mean- " which implies that she will account for disagreement. Before she can complete, this leads to the chair's solicitation of a challenge in Line 13. As with Excerpt 5. 7, the two confirmation solicitations in Lines 8 and 11 can be taken as the pre-challenge sequences, functioning as laying the ground for the ensuing challenge in Line 13.

Thus, based on the analysis of Excerpt 5.7 and 5.8, the action of stance seeking implemented through pre-challenge can be sequenced as **Schema 3:**

T1	F_b		A: Question
T2	S_b		B: Answer
T3	F_{pre}	→	C: **pre-challenge**
T4	S_{pre}		B: Confirmation and Accounts
T5	F_p		C: Challenge through *wh*-question
T6	S_p		B: Accounts
T7	SCT:		C: Acknowledgement and close the episode

In this schema, the first pair of question-answer sequence form the base adjacency pair of the piece of talk. The third position response is an other-initiated repair, functioning as a pre-challenge turn in this contingency. Thus, as it is shown, through sequences of turns, the political stance is uncovered in the turn-by-turn interaction. The expanded sequence of talk illustrates that the achievement of the mutual understanding of political stances in this given setting is not just based on a question-answer sequence but relies on the expansion of it. By doing so, the political stances can be exposed to a fuller extent and can become more intelligent.

5.2.3 Narrowing Positioning

This section examines the instances of third position overlapping questions that are designed as alternative questions. They normally occur when the answerers start to produce their answers. They function as specifying and narrowing the political positioning. Heritage and Clayman (2002) and Hayano (2013) note that the design of questioning features with three constraints on answering: presupposition, agenda and preferences. This section investigates how alternative questions impose constraints on the answers in third position.

Excerpt 5.9 demonstrates the narrowing of positioning in presupposition. In this spate of talk, the chair selects an audience member, Tom Markham, to give his opinion on the tenure of Jeremy Corbyn's leadership should the Labour Party perform badly at the local elections. The audience speaker gives a response and accounts for it. He thinks that, though Jeremy Corbyn's leadership may come under threat, Corbyn will still be supported by party members, which the speaker attributes to the short-sightedness of Labour members (Lines 4-6). This account appears to be problematic to the chair. After a pause of an eight-tenth of a second, the chair solicits a confirmation request, "Are you a Labour supporter?" in Line 8. The audience member responds with a *yes* confirmation. However, this confirmation is followed by a counter-stance indicated by a reference to inference. It turns out that the audience member is a Labour supporter but one who does not support Corbyn. This post question-answer sequence builds up an assumption that

being a Labour supporter is not necessary to be a supporter of the current leader. After the audience speaker gives his confirmation and accounts, the chair responds with an acknowledgment of understanding and closes the conversation with him.

The chair then selects Labour's Shadow Energy Secretary Lisa Nandy as the next speaker to give her opinion on the question previously asked of the audience member, Tom Markham. In response, Nandy utters "well" as an indicator, adumbrating that the ensuing response is dis-preferred (Schegloff, 2009). As it turns out, Nandy constructs her answer as "…I certainly agree [with the-]" following "well". It can be inferred that Nandy will produce a disagreement with the audience member after the agreement with him. However, before she can solicit her disagreement, she is disrupted by the chair which results in a progressional overlap onset. The chair halts the ongoing talk with an alternative question. The question displays as a request for selection by reformulating the presupposition about Nandy from a general term "a Labour supporter" into two alternative specific terms - "a staunch supporter" or "a moderate supporter". The purpose of the interruption of the ongoing talk is to help the audience understand the subsequent accounts of Nandy's political stance by reference of the previous question-answer sequence between the chair and the previous speaker from the audience. In other words, it narrows the positioning of the presupposition of Nandy's political stance which presupposes that, if Nandy is a staunch supporter, it can be inferred that she will support both Labour party and Corbyn, but if she is a moderate supporter, she may be a supporter like the previous speaker from the audience. As it turns out, contrary to the previous audience as "well" indicates, Nandy supports Labour, which is not only evidenced in the conversation but because she is a Labour MP. She also supports Corbyn (Lines 19-21).

Excerpt 5.9 *Question Time:* **05-05-2016, 52:18 – 52:40**

01   Cha: Tom Markham, your point is **(0.4)** that he should or he shouldn't come under threat

02   if things go badly?

03   **(0.3)**

04	AUD:	I think he should. It's the first test for him as leader. The difficulty is, obviously, he's
05		got huge support in the membership, unfortunately. I think members have been
06		incredibly short-sighted.
07		**(0.8)**
08	Cha:	Are you a Labour supporter?
09		**(.)**
10	AUD:	I'm a Labour member, but I don't support Jeremy Corbyn. **(0.6)** I don't think people
11		need to remember how good **(0.5)** New Labour were. Minimum wage, equal rights
12		for gay people.
13		**(.)**
14	Cha:	Alright. **(0.2)** Lisa Nandy?
15		**(.)**
16	Nan:	Well, I certainly agree [with the-]
17	Cha:	**[Are you,] are you a staunch supporter or a moderate**
18		**supporter? [I am not quite sure where you stand on the issue.]**
19	Nan:	[I'm a- I am a] I am a supporter
20		of Labor and I'm a supporter of Jeremy Corbyn, who was elected with a resounding
21		mandate from our members. And let me say this, … *(The details are omitted.)*

Based on the above analysis, it can be seen that the overlapping question in Lines 17-18 is also a third position turn. This third position turn sequence appears to be a pre-second insert expansion, being a preparation for the second pair part made relevant for the base sequence which the insert sequence inhabits.

Apart from narrowing the positioning of the political presupposition, alternative questions in third position can also function to narrow and focus the positioning of agendas. Excerpt 10 is the case in point. In response to the question of what odds the panel would give Donald Trump to become the President of the United States of America, the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson thinks that, even though he does not wish Trump to become President, there is still possibility for him to

do so. Then he continues to give an account which does not directly answer what odds Donald Trump will become President. In response to this, the chair halts the conversation and solicits an alternative question in Line 3.

Excerpt 5.10 *Question Time*: 05-05-2016, 06:00-07:03

01   Law: …He is quite capable of changing his mind without the slightest hesitation.

02   [But he is not-   ]   [No, he is-]

03   Cha: **[Are you saying about] any politician or about him parti[cularly?]**

04   Law: exceptionally that way. But he is not a-, to compare him with Ronald Reagan is

05   completely wrong. I knew Ronald Reagan quite well, and Ronald Reagan was a great

06   man and a great politician. … *(The details are omitted.)*

07   (1.0)

08   Cha: You, sir.

Researchers have found that when setting questions, the use of a polar question may set a topical agenda and an action agenda (Hayano, 2013; Schegloff and Clayman, 2002). However, it is common for politicians to answer the topical agenda but sidestep the action agenda (Schegloff and Clayman, 2002). When this occurs, the answerer may be held accountable for not answering in subsequent follow-up questions or held back to the action agenda. Excerpt 5.10 exemplifies this. But the subsequent follow-up question turns out to be an alternative question which displays as a pre-second insert expansion. When Lawson is reaching a possible completion point in Line 1 in the description of Trump, it turns out that it is a miscue again that results in a progressional overlap in Lines 2 and 3. It displays as that the current speaker is continuing to account for Trump while the chair initiates an alternative question to narrow the agenda. It turns out that the current speaker Lawson cuts off and drops out while the chair holds the floor to complete his alternative question. At the upcoming transitional place in Line 3, Lawson responds with a confirmation selection and in Line 4 he continues with the previous comments about Trump. This can be explained in how Lawson responds with the narrowing by selecting to answer to the agenda.

Based on Excerpts 5. 9 and 5.10, the action of stance seeking via narrowing positioning can be sequenced as **Schema 4** shown below.

T1 F_b A: Question

T2 F_b B: Answer

T3 F_{pre} A: Narrowing Positioning   (Alternative questions)

T4 F_{pre} B: Selection and accounts

T5   SCT: A: Acknowledgement and closure

This pre-second insert sequence is used to halt the ongoing answer in the base adjacency pair and targets the presupposition or the agenda in the prior turn. To develop and infer the answerer's answer, the chair has the priority to launch an overlap onset to re-posit and narrow the presupposition of the speaker's political positioning or the agenda of the talk. In this, the pre-second insert expansion can facilitate to bridge the politician's status and his/her political stance and make the answer relevant. By doing so, the speaker's political stances can become more intelligent and the mutual understanding or intersubjectivity can be properly restored.

In sum, the analysis shows that all the instances of narrowing positioning occur at non-PRT, displaying as locating the problems in the previous turn, halting the conversation and implementing the action of narrowing. As the unfolding of the sequences of the talk, it can be seen that third position overlapping question can function as narrowing the presupposition and agenda in the answer's account so as to pursue the answer relevant. Through this pre-insert sequence, it can avoid occurrences of evasiveness or irrelevance of the answer in the second pair part. This type of alternative overlapping questions is significant to making political stances intelligible so that the mutual understanding or intersubjectivity among participants can be restored and maintained.

5.2.4 Summary

Section 5.2 describes the practice of third position overlapping question being interrogatively and declaratively formatted, featured as being used to solicit *implicative disagreement*, *pre-challenge* and *position narrowing* in the environment of confirmation request. Firstly, the findings and analysis show that the third position overlapping question functioning as confirmation solicitation in the context of APPD is a device to enhance the mutual understanding among participants. It is a device demonstrating that the questioner posits himself/herself to be in an implicative disagreement on the one hand and projects the recipient an opportunity to defend himself/herself on the other. In whole, the purpose of this questioning is to offer the prior speaker an opportunity to adjust and defend himself/herself to enhance the intersubjectivity or mutual understanding on the political stance. Secondly, third position overlapping question displays as a device of pre-challenge solicitation, that is, a device to lay the ground to be challenged. This pre-challenge turn is embedded in the base question-answer sequence, functioning to locate the problem in the previous turn and project the ensuing challenge. By so doing, the political stance is elaborated and become more intelligent to the participants. Thirdly, third position overlapping questions can also function as narrowing positioning, displaying as the pre-second insert sequence. They are designed as alternative questions and function to locate the problem in the previous turn and halt the ongoing answer in the base adjacency sequence. They target the presuppositions or agendas in the question turn and re-posit and narrow the answer's presupposition and agendas. Thus, the mutual understanding on the political stances is mitigated, restored and achieved.

In all, the talk-in-interaction in the setting of APPD features as recurrences of expanded sequences. This "works against" the basic interactional principles of minimization and progressivity (Levinson, 1983). It is motivated by the institutional goal of making the answers relevant to the questions. When breaches of intersubjectivity emerge, they are normally resolved via the expanded sequences which are realized through mitigation, elaboration and the like in the course of the conversation. Therefore, the variants of schemas of expanded sequence organizations, both pre-expanded and post-expanded

sequences, are of significance in the interaction in the setting of APPD. They serve as important devices in the achievement of the institutional goal. By so doing, the political stances are uncovered and become more intelligent to the public and thus facilitate to enhance and restore the mutual understanding among participants so that the participants and the overhearing audience can make their decisions on the political issues based on the mutual understanding or intersubjectivity.

5.3 Overlapping Questions as Challenge

The focal practice in this section is the third position overlapping questions functioning as challenge. Data observation shows that challenge is overwhelmingly implemented by *why*-formatted interrogatives in the setting of APPD. As a type of question, *why*-interrogatives index an epistemic gap (K-/K+) between questioners and answers that could render the accountable event (Heritage, 2007). They are treated as the action of direct account solicitation. Schegloff (2007) argues that *why*-interrogatives are disaffiliative and they are commonly ''dispreferred'' initiating actions. Consistent with findings about disaligning/disaffiliatory initiating actions, Monzoni (2008) supports that *why*-interrogatives are commonly positioned in environments of nonalignment and/or disalignment. Recently, Bolden and Robinson (2011) have argued that *why*-interrogatives are Janus-faced. On the one hand, they index an epistemic gap between questioners and answerers and thus there is the possibility that answerers can provide accounts that questioners did not previously know about. On the other hand, *why*-interrogatives claim some epistemic access to the accountable event and communicate a stance that the event does not accord with common sense and thus is inappropriate or unwarranted. This section focuses on the analysis of the overlapping *why*-interrogatives and examines what trigger this type of questioning and what functions it serves in the sequential organization in the context of APPD.

5.3.1 Overlapping Questions as Challenge at TRPs

This section focuses on the examination of challenges implemented via *why*-interrogatives occurring at TRPs. This type of overlapping questions has the character

that the questioner displays an understanding of the whole prior turn to be problematic, such as being evasive, insufficient, ambiguous, untenable and the like. These are the problematic resources that trigger the solicitations of challenge, and at the same time project the next turn as an opportunity for the answerer to counter the challenge. By so doing, political stances and competences can be uncovered and detected.

Excerpts 5.11 and 5.12 are instances of challenge via overlapping *why*-interrogatives occurring at TRP due to the evasive answers in the prior turns. In these examples, they are repairs via reformulation. In Excerpt 5.11, the chair and Burnham, being a moderator and the Labour's shadow home secretary respectively, are in an asymmetrical relationship on political issues, with Burnham in a knowledgeable position (or K+) and the chair in a "lack of knowledge" position (or K-). Prior to Burnham's answer in Lines 1-8 are the chair's two questions about whether Labour is doing enough to stop people joining the attacks on their party and what is being done within the party to stop anti-Semitism. These two questions demonstrate an epistemic gap between the chair and Burnham. As for Burnham, the Labor's shadow home secretary, the chair expects him to be able to provide some exclusive information about what his party has done on the issue of anti-Semitism.

In response to the two questions, in Lines 1-2, Burnham disagrees with the audience member's opinion that the Labour party does not do enough on the issue of anti-Semitism. In Lines 2-3, Burnham argues that he and Alex strongly support the suspension action taken by the Labour Party. Then, he asks himself the chair's second question "What's the party doing?" in Lines 3-4 and gives his answer. In his answer, he accounts both for what the party and its leader, Jeremy Corbyn, have done, concluding with the comments that the Labour party had not been good at the beginning and has not done enough in Lines 6-8. However, his accounts do not inform what Labour party has done on anti-Semitism. Thus, Burnham's answer appears to be evasive and irrelevant as shown in the following:

Excerpt 5.11 *Question Time:* 28-04-2016, 12:00-13: 06

01   Bur: I will I mean. The gentleman there has said we're being too forgiving. Well, I'm

02   not actually. And I mean, I think and like Alex it was right to suspend now. So yes.

03   Us both: root it out, find it and root it out. Absolutely no question about it. What's

04   the party doing? (0.2) Well, somebody said it. I mean, we are the party that for

05   decades has promoted equality, has fought discrimination. You know, Jeremy

06   Corbyn's done all that all his political life if you look at his record. So the party

07   has to get better. I don't think it has been good enough. I said that at the very

08   beginning. It's not been [good.]

09   Cha: **[Why] has he been so slow?**

10   (0.4)

11   Bur: Well, I don't know. It should be quicker. It should be quicker and I'd like to see

12   quicker and more decisive action taken. I think he has taken action but it could be it

13   could be quicker.

14   (0.3)

15   Cha: Okay.

Since the answerer does not give a relevant response, at the upcoming TRP in Line 8, the chair responds through a *why*-interrogative to challenge Burnham on the same agenda. This occurs as a terminal overlap in Line 9. The overlapping *why*-interrogative "Why has he been so slow?" displays that the chair understands the whole answer as evasive and irrelevant. In response to the evasive answer, the chair reformulates the original question as a *why*-formatted interrogative to re-question Burnham and further pursues the relevant accounts. Thus, in the context of APPD, when the answer appears to be evasive and irrelevant, the chair, as a moderator, is oriented to reformulating the original question to pursue a relevant answer. This kind of question aims to adhere to the original communicative event and consistently pursues the accounts relevant. As it is shown, reformulation of the original question via overlapping *why*-questions functions as an effective device to halt the conversation and enact the challenge to pursue the relevant accounts to achieve the asymmetrical balance among the

participants, and thus fulfill the achievement of intersubjectivity.

Excerpt 5.12 is a similar instance of Excerpt 5.11. In this segment, the chair selects the Labour's Shadow Foreign Secretary Hilary Benn to give his opinion on whether voters should make their decision in the referendum on the basis of controlling immigration. Benn supports Remain and disagrees with Nigel Farage's proposal of instituting an Australian-style points system for immigration (Lines 2-4 and Lines 6-9).

Excerpt 5.12 *Question Time:* **09-06-2016, 06:05 – 06:30**

```
01   Cha:      =[Hilary Benn. Alright. Hi-Hilary Benn. Hilary Benn. Your [turn. ]

02   Ben:                                                    [I'm,] I'm the son of an

03            immigrant. Nigel, you say you want an Australian style points system. What has

04            it done in Australian? It has increased immigration. Let's tell each other the-=

05   Far:      =[Yes.]=

06   Ben:      =truth. It is an important issue and you are right that people have concerns and there

07            are pressures in particular communities. But the truth is, there will continue to be

08            immigration whether we remain in the European Union or whether we leave the

09            European Union.=

10   Cha:      =Why can't you make the decision on the basis of controlling immigration?=

11   Ben:      = [      Becau:se-              ]   ˚I want to come to that directly. ˚=

12   Cha:      =[＞The question I asked you.＜]
```

At the upcoming TRP, the chair interrupts with a negative *why*-question via reformulation in Line 10 as a latch overlap. That is, the chair understands Benn's answer as that people cannot make the decision on the basis of controlling immigration. However, Benn does not substantiate his assertion to support his stance, which may make it appear insufficient or unconvincing. Thus, similarly, when the answer to the question does not hit the target, soliciting a reformulated overlapping *why*-interrogatives can function as a means to further pursue the relevant answer and balance the asymmetry. Both Excerpts 11 and 12 illustrate that, if the answerer fails to give a

relevant answer to the question, speakers can self-select to solicit a *why*-question to enact a challenge to pursue a relevant account.

Unlike the instances in Excerpts 5.11 and 5.12, Excerpts 5.13 and 5.14 are instances of challenges implemented through overlapping *why*-interrogatives with counter facts. In Excerpt 5.13, the founder and chairman of the Wetherspoon chain of pubs, Tim Martin, is questioned about the future of farming in the UK when more than half of farmer incomes in 2015 were linked to the EU. In Lines 1-4, Martin responds with an indirect quote of the farming and agricultural minister George Eustace, saying that EU will not increase the support level of farmer's income in the future. In addition, Martin disagrees with the evidence, instead claiming without support that farmers' incomes come from the UK, not from the EU. He then contradicts his previous account to state that EU subsidies are not sustainable for British farming. All these statements indicate that he supports leaving the EU.

Excerpt 5.13 *Question Time:* **21-04-2016, 21:25 – 22:00**

01	Mar:	The, um, the farming, er, and agricultural Minister George Eustace has said that, er, the
02		farming community will c-continue to be supported to the same level it is within the
03		EU. There is no real EU money. We send money out to the EU and it then comes back,
04		er, to support farmers with strings attached. It's not a very efficient wa::y. =
05	Cha:	**=Why did the NFU, why did the NFU this week vote to remain then if that's so?**
06		(0.2)
07	Mar:	Well- =
08	Cha:	**=I mean, they represent the farm?** =
09	Mar:	=Maybe they don't believe George Eustace but I do.
10		(0.2)
11	Cha:	˚Okay˚. (0.5) Paddy Ashdown.

In Line 4, when Martin comes to a possible TRP, he prolongs the last word "wa::y" which is a signal of a potential TRP that can pass the speakership (Schegloff, 2000). In

Line 5, the chair responds via a latch with a counter fact in the form of *why*-interrogative. The purpose of this question is to challenge Martin with a counter fact and register him to counter the challenge and secure his political stance. This contributes to the construction of intersubjectivity in the way that intersubjectivity is possible not because people come to have identical experiences but rather because, in the absence of counterevidence (Schutz, 1962). In other words, to defend one's argument, one needs to provide supportive evidence to counter the challenge.

In response to the chair's challenge, in Line 7, Martin replies with a preface "well" which indicates a disagreement. When a recipient is asked to make an agreement but he /she wants to disagree. A speaker might delay the disagreement with prefaces, like "well", "uh", silences or similar (Pomerantz, 1984). The use of "well" in Line 7 serves as an example of this. But before Martin accounts for his disagreement, the chair disrupts. Martin cuts off and relinquishes the floor to the chair. In Line 8, the chair further explicates his previous question by soliciting a confirmation request. He wants to emphasize the ground of the challenge that NFU is an association of farming which represents British farmers' interests. Therefore, the chair lays the ground for Martin to counter. As it turns out, Martin answers with uncertainty by the use of "maybe", which supports previous findings (e.g., Koshik, 2011). When *wh*-interrogatives are treated as challenges, they convey a negative assertion and there is no ground for the prior claim or action to counter. In sum, the overlapping *why*-interrogative in Excerpt 5.13 functions to adhere to the original agenda to pursue counter facts via challenge. This example demonstrates that, in the context of APPD, the recipient of the challenge with counter facts cannot counter with certainty through the use of "well", "maybe", meaning that the recipient still adhere to his original stance but provide accounts. Thus, it can be seen that soliciting challenges does contribute to the construction of intersubjectivity among the participants and the overhearing audience.

Excerpt 5.14 is also an instance of challenge via overlapping *why*-interrogatives with counter facts. But the counter fact is not a fact in reality but an assumption. During the

EU referendum, the British government planned to force all state schools in England to become academies by 2022; a proposal which was highly contested. The conservative education secretary Nicky Morgan is invited to participate in *Question Time* to address this issue. In this conversation, the chair and Morgan are obviously in an asymmetrical relationship, with the chair in a less knowledgeable position and Morgan in a more knowledgeable position. In Excerpt 5.14, the chair questions Morgan the practical management of academies in Lines 1-2. In Lines 3-7, Morgan accounts for the plan of the administrative and financial management for academics on behalf of the Conservative-led government. At the upcoming TRP in Line 7, the chair responds with a solicitation of a challenge through a *why*-formatted interrogative which results in a terminal overlap. The solicitation of the challenge is implemented through an assumption, rather than reality.

Excerpt 5.14 *Question Time:* **17-03-2016, 39:18-30:25**

01   Cha: Does it have to look for a sponsor? I can't just find a group of trustees and they do it.

02   (0.2)

03   Mor: They can do it. They can d o it both ways. So if a school wants to convert what we've

04   seen as many schools become academies on their own in the course of the last six years

05   and because they're strong enough to do that. But if there is a problem, if a school has

06   been failing or if it's not, the pupils are not making the progress that they should be,

07   then we will find them a spor[sor.]

08   Cha: **[And] supposing a head teacher is happy with his own**

09   **or her own arrangements within a council, why are you forcing them to become**

10   **academies?**

Excerpts 5.15 is also an instance of challenge implemented through overlapping *why*-interrogatives occurring at TPR. But these examples differ from Excerpts 5.11-5.14, as the grounds to be challenged are laid by the questioners through the pre-sequence, similar as those in Excerpts 5.8 and 5.9. In Excerpt 5.15, prior to Line 1, in response to the audience member's question of whether it is racist to want to leave the EU, the

deputy leader of UKIP Paul Nuttall illustrates that five or six new jobs went to people who were not born in the UK. He claims that he does not support stopping immigration but he thinks that Britain needs to halt immigration. In response to Nuttall's answer, the chair solicits a request for confirmation about the figure "four out of five" in Line 1. Nuttall repairs it as "five out of six". In Lines 3-4, after acknowledging the confirmation, the chair explicates his understanding of the figure which is different from that of Nuttall and projects the next turn to give a confirmation. After a 0.4 second pause, Nuttall gives a yes confirmation. The 0.4 second and the preface "er" indicate a delayed agreement on the chair's explication of the figure which Nuttall has no ground to counter. In Line 7, the chair self-selects to continue to solicit a *why*-formatted interrogative, challenging Nuttall by commenting the figure as being wrong and request a clarification accounts to balance the asymmetrical knowledge.

Excerpt 5. 15 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016, 03:10 – 03:35**

01   Cha: = And that figure you gave four out of five new jobs.=

02   Nut: =Five out of six.

03   Cha: = Five out of six, in fact, does include half of them are people who live here

04   already and the British citizens just happened to be born outside Britain.

05   (0.4)

06   Nut: Er, y<u>ea</u>h. =

07   Cha: **= So why give the wrong figure?**

08   (0.3)

09   Nut: Well, well, well ↑ac<u>tua</u>lly tha:t a 5.2 million foreign workers now in Britain ↑one

10   in six of the workforce and 2.2 million of those people **(0.7)** have come from

11   within [the   ] European Union.

12   Cha: [Okay.]

In Nuttall's response, the 0.3 second pause and the three "well" in Lines 8 and 9 indicate his disagreement with the chair's comment of the figure as "wrong". This disagreement as a "dis-preferred" answer shows the need for clarification. Nuttall clarifies his figure

in Lines 9-11 in a way that is different from his previous account. Therefore, when the prior turn appears to be ambiguous, the next speaker can self-select to reformulate the original question to solicit a request for clarification. This kind of request solicitation presses the previous speaker to justify and defend his/her answer. The response and accounts can further expose political stance and are importance resources to align the audience. Excerpt 5.15 shows that recipient of the challenge, Nuttall, provides accounts to counter the challenge. This indicates that, in the context of APPD, the challenge via counter facts may receive a response and accounts, which is different from those that do not accord with common sense and are not inappropriate and unwarranted proposed by Bolden and Robinson (2011).

In general, based on the above analysis of the challenge via *why*-formatted overlapping interrogatives occurring at TRP, some insights are gained as follows. Firstly, the *why*-formatted overlapping questions occurring at TRPs in the context of APPD overtly indicates a breach of mutual understanding in the prior whole turn, displaying the problem sources as asymmetry in epistemics, such as being irrelevant, insufficient, ambiguous and untenable and the like. These evoke the solicitation of challenges via overlapping *why*-interrogatives to pursue the balance of epistemic knowledge between the two speakers. Secondly, the majority of overlapping questions occurring at TRP in the context of APPD does not appear to be competitive. However, similar to those cases in Section 5.2, they present the questioners as comparatively "eager" to initiate the solicitation of challenge. Thirdly, more importantly, overlapping *why*-formatted questions in this setting do not appear to be the type of rhetorical questions that cannot be answered (Bolden and Robinson, 2003). Rather, this study shows that this type of *why*-questions as a challenge may receive counter responses. In sum, overlapping questions occurring at TRPs are illustrated as an effective device to facilitate to accomplish the action of stance seeking - the institutional goal. In the course of accomplishing this action, overlapping *why*-questions at TRPs function as restoring the mutual understanding by means of reformulation, provision of counter facts or assumption and pre-challenge sequence in the context of APPD when a breach of

mutual understanding or intersubjectivity occurs. The next section examines those instances which occur at non-TRPs.

Based on the above analysis, the action of stance seeking via challenge at TRPs can be sequenced as **Schema 5** as follows:

T1   Fb   A: question

T2   Sb   B: answer

T3   Fp   → C: **challenge at TRP**

T4   Sp   B: accounts

T5   SCT   C: acknowledgement and closure

5.3.2 Overlapping Questions as Challenge at non-TRPs

This section examines the instances of challenge initiated via overlapping *why*-interrogatives at non-TRPs. Unlike those occurring at TRPs, this type of *why*-questions features with the initiation of a challenge by means of disrupting the progression of the talk when the problems of conversation arise in the ongoing conversation.

5.3.2.1 When Problems Arise

Overlapping *why*-questions can be used to implement the action of challenge. Some targets of the challenge appear at the upcoming completion point of the conversation. Others may emerge over the course of the talk. Excerpts 5.16- 5.18 are instances of the latter as shown in the following.

Excerpt 5.16 is an instance which displays the epistemic asymmetry between the chair and *The Times* columnist, Melanie Phillips. In Excerpt 5.16, in response to the chair's question, Phillips starts with an inhale and a six-tenth of a second pause. This indicates that the speaker is thinking about her account. It appears in Line 5 that Phillips accounts for her stance in a subjective manner through the linguistic structure "I believe that …". This subjective answer appears to be not convincing. In Line 9, she continues to employ

the same structure "I believe that it is possible to negotiate a deal with market without a loss of border control". Phillips appears to realize the problem and converts to the passive voice structure "I am also led to believe…" in Lines 10-11. However, before she completes the utterance, the chair interrupts her. Phillips cuts off and relinquishes the floor to the chair. In Line 12, the chair solicits a confirmation request about the candidate interpretation of "deal" through a positively formulated declarative question (This will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 6). Heritage (2010) argues that a positively formulated declarative question prefers a positive *yes*-answer (Stiver, 2013: 407). As it turns out, after a two-tenth of a second pause, Phillips responds with a *yes*-answer. However, Phillips prolongs in uttering "Ye:s". This stretched vowel adds uncertainty to the otherwise definitive confirmation. This leads the chair to solicit another positively-formulated declarative question "Just as we have at the moment?" to further request for the confirmation of the understanding of the "deal" in Line 9. As it happens, Phillips responds with a self-repair through the repetition of "I". This self-repair displays a delay and hesitation which implies mitigation and accounts. Phillips later utters "but" which indicates an impending different stance (Line 16) as shown below.

Excerpt 5.16 *Question Time:* 30-06-2016; 01:20-03:10

01	Cha:	Which is more important? That goes to the very heart of what happens after the
02		Brexit vote. Is it feasible to have access to a single market and still control our
03		borders? Melanie Phillips, you go.
04		(.)
05	Phi:	.h, (0.6), I believe that technically it is. But that most of the discussion has about,
06		has been about, for example, the Norway model which is a group of countries in
07		the European Economic Area which have access to the single market but which
08		adhere to the rules of free movement of people. And that's what most of the
09		discussions being about. I believe that it is possible to negotiate a deal with the
10		single market without having a loss of border control. I'm also led to believe what
11		I read and- =
12	Cha:	=A deal. Sorry, access to the single market means no tariffs.

13		(0.2)
14	Phi:	Ye:[s.]
15	Cha:	[Just] as we have at the moment?=
16	Phi:	=I- I believe so, but I mean- =
17	Cha:	**=Why you <u>believe</u> it?=**
18	Phi:	=I'm-, because because I have been given to understand that is the case. But I'm
19		phrasing what I say very cautiously because for every expert you talk to, you find
20		somebody who. …

As it is shown in the extract, before Phillips implements her explication accounts, the chair halts his talk with a *why*-formatted question, targeting the problem arising from "I believe…". The chair makes use of the problematic lexis "believe" to formulate a question not only to challenge the prior speaker but also hold her to give a factual or reason account. But when we consider the role of Phillips as a newspaper columnist, she is in an asymmetrically epistemic position from the politician. Compared with the politician, she may be in a less knowledgeable position. In a sense, she may be more or less in a similar position as the audience, making her judgment and decision based on the facts provided by politicians. So, through the elaboration of the challenge sequence, the asymmetrical relation between the two speakers is revealed. It can be seen that this challenge sequence is of significance in doing the repair and restoration of the mutual understanding on the political stance.

