

**INTERACTIONAL PATTERNS OF THAI POLITICIANS'
ANSWERS DURING BROADCAST TV INTERVIEWS**

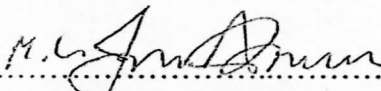
Kornkamol Waiyaraphutra

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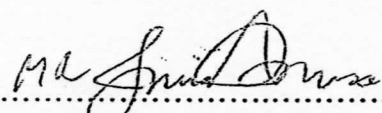
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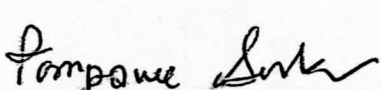
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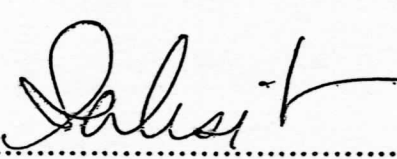
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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	Interactional Patterns of Thai Politicians' Answers During Broadcast TV Interviews
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Though a number of studies reveal different discursive techniques used by politicians during live interviews, few has been conducted in Thai political contexts. This study examines patterns of answering developed by the Thai politicians to respond to different types of questions in broadcast news interviews during an electoral campaign for Bangkok governor in 2013. With an application of conversation analysis (CA), this study also reveals the relationship between the interviewer (IR) and the interviewees' (IEs) discursive and cooperative practices in pursuing the institutional goals and role relationships.

In order to achieve the institutional goals under specific norms, the IR employed different techniques to reassure unbiased questioning namely footing shift. Also, the IEs constrained by institutional practice to provide responses accomplish such goal through various discursive techniques. The IEs' varied answering could be seen as a way to stay allowable in the particular context of news interviews and at the same time be persistent in their messages. Accordingly, the IEs' responding turns in this study are discussed in relation to topic and action relevancies to prior questioning turns. Empirically, the direct response occurs most when the interview questions concern general issues unconnected to the IE. The indirect response exists in various forms to signify either agreement or disagreement to the question that concerns personal characteristics, state of mind, and the IE's proposals. The non-responsive answer, on the other hand, is used by the IEs to avoid the IR's questioning turn that may be excessively complex to understand or excessively uncertain for them to provide commitment.

Despite the pre-determined roles constraining possible action for each party to follow, the IR and the IEs' mutual interaction in this study slightly altered the conventional relationship from questioner – answerer to facilitator – respondent. That is to say the IR was empirically found to use different discursive devices as well as interactional cues to invoke the IE's response, to make relevance and facilitate continuity of the IE's response, and to improve the IE's response to contribute to the success of the news interviews. The comprehensive knowledge provided by this study, therefore can be used as a guideline to gain insight into possibility of speech exchange, and to develop discursive practices for an interview that concerns political issues within Thai context.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	xi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 General Background of the Study	1
1.2 The Television Broadcasting Interview in Thai Context	2
1.3 Research Objectives	5
1.4 Scope of the Study	5
1.5 Significances of the Study	6
1.6 Organization of the Research	6
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Interview as an Interactional Social Phenomenon	8
2.2 Questioning in Institutional Interactions	11
2.2.1 Questioning in Classroom	12
2.2.2 Questioning in Policing	13
2.2.3 Questioning in Court	14
2.2.4 Questioning in Hospital	15
2.2.5 Questioning in Therapy	15
2.2.6 Questioning in Research Interview	16
2.2.7 Questioning in News Interview within the Context of Politics	17
2.3 Answering in News Interview within the Context of Politics	18

2.4	Interactional Features of Broadcasting News Interviews	19
2.5	Previous Conversation Analysis (CA) Studies on News Interview	23
2.6	CA Studies of News Interviews Internationally	24
2.7	The Studies of Political Discourse in Thailand	41
CHAPTER 3	METHODOLOGY	49
3.1	Research Questions	49
3.2	Philosophical Frameworks	49
3.2.1	Weber's Notion of Verstehen	51
3.2.2	Phenomenology	52
3.2.3	Symbolic Interaction	53
3.2.4	Ethnomethodology	54
3.3	Research Methodology: Conversation Analysis (CA)	56
3.3.1	Types of Basic Features in CA	58
3.3.2	Conversation Analysis Procedure	60
3.3.3	Conversation Analysis and the Concept of Context	62
3.4	Data Collection and Analysis	62
3.5	Information of Corpus Data	63
3.6	Methodological Justification of the Research	66
3.7	Methodological Limitation of the Research	69
CHAPTER 4	DATA ANALYSIS	70
4.1	Responses to Interrogatives	70
4.1.1	Responses to Neutral Interrogatives	71
4.1.2	Responses to Follow-Up Interrogatives	76
4.1.3	Responses to Interrogatives in the Form of Anticipatory Discourse	82
4.1.4	Responses to Negative Follow-Up (Judgment) Interrogatives	87
4.2	Responses to IR's Invitation to Talk	90
4.3	Responses to Declarative Statement	98
4.4	Responses to Declarative with IR's Negative Assessment of IEs' Proposals or Ideas	109

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION	118
5.1 The Structures of Response to Interrogative	119
5.1.1 Neutral Interrogatives – Responses	119
5.1.2 Follow-Up Interrogatives – Responses	122
5.1.3 Anticipatory Discourse – Responses	124
5.1.4 Negative Judgments – Responses	126
5.2 The Structures of Responses to IR’s Invitation to Talk	127
5.3 The Structures of Responses to Declarative Statements	129
5.4 The Structures of Responses to Declarative with IR’s Negative Assessment of IE’s Proposals or Ideas	131
5.5 The IR’s Cooperation to Actualize the Goals of News Interviews	134
5.5.1 The Techniques to Invoke the IE’s Responses	134
5.5.2 The Techniques of Making Relevance and Facilitating Continuity of the IE’s Responses to the Questions	135
5.5.3 The Technique to Improve the IE’s Responses	136
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS	138
6.1 General Conclusions	138
6.2 Contributions of the Research	142
6.3 Limitations of the Study	143
6.4 Recommendation for Further Studies	144
BIBLIOGRAPHY	145
BIOGRAPHY	153

LIST OF TABLES

Tables	Page
3.1 Demographic Information of Top Five Candidates in Bangkok Governor Election, 2013	64

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
4.1 Line 11 แต่เอาที่เด่นที่สุดให้เลือกที่จะพูดวันนี้เนี่ยสองเรื่อง	96
4.2 Line 13 ที่:(.)คนอื่น:ไม่มีหรือ(.)	96
4.3 Line 13 คนอื่น(.)ถึงมีก็ทำไม่ได้อย่างคุณพงศ์ศพัศ((ผายมือ))	96
4.4 Line 14 ครับคือจริงๆแล้วเนี่ยสิ่งที่ผมขออาสาสมัครนี้เนี่ยผมอยากจะคืนความสุข...	97
4.5 Line 1 คุณสุหฤทเป็นคนที่คุณเชื่อใน...	99
4.6 Line 1 ...<L2โซเซียวมีเดียL2>	99
4.7 Line 2 (.)	100
4.8 Line 4 ครับผมรู้สึกว่ามันมันเป็นเรื่องหนึ่งนะครับ...	100
4.9 Line 1 =แต่บางคนบอกผู้ว่าต้อง...	102
4.10 Line 1 ...เป็นอิสระ	102
4.11 Line 1 บางคน...	104
4.12 Line 1 ...คู่แข่งเค้าบอกว่าถ้าเกิด...	105
4.13 Line 1 ...เป็นเนื้อเดียวกัน...	105
4.14 Line 1 ...น้ำท่วมกทม.ไปแล้ว...	105
4.15 Line 1 ...คราวที่แล้ว	106
4.16 แต่ก็คือสมมติว่าสองล้านคน...	113
4.17 ...จริงอย่างที่>คุณสุหฤท<บอก...	113
4.18 ...หรืออาจจะมีคนในใจ...	114
4.19 ...ของเค้าอาจจะไม่ใช่คุณสุหฤทก็ได้...	114
4.20 ...ไม่ใช่ซะ	114

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

Equivalence

IE	An interviewee in general or in other contexts
IEs	Interviewees in general or in other contexts
IE _x	An interviewee in this study
IR	An interviewer both in other contexts and in this study
IRs	Interviewers in general or in other contexts
TCU	Turn construction unit
TRP	Transition relevant place

Symbols

Equivalence

[]	overlap
=	(1) connected line by the same speaker (2) one line starts shortly after another
(())	description of events; e.g. ((nodding)), ((laughter))
°words°	attenuated speech
(.)	micro pause, usually less than 0.2 of a second
:	prolonged or stretching sound, more colons indicate longer stretching sound.
wor-	cut-off word
>word<	compressed or rushed talk
word	stress or emphasis, more stress represents greater degree of stress
(XXX)	uncertainty on part of the transcriber but represent the most likely transcription of the talk.
(word)	uncertainty on the transcriber's part, yet presenting the likelihood

<L2 L2>	code switching; used of borrowed word from other languages
.hhh	audible breathe in sound
£	smile quality; the voice quality of the speaker who is smiling while talking
↓	low pitch

Sources: Transcription Conventions Adapted from Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Du Bois, 1991, 2006.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background of the Study

The early development of news interview in United Kingdom during 1950s was monopolized by the institutional practices of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The interview activity was perceived as a precisely planned action. The interviewers were “respectful prompters” (Wedell, 1968 quoted in Heritage, 1985) who questioned the famous public figures whose responses were usually prepared and simultaneously delivered to the audience. Moreover, Whale (1977 quoted in Heritage, 1985) argued that in broadcasting manner, the utterances were literally read aloud; therefore, the interview was not considered an authentic event of journalistic inquiry.

The practice continued until the arrival of the independent television with radical style of interview. This style was shown in a form of interactive and investigative style of interview which the answer given was no longer treated as stated fact by the interviewee but the object for further challenging and probing. Consequently, the news interview was gradually developed into an influential, versatile and energetic journalistic means of inquiry (Heritage, 1985).

Although the new style appears more aggressive, two institutional norms of interview which are objectivity and adversarialness (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p.227) are often found in the research on news interview. The norms seem to warrant that, despite their expected journalistic role of watchdog launching challenges and probing questions for common interests, the questioners need to be neutrally objective and unbiased. News interview is therefore “a functionally specialized form of social action produced for an overhearing audience and restricted by institutionalized conventions” (Heritage, 1985, p.112). Furthermore, Montgomery (2008) points out two distinctive features of interview comparing to other broadcasting genres of interaction. First, the interview works as talk for overhearing audience and second, it

explicitly pre-allocates roles for the participants (i.e. the interviewer and the interviewee). Thus, these roles invoke specific activities of talk for each participant to pursuit.

Being a simultaneous interactional activity, the news interview is socially organized on the basis of turn-by-turn interaction, and the turns then form question-answer sequences (Clayman & Heritage, 2002 quoted in O'Connell et al, 2004). Although the sequence of questions and answers which is the main structure of the news interview could also be found in other social activities, Montgomery (2008) argues that the questions employed in each situation reflect different goals, values and identities. That is to say, the questions could be variously designed in relation to the characteristics of the interviewees involved in the events. Thus Montgomery suggests four sub-types of news interview such as: (1) interviews with correspondents, (2) interviews with lay persons involving in the incidents, (3) interviews with experts and, (4) interviews with public figures. Among these, the interviews with public figures especially politicians receive the considerable attention from researchers possibly because they are accountable for the affairs being discussed and also they are the representatives of public sphere. Therefore, the way politicians as the interviewees construct different patterns of response to the question in news interviews is the main interactional phenomenon that this study aims to examine.

1.2 The Television Broadcasting Interview in Thai Context

Within the Thai context, television broadcasting was first operated approximately in 1920s as a mouthpiece of Thai authorities such as politicians, government officials and military. Later in 1950s, it was introduced to the public at large, with the goal to represent modernization of the country. In this early phase, the operation of the broadcasting included allocating the frequencies, issuing licenses, and controlling program contents, was fully given to the government, and thereby operated to enhance the political legitimation of the military-led government. Not until the coup of May 1992 did Thai people begin to question the accuracy of news reporting and by the end of the turmoil, independent television was established with the aims to report more liberal news and to act as a mouthpiece for minority groups in

the country (Monwipa Wongrujira, 2008). Accordingly, television news programs have applied more live interviews in order to highlight the originality of the information. Ruamporn Srisumanant (1998) proposes that the interview as part of televised programming are regarded as fascinating and more interesting to the audience because viewers are intuitively roused by curiosity towards the realities of the world. Moreover, the audiovisual involvement in the televised interview helps presenters of information earn creditability from the viewers.

Teerapap Wattanawicharn (2009) refers to the interview in general as the talk between an inquiring party and a responding party who attempt to reach a specific goal. Although the interviewer has the role to elicit the information from the interviewees, and to respond to public curiosity, he/she merely acts as mediator of the activity who assures the naturalness and idleness of the process while controlling other technical aspects such as timing (Ruamporn Srisumanant, 1998).

With similar goal to an interview in other contexts, news interviews with focus on political issues are normally conducted with the main aim to elicit information from politicians, experts and/or the incumbent. However, Thai politicians are generally found employing certain strategies in order to avoid providing answers to the interview questions. Suparhida Theamsomboon (1998) claims that Thai politicians in both impromptu and prepared interviews are alike in that they provided responses ranging from relevant and non-evasive answers, partial evasive answers to irrelevant or fully evasion. Furthermore, various types of hedging devices are empirically employed in order to increase degree of politeness. Conclusively, although Thai politicians in both interviewing contexts similarly responded to journalistic interrogations with the three types of responses, the irrelevant and fully evasive strategies were found more frequent in impromptu rather than prepared interviews.

From another perspective, the interview could also be used for other purposes such as promoting public relations with a wide range of audiences. Suwichit Sean Chaidaroon's (2010) study, for example, focused on the image building strategy of politicians through the analysis of former PM Abhisit's interview on a British TV program. Because the interview was conducted during Thailand's 2010 political turmoil, the study thus explored the interactional strategies used to manage interview

questions and how the interviewee mitigated possible damage and thereby restored the country's image. The study found that Abhisit adhered to two interactional strategies to control the interview. First, he used perturbation technique to accelerate the pace of his talk and thereby making it more difficult for the interviewer to interrupt with a statement or ask a question. Another interactional technique used was long and technical explanations. Because the interviewee's position as a nation leader was alleged as illegitimate, Abhisit then justified his position by using complicated and technical terms to describe Thai political process and explain how he became a prime minister through lengthy response. This practice functions to counter the interviewer's accusation and impede interruption. While the adversarial questions were handled by these interactional techniques, the interviewee was found using two image restoration techniques to regain the nation's image: provocation and transcendence strategies. These strategies were used to lead the audience's perception toward current situation in Thailand. The interviewee employed provocation technique to defend his counterattack on the protest pointing out that his action was responsive to violence and threats initiated by the protesters. Besides, the interviewee's use of transcendence strategy emphasized his attempt to resolve the political turmoil through law enforcement and process of democracy. This action thus led the audience to see the protest as unlawful and unjustified. Together with the interactional techniques used to control the talk, the image restoration strategies allow the interviewee to conjoin counterarguments that possibly shape more positive light on the nation's current political situation as well as his own reaction to the protest.

This study shows that broadcasting interview is an influential tool for communication, notably in political contexts. However, among the previous studies which explored micro detailed analysis of the social activities of interviews in political contexts, still none has provided a clear account of how the interview is sequentially organized, and how the interactional goals are accomplished. Also, what was not mentioned in the previous studies is the kind of relationship between the interactants could be revealed interactionally from the interviews. Furthermore, a large number of previous studies on political interviews have focused on questions seeking to uncover an interviewer's discursive strategies to maintain journalistic norms (i.e. objectivity and adversarialness) and yet appear unbiased. Therefore, little

attention has been paid to the part of answering; or the discursive strategies used by Thai politicians as the interviewees in broadcasting news interview to respond to different characteristics of the question.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study aims to uncover through Conversation Analysis (CA), in news interviews with focus on political issues on a broadcasting television program in Thailand:

- 1) How do the interviewees' design answers to respond to the interviewer's questions?
- 2) To what extent does the interviewer and interviewees work together to accomplish the goals of news interviews with focus on political issues?

1.4 Scope of the Study

Although Montgomery (2008) stated that there are several sub-types of news interview, this study focuses on the interviews of public figures, Thai politicians in particular. Because these politicians were candidates for the Bangkok governor election, their involvements and responsibilities concerning the campaign events were of public interest. In addition, the competition became more excited and serious because of the political tensions which resulted from dividing politics in the country as well as conflicts between two major political parties (Arevaaamy, 2013). To understand interview practices in Thai contexts, this study which explored patterns of responsive turns of Thai politicians in broadcasting news interviews was conducted based on a methodological framework of CA with a focus on institutional talk. The corpus of data was collected and transcribed from interview sessions of “เจาะข่าวเด่น (cho-khwao-den)”; an evening news program broadcast on Thailand's Channel Three. The interviews under study were hosted by a well-known journalist, Sorayuth Sathassanachinda, and the sample interviewees were five candidates who were in the running for Bangkok governor in 2013. Each session of the interviews, which

generally covered the candidate's electoral campaigns, career achievements and personal experiences, was separately broadcast shortly before the actual election in February 2013.

1.5 Significances of the Study

Upon completion, this study is expected to provide various significant contributions to those who are interested in CA or social interaction studies. For individuals who are interested in CA, this study provides understanding and an insight into patterns and processes of news interviews concerning political issues in Thailand. In other words, it reveals how the questions are actually treated, either with answer, evasion, or non-answer. Moreover, the study's findings could serve as a guidance for those in political careers to develop and improve their discursive practices for political gain in public interviews. In addition, Thai voters could learn from the findings which show the politicians' different types of responses as well as the way these answers are constructed. According to this, the voters are able to expose and rate the relevance and accuracy of the politicians' responsive turns to the interview questions. Thereby, the knowledge on the politicians' interactional patterns of answers could help the voters to form their political decision. Importantly, this study provides an initial step to explore answering patterns in other Thai contexts of interaction.