Excerpt 5.17 is one more example which displays the symmetrically epistemic relation between the chair and Phillips. In this excerpt, the chair asks Phillips, the same question discussed in Excerpt 5.14. Prior to this, two panel members and an audience member give their opinions on this question. Phillips gives a lengthy account on the behaviour and actions of Michael Gove and Boris Johnson during the referendum campaign. Then, in Lines 4-6, she asserts that after the referendum Gove questioned Johnson's leadership qualifications. Phillips' lengthy answer does not address the target question as to why Johnson withdrew from the Conservative party's leadership race after the referendum.

The chair intends to halt the progress of the talk by commenting his description as being "elegant" in Line 6. But Phillips does not stop and relinquish the floor to the chair; rather, she continues to complete her turn (Line 6).

Excerpt 5.17 *Question Time:* **30-06-2016, 32:04-32:36**

01   Phi: =[He undertook] to to appoint various people he didn't and Michael Gove by his

02   own account came to the conclusion that Boris was a flake having brought the

03   country to this extraordinary point whoever would have thought they would have

04   pulled this of was Michael Gove just gonna sit back and say, "Well, you know, I

05   mean he is my friend. So, okay, so he's not going to do a very good

06   j[ob. He's going to, he's going to   ] pass up the national [interests".]

07   Cha: **[You are giving an elegant description.]   [Why   ] why**

08   **did Boris Johnson back off? Why did Boris Johnson back off? Why did**

09   **[he say nothing]?   [Because] Gove, [because Gove] pulled out the rug?**

10   Phi: [because Boris,] because[Boris,   ]   [I:]

In the upcoming TRP in Line 6, the chair attempts to fight for the floor again by repeating "why" which results in a last-item overlap onset in Line 7. To obtain the floor, the chair repeats the utterance "Why did Boris Johnson back off?" twice. Through the *why*-formatted question, the overlapping speaker aims to hold the overlapped speaker back to the agenda and get her to account for the relevant answer. In order to make the repeated questions more specific. The chair formulates and solicits another *why*-question in Line 8 "Why did he say nothing" to further explicate the agenda posed by the questions. When the chair solicits the third *why*-question, he starts with the same linguistic structure "Why did…" (Line 8). It displays Phillips' inference as that the chair might repeat the previous question. She interrupts to response with her answer in Line 10. This occurs in an overlap with the chair' question in Line 9, displaying as a competitive overlap. Thus, when the chair hears that Phillips starts to give an answer, he withdraws and Phillips continues to compete for control of the floor by repeating "because Boris". All these show that Phillips as a newspaper columnist cannot provide

the facts behind the story as the relevant answer. This is due to her status as a columnist, indicating that her stance in her answers are in accordance with her status.

In contrast, Excerpt 5.18 is an instance of challenge which shows an asymmetrically epistemic relationship between the chair and the leader of the House of Commons Chris Grayling, displaying the former in a less knowledgeable and the latter in a more knowledgeable epistemic position respectively. This is shown in Excerpt 5.18 below.

Excerpt 5.18 *Question Time:* 09-06-2016, 10: 05 -11:10

01   Cha: But, but, Ch- Chris, there is a very interesting point here. (.) Your party said they would

02   reduce (0.2) immigration to tens of thousands, maximum, 100,000. And then you say

03   you cannot control EU. 184,000 thousand people are coming from outside EU.

04   [Even on] the bit you CAN control, you have done nothing to bring number [down.]

05   Gra: [Ur,   ]   [I,   ]

06   I, I need to more, I just- =

07   Aud: =[×××××××××××××××] ××××××××××××××[×××××××××××××××××××]

08   Cha: **[↑If people are asking,||---------(0.2)-----------|[You you are s<u>ay</u>:ing, you are]**

09   **s<u>ay</u>:ing leave the EU, that will solve that bit of immigration, but what about**

10   **the 184,000 you have had years to put right?=**

11   Gra: =There is a lot of work to do. We have just [another] immi-[gration pass system.]

12   Cha: [Ah,   ]   **[so you have failed?]**

13   **You have failed? Why would anyone believe you will succeed by leaving the EU,**

14   **if you can't get the bit you c<u>an</u> control right?**

15   Gra: Because we have-

16   Aud: =×××××××××××××××××××××× (5.0) =

17   Gra: =We've just passed an immigration act that will tighten up the system for people from

18   outside the European Union. We cannot do that for people inside the European Union. We

19   cannot even say that people who come and work in the UK should have a job before they

20   come here. That is illegal under European law. Surely we should have a say. Surely we

21   should be able to set some limits. Isn't that what being a democracy is all about?=

22   Cha: =Alright.

In this excerpt, the participants are questioned about whether voters should make their decision in the referendum on the basis of controlling immigration. Prior to Excerpt 18, in reply to this question, Grayling answers that the key point is the future of democracy and international trade relationships. He continues to point out the negative effect of the increase of immigrants in Britain and expresses that leaving the EU is a good solution. In response to this, the chair points out that the Conservative party has not been successful in controlling immigration (Lines 1-4).

It can be seen that, in Lines 5 and 6, Grayling prefaces his disagreement by "Ur" and fights for the floor by repeating "I". But he cuts off as the audience initiate applause and the chair increases his volume and fights for the floor by reformulating "If people are asking…" into "You you are saying, you are saying…". After the chair gains the floor, he formulates the previous claim into a confirmation request as, if Britain cannot control the EU migrants, how they can control the immigrants from outside the EU (Lines 8-10). As it is shown in Line 11, Grayling has difficulty defending his party. Thus, the chair further challenges Grayling by soliciting two confirmation requests and a *why*-question which are all concerned with the same previous issue, that is, how to control the immigrants. These series of challenges successfully press Grayling to give a lengthy account for it in Lines 17-21. In his account, as a representative of the Conservative party, he explains why the Conservative party should leave the EU and plans to impose a new immigrant pass system, which functions to balance the epistemic gap among the participants.

Excerpts 5.16-5.18 show that when there is epistemic imbalance arising in the course of the on-going discussion, the chair, as a mediator, has the priority to disrupt the conversation and challenge the current speakers to fill in the gap. Doing so is an important method for achieving the balance of the epistemic knowledge among the participants and helping achieve intersubjectivity among the participants. This indicates

that, in the context of APPD, intersubjectivity is a priority and is pursued at the expense of the progression of the conversation. This suggests that the type of challenge via *why*-question is one of the effective devices in facilitating to achieve the institutional goal in this conversational setting.

5.3.2.2 When Relevant Answers Are Not Forthcoming

Similarly to the excerpts of confirmation request, excerpts of challenge may not receive responses or may receive delayed responses. The former may be attributed to the fact that the answer given is relevant to the question, and a response may not be necessary. As for the latter, the questioner may solicit follow-up question(s) to pursue responses.

Excerpt 5.19 is an instance of challenge that receives no response. This may be attributed to the asymmetrical relation between the two speakers. As the Conservative Environment Secretary, Truss is in a knowledgeable and authoritative position. As shown in Lines 1-3, the chair questions Truss about her opinion on MPs' call for the change of David Cameron's leadership. As a secretary of Conservative Party, Truss is a supporter of David Cameron, and thus in disagreement with MPs who want to change the leadership of the Prime Minister. Instead, she evaluates Cameron as an "incredibly successful Prime Minister" and an "incredibly successful leader". The repetition of the same linguistic structure manifests an escalation of the positive evaluation. This escalation of highly praise certainly is to encounter disagreement.

Excerpt 5.19 *Question Time:* **02-06-2016 53:39-54:40**

```
01   Cha:      =Alright. (0.3) Elizabeth Truss. We know, there's a lot of other large number of

02             MPs who want to change the leadership if even if he wins by a narrow figure or

03             even by a large figure. What do you think will happen?

04                (.)

05   Tru:      I, I don't think that is true. (0.2) U:m (0.8) David Cameron's been an incredibly

06             (0.3) successful Prime Minister, an incredibly successful leader (0.4) of the

07             conservative
```

08		[party leader. We've got a bi:g-, we've got a big agenda]
09	Cha:	**[Why did Andrew Bridges say that Cameron's at odds with half of the]**
10		**party?**
11	Tru:	we've got a big agenda of social reform and (0.3) it makes of my generation. I
12		(0.3) I went to Department in 2010. (0.3) We've got a new generation in 2015 as
13		well. (0.4) Nick, (0.3) we came into politics to (0.5) to: (.) see our (0.4) position as
14		a country improved, to (0.3) reform our society, to help people get on in life that's
15		what motivates us. You know, I don't get out of bed in the morning thinking about
16		Europe. (0.4) I get out of bed in the morning to think about how c<u>a</u>n we make
17		Britain the most successful country. How c<u>a</u>n we reform our education [system]=
18	Cha:	[Em.]
19	Tru:	=to give young people like Frank's constituents more opportunities….

As it is shown in Line 9, before Truss completes her evaluation, the chair interrupts and posits himself as a counterpart in disagreement through a *why*-formatted question. This results in an extensive overlap with Truss's utterance in Line 8. In this extensive overlap, on the one hand, the chair challenges Truss with a counter fact through a third party resource. On the other hand, Truss does not stop but continues to account for her evaluation of the Prime Minister. In this overlap, the chair completes his question and drops out of the overlap. Truss insists to compete for the floor by repeating "We've got a big agenda." three times in Line 8. After she wins the floor, Truss does not directly respond to the chair's challenge. Instead, she continues to produce her talk. Her account turns out to be relevant to the question. The reason that why Truss does not respond to the chair's question can be attributed to the asymmetrical relationship between them. In sum, in this stretch of talk, the questioner constructs the challenge through a counter fact. However, as the recipient is in an authoritative position.

Excerpt 5.20 is a case that the questioner solicits follow-up challenging question when he does not receive an instant response. Prior to Excerpt 5.20 is a discussion why Boris Johnson suddenly withdrew from the team after the Brexit. After questioning Labour's

new shadow Foreign Secretary Emily Thornberry, the chair asks for the opinion of the Conservative education minister Sam Gyimah. Being the questioner and the answerer, the chair and Gyimah are in an asymmetric position. The chair expects that he can seek some exclusive information from Gyimah since he is from the same party as Gove and Johnson. In the formulation of his question to Gyimah, he solicits three *wh*-questions. The first two appear to be broad. The second is a paraphrase of the first. The third *why*-question is constructed as a direct challenge. The series of *wh*-questions displays an escalation of eagerness of questioning, with the three varied formatted questions implementing the same action - seeking explication. Through this elaboration, a better understanding of the question posed by the chair can be established.

Excerpt 5.20 *Question Time:* **30-06-2016, 28:05-28:22**

01	Cha:	**Sam, you're a minister in the government. What do you make of what's going**
02		**on? What happened? Why, why, why has Boris Johnson given up?**
03		(0.9)
04	Gyi:	Huh, well-,
05	Cha:	**Why: is Gove suddenly announced (0.2) having worked with him for months**
06		**(0.3) that he can't provide the leadership to build a team? What's going on?**

In response to the chair's question, Gyimah pauses for a nine-tenth of a second pause and then he stutters with "huh" and prefaced "well" which indicate a hesitation in Line 4. These trigger the chair's understanding of Gyimah's utterance as being problematic. The chair halts Gyimah and solicits another *why*-question to further explicate his previous question. In Lines 5-6, the chair provides more background accounts of the target agenda – "Boris Johnson has given up". Then he gets back to the previous question -"What's going on?" in Lines 1-2. Through a series of the solicitations of *wh*-questions, the challenge becomes more explicit and specified. They project a more specific asymmetry gap between the questioner and the recipient. This indicates that, as a minister in the government, Gyimah should have more stories behind to tell the audience.

Excerpt 5.21 is another instance of challenge via overlapping *why*-interrogative pursuing accounts through a series of follow-up questions. This ends up with extended overlaps. Prior to Excerpt 5. 21, the Labour MP, Yvette Cooper argues against leaving the EU. She claims that the Leave Campaign wants to divide Britain from Europe. In response to this account, the chair interrupts with questions (Line 3). This results in an occurrence of overlap in Line 2 and Line 3. This overlap displays that the overlapping speaker, the chair, self-selects himself as the next speaker, projecting the upcoming possible TRP and soliciting a clarification request for Cooper's previous accounts, where the current speaker Cooper chooses to continue to produce more accounts. Thus, on one hand, Cooper continues with her further explanation of her stance on leaving the EU. On the other hand, the chair solicits a request, registering Cooper to clarify her stance. Additionally, this overlap demonstrates that both speakers do not want to withdraw from this overlapping competition. Instead, they both want to stop their respective counterpart by uttering "Just a minute" and "Wait". However, they both don't achieve it. This results an extended overlap in Lines 2-5. As Cooper increases her volume in Line 4, the chair relinquishes the floor to her as shown in Line 5. This extended overlap talk shows that both speakers actively and competitively contribute to the development of the conversation.

Excerpt 5.21 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016: 6:00 -8:00**

01 Coo: … (The details are omitted.) =

02 Coo: =[But we need three days to go   ] [<Just a minute,   I think >   ]

03 Cha: =[Is that-, **why you would say that?**] [↑W A I T, No, no, just a-, no, you are not]

04 Coo: [↑we should not be] [trying to] divide the communities [from   ] each other.=

05 Cha: [just give a no   ] [to get-]   [Alright.]

06 Cha: =**Why it is wrong?** [Alright.]

07 Aud: [×××] ×××××××× [××××××× ×××]

08 Cha: |------(10.5)----------| **[↑Why why did the Labor]**

09   **campaign then in a leaked document say that if the question of immigration**

10   **came up, you should move away from it, if it came up from the doorstep?**

11   **(.)**

12 Coo: Well, [I have never said that]. I, no, I would have [been on the opposite now.]

13 Cha: **[Why you afraid   ]   [the   Lucy   Power's   ]**

14 Cha: **document [from the-][You think it's wrong?]**

15 Coo: [And   ] [I think you may   ] I think you may actually have

16   asked me that before the last election [as well.]

17 Cha: **[So what?]**

… (The details are omitted.)

18 Cha: [OK,   ]   [Thank you very much.]

19 Coo: = <u>that</u> would make things [worse.]

20 Cha: [Right.] That the woman in spectacles there. Yes, you.

As Cooper does not provide her response to the request, after she completes her account, the chair reacts to it with the second request displaying as a latch onset. This solicitation displays as a challenging assessment, indicating a disagreement. This is followed by another overlap by the chair's utterance "alright" in Line 5 and the audience's applause in Line 6. The "alright" uttered by the chair implies that he may continue to speak. However, he was disrupted by the audience's applause. After a lengthy 10.50 second applause, the chair solicits the third request which occurs in overlap with the applause (Line 8). This request can be considered as a continuing turn of the prior request turn in Line 6. Lerner (2002) and Bolden and Robinson (2011) argue that *why*-interrogatives as account solicitor may continue the turn beyond the possible completion point to manipulate the action that the account solicitation is used to accomplish. Continuing beyond the first turn constructional unit of the question is commonly a practice for narrowing or specifying the original action. Following this, the chair continues to raise the fourth question in Lines13-14, displaying as a more specific challenge. Therefore, it can be seen that the third and fourth solicitations display that the questioner is seeking information from Cooper via challenge for the sake of intersubjectivity, who is in a more knowledgeable position as a Labour MP.

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From Excerpt 5.21, the four requests overtly demonstrate that the chair cheats Cooper's prior accounts as being problematic, indicating an asymmetrical epistemics and a breach of mutual understanding. In order to press her to provide accounts, the chair solicits a series of questions through *why*-formatted interrogatives to implement the action of challenges. This is in line with the claim that "the recognition of an action is a complex process in which successive actions interlock to function as ways of validating, adjusting or invalidating the actions to which they respond" (Levinson, 2014: 56). Through these successive challenges, the mutual understanding among the politicians, the chair and the audience can be sustained and restored. Thus, this study argues that, in the pursuing of pursuing relevant answers, the construction of questioning displays that questioners can consistently reformulate questions to solicit challenges to pursue accounts so as to achieve the mutual understanding or intersubjectivity and fulfil the institutional goal. Therefore, based on the above analysis of excerpts of challenge at non-TRPs. The stance seeking via challenge at non-TRPs can be sequenced as **Schema 6** as follows:

T1	F_b	A: Question
T2	S_b	B: Answer
T3	F_{p1}	$\rightarrow$ C: **Challenge at non-TRP**
T4	S_{p1}	B: No relevant answer
T5	F_{p2}	C: Re-challenge *(closing)*
T6	S_{p2}	B: No relevant answers
		… (recur)
Tn	F_{pn}	C: Re-challenge
Tn_1	S_{pn}	B: Relevant answer with accounts
Tn_2	SCT:	C: Acknowledgement and close the episode

In sum, the overlapping *why*-interrogatives occurring at non-TRPs in the context of APPD display some distinctive features in their own right. First of all, similar to the

challenges occurring at TRP, those occurring at non-TRPs also overtly indicate a breach of mutual understanding. However, the challenges at non-TRPs are oriented to being solicited in the course of the conversation whereas those at TRP at the end of the prior turn. In addition, unlike the overlapping *why*-questions occurring at TRP to be non-competitive, the overlapping questions occurring at Non-TRP appear to be competitive. Moreover, *why*-questions can function as an effective device to be used to fulfill the epistemic knowledge gap among the participants and balance their epistemic knowledge.

5.4. Overlapping Questions as Clarification Solicitation

This section illustrates that overlapping questions can function as clarification solicitation. This type of questions as clarification solicitation is oriented to only occurring at non-TRP and functions as a type of typical initiation of repair. Different from the other-initiated repair usually done by the trouble-source speaker (Schegloff, 1992; Schegloff et al., 1977), the repair implemented by clarification requests in the data of this study display as: *other-initiated self-repair*, *other-initiated other-repair* and *other-initiated no-repair*. That is, the ongoing conversations are oriented to being disrupted by others but repaired either by the trouble source speaker and the repair initiator, or receiving no repairs.

Excerpt 5.22 is an instance of third position overlapping question functioning as a request for clarification through *other-initiated self-repair*. In this case, in response to the chair's question whether he believes and supports the arguments about the figures of jobs and the decrease of income (Lines 1-9), the former Labour leader Miliband gives a *yes* confirmation (Line 11). Then he accounts that the figures are made "in the broad range of conjectures and forecasts" in Excerpt 5.22 below.

Excerpt 5.22 *Question Time:* 26-05-2016, 31:30-32:28

01   Cha: Ed Mil Ed Mili[ba:nd, the um-]

02   Aud: [××××××]×××××[×××××××]

03   Cha: [The ↑Cha:ncellor,] this week,

04   sai:d that (.) > ◦ur Brexit would cost as many as 820,000 jo:[bs.   ] ◦<

05   Mil: [◦Um◦]

06   (0.3)

07   Cha: and the Treasury said that, by 2013, Britain would be worse off by over 4,000 a

08   year per household. You've heard what David Davis said. **(0.5)** ↑Do you support

09   ◦those contentions? Do you believe them? ◦

10   **(.)**

11   Mil: ↑Yea:h, I mean, they're in the broa:d ra:nge of of conjectures and forecasts made.

12   Mil: [Maybe I just-]

13   Cha: **[>And what's<] broad range mean? >You mean< it may be true. It may not be**

14   **true>. =**

15   Dav: [Huh huh huh]

16   Mil: [>Well, no. <]↑E:very respe:cted independent for:ecaster has said, "We're going to

17   be worse off economically, worse off for trade, worse off for investment." I just

18   want to say something about …..

As it turns out, the comment of the figure as being "in the broad range of conjectures

and forecasts" appears to be problematic to the chair as "broad range" conveys an

ambiguous meaning. As it is shown here, through the resources of speed-up and

increase of the utterance volume, the chair halts Miliband's talk in Line 12 and solicits

a question which requests for a clarification of the meaning of "broad range"(Line 13).

This results in an overlap at non-TRP in which Miliband drops out whereas the chair

gains the floor and solicits a clarification request. Following the request, the chair

continues to explicate it with a declaratively-formatted question - "You mean, it may

be true. It may not be true" that displays as an alternative confirmation question. It is

shown that this clarification is a third position overlapping question that not just solicits

a request for clarification but is also an initiation of repair. It projects the next to provide

an account to clarify the interpretation of the meaning of "broad range". This kind of

problem means that the meaning is vague and insufficient for mutual understanding. It

needs to be further clarified so as to become more intelligent.

In Line 16, Miliband accepts the chair's selection as a next speaker whilst Davis self selects himself to respond to Miliband's answer simultaneously. This winds up as a turn-initial overlap in Lines 15 and 16. Davis does not intend to fight for the floor. He stops laughing, while Miliband continues his talk. Davis's laugh indicates his disagreement with Miliband, whilst Miliband prefaces his answer with "well" and responds with a *no*-confirmation that is a response to the second choice in the alternative question, meaning it is not true. In sum, the third position overlapping questions in Excerpt 5.22 displays as the category of *other-initiated self-repair* and functions as a request of clarification. In this case, the action of seeking explication is accomplished as the relevant answer is provided and the mutual understanding among the participants is also restored and achieved as the chair ends this stretch of talk after Miliband completes his account.

Excerpt 5.23 is another instance similar to Excerpt 22 in which the overlapping question functions as clarification request but displays as *other-initiated self-repair*. The overlapping question in Line 7 occurs as a third-position other-initiated repair and a request for clarification. In this segment, in answer to the question how to carry on with the 48% people who wanted to remain after the referendum, the Conservative Justice minister Dominic Raab holds a positive response. He answers that the first point is about the tone (Line 1), but it sounds beyond the chair's expectation. Thus, the chair disrupts his talk and solicits confirmation request in the form of a negative tag question in Lines 2-3. As the negatively-formatted tag question functions as projecting a *yes* confirmation answer, it turns out that Raab confirms his answer via a repetition in Line 5. In Lines 5-6, Raab continues with the second point as "… we need to mitigate the risks." as shown below.

Excerpt 5.23 *Question Time:* 27-06-2016, 15:58 – 16:50

01   Raa: Well, I think, first of all, it's about the tone. (0.5) And I think [we-]

02　Cha:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**[Oh] just the**

03　　　　　　　**tone, haven't we?**

04　　　　　　　　(.)

05　Raa:　　　First of all, it's about the tone, David. (0.3) Second of all, we need to mitigate the

06　　　　　　　risks. (0.2) and so [some of those-　　]

07　Cha:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**[What do you mean] by that?**

08　　　　　　　　(0.3)

09　Raa:　　　Well, people are concerned about financial instability. …(The details are omitted.)

10　　　　　　　We are not going to face a major high in tariffs. They said they represent [eight　　]

11　Cha:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Alright.]

12　Raa:　　　million workers. That's not [going to happen.　　　]

13　Cha:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[We may, we may come] to that. =

14　Raa:　　　=So mitigate the risks, David. But let's take this golden opportunity to make this

15　　　　　　　country even greater.

16　　　　　　　　(0.2)

17　Cha:　　　An-, Anna Soubry. =

Before Raab can complete his answer, the chair halts his answer again by soliciting a request for the clarification of the risks mentioned in the second point. In response to the request, Raab answers with a detailed account to clarify how the British people can mitigate the financial instability after the referendum. Thus, similar to Excerpt 5.22, Excerpt 5.23 is also an instance displaying as the category of other-initiated self-repair and functions as a request of clarification at the same time. And both achieve the intersubjectivity though the provision of detailed clarification by the recipient.

In a slight deviation from Excerpts 5.22 and 5.23, Excerpt 5.24 is an instance that the overlapping question functions to be a request for clarification and *other-initiated other-repair* at the same time. This excerpt is a segment following Excerpt 5.22. From Lines 1 to 6 is Miliband's answer to the clarification request in Excerpt 5.22. In his answer, Miliband clarifies why he thinks the economy will be in worse shape outside

the EU. This footwork demonstrates that Miliband is a Remain supporter. Then he attributes the reason of supporting Remain as for the sake of the young people as shown below.

Excerpt 5.24 *Question Time:* **26-05-2016, 32:37-34:10**

01   Mil: ……I also want to go to Claudette's question. Claudette said, "Is two years' austerity,

02   which the IFS said would happen, worth it?" Well, my argument is it isn't worth

03   it. … *(The details are omitted.)* I think we should think about the wisdom of young

04   people in this. Why is that? Because young people like the freedom to travel. They

05   recognize the world is getting closer together, they recognize that we need to work

06   with others to tackle the challen[ge:s.   So   we   will   be-   ]

07   Mit: [↑<u>wh</u>ich y<u>o</u>ung people are you ta:lking] ↓abou:t?

08   Mit: **But which young people- but [>this is<   my:-]**

09   Mil: [°(   )° °° (   )°°] =

10   Mit: =This is my problem sometimes. **(0.2)** Sometimes we use the term "young people",

11   we're invariably talking about **(0.3)** young people who were students, **(0.3)** who

12   were part of the professional cla:ss-.=

13   Dav: =No, [we're not talking about that.]=

As shown in Lines 7 and 8, Mitchell halts Miliband's answer and solicits a request for clarification of what he describes as "young people" which occurs in overlap at non-TRP. Miliband stops and Mitchell gains the speakership to produce a request. This turns out to be a competitive overlap as it is shown in Mitchell's the repetition of two phrases – "Which young people…" and "this is my…". It can be seen in the two utterances that Mitchell displays her understanding of "young people" as a problematic concept. Thus, this third position overlapping question functions as initiating the problem source and project the next turn as a turn of repair. In addition, in the construction of the request, it can be seen that there exists a self-initiated self-repair. The construction of "Which young people you are talking about?" (Line 7) indicates that it projects that Miliband is the next speaker who should clarify the meaning of "young people". But after Mitchell

gains the floor, she implements a self-repair by altering the utterance into "But this is my problem", as it is shown in Lines 8 and 10. It turns out that Mitchell changes the projection from self-repair (Miliband) into other-repair (Mitchell). In Lines 10-12, Mitchell proceeds to explicate her stance on "young people". In sum, Excerpt 24 illustrates that the solicitation of clarification request can functions as *other-initiated other-repair*. The action of seeking stance can be sequenced as **Schema 7** as follows:

T1 F_b A: question

T2 S_b B: answer

T3 F_p → **C: clarification request**

T4 S_p B: confirmation and accounts

T5   SCT   C: Acknowledgement and closure

This sequence of talk-in-interaction further demonstrates that mutual understanding has the intrinsic character of accountability. This can be implemented and achieved through different types of repairs and the post-expansion sequence.

In contrast to Excerpts 5.22-5.24, Excerpt 5.25 is an instance where the overlapping question occurs in the environment of multi-party conversation. It occurs in overlap with the audience's applause as a type termed by this study as other-initiated no-repair which is not included in repair categories of Schegloff (1997). In Excerpt 5.25, the panel members are questioned to provide their opinions on the privatization of NHS. In response to the question, in Lines 1-9, the deputy leader of UKIP, Paul Mason, discusses the NHS, blaming the Tory's implementation of the NHS Act 2010, asserting that it led to privatization and preference to companies with Conservative links. This account encounters the conservative energy secretary Rudd's disagreement, which receives the audience's agreement by applause. In the course of the lengthy applause, in Lines 14 and 15, the chair competes to solicit a request for the clarification of "act" mentioned in Mason's account as shown below.

Excerpt 5.25 *Question Time:* 19-05-2016, 38:15 - 39:50

01 Mas: = What, look, what ↑actua:lly happened **(0.4)** when ↑you were in government,

02   **(0.2)** your party did this the NHS Act 2010. It made the NHS into an

03   independent body. So the idea was the secretary of state of state would have

04   nothing to do with it. Jeremy Hunt spends every morning biting his fingernails

05   over the next er-n closure that's what really happens. He is micromanaging the

06   NHS from that end up from from his own department because the act that you

07   and the Tories put into place did not work. What it did was shovel large parts of

08   the NHS into the hands of private companies many of whom just happen to have

09   directors and owners who: are in the ↑To::ry par:ty:.

10 Rud: No.

11 Mas: ↑That is [↑what has happened.]   **(0.4)**   [↑That's what happened.]

12 Aud: [×××××××××××[××××××××××]=

13   =[××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

14 Cha: =[>↑**Which act, which, which, which act, which act, which act are you**

15   **talking [about?<]**

16 Aud: [×××]

17 Aud: =[×××××××××××××××××××××××××]

18 Mas: [↑I hope, I hope the junior doctors throw that deal <back in their fa:ce>]. I hope

19   they do.

20 Aud::: [×××××××××××××××]

21 Rud: [Well, it's not easy to interpretation here.]

22 Rud: What about the patients here?

23 Nut: The patients support the junior doctor.

23   **(0.2)**

24 NA?: So-

25 Mas: Un[imagine.]

26 Cha: [Alright.]

As it happens, the audience do not relinquish the floor to the chair. Rather, they continue

to applause which results in an overlap with Mason's utterances. It turns out that Mason does not answer the chair's request. Instead, he continues with his previous account and further explicates that he hopes that "…the junior doctors throw that deal back in their face" in Line 18. In Lines 21-25, it is shown that no clarification of "Act" is provided. However, Rudd gives her disagreement whereas Nuttall responds with agreement. In Line 26, the chair does not pursue the answer to his request. Instead, he ends this stretch of conversation with "Alright". Thus, the clarification request solicited by the chair receives no uptake in this case. This probably dues to that the "Act" questioned by the chair is mentioned at the beginning of the account as the NHS Act 2010, which is assumed that it does not hinder the audience from understanding Mason's stance. This is also the reason why it ends up with no answer.

In summary, this section describes the practice of overlapping question as clarification request in the context of APPD. Analysis shows that this type of questions is prone to occurring at non-TRP, functioning as the action of clarification request and also the action of the solicitation of *other-initiated self-repair* (Excerpts 5.22-5.23), *other-initiated other-repair* (Excerpt 5.24) and *other-initiated no-repair*(Excerpts 5.25-5.26). The sequences of talk-in-interaction in Excerpts 5.22-5.26 further demonstrate that intersubjectivity has the nature of pursuing accountability through expanded sequences in the context of APPD. Through this type of overlapping questions, intersubjectivity is repaired, restored and achieved through the implementation of clarification request, displaying as *other-initiated self-repair, other-initiated other-repair, or even other-initiated no-repair* in different situations.

5.5 Withholding Agenda Solicitation

This section investigates that overlapping questions in the data of this study can also implement the function of disrupting the present speaker to get him/her back to the original agenda when the answer being given is not relevant. This type of overlapping question displays as a trigger of a sequence of *other-initiated self-repair*. It has the orientation of occurring at non-TRP. It halts the talk and holds the speaker to get back

to the original agenda. These are demonstrated in Excerpts 5.26-5.28.