1.6 Organization of the Research

This study is thus divided into six chapters. Chapter one introduces background on the journalistic interview, particularly in the Thai context together with research objectives, scope and significance of the study. Chapter two reviews the concept of the news interview as a social phenomenon, questioning in different institutional practices, answering in news interviews within the context of politics, interactional features of political interviews, conversation analysis in news interviews and related studies. Chapter three presents research questions together with a discussion on the philosophical frameworks of conversation analysis and its procedures as a research methodology. In addition, this chapter provides information

about data, data collection and analysis, methodological justification and the limitations of the study. Chapter four reveals analysis of the collected and transcribed data together with the qualitative interpretation of the interactional mechanism employed by Thai politicians in broadcasting news interviews. Chapter five offers a discussion of the significance of the findings in accordance with the theoretical framework and evidence from previous studies. Lastly, chapter six concludes with suggestions for application of the findings and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the concept of the news interview as a social phenomenon; questioning in different institutional practices; answering in news interviews within the context of politics; the interactional features of political interviews and; previous studies on news interviews both internationally and in Thailand. The first section explains the significance of the news interview as a tool for eliciting information and as a medium for political messaging. Moreover, it explains how the normatively predetermined social roles that regulate the social structure of a particular practice are eventually recognized as certain types of social activity. The second section then describes distinct forms of questioning act employed in different social contexts in accordance with their different institutional goals. The third section reveals how participants in an interview context could answer and/or evade answering through appropriating different linguistic resources. The fourth section discusses how conversation analysis (CA) has been applied to analyze journalistic interviews. The last section reviews previous studies based on CA and discourse studies which have analyzed news interviews with politicians both in international and Thai contexts.

2.1 Interview as an Interactional Social Phenomenon

Interviews in any format are considered a significant social interactional phenomenon. Clayman and Heritage (2002a) state that the news interview is a basic, yet crucial journalistic tool needed for seeking information. With advanced technologies and increasing frequencies of broadcasting, the news interview has become considered a means of presenting live and spontaneous interaction readily available for public exposure and consumption.

The development of the news interview has been intertwined with the evolution of journalism and politics. In the United States, journalistic interview with national government officials was not allowed during the first fifty years of the

nation's existence. Even when such activity became available at a later time, journalistic questioning of public figures or government officials was criticized and considered a peculiar action (Clayman, 2004).

Clayman claims that the end of the Fairness Doctrine (1949-1987) – a policy developed by the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) that demanded that broadcasting be presented to the public with multiple perspectives, has loosened pressure and oversight from federal governmental inspection of news content. As a result, journalists then take advantage of this lack of governmental interference in news content by scrutinizing more scandalous issues that might severely affect people's lives, especially politicians.

The practice of the interview or political interview, began in the 1830s with the American penny press – the first paper claimed to report facts rather than opinions. Following this, the publication of authentic pieces of interviews has become regular and available by the late 19th century. This recent format of news presentation has been widely conducted across the United States and slowly expanded to Britain and other European countries. Nonetheless, the unfamiliar practice of news interview was criticized for being bogus and unnecessarily overbearing journalistic task (Schudson, 1994). Despite sparse criticisms, in the early 20th century, Schudson (1978, 1988 quoted in Clayman, 2004.) claims that the news interview has grown to be considered a normative practice for professional journalists due to the increasing respect and popularity of journalistic institutions. According to these positive changes, there was the emergency of the new direction of political units to use public relations as a way to governance (Kernell, 1986; Tulis, 1987 quoted in Clayman, 2004, p.33).

Clayman also asserts that the change from traditional ways of news reporting in form of narration or story to the spoken interaction-based news broadcasting, receives a considerable public attention because it entails the quality of eventfulness, spontaneity and liveliness which in turn, denotes one of the outstanding characteristics of news broadcasting i.e. to present live programs.

Also, the increasing number of news outlets have fostered highly competitive economic conditions in the media marketplace. Such conditions have affected the attitude of the media institutions, who are now more concerned with costs and benefits (i.e. profits). As a result, journalists and media moguls are constantly

searching for new and innovative formats to present news and current affairs programs.

The organization of the interview has been progressively developed with the focus on a competitive atmosphere among journalists and broadcasters, rather than only a scripted presentation of the news. The unique characteristic which distinguishes news interviews from other media interactions is that the interview is usually conducted by professional journalists who seemingly interrogate public figures – the persons whose opinion or action could affect issues of social interest and thereby influence the public at large.

The news interview could be seen as an institutional interaction in itself because there are normatively predetermined roles of participants as an interviewer (IR) or an interviewee (IE). Furthermore, such activity is regulated by the institutional norms and conventions which require interview participants to follow. Though the normative practice of the news interview is usually achieved, the participants, and to some degree the viewing or listening audience, may not fully realize that the norms and conventions are there, accept when such norms and conventions are violated. The nature of interaction in news interviews is mainly accomplished as question and answer sequences which are believed to be highly formal.

In addition, journalistic questioning in interviews relies on two other professional norms, (1) being objective, and (2) adversarial (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). For being objectives, journalists must position themselves as neutral and unbiased during the interview despite their professional assumption to presume a role of public watchdog. Although the journalists could challenge public figures' interest through adversarial questions. The adversarial questions often encode presupposition thus making the IEs struggle to provide either acceptance or denial. For example, Clayman (2004) points out that one of the resources available for an IR to formulate an adversarial question is the preliminary statement; or the statement which supplies the audience with background information thus rendering the question clear and simple enough to understand. Yet, the provision of the statement might be adversarial because it is paraphrased based on the IR's interpretation.

Clayman also suggests that questioning in journalistic interviews has become more adversarial and aggressive over years. The increasing level of adversarialness

may be influenced by the revolution of counter-responses of public figures or officials (the IEs) who use more sophisticated strategies in answering, often with assistance from a media consultant (Jones, 1992 quoted in Clayman, 2004, p.36). During interviews, public figures are situationally compelled to provide answers, they have to manage the spontaneous and potentially hostile questions in order to defend themselves while appearing answering to the questions. Politicians must also be able to effectively develop their understanding about particular issues and situations, as well as knowing how and when to shift their positions in order to secure public support.

The IE's use of resistant or evasive response strategies not only allows him/her to survive adversarial questions but also enables him/her to steer the talk into a more desirable direction. Although the IE is capable to construct evasion during the live interview, such action proves that the normative practice which requires the IE to provide an answer remains a significant and salient feature of the contemporary news interview genre (Clayman, 2001).

2.2 Questioning in Institutional Interactions

Although the question and answer sequence has been adopted as a tool for information gathering in a number of institutions, the differences in institutional goals influence the ways in which each question and answer sequence would be carried out. According to Tracy and Robles (2009), questioning is largely conducted during interaction. Through the social act of question and answer sequencing, institutional goals and values together with specific social identities are constructed and realized. The discourse of questioning; therefore, reflects institutional realities, assumptions, expectations, possibilities, explanations and arguments (Cox, 1981; Garfinkel, 1981; Schiappa, 2003 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.132).

The questioning act could be realizable via different forms. In other words, eliciting information could be pragmatically understood as a question without explicit interrogative form. Basically, the question is recognizable from its linguistic formulation of interrogative words to include: wh-questions, auxiliary verbs, and tag constructions (Steensig & Drew, 2008). Furthermore, Koshik (2005) notes that the

declarative statement could be comprehended as a question when it is produced with rising intonation, or designed to assert something that the recipient has more right to claim (e.g. “You’re coming tomorrow.”). These questions would normally be employed differently across contexts depending on the specific goals of the interaction. For example, in the classroom context, questions serve different functions and emerge in a variety of ways such as yielding verification (yes-no question), and retrieving reasoning (wh-question) (Graesser, 1990; Lehnert, 1978 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009). In addition to the main purpose of questioning to elicit information, the act of questioning could variously perform other tasks such as to request, to invite, to correct, to assert, to demonstrate affiliation or disaffiliation, or to endorse. These purposes would be accomplished through the design of questions. In addition to the forms and functions of the questions that might be distinctively carried out, institutional encounters also normatively assign specific roles to the parties involved via questioning and answering acts. For example, in a courtroom, the attorney mostly performs the act of questioning while the witness performs the act of answering. Accordingly, the preference of using different forms is relevant to the function centered to the institutional goals (Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.134). In what follows the roles of questioning in a variety of contexts are discussed.

2.2.1 Questioning in Classroom

Dillion’s (1988 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009) investigation of question in classroom contexts provides some insight to suggest that questions from teachers constitute knowledge. The teacher who performs the act of asking is not in the pursuit of knowledge, while the students seeking new knowledge are not in charge of asking. However, such incidents might be a result of the academic relationship and status of the teacher in relation to the students (Goody, 1978 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.142). Because the recipient of the question or the student is responsible to provide an answer. If the question was produced by the students, it might therefore need extensive hedges or deference to legitimate their lack of knowledge (Pomerantz, 1988 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.142).

Through students’ questions, the superior status of the teachers can be challenged. Moreover, the students might feel embarrassed since the questions they

ask might reveal a limited degree of knowledge they have (Miyake & Norman, 1979; Tracy & Naughton, 2007 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.142). The empirical support for the fact that students rarely questioned in classroom whereas the teachers were disinterested in receiving a new body of knowledge was found from the three-part interaction sequence known as the initiation-response-evaluation or IRE sequence (Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.142). The process routinely begins with the teacher's initial question (I) prompting the students to respond (R) whereby the teacher evaluates the answer given (E). Another function of questions in the classroom context is that it serves, indirectly, as a scaffolding tool for students to learn. Bloom (1956 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.142), categorizes questions in the classroom in relation to their functions either to seek for facts and explanations, to call for application, or to analyze, synthesize and evaluate.

2.2.2 Questioning in Policing

In the case of policing, Shuy's (1998 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009) study of police and suspect's interactions offers distinctive definitions of the terms interview and interrogation. For Shuy, the interview refers to a process of gathering information for decision-making, while interrogation is used in the questioning period which aims to have the suspect confess or accept the accusation. Though the two processes entail different goals, they are often intertwined in the institutional practice of policing. Shuy (1998 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.136) however, comments that during questioning the police interviewers should accomplish the activity in conversation-like style. He further suggests that they use approaches such as probing, inquiring and guiding with more open-ended questions. In addition, the linguistic formation should be relaxed and informal such as the use of contractions (e.g. "can't is a contraction form of cannot"), continuer tokens (or back-channeling e.g. 'uh huh' and 'yeah') to prompt responses and small personal comment (e.g. thanking another party for his/her cooperation) (Shuy, 1998 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.136). Furthermore, Shuy suggests that police IRs be cautious during interrogation, the police IRs must not intertwine the purpose of seeking information with persuasion. The questions in the interrogation session should thus be clear and simple

to understand. Tracy and Robles (2009) claim that Shuy's discursive examination of police questioning has several issues; each of which asserts different degrees of criticism toward fairness of the questioning between the police and non- native English speaking suspects. For example, Eades (2002) disclosed that the police, questioning Aboriginal teens, employed redundant actions through the forms of repetition of question, questioning with simultaneous propositions and shouting in order to gain inadvertent agreement from them. Adding to this, Leo (1996 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.137), revealed that the American police employed certain ways of questioning so as to have the suspect disregard their Miranda rights, the right to be silent during interrogation with the presence of an attorney.

2.2.3 Questioning in Court

Archer (2005 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009) claims that during the 17th and 18th century England, the law developed into a profession which authorized the act of questioning solely to attorneys instead of having ordinary people speak to defend themselves. Correspondingly, Atkinson and Drew's (1979 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.137) discursive study of courtroom interaction showed that the act of questioning was designed to steadily build up a narrative sense, to have the witness accept or reject the narrated story. The development of a narrative story within a question and answer sequence is then vital to the process since the narrated story could shift the accusation away from certain individuals, and in effect deflect blame (Drew, 1992; Penman, 1990 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.137). Accordingly, attorneys are usually cautious regarding the possible consequences that different designs of questions would affect.

A more recent trend has placed considerable attention comparing different formulations of questions in direct examination – the primary process of questioning to seek evidence from the witness conducted by the same party that calls him/her to testify and cross examination – the latter process of questioning where the witness is interviewed or interrogated by an opposing party with the intention of laying blame or challenging prior testimony. Heffer's study (2005 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.137) revealed that in direct examination the attorneys frequently oriented to the design of questions that could provide ample opportunity for the witness to explain

and give information in exact and detailed ways, such as using wh-question. On the other hand, the design of confirmation checks was found to be more frequent in cross-examination, such as yes-no questions and declaratives – use of short and leading statements linguistically designed to gain a supportive answer to the argument one expects to make.

2.2.4 Questioning in Hospital

In hospitals or medical contexts, question and answer sequences are extensively used during doctor and patient interactions for initial diagnosis and consultation. Doctor-patient interaction episodes normally involve the patient's claims, requests, and complaints about their bodies and/or symptoms, followed by the physicians' diagnoses by means of physiological or medical tests (Tracy & Robles, 2009). According to Mishler's (1984 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.138) study, the questioning in this context should be sensitive to moral and social conventions because the questions used to collect background information of the illness might involve the sociocultural conditions or the lifestyles of the patients; i.e. their sexual activity, as well as drug and alcohol use. As a result, certain questions might prompt patients to lie because giving genuine answers might invoke specific negative images and possible threats to the patient's social face (Vincent et al., 2007). Also the unequal exercise of power and bias between experts and lay people could be studied via the interaction of participants in this context. One such example is Stivers and Majid's (2007) study which found that in medical interactions pediatricians directly questioned white children significantly more often than Latino or black children. The questions for the non-white children; however, were directed to their parents. The result infers that through the pattern of questioning, medical experts in this study assumed that questions would be more intelligible to white rather than non-white children.

2.2.5 Questioning in Therapy

Though questioning in medical and therapeutic contexts are similar in their attempts to provide help for the patients, questioning in therapeutic contexts aims to have people talk rather than to collect background facts for diagnosis. Therefore, the

questions in this context allow for longer narration of people's life and incidents relevant to their current problems (Tracy & Robles, 2009). Accordingly, Chenail and Fortugno (1995 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.139) suggest that the power relation between the therapists and their patients is relatively less one-sided in comparison to that of medical doctors and their patients. Because people seeking therapy are normally in need of considerable support emotionally or physiologically, therapists should communicate in an affirmative and understanding manner. Albrecht et al., (1994 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.139) propose that therapists should pay particular attention to face-work because the people suffering from low self-esteem, shame and embarrassment tend to be socially vulnerable. In addition, Anderson and Goolishian (1992 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.139) suggest that therapists should design their questions from the position of an unknowing audience and treat their patients as knowledgeable persons for his/her specific problem.

2.2.6 Questioning in Research Interview

Unlike questioning in other contexts which collects the response as data for decision-making or provision of diagnosis, the research interview is normally used to collect information to explore respondents' behavior or attitudes towards certain issues. The role of questioning could be divided in accordance with the type of research interview, survey or qualitative interview. Initially originating from market research and polling in politics, the survey interview which uses text extensively is considered as the best possible way to express the questions in sequential order as a methodological device to collect information (Tracy & Robles, 2009). Questioning in survey interviews is inflexible and straightforward in nature. The survey interview also creates less adversarial atmosphere due to the need to collect standardized and categorized responses. Therefore, participants are framed to provide a predetermined set of possible answers. To the contrary, the qualitative interview is invented in response to the lacuna of the survey interview i.e. it allows a descriptive answer. The IEs are able to provide lengthy accounts or explanations with minimal continuer tokens, or without acknowledgement or pre-given choices of answers from the interviewer. Later on, the interview is re-conceptualized as a co-constructive interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Briggs, 1986; Douglas, 1985; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995 quoted in Tracy & Robles, 2009, p.141).

2.2.7 Questioning in News Interview within the Context of Politics

The use of questions in political contexts is ubiquitous especially in media interaction between journalists and public figures, particularly broadcasting interviews with an overhearing audience (Tracy & Robles, 2009). As mentioned elsewhere in this literature review that the changes in economics and advances in technology have positively affected the development of journalistic interview, the televised interview thus receives enormous attention because it offers an inexpensive and approachable format with liveliness and simultaneity (Clayman, 2004). The news interview in this context is a social phenomenon mainly processed through the management of question and answer sequences. Following institutional norms, the political journalist, as an IR, is expected to be objective yet adversarial. Accordingly, the political journalist while questioning may orient to particular discursive strategies in order to remain neutral and unbiased, at the same time, may use resources that allow him/her to introduce arguments or accusations within the question turn. Furthermore, the politician IE who is equally under close public scrutiny in televised interviews has been empirically found to use specific discursive devices to sidestep, evade and escape from the unpalatable questions (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). Having to survive this unscripted and dynamic interaction, public figures, particularly politicians have to develop their abilities to speak while coping with unexpected questioning in a proper manner.

Though questions in the different contexts are designed in different forms, they perform the same function of suggesting particular goal of each interview and constraining possible answers. However, questioning as well as answering in broadcasting news interview in political context might be exceptional. That is to say while the act of questioning and answering in other genres is produced for known recipients and audiences, such act in the news interview is produced for a wide range of audience with an aim to gain the people's support. Based on this practice, answering in broadcasting news interview, particularly political context is revealed in interesting patterns of answering.

2.3 Answering in News Interview within the Context of Politics

Heritage (2002) suggests that the answer as a responsive action would be normatively recognized as preferred answer only when it relevantly responds to the question. This is because the questioners would normally monitor the subsequent turn of talk in order to determine whether it addresses the topic or action agenda within the parameter of previous questions (Schegloff, 1968, 1972 quoted in Clayman, 2001). In other words, answering occurs when IEs connectedly respond to the topics and/or action required by the preceding question. Though such an act of answering seems clearly defined, Clayman (2001, p.407) argues that there is no definite way to assure what act of answering is to be followed.

The act of answering is dissimilar to the act of questioning because the questioning could be easily recognized and indicated through different linguistic devices such as interrogative syntax. In response to this, Clayman's study claims that the IEs could perform the act of answering through different discursive strategies such as: roundabout trajectory – the answer could be built up via fragments of talk that seem irrelevant to the topic discussed; minimal answer plus elaboration – the answer equipped with a word or phrase concerning information sought by the question (e.g. yes/no or the adoption of certain words or phrases from the question) and is followed by elaboration, endorsement or explanation; indexical expressions – the answer with anaphoric reference (e.g. pronoun) showing close connection between the answer and its preceding question; and discourse markers – the answer that is initiated with a discourse marker (e.g. because) which connects back to the prior question. In addition to this, Clayman further suggests that the IEs occasionally supply evasion in their responsive turns. Empirically, the IEs could reverse the IR's control and discursively alter the course of talk. Also such resistance is evidentially found in both an overt and covert manner, this not only allows the IEs to evade or side step from unpleasant questions but also provides them with a chance to build their cases for political gain. Although such study has laid groundwork for research on answering in news interview, a limited number of studies have been carried out on the news interview with focus on political issues in Thailand.