In Excerpt 5.26 in Lines 1-2, in response to the question whether leaving the EU increases or decreases people's chances of buying a home, *Guardian* columnist Owen Jones disagrees that the housing crisis in the UK was caused by immigrants or by the EU. Then, in Lines 3-4, he attributes the reasons to the failure of the government for not building enough houses. This receives some audience members' agreement through the applause shown in Lines 5-6 that halts the progress of Jones' talk. As it displays, through the repetition of "It is blamed", "now" and "I just say", Jones regains the speakership and continues with his answer. However, in the answer in Lines 9-11, Jones suggests having a reasoned debate on the threats of World War III and Adolf Hitler which is considered as being irrelevant. Thus, the chair solicits a question to hold Jones back to the original question as shown below.

Excerpt 5.26 *Question Time:* 02-06-2016, 04:00-04:45

01   Jon: .hh (.) We:::ll, (0.2) firstly, I would strongly reject the idea that a housing crisis in

02   this country was caused by immigrants or by the European Union and we let

03   politicians off the hook when we blame foreigners for the failure of governments

04   in this country to build the houses that we desperately need. It is bla[:::med.

05   Aud: [×××=

06   =[×××××××××××××××××××××××]

07   Jon: [It is blamed. Now, now I just say,] I just say a- as a disclaimer I was a floating

08   voter to begin with in this referendum. I genuinely considered the case for Brexit,

09   but I am sick of scaremongering on both sides. And I think we should have a

10   reasoned debate whether the threats of World War III on what the one hand or

11   Adolf Hitler in the Nazis on the other [(   )]

12   Cha: **[Can you answer Jasmin's] question?=**

13   Jon: =Well, the problem with a housing crisis, as I've said, wasn't caused by

14   immigrants…

As it turns out, in Line 13, Jones returns to the original question to talk about the problem of the housing crisis. The solicitation of the question can be taken as an indication of the irrelevance of the answer that can lead to a breach of mutual understanding in the ongoing conversation. Thus, the overlapping question functions as disrupting the conversation and requesting for withholding the agenda and making the account relevant.

Excerpt 5.27 is another instance of withholding the agenda via overlapping questions. Unlike Excerpt 5.26, the solicitation in this excerpt is enacted by two speakers, displaying as a turn-initial overlap between two self-selecting next speakers. This demonstrates the escalation of disagreement as shown in Excerpt 5.27 below.

Excerpt 5.27 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016, 53:10-53:50**

01   Mas: Well, I'm totally in favor of enforcing the criminal justice system fairly…(The

02   details are omitted.)That person should be prosecuted [and (   )]

03   Cha: **[What's this] got to**

04   Cha: **do with [Conrad's question？   ]**

05   Rud: **[What has got to do with it?]**

06   (0.2)

07   Mas: It's to do with the fact: a lot of young working-class men and some women get

08   very criminalized by poverty and hopelessness and living a terrible life and we

09   should as you say rehabilitate them but we should be investigating the crimes of the 10

10   rich and the privilege

11   [with just this amount of figure,] [↑starting with the people to keep their money]

12   Cha: [er, alright.   The woman there.]

13   Aud: [× × × × × × × ××××××××××][××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

14   (0.2)

15   Mas: in ↑Pa:nama::.

Prior to Excerpt 5.27, the participants have a debate on whether rehabilitation should

be done inside or outside of prisons. Some participants think that the prison reform treats crimes too softly. In response to this question, the broadcaster Mason thinks that the government should enforce the criminal justice system in a fair way (Line1). But it is found that in the following accounts, Mason does not provide accounts for his stance. Instead, he talks about the investigation of the constituencies in the scandal of tax haven in Panama, which turns out to be irrelevant to the answer to the question. Thus, the chair halts Mason's argument and initiates a question which occurs in an overlap at the non-TRP in Lines 2 and 3. Before the chair completes the question, Rudd also solicits the same question which ends up with the second overlap in Lines 4 and 5. They question Mason with "What's this got to do with Conrad's question?" and "What has got to do with it?" respectively. The turn-initial overlap between two self-selecting next speakers overtly display that they both take the prior answer as being irrelevant to the question. The chair and Rudd solicit the same question to request Mason to get back to the original agenda (Line 3-5). After two-tenth second of pause, Mason responds via the same syntactic form "it has to do with …". This syntactic structure implies that he picks up the point in the original question and accounts for his stance on how rehabilitation should be implemented (Lines 7-11). This excerpt further illustrates that overlapping questions in this context occur recurrently to function as withholding the agenda via other-initiator and triggers a sequence of *other-initiated self-repair* when answers appear to be irrelevant.

Another instance is shown in Excerpt 5.28. In Excerpt 5.28, former SNP Westminster leader Angus Robertson is asked to provide his assessment on how genuine Corbyn supports remaining in the EU on a scale of one to ten. In response to this, Robertson first states that people got insight through a referendum process in 2014. Then he asserts that supporters of both leaving and remaining in the EU base a great deal of their rhetoric around fear. After a three-tenth second pause, some audience members show their agreement through the production of applause in Line 4. In Lines 5-9, Robertson fights for and regains the speakership. He expresses the reasons that he supports remaining in the EU, which is in line with Corbyn. In this lengthy stretch of

conversation, Robertson accounts for the advantages of remaining in the EU, while also arguing for restructuring of the EU. He points that the referendum is actually a vote about sovereignty rather than one about the leadership of Corbyn, and this results in a lengthy overlap, demonstrated in Lines 9-12 below.

Excerpt 5.28 *Question Time:* 14-04-2016, 07:30-08:40

01 Rob: [Well, I'd like to pick up] for business the ladies just said …Secondly, that the nature of

02   some of the arguments are so unbelievably aimed at scaring people.

03   (0.3)

04 Aud: ×- × × ××××××××[××××] ×××××[××××××××××××××××]

05 Rob: [A:nd]   [And people in Scotland]

06   weren't stupid. People in Doncaster and the rest of the UK are not stupid either. Now 07

07   I'm pro-European. I wish Scotland, I wish the UK to remain within the European

08   Union but …. within the EU at the top

09   [table too. But we are much better working together in that context. And it's not about]

10 Cha: **[Can I, can I, can I, can I bring it to, Angus, I will bring it back to the   ]**

11   **[question?   ]**

12 Rob: [Jeremy Corbyn] (0.2) and it's not about how persuaded am I. Am I persuaded by his

13   change which does seem greater? No, I don't find it tremendously persuasive. But I do

14   find the argument strong. If I'm not going to guess. I'm not going to second-guess the

15   motivation.

16 Cha: Ok[ay.   ]

17 Ham: [What] is the Union?

18 Aud: [××]

19 Cha: **[Hang on a second. Let's finish the point. One, one out of ten, how genuine] is**

20   **his support for the EU in your view? You see him (0.3) week after week in the**

21   **House of Commons. What do you think? =**

22 Rob: =Well, I don't- I- I don't think I've heard him ask a single question about the European

23   Union in the House of Commons since he's become leader of the Labor Party.

As displayed, in the overlap, the chair solicits a question which requests Robertson to get back to the original question. But as it turns out, the chair fails to halt Robertson's talk. Robertson does not cede the floor to the Chair but continues producing his accounts (Lines 12-15) that display to be a strong support of the argument - remaining in the EU. After Robertson completes his accounts, the chair makes an acknowledgement through the token "Okay" in Line 16 that is in overlap with Ham's question in Line 17. Ham's question receives no answer but a delayed applause from the audience in Line 18 that occurs in overlap with the chair's utterances. It can be seen in Line 19 that the chair gains the speakership and repeats the second sub-question in the original question. Specifically, he requests Robertson to provide his stance as to how genuine Corbyn's support for the EU. As it is shown in Lines 22-23, Robertson provides his opinion. Thus, this excerpt demonstrates that, when the first question of the original question has been answered, the chair may take his privilege to request Robertson to get back to the second sub-question in the original one.

Therefore, the action of stance seeking via withholding the agenda can be sequenced as **Schema 8** as follows:

T1 F_b A: question

T2 S_b B: answer

T3 F_p → **C: holding the agenda**

T4 S_p B: confirmation and accounts

T5   SCT   C: Acknowledgement and closure

In sum, the instances of withholding the agenda display the feature that this function can be realized by means of one or two speakers' self-selection and follow-up questions to pursue the relevant answers. These are all motivated by the need of intersubjectivity in this type of talk-in-interaction.

5. 6 Summary

This chapter has presented the practice of overlapping questions that is mainly used to implement four actions, namely *confirmation request, challenge, clarification and withholding the agenda*. The analysis of the linguistic resources and sequence organization in terms of overlapping questions uncovers the intrinsic nature of the talk-in-interaction in the setting of APPD. First of all, similar to the service encounter (Kuroshima, 2010), the analysis displays the orientation that overlapping questions in the context of APPD embody a clear organizational bias in favor of intersubjectivity over progressivity. More specifically, they serve the functions as halting the ongoing talk, initiating the problem sources and projecting the repair for the next turn at the expense of progressivity. This addresses the research question why overlapping questions occur so frequently in the genre of APPD and informs the claim in Section 3.2.3 that progressivity is an important mechanism which governs the organizaiotn of talk-in-interaction. Secondly, the analysis of overlapping questions demonstrates that the talk-in-interaction in this setting has an orientation of the demand of accountability embedded in the sequence organization of the debate. The examination of the sequence organization also demonstrates that only through the exposure of more accounts can political stances and politicians' competences be detected. As such, intersubjectivity can be constructed, enhanced, repaired, restored and finally achieved, all of which playing an important role in the accomplishment of the institutional goal in this setting – debating the referendum campaign. The finding evidences the relevance rule explicated in Section 3.3 that there is a morality for speakers to account for the dispreferred responses. Finally, the analysis of overlapping questions illustrates that the talk-in-interaction in this context tends to engender sequence expansion for the sake of intersubjectivity as shown by the eight schemas. Analysis shows that the political talk in the context of APPD is beyond a simple question-answer sequence. It involves efforts, such as accounts, elaboration and mediation to list a few, displaying that the achievement of intersubjectivity is not a linear trajectory. The expansion sequences constitute the space in which accounts, elaboration and mediation are embedded, which play a crucial role in the shape and reshape of intersubjectivity in the context of APPD. The expansion sequences triggered by overlapping questions demonstrate that

intersubjectivity is not only related to issues of understanding problems and repairs in Section 2.5 but also that of epistemic symmetry in Section 3.4. This informs the argument in Section 2.3 that sequence organization is associated with interactional goals. In general, all the above analysis shows that the intersubjectivity form CA perspective more focuses on the illustration from the contingencies rather from a cognitive interpretation or in a broadly cultural context. In the next chapter, I will address a corresponding phenomenon of overlapping questions, namely overlapping responses which consist of overlapping statements and applause.

Chapter 6 Overlapping Statements and Applause: Negotiation of Intersubjectivity

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I present an analysis of the functions of overlapping questions which are concerned with the breakdown, repair and restoration of intersubjectivity. In this chapter, I focus on responsive practices which also occur in third position turn and are realized in the form of declaratives and applause. These overlapping resources occurring as overlapping statements and overlapping applauses in response to the Q-A sequence are considered as essential elements contributing to the negotiation of intersubjectivity in this given setting. The reason that overlapping responses in second position are excluded is due to how they are not in a position to constitute the negotiation of intersubjectivity. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to observe and examine the overlapping response sequence, which follow the Q-A sequence, to find out what functions they serve and how they implement the negotiation of intersubjectivity to achieve the institutional goal in this genre.

The results show that overlapping responses display as functioning disagreements and agreements. Disagreements here are mainly accomplished through overlapping statements whereas agreements are accomplished by overlapping statements and overlapping applause. More specifically, in terms of disagreements, they are implemented through *disagreements with accounts*, *disagreements without accounts* and *partial disagreements*. Correspondingly, in terms of agreements accomplished by overlapping statements, they are implemented through *acknowledgements*, *assessments*, *proposals* and *Collaborative Agreement in Multi-disagreement*. With regard to the overlapping applause, it is perceived based on the categorizations of invited applause and uninvited applause. In the following sections, they will be illustrated in detail.

6.2 Disagreement via Overlapping Statements

This section describes the practice of overlapping statements which serves the function of disagreement. As discussed in Chapter 2, interactants in ordinary conversation normally strive to minimize the occurrence of disagreement and, when disagreements arise, speakers engage in various practices to soften their stances and disagreements in a variety of ways (Pomerantz, 1984). However, in the context of news interviews, panel interviews and political debates, disagreements are constructed rather differently. Disagreements are rarely qualified and are not normally prefaced by agreement components or delayed sequentially by, for example, the use of pre-turn initiation gaps or repair initiators (Clayman and Heritage, 2002).

In conversations, disagreements become intensified when the standard forms of mitigation are withheld, resulting in more vigorous and boldly stated expressions of conflict. It is at such points that "polite disagreements" can be considered to be escalated into "hostile arguments" (Kotthoff, 1993). In the environment of panel interviews, interviewee disagreements for the most part display as being straightforward and vigorous (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). This is due to the interviewer functioning as a mediating third party who intervenes between each successive expression of disagreement and ensures that it will be expressed indirectly in relation to its target. Therefore, when the interviewees directly address each other in disagreement, it results as being escalated to become a strong disagreement and might lead to a direct and severe confrontation. When the opposing panelists move from addressing the interviewer to addressing one another by delivering their objections with greater immediacy and directness, disagreement is plainly intensified and becomes more confrontational.

The next sections focus on the examination of the disagreements in the context of APPD when they occur as overlapping statements to find out what interactional features they obtain. Different from those occurring in the form of overlap in the context of panel interviews and panel debates which are taken as strong disagreements, the illustration

of the disagreements in the form of overlap in this setting suggests that disagreements can categorized as *confrontational disagreements* and *non-confrontational disagreements* in terms of accountability.

6.2.1 Overlapping Statements without Accounts

This section illustrates the function of *non-confrontational disagreement* via third position overlapping statements constructed by the provision of contrast facts in the course of the current speaker's answer. It demonstrates that, in the occurrence of the overlap, the overlapping speaker does not intend to compete for the speakership but solicits an opposing voice. Excerpt 6.1 is a case in point as shown below.

Excerpt 6.1 *Question Time: 27-06-2016, 35:30-35:55*

01   Sal: [Yes, I mean.]I felt the outcome is valid. I mean, I- I come from a country where (0.4)

02   a- a government t we didn't elect, (0.4) proposed a referendum we didn't want. (0.3)

03   And and now proposes to take our country out of Europe (0.4) a- against the will of

04   the Scottish people. So I- I share, I share,

05   [I share,   I share-,   yes, I- I am not a- and- and I think, I think,   ]

06   **AUD:**   **[˚You are part of the ˚United Kingdom at this disappointing time.]**

07   Sal: every time people dismiss Scotland's recognition as a nation. … He (David Cameron)

08   probably thinks it is a lot more [sensible] now.

09   Cha: [Alright.]

Lines1-5 reveal the answer given by the panel member Scottish National Party leader Alex Salmond. To answer the question whether the outcome of the referendum is valid when it is found that it has become apparent that several leave voters based their choice on misinformation, Salmond gives a *yes* confirmation that he thinks the outcome is valid. Then he accounts for his stance on the outcome. It turns out that, even though he thinks it is valid, he does not support leaving the EU. He explains that the country that he lives is not the country people elected. The government proposed a referendum to takes the country out of EU. He asserts that this is against the will of the Scottish people

because the majority Scottish people, the First Minister and many Scottish MPs oppose leaving the EU. Additionally, the Scottish economy is also heavily dependent on membership of the EU's single market. The utterance "I share" uttered by Salmond in Line 5 indicates that he shares the view of remaining in the EU. This utterance is interrupted by an audience member which results in an extended overlap shown in Lines 5 and 6.

As it turns out in Line 6, we can see that the overlapping speaker interrupts and delivers that he is in disagreement with Salmond. Specifically, he points out that, even though Salmond is disappointed by the outcome, he should accept it because Scotland is part of the UK and Scottish people should respect the outcome voted by the UK. This is solicited in a low volume and is not followed by further accounts for the disagreement. Different from the disagreements in the panel interview where disagreements addressed directly from one panelist to another panelist, which indicates as being a strong and unmediated disagreement, the disagreement in this setting, as it is shown in Line 6, does not appear to be strong. The audience member wants to deliver his disagreement at that immediate point but does not intend to compete for the floor. As evidenced here, the audience member drops out after he completes his disagreement and the current speaker Salmond proceeds with his talk. This disagreement constitutes an action which functions as a voice as opposed to the current speaker and appears not to be an intense disagreement but a weak disagreement. It demonstrates that the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker stand in a dis-affilliative relation.

Excerpt 6.2 is another instance where overlapping statements function as *non-confrontational disagreements* via a series of denying facts, which are not followed by accounts. In this spate of talk, the question posed is about whether people can know the effects of leaving the EU because no country has ever left before. In reply to this, the panel member Liz Robertson, Plaid Cymru MP, thinks that that being in the EU will benefit the UK farmers – She contends that 80% of the UK farmers receive varying amount of income through the Common Agricultural Policy (Lines 1-10). This stance

is met with the second disagreement in Line 11 as Field responds with a statement "Our money" in a low volume which occurs as a progressional overlap. This indicates Field's view differs from that of Robertson in that the UK farmers also receive funds from the EU. In the same vein, this statement occurs in opposition to Robertson's stance in a non-competitive manner. As it happens, Field quickly drops out and Robertson goes on with his account as it is shown in Excerpt 6.2 below.

Excerpt 6.2 *Question Time:* **02-06-2016, 21:50-22:40**

01	Cha:	[So, you, sorry, you put your trust in
02		Brussels] rather than Westmins[ter.]
03	Rob:	[So]far Wales has done two of-, two hundred and
04		forty-five million per annum better out. It gets more out of Europe than it =
05		=[pays in:.] S<u>o</u> with the: **(0.2)** in the infrastructure
06	Fie:	**[> ˚We don't know tha:t.˚<]**
07	Rob:	funding I have to believe that will be replicated from Westminster and although
08		I've only been an MP for a year I find that difficult to believe. Even more so, 80% of
09		our farmers receive varying amounts many of them considerable amounts of their
10		income through the Common Agricultural Poli[cy.]
11	Fie:	**[˚Our] money: ˚ =**
12	Rob:	=We h<u>a</u>::ve two governments, [two party governments] for the last 40 years
13	Fie:	**[To protect their money.]**
14	Rob:	who have done their level best to argue against the Common Agricultural Policy
15		budget. So for Welsh farmers, I cannot particularly for stock sheep and cattle
16		farmers see a better off future.=

In Line 12, Robertson goes on with her utterance and accounts for how the UK government and Welsh government argue against the Common Agricultural Policy budget and stand for UK farmers' benefit (Lines 13, 14, 15). During her answer, she encounters the third disagreement in Line 13. That is, Field solicits a disagreement via an overlapping statement "To protect their money" which indicates that the British

government does not protect the UK farmers' money, but serves the interests of the government first. Field speaks in a low volume and does not intend to fight for the floor to account for his disagreement, which demonstrates as a progressional overlap. Similarly, Field quickly relinquishes the floor to Robertson. It is shown that this overlap does not hinder Robertson's talk and does not lead to a conflict between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker. As with the case in Excerpt 6.1, it functions as a non-confrontational disagreement which just elicits an opposing voice to demonstrate that the overlapped speaker and the overlapping speaker stand in a relationship of disaffiliation.

Excerpts 6.3-6.5 are also instances of *non-confrontational disagreement* via overlapping statements but display as negative assessments. In line with Excerpts 6.1 and 6.2, they further demonstrate the orientation that, when disagreements are not followed by accounts, the overlapping speaker displays as not intending to halt the current speaker. Rather, it demonstrates that the overlapping speaker intends to solicit an opposing voice at that particular point of time and shows that he/she does not agree with the current speaker in the ongoing talk.

In Excerpt 6.3, the panel member Liz Truss, the Environment Secretary, is questioned about whether it would be a good idea to join an organization like EU that is positioned to be corrupt and riddled with fraud. In Lines 1-5, Truss answers that she supports remaining in the EU and she thinks that it is incredibly valuable for the UK economy. Then she accounts for the advantages of remaining in the single market, which is shown below in Lines 1-5.

Excerpt 6.3 *Question Time:* 02-06-2016, 24:30-25:00

01   Tru: I think the d<u>ea</u>:l of being in the single market is incredibly valuable for our country

02   and it delivers a huge a huge amount having a market of 500 million people that we

03   can sell our goods to that we can trade with. It is very important and Britain has

04   the best of both worlds. We're not part of the Eurozone. So the issues that Neil will

05		be [talking about] don't apply to us. We've got a growing economy. We're
06	Fie:	[ˈUnpredictable ˥]
07	Tru:	not part of the Schengen border free zone. We've got an exemption from ever
08		closer Union. We are in a very very good position and frankly I think it would be
09		difficult for another country to negotiate the position we're in now with respect to
10		Europe…(*The details are omitted.*)

Before Truss completes her account in Line 6, Labour MP Frank Field self-selects to respond with a direct disagreement via a negative assessment "unpredictable" in a relatively low volume. This disagreement is not followed by further elaboration, though displaying as a dis-preferred utterance. In addition, the low volume also indicates that he is not intended to compete for the speakership. As it turns out, this type of disagreement realized by the overlapping statement which is not followed by further accounts does not appear to halt the current speaker's talk or divert the speaker's agenda. Truss, the current speaker, proceeds with her talk, as shown in Lines 7-10. This overlapping statement can be explained to function as a solicitation of an opposition to the stance arising in the course of the talk. As the development of the conversation, this type of disagreement does not constitute and develop into a confrontation or lead to a conflict between the two opposing parties. However, through the interplay of the account and the disagreement, it does contribute to the understanding that there exists an opposing voice at that point in the ongoing debate and the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker hold the opposing political stances.

Similarly, in Excerpt 6.4, the chair selects Field to give his opinion on whether it would be a good idea to join the EU for countries who are still not a part of it. In response to the question, Field gives a different view from Truss, the previous answerer. He claims that Truss is specifically talking about the fishing industry, which is an example to answer the original question. In Lines 1-4, he reformulates Truss's stance by saying that her opinion is in fact that staying in the EU is beneficial to British fishing industry because the European countries are regulated by the Common Fisheries Policy. This is

shown in Excerpt 6.4.

Excerpt 6.4 *Question Time:* 02-06-2016, 26:20-26:43

01	Fie:	I, I just think this is all tending to the details. I mean the great the the question or
02		the intervention there was weather if we now know what we do know whether we
03		would actually join and and Liz is saying is it's brilliant because being in Europe
04		we've made sure that fish aren't thrown overboard, um, um, dea:d- =
05	Tru:	= ˚**Very [poor fishing.]** ˚
06	Fie:	[Er:, er:] er, er, at one time we had a thriving fishing industry er
07		before we decided everybody else should share our er fishing fields.

(*The details are omitted.*)

As it is shown in Excerpt 6.4 in Lines 1-4, Field holds a view which stands in opposition with Truss. When Field stutters "um", "um" and utters a prolong in "dea:d" in Line 4, Truss chimes in and takes this opportunity to solicit her disagreement via a negative assessment on the fishing industry in Line 5. This results in Field's cut-off in Line 4 and an overlap in Lines 5 and 6. This overlap once again demonstrates a contrast of the two opposing stances and shows that Truss and Field hold opposing views on the given issue, implying that they are in a dis-affiliative relation. As shown in Lines 6-7, Field responds with a different point of view by saying that, before the UK joined the EU, UK had a thriving fishing industry. In the same vein, the response to the negative assessment further demonstrates that the overlapping statement via a negative assessment which is not followed by accounts serves the function of a weak disagreement. It does not hinder the flow of the conversation and cause confrontation in the ensuing conversation. The overlap contributes to the understanding that there are two opposing stances at that particular point where the two interactants stand in disagreement. The overlapping speaker does not compete for the floor to provide accounts for his disagreement and it does not lead to a confrontation.

Excerpt 6.5 is another instance of *non-confrontational disagreement* realized via

negative assessment. The conversation deals with the same question as that in Excerpt 6.3. Similarly, in response to Plaid Cymru MP Liz Roberts' answer, Filed solicits a disagreement via a contrast assessment which occurs in an overlap. In Lines 1-6, Robertson contends that the leave side exploits some voters' fear of immigration. She points out that, even if the UK leaves the EU, there are still immigrants from other countries to think about. However, this stance encounters a disagreement from Field shown in Line 7 below.

Excerpt 6.5 *Question Time:* **02-06-2016, 30:50-31:56**

01   Rob: =Wh<u>a</u>:t I th<u>i</u>:nk frightens a number of people listening to this this sort of

02   discussion is how immigration has become the shorthand for very legitimate

03   concerns very very legitimate concerns about the economy and employment…

04   (*The details are omitted.*) It's the migrants who are coming from beyond Europe sub-

05   saharan Africa from the Middle East from conflict situations. How are we dealing

06   with that? We are [play:ing on very genuine fears.   ] we're playing a very

07   Fie: **[A small part. That's a very small part]**

08   Rob: genuine fear here. (0.5) But I do fear the consequences when we're talking about

09   immigration, (0.3) it's something we need to be very careful with.

In Line 7, Field elicits an assessment on the number of immigrants outside the EU as "A small part. That's a very small part". It is evident that Field takes a view that stands in opposition to Robertson. That is, compared with the number of immigrants from the EU, the number of immigrants from other countries is small. Similar to Excerpt 6.4, this disagreement implemented through overlapping negative assessment demonstrates the existence of an opposing stance, displaying that the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker stand in a dis-affiliative relationship. Though Field's utterance occurs as a repetition, it does not turn out to be a competitive overlap. Instead, Field drops out and Robertson goes on with her accounts. In the same vein, this overlap does not lead to confrontation between the two speakers. In sum, Excerpts 6.1-6.5 mainly discuss the disagreements via overlapping statements which occur between two

participants and are not followed by accounts, displaying as a type of weak disagreement and functioning as non-confrontational disagreement. The following will discuss the disagreements which are involved in more than two participants and are not followed by accounts realized via overlapping statements.

Prior to Excerpt 6.6, the panel member broadcaster Paul Mason, a broadcaster, gives his opinion to the question whether it is racist to want to leave the European Union. In response to Mason's answer, the chair challenges him and points out that he is contradictory because he supports Brexit but he does not dare vote for Brexit. During the chair's account, Mason utters an agreement by an acknowledgment token "Yeah" which results in a progressional overlap. In response to chair's challenge - "And you don't dare vote for it", Mason replies at the TRP in Line 4 by saying that people will have another chance if people vote to remain in this referendum. But before he completes, Rudd and the chair both respond simultaneously with disagreements in Lines 5-6 which result in a multi-overlap and turns out to be in disagreement with Mason, as shown below.

Excerpt 6.6 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016, 19:50-20:35**

01   Cha: =[but how] do you, how do you reconcile? It must be appalling for you, Paul. You

02   you long for [Brexit.] And you don't ↑d<u>a</u>re vote for it.=

03   Mas: [Yeah]

04   Mas: =We'll get another chance **(0.2)** if [we vote-   ]

05   Rud: **[↑This is the chance.   ]**

06   Cha: **[◦Will it come up again?◦]**

07   Mas: [No, I I …]

08   Cha: **[You got]another chance to vote?=**

09   Mas: =I think, I think, huh, one of the things Boris Johnson but one of the things Boris

10   Johnson actually said before, this all started was that he would like to have a

11   referendum on the results of the negotiation and I think that would be something that I

12   think those of us who are worried about. An uncontrolled right-wing Brexit would like

13   to see. =

14   Cha: = Okay.

As illustrated by Line 5, Rudd solicits a disagreement through a statement in the form of declarative, which indicates that she projects an assertion on the recipient which indicates an expectation of *yes* confirmation. Whereas, in Line 6, the chair solicits a disagreement through a polar question functioning as a confirmation request, which result in a multiple overlap in Lines 1, 2 and 3. It turns out that Mason cuts off and relinquishes the floor to Rudd and the chair. However, Rudd and the chair do not continue to provide accounts for their disagreements. Rudd drops out. The chair continues to reformulate the polar question into a declarative with a rising tone and the same time Mason responds to the previous two with a disconfirmation and stutters by "I". These replies show that he is searching for a way to construct his answer. The chair solicits a confirmation request again by reformulating the *yes-no* interrogative into a declarative with a rising tone. This results in the second overlap in Lines 4 and 5. Mason drops out and the chair completes his request. The disagreements in Lines 5, 6 and 8 indicate that this is the point which the recipient has to confront with. As it is shown in Line 6, Mason responds with accounts for the assertion he makes in Line 1. This illustration further suggests that, when the disagreements are not followed by accounts, even though they are solicited by more than two speakers simultaneously, the overlapping speakers appear not to have the intension to fight for the speakership and the disagreements do not appear to divert the current speaker's agenda and lead to a confrontation. The multi-overlap contributes to the understanding that there exists two opposing stances at that particular point where the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker stand in disagreement and in a relationship of disaffiliation.

Apart from the instances of *non-confrontational disagreements* in Excerpts 6.1- 6.6 which are realized through the provisions of denying facts and negative assessments, Excerpts 6.7 and 6.8 demonstrate another type of non-confrontational disagreements through the solicitations of proposals realized by overlapping statements which are not

followed by accounts as well. Prior to Excerpt 6.7, in the discussion of whether UK is in a position to cherry-pick when it has voted to leave the EU, the UKIP member of parliament Douglas Carswell points out that he is a leave supporter. Then he further points out his worry that the British is facing problems when leaving the EU, such as the clarification of the immigration situation for all EU nationals. In Lines 1-7, Carswell discusses his failures in the 2014 by-election, the general election in 2015 and the referendum in 2016. In conclusion to his account, he points out that he might encounter failure in the future election as well. Before he completes, he is disrupted by the chair in Lines 8-9. He cuts off and drops out in Line 7 as shown below.