2.4 Interactional Features of Broadcasting News Interviews

According to Ekström (2007), theories of interaction as well as social and cultural theories have been taken into account so as to gain deeper understanding on practices and roles of journalism nowadays. Because almost all journalistic productions, news in particular, are in formats that involve broadcasting ongoing talk-in-interaction, understanding the roles and journalistic practices is integral to comprehending the immediate context of its production. The ongoing exchange of information in interviews becomes a prime site of data that could potentially be used later as a representation of news stories (Ekström, 2001). Heritage and Clayman (2010) add that though there are various forms of news production, the unique features of this particular interview format are a result of its unscripted and dynamic nature, including its imagined audience. As an institutional activity, the news interview then must be operated under specific norms and conventions.

Centered on the question and answer sequence, the news interview comprises two parties enacting pre-given roles of IR and IE. In addition, its institutional characteristics include particular goals, norms of practice and orders of action. The interview participants normatively orient themselves to a distinctive interactional system of interviewing in order to co-construct mutual understanding of the issue under discussion. Thus, interview talk differs from ordinary conversation in the sense that the participants' behavior and practice are systematically tied to the institutional norms, i.e. only the IR is legitimate for asking whereas the IE is obliged to provide the answer (Ekström, 2007). Furthermore, Heritage (1985 quoted in Ekström, 2007, p.967) states that live broadcasting of the interview reveals clear maintenance of the institutional norms because during the aired-time, the IR normatively projects his/herself as being neutral by avoiding personal pronoun use when asking questions, and elaborating on the IE's answer with a new question instead of assessing or giving a personal or subjective view.

The distinctive interactional patterns have influenced the systematic development of CA as a research tool to study the micro interaction between the IR and the IE in news interviews. CA principally believes that the social interaction could be understood via the detailed analysis of natural ongoing talk. According to

Sacks' (1998) assumption suggesting that there is an order at all point of interaction (Ekström, 2007, p.21), the production of verbal or non-verbal acts are not random but they are strategically produced for specific purposes. The acts are also perceived as an attempt to cope with certain conversational problems, to achieve specific action, or to perform particular roles of the speaker in the interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973 quoted in Ekström, 2007, p.966).

Thus, the focus of CA mainly covers patterns of interaction, form and the function of utterances and non-verbal actions performed during the process of interaction. The analysis is based on theory of the next turn proof procedure (Sacks et al., 1974, p.729 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004) or the procedure of interpretation which believes that the next turn of talk could be used as a proof of meaning of the prior turn. This process of analysis is therefore an emic analysis. Through CA application, Ekström (2007) concludes three salient aspects revealed to be relevant to the news interviews, particularly in political context: asymmetry of power dimension, questions of legitimacy, and the change in frameworks of news interview as a form of institutional discourse.

First, asymmetry of power dimension asserts that the power dimension is ubiquitous in all social interactions including news interviews. Since the pre-established power could be re/produced, negotiated and maintained, the asymmetry of power between the IR and the IE could be explored through micro-analysis of CA. Clayman and Heritage (2002a) add that the basic norms of the interview empower the IR to: (1) oversee the trajectory of the entire session, (2) initiate talk embedded with assumption that the IE is compelled to provide comment, (3) set the agenda and 4) indicate desired actions for the IEs to act. Accordingly, the IEs, particularly politicians, who are challenged with different degrees of adversarial questions are vulnerable due to their need to preserve good image and social face. Although the IR seems to hold more power in this interactional activity, the power relation is negotiable and thereby resulting in shift of power to the IEs. For example, the IEs in some studies (Clayman, 1993, 2004; Rasiah, 2010) show distinctive discursive techniques such as reformulation of the question that allow them to sidestep the hostile questions and, sometimes take control of direction of talk.

Second, the question of legitimacy concerns how the journalists maintain the legitimacy of the questions. According to Ekström (2007) the remarkable

journalistic role as a watchdog validates the journalists' practice of probing questions to those such as politicians whose decisions are deemed significant to the public. The political interview format thus often involves the interview questions that challenge the people being interviewed to provide answers or accounts for their actions to public audience. Also Ekström adds that modern journalism is influenced by commercial interests, therefore, journalists strive to keep public interest while providing sensational and enjoyable programs. However, journalists must balance between two professional norms of being objective, yet adversarial, so as to meet the public demand without being criticized as going up on a soapbox or being disrespectful (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). As a result, concern over how journalists maintain the legitimacy of their questions arises. CA has been used as a research tool to seek out what mechanisms are used in order to legitimate questioning. In his study, Also the IRs employ different types of resources to form legitimate questions or questions that allow them to appear to "align with the public" (Clayman, 2002, p.200). The practice that helps the IRs become part of the public could be achieved through the design of the question, whereby they place the responsibility of the question onto different parties such as experts and government officials. The example of a question which is assigned to third party, namely experts and government officials is shown in extract 1.

Extract 1

ABC Nightline, 22 July 1985, South Africa

- 1 IR: → Reverend Boesak (.) Ambassador Beukes makes the
- 2 poi:nt (.) that you can't have any discussions you can't
- 3 have any progress in South Africa until the violence
- 4 stops..hhh And therefore the state of emergency is
- 5 necessary. Fair? (p.200)

From this extract, the IR forms his question by referring to the third party, Ambassador Beukes as an author of the criticism which the IR is only the animator.

Moreover, there are questions ascribed to more general references such as 'the audience', or 'citizens', or 'people' as shown in extract 2.

Extract 2

ABC Nightline, 6 June 1985, Nuclear Waste

- 1 IR: Mister Pollard uh:: that's- (.) kind of a f:ascinating .hhh
- 2 → background because I'm sure people are particularly
- 3 concerned what would cause someone to resign. What do
- 4 you mean: .hh when you say you felt the agency was
- 5 not adequately protecting the public's health 'n safety. (p.199)

The IR, in this extract, justifies his question by claiming that what he is asking is a point concerned by the people in general and thereby hoping to get an account for the particular event.

It is noted that these defensive ways of questioning are formed in situations which involve criticism, and discussion of sensitive or delicate issues.

Third, there is change of frameworks of news interview as a form of institutional discourse. Based on conventional practice of news interviews, though they are in political context, the discourse of journalists and politicians is normatively shaped to follow the particular roles of the IR and the IE respectively. These social roles, in turn, constrain them to perform particular behaviors and actions during the interaction. That is the IR must adhere to journalistic norms in order to appear neutral and objective during interrogative work and the IE is interactionally obliged to cooperate and respond. However, commercial competitions have influenced development of the news interview format and activity and thereby resulting in various interactional organizations which are shown distinctively from other to one another (Ekström, 2007). For example, Ekström (2007, p.970) showed the change in traditional interrogative work (question–answer) during the Swedish electoral campaign in 2006. The study revealed that the IRs had incorporated mundane talk and gossip into the conventional journalistic practice. Specifically, the IRs were found to use the third turn to respond to the prior answer in a way that empirically discarded the neutral stance which is a foundation of the profession. Further analysis also showed that politicians as IEs crossed the normative line of practice (i.e. to provide answer) by asking certain questions. In conclusion, the organization of these interviews though largely comprised of question-answer sequences was mixed with

the adjacency pair of joking – laughter. Such actions enabled audiences to perceive themselves as the recipients of the joke thus responding with laughter. This kind of interaction was then considered a way to produce private interaction within public context possibly aiming to create interesting and entertaining program for commercial purposes.

2.5 Previous Conversation Analysis (CA) Studies on News Interview

Conversation analysis (CA) has been developed based on the sociological idea that language is a mediating tool which humans use in order to complete social activities and social orders. According to Heritage and Clayman (2010), there are two traditions for conversation analysis (CA); the analysis of ordinary conversation, and the analysis of institutional conversation. The prior type of analysis was earlier developed by Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1972 quoted in Heritage, & Clayman, 2010) in an attempt to identify recurrent patterns of ordinary conversation locally interpreted as having specific meaning for the participants. The second type of CA studies institutional talk in particular settings where the interactional aim is to achieve institutional goals, and to perform different social roles orienting to its peculiar norm of speech exchange. Common features of interaction typically found in ordinary conversation are also closely examined in institutional conversation, to see how the conversational structures serve institutional goals, ideologies, stances and identities of the interactants. However, institutional conversation could be seen as having a more restricted range of possible interaction formats or structures than ordinary conversation.

One of the genres of interaction frequently studied in institutional CA is news interviews. Ekström (2007) briefly mentions that in the study of contemporary media, theory of interaction has become widely recognizable to journalists in addition to cultural theories. This is because a large quantity of complex interactive talks have been incorporated into journalistic productions which merely describing it according to pre-existing norms and practices alone seems inadequate. Through CA, a number of studies of the news interview have disclosed various discursive devices as well as interactional strategies employed and oriented to by the interview participants in order to handle the unexpected contingencies in situ.

2.6 CA Studies of News Interviews Internationally

Heritage and Roth's (1995) study on instances of news interviews in British and American contexts initially focused on an analysis of questioning turns revealed 3 forms. First, the design of question that is grammatically based; they include (1) yes-no questions (2) tag questions (3) declarative questions with rising intonation (4) wh-questions and (5) alternative questions. Another form of the IRs' turns which elicits responses from IEs is directives as question substitutes or the directive turn. Such action calls for the IEs' responses (e.g. "tell us about it" or "give me an example"). The final form of statements which also calls for responses is known as B-event statements – declarative utterances that seek to question issues that the IEs presumably have primary knowledge of the information. These statements seem to end with rising intonation which may signal a question to the IE. Several types of B-event statements include:

- 1) statements that address subjective sentiments of the IE for example:

Extract 3

NN:29.9.81

- 1 IR:→ So in a very brief word David Owen you in no way regret
- 2 what you did er despite what has (happened) in Brighton
- 3 this week in the Labor Party.
- 4 IE: n- In no way do I regret it. =

As shown in extract 4, the IR invokes the IE's response by addressing how the IE feels toward certain event, thus urging the IE to express his feeling.

- 2) statements that invoke the IE's opinion for example:

Extract 4

MacNeil/Lehrer 12/4/89:8

- 1 IR:→You agree Senator that whether anybody likes it or not
- 2 Central America is a shadow in all of this?
- 3 IE: .hh Well of course e:h it's important to our interests and ...

The IR in this extract induces the IE's response by asserting the IE's agreement on certain matter which automatically urges the IE's to either confirm or reject the proposition.

3) statements that invoke the gist or upshot of the IE's earlier remarks for example:

Extract 5

UK Today KGB:1

- 1 IE: It's not true. Thuh spying (.) goes on. On both sides.
 2 But particularly ah strangely enough on thuh Russian
 3 side...
 .
 . ((7 lines of IE talk omitted))
 .
 11 .hhh And those two military and K.G.B. organizations
 12 they have about .hhh three thousand officers (.) of
 13 intelligence abroad. In Britain and Germany and France,
 14 in the United States and so on. .hh { h
 15 IR: So is- so you are
 16 → saying that basically **nothing** has happened since (.)
 17 thuh cold war came to an en:d, and we're supposed to be
 18 friends with Russia?
 19 IE: Ah: not- I'm not saying that, Something has happened...

As shown in this extract, the IR motivates the IE to answer by providing a summary on the IE's earlier discourse. However, the IR's statement is found inaccurate thus, prompting the IE to correct in the following turn.

4) statements that formulate specific IE experiences for example:

Extract 6

MacNeil/Lehrer 10/23/92:7

- 1 IR: .hhhh Do thuh Vietnamese say to you: (.) General Vessey.

2 <These are n:o Americans alive in our country. >
3 IE: Yes.
4 (0.2)
5 IR: →They look you 'cross thuh table and [s::ay (it)]
6 IE: E x actly.
7 IR: →=unequivo [cally,]
8 IE: . h h h h h h [h
9 IR: And they **say** come and look?
10 IE: Y:es. That's what they say.
11 IR: →>**N::**ow you- they say come and look at our records.
12 IE: (°Yeh°) Now they say come and look at our records.
13 IR:→And you **have** nothing. **Up** 'till now:: .hhh that you
14 can point to:: duz- to indicate anything to thuh
15 con::trar [y.
16 IE: .hhhh Well what we **have** is the evidence from
17 thuh **PAST**.

From this extract, the IE's experience is described from the IR's point of view. As a result, the IR's statement persuades the IE to clarify and correct the IR's description of his own experience.

5) hypothetical or future-oriented statements about courses of action with which the IE may be associated for example:

Extract 7

Newsnight/Blunkett:2

1 IE:hh if we don't get that, then I think some of us
2 have to say, in – in all credibility .hh that we would
3 want Britain to be able to remove those weapons .hhh
4 independently, unilateral [ly if tha [t's the way
5 IR: In uh- In uh-
6 IE: you'd like to put it. =
7 IR: =In other words, I don't understand the logic of

8 →this:, uh Mr. Blunkett, if things are going well, and
 9 the, the atmosphere of international detente continues
 10 (.) you're quite happy to negotiate the weapons away,
 11 →but if things (.) go **badly**, and I assume by that you
 12 mean some **kind** of return, to some kind of **war**
 13 atmosphere, then you'll (.) give them away { anyway.
 14 IE: { Well I: I
 15 I'm not talking about **giving** anything away, ...

The IR, in this extract predicts an action that may be caused by the IE's given discourse. Because the future action seems inaccurate and opposed to the IE's early message, he is encouraged to defend his idea and provide more details.

While Heritage and Roth's (1995) study unfolds different designs that are treated as the act of questioning, Clayman (1993) focuses on the answering design. The data were obtained from various settings where intensive journalistic interrogation was conducted such as 1988 U.S. presidential debate, news interviews and press conferences. While the data from the debates and interviews were primarily collected and transcribed, the conference data were taken from Public Papers of the Presidents.

Clayman's study claims that the IEs empirically develop discursive technique called reformulating the question (mentioned elsewhere) which not only allows them to pursue more desirable topical talk, but also forestalls every possible negative opinion or feeling of the audience. According to Clayman, the IEs orient to a reformulation technique for avoiding direct answer to the IR. Based on his analysis and data, he found four basic features often employed by the IEs when they reformulated the IR's questions. First, the IEs may reformulate the IR's question by producing a complete grammatical unit that is syntactically detached from the subsequent units of talk. Second, the IEs' reformulated question may refer back to the previous question, focusing on certain parts of it or repeating what has been stated. It is noted that although the paraphrase is common here, the reformulated question often changes the essence of what is previously asked. Third, the reformulated question could be used as a preface for further talk and finally, the subsequent talk is often built on the reformulation rather than the original queries.

Given that the reformulation technique is used as a way to sidestep the IR's topic agenda, in more specific, Clayman (1993, p.177) suggests that the IEs sometimes achieve agenda shifting through: summarizing, reaching back and agreement/ disagreement. These alternatives could result in more subtle and covert reformulations thus requiring no accountability.

Because the reformulation is operated in order to mitigate the contention between prior question and ensuing answer, the summarizing process could lead to change of topic agenda, and facilitate the IE to achieve the more desirable question, for example:

Extract 8

Bentsen – Quayle Debate 10/5/88: 0: 30: 28

1 IR: Senator Quayle (.) in recent year thuh Reagan
 2 administration has **s**caled back thee activities:
 3 of thee Occupational Safety and **H**ealth
 4 Administration .hhh prompted in **p**art by Vice
 5 President **B**ush's task force on regulatory
 6 relief. .hhhh Thee uh **b**udget for thee agency
 7 has been cut by **t**wenty percent, (0.2) and thuh
 8 number of inspections at manufacturing plants
 9 .hhh has been reduced by thirty **t**hree percent.
 10 .hhhh This's had a special effect in this area
 11 where many people work in thuh **m**eat packing
 12 industry, .hh which (.) has a **f**ar: higher
 13 rate of serious injuries than almost any other
 14 injury, .hh a rate which **a**ppears to've been
 15 rising: although we're not really **s**u::re .hh
 16 bec = some – o'thuh lar:gest **c**ompanies have
 17 allegedly been falsifying thuh reports. .hhhh
 18 Would **y**ou:: uh (0.5) acknowledge to thuh **h**undreds
 19 of **i**njured and **m**aimed people, (.) in Nebraska
 20 (.) Iowa: and elsewhere in thuh midwest .hhh that

21 in **this** case deregulation may have gone too **far**;
 22 and thuh government should reassert itself in
 23 protecting workers rights
 24 (0.8)
 25 DQ:→ .hhh Thuh **premise** of your question John: .hh
 26 is that some**how** **this** administration has been
 27 **la::x**. .hh in **enforcement**. .h of thee **OSHA**
 28 regulations. .hh
 29 And I disagree with that. (0.3) And I'll
 30 I'll tell ya **why**:. .hh if **you** wanna:
 31 ask some business people. (1.2) that **I** talk to
 32 periodically (0.8) they **complain**:. (1.2) about
 33 th' tough enforcement (0.7) of this administration,
 34 .hhh and **furthermore**, (0.6) lemme tellya this
 35 for thuh record. (1.1) When **we**: have foun:d
 36 violations in this administration. (1.0) there
 37 has not only been (0.5) **tough enforcement**. (1.2)
 38 but there have **been**: thuh most **severe**: **penalties**
 39 .hh thuh **lar::gest** **penalties** in thuh **history**.
 40 .hh (0.9) of thuh Department of Labor (0.2) have
 41 been **le::vied** (0.2) when we- these eh violations
 42 have been found. ...
 (DQ is the IE)

The IR in this extract produces a lengthy turn of talk concerning cutback on budget and inspection for Occupational Safety and Health Administration and potential harm that affect the workers. The IR's question which contains two parts requires the IE to accept that the cutback might have done more damages than it is expected and to agree that the plan to protect these workers should be reconsidered. However, the IE responds to the IR's complicated turn by reformulating it into one component that the government pays inadequate attention to enforce such plan in lines 25-28 thus allowing him to provide disagreement (line 29) followed by an account.

Another technique to shift the agenda of talk is through reaching back. When the IEs ignore the more recent issues triggered by the latest question; but discuss other issues previously addressed, they often employ reaching back as a reformulation tool. In such an environment, the reformulation technique would be seen functioning in similar fashion to a preface, suggesting that an answer is underway despite the fact that the remainder of the question or the more recent issue might not be addressed, for example:

Extract 9

Nixon Press Conference 8/29/72; 276-277

- 1 IR: Mr. President, are you personally investigating
- 2 the mishandling of some of your campaign funds,
- 3 and do you agree with Secretary Connolly that
- 4 these charges are harmful to your re-election?
- 5 RN:→ Well, I commented upon this on other occasions,
- 6 and I will repeat my position now.
- 7 → With regard to the matter of handling of
- 8 campaign funds, we have a new law here in which
- 9 technical violations have occurred and are occurring,
- 10 apparently, on both sides. As far as we are concerned,
- 11 we have in charge, in Secretary Stans, a man who is
- 12 an honest man and one who is very meticulous – as I
- 13 have learned from having him as my treasurer and
- 14 finance chairman in two previous campaigns – in the
- 15 handling of matters of this sort. Whatever technical
- 16 violations have occurred, certainly he will correct
- 17 them and will thoroughly comply with the law. He
- 18 is conducting any investigation on this matter, and
- 19 conducting it very, very thoroughly, because he doesn't
- 20 want any evidence at all to be outstanding, indicating
- 21 that we have not complied with the law.