Excerpt 6.7 *Question Time:* **30-06-2016, 24:38-25:05**

01   Car: [Last, last, last time   I] changed from one party to

02   another. I fell Emily's let the hold of 2014. I I [felt that I had to hold of]

03   Car: [When was that?   ]

04   Cai: Huh huh huh huh=

05   Car: =2014. (.) I, I felt I had to put myself forward for a by-election. My constituents

06   have faced a by-election in 2014 a general election in 2015 a referendum in 2016. I

07   I would think very carefully about inflicting another [by-]

08   Cha: **[may]be just change the**

09   **name of your party.=**

10   Car: =Well, well, I, I, I do [think-]

11   Cha: **[Call   ] yourself a Tory or something.**

In this instance, the chair solicits a proposal "Maybe just change the name of your party" which displays as a disagreement and also as a solution. In response to this proposal, Carswell replies with hesitation "well", "well" and three repetitions of "I". The hesitation token "well" indicates that Carswell is in a disagreement with the chair whereas the repetition of "I" indicates that he is thinking how to construct his answer to the proposal. However, he is interrupted by the chair's second proposal "Call yourself a Tory or something." As shown in Lines 8, 9 and 11, the two proposals are not followed

by accounts and the chair as the overlapping speaker does not intend to compete for the speakership. As it is show in the following talk, it does not lead to conflicts as those occur in Excerpts 6.1- 6.6.

Excerpt 6.8 is another instance of non-confrontational disagreement through proposals realized by an overlapping statement. The question in this spate of talk is whether it is time to abolish inheritance tax and a leading opinion is given in the framing of the question, is that inheritance has been taxed previously. Prior to Excerpt 6.8, Dia Chakravarty from the Taxpayers Alliance, Jenny Jones from the Green Party and an audience member answer in alignment with the question as it was posed, which also means that they share the same stance as each other, collectively positing that inherence tax is problematic because it involved taxing money that has been previously taxed. Following this, the chair selects another member of the audience (AUD1) to give his opinion, shown in Excerpt 6.8.

Excerpt 6.8 *Question Time:* **14-04-2016, 35:28-36:20**

01	AUD1:	My big worry is we're creating a very selfish insular society.
02		[This idea]|---------(2.5)----------------------|[the tax]
03	Aud:	[××××××] ××××××××××××××××××××××[×××××]
04	AUD1:	in any shape or form is wrong and as you rightly said you know we need these things
05		to pay for the NHS. We need these things to pay for schools. We need these things to
06		pay for benefits and I feel as though there's quite a lot of people who feel as though I
07		shouldn't pay any tax because I well maybe they earn enough to use private health care
09		or you know private schools or things of that nature things that are now a lot of the
10		Tory Party already enjoy. So (0.4) my huh
11		[huh huh, you know, my worry is we should be looking at] taxes more of a (0.3) moral
11	Aud:	[××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]
12		(.)
13	AUD1:	obligation (0.4) than a legal (.) obligation.=
14	AUD2:	=**Change the narra[tive. Yes.]**

15   Aud: [××××××][××××]=

15   Cha: [Okay.]=

16   AUD2:   =[Yes.   ] =

17   AUD3:   =[˚Pay my] tax if you like ˚.

In Line 1, AUD1 responds by commenting that abolishing inheritance tax might create an insular society. By this, he wins audience's applause which results in an overlap in Lines 2 and 3. Then he goes on to account for his view in Lines 4 -10. In contrast to the previous selected speakers, AUD1 holds an opposing view that he supports inheritance tax because he thinks this amount of money can be used to pay for public services, such as the NHS, schools and so on. He also suggests that people should treat as tax more of a moral obligation rather than a legal obligation. This stance encounters objections from two other audience members, shown in Lines 14 and 16 respectively. In Line 4, AUD2 proposes that the government should "change the narrative" if it wants to impose the inheritance tax, indicating that she is in an opposing position and stands in a dis-affiliative relationship with AUD 1. In Line 16, AUD 3 solicits another proposal that AUD1 can pay the tax for him if inheritance tax is a proper thing to do as he says. The negotiation of political stances through the proposals not only contributes to the understanding that AUD 2 and AUD 3 are in disagreement with AUD1 but also AUD2 and AUD 3 stand in a dis-affiliative position with AUD 1. It turns out that, even encountered with two disagreements, the talk does not turn into a conflict.

To summarize the examples provided, when disagreements realized through overlapping statements are not followed by accounts, they demonstrate weak and non-confrontational disagreements. These are different from those in mundane conversation implemented through prefaces (Pomerantz, 1984). The analysis suggests that these types of disagreements, which display as direct expressions of disagreements without prefaces do not function as strong disagreements as those occur in mundane conversation and news interviews. Though this type of disagreements may occur between panel members or audience, they differentiate from those occurring in panel

interviews when the interviewees directly address each other with disagreement, displaying as being in a strong disagreement and as having the possibility to turn into confrontation (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). In the context of APPD, disagreements which are not followed by accounts, and displaying as progressional overlaps and realized by the provision of facts, negative assessments, proposals, and the like, demonstrate as a kind of weak and non-confrontational disagreement which does not lead to conflicts. This study interprets that the overlapping speakers do not intend to compete for the speakership to account for their stance. Rather, they just want to have their opposing voice heard. In the following section, I will discuss another type of disagreement which is contrast with the type presented in this section.

6.2.2 Overlapping Statements with Accounts

This section focuses on the type of disagreement that is followed by accounts and realized by overlapping statements. This type of disagreement demonstrates an orientation of causing conflicts between interactants when they disagree with each other, which is termed as confrontational disagreement in this study. Excerpts 6.9-12 are the cases in point.

Excerpt 6.9 is an instance of the type of confrontational disagreements via overlapping statements which are followed by accounts. In this episode, the chair selects an audience member to give his opinion to the question of whether it is racist to want to leave the EU. Rather than providing his answer directly, the audience speaker chooses to argue against the view of the broadcaster Paul Mason (Lines 3-9). Prior to this excerpt, Mason gives his answer to the question that he does not think that it is racist to want to leave the EU. But then, he states that he will not vote for Brexit in this referendum because he thinks that there will be another chance to vote for leaving the EU. In response to the stance, the selected audience member responds with a disagreement. As it is shown in Lines 3-9, he argues that this referendum is actually a manifesto for the last election. He attributes Brexit to the 10 million right-wingers in the Conservative party. Furthermore, he points out that Masson's comments are "inflammatory" and

"appalling", which is shown in Excerpt 6.9 below.

Excerpt 6.9 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016, 18:00-19:05**

01	Cha:	And you, sir, [with the glasses are not there on the top right.]
02	Aud:	[×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]
03	AUD:	Yeah. I decided to take issue with Paul Mason's coins about right-wing
04		conservatives I mean you've got to remember that millions of people voted
05		conservative in the last election. It was quite clear in a manifesto. There was going
06		to be a referendum and you know just a brand conservative generally. Er, er, I
07		think it's about 10 million people as crazed right-wingers. I mean, it's just
08		appalling in your comments about toxic. It's so inflammatory.
09		[It's just ↑app<u>all</u>ing to say.]
10	Mas:	**[Look! Let, let, let, let,] let me, let me be clear about =**
11	Aud:	= [×××××××××××××××××××××]××××××××××××××××××××××××××
12	Mas:	**= [what I'm saying about the Conservatives.] |--------------------(3.1)-----------------|**
13	Mas:	Let me be clear about the Conservatives. We now know what a 35,000 pound a
14		year in education at Eton buys you. **…** (*The details are omitted.*)
15	Aud:	=[××××××××××××××]
16	Cha:	= [↑<u>Who</u> ∘you you…∘]
17	Aud:	=[××]=
18	Rod:	= [↑Hang on, hang on, Paul, we could do with less personal insults.]=
19	Rod:	= [∘Oh, let's∘ GET ∘rid of ∘]
20	Mas:	=[Oh, I'm <u>talk</u>ing about] Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson.
		…

In response to the audience's challenge, Mason fights for the floor to defend himself which results in an overlap in Lines 9 and 10. He attempts to make use of the repetition "let", "let me" to solicit his intension to clarify his opinion (Line 10), But he is interrupted by the audience's applause in Line 11 which is shown as a delayed agreement with the prior audience speaker. Mason drops out. After 3.1 seconds' applause, he re-starts by repeating "Let me be clear about the Conservatives" and goes

on with her accounts. Mason holds the floor to defend himself, which shows that he strongly disagrees with the audience member. As more accounts are exposed, the reason that he longs for leaving the EU but he does not dare to vote leave becomes more intelligent. Mason's further account demonstrates the real reason which is that he does not want to have a government led by Gove and Johnson. This reason triggers a confrontation between the chair, Rudd and himself, and thus progresses into a conflict as shown in Lines 16-20. In sum, this excerpt shows that the overlapping statement followed by accounts demonstrates an orientation of confrontational disagreements in the context of APPD. The confrontation uncovers the expanded sequence of the turn-by-turn negotiation among the interactants which provide fuller accounts of the arguments from the two opposing parties.

Excerpt 6.10 is a similar instance which functions as disagreement with accounts. It is an excerpt following Excerpt 6.9, but the focus of the discussion changes to another agenda, that is, another chance of referendum. Mason claims that in this referendum people should vote to remain and they will still have another chance to vote leaving the EU in the future. This appears to be puzzling. In response to this assertion, the chair selects Rudd to give her opinion. In response to Mason's stance, Rudd comments, "I was just amazed", which is in overlap with Mason's utterance "You are the previous Chancellor. You can decree right now", which overtly shows that the two speakers hold opposing stances.

Excerpt 6.10 *Question Time:* **19-05-2016, 20:17-20:46**

01   Mas: Why are you laughing? You could deliver it. You're in the government.

02   [You are the previous Chancellor. You can decree right now.]

03   Rod: **[I-, I:: was just amazed. ↑We are just talking about the   ] individual**

04   **rather than the argument. People just want to know the facts. They want to**

05   **know- =**

06   Mas: = The reason why you're straying away from Boris Johnson as an individual

07   because he might be your leader within six weeks' time.

08 Cha: Alright. Yvette Cooper.

As shown in Line 3, Rudd solicits a disagreement via an overlapping statement by the use of repetition of "I" and the increase of the volume which indicates that she disagrees with Mason. It can be seen that Rudd gains the floor and continues to account for why she is amazed at what Mason says. She argues that Mason does not provide the facts that audience expect, but attacks Johnson as an individual (Lines 3-4). Before Rudd completes, Mason disrupts and confronts Rudd's disagreement "We are just talking about the individual rather than the argument" with the reason that Johnson might be her leader within six weeks' time if people vote for Brexit, indicating that this is the real reason why he wants to vote another time. It can be seen that the three turns of disagreement has turned into a conflict and could be turned into a lengthy confrontation if it is not intervened by the third party. As it happens, in order to avoid the confrontation progressing into a more serious conflict, the chair ends this stretch of conversation by selecting the next speaker in Line 8. Thus, in line with Excerpt 6.9, this instance also illustrates that the overlapping statement followed by accounts has the orientation of developing into a confrontational disagreement. This contributes to the understanding that the expanded sequence of conversation realized by accounts functions to expose the opposing parties' stances.

In contrast to the confrontational disagreement which occurs between the panel members and the audience, Excerpt 6.11 is an instance of confrontational disagreement via overlapping statement followed by accounts but occurs between the panel member and the chair. The question concerned is about whether Jeremy Corbyn is covertly hinting to the British people that they should leave the EU with his half-hearted support for Remain. In answer to this question, the Conservative Environment Secretary Truss states that she is pleased that the Labour party co-operates with the Conservative party to vote for remain. Before she can further provide additional accounts for this stance, the chair interrupts and competes for the speakership through the use of repetition as shown in Line 6 below.

Excerpt 6.11 *Question Time:* **02-06-2016, 37:00-37:42**

01 Tru: Well, I- but I but I welcome Jeremy Corbyn taking an active part in this campaign.

02 I appeared on a platform with Ed Miliband talking about the benefits of the EU

03 for the environment because we share our air. We share our seas. We share

04 wildlife across Europe. It's important that we protect the environment. I'm very

05 plea:sed tha:t- **(0.3)** [The labor party works with us.][Almost   campaign-   ]

06 Cha: **[Jeremy Jeremy Corbyn   ] [Jeremy Corbyn wouldn't]**

07 **share it, wouldn't share a platform with you because he thinks it's disloyal.**

08 **[Sharing a platform with others. So-]**

09 Tru: [Oh, he's making, he's making his case] in his own way and I think **(0.3)** one of

12 the benefits of the remain campaign is we do have people you know I believe in

13 free trade that is why I am part of the remain campaign. I think it is delivered

14 huge prosperity. … (*The details are omitted.*)

Through the use of repetition of "Jeremy Corbyn" and "wouldn't share" in Lines 6 and 7, the chair holds the floor and solicits his disagreement as "Jeremy Corbyn wouldn't share a platform with you [the Conservative party]". He goes on to account for Corbyn's stance that sharing a platform means disloyalty to Labour Party (Lines 6-8). Before the chair completes his turn, however, he is interrupted by Truss in Line 9. This overlapping statement constitutes a confrontation between the chair and Truss. In Line 9, Truss interrupts and shows her disagreement which also results in an overlap and constitutes a confrontation between the chair and Truss. She confronts the chair's disagreement and argues that Corbyn supports remain albeit in his own way. In sum, this instance further suggests that the disagreements between the two speakers followed by accounts display an orientation of constituting the confrontation between interactants and the negotiation of their political stances. This type of disagreement contributes to the better understanding of the two opposing stances and functions as a device to facilitate the audience to gain a better understanding in decision-making on the political issue. The next section discusses another type of disagreement which is different from those in

this section and Section 6.2.2.: namely how partial disagreement may take the form of confrontational disagreement, and the structure that this takes in APPD.

6.2.3   Partial Disagreement as Confrontational Disagreement

This section discusses partial disagreement, as a sub-type of disagreement, that displays as an agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization in which the agreement component is normally conjoined with the disagreement component with a contrast conjunction like "but", for instance (Pamerantz, 1984:74). In mundane conversation, this type of partial disagreement is considered as a weak disagreement (Pamerantz, 1984). However, in the context APPD, this type of disagreement has the orientation of occurring at TRP and displays as having an orientation of causing confrontation between the interactants as the point of disagreement arises. The part of agreements forms a contrast with disagreements in the same turn and the central part is not on the part of agreement but on the disagreement. Excerpts 6.12-6.14 in the following are the cases in point.

Excerpt 6.12 is an instance of partial disagreement which is realized via overlapping statements and constitutes a confrontational disagreement in this setting. In this stretch of talk, the question is whether the UK should introduce a maximum wage as it already has a minimum wage. That is, when the government is concerned about the people's income, whether it should take into consideration of the attraction of the best businesses and the biggest businesses to Britain at the same time. Prior to Excerpt 6.12, as a businessman, the founder and chairman of the Wetherspoon chain of pubs, Tim Martin does not support the minimum wage policy. He thinks this will make Britain less attractive to business and investment. He thinks the chair of the ex-Chequer and the Prime Minister wants to propose an increase in the living wage, not for altruistic reasons, but because it will garner them increased support from voters. Following this, the chair selects the leader of Plaid Cymru Leanne Wood to give her stance, as shown in Excerpt 6.12, Line 1 below.

Excerpt 6.12 *Question Time:* 21-04-2016, 52:54-53:45

01 Cha: Alright, alright, no, no, okay, huh huh [Leanne, Leanne Wood, Leanne Wood.]

02 Aud: [××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

03   [××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

04 Cha: [You can't, you can't, you can't have a minimum wage] commanders. It's too high.=

05 Woo: =Well, I just remember those arguments being put when the minimum wage was

06   being debated back in the 1990s.=

07 Mar: **=I don't want it to be too high. [But]-**

08 Woo: [U:r] the argument was that you know people would

09   be laid off businesses, would close down and it just didn't happen (0.3) a:nd um I

10   think, [I think-]

11 Mar：   **[It's   ] done scientifically, Leanne, by the low pay Commission not by**

12   **George and someone else in having a couple of pints.**

13   (0.4)

14 Woo: I, I think that the question was about the maximum wage.

15   [And I think the idea of a maximum wage.]

16 Cha: [But what about for the minimum wage?   ] Yeah.

In Lines 1 and 4, the chair solicits a question through a confirmation request. This occurs through reformulation and questions Wood about whether the minimum wage is too high. In Lines 5-6, Wood replies with "well" which indicates a delayed and mitigated disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984). As it happens, following "well", Wood does not directly address the question, but gets the issue back to the debate in 1990s. In response to the debate, Martin immediately reacts with a direct disagreement "I don't want it to be too high". Before he can account for it, he is interrupted by Wood which results in a non-TRP overlap in Lines 7 and 8. Wood interrupts and continues to account for the "argument" which she delivers prior to this excerpt. She argues that, in 1990s, there was a worry that people might be laid off businesses and businesses might close down but that this did not occur. In response to this, Martin disagrees and suggests that this should be proved through scientific evidence not by personal opinions. As shown

in Lines 11-16, the conversation is progressing into a confrontation on the given issue among Martin, Wood and the chair.

Excerpt 6.13 is another instance of partial disagreement via an overlapping statement which is developed into confrontation. The overarching question is whether there is an issue surrounding anti-Semitism within the Labour Party in light of the remarks made by Ken Livingstone. Prior to Excerpt 6.12, the former director of the Centre for Policy Studies Jill Kirby gives her answer to a follow-up question from the chair regarding whether she agrees with Corbyn who asserts that there is no crisis in Labour and that claims that these assertions originate in fears about the party's strength. She replies that there is a crisis brought upon Corbyn in large part by his attitude towards the party. Then, Kirby offers a mixed stance opinion, positing that it is not appropriate for Naz Shah as an MP to make anti-Semitic remarks, while stating that this only happened once on Twitter. Then she is asked by the chair to get back to his follow-up question. In Excerpt 6.12 Lines1-4, Kirby begins to criticize Corbyn for a delayed response as well as for bringing Livingstone back into Labour Party, especially in a role as his special advisor, as shown below.

Excerpt 6.13 *Question Time:* 28-04-2016, 07:00-08:05

01   Kir: = … (*The details are omitted.*) and then to see Ken Livingstone who we know was

02   brought **(0.2)** brought back into the fold by Jeremy Corbyn as his special advisor

03   **(0.3)** and we know that Livingstone who already has a terrible track record of

04   making **(0.3)** anti-Semitic remarks as well as playing [offensive on us.]

05   Sal: **[Er,   ] I, I agree**

06   **with you about the- Ken Livingstone and the experience he has. But I- I don't**

07   **think it's fair to say that about Naz Shah. You know, I've got no knowledge.**

08   **(0.3) I'm on the same par:t- =**

09   Kir: =↑＞But isn't [that kind of thing＜ the- the-]

10   Sal: **[But I don't know,   I've   ] got no knowledge that she has**

11   **done put you said she's done. She's somebody who made the mistake several**

12		**years ago. She admitted that. She apologized. A fulsome apology. And I think**
13		**we should give her a bit of [slack] and certainly not attack her but she's not**
14	Cha:	[Alright.]
15	Sal:	**here to vent an-another thing. I'd say, [David Cameron]**
16	Cha:	[I know, that's enough for the moment,]=
17		=[Alex.] [You, sir.]
18	Sal:	**[We talked] about a swarm of [migrants.]**
19	Cha:	=[in the fourth row.]
20	Sal:	**=[is the last] person to complain about racism.=**
21	Cha:	=You, sir.

The former leader of the Scottish National Party Alex Salmond self-selects to respond to Kirby's accounts which occurs as a terminal overlap at Lines 4 and 5. He first agrees with Kirby's comment on Livingstone, but disagrees on Naz Shah. This is in keeping with his previous answer to this question. He thinks that, though Ken Livingstone and Naz Shah's comments are "ill-advised, offensive, deeply distasteful", the cases are different: in contrast with Livingstone, Shah is young, inexperienced, and apologized. The implication is that these factors should accord Shah with greater generosity. This forms an agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization. Salmond is the first panel member to provide his answer to this question, and the chair stops him and selects the next speaker. It can be seen from Lines 5-20, Salmond gives a lengthy account to demonstrate his disagreement, though the chair interrupts him several times in the course of his account. This indicates that the partial disagreement via "but" is not a weak disagreement in the context of APPD as those in the conversation. It further demonstrates that the agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization has the orientation of developing into a conflict in this setting which contribute to gain the better understanding of the opposing stances and the better knowledge on the decision-making in the given political issue.

Excerpt 6.14 is another instance of partial disagreement which is constructed as an

agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization and functions as a confrontational disagreement. In this excerpt, the participants discuss the reason why the government is cutting corporation tax at the expense of the disabled. Regarding to this question, UKIP's Head of Delegation Roger Hellmer and the SNP Trade and Industry spokesperson Jasmina Sheikh are the panel members who are against this decision. In reply to this question, the Minister of Education Nicky Morgan states that the policy is still under discussion and has not been approved in the budget. In response to this, the chair solicits a confirmation request from the shadow Defense Secretary Emily Thornberry whether she has seen it in the budget (Line 1). In Lines 2-4, Thornberry answers that she has seen it in the budget but she remembers the Prime Minister stating that he will enhance and safeguard it before the General Election. At the upcoming completion point in Line 5, Morgan solicits a disagreement by uttering "Er" and cuts off by "but". After a pause in Line 7, Thornberry self-selects to elicit a disagreement with Morgan through the repetition of "no" in Line 8. This is followed by another pause in Line 9. Then Thornberry continues to repeat her previous assertion "That is what he said before the election" in Line 10. At the TRP, Morgan responds with an agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization in Lines 11 and 12 as shown below.

Excerpt 6.14 *Question Time:* 17-03-2016, 13:00-14:52

01   Cha: =Have you seen it? Not in the [budget?]

02   Tho: [No,   ] I don't see it. I, I remember Cameron saying

03   that on personal independence plans he said this is our measure and we will enhance

04   and safeguard it. That's what he said before the general election and he has gone back

05   on his [wor:d.]

06   Mor: [Er:,   ] but-

07   (.)

08   Tho: No, no, no.

09   (.)

10   Tho: That is what he said before the election. =

11   Mor: **=Yes, absolutely. But the budget, the prime minister didn't deliver the budget**

12   **yesterday. The Chancellor did. This is a [measure that was talked about.]**

13   Tho：   [They talked to each other.   ]

14   ↑What's the measure?

15   (.)

16   Mor: ↑Bu:t, this is a measure that has been discussed, still being discussed in the government

17   and as I say it's about making sure (0.3) er that (.) the: welfare spending

18   [is obviously targeted at the right]   [people]

19   Tho: [So he didn't say, look, Gorge, I] promise not [to do   ] anything to personal

20   independence plans. In fact, I promise to enh ance and safeguarded. So please don't

21   touch it. We didn't tell him that. =

22   Mor: =[But we-   we   ]

23   She: [↑＞I think- I think＜] the entire budget is up for discussion though because that

24   certainly wasn't how it was, pleading indeed. Graham Hill who is one of your members

25   u:m who was on the exact to the disabled group in the Conservative Party actor

26   designers result of that. There are serious issues surrounding this. He said he couldn't

27   possibly fathom being a member of a party that was going to have such a terrible

28   impact on the [disable people.]

29   Mor: [U:m, that's why] we are still discussing it.

30   (.)

31   She: Disabled people in this country have committed suicide as a result of some of the cuts

32   that are [brought] forward =

33   Cha: [Alright.]

34   She: =[by   ] this cut.

35   Mor: [Okay]

36   Cha: [Em,] the woman on the phone.

As shown in Lines 11- 12, the utterance "Yes, absolutely" in the agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization demonstrates that Morgan agrees with Thornbury's statement about why the Prime Minister has initiated a policy to cut corporation tax at the expense of disabled. However, the ensuing utterances "But …" constructs a

disagreement, meaning that this is still under survey and discussion and is not in the budget yet. In Lines 13-35, Morgan's disagreement triggers a confrontation between three panel members which results in a competitive and extended overlap, displaying as a series of agreements and disagreements that become increasingly intense and unmediated. This further illustrates that partial disagreements in the context of APPD do not display as a weak disagreement. It also demonstrates the potential to function as an impetus to trigger the confrontation which is developed into conflicts between the two opposing parties. This pattern of escalation can be explained in part by the same factors as those in panel interview that the expression of disagreement in the context of APPD is favored over agreement.

In all, disagreement displays as a weak disagreement with the principle of minimizing disagreement in the study of mundane conversation (Pomerantz, 1984). But in the context of APPD, the partial agreement is not in line with this claim. The illustration of the speaker's stance in the agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization contributes to the understanding that this structure functions as a contrast device to drive the progress of the conversation to the part of disagreement and has orientation to be developed into conflicts. Thus, as the more accounts are exposed through the uncovering of the sequence organization, the political stances become more intelligent to the participants. The participants develop a better understanding of the two opposing stances and gain a better knowledge on how to make the decision on the given political issue.

6.2.4 Summary

The above sections present three types of disagreement sequences which are disagreements without accounts, disagreements with accounts and partial disagreements. Regarding the disagreements without accounts, they display as a type of progressional overlap and function as weak and non-confrontational disagreements. They do not appear to hinder the flow of the ongoing conversation. The analysis of the turn-by-turn sequence show that the overlapping speakers do not intend to compete for

the speakership possibly because they provide accounts for their stances prior to the current speakers. Meanwhile, the motive of the overlapping speakers may be intended to solicit opposing voices and display that they stand in a disaffiliative relation. In contrast, disagreements with accounts display an orientation as being competitive and oriented in developing into confrontational disagreements. That is, the turn-by-turn negotiation of disagreements between the overlapping speakers and the overlapped speaker via accounts exposes and further explicate the points of disagreement on the political issues. This type of disagreement contributes to the better understanding of the two opposing stances and functions as a device to facilitate the audience to gain a better understanding in decision-making on the political issue. Regarding partial disagreements which is typically constructed as agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization, they constitute as another type of confrontational disagreements. The characteristic of this turn organization is the central part is the part of disagreement; this is the focus which triggers the negotiation between the two interactants and the progression of the debate. Through the turn-by-turn exposure of political stances, audience can gain more evidence and better understanding of the two opposing political stances, which are of significance in facilitating the audience to affiliate with the given party that they support. The three types of disagreements interplay and form difference turn-by-turn sequences in the course of the debate. They all contribute to the different manners through which more accounts are exposed and more understanding of the opposing political stances can be achieved.

6.3 Agreement via Overlapping Statements

In Section 6.2, this study demonstrated how the participants solicit disagreements via overlapping statements and negotiate with their opponents to maximally expose their political stances so as to affiliate the potential audience. By producing overlapping talk, the participants display fine-grained attention to one another's talk (Jefferson 1984, 2004b). This section investigates how the participants make use of overlapping statements to solicit and accomplish the action of agreement so as to contribute to the understanding of political stances and subsequently convince and affiliate the audience

in the decision-making. In line with disagreements, agreements in this study only include those third position turns, offered in response to the answers in second position actions, which are considered as the responsive resources being used to express the agreement of the given political stances and the relation of affiliation. The findings demonstrate that the action of agreement can be accomplished via a range of other actions in the setting of APPD, which include: (a) acknowledgement; (b) assessment; (c) proposal; (d) multi-disagreement. Through the illustration of the turn-by-turn sequence organization, agreements display as being scaled from weak agreements to strong agreements. In the following sections, I illustrate how weak and strong agreements are manipulated in the four circumstances and contribute to the realization of intersubjectivity and the achievement of institutional goal in the given setting.

6.3.1 Non-competitive Overlap as Same Agreement

This section illustrates the instances of agreements which function as weak agreements via acknowledgement tokens and statements occurring as progressional overlaps. Excerpts 6.15-6.17 are the cases in point.

Excerpt 6.15 is an instance of agreement which is realized via overlapping acknowledgement tokens and an overlapping statement functions as a type of weak agreements. Prior to this excerpt, the selected question pertains the actor Emma Thompson's description of Britain as a "cake-filled, misery-laden, grey, old island". The chair selects three panel members to give their answers. As it happens, all of them disagree with Thompson's view. Then, the chair asks who wants to defend Thompson's assertion. The SNP MP and culture spokesman John Nicholson self-selects to speak for Thompson as shown below.

Excerpt 6.15 *Question Time:* **18-02-2016, 18:30-19:15**

01   Nic: I don't look one of the problems I think for people like Emma is that she's in the public

02   eye and she something says things and then you've got all these very poor face

03   journalists of which I used to be one who then listen to what she says, make it a big

04		banner headline and blow it up out of all proportion. I suspect she'll probably regret
05		saying it? It's the worst thing she could say. I doubted she seems very English to
06		me, or proud of being English. U:m, I wish you would lead a campaign actually since
07		we're talking about cake means to revert from cupcakes (0.3) to good old-fashioned
08		fairy [cakes.]
09	Cha:	[°( )°]=
10	Sar:	**[Oh, yea:h.]=**
11	Nic:	=What's wro:ng [with the fairy?]
12	Sar	**[Oh, yea::h] [As long as we know.]**
13	Aud:	[×××××××××××××××]××××××(1.8)
14	Aud:	[××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]
15	Cha:	[It is. This is g<u>e</u>tting w<u>i</u>ldly <u>o</u>ut of hand. Justine] Greening, you are …

As shown in Lines 1-8, Nicholson justifies Thompson's stance by claiming that he thinks that her description has been misinterpreted by the journalists and is exaggerated when she is put in public eye. He suggests that perhaps participants can lead a campaign that could "revert from cupcakes to good old-fashioned fairy cakes", meaning that he wishes this campaign can lead the country back to the prosperity as that in the history. At the upcoming completion point, the broadcaster June Sarpong solicits an agreement via a change-of-state token "oh" and an acknowledgement token "okay" which results in an overlap with Nicholson and the chair in Lines 8-10 respectively. "Yeah" is a complex and multifunctional token and "can be engaged to do varying kinds of acknowledging, affirming or agreeing work" (Gardner 2001: 35). Similar to the cases in Section 6.2.1, "Oh" and "Yeah" which are not followed by accounts display as conjoining and functioning as a weak agreement. The utterance of "Oh" and "Yea:h" not only indicate the overlapping speaker collaborates with the overlapped speaker to show his/her understanding of the prior turn as holding the same stance with himself/herself but also shows he/she stands in affiliation with the current speaker.

Line 11 shows that the overlap in Lines 8-10 does not disrupt the flow of Nicholson's

talk. As it happens, Nicholson solicits a *wh*-question which indicates he does not think there is no problem with Britain as what they interpret Thompson's saying. In the course of his talk, Sarpong responds with further agreements via "Oh, yea::h." and "As long as we know". The former indicates an agreement, as similar to what occurs in Line 9, while the second utterance indicates a delayed agreement with the proposal at the end of Nicholson's accounts in Lines 6-8. In addition, it can be seen that this type of conversational sequence is oriented to be ended as the current speaker completes his accounts and the chair selects the next speaker (Line 15). Thus, we can argue that, in terms of agreement, when agreements are realized via overlapping acknowledgement tokens or overlapping statements which are not followed by accounts, they display the orientation of occurring in the course of the talk as progression overlaps and function as weak agreement. They show that the overlapping speakers collaborate with the overlapped speaker fragments to show their understanding of the prior turn as holding the same stance with themselves but also shows they stand in affiliation with the current speakers. In addition, it is found that the key feature is that the type of weak agreement normally occurs between two panel members who hold the same political stance.