(RN is the IE)

From this extract, the IR's question covers two issues i.e. how the IE handles an investigation on misused of his campaign funds and whether or not this accusation would be an obstacle for the IE's candidacy for re-election. However, the IE prefaces his response in lines 5-6 then provides a reformulation concerning mainly on how the government would handle the investigation which partially covers certain part of the question.

The summarizing and reaching back techniques are usually formed in a way that shows the reformulations as independent action from the prior question. However, the agreement/ disagreement technique is produced to show initial relevant between the IE's confirmation or resistance to the previous question and thereby potentially embedding the reformulation of the previous question in following units of talk. That is the IEs empirically provide agreement or disagreement to some aspects of the question, thus the response would initially appear as confirmation or resistance to a certain proposition in the question. Then the IE could shift the talk in their favor by incorporating a desirable revision of the IR's previous question for further discussion, for example:

Reformulation with an assertion of agreement

Extract 10

Bentsen – Quayle Debate 10/5/88: 0: 41: 53

- 1 IR: Senator Quayle as you:: uh (0.3) mentioned here
- 2 tonight you actively supported thee invasion of
- 3 Granada which was thuh military operation to
- 4 rescue some American medical students an:d to
- 5 rescue an island from a k- Marxist takeover.
- 6 .hhhhh if **m**military force was **n**ecessary:. i:n **that**
- 7 endeavor (0.2) why not use thuh military to go
- 8 after thuh South American **d**rug car:tel:s and
- 9 after General Noriega for that matter in a surgical
- 10 stri:ke, .hhhh since **d**ru:gs in thuh minds of **most**
- 11 Americans po:se a **far** greater **d**anger to **many** more
- 12 people.

- 13 (0.8)
 14 AUD: x x [x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-(2.0)
 15 GH: → [You're- you're **absolutely ri:ght** (1.2) you're
 16 **absolutely right** that thuh **drug** problem (0.7) is:
 17 (0.4) thuh number one issue. ...
 (GH is the IE)

From the extract, the IR asks the IE to explain why he gives endorsement on certain military operation while opposes others. On part of the response, the IE first produces an agreement followed by elaborated detail. Based on the IE's account, it is seen that his agreement is produced to respond to reformulated statement concerning severe situation of drug problem.

Reformulation with an assertion of disagreement

Extract 11

MacNeil/Lehrer 7/22/85a:19

- 1 JRN: But **isn't** this (.) d- **declaration** of thuh state of
 2 emergency:: (0.2) an **admission** that eh **South Africa**
 3 government's policies have not **worked**, and in **fact** that
 4 the um- United **States** (0.3) administration's policy of
 5 constructive engagement (.) has not worked.
 6 FW:→ I do **not** agree with you .hhhh that the approach **we**
 7 have taken (.) toward South Africa is- ay- is an
 8 incorrect **approach**. .hhhhh **We** want (0.8) to see that
 9 s- system **change**. ...
 (FW is the IE)

As shown in the extract, the IR's questions assert that the policies concerning mutual operation between the South African and American government is impractical. In his response, the IE provides a disagreement however; to the newly reformulated statement solely suggesting that the American policies are wrong course of action.

Besides shifting the topic agenda, Clayman (1993, p.166) adds that the reformulation technique is employed to manage the IE's response trajectory. From his

data, the IEs managed trajectory of response could be seen when the questioning was complex with several expected answers. With the question reformulations to single out or combine various aspects asked, the IEs could signal which aspect would be dealt with while giving corresponding answer, for example:

Extract 12

Nixon Press Conference 8/29/72; 836-837

- 1 IR: Mister President, the majority you talked about a
 2 minute ago, what kind of majority will it be,
 3 a Nixon majority or a Republican majority,
 4 an will it bring a Congress along with it?
 5 RN: →First, with regard to the majority,
 6 the thrust of our campaign, I have tried to emphasize
 7 to our campaign people, should be to make it a positive
 8 majority rather than a negative majority...

(RN is the IE)

From this extract, the IR's question comprises two aspects i.e. the presidential election and how the coalition could balance the Congress. In response, the IE merely attends to the first part of the question that concerns the election campaign by pointing out the subject of talk therein.

Although Clayman's (1993) study explicates a single device – the reformulation of questions – which allows evasion or resistance on part of the IE's responsive turns, other alternative ways of answering are discussed in a more recent study. In more recent study, Clayman (2001) examined a large corpus of data from various political interviews in United States and Britain including extracts from U.S. presidential campaign and debates. Besides the reformulating the question previously proposed, Clayman explores different alternatives for evasions that are practiced both in a covert and overt manner.

In part of covert evasion, the IEs' alternative techniques include (1) subversive word repeats and anaphoric pronounce; and (2) operate on the question. According to Clayman (2001, p.424), the covert practice of resistance is usually seen as more advantageous than using overt evasion because it serves to manage undesirable

questions discretely. As a result, the IEs are less risky to be criticized as unresponsive yet are able to introduce information that might shift the topic of talk.

Through the use of subversive word repeats and anaphoric pronounce, the IEs might frame their responses using adopted words or phrases from the prior question; though they may not answer the questions directly. The example is shown in following extract:

Extract 13

UK, 13 March 1979, World at One: Striking Mineworkers

- 1 IR: .hhh er **W**hat's the difference between your Marxism and
- 2 Mister McGahey's Communism.
- 3 AS: → er The difference is that it's the **p**ress that constantly
- 4 call me **M**ar:xist when I do **n**ot, (.) and never **h**ave (.)
- 5 er er given that description of myself. ... (p.425)

(AS is the IE)

From the extract, the IE employs the subversive word repeats technique in his response and thereby marking his turn as doing answering. Although the IR's difference suggests the difference between the IE and another candidate in terms of their ideologies, the IE's difference is seen as a matter of distinctive interpretation between the IE and the press. Accordingly, the IR's genuine use of difference that implicitly suggests the existence of such belief is shifted to the IE's discussion on how he is misunderstood.

Another technique, operate on the question which allows them to modify certain aspects of the question broadly resembles to Clayman's (1993) the reformulation of questions discussed earlier. In detail, the IEs using these techniques could modify the entire question, a phrase or one part of a multi-part question so as to facilitate or conceal the topical shift. As a result, the IEs are able to strategically connect an issue they are going to discuss with the issue required by the IRs.

In addition to the IE's practices of covert evasion, Clayman (1993, p.416) recognizes that the IEs openly alter the agenda of talk through (1) deference to the IR, (2) minimizing the divergence and (3) justify the shift. The first technique, deference to the IR allows the IEs to signal the change of agendas through remarks that address

a certain degree of deference to the IRs, such as requesting permission or a token request for permission. Though these remarks are in the form of a request, they are treated differently than the genuine request because the IEs usually precede their responses without awaiting the IRs' permission. Accordingly, this device is employed potentially to minimize the risk of being evasive on part of the IEs and it also enables them to retain a sense of control over the interview events on part of the IRs.

In certain cases, the IEs could incorporate minimizing the divergence technique to enhance possibility to control damage that might be caused by the change of topic agenda. Through using minimizing the divergence device, the IEs achieve new topical direction by trivializing the change of agenda as a minor or insignificant departure from the one being questioned. Trivialization could be done through particular remarks of permission that contain minimizing characterization (e.g. "a very quick" and "just one"), temporal and numerical minimizes (e.g. "briefly" and "one comment") and adverb (i.e. "just"), for example:

Extract 14

UK, Newsnight: Civil Unrest in China

- 1 IR: Well what do you think do you think this strengthen:s
- 2 (1.0) a great deal: the hand of Zhao Ze Young and the
- 3 reformers, the radicals.
- 4 DH: I think that (0.2) Jao Ze Young just as **he** was
- 5 responsible for bringing (.) China out of the turbulence
- 6 which followed the .hhh uh resignation of Hu Yao Bung as
- 7 General Secretary in = uh **January** nineteen eighty **seven**.
- 8 .Hhh just as he (.) brought China out of **that** turbulence
- 9 he will bring Chi:na out of **this** turbulence .hhh and I
- 10 think his stature has **already** been **increased** (.) by
- 11 recent events (.) .h and ah (.) I'll go **out** on a limb
- 12 and say: I think it's likely to be increased **further**
- 13 .hh by future events
- 14 →but I would like to make **two** very quick points.=
- 15 IR: →=**Very** quickly if you would.

16 DH: There's a genera:tional thing he:re .Hhh U:um (0.4) ih
 17 Deng Zhao Peng is going to be ei:ghty **fi:ve** on the twenty
 18 second of August this yea:r. .Hh he joi:ned the
 19 Communist Pa:rty (0.3) .h in nineteen twenty fou:r. .Hh
 20 When Mister Baldwin had become prime minister for the
 21 first time in this coun:try:. **Just.** .Hhh (0.3) **Secondly**
 22 (0.3) **corruption.** .Hh A **lot** of (.) what is: (.) ca:lled
 23 corruption .hh is in fact the by: produ:cts (0.1) of a
 24 system of multiple piecing .hhh which I think is going to
 25 **have** to be rela:xed. (p.416-7)

(DH is the IE)

From this extract, the IE employs both deference to the IR and minimizing the divergence device. First, the IE uses the deference to the IR device in order to seek for the IR's permission to continuous his talk (line 14). In addition to this, the IE incorporates a remark "very quick" thus; emphasizing that important but precise talk is underway. The IE's self-contained permission therefore, reinforces the necessity that he continues his talk evidently shown in the IR's actual permission.