Excerpt 6.16 is another instance of agreement which functions as weak agreement via an overlapping acknowledgement token and an overlapping statement which is followed by no accounts. In this excerpt, the question is concerned about whether it is fair for David Cameron to use government funds, framed as originating from taxes, to support only one side of the EU referendum debate. Prior to Excerpt 6.16, the first selected answerer, the UKIP MP Douglas Carswell, thinks that using government funds only for supporting one side of the EU referendum is not fair. It is a one-sided propaganda. However, the second selected answerer, Minister of Business Anna Soubry, thinks that this one-sided propaganda is the right thing to do, for the government because people would expect the Prime Minister and the government have a view. Her position counters that from Carswell. He argues against him through lengthy accounts that the Conservative party is making use of people's tax money to win the referendum. He asserts that it is false for the Conservative party to imply in the pamphlet that Britain

needs to be an EU member state to trade with the EU. Then the chair selects the Shadow Leader of the House of Commons Chris Bryant. Bryant supports to remain. Different from the previous answerers, he argues that the government should use the money to support both sides and provide the facts to the audience. This is shown in Lines1-4 below.

Excerpt 6.16 *Question Time:* **07-04-2016, 06:00 – 06:50**

01   Bry: ... and in fact yesterday afternoon I was door-knocking in the in the hail and the sunshine

02   we had both at the same time in front of Calais and and this woman said to me. I do, I do

03   just want to see the facts now now just one fact I want to put into this which is that- (0.7)

04   in actual fact (0.4) the government will pay for both sides [to get information] because

05   Sub: [˚**That's right.**˚]

06   Bry: there's free post provide:d=

07   Sub: =**Yeap.**

08   (.)

09   Bry: to both the in and the out campaign↑＞now I'm passionate in favor of staying in (.)＜

10   and I'm sick and tired of the ad campaign only obsessing about process points rather

11   than getting into the sub[stance from that-]|---------(1.4)-------------|

12   [because here is the thing]|---------------(1.1)--------|

13   Aud: [××××××××××××××××]×××××××××××××××

14   [×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

15   Bry: [↑I start from the fundamental principle] I'm a labour person… (*The details are omitted.*)

Bryant states that "the government will pay for both sides", which elicits agreement from Soubry in the form of overlap in Lines 4 and 5. We can see that the linguistic resource and the low volume indicates a type of weak agreement between the two panel members. In addition, in Lines 5, Soubry does not intend to compete for the floor, which allows Bryant to continue. When Bryant produces a prolonged sound in the word "provided", Soubry utters her second agreement with the latch "Yeap". This, agreement is a weak one. She does not fight for the floor and drops out immediately. After a pause,

Bryant goes on with his account. In this spate of talk, the two agreements occur as non-competitive overlaps between the two panel members. The occurrences of weak agreements in this circumstance can partly contribute to that Soubry has given her account to the question prior to Excerpt 6.16 and partly that they both hold the same stance on the given issue. Thus, it can be explained that there is no necessity for them to make great effort to affiliate with each other. Rather, what the overlapping speaker Soubry wants to show is that she understands the stance in the current account and at the same time she wants to show at that particular time that they both stand in affiliation. Thus, the illustration of Excerpts 6.15 and 6.16 demonstrates that the weak agreements realized by overlapping acknowledgement tokens or overlapping statements occurring at TRP which are not following accounts normally occur between two panel members who hold the same political stance.

Excerpt 6.17 is another instance which demonstrates as a weak agreement implemented by overlapping statement via confirmation. In this segment, regarding the immigration issue, the chair selects Neil Hamilton to give his opinion (Lines 1-2). As a UKIP Assembly Leader, Hamilton expresses his worry that it is difficult for the UK to "control the speed and flow of immigration" and espouses that the UK is adding "a city the size of Cardiff to the national population" (Lines 3-10). In response to this account, the Labor MP Frank Field, who campaigns to leave, solicits his agreement via confirmation "This happens", which occurs in an overlap during Hamilton's statement (Lines 10 and 11).

Excerpt 6.17 *Question Time:* 02-06-2016, 29:50- 30:45

01 Cha: Alright. **(0.2)** well, let's take, let's retake the immigration issue **(0.3)** and Neil

02   Hamilton. You start on this.=

03 Ham: =Well, the key point is that lady in yellow made that unless we recover control of

04   our borders and we in this country decide who we want to come and live and work

05   here from abroad then we're not going to be able to control the speed and flow of

06   immigration and nobody is saying that immigration should be completely stopped

07		far from it. Er, but we cannot cope with the scale and speed of current immigration
08		as I said along we're adding a city the size of Cardiff to our national population in
09		the UK every single year and this is set to continue for the foreseeable future. A
10		million extra people every three years [how we co-,]
11	Fie:	[˚**This happens.** ˚]
12	Ham:	how our public service is going to cope with the speed of the change [.hh]
13	Cha:	[˚Alright. ˚]
14	Ham:	and the wage compression to go back to a point that Owen was making earlier on
15		attack on worker's rights … (*The details are omitted*.)

As shown in Line 11, Field utters an agreement at a low volume and does not show intention of competing for the floor and making further account. On the part of Hamilton, he cuts off and takes the overlap as an opportunity to implement a self-repair via reformulating "we" as "our public service" (Lines 10 and 12). Here, he reformulates his account but does not shift the agenda of the talk. This indicates that the solicitation of the agreement functions as a support and affiliation of the overlapped speaker. That is, as in the instances of Excerpts 6.15- 6.17, the weak agreement shows the understanding of the current speaker's account on the one hand and displays the speaker's affiliation with the overlapped speaker on the other. Both speakers are, in fact, collaborating to work on the same stance rather than using the overlap for competing stances.

This demonstrates that weak agreement via overlapping acknowledgment tokens and overlapping statements, which are not followed by accounts in this particular setting, display as a smooth understanding of the current speaker's stance. Additionally, weak agreement, does not add new information itself and functions to demonstrate the affiliation of the two speakers, particularly two panel members in the setting. More specifically, panel members are assumed to represent one particular political stance in the debate. This indicates that speakers may not need to do excessive footwork to affiliate with each other in this conversational context. What they want to do is to

collaborate to demonstrate their political stance to persuade and affiliate the audience.

6.3.2 Competitive Overlap as Upgraded Agreement

The previous section showed how the weak agreements are realized by overlapping acknowledgements and overlapping statements. It also demonstrated that these are not followed by accounts in the duration of the statement and display the orientation of occurring between panel members. This section, in contrast, will examine the type of strong agreement realized by assessments via overlapping statements.

Excerpt 6.18 below shows that overlapping statements can function as strong agreements when they display as an intensified or upgraded assessment. It is found that this normally occurs not between the panel members but between the panel members and the audience. In this excerpt, the question is whether all schools should be forced to become academies. Prior to Excerpt 6.18, the chair selects the Education Minister Nicky Morgan to give her opinion. She points out that the advantage of adopting academies is that it means a difference to young people and asserts that the Conservative government will insist on making more of them. Then the chair selects an audience to give her opinion. As is the conversation in the turn-taking system of political debate, the next speaker provides an opposing stance. The speaker from the audience does not see that the provision of more academics is going to solve the current crisis in recruitment and retention in schools. Instead, she thinks that it will make schools get worse (Lines 3-8). During her answer, Thornberry responds with two assessments "exactly" in Lines 4 and 6 respectively, which demonstrate as strong agreements (Petraki and Clark, 2016) as shown below.

Excerpt 6.18 *Question Time:* **17-03-2016, 41:40-42:05**

01 Cha: I think we've got that. Let's hear from one or two members and they come first values.

02   You, [sir.]

03 AUD: [I'm] sorry this is just not going to solve the crisis in recruitment and [retention]

04 Tho: **[Exactly.]**

05   AUD: in schools which is getting [worse] worse and will not [change unless you make]

06   Tho: **[Exactly]**   [We'll come back to that.]

07   AUD: significant steps improving (0.6) the work load [a:nd] the pay of teachers. =

08   NA?:   [( )]

09   Cha: =Alright, the woman there. =

Thornberry's two high-grade agreements accomplished with the term "exactly" demonstrate her agreement with the audience member on the point "this is just not going to solve the crisis in recruitment and retention" in the former and another agreement on the point " …which is getting worse" in the latter. The repetition of the intensified assessment demonstrates that the agreement is "enhanced" (Petraki and Clark, 2016).

Excerpt 6.19 is another instance of strong agreement realized by an upgraded and repeated assessment via an overlapping statement. Here, regarding the issue of the EU migration, the chair selects an audience to give her response to it after three penal members have given their opinions. The audience member explains her uncertainty about whether leaving the EU will result in greater funds for British people or increased power for the UK government. In response to this, the chair solicits a confirmation question in Lines 2-3 and requests the audience member to confirm whether she feels safer in the EU rather than outside of it. In Lines 3-4, the audience member answers with a hesitant with the use of "well". She then proceeds to account that people should speak out their true opinion. In Line 5, the chair responds with an acknowledgement "Alright", uttered both in a low volume and prolonged; both of which indicates an implicit disagreement. This is illustrated in Excerpt 6.19 below.

Excerpt 6.19 *Question Time:* **26-05-2016, 22:21-23:03**

01   Cha: [Are you saying, in effect,] you feel s<u>a::fer i</u>::n in the E<u>U</u>::, ◦

02   [rather than [outside◦?]

03   AUD: [>Well, like the non-] discrimination and gender equality laws **(0.3)** that were

04		spoken abou::t.
05	Cha:	Al°righ::t. °
06		(0.3)
07	AUD:	How do we know that our government is going to protect those? And also-
08		[So, I ↑d<u>o</u>n't tr<u>u</u>st them] to d<u>o</u>: it for the [people because you are in ↑p<u>o</u>wer.]
09	Luc:	**[You are abso↑lu:te-] [And you are absol<u>u</u>tely ↑r<u>i</u>ght.]=**
10	Luc:	**= [You are absolutely right.]**
11	Aud:	[××××××××××××××××××][×××××××××××××××××××××××××××]
13	Cha:	[And you, the woman in orange, °please°.] The w<u>o</u>man
		in ora:nge the:re. Ye::s.

After a 0.3 second pause, the speaker from the audience self-selects to continue her account, saying that she does not trust that the government will protect the British people. During her account, the Green Party leader, Caroline Lucas, solicits three up-graded assessments "You are absolutely right", and these are uttered repeatedly in an increasing volume. This results in a multi-overlap among the audience speaker, Lucas and the co-present audience. This demonstrates a strong agreement and an affiliation. This type of strong agreement is characteristic of an enhancement on the agreement that goes "above and beyond" simply agreeing with the current speaker (Antaki, 2002; Antaki et al. 2000; Petraki and Clark, 2016). Similar to Excerpt 6.18, the interplay of intensified assessment and repetition demonstrates that Lucas is making great effort to show her affiliation with the audience. In addition, the overlap with the audience's applause implies that the achievement of the strong agreement successfully affiliate a large number of the co-present audience.

In summary, the above discussion shows that, when the assessment occurs between the panel member and the audience, this displays as intensified and functions as a strong agreement. This can be explained that the assessment contributes to the understanding of the political stances between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker and that they stand in agreement and simultaneously. Meanwhile, the intensification of

the assessment indicates that politicians need to make more effort to affiliate with the audience than the reverse. This coheres with the fact that politicians are elected representatives of the public and therefore affiliating with the audience is of imperative to them. The analysis of the two excerpts represented here suggests that this type of strong agreement via intensified assessment is an effective device in the achievement of intersubjectivity and the institutional goal – vote for the referendum.

6.3.3 Proposal as Strong Agreement

Excerpt 6.20 is an instance of another type of agreement via an overlapping statement. It functions as a strong agreement accomplished by a proposal. In Excerpt 6.20, regarding the question whether the Treasury is right to use scare tactics in the forthcoming referendum, the chair selects an audience member to give his answer. As is shown in Lines 1- 8, the audience member states that leaving the EU will enable the UK to find the funds repay the national debt more readily.

Excerpt 6.20 *Question Time:* **21-04-2016, 16:10-16:50**

01	AUD:	I did some mad maths on the back of an envelope as well as you say. I'm an economist
02		and a financial adviser and I took the ten billion of net savings that we would make if
03		we left Europe and I multiplied those by fourteen which is the number of years
04		obviously up to 2030. I then used the economic credit multiplier because of course you
05		have the benefit of spending that ten billion the tax is raised on it. Some economic
06		growth and so on. And you know the figure I came up with? The figure I came up with
07		was 1.5 trillion which means if we leave the European Union we'll be able to fund and
08		repay the national debt by the time 2030.
09	Aud:	[£×××××] ××××××××××××××××××[×××××××××××××××××××××××××£]
10	Hoe:	**[I think-] [I think YOU should be the Tr<u>ea</u>sury.]**
11		**YOU should be the Treasury. You should be the Treasury.**
12	Cha:	Kate thinks you should be in the Treasury. =
13	Aud:	**=Huh huh [huh huh huh huh]**
14	AUD:	**[I try. She said.]**

In response to the audience speaker's account, audience respond with laugh and applause (Line 9) which results in an overlap with Hoey's response in Line 10. Hoey makes a solicitation to fight for the speakership to give her response. To do this, she makes use of the repetition of "I think" to gain the floor. Then, she makes a proposal "You should be the Treasury" and repeats it three times in an increased volume (Lines 10-11). It demonstrates that the audience speaker, the audience and Hoey stand in affiliation about the given issue. This proposal constitutes a strong agreement to the prior speaker's account which not only displays an understanding of the political stance in the prior turn but also shows a strong desire to affiliate with the audience.

6.3.4 Collaborative Agreement in Multi-disagreement

The prior sections discussed about the agreements which occur between two participants. This section will describe a type of agreement via overlapping statement which is collaborated between two speakers who hold the same stance. That is, in the course of the talk, two interactants who hold the same stance display as addressing to the current speaker as a disagreement but to each other as an agreement. Excerpt 6.21 is an instance in case.

Regarding the question whether it would be a good idea to join an organization that's framed as corrupt and riddled with fraud if we were a country and not part of the EU, the chair selects the Environment Secretary Elizabeth Truss who is a remain supporter to provide her answer. Prior to Excerpt 6.21, Truss gives an account on why she supports remaining in the EU, which includes the advantages of the single market. She is challenged by the chair. Truss replies with the accounts of the rules at the European level in the Environment Council and the Agriculture Council. Her accounts encounter a series of challenges from the UKIP Assemble Leader Neil Hamilton who supports leaving the EU. When she counters the challenges with the example of the fishing industry. Hamilton solicits another challenge via a *wh*-question, indicating a disagreement which occurs in overlap with Truss' accounts in Lines 1-3 below.

Excerpt 6.21 *Question Time:* **02-06-2016, 25:50-27:40**

01 Ham: [We]   [Why can't we control] the fishery

02   [policy entirely by ourselv<u>e</u>:vs?]

03 Tru: [We succeeded.   ] we've- because we share the ocea::ns.

04   (0.5)

05 Ham: Not. [Huh, huh]

06 Tru: [↑becau:se] we sha:re the: [cha:nne:l   ]

07 Ham: [because we are in] the EU. =

08 Tru: =↑because we're sharing the channel regardless of [whether we were] in or out

09 Ham: [no no no   ]

10 Tru: of the EU. We would have to do deals [with] other countries,

11 Ham   [No.]

12 Tru: [becau:se   ]

13 Fie: **[Before all of this-]**

14 Tru: [we share those things.]=

15 Ham: **[No, no no no   ]=**

16 Fie: = ＞**Before all of this, we had a fishing industry.** ＜

17 Ham: **yea::h.**

18   (0.5)

19 Tru: Well,=

20 Fie: **=You're talking about whether it's throwing [dead] fish.**

21 Tru: [Let-]

22 Ham: **The common [fish]**

23 Tru: [We-] [we]

24 Ham: **[But] the biggest ecological- [(   )]**

25 Cha: [Alright, alright.]=

26 Tru: Can I, can I finish [this point?]   [We have-] [we have a successful]

27 Cha: [Let him   ] just make [his point]. [Let let' Frank make] his

28   point cuz he was picking up on something you say.

As shown in Line 3, Truss cuts off her talk "we've-" and shifts to answer Hamilton's challenge with the reason "because we share the oceans". After a 0.5 second pause, Hamilton replies with "Not" and laugh "Huh huh" which indicate a disagreement. As in Line 4, Truss solicits a counter disagreement in a high volume "because we share the channel" which occurs in overlap with Hamilton's disagreement in Line 3 and account for disagreement in Line 5 respectively. As it is displayed, the series of disagreements turn into a conflict between Truss and Hamilton in Lines 5-12. In Line 13, as the third party, the Labour MEP Frank Field interrupts Truss with an attempt to solicit a disagreement by "Before all of this-". But he cuts off and cedes the floor. In Line 14, Truss holds the floor and continues with her account which occurs in overlap with Hamilton's further disagreement "No, no no no". At the upcoming completion point in Lines 14 and 15, Field tries again and re-completes his previous solicitation in Line 13 as "Before all of this, we had a fishing industry" which demonstrates that he intends to show his agreement with Hamilton through an account of the fact in history. Hamilton's offers a direct agreement with "Yeah" in Line 16. In addition, in Lines 20, 22 and 24, Field and Hamilton solicit further accounts of their opinions on the British fishing industry, which both address to their common counterpart, Truss. Both of these two panel members, who are in agreement, actually address Truss in a disagreement. Though the two speakers do not address to each other directly as being in agreement, their disagreements to the same party contributes to the understanding that they are actually in a relation of affiliation. Field and Hamilton both provide complementary evidence to work together to argue against their opponent. Through adding new evidence, the overlapping speaker displays as being making some extra effort to support his ally to argue against his opponent.

6.3.5 Summary

In the context of APPD, the findings show that the action of agreement, occurring as overlapping statements, can implemented as both weak agreements and strong agreements. This process occurs through the accomplishment of actions as

acknowledgements, assessments, proposals and multi-disagreements. In general, it is found that, among these actions, weak agreements are oriented to occurring between panel members whereas strong agreements are oriented to occurring between panel members and the audience. In other words, the agreements between panel members who hold the same stance display an orientation as weak agreements. In contrast to this, the agreements between the panel members and the audience display as strong agreements. When the two participants disagree with the third party, they display to be in agreement and stand in an affiliative relation. More specifically, in two-party interaction, when two panel members hold the same stance, they are oriented to affiliating with each other via weak agreements. This indicates that they are in affiliation as they hold the same stance in the debate and do not need to make much effort to affiliate each other. In contrast, in the debate, as audience members aim to seek evidence to support one side of the opposing political stances, panel members would make extra effort to affiliate with the audience. This type of the construction of agreements contribute to the interactional accomplishment of the negotiation and understanding of the opposing aspects of political stances through the establishment of affiliation. In the multi-party conversation, though the two speakers do not address to each other directly as being in agreement, their disagreements to the same party contribute to the understanding that they are actually in a relation of affiliation. They both provide complementary evidence to work together to argue against their opponent. Through adding new evidence, the overlapping speaker displays as making some extra effort through adding new evidence to support his/her ally to argue against his/her opponent. The above summary suggests that the two findings contribute to the knowledge of the action of agreement as an occasion of institutional interaction in the construction of mutual understanding, that is, how the politicians expose their political stances and what strategies they use to negotiate the intersubjectivity among participants so as to affiliate more audience and achieve their professional goals in the context of APPD in light of the negotiation of agreement. The next section discusses another type of agreements which is realized via applause.

6.4 Agreement via Overlapping Applause

Sections 6.1-3 have presented the functions of overlapping statements which are the responses to the question-answer sequences and function as disagreement and agreement. As mentioned in Section 6.1, apart from overlapping questions and statements, there exists another overlapping phenomenon: overlapping applause which functions as a type of response to the question-answer sequence. According to the one-activity-at-a-time principle, applause takes place at specific sequential positions during the speech. Similar to questions and statements, applause normally begins when the speaker has come to some sort of completion point. It can also occur in the form of overlap. As one of the forms for audience, applause occur either at TRP or non-TRP to display agreements and affiliation to the previous or current speakers.

Based on the literature that there is a strong positive correlation between rhetorical devices and collective applause (Atkinson, 1984a; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986). Bull (2000) makes a distinction between invited and uninvited applause in political speeches. Invited applause refers to applause which is dependent on the rhetorical devices. In contrast, uninvited applause refers to that which is not or instances where rhetorical devices are not utilized properly. Regarding invited applause, Atkinson (1984a) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) propose seven basic rhetorical formats: contrasts, lists, puzzle-solution, headline-punchline, combinations, position taking, and pursuits, which they find to be associated with more than two thirds of all the collective applause that occurred during speeches. Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) claim that the likelihood of these message types receiving applause is greatly increased by rhetorical formatting.

In addition, there is a rhetorical device termed as recompletion by Atkinson (1984b) which is not included in the seven rhetorical devices shown above. Hutchby (2005) re-examines this device by investigating broadcast talk and finds that the use of recompletion to recapitulate a point that has just been made is common in the rhetorical discourse of politicians during speeches made to audiences. The finding supports Atkinson (1984b) as well as Heritage and Greatbatch (1986). In these rhetorical

contexts, recompletion may be used to foreground an 'applause-relevant' place in speech functioning to signal to the audience that the speaker has made a point for which he or she is inviting or expecting applause. Frequently this device is also used in this dataset when the point has not been made in a particularly effective way first time round. This concept will be used in a broad sense in this study in the interplay of overlap and applause.

Regarding uninvited applause, Bull (2000) proposes that applause can occur in the absence of applause invitations, which indicates that uninvited applause can occur in the absence of rhetorical devices as a direct response to the content of speech (Bull, 2000) or through a misreading of rhetorical devices (Bull and Wells, 2002). In addition, Bull and Wells (2002) argue that delivery is as integral to applause invitation as the use of rhetorical devices. Specifically, they proposed that delivery is important in indicating whether or not the message constitutes an invitation to applaud. In the study of incidents of asynchronous applause termed as "mismatches" (Bull, 2000). Four mismatch categories are identified: audience applause interrupts speaker, isolated applause, delayed applause and speaker interrupts audience applause. The first three categories are regarded as audience mismatches whereas the fourth is understood as speaker mismatches.

In what follows, the factors leading to applause is examined when it is synchronized or asynchronized with speech as well as its constitutive features in the context of APPD.

6.4.1   Overlapping Applause via Invited Devices

The analysis shows that synchronized overlapping applause evoked by rhetorical devices occurring at TRP displays as non-competitive overlap. The finding supports the claim proposed by Atkinson (1984a: 33) that synchronized applause triggered by rhetorical devices occur either just before or immediately after a completion point. Apart from the rhetorical devices proposed by Atkinson (1984a) and Hutchby (2005), a new rhetorical device is found in this study, displaying as repetition of disagreements

to the previous political stance which evokes overlapping applause at TRP. In addition, analysis in this study shows that overlapping applause evoked by 'three-part list' as an invited device in the context of APPD is found to occur frequently as progressional overlap which is a non-TRP, displaying as collaborative and non-competitive overlap. These are illustrated as follows.

Excerpt 6.22 demonstrates that the synchronized overlapping applause evoked by an invited device occurs as non-competitive overlap. In this excerpt, the chair selects Paul Nuttall, the deputy leader of UKIP, to give his response to Giles Fraser's opinion that a UKIP poster was problematic. Nuttall refutes that it is not UKIP but ordinary working-class people who want to leave the EU. He points out that the Chancellor dare not face and respond to issue. In Lines7-8, Nuttall questions the Chancellor's whereabouts and receives an agreement from the audience via applause in Line 9.

Excerpt 6.22 *Question Time:* **27-06-2016, 06:30-07:20**

01	Cha:	=You want to response to what he said about UKIP?
02		(0.3)
03	Nut:	.hh, well, look, you know, UKIP isn't a far right party. We have campaigned against
04		the European Union since our inception. I just think that this really was the, was
05		ordinary working-class people against the Brussels elite, against the big banks,
06		against the business, against project fear. I just want to know where Chancellor is
07		at the moment. He seems to have disappeared
08		[altogether. Now, Giles, Giles spoke about]
09	Aud:	[××××××××××××××××××××××××××]
10	Nut:	the sneering now because people were angry. I can give you an example. A Guardian
11		columnist yesterday er wrote we have Brexit because of northern, crappy towns,
12		places like Preston my constituency, places like Wigan, Blackburn and Burnley. I
13		have had enough of this London centric, metropolitan snobbery
14		**[which effect this country.]**
15	Aud:	[×××××××××××××××××]=

16   =[×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××] ×××××

17   Cha: [Alright. Alright, er, okay, Paul. Alex Salmond?]

It turns out that it is a mismatch as the audience take it as an invitation of applause whereas Nuttall does not acknowledge but continues to talk, which results in a progressional overlap. This is evidenced by Nuttall's fighting for the speakership via repeating "Giles". The audience drop out. This indicates a competitive overlap. In Lines 10-14, Nuttall continues to condemn a column from *The Guardian*, which he claims is an example of "metropolitan snobbery" that blames "crappy" Northern towns for Brexit. This constitutes one of the seven rhetorical devices – contrast, which is recognized by the audience as an invitation of applause. As it happens, this rhetorical device receives the audience's applause when Nuttall reaches the upcoming completion point, which constitutes a synchronized overlapping applause. It can be seen that this overlapping applause functions as an agreement at the end of this episode. The three occurrences of applause in this episode show that only synchronized overlapping applause evoked by rhetorical devices at TRP displays to be non-competitive and function to demonstrate a synchronized mutual understanding, agreement and affiliation.

Apart from the rhetorical devices proposed by Atkinson (1984a) and Hutchby (2005), a new rhetorical device is found in this study: the repetition of disagreement to the previous stance can function as a rhetorical device at TRP, displaying as a synchronized and non-competitive overlap. Prior to Excerpt 6. 23, the question discussed is whether the British people have the necessary knowledge and information to make an informed choice for the referendum. The panel member is UKIP MP member Douglas Carswell who asserts that leaving the single market would be positive for the UK. Then the chair selects the next speaker shadow Foreign Secretary Emily Thornberry to give her opinion (Lines 1-2). After an 0.9 second's pause, Thornberry gives her negative assessment of Carswell's assertion as "I think it's all nonsense" in Line 4. After 0.2 pause, there is no response. As shown in Line 4, she repeats her assertion and this time it evokes a lengthy applause in Lines 5 and 6 shown below.

Excerpt 6.23 *Question Time:* **30-06-2016, 08:27-08:52**

01 Cha: Emily, Emily, Emily Thornberry, do you believe we can have exactly the same

02   deal like Douglas?

03   (0.9)

04 Tho: **I think it's all nonsense. (0.2) I think it's all non[sense.]** |----------(1.4)------------|

05 Aud: [×××××]×××××××××××××××××

06   [×××××]××××××××××× ×××[××××××××××××]

07 Tho: [I think] |-------(1.8)------------|[What I- what- I'm] very disappointed in this result. I'd-

08   I'll lay my cards on the table. You know, I campaigned really hard for us to …

The 0.9 second pause in Line 3 is a typical indication of an upcoming occurrence of dis-preference. Thornberry solicits a disagreement through a negative assessment. This does not gain applause. After 0.2 second pause, Thornberry repeats her negative assessment. Only through the repetition does she successful gain the audience's applause. This overlapping applause occurs as a TRP overlap, which features in line with the occurrence of the rhetorical devices for applause. That is, if both interactants take it as an invitation of applause, it happens just before or after the possible completion point (Atkinson, 1984a; Bull, 2000; Bull and Wells, 2002; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986). In this case, it occurs just before the upcoming completion point (Line 5). This suggests that those audience members who show their agreements to the previous speaker's stance via the TRP overlapping applause indicate that they hold the same political stances with the prior speakers at that moment in time.

Excerpt 6.24 is another instance of repetition of disagreement via a *wh*-question which evokes overlapping applause at TRP, demonstrating as non-competitive overlap. In this part of conversation, several participants have been selected to give their opinions on whether it is fair for the Prime Minister to use public funding to support one side of the EU referendum debate. Irving Welsh, the author of the novel Trainspotting, posits that

this is not fair. In contrast, Business Minister Anna Soubry argues that this is acceptable, and a third opinion is proffered by Carswell who aligns with the first position and positions himself in disagreement with Soubry. The chair then prompts the Shadow Leader of the House of Commons, Chris Bryant, to speak. Prior to Excerpt 6.24, in reply to the question, Bryant says that he feels sad that has 9 billion pounds tax money was spent and could have been better used elsewhere. In response to this, the chair requests further explanation in Line 1. In Lines 2 and 3, Bryant confirms that the chair asks the right question in Line 2. Then, in Line 4, Bryant starts to account for it. As it is shown in Lines 4-6, he responds through two *wh*-question, challenging why people did not give the public the facts. This is shown in Excerpt 6.23 below.

Excerpt 6.24 *Question Time:* **07-04-2016, 06:00-06:30**

01 Cha: [Why you are s<u>a</u>d about it at all?]=

02 Bry: =You get my point. And-=

03 Cha: = Yeap. =

04 Bry: = and out e:very ti:me Europe is debated there'll be a member of the audience who says,

05   (0.3) **"Why won't people just give us the facts? (0.2) Why won't people just give**

06   **[us the facts?"]**

07 Aud: [×××× ××××××××××××××[××××]×××××××××[×××]××××××××××××

08 Bry: |----(0.6)------- |[And-]|----(0.7)---- |[So-] |--------(1.2)---------|

09 Aud: [××××××××××××××××××××]

10 Bry: [and in fact yesterday afternoon] I was door-knocking in the, in the hail and …

(*The details are omitted.*)

When Bryant solicits the *wh*-question for the first time, it does not receive any response from the audience. After 0.2 second pause, he repeats the question. This time it successfully wins the audience's applause. Similar to Excerpt 6.23, this occurs just before the completion point, indicating that both Bryant and the audience take the second solicitation of the *wh*-question as an invitation of applause. The audience clap to display their synchronized mutual understanding, agreement and affiliation to

Bryant's challenge.

Based on the above observation and analysis, this study proposes that synchronized overlapping applause evoked through the repetition of disagreement at TRP, either realized by negative assessments, questions among others, can operate as a rhetorical device serving to invite the audience to applaud at the upcoming completion point, displaying as non-competitive overlap. It is worth noting that this has not been found in the studies of applause in literature, such as in the settings of political speeches (Atkinson, 1984a; Bull, 2000; Bull, 2006; Bull and Wells, 2002; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986), news interviews (Eriksson, 2009) or comedy performances (Well and Bull, 2007). Thus, this study proposes that the synchronized invited applause sequence can be schematized as follows:

T1: repetition of disagreement

T2: synchronized overlapping applause

T3: disagreement account

This sequence displays that the invited applause does not cut off the flow of the conversation or divert the agenda of the talk but demonstrates the audience's agreement and displays the affiliative relationship between the overlapped speaker and the overlapping speaker.

Another finding in this study is that synchronized overlapping applause evoked by three-part list device differ from those via other rhetorical devices, demonstrating as non-competitive overlap at non-TRP. Excerpt 6.25 shows this. In this excerpt, the Conservative party is questioned about how the effects of their abandonment of the working class. Having selected four panel members and an audience member to provide their opinions, the chair selects the second audience member to provide her opinion as follows.

Excerpt 6.25 *Question Time:* **27-06-2016, 10:14-10:50**

01 Cha: The woman here in pink. I'll come to you, yes.

02   (0.5)

03 AUD: It is far too easy to pull all the results on Friday down to immigration. It is

04   patronizing and far too [easy.]|------------------------(7.2)--------------------|

05 Aud: [×××]×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××

06   [××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

07 AUD: [We are in Birmingham which extremely] significant in my city. It is the most

08   culturally diverse and ethnically diverse city in this

09   [country. And to say, to say the result is] fear of immigration is wrong. There are

10 Aud: [×××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

11 AUD: so many more complexities as to why people voted leave, democracy for one,

12   **[sovereignty for two, and economics for three. It is disingenuous to do that.]**

13 Aud: **[××]**

As it is shown in Lines3-4, the selected audience member makes a comment on the previous opinion that attributes leaving the EU to immigrants. She asserts that this explanation is "far too easy". This works as a rhetorical device that can be called "position taking" and it functions as an invitation of applause. As it happens, at the upcoming completion point, the audience applaud to show their support for the opinion and the audience member relinquishes at TRP (Lines5-6). This indicates that both the audience and the audience speaker take it as a point for applause. After 7.2 seconds' applause, the audience member continues to produce an account for her stance via the rhetorical device of a three-part list, also understood as a tricolon, constructed as "extremely significant", "cultural diverse" and "ethnically diverse", which is normally regarded as an invitation of applause. But it turns out to be a mismatch. The audience understand it as a rhetorical device and applaud for agreement whereas the overlapped audience does not but continues to comment the previous stance as "wrong", which ends up as a progressional overlap (Lines9-10). This is evidenced as Nuttall fights for the speakership by repeating "to say".   After the audience member holds the

speakership, she proceeds with her account (Line9). She continues to argue that "There are so many more complexities as to why people voted to leave" and account for it through another three-list in Lines12-13 as "democracy for one", "sovereignty for two" and "economics for three". It can be seen that "many more complexities" and "one" function as lexical signals for the audience to understand that the current speaker is employing a three-part list device (Lines11-12) as an invitation of applause, which results in a progressional overlap (Lines12-13). This extended overlap does not appear to be competitive. The speaker and the applause collaborate to demonstrate the synchronized mutual understanding, agreement and affiliation. This can be explained that three-part list is a common rhetorical device which is employed in political speech and debate and the like to evoke collective applause. Therefore, audience can understand and predict the point for applause much early before the completed point. Thus, different from the overlapping applause via other rhetorical devices, the synchronized overlapping applause evoked by three-part list device may occur at non-TRP but appear to be collaborative and non-competitive.

Excerpt 6.26 is another instance where synchronized overlapping applause evoked by three-part list demonstrates to be progressional and non-competitive. In Excerpt 6.26, the crime writer Dreda Say Mitchell holds the same opinion as the previous speaker Ed Miliband on the issue of referendum. When Miliband accounts for his stance of the definition of "young people" when Miliband (Lines1-4). She solicits a series of questions with the same syntactic structure as "Am I going to have …?" to challenge Miliband which can be taken as one of the seven rhetorical devices "pursuit". But it turns out that it is a mismatch in which the audience regard it as an invitation and applaud while Mitchell does not intend to relinquish to the applause and continues to produce the third question which occurs as a progressional overlap shown in Lines7-11.

Excerpt 6.26 *Question Time:* 26-05-2016, 34:00-34:50

01 Mit: [No, I'm still talking, Ed. is about working class people. I don't know, I'm thinking

02   about the working-class people in my family. They're not talking about, "I can't wait

03		to travel to go off to Greece or Milan or wherever, Rotterdam, to set up some
04		business." What they want, what preoccupies them is, "Am I going to have steady
05		job?" "Am I going to have a roof over head?"
06	Mil:	[Yeap Yeap,
07	Mit:	**"Am I going to have ↑[somewhere] [where I come home for my family?"]**
08	Mil:	[Yeap, ↑exactly.]
09	Aud:	[×××××××××××××××××××××××]
10	Mit:	**["Am I going to have time to chill out and relax?"]**=
11	Aud:	= [××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]
12	Mit:	= So can we stop using this general term "YOU:NG
13		[peo:ple" and using a very stereotypical image of young people?]
14	Mil:	[No, but I' ( ) It is not stereotypical]
15		I'm making a very specific poi:nt, I've learnt not to trust po::lls.
16	Mil:	Bu:t I can [↑say that.]

Here, the applause does not appear to intervene with the flow of the talk. This extended overlapping applause functions to collaborate with the current speaker to show the audience's understanding, agreement and affiliation. Therefore, it can be argued that overlapping applause triggered by three-part list is a device which occurs as progressional and non-TRP overlap can display to be non-competitive. The overlapping applause and overlapped utterances constitute a piece of collaborative and non-competitive talk.

6.4.2 Overlapping Applause via Mismatches

In the previous section, Excerpts 6.22-6.26 showed that synchronized overlapping applause evoked by rhetorical devices display as TRP and non-competitive overlap. They also showed that synchronized overlapping applause evoked by three-part list device may demonstrate to be non-competitive but non-TRP overlap. In contrast to the invited applause in the previous section, Excerpts 27-29 in this section demonstrate the instances of the overlapping applause which are evoked by mismatches. Excerpts 6.27-

6.29 show that uninvited applause sequences in the context of APPD are constructed in two different schemas. One is involved with recompletion via repetition and the other with recompletion via self-repair. The uninvited applause sequences via repetition is schematized as:

T1: stance taking

T2: asynchronized overlapping applause

T3: recompletion via repetition

This is illustrated in Excerpts 6.27- 6.28 below.

Excerpt 6.27 is an instance of asynchronized overlapping applause which is triggered by a mismatch and projects the next turn as recompletion via repetition. In this excerpt, the selected audience member raises a question about whether it may be appropriate to consider abolishing the inheritance tax, and offers a rationale in support of doing so on the grounds that inherited money has been previously taxed when it was the income of the deceased. The chair selects a panel member from the Taxpayers Alliance Dia Chakravarthi to give her opinion (Lines 1-4). In Lines 5-8, Chakravarty first states that she agrees with the Prime Minister that there are good reasons for the inheritance tax. However, she then uses a tricolon to list three reasons to argue against the inheritance tax: "it is the most hated tax in the county", "…it goes against the human nature" and "it is a hugely complex piece of legislation". When she accounts for the complex legislation, she states that "the super-rich the very people at the top will always have different ways of getting rounded with". This statement indirectly calls forth tax havens, particularly what was euphemistically called the 'Panama Papers', which exposed the degree to which wealthy and well-known individuals used shell companies in foreign countries to hide their wealth and to avoid paying taxes. This covert reference to the Panama Papers, which requires the audience's collusion, is understood by the audience and they engage in applause. But it turns out that the current speaker Chakravarthy does not take it as a rhetorical device. This results in an interruptive applause where

Chakravarthy continues with her talk while the audience applaud for the previous point she makes, displaying as a disagreement with those who support inheritance tax.

Excerpt 6.27 *Question Time*: 14-04-2016, 31:53-33:02

01   Cha: It is time he took right unless there's a question of course raised in the House of

02   Commons that are talking about inheritance tax and David Cameron's inheritance

03   which will all the rest of it. And do, Chakravarthy, do you think it's right to abolish

04   inheritance tax?=

05   CHA: =Yes I agree with David and there are more reasons I mean that that's a very good

06   place to start. … (*The details are omitted.*) that the super-rich the very people at the top

07   will always have different ways of getting rounded with.

08   **[It's precisely because it's such a-]**

09   Aud: [××××××××××××××××××××××]

10   Aud: =[××××]=

11   Cha: =[Okay.]=

12   CHA: = **precisely because it's such a complicated piece of [legislation].** So the people who

13   Cha: [Alright.   ]

14   CHA: are stuck with it. Sorry, the people who stuck with it are the aspirational middle-class, 15

                   right in the middle, and since 2010 the number of people paying inheritance tax has

16   quadrupled. You know, so it really is the people in the middle who feel the pinch. So it

17   really is absolutely we should abolish it.

18   (.)

19   Aud: ×××××××××××××××××××[××××××××××]

20   Cha: |-------------(5.5)-------------|[Jenny Jones do] you think it's right that parents should

21   leave things to their children and should be taxed as low as possible or in favor of

22   inheritance tax as it stands?

In the course of the interruptive applause, it can be seen that the overlapped speaker Chakravarty, consistently fights for the speakership through repeating "It's precisely because it's s uh a- " to give further accounts on the stance of the middle class. At the

end, she advocates to abolish the inheritance tax (Line 17), which is taken as an invitation of applause as the closing of talk (Line 19). This turn-by-turn sequence uncovers the process of the negotiation of mutual understanding on agreements and affiliation in terms of the interplay of speech and applause.

Excerpt 6.28 is another instance of asynchronized overlapping applause that is triggered by a mismatch and projects the next turn as recompletion via repetition. As it is shown in Lines 1-2, the parish priest and Guardian columnist Giles Fraser addresses a question of whether the government understands that the referendum result is the outcome of a working class that has felt their needs have been ignored for decades. Line 1 shows Fraser providing a negative assessment on a UKIP poster, and this displays as a disagreement with the previous audience speaker who thinks that UKIP did not excel at their media campaign, stating: "There is massive disconnect I believe between er the parties and, and their electorate to not be able to, to galvanise the vote". In response to this opinion, Fraser shows his disagreement through a negative assessment on poster as "I think the UKIP poster was absolutely disgraceful", indicating his disapproval. Then he continues with accounts for the disagreement in Line 2. As it happens, this results in an overlap in Lines 2 and 3.

Excerpt 6.28 *Question Time:* 27-06-2016, 06:30-07:53

01 Fra: **Yep, I do. I think the UKIP poster wa- was um absolutely disgraceful.** And I

02   [think it's] |---(0.6)---|[And it-] |------(1.1)----|[it, it] |--------(1.5)----------|[it]

03 Aud: [×××××××] ××××××××[×××××] ××××××××××[×××] ×××××××××××××××[××]

04   [××××××××××××××××]

05 Fra: [soiled, it soiled, it soiled] a- a- a- an important, an important argument we were having.

06   But the gentlemen is- is right. There is a legitimate anger in- in the places where people

07   have been ignored for a very long time. They have been ignored by London. And now

08   they are being sneered at for being angry, a- as if [they wer:e-, er, you know-]

09 Aud: [×××××××××××××××××][××××]

10 Cha: [Okay.]=

11	Aud:	[××]
12	Fra:	[They were n<u>o</u>t -, I just want to say one thing. They were not 17.4 million racists] in this
13		country. [And it is absolutely important to say.]
14	Aud:	[×××××××××××××××××××××××][××××]×××××××××××××××××
15	Cha:	[Okay.]|------------(6.5)-------------|
16	Cha:	You want to response to what he said about UKIP?

The overlapping applause in Line 3 displays as a mismatch of applause, similar to the findings of Bull (2000). That is, negative assessments do not typically employ the seven basic rhetorical devices of applause. The overlapped speaker does not take the negative assessment as a point of applause. Therefore, he does not stop but, rather, continues with his argument. This interruptive applause can be interpreted as mainly coming from those who hold the same stance. In this case that means that those who produced applause share the stance that the UKIP poster was "absolutely disgraceful". It is possible then to assert that the audience do not produce applause based on the rhetorical device but on the content they are in agreement with.

As it turns out, gaining the support of the audience who have already held the same stance is not the politician's final goal. That's why Fraser does not wait for the halt of the applause and is eager to explain why he holds such a strong negative assessment. This functions to affiliate with more members of the audience. It can be seen that Fraser gains the floor through repeating the same pattern. This is an instance of speaker mismatch. This can be interpreted as speaker recompletion because it does not occur independently; rather, it occurs as a recompletion of the previous account which has been interrupted by the previous audience mismatch applause.

In Lines 5-8, Fraser accounts through an atypically constructed three-part list (tricolon): "People have been ignored …", "They have been ignored …", "And now they have been sneered at …" which appear not to be a typical three-part list. Fraser does not take it as a rhetorical device and continues with his account (Line 8). However, the audience

take "And now they are being sneered at for being angry" as a possible completion point and offer applause. This results in an overlap and constitutes as an audience mismatch.

Similar to the speaker recompletion seen in Line 5, in Line 12, Fraser recompletes his previous account that is interrupted by the applause via repetition. Thus, the audience mismatch – speaker recompletion sequence may occur recurrently in the course of a speaker's account. In other words, in the course of the selected speaker's account, it frequently features with a recurrence of sequence as: *stance taking - asynchronized applause - recompletion*. Different from recompletion that serves to recapitulate the point contained in the prior sentences to fulfill the purpose of winning the applause proposed by Atkinson (1984b) and Hutchby (2005), the type of recompletion via repetition in this case is used for continuing with further accounts for the point he/she makes in the previous turn. Both Excerpts 6.27 and 6.28 are the cases in which the turn of speaker recompletion appear to be accomplished through repetition.

Excerpts 6.27 and 6.28 are examples in which speaker recompletion is accomplished through repetition. Data analysis shows that there are other instances that share the same sequence but differ from them in which recompletion is not accomplished through repetition but in a repair manner. Excerpts 6.29 and 6.30 are cases which illustrate that the overlapping applause is triggered by a mismatch and projects the next turn as recompletion via repair. In Excerpt 6.29, the participants provide their assessments to question about whether the UK's withdrawal from the EU will be made difficult as an EU strategy to prevent further countries from leaving. After three panel members give their stances, the chair solicits a question for Giles Fraser in Line 1. Fraser pauses for one second before he answers and with the solicitation of a discourse marker, which indicates a change of the agenda. It turns out that he gives an up-graded negative assessment to the prior speaker's stance on the need of a Brexit government which is relevant to the chair's question. As shown in Line 4, Fraser goes on to solicit his stance as "What we need-" which results in an overlap with the audience's applause in Lines

4 and 5, displaying as a mismatch – "audience interrupts applause" (Bull and Noordhuizen, 2000) as shown below.

Excerpt 6. 29 *Question Time:* **27-06-2016, 28:00-28:35**

01   Cha: And what do you vote for?

02   (1.0)

03   Fra: →   Look, **the idea that we need a Brexit government is absolute nonsense.**

04   [What we need-]

05   Aud: [×××××××××]

06   ××××××××××××××××[××××××] ××××××××××[××××××××××××××××××]

07   Fra: |-------(2.6)--------------|[Nobody,]|---(0.9)--------| [I- I didn't vote for Michael] Go:ve, I

08   didn't vote for Boris Johnson when I voted for leave. I didn't vote for that. And I, it wasn't

09   like a general election when you're voting for people. What we need now is coming

10   together. We probably need a government of national unity

11   [as I find myself.]|----(0.9)-------|[And]|-------(1.3)---------|

The overlap that occurs in Lines 4 and 5 can be explained by suggesting that Fraser makes a negative assessment and he does not take it as a possible completion point. However, the audience take it as a point to display their agreement and starts to applaud. In Line 4, Fraser cuts off and drops out. After a round of applause lasting 2.6 seconds, Fraser competes for the floor in Line 7 before the applause fades. Line 7 demonstrates that he does not repeat his utterance from Line 4; rather, he makes an adjustment. This is accomplished by answering the chair's question with the declaration that when voting leave he was not casting a vote for either Gove or Johnson. This indicates that in the course of the lengthy applause, Fraser realizes that he has not made a relevant answer and this leads to a self-repair which is completed by adding the relevant answer to the chair's question. In Line 9, he starts to continue with the previous utterance "What we need - ". This type of recompletion in this case is also used for continuing with further accounts that support the point he/she makes in the previous turn. In this case this is accomplished by means of distal answer, meaning it recapitulates the previous point

after answering the approximate question. That is, the applause gives the overlapped speaker sufficient time to realize that the answer is not relevant, and this time also serve as an opportunity to formulate and make an adjustment. This study proposes that this turn-by-turn sequence can be termed as *disagreement - uninvited applause - speaker self-repair recompletion.* By doing so, the participants can have a proper and fuller understanding why the speaker, in this case Fraser, makes such a negative assessment in Line 3 and his political stance becomes more intelligible. Thus, the speaker expects to gain a better mutual understanding to achieve the institutional goal – vote for referendum. In all cases shown here, the recurrence of this type of sequence demonstrates that both the speaker and the co-present audience are actively engaged in the construction of intersubjectivity and affiliation through the turn-by-turn sequence in terms of the interplay of speech and applause.

In Excerpt 6.30, the participants are promoted to offer responses to a question on the strain public services that is framed by the question asker to be caused by EU migrants. Before the chair selects crime writer and *Guardian* columnist, Dreda Say Mitchell, to give her opinion, Steve Hilton, who has served as Director of Strategy for the Prime Minister, asserts that he supports limiting the number of immigrants. In Lines 3-7, Mitchell displays a partial agreement with Hilton through the agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization and accounts for her stance. Although there is partial agreement, as discussed in Section 6.2.3, the central meaning in this organization, is a strategy to frame speaker disagreement and, in this instance, demonstrates that Mitchell disagrees with Hilton. At the end of her turn she poses a challenge via an interrogative question. This is shown below.

Excerpt 6.30 *Question Time:* **26-05-2016, 10:30- 11:20**

01   Cha: [Alright. Ok, Dreda.]

02   (0.5)

03   Mit: I'm with you completely. (0.2) You know, we're <u>a</u>ll h<u>e</u>re::, It seems like we're all the

04   children of migrants. But when my parents come here in the 60s, I would say they were

05		quite unskilled. So are you saying my parents shouldn't have come here? Cos they
06		weren't a doctor, they weren't a nurse. My dad- both my parents left school before they
07		were…My dad left school before he was 15. Would you bar the door to my dad?
08		(0.4)
09	Hil:	I think that [we need to have a:: we:<]|--(0.6)-----|
10	Aud:	[××××××××××××××××] ×××××××××[××××]
11	Hil:	[>It's,] it's a < great question, and I
12		think the answer to the question is that we need to discuss it, we need to have a policy on
13		it and we need to be able as a country to come to a view about the answer to that question.
14		And it will always be the case, I hope, that this country will come to these people who
15		come from refugees, from things that are going ton around the world. (0.2) That are, (0.3)
16		that are .h
17		(0.2)

After 0.4 second's pause, Hilton responds with "I think that we need to have a we- " which results in an overlap with the audience's applause, displaying as a mismatch. This overlap occurs as the previous excerpts which can be regarded a delayed applause, showing an agreement with the question "Would you bar the door to my dad"? Due to the interruptive applause, Hilton realizes that he has not answered Mitchell's question and makes his own claim. Hilton also performs a self-repair, which is completed with the positive response to the question: "It's a great question." It is only after this delay, which also functions as a self-repair, that he goes on to answer the question (Lines 11-16). This repair can better facilitate the participants to understand that Hilton complies the principle of turn-taking system. The first pair part makes the second relevant which is the bedrock of intersubjectivity. Excerpts 6.26 and 6.27 demonstrate that in the course of interruptive applause, when the interrupted account appears to be problematic, the overlapped speaker perform a self-repair in order to adjust an account which operates to make the speaker's political stance more intelligible.

In sum, the uninvited applause sequences via repair can be schematized as:

T1:   stance taking

T2:   asynchronized overlapping applause

T3:   recompletion via repair

In contrast with the above instances, analysis of some other excerpts shows that in the context of APPD an asynchronized overlapping applause may end up with uncompleted accounts. This phenomenon is evidenced in Excerpt 6.31 and Excerpt 6.32. Prior to Excerpt 6.31, several participants are selected to give their stances on whether there should be more grammar schools and whether more grammar schools damage the education system as a whole. In Excerpt 6.31, an audience member who is a teacher from a non-selective local school is selected to respond to this question. In Lines 2-8, she disagrees with the opinion that more grammar schools might lower the non-selective local schools. She states that her school is a local non-selective local school but it is one of the top schools in the country. Then she points out that many students still choose to go to the local grammar school. This account does not directory answer the original question whether she supports to have more grammar schools or not. Both comprehensive schools and grammar schools sound good choices. Therefore, the chair solicits a follow-up question to confirm whether she thinks that the two types of schools can live side-by-side perfectly (Lines 10-12).

Excerpt 6.31 *Question Time:* **18-02-2016, 38:00-38:50**

01   Cha: [The woman in green up] there

02   from one of you members the audience woman in green. =

03   AUD: = Now, I teach in a non-selective local school when I say local it's actually 15 miles

04   from here but because of the boundaries we actually fall into the same category. Now it

05   seems to be the opinion of everybody have heard so far that, if you've got local

06   grammar schools, they somehow detract from the other schools in the locality. It's

07   absolutely not true. My school is one of the top schools in the country and we are

08   totally non selective and yet a lot of the students go to the local grammar schools here.

```
09                (.)

10   Cha:    And so do you have any views about whether it's desirable to have more grammar

11            schools or do you think, are you saying they can live (0.3) perfectly

12            [well? ] [cheek by jowl?]

13   AUD:    [I think] [they can live   ] perfectly side-by-side and I think (0.5) academic children

14            deserve the right to have a more academic **[run and-]**

15   Aud:                                              [××××××]

16            ××××××××××××××××××××[××××××××××××××××××××××]

17   Cha:    |----------------(4.9)-------------|[Thank you. The the woman in the] in the black dress

18            for the white spots.
```

In Lines 13-14, the audience member confirms that the comprehensive schools and grammar schools can live perfectly side-by-side. Then, she accounts why grammar schools are indispensable in Lines 13-14. But before she completes, she is disrupted by the audience's applause, which displays as a mismatch. The audience show their agreement via the overlapping applause in Lines 15-16. The audience member cuts off and relinquishes to the audience. After 4.9 seconds, this spate of conversation is ended by the chair's selection of the next speaker in Lines 17-18. The overlapping applause indicates that the audience's understanding, support and affiliation of the audience member's opinion. The chair's closure of the talk means that the audience member's expression of her stance and the audience's agreement via the asynchronized overlapping applause are sufficient in this excerpt. To complete the cut-off account is not needed.

Excerpt 6.32 is another case which demonstrates that in the context of APPD asynchronized overlapping applause ends up with an uncompleted account. In this excerpt, the chair selects Russell Cain to answer to the question whether Labor will be electable under Jeremy Corbyn's leadership. Cain condemns Corbyn in a lengthy account that he does not speak for his own MPs and get the message across during the period of referendum in Lines 2-18 and points out that Labor will not be electable under

Jeremy Corbyn's leadership. During his statement, Cain is disrupted twice by overlapping applause in Lines 6 and 12 respectively, which display as mismatches. Again, these two mismatches displaying as progressional overlap are evidenced by Cain's repetitions which function to fight for the speakership shown in Lines 5, 11 and Line13.

Excerpt 6.32 *Question Time:* 30-06-2016, 42:59-44:05

01 Cha: Russell Cain.

02 Cai: Okay, so on on paper I met with classic Corbyn supporter type person haven't

03   voted Labour the years ever since a Tony Blair well let's let's Chilcott …(*The*

04   *details have been omitted.*) Jeremy

05   [and that that was the killer blow this was, this was.]

06 Aud: [××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××]

07 Cai: what this is what probably may I hate to say it and I'm gonna get a lot of sick for

08   saying it but this is what's probably made him unelectable is he really let that

09   debate down. If he were if he was a Brexit he should have come out and said it

10   would probably

11   [win him bloody brilliant if he did if he came up because he would have called] he

12 Cai: [××]

13   would have called the EU when the things are actually wrong with it even though

14   I voted remain it being undemocratic it being bloated it being stuffed full of elites

15   lining their own pockets he could have come out and attacked all of that stuff we

16   could have had him versus David Cameron would be much more exciting and

17   better debates of descending into post as Syrians and immigration chance and

18   stuff like that it would have been, **it would have been a better-**

19 Aud: ×××××××××[×××××]×××××××××××[×××]×××××××××

20 Cha: |-------(0.9)----|[Emily.]|--------(2.3)------|[you] |-----(0.8)------|<u>you </u>didn't vote for

21   him you voted for Yvette Cooper I think (43:2) and you're kind of the last woman

22   standing now her forty eight forty people sporting including you it's a bit of a

23   mystery.

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In Lines 15-18, Cain condemns the argument that Corbyn should have attacked David Cameron on the issues of Syrians and immigration and accounts for it as "it could have been a better-". But before he can complete, he is disrupted by the applause which turns out to be a mismatch. Cain cuts off and relinquishes to the audience's applause (Lines 18-19). In Line 20, the chair ended Cain's account by selecting the next speaker. Cain's account therefore ends with uncompleted talk. This can be explained that Cain's lengthy account is sufficient for him to facilitate the audience and the chair to understand his answer to the question as evidenced by the overlapping applause and the chair's closure.

6.4.3 Summary

In this section, this study focuses on the discussion of the agreements realized by overlapping applause. The findings can be summarized as follows. Firstly, as previously discussed, in terms of invited applause, it is found that synchronized overlapping applause at TRP via invited devices mostly occur as non-competitive overlap. However, this study finds that synchronized overlapping applause via three-part list occurs as non-TRP overlap but appears as non-competitive overlap. In addition, regarding the synchronized overlapping applause at TRP, a new rhetorical device constructed as repetition of disagreement is found in the context of APPD. The data shows that the applause evoked through the repetition of disagreements can constitute as an effective rhetorical device to gain the audience's applause at the completion point. It is worth noting that this has not been found in the studies of applause in literature, such as in the settings of political speech (Atkinson, 1984a; Bull, 2000; Bull and Wells, 2002; Bull, 2006; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986), news interview (Eriksson, 2009) and Comedy (Wells and Bull, 2007). This type of repetition can function as an invitation of an agreement with the claim made by the current speaker at the possible completion point. Based on the observation of the invited applause organizational sequences, the synchronized overlapping applause sequence via invited devices can be formulated as *disagreement – synchronized invited applause –disagreement account*. This sequence displays that the invited applause does not intervene the flow of the conversation or

divert the agenda of the talk but effectively displays the collaborative and affiliative relationship between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker.

Secondly, in terms of uninvited applause, the general feature in this setting is that it has the orientation of occurring at non-TRP as a mismatch and display to be competitive. This indicates that the co-present audience actively engage in seeking supportive political stances rather than waiting for the invitation to show their agreements. When the current speakers are interrupted by the applause, they normally appear to fight for the floor to recomplete the accounts which are disrupted. The findings from the data demonstrate that the recompletions are normally accomplished in two manners and the organizational sequence can be formulated as: *stance taking – asynchronized uninvited applause - recompletion account via repetition or repair.* The sequence organization suggests that, on the one hand, the overlapped speakers have an orientation in eagerly providing accounts for their political stances to affiliate those who have not held the same stances at that time, on the other hand, the audience, as overlapping speakers, display an orientation in actively engaging in expressing their attitude to the political stances at the expense of the progress of the talk. In general, invited and uninvited applause sequences demonstrate that the interplay of speech and applause in those sequences not only contribute to the construction of intersubjectivity among the participants but also demonstrate that the audience are actively engaged in the display of agreement and affiliation.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented how overlapping statements and applause functioning as disagreement and agreement evoke the negotiation and display of intersubjectivity. In addition, I also demonstrate how the negotiation and display of intersubjectivity function as political strategies to achieve affiliation between the panel members and the members of audience in APPD, and how rhetorical devices work in this process. This supports the argument in Section 3.5 that affiliation and disaffiliation are tied to the construction of intersubjectivity. In the next chapter, I will provide a comprehensive

discussion based on the findings in Chapters 5 and 6 in relation to the attributive dimensions of intersubjectivity, namely accountability, epistemic and affiliation, to demonstrate how intersubjectivity is constructed, enhanced, repaired and restored by the employment of interactional resources in the setting of APPD.

Chapter 7 Discussion

7.1 Introduction

Using the micro-analytic tool of conversation analysis (CA), this study has explored the practice of overlap in the form of question, statement and applause in *Question Time* in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. This study finds that the recurring patterns of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause illustrated interplay to shape and reshape the intersubjectivity in the course of the talk in the setting of APPD. Specifically, overlapping questions function to solicit the breakdown of intersubjectivity and project the next turns to make repairs, whereas overlapping statements and overlapping applause function as negotiation of disagreement and display of agreement among participants which are considered to be the site that intersubjectivity rests on. Thus, this study finds that overlap occurs in APPD is involved in the breach of intersubjectivity initiated by overlapping questions as well as the negotiation and display of intersubjectivity by overlapping statements and overlapping applause. The former is resolved via repair mechanisms whereas the latter via the display of agreement and the negotiation of disagreement which are considered as the divergence of ideas and solutions in the conversation.

Based on the above argument proposed by this study, this chapter aims to discuss how the breakdown and negotiation of intersubjectivity are managed in terms of the related dimensions of intersubjectivity and explicate what novel contributions they make to the infrastructure of intersubjectivity in the field. This chapter is divided into two parts in terms of the findings in Chapters 5 and 6 and discusses in relation to the literature. Section 7.2 discusses how overlapping questions contribute to the construction and restoration of intersubjectivity in terms accountability, epistemic knowledge and repair. Section 7.3 discusses how overlapping statements and overlapping applause contribute to the negotiation of disagreement and the display of agreement in terms of affiliation. Finally, Section 7.4 discusses the implications for the nature of overlap,

intersubjectivity and APPD. It is expected that the discussion can highlight how the findings inform the literature and what the novel contribution of this research adds to the field of intersubjectivity.

7.2 Overlapping Questions and Intersubjectivity

The empirical findings in Chapter 5 demonstrate that one of the central issues of this genre relates to the repair and maintenance of intersubjectivity when the breakdowns of mutual understanding occur in the ongoing talk. This is demonstrated in the frequent occurrences of overlapping questions, functioning as indicators of the problems of intersubjectivity in the context of APPD. The following sections discuss how overlapping questions as repair initiators function to elicit problem sources in the prior Q-A sequence, the manners these questions as repair initiators participate in the shape and reshape of intersubjectivity via repair sequences in the ongoing conversation, and how they differ from the original questions in the Q-A sequence in the literature.

7.2.1 Intelligibility for Intersubjectivity

Overlapping questions in the context of APPD are found to function as repair initiators and appear to be multi-functional, which contribute to the repair and maintenance of intelligibility for intersubjectivity in different ways. That is, when understanding problems arise in the course of conversation, conversation participants may halt the conversation, solicit the problem sources and request the recipients to make them intelligent so as to solve the problems and restore mutual understanding. Findings in Chapter 5 show that questions occurring in the form of overlap function as repair initiators and indicate the breakdown of intersubjectivity. In this study, they are categorized as *confirmation request*, *challenge*, *clarification* and *withholding the agenda* that constitute the repair sequences, displaying as an expansion of the prior Q-A sequences. Analysis in this study shows that overlapping questions implement the initiation of the understanding problems in the ongoing talk and display an orientation of pursuing intelligibility which is one of the important interactional resources that contributes to the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity. Mutual

understanding in conversation relies on interactants making use of interactional resources to make their action accountable for intelligibility in relation to their contexts (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1991; Robinson, 2016). Based on the findings in Chapter 5, the following will discuss how overlapping questions functioning as repair initiators contribute to the intelligibility for intersubjectivity in terms of formation and functions in relation to literature.

Regarding the formation of overlapping questions, the findings in this study demonstrate that overlapping questions are featured with being multi-functional and pursuing intelligibility at the expense of progressivity. This is in line with the previous studies on questioning that are found to be multifunctional (e.g., Bolden and Robinson, 2011; Kim, 2016; Kishik, 2003; Robinson and Bolden, 2010; Schegloff, 1984; Steering and Drew, 2008). Findings in Chapter 5 show that overlapping questions as repair initiators are formed through the accomplishment of four other actions (i.e. *confirmation request, challenge, clarification* and *withholding the agenda*) in the implementation of questioning. These support the claim that questioning can be multi-functional. That is, as an indicator of problematic sources, overlapping questions can function as *confirmation requests* as well as *challenges, clarifications* and *withholding the agenda*. Each of the four actions also displays as being multi-functional with respect to the production of the conversation. With respect to *confirmation request*, Section 5.2 demonstrates that *confirmation requests* via overlapping questions display as seeking the confirmation of the information and implementing other actions, namely *implicative disagreement*, *pre-challenge and narrowing positioning*, which are attributed to facilitating to achieve intelligibility for intersubjectivity in diverse manners. Specifically, when questioners implement *confirmation requests,* they enact the actions of *implicative disagreement*, *pre-challenge* or *narrowing the positioning* in the environment of confirmation requests. Moreover, the *confirmation requests,* either occurring at TRP or non-TPR, appear to function as locating the problems in the previous turns. In this way, *confirmation requests* function as other-repair initiators. In terms of *challenge*, *clarification* and *withholding the agenda*, they all display as doing

questioning and seeking repair simultaneously as shown in Sections 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5, which explicitly display as an action of other-repair initiation. This presents the multi-functional nature of questioning and further supports the argument that intersubjectivity relies on complex practices upon which one of the dimensions is the interplay of different types of actions (Bolden and Robinson, 2011; Kim, 2016; Kishik, 2003; Robinson and Bolden, 2010; Schegloff, 1984; Steering and Drew, 2008).

Regarding the functions of overlapping questions, this study shows that intelligibility is preferred in the context of APPD. Findings in Chapter 5 suggest that overlapping questions overwhelmingly function as other-repair initiators and display as an understanding of the prior turns as a problem of understanding in the ongoing talk, resulting in the breakdown of intersubjectivity in APPD. Furthermore, the solicitation of overlapping questions displays an orientation of preference for intelligibility for intersubjectivity at the expense of progressivity. As other-repair initiators, overlapping questions function to locate the problem sources in the prior turns and at the same time project the next turns to provide repairs and accounts for them. This study finds that the locations of the problem sources are closely associated with the placements of overlap. When overlapping questions occur at TRP, they appear to locate the problem sources at the possible completion points by means of summary, reformulation, counter facts, assumptions and so on, particularly in soliciting *confirmation request* and *challenge* (see Sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1), just before or after the current speakers reach the completion point. When overlapping questions occur at non-TRP, they display as locating the problem sources by halting the ongoing conversation to solicit requests for *confirmation* (Section 5.2.2), *challenge* (Section 5.3.2), *clarification* (Section 5.4) and *withholding the agenda* (Section 5.5), indicating the emergence of the problems in the course of the conversation. Thus, it can be seen that in both occasions the solicitation of overlapping questions display an orientation of preference for intelligibility for the sake of intersubjectivity at the expense of progressivity. However, in some other settings, such as casual ELF conversations and mother and child conversations (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Konakahara, 2015), overlapping questions do not appear to hinder

the progressivity of conversation but contribute to the development of the ongoing interactions. The overlapping questions and overlapped utterances co-operate in these contexts to move the talk forward without clinging to the overlap and consequently facilitate interpersonal relationships and achieve mutual understanding. In sum, this study shows that, in the setting of APPD, the employment of overlapping questions during the statement displays the orientation of the preference of intelligibility for intersubjectivity. This also informs one of the two senses of accountability the literature (Section 3.3) that is used to account for conduct in interaction. More is discussed in the next section.

7.2.2 Accountability for Intersubjectivity

Findings in Chapter 5 show that overlapping questions operating as repair initiators display an orientation of pursuing accounts. When overlapping questions in APPD receive disconfirmed answers, they normally expect provision of accounts. When overlapping questions do not receive an immediate responses or receive a response without accounts, they normally continue to pursue responses and accounts. This orientation means that overlapping questions do not function as rhetorical questions which are unanswerable (Cerovic, 2016; Heinemann, 2008; Koshik, 2003). Rather, pursuing accounts is a prominent feature of overlapping questions in the context of APPD. This feature supports the claim that dis-preferred answers need to be accounted (Schegloff, 1992).

In the examination of the sequence organization in APPD, this study finds that overlapping questions not only function to solicit problems but also pursue accounts. This constitutes expanded Q-A sequences. The analysis shows that overlapping questions differ from initiating questions in the setting of APPD. The major difference between overlapping questions and the original questions is that the former is related to both the previous and subsequent turn in the Q-A sequence whereas the latter is only related to the next turn. Overlapping questions locate the problem sources in the prior turns and pursue the repairs of the problems for intersubjectivity in the subsequent turn.

To achieve this, overlapping questions trigger the expansion of sequences, and mostly are other-initiated repair sequences. The presentation of seven schemas in Chapter 5 suggests that the construction of the sequence organization via overlapping questions features as being orientated to expanded sequence organization, including pre-expansion (Schemas 3 and 4) and post-expansion sequences (Schemas 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7). As to the pre-expansion sequences in Schemas 3 and 4, these expansion sequences function to make extra efforts for the preparation of the second pair part in the base adjacency pair. Regarding to the post-expansion sequences in Schemas 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7, these expansion sequences function to repair the problems in the first base adjacent pair and to pursue relevant answers in the second adjacent pair in the Q-A sequences. The frequent occurrences of the expansion sequences via repair demonstrate that APPD is not a linear interaction which is accomplished by just one single adjacency pair but by expanded sequences which can be constituted by pre-expansion sequences and post-expansion sequences (see Chapter 5). Only through the expansion of sequence organization can the political stances be adequately exposed, accounted for and more intelligible. This study argues that overlapping questions as other repair initiators are an essential type of device to facilitate the audience to repair and maintain intersubjectivity via expanded sequences and works to fulfill the institutional goal of decision-making.

7.2.3 Epistemic Symmetry for Intersubjectivity

In the examination of overlapping questions, this study shows that *wh*-interrogatives in the form of overlap are special resources which prominently feature as a challenge to display epistemic asymmetry between interactants in APPD. Overlapping *wh*-questions in the setting of APPD work to pursue the balance of the interactants' epistemic knowledge in the implementation of four actions, namely *confirmation request*, *challenge*, *clarification* and *withholding the agenda,* which is distinctive from those in ordinary conversation. Intersubjectivity is not only dependent on the intelligibility in talk-in-interaction but also relies on the interactants' abilities to recognize what each knows about the world and to adjust actions and understandings in accordance with that

recognition (Heritage, 2013)**.** It is the underlying epistemic asymmetry among interactants that functions as the force to drive the sequence of conversation forward. The findings in Chapter 5 demonstrate the ways in which speakers display and negotiate their knowledge relative to one another via overlapping *wh*-questions. The four categories - *confirmation request*, *challenge*, *clarification* and *withholding the agenda* demonstrate that the construction of questions produces an epistemic imbalance between participants: questioners are in a K- epistemic position while answerers are in a K+ epistemic position. This imbalance provides the bedrock of the construction of action from requesting to informing information, which in turn constitutes "the Epistemic Engine" of the conversation.

The examination of overlapping questions in the form of *wh*-interrogatives shows that the epistemic gradient of overlapping questions differs from that of initiating questions. Different epistemic K-/ K+ gradients are encoded in the grammatical realizations. In terms of *confirmation request* via overlapping questions in this setting, they are found to be accomplished via *yes/no* questions. The questioners have gained approximately full knowledge of the prior turns, which is only in need of confirmation and accounts. The request for confirmation indicates the upcoming closure of the spate of conversation, which indexes a shallow slopping epistemic gradient between the questioners and the recipients. Once the confirmation is provided, there is an implication that that epistemic asymmetry is balanced. This is found to be in opposition with the description of initiating questions by Heritage (2010; 2013) in which *yes/no* questions index a steeply sloping epistemic gradient between an unknowing (K-) questioner and a knowing (K+) recipient.

Challenge in APPD is realized overwhelmingly through overlapping *why*-interrogatives and overlapping questions index a distinctive epistemic gradient in their own right in the context of APPD in comparison with initiating questions. Epistemic balance is achieved in various manners in this setting. For example, when epistemic balance is realized via reformulation (Excerpts 5.11 and 5.12), a steeply sloping

epistemic gradient is present, which indicates that the questioners resay the same questions and remain in the unknowing (K-) position. When overlapping questions are realized via counter facts or assumptions (Excerpts 5.13, 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16), this type of questioning appears to have to a large extend narrowed the epistemic gap between the questioners and the recipients. Yet, there still exist some counter evidence which needs to be counter-challenged to achieve a complete epistemic balance. This can be taken as being partial arrival at epistemic balance. Normally, when epistemic balance is reached, the closure of the conversation is accomplished by *sequence closing thirds.* (Schegloff, 2007b; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). However, this is not always the case in the context of APPD. Excerpts 5.17 and 18 show that the failed arrival of epistemic balance could be attributed to the miscue of epistemic stance and epistemic status.

The findings show that in the category of clarification-explication, overlapping *wh*-questions target specific epistemic references, which indicates partial breach of understanding that is in need of repair. In order to achieve a complete epistemic balance, overlapping *wh*-questioners disrupt the progression of the conversation and solicit requests for the provision of accounts for the gap information via clarification and explication. With respect to *withholding the agenda*, findings demonstrate that the prior speakers fail to provide relevant knowledge to balance epistemic gap between the questioners and answers. The questioners and the recipients maintain epistemic asymmetry, with the questioners in a less knowledgeable (K-) position and the answerers in a more knowledgeable (K+) position respectively. The questioners are still in a steeply sloping epistemic gradient before the solicitation of the questioning as *withholding the agenda*.

Based on the above presentation of the findings, this study concludes that overlapping questions as repair initiators display a strikingly different picture from the initiating questions proposed by Heritage (2010; 2013), which is presented Figure 7.1.
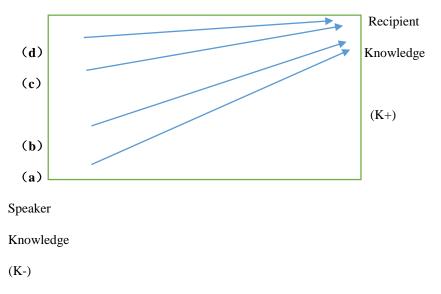
Figure 7.1 Epistemic stance of (a) – (d) represented in terms of epistemic gradient

Figure 7.1 shows that the epistemic gradient from "steep" to "shallow" in this study can be ordered as *withholding the agenda* (a) , *clarification* (b) , *challenge* (c) and *confirmation request* (d). This figure explicates the epistemic gradient in terms of functions which is different from that proposed by Heritage (2010) which is perceived from the perception of grammatical realizations. The most strikingly difference is that, when *yes-no* interrogatives function as initiating questions, they indicate that the questioners are in a no knowledgeable position. However, when *yes-no* interrogatives occurring in overlap as repair initiators, they indicate that the questioners in an approximately epistemic balance with the recipients, which displays a distinctive picture from that generated by initiating questions.

Overlapping *why*-questions operating as a type of repair initiators evoke expanded sequence organizations. They are used to expand the sequence organizations via the interplay of other-repair sequence and self-repair sequence in the course of pursuing epistemic balance. Overlapping questions occurring at TRP and non-TRP function to indicate epistemic asymmetries either at the end of the prior turns or in the course of the talk but both stick to the original agenda proposed by the initiating questions. This proves the assumption that epistemics is an attributive dimension of intersubjectivity.

7.2.4 Other Repair for the Defense of Intersubjectivity

As shown in Chapter 5, overlapping questions function as other repair initiators in the sequence of other-initiated repair which can be categorized as *confirmation request*, *challenge*, *clarification-explication* and *withholding the agenda*. This classification is distinctive from those proposed by Kitzinger (2013) and Dingemanse and Enfield (2015). In terms of the formats for other-initiation of repair, Kitzinger (2013) categorizes them as *open class forms*, *category-specific interrogatives*, *repeats of the trouble-source turn* and *candidate understandings* whereas Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) categorize as *open request, restricted request* and *restricted offer*. The clarification system proposed here is based on the overlapping questions whereas those proposed by Kitzinger (2013) and Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) are based on the initiating questions.

Open class forms and *open requests* are rarely found in this dataset. This may be because these two categories are in nature the ways for speakers to resolve problems with speaking or hearing which on content being resaid or repeated. However, overlapping questions in this study occur less frequently as speaking or hearing problems but more as issues that arise with the understanding of political stances. In addition, the category of *withholding the agenda* is found to be a new category specific to the setting of APPD. This can be attributed to the effectiveness of avoidance as a discursive strategy by politicians.

In terms of the category of *confirmation request* via overlapping questions, overlapping questions display to be distinctive in understanding of the prior turns when they occur at TRP and non-TRP. When occurring at TRP, overlapping questions implement the understanding of prior whole turns by means of summary, reformulation and repetition, displaying the questioners' intension to confirm their understanding of the prior speakers' whole accounts. Apart from the requests for confirmations, overlapping questions also project an expectation of accounts for the responses if it is disconfirmed.

In comparison, as to the categories of *candidate understanding* and *restricted offer* as confirmation initiators proposed by Kitzinger (2013) and Dingemanse and Enfield (2015), here questioning normally displays as only checking out with the speaker of the trouble source turn. It does not necessarily expect accounts for the (dis)confirmations. Regarding overlapping questions as confirmation requests occurring at non-TRP, findings show that they are implemented through reformation, repetition or the combination of reformulation, quote and explication and the like. They are employed to disrupt the conversations and pursue more accounts when the questioners receive no immediate and relevant responses or receive responses without accounts. It can be seen that overlapping questions occurring at both TRP or non-TRP all project the next turn to provide accounts. This informs the discussion in Section 7.3.

The category of *challenge* via overlapping *why*-questions functions as a repair initiator to index an epistemic gap between questioners and answerers. This finding is in line with the claim made by Heritage (2007). The findings also substantiate the claim of Monzoni (2008) that *why*-interrogatives are positioned in the environment of disaffiliation, displaying a disaffiliative attitude. This study shows that challenge via *why*-questions in the context of APPD are not the type of rhetorical questions in literature which displays to be unanswerable. Instead, it is a type which indexes an epistemic gap between questioners and answers that could render the accountable event (Bolden and Robinson, 2003, 2011; Heritage, 2007; Lerner, 2002; Monzoni, 2008). Regarding the challenge via *why*-questions, the findings reveal novel contributions in the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity in two senses. First, challenges via overlapping *why*-questions display to be different from those via initiating challenging questions. In contrast to polarizing interviewees' positions and confrontation between interviewees via challenging questions in the debate interviews (Emmertsen, 2007), overlapping questions in *Question Time* as a type of follow-up question display as challenges to prior turns which are either irrelevant or ambiguous. They function to expose the inequality of epistemic knowledge between questioners and recipients and presses the recipients to balance the inequality through the provision

of accounts. This displays a B-event (Labov and Fanshel, 1977) with questioners being in a K- position and recipients in a K+ position. In addition, the empirical evidence in this study does not support the argument that challenging *why*-questioning are a type of rhetorical unanswerable question (Han, 2002; Qurik et al., 1985). Rather, challenges via overlapping questions demonstrate an orientation of pursuing relevant answers and accounts. This is in line with the finding in the examination of the challenges responded by detectives (Cerovic, 2016; Edwards, 2006). Moreover, the sequential interaction of challenges via overlapping questions display an orientation that they are B-events: there are things that B knows but A does not (Labov and Fanshel, 1977). This informs the argument proposed by this study (Sections 7.1-7.2) that overlapping questions features as pursuing intelligibility and accountability at the expense of progressivity, which contributes to the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity.

In terms of the category of *clarificatio*n via overlapping questions, the finding is in line with the category of *category-specific interrogatives* defined by Kitzinger (2013) and that of *restricted requests* by Dingemanse and Enfield's (2015)*,* in which the trouble sources display as being referred to references, such a person, a place, time formulation or an object. In other words, *category-specific interrogatives* via overlapping questions are characteristic of targeting a specific, emerging problems in the ongoing conversation. Overlapping questions in this context are normally framed by a repeat of all or part of the trouble-source. As overlapping questions normally occur at non-TRP, findings show that overlapping questions overwhelmingly display an orientation as halting the conversation and request to clarify the arising problems in the course of the conversation. Clarification and explication function to constitute opportunities either for self-repair, other-repair or no repair which pursue intelligibility and accountability at the expense of progressivity during the conversation. This feature also informs the argument proposed in Section 7.1-7.2.

In terms of the category of *withholding the agenda* via overlapping questions, findings show that this action as repair initiator has not been found in other settings. Here, it

functions as halting the conversation and works to get the current speaker back to the original agenda when they do not give relevant answers. In social interaction, answering questions is generally treated as a basic moral obligation, not only for interactional participants but particularly for public figures, such as politicians and journalists (Heritage, 1984: 245-53; Raymond, 1998; Schegloff, 1968). In the context of news interviews, where adversarial questions may be posed, politicians may choose to give indirect answers. In turn, interviewers may construct and solicit follow-up questions to pursue relevant responses. Indirect answers may encourage interviewees to adhere more closely to agendas posed by questions (Clayman, 2001).

In summary, this study supports the claim that repair is the last defense of intersubjectivity (Schegloff, 1992) and argues that the achievement of intersubjectivity varies across contingencies. In this section, it is evidenced by the discussion of the categorization proposed by this study as opposed to those by Kitzinger (2013) and Dingemanse and Enfield (2015). This study argues that the categorizations of other-initiated repair proposed by Kitzinger (2013) and Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) cannot fully explicate the phenomenon of other-initiated repair in all contingencies, including those via overlapping questions in the setting of APPD in this study.

7. 3 Overlapping Statements, Overlapping Applause and Intersubjectivity

Traditional views have tended to equate intersubjectivity with consensual agreement which is reduced to a single subjectivity among participants (Matusov, 1996; Nathan, et al., 2007). CA, as the participatory view of intersubjectivity, proposes that the coordination of individual participation is a joint sociocultural activity rather than a relationship of correspondence of individuals producing actions to each other. With this view, agreement and disagreement are considered aspects of a common set of processes that mediate collective activity. It is argued that interlocutors need not reach consensus to exhibit intersubjectivity: they can converge on some aspects and diverge on others (Matusov and White, 1996). In this way, the participatory view distinguishes between establishing a shared space of interaction and establishing consensus. Sustained

dialogic interactions not only derive from the achievement of consensus but, more importantly, tend to arise out of the differences of opinion (Wells and Arauz, 2006). Findings in Chapter 6 show that both agreement and disagreement are interactional resources which are evidenced to contribute to the construction of the infrastructure of intersubjectivity through negotiation. This study found that the construction of intersubjectivity is embedded in the preference organization of responding actions on the one hand and the framework of affiliation/disaffiliation on the other.

As asserted in Chapter 1.3, the institutional goal of *Question Time* is to establish and maintain intersubjectivity, or mutual understanding, on the given political stances to facilitate the audience to make decisions through the given political issues. To achieve this goal, decision-making may go through processes of multiparty collaborative discussion and, ideally, achieve consensus. In the context of APPD, the findings show that the examination of the realization of decision-making via overlapping responses demonstrates that intersubjectivity can be constructed through the negotiation of disagreements and the display of agreements. Both disagreements via overlapping statements and agreements via overlapping statements and applause are engaged in seeking consensus on the one hand and pursuing the exposure of opposition in the negotiation of disagreement on the other. This allows the audience to better and more fully access to the evidence of the two opposing stances before they make a final decision. In light of the findings with respect to overlapping responses, the following discusses how disagreements and agreements are formulated and escalated, and how they differ in the construction of intersubjectivity from those in other settings.

7.3.1 Disagreement and Intersubjectivity

The findings of this study show that APPD favors disagreements over agreements and how the accomplishment of disagreement is context-dependent. The preference of disagreement over agreement in the context of APPD is in line with that in panel interviews but differs from that found in ordinary conversation. In ordinary conversation, disagreements are normally minimized and avoided (Pomerantz, 1984).

In contrast, in panel interviews, the panelists are polarized into two sides by a debate-framed question or opening which licenses and encourages expressions of disagreement (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). The interviewer normally displays to invite the participants to express their stances through the turn-taking system of Q-A sequence. In the setting of APPD, the panel members and the co-present audience are allowed to self-select to speak or disrupt the current speaker to compete for the speakership; they do not need to wait for the chair's invitation. This means that APPD encourages the exposure, accounts and negotiation of opposing stances. The purpose of APPD is to facilitate the audience, either co-present or overhearing, to construct intersubjectivity on the given political stances in order to achieve decision-making.

Findings also show that when overlapping statements occur as disagreements without accounts in the context of APPD, they display as being weak and non-competitive and function as non-confrontational disagreements even though they occur between the opposing panel members. This type of disagreement does not display the speaker's intention to argue with the current speaker in a strong manner. Instead, this type of disagreement appears to be a type of softened disagreements which functions as a reminder that there is an opposing voice which occurs prior to the current talk. It functions to give the audience an indication that they can make a comparison of the two opposing stances for their affiliation and decision-making. This type of disagreement displays the negotiation of the two opposing stances with the aim to persuade and affiliate the audience. That is, the overlapping speaker employs the overlapping statement without account to demonstrate a mild disagreement with the overlapped speaker. This type of disagreement differs from those in the setting of panel interview. In the panel interview, when interviewees do not directly address disagreements with each other, disagreements occur as distal, indirect and non-confrontational (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). However, when they stay away from the interviewers and directly address each other in disagreement, it constitutes a confrontation or conflict between the two panelists. But in the context of APPD, though the panel members address each other directly in disagreement, this does not necessarily appear to be directly

confrontational. As shown in Section 6.2.1, when the disagreements occur as progressional and non-competitive overlaps and are not followed with accounts, they appear to be a type of weak and non-confrontational disagreement, displaying as a reminder to establish a mutual understanding of the existence of an opposing stance.

The analysis shows that when disagreements occur as overlapping statements followed with accounts, they display to be oriented as confrontational. This type of disagreements normally occurs at non-TRP, displaying that current speakers compete for the speakership and directly confront each other without prefaces. The disagreements via overlapping statements indicate that the overlapping speakers not only directly address the current speakers with disagreements but also appear to compete for the speakership to account for his/her disagreements. Due to the strong desire to compete for accounts, disagreement that occurs with overlapping statements followed with accounts normally turns into direct confrontations between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker. The direct address between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker, and the competition for speakership, constitutes an escalation of disagreements in this conversational context. The direct confrontation demonstrates that the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker are eager to account for their political stances and aim to make their stances both more intelligible to the audience and simultaneously affiliate the audience.

The partial disagreements in the setting of APPD display as being weak disagreement but with the orientation towards confrontation. In ordinary conversation, disagreement that occurs in agreement-plus-disagreement appears to be weak disagreements (Pomerantz, 1984), with the agreement segment acting as a preface that characterizes the disagreement as weak. Pomerantz (1984) claims that disagreement components are formed as partial and weak disagreements when they occur with agreements. In this arrangement, disagreement is the central part of the agreement-plus-disagreement organization. However, in the context of APPD, partial disagreement that occurs in overlap demonstrates as a 'soft' or mild form but has the orientation of turning into

confrontation. Within the agreement-plus-disagreement organization, the part of agreement displays that the overlapping speaker gains the understanding of the overlapped speaker's stance and softens the ensuing disagreement. The part of disagreement aims to argue for and defend his/her stance, which eventually turns into confrontation. This process of negotiation of agreement and disagreement functions to fuller expose respective political stances with the aim to make the political stances more intelligible and affiliate the potential audience.

With respect to the intensity of disagreement, this study argues that the intensity of disagreement does not correlate with confrontation and the escalation of disagreements is context-dependent. Disagreements in APPD are increasingly intense in nature and escalate by means of overlap at non-TRP through violations of the Q-A turn-taking system. Regarding disagreements with accounts, when disagreements occur in overlap, the overlapping speaker addresses the current speaker directly and presents himself/herself as comparatively 'eager' to begin his/her rebuttal. The intensity of the disagreement in the talk is increased as the participants address one another directly and demonstrates the orientation of turning into confrontation. This finding adds new context to the understanding of disagreements in panel interview conducted by Clayman and Heritage (2002) that exposed how disagreements are intensified and how conversation turns into confrontation when panelists move from addressing the interviewer to addressing one another. What began as a restrained disagreement expressed to the IR can become an unmediated and highly confrontational argument between the IEs themselves (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). This demonstrates that the Q-A turn-taking system is violated in the context of panel interview. This study found that the above finding in panel interview only partly holds true in the context of APPD. In APPD, when participants address each directly in disagreement, it does not always lead to confrontation. Only those disagreements occurring at non-TRP and are followed with accounts appear to escalate and turn into unmediated and confrontational talk whereas those occurring at TRP as non-competitive or progressional overlap appear to be less vigorous and confrontational. In routine conversation, partial disagreement is

considered as weak disagreement which avoids confrontation (Pomerantz, 1984). However, in the context of APPD, findings demonstrate that, though partial disagreement constitutes as relatively soft disagreement, it displays an orientation of confrontation.

Based on the findings and discussion, it can be concluded that intersubjectivity and decision-making in the context of APPD rest on the interplay of agreement and disagreement sequences with a preference for disagreement over agreement. This is line with the claim that disagreement is a *sine qua non* in decision-making (Angouri and Locher, 2012; Kangasharju, 2002; Marra, 2012; Paramasivam, 2007). Through the negotiation of disagreement, opposing stances are more fully exposed and mutual understanding can be shaped and reshaped. However, it is worth noting that the target of the negotiation of agreement and disagreement is not the panel members but the audience. This means that agreement and disagreement negotiations aim to persuade the potential audience by exposing more of the opposing stances as a way to achieve affiliation rather than focusing on persuading the opposing panel members.

7.3.2 Agreement and Intersubjectivity

As shown in Chapter 6, overlapping statements and applause function as agreement in APPD. Findings show that the implementation of agreement via overlapping statements displays as distinctive here. Based on the analysis of agreements in Chapter 6, this study argues that the correlation between (dis)preferred and (dis)affilation is context-dependent. In the context of ordinary conversation, Heritage (1984b: 269) claims that:

> Preferred format actions are normally affiliative in character while dis-preferred format actions are dis-affiliative. Similarly, while preferred format actions are generally supportive of social solidarity, dis-preferred format actions are destructive of it. As we shall see, the uniform recruitment of specific features of turn design to preferred and dis-preferred action types is probably related to their affiliative and dis-affiliative characters.

This means that (dis)affiliative is correlated with (dis)preferred positively. However, in APPD, the opposite happens: agreement displays as a dis-preferred action but remains affiliative in character. This means that in the context of APPD, disagreement is overwhelmingly preferred over agreement, displaying disagreement as preferred action. However, though being dis-preferred, agreement, both weak and strong, does not change the function of establishing affiliation and solidarity. The analysis shows that agreements, either between panel members or panel members and audience, both display an affiliative relation. This difference is partly due to the fact that Heritage puts forward the proposal in a general conversational setting. However, his claim does not hold in the context of APPD, which means that context matters.

Regarding the intensity of agreement, the analysis demonstrates that the intensity of agreement is associated with the roles of the APPD participants. Weak agreements normally occur between panel members who hold the same stance, whereas strong agreements normally occur between panel members and audience whose stances are uncertain in terms of affiliation at the time of debate. This type of negotiation is based on the mutual knowledge that the political stances between panel members are normally stable and will not change whereas those between panel members and the audience are uncertain. Thus, the negotiation between the panel members and the audience needs more effort to achieve and sustain, such as intense agreement. This characteristic has only been found in APPD to date.

In addition, the intensity of agreement is found to not to correlate with (non-)confrontation in terms of degree of intense but with numbers of parties involved in the conversation in the context of APPD. This study found that agreement via overlapping statements is accomplished by a range of interactional resources, namely *acknowledgement, assessments, proposals and agreement in multi-disagreement.* Though these all occur in overlap, displaying an eager desire to express agreement, they are manifested with different intensities of agreement, with *acknowledgement* as weak

agreement and *assessments*, *proposals* and *agreement in multi-disagreement* as strong agreement. Intensity of agreement does not appear to correlate with (non-) confrontation, through it is associated with the parties involved in the conversation. Findings show that agreements via *acknowledgement, assessments, proposals* normally occur as two-party interaction, demonstrating that the two parties work collaboratively to show their mutual understanding and affiliation. In contrast, agreements in multi-disagreement occur as multi-party conversation. Two parties achieve agreement and affiliation through highly intense disagreements to the third party, which normally lead to confrontation in the ongoing conversation. Through the process of negotiation of agreement and disagreement, political stances among participants are exposed to a fuller extend and become more intelligible. The turn-by-turn negotiation constitutes the decisive evidence for decision-making.

Regarding agreements in this study, agreements via assessment display as a type of 'first position assessment' (Heritage, 2005) or 'primary assessment' (Pomerantz, 1984) in the sequence organization but differ in function as opposed to those in other settings. In APPD, as mentioned above, agreements via *acknowledgements* (Section 6.3.1) occur as weak agreements and those via *assessments, proposals and agreement in multi-disagreement* (section 6.3.2) as strong agreements. Specifically, weak agreements taking the form of acknowledgement, such as "okay", "that's right" and the like, display as similar to assessments whereas strong agreements display as up-graded agreements, such as "exactly", "you are absolutely right" and so on, in the expression of consensus. In ordinary conversation, according to Pomerantz (1984), primary assessments are found to be accomplished in two ways. The first is the declination with a claim of no access to, or insufficient knowledge of the particular referent in question. The second is the speakers' reports of their involvement in activities. They project the next turn to respond with agreement and disagreement rather than being concerned with the expression of agreement or disagreement. According to Heritage and Royman (2005), when first position assessments function as agreement, they are normally downgraded and the second position assessments are upgraded. However, this study finds that in

APPD agreements via assessment occurring as first position assessment differ from those in ordinary conversation, displaying as responds to the answers in the Q-A sequence. Here, only same assessments and up-graded assessments are found. This can be explained that the function of the first position assessments is context-dependent. In APPD, similar assessments functioning as agreement normally occur between panel members who hold the same political stances, which are employed to display supports affiliation whereas up-graded assessments as agreement normally occur between panel members and audience members, which demonstrate some extra efforts in the negotiation of intersubjectivity and affiliation between panel members and audience. This finding contributes to the knowledge on the correlation among assessment, agreement and affiliation.

In contrast with agreement realized by overlapping statement, overlapping applause differs in purpose and function. *Question Time* as an example of APPD features with the participation of co-present audience. That is, the audience in the studio can have a say at the immediate occasion of the debate. Constrained by the organization of the program, the audience only have two possible speakerships. The first is to be selected by the chair to speak and the other is to initiate applause to show agreement. The examination of what provokes the audience to applaud and how applause comes into play with overlapped statements sheds light on the establishment of mutual understanding and affiliation in the ongoing conversation. With respect to the synchronized overlapping applause, findings show that they are normally triggered by invited devices at TRP, displaying as non-competitive overlap, which is in line with Bull and Noordhuizen's (2000) study. This indicates that invited devices, including the new invited device via repetition of disagreement found in this study, are an effective strategy in establishing synchronized mutual understanding in the ongoing conversation. This strategy demonstrates that the current speaker actively pursue understanding, supports and affiliation from the audience. Regarding the use of three-part list device, it can be seen that it has been a well-recognized strategy among speakers and audience in the political settings. Thus, very frequently the audience initiates applause much

earlier than the completion point, which results in progressional overlap. This can be considered as an exception of invited devices which does not occur at TRP but still as non-competitive overlap. As far as the sequence organization of applause is concerned, the sequence displays that the invited applause does not stop the flow of the conversation or divert the agenda of the talk; rather, it displays in particular the effort made by the overlapping speaker in constructing mutual understanding and affiliation. These findings can be taken as evidence for this study to claim that the employment of rhetorical devices are context-dependent.

Regarding asynchronized overlapping applause, they demonstrate to be a mismatch and competitive overlap at non-TRP and project the next turn as a recompletion through repetition and self-repair. Two points are worth noting. One is that, when overlapping applause occur at non-TRP, it demonstrates as an occurrence of mismatch. This is due to the misunderstanding between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker. This can be explained that it is the co-present audience rather than the current speaker actively pursue supportive contents for the speaker. This supports Bull and Noordhuizen's (2000: 293) claim that "in the case of uninvited applause, members of the audience are not responding to invitations to applaud but are initiating applause in response to specific aspects of speech content". Thus, whenever the audience hear content they agree with, they will disrupt the conversation through initiating applause at the expense of the progressivity of conversation. This also informs the findings in Chapter 5 that APPD is a conversation which favors the display of intersubjectivity and affiliation over the progression of conversation. This disruptive applause operates as a way for the audience to perform and demonstrate their mutual understanding and affiliation in audible ways: they are literally making themselves and their affiliative stance heard and demanding recognition. The other is the interplay of overlapping applause and recompletion via repetition and self-repair (Section 6.4.2). It can be seen that, when the disrupted conversation via overlapping applause is recompleted by repeating the same syntactic structure, there appears no problem in the current speaker's accounts. When the disrupted conversation is recompleted by self-repair, it does not

necessarily mean that there are problems in the speaker's accounts. It may be that the repair occurs because the current speaker seeks for and finds a better way to convey their message. This displays that asynchronized overlapping applause are important interactional resources contributing to the construction of intersubjectivity in the ongoing conversation in their own right.

As discussed in Section 7.3.2, this study demonstrates and argues that agreement and disagreement are an important site for intersubjectivity which is less concerned in CA. This study argues that intersubjectivity in CA shares the that intersubjectivity is a type of agreement in the sense of having a shared definition of an object and mutual awareness of agreement or disagreement and the realization of such understanding or misunderstanding (e.f. Gillespie and Cornish, 2009).

In sum, Section 7.3 summarizes and discusses the findings of the two analysis chapters in relation to the existing research literature. The next section will discuss the overall findings and consider their implications for the nature of overlap, the intersubjectivity and the genre of APPD.

7.4 Implications

Based on the findings and discussion, this section discusses implications for the nature of overlap, intersubjectivity and the study of APPD. This study argues that overlap contains distinctive features in the maintenance and construction of intersubjectivity in interaction in the genre of APPD. First of all, in the examination of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause, overlap appears to be a context-dependent phenomenon and functions as a communicative facilitator, a problem indicator or an initiator of negotiation. The occurrences of overlap in the given setting can be attribute to the fact that APPD favors intersubjectivity over progressivity. In order to achieve mutual understanding of political stances for decision-making, disruption is implemented at the expanse of progressivity. This study argues that the occurrences of overlap in the ongoing conversation are closely associated with

intersubjectivity.

As based on the above discussion in this chapter, the general insight from this study is that overlap is not only involved with the breakdowns of intersubjectivity but also the negotiation of intersubjectivity in the context of APPD. This insight to some extend shed light on the architecture of intersubjectivity in the setting of APPD. Through the examination of the lens of overlapping occurrences, this research argues that the practices of overlapping questions and overlapping responses come into play to achieve intersubjectivity and the institutional goal in the context of APPD. The recurrent patterns of overlap in the talk of *Question Time* have demonstrated sequential progressivity, intersubjective problems, the distribution of epistemic knowledge, dis(agreement) and (dis)affiliation in the contribution to the shape and reshape of intersubjectivity. Those patterns provide evidence about the dynamic nature of intersubjectivity, illustrating how it needs to be actively negotiated as well as constructed, defended and maintained. Thus, this study provides concrete and substantial evidence from the APPD context that supports Schegloff's (1992) argument about how mutual understanding is created, recreated, disrupted and repaired in the course of interaction. This study argues that in the context of APPD the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity via overlap are implemented via the mechanism of repair and the processes of negotiation. More specifically, the management of intersubjectivity rests on the repair mechanism via questioning and negotiation mechanism via agreement and disagreement in this research. This research demonstrates how the breakdowns of intersubjectivity are initiated and repaired and how the agreements and disagreements are negotiated to shape and reshape intersubjectivity. This research shows that the development and achievement of successful communication is both context-dependent and greatly dependent on how participants manage intersubjectivity generally.

As a study of institutional conversation, findings on overlap in APPD support the claim that institutional talk is goal-oriented and context-dependent (Drew and Heritage, 1992),

This study illustrates how the interactional contingencies in terms of overlap trigger the coordination of the repair mechanism and the (dis)agreement mechanism of communication and how they come into play to achieve intersubjectivity to facilitate to fulfil the communicative goals in the context of APPD. The frequent occurrences of overlap are attributed to the institutional goal of APPD. In this setting, participants are offered more freedom to self-select to participate in the debate of the political issues. *Question Time*, as a form of APPD, shares some features with other media formats, such as news interviews, panel interviews and debate interviews, but differs in many other respects. It is characterized as a hybrid discourse that involves systematic shifting between speech exchange systems of interview and other speech exchange systems that more readily associated with disputations or confrontational talk, such as talk radio discussions or ordinary conversational argument. The occurrences of overlap indicates that APPD provides an arena in which participants can gain more freedom to manipulate democracy which calls for the direct participation of the public in politics. Thus, this study can be regarded as an expansion of the research in the diversity of broadcast formats.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a comprehensive discussion on intersubjectivity in relation to the findings in Chapters 5 and 6 in terms of the attributive dimensions of intersubjectivity, namely accountability, epistemic and affiliation. By doing so, I further explicate how intersubjectivity is constructed, enhanced, repaired and restored in relation to attributive dimensions in the setting of APPD. Based on the findings and discussion of the attributive dimensions, I argue in this research that intersubjectivity not only relies on the mechanism of repair when understanding problems emerge in the course of conversation but also rests on the mechanism of negotiation and display of disagreement and agreement. In the next chapter, I will make a final conclusion of this thesis by addressing the research questions, presenting the practical and theoretical contributions, pointing out the research limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis has been to explore how the practice of overlap plays a crucial role in the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity in the BBC program *Question Time*, which is used as an example of APPD. CA has been employed to analyze the practice of overlap in terms of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause. This investigation produces understanding about their recurring patterns in order to determine how they contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity in the ongoing talk in APPD. In this final chapter, Section 8.2 summarizes the findings and the discussion of this study in Chapters 5 -7 respectively and reviews how they address the research questions. Section 8.3 highlights the empirical and theoretical contributions of this study to the architecture of intersubjectivity from the CA perspective. Section 8.4 presents the limitations of this study while Section 8.5 ends with future research directions.

8.2 Summary of the Findings

As proposed in Chapter 1, this study aims to address the following research questions:

(1) How do overlapping questions occur in the setting of APPD? And how do they contribute to the architecture of intersubjectivity?

(2) How do overlapping statements and applause occur in the setting of APPD? And how do they contribute to intersubjectivity?

(3) How do the findings of overlap occurring in the setting of APPD shed light on the architecture of intersubjectivity?

The first two questions are addressed in Chapters 5 and 6 through an empirical analysis. The third question is addressed in Chapter 7 through a discussion of the findings presented in Chapters 5 and 6. With respect to the first two questions, Chapters 5 and 6 focus on examining overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping

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applause in the setting of APPD, including the interactional resources and precise ways through which participants construct and maintain intersubjectivity in the ongoing talk. Findings in Chapter 5 show that overlapping questions are mainly employed to initiate the mechanism of repair. That is, overlapping questions are used to solicit intersubjective problems and project the next turn to enact repair. Findings in Chapter 6 show that overlapping statements are used to evoke the mechanism of negotiation when agreements and disagreements emerge in the course of the talk, whereas overlapping applause are used to present the agreements from the audience who hold the same political stances. As far as the third question is concerned, in terms of overlap, this research argues that the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity not only rests on repair mechanism (Chapter 5) but also resides in negotiation mechanism (Chapter 6). The following will give a more detailed account about how the three research questions are addressed.

In answer to the first research question, Chapter 5 examines the role of overlapping questions during the debates and finds that overlapping questions function as soliciting understanding problems in the course of the talk. That is, overlapping questions function as a problem indicator, triggering and initiating the mechanism of repair. This study found that overlapping questions are used to function as *confirmation request, challenge, clarification* and *holding the agenda*, indicating the prior turns to be problematic.

Regarding the category of *confirmation request*, overlapping questions demonstrate that the intersubjective problems are *implicative disagreement*, *pre-challenge* and *narrowing positioning*. In other words, when overlapping questions display as confirmation solicitation, they demonstrate that current speakers pursue the confirmation of their understanding of the prior turns and simultaneously initiate the potential problems that emerge in the course of conversation. When overlapping questions occur as confirmation in *implicative disagreements*, overlapping questions either offer prior speakers opportunities to provide further accounts and defend

themselves in order to enhance the mutual understanding or they feature as a device of pursuing confirmation and accounts that work to initiate repairs via reformation in the competitive environment that characterizes APPD. When overlapping questions occur as *pre-challenge* confirmation, they function as both a confirmation of the questioner's understanding of the prior talk but, more importantly, they lay the groundwork for the ensuing challenge. This category of questions normally displays as declaratives and invites an affirmative or *yes* answer. By doing so, the talk is expanded and the politician's political stance can be explained more clearly to the audience. As the ensuing challenges are implemented and accomplished, these political stances can be exposed more fully and can become more intelligible. When overlapping questions display as *narrowing positioning* conformation, the analysis shows that all the instances of narrowing positioning occur at non-TRP, displaying as locating emerging problems that halt the conversation and implement the action of narrowing in the ongoing conversation. As the unfolding of the sequences of the talk, it can be seen that the third position overlapping question can function as narrowing the presupposition and agenda in the answer's account so as to pursue the answer relevant. Through this pre-insert sequence, it can avoid the action of evasiveness in the second pair part.

Regarding the category of *challenge,* overlapping questions via *why*-interrogatives display to manipulate the intersubjective problems which are concerned with the problem of epistemic asymmetry. When overlapping questions function as challenges at TRPs, they appear to be competitive. They solicit challenges to the prior turns and project the next turn as an opportunity for the answerer to counter the challenge, overtly indicating the epistemic asymmetry, such as being irrelevant, insufficient, ambiguous and untenable and the like. This type of overlapping *why*-formatted questions in the setting of APPD do not appear to be rhetorical questions which are unanswerable (Bolden and Robinson, 2003). Rather, this type of overlapping *why*-formatted question has the orientation to pursuing answers and accounts. Instead, it appears to function as a device to solicit the epistemic knowledge gap between participants and provides a way to balance the epistemic asymmetry for the construction of intersubjectivity.

For the category of *clarification*, overlapping questions as clarification solicitation is oriented to only occurring at non-TRP and functions as a type of typical initiation of repair. Different from the other-initiated repair usually done by the trouble-source speaker (Schegloff, 1992; Schegloff et al., 1977), the repair implemented by clarification in the data of this study display as *other-initiated self-repair, other-initiated other-repair and other-initiated no-repair.* The ongoing conversations are oriented to being disrupted by others but repaired by a variety of co-participants. The sequences of talk-in-interaction demonstrate that mutual understanding has the intrinsic characters of accountability and expanded sequences. In this type of overlapping questions, mutual understanding can be repaired, restored and achieved through the implementation of different co-present participants via *other-initiated self-repair, other-initiated other-repair, or even other-initiated no-repair* in the context of APPD.

Regarding the category of *holding agenda,* overlapping questions display to function as holding the speakers to get back to the agenda when answers are displayed to be evasive. This type of overlapping question displays as a trigger of a sequence of *other-initiated self-repair*. To date, this function has only found and discussed in this work and is specific to the setting of APPD.

In response to the second research question, Chapter 6 focuses on the examination of overlapping responses which consist of overlapping statements and overlapping applause, functioning as disagreements and agreements. This study found that overlapping statements function as soliciting the negotiation of agreements and disagreements for intersubjectivity and overlapping applause display to represent agreements for intersubjective understanding over the course of the debate with the aim for affiliation and decision making. Disagreements are accomplished through overlapping statements whereas agreements are accomplished by both overlapping statements and overlapping applause.

Regarding disagreements, they are implemented through *disagreements without accounts*, *disagreements with accounts* and *partial disagreements*. When disagreements realized through overlapping statements that are not followed by accounts, they demonstrate as a type of weak and non-confrontational disagreements. These are different from those in mundane conversation. In mundane conversation, weak disagreements normally display to be implemented through prefaces (Pomerantz, 1984). Through the employment of prefaces, interactants in mundane conversation can minimize the confrontation. However, it is found that, when disagreements without account in APPD are not prefaced, they do not display to be a strong and confrontational, but are instead weak and non-confrontational disagreements. In addition, in panel interviews, when interviewees directly address each other with disagreements, the disagreements display to be strong and intense and have the orientation of turning into confrontation (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). However, in the context of APPD, the disagreements between panel members that are not followed by accounts display as progressional overlaps in the course of talk and constitute as a kind of weak disagreements that does not lead to confrontation. This study finds that the overlapping spekers do not intend to compete for the speakership to account for their stances. Rather, they just want to take the opportunity to verbalize their opposing views to be heard. When disagreements between two speakers are followed by accounts, they display an orientation of constituting the confrontation disagreements which lead to the negotiation of political stances. This type of disagreements contributes to the negotiation of the two opposing stances and functions as a device to facilitate the audience to more fully access to the political stances and gain a better understanding in decision-making on the political issue. Partial disagreement has the orientation of occurring at TRP and displays as having an orientation of causing confrontation between interactants as disagreements arise. In this context, the illustration of the speaker's stance in partial disagreement, specifically, the agreement-plus-disagreement turn organization, contributes to the understanding that this structure functions as a contrast device to drive the progress of the conversation to the part of disagreement and has orientation to turn the conversation into conflicts. As more accounts are provided

through the development of conversation, political stances are further exposed and become more intelligible to the participants. By doing so, it can facilitate participants to develop a better understanding of the two opposing stances and gain a better knowledge on decision making on political issues.

The findings show that the action of agreement in the setting of APPD can be accomplished via (a) *acknowledgement*; (b) *assessment*; (c) *proposal*; and (d) *multi-disagreement*. First, as for the category of (a), the type of *acknowledgement* constitutes a weak agreement in the setting of APPD. It displays as a smooth understanding of the current speaker's stance and does not add new information in itself, functioning as demonstrating the affiliation of the two speakers who hold the same political stances. This indicates that the speakers do not need to make much effort to affiliate with each other. What they intend to do is to collaborate to demonstrate their same political stances to persuade and affiliate more of the audience. With respect to the category of (b), *assessments* are found to occur frequently between panel members and the audience members, they display as being intensified and function as strong agreements. The intensification of assessments indicates that the politicians need to make an extra effort to affiliate with the audience. Regarding the category of (c), the analysis shows that panel members' strong agreements with audience members can be constituted via proposals. They not only display the panel member's understanding of the audience member's political stances in the prior turns but also demonstrate a strong desire to affiliate with the audience. Finally, in terms of the category of (d), *multi-disagreement,* though the two speakers do not address to each other directly as being in agreement, their disagreements to the same party contribute to the understanding that they are actually in a relation of affiliation. They both provide complementary evidence to work together to argue against their opponent. Through adding new evidence, the overlapping speaker displays to be making some extra effort to support his/her ally to argue against their opponent. In sum, the review of the above four aspects suggests that the findings contribute to the knowledge of the action of agreement as an occasion of institutional interaction in the construction of mutual understanding, that is, how the politicians

expose their political stances and what strategies they employ to negotiate the intersubjectivity with the aim to affiliate more audience and achieve their professional goals in the setting of APPD.

In answer to the second research question, Chapter 6 shows that overlapping applause function as collective agreement from audience and make distinctive a contribution in the construction of intersubjectivity in this context. In terms of invited applause, overlapping applause mostly display to be non-competitive. Overlapping applause via three-part list as a type of invited applause also display as non-competitive. In addition, this study found that the applause invited via repetition can constitute as an effective rhetorical device to evoke the audience's applause at the possible completion point, displaying as non-competitive overlap. Thus, this research proposes that the repetition of disagreements can be regarded as an effective rhetorical device in evoking applause. It is worth noting that this has not been found in the studies of applause in literature even though applause has been studied in the settings of political speeches (Atkinson, 1984a; Bull, 2000; Bull, 2006; Bull and Wells, 2002; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986), news interviews (Eriksson, 2009) and comedy performances (Wells and Bull, 2007). This type of repetition can function as an invitation of an agreement at the possible completion point. Based on the observation of the invited applause organizational sequences, we propose that this type of invited applause sequence can be formulated as *disagreement - invited applause –disagreement account.* This expanded sequence organization displays that the invited applause does not intervene the flow of the conversation or divert the agenda of the talk but displays to pursue mutual understanding and establish affiliative relationship between the overlapping speaker and the overlapped speaker. The turn of disagreement account in the above sequence supports the argument proposed in Section 7.3 that accountability plays an important role in the course of political talk.

In terms of uninvited applause, the general feature in this given setting is that it is oriented to occurring as a mismatch at non-TRP and appears to be competitive.

Overlapping applause in this context embodies a clear bias in favor of uninvited applause over invited applause. That is, mismatches of applause occur more frequently than invited applause, which indicates that the co-present audience actively engage in seeking supportive content for political stances rather than waiting for the invitation via rhetorical devices. In addition, overlapping applause occurring as mismatches normally project the next turn to recomplete the disrupted talk. That is, when the current speakers are interrupted by the applause, they normally appear to fight for the floor to recomplete the disrupted accounts. Recompletions are normally accomplished via repetition and repair. Thus, the sequence organization displays as: *disagreement - uninvited applause - recompletion via repetition / repair.* This indicates that, on the one hand, the audience, as overlapping speakers, display an orientation in actively engaging in expressing their attitudes to the political stances at the expense of the progress of the talk. On the other hand, the overlapped speakers eagerly provide accounts for their political stances to defend themselves in order to affiliate those who have not held the same stances at that time. Thus, invited and uninvited overlapping applause sequences demonstrate that the interplay of speech and applause aims for negotiation of agreement and the construction of intersubjectivity for the sake of affiliation and decision making. This informs the claims made in Sections 7.2 -7.3 that APPD is a genre which favors intersubjectivity over progressivity and shows how accountability plays an essential role in this achievement.

In answer to the third question of what insights the examination of overlap in the setting of APPD provide for the theoretical construction of intersubjectivity in this medium, this study argues that intersubjectivity resides in the repair mechanism where there is a breakdown of intersubjectivity and on the negotiation of agreement and disagreement which are used to advance intersubjectivity. The examination of questions, statements and applause occurring in the form of overlap reveals that overlap is a context-dependent phenomenon in nature, which functions as a problem indicator and an initiator of negotiation of agreement and disagreement in the course of the conversation in APPD. Through the examination of the lens of overlapping occurrences, this research

argues that the practices of overlapping questions, overlapping statements and overlapping applause come into play to achieve intersubjectivity and institutional goals. The recurrent patterns of overlap in the debates during *Question Time* have demonstrated the development of sequential progressivity, intersubjective problems, the distribution of epistemic knowledge, dis(agreement) and (dis)affiliation in the contribution to the shape and reshape of intersubjectivity. Those patterns provide evidence that illustrates that intersubjectivity needs to be constructed, defended and maintained but also negotiated, which uncovers the dynamic nature of intersubjectivity. Thus, this study not only supports the claim that the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity is a dynamic process through which mutual understanding is created, recreated, disrupted and repaired in the course of interaction (Schegloff, 1992) but more importantly to propose that the construction and maintenance of intersubjectivity need to be negotiated. The management of intersubjectivity relies on diverse mechanisms which work together to construct the architecture of intersubjectivity, such as the repair mechanism via questioning and negotiation mechanism via (dis)agreements in the context of APPD. This research has illustrated how the breakdown of intersubjectivity is repaired and maintained and how the disagreements and agreements are negotiated, which work together to shape and reshape intersubjectivity in APPD.

Based on the findings and discussion in Chapters 5-7, this research argues that the development and achievement of intersubjectivity in APPD is a dynamic process which can be perceived through the lens of overlap. As a case study of institutional conversation, findings of overlap in *Question Time* demonstrate that APPD as a type of institutional talk is goal-oriented and context-dependent. This study has illustrated how the interactional contingencies in terms of overlap trigger the coordination of the repair mechanism and the (dis)agreement mechanism of communication and how they come into play to achieve intersubjectivity to facilitate to fulfil the communicative goals in the context of APPD. The frequent occurrences of overlap are attributed to the institutional goal of APPD. In this setting, participants are offered more freedom to self-select to participate in the debate of the political issues. *Question Time*, as a case of

APPD, shares some features with other media formats, such as news interview, panel interview and debate interview, but differs in many others. *Question Time* is characterized as a hybrid discourse which involves systematic shifting between speech exchange systems of interview and other speech exchange systems that more readily associated with disputations or confrontational talk, such as political debate, talk radio discussions or ordinary conversational argument. The occurrences of overlap indicates that APPD provides a different arena to manipulate democracy which calls for the direct participation of the public in politics. Thus, the findings of this study demonstrate the expansion of the research in the diversity of broadcast formats, which can be seen as addressing the call for "further investigation of not just how people remedy existing problems but also practices for *anticipating problems and preventing them from arising"* (Svennevig, 2008: 347).

8.3 Practical and Theoretical Contributions

The empirical examination and discussion on the nature of overlap in Chapters 5-7 make both practical and theoretical contributions to the field of intersubjectivity. Practically, in terms of the examination of overlap, findings of the recurred patterns of overlap demonstrate that overlap is a type of interactional resources which can be used either as an indicator of intersubjective problems or a device for the negotiation and display of intersubjectivity in the ongoing conversation. Existing research has tended to explore whether overlap is a device which facilitates or interrupts the conversation for the sake of intersubjectivity. The results here demonstrate that overlap in the context of APPD is a problematic indicator of intersubjectivity (Chapter 5) as well as a negotiating and displayed device used to reach mutual understanding (Chapter 6). Specifically, as a problematic indicator, overlapping questions in the setting of APPD demonstrate significant distinctive functions from those occurring as original questions which function as seeking political stances. In the implementation of overlapping questions, the function as holding the agenda has been so far only found in the setting of APPD. Moreover, overlapping statements as interactional resources which are used in the negotiation of intersubjectivity have not been found and discussed in the

interaction of media formats.

The empirical study of overlap also contributes to the understanding of the talk in APPD as a hybrid media format. The findings of this study show that compared with news interviews, panel interviews and political debates, APPD is a new hybrid media format. The talk in news interviews is more restricted in the question-answer format implemented by the interviewer and interviewee in turn. The talk in APPD differs from this because it blends that structure of news interviews with common conversation. This means that it follows the Q-A format in the implementation of the communication between the chair and participants, both the panel members and the audience members. However, in the course of the talk, all the participants have the freedom to interrupt the ongoing talk either for the purpose of understanding problems or the negotiation for mutual understanding. That means this media format provides an arena which allows the participants increased opportunities to express their opinions and negotiate disagreements. This can be taken as a new broadcasting media format to be in accordance with the need for the monitoring of democracy.

Theoretically, the micro-analysis and the findings on the recurring patterns or mechanisms of repair and negotiation provide significant insights in the construction of the "architecture of intersubjectivity" in both the given genre and a broader circumstance (see Chapters 5-6 for findings and Chapter 7 for discussion). Firstly, the analysis of overlap in the context of APPD has explicated two distinctive ways that participants in this media genre maintain and negotiate mutual understanding through their talk in the course of fulfilling the institutional goal of making political decisions. Chapter 5 has demonstrated that how the intersubjective problems are solicited and repaired, and Chapter 6 has demonstrated how intersubjective understanding are negotiated and displayed between the two opposing parties in the context of APPD. That is, the two forms of management of intersubjectivity have been considered to come to interplay to fulfil the institutional goal. From this, Chapters 5 and 6 have demonstrated that intersubjectivity not only resides in the mechanisms of

intersubjective repair but also intersubjective negotiation. In APPD, when the intersubjective problems emerge, they are normally solicited via overlap in the form of questions. When the intersubjective problems appear as disagreement, they are normally solicited via overlap in the form of statements. When the accounts of political stances receive agreement from the audience, they normally appear as overlap in the form of applause. The three forms of overlap constitute the mechanism of repair and the mechanism of negotiation in the architecture of intersubjectivity in the setting of APPD. Overlapping questions are concerned with the mechanism of repair when problems with understanding emerge. Overlapping statements are concerned with the negotiation of agreement and disagreement. Overlapping applause are concerned with the demonstration of collective agreement from audience. This means that problematic understanding and misunderstanding solicited via overlapping questions are important aspects which participate in the maintenance of mutual understanding in the architecture of intersubjectivity. More importantly, this study proposes that disagreements and agreements via overlapping statements and overlapping applause are important aspects of negotiation which contribute to the construction of mutual understanding in the architecture of intersubjectivity. In this, this argument ends up as an answer to address the question why overlap occurs so frequently in the course of the conversation in the genre of APPD.

8.4 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

This study has provided insight, knowledge, and contribution to the understanding of how intersubjectivity works in the genre of APPD with *Question Time* as an example. However, this study still has some limitations, which are the result of the constraints from utilizing CA as the research methodology, which can be taken as potential avenues for future research.

Firstly, to understand the issue of intersubjectivity in APPD, the research primarily focuses on three main linguistic and paralinguistic resources, namely, questions, statements and applause in the form of overlap, but does not include other paralinguistic

resources, such as gestures, nodding and many others that also contribute to the construction of intersubjectivity. How those interactional resources participate in the construction of intersubjectivity in the setting of APPD remain unexplored. As a result, this thesis therefore opens up the possibility for future research into these issues. Through further studies, it is expected that a more comprehensive understanding of the architecture of intersubjectivity in the setting of APPD can be achieved.

The second limitation, as discussed in Section 7.5, is that this study only examines intersubjectivity in the contingencies in APPD, which means that it is only executed within sequential organizations and does not posit the examined case of the study in a wider context, such as the social and cultural context of the case study. This means that, to achieve a better understanding of the issue of intersubjectivity, the data in this research can be examined by utilizing alternative theoretical frameworks, such as Systematic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis that can provide different approaches to perceive the data from social and cultural perspectives. These different approaches to the data of this study can provide a complementary understanding of intersubjectivity that cannot be achieved through the utilization of CA. It would be extremely valuable for the exploration of intersubjectivity if examples of APPD in other countries, that is, in other social and cultural settings, can be explored and compared. The research findings resulted in different social and cultural contexts can provide robust resources to shed light on this issue and the current study.

The third limitation is in that the methodological perspective of CA emphasizes objective perspective (See Section 1.2.3). Due to this, CA does not perceive intersubjectivity as an internal mental process (See Section 3.2.2). The focus is instead primarily upon intersubjectivity as situated in the social world rather the human mind. In CA, intersubjectivity is observed through the analysis of the sequential organization of contingencies. It is related to how the prior turn is understood through the response of the next turn. It does not account for the speaker's intention, feeling and other mental factors. Intersubjectivity is mainly judged through the organization of sequences.

However, one cannot deny that intersubjectivity as mutual understanding does involve mental factors. In the field of cognitive linguistics, intersubjectivity is considered to be the attribution of intentionality, feelings and beliefs to others (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009). Intersubjectivity involves cognitive processing of an individual brain. This also can be regarded as a complementary perspective which contributes to the issue of intersubjectivity. Thus, there should be an awareness that the examination of the architecture of intersubjectivity from CA can only provide a partial insight from the sequential interaction of conversation. There are still some other insights which need to be examined from other perspectives or research methodologies, such as systematic functional linguistics, critical discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics, which also can provide further possible avenues for future research related to this research project.

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