Another device which allows the IEs to control damage while shifting the direction of talk for further discussion is justify the shift. The justify the shift provides an explanation and justification for the change of topic agendas. Such a device occurs either within or outside of the request for permission (e.g. extract 15).

Extract 15

US, 5 June, 1985, Nightline: Corporate Mergers

1 IR: .hhhh Senator Metzenbaum take me **back** to the- to that
 2 **difference:** that uh Mister Forbes made a moment ago,
 3 between monopolies and what we have **today:**, which it
 4 seems in- in **some** instances is **moving** .hh at least (0.2)
 5 gr:adually in the **direction** of a monopoly. is it not?
 6 (0.3)
 7 HM: Well I think that some **mergers** (.) don't have any element

8 of monopoly in them at **a:ll** .hh (.) Uh for example General
 9 Motors buying Hughes Aircraft (I'm-) not at all certain
 10 that there's any monopoly (.) issues there. (0.5)
 11 → on the **other** hand I think the **real** concern tha **h:asn't**
 12 → been addressed (.) previously (.) in this program (0.7)
 13 HAS to do with the fact that...
 (HM is the IE)

Under the use of justify the shift technique, the IEs normally convey a principle of fairness or obligation in responding to the issue raised by the IR as part of their justification. From the extract, it is seen that the IE is trying to emphasize that the reason which he thinks to be actual cause of the matter being discussed has not been mentioned yet.

Besides Clayman's studies, Rasiyah's (2010) study on Australian parliamentary discourse proposes similar findings on discursive devices used to perform evasive answer. Her data which were gathered from Question Time transcriptions on the issue of Iraq in February and March 2003 show both overt and covert evasion. In part of overt evasion, the results include token of request for permission, minimizing the divergence and justifying the shift whereas subversive word repeats and anaphoric references and operating on the question resemble Clayman's (2001) findings in covert evasion.

In addition to these similarities, she proposes distinctive features for covert evasion i.e. using words that share similar feature with the keyword from the question and using ambiguous or generic words to respond to the particular point addressed in the questions. According to Rasiyah, the use of these discursive devices function to (1) attack the IRs, (2) to make political points (i.e. external attack rival groups, dignify one's own side and ideally introduce policies) and (3) to state or imply that the questions had been responded to already.

Although it is empirical that the IEs could employ various discursive devices to sidestep the interview questions both in overt and covert manner, Clayman (2001) claims that the IEs occasionally evade the questions in flat and blunt fashion. The practice of apparent avoidance known as the special case of refusing to answer refers

5 year. Now w**hich** o'those three is gonna **give** Senator,
6 (0.4)
7 BD:→ I think **that's** going to **happen** sometime next **year** when
8 those of **us::** uh in- **leadership** positions = set = down
9 with the **President** and make the hard **choice**. I don't
10 think I'd make it **today**: .hhhhh ih = in **December** of 1985. (p.422)
(BD is the IE)

The IE in this extract sidesteps the question by suggesting that because he is not yet in a suitable or particular position thereby proving the sought-after information would be improper.

When the IE denies to respond on a basis of inappropriateness, it implies that the questions itself is improper. Occasionally the IR is also attacked, for example:

Extract 18

US, 15 July, 1995, NPR All Things Considered: Serbia

1 IR: Are they being beaten? Or will you be: are you treating
2 them (u-) humanely according to inter[national] conventions.
3 IE: [hhh!
4 (.)
5 IE: → Well I mean your line of questioning really suggests that
6 we are the most awful creatures on earth. That we a:re
7 beating the prisoners, raping women, and so on and so forth.
8 .hh Please I think I have been very: uh: uh correct in my
9 answers, an' I would expect you to: .hh be more correct in
10 your line of question= because it's extremely provocative... (p.423)

In this extract, the IE avoids answering by strongly criticizing the IR's question as impolite and offensive. By disproving the question, the IE also achieves justification for his resistance to response leading the public attention to how the question is discourteously produced.

In addition, in some extreme cases, the IE bluntly refuses to answer without giving reason. Such an act could provoke hostility because the IE not only resists answering but also criticizes the legitimacy of the question without providing accountability. It shows the IE's treatment of the question as unworthy and thereby does not deserve to be responded; the action thus justifies the IE's act of unanswering.

Extract 19

UK, Greatbatch 1986b: 451: Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament

- 1 IR: You wouldn't serve in a Cabinet committed to lu-
 2 **unilateral** nuclear disarmament of **Britian** would you
 3 Mister Shore?
 4 PS: .hh **What I do** believe:: er: Mister Day (which)
 5 → I will not a:answer that question, I'm not (.)
 6 → **deliberately** answering that question.
 7 What I **do** believe is thi:s. I do actually genuinely believe
 8 lo:ng believe: (d) .hhh that unilateral **initiativ**es: (.) can
 9 **assist** (.) multilateral disarmament. ...

(PS is the IE)

From the extract, the IE refuses to answer claiming that the IR's question is unpleasant and insulting so that he would rather talk about his actual belief than responding to the question.

Lastly, the IE might manages the resistance to the question as a matter of general policy; using a policy to justify that he/she should not respond to the questions being asked. According to Clayman (2001), this practice of resistance serves to depersonalize the refusal from the IE. Therefore, the relationship between the IE and the IR is maintained. Moreover, other ensuing questions concerning similar issues might not be asked since such technique already hints that there would be no more information the IEs could provide, for example:

Extract 20

UK, 13 March 1979, World at One: National Union of Mineworkers

- 1 IR: **M**:ister Scargill will you **run** for the **p**residency of the National

- 2 Union of Mineworkers.
- 3 AS: → .hhh er Mister **Day**: I must give you the same answer that I've
- 4 been giving every other pressman over the past forty-eight
- 5 hours. .hhh If and **when** Mister **Gormley** **officially** (.) hands in
- 6 his resignation and that's by no means certain .hhhh er during:
- 7 this year or at any time during the next three years .hh then I
- 8 will give (.) serious consideration to the matter... (p.424)
- (AS is the IE)

As shown in the extract, the IE evades the question saying that due to current situation he could barely respond in any other ways than what he has previously mentioned.

While these studies explored a variety of the IE's responsive turns as well as their interactional functions, the data were mainly drawn from Western societies where English is practiced as a mother tongue. With similar methodological framework, the current study uses the data from Eastern society where Thai is the first language. Accordingly, the study might generate different findings as a result of differences in language use and cultural perspective.

2.7 The Studies of Political Discourse in Thailand

Political discourses in Thailand have been examined from both television and radio contexts. Most studies focus on the design of speech, the results have shown that discourses were produced in order to convince the audience in different ways. Savitri Gadavani's (2002) study on televised no-confidence debates suggests that the discourse users (i.e. members of parliament) attempt to convince the audience by their ferocious style of debate produced within the frame of parliamentary conduct. To explore the communicative strategies, Savitri Gadavani adopted a critical discourse analysis framework to analyze speeches from no-confidence debates in Thai parliament from May 1995 to September 1996.

In Thailand, the no-confidence debate is a distinctive political event because the debate principally functions to monitor and examine the governmental use of power. Thus, the entire session of debate usually receives considerable public

attention. The interactional process is also unique because while the members of parliament (MPs) attempt to push their messages across in conventional parliamentary code of conduct, they discursively insert a hidden agenda for their political gains. In order to appear appropriate and, at the same time, to gain public attention, the political debates of the no-confidence are then likely to transform from formal genre of parliamentary discourse to a more casual one. This study thus, explored how the MPs alter their speeches in terms of style and lexis in order to meet both ends (i.e. parliamentary codes of conduct and the interest of the audience). The analysis was grounded on Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) 2-level definition of intertextuality – the way that the meaning of discourse is shared by other texts within the context; the combination of genre (i.e. formal and casual) and the combination of voices (i.e. their own and other's) within the discourse (Savitri Gadavani, 2002, p.35).

The findings reveal the combination in discourse of different genres or different discourses, the formal genre of speech was altered to casual genres in 3 positions. First, the occurrence of such changes is found within a single clause (mixed intertextuality). Second, such changes are achieved at different stages of discourse (sequential intertextuality). Lastly, the change of genre occurs when an inappropriate word(s) or phrase(s) with provocative meaning(s) existed within formal genre (embedded intertextuality).

Another form of intertextuality which is the combination of the other's words with the speaker's discourse is used for several purposes. First, the technique functions to produce negative comment because the use of another's voice in their speech allows the MPs to detach themselves from responsibility of the accusation. Next, the use of another voice could also be adopted for purpose of retaliation. During the debate session, allegations are commonly counterattacked by MPs using another's voice so as to avoid appearing extremely contentious or aggressive. Therefore, the MPs are able to recall the allegations earlier mentioned without having to claim to be its originator before building up their arguments. By doing so, the MPs could detach themselves from responsibility in case that the allegations backfire while showing evidence in their defense. Lastly, the use of another's voice functions to produce a narration. It allows the MPs to add extra evidence to make allegations or to defend

certain accusations in the form of story-telling and thereby enabling them to incorporate more information without being perceived as irrelevant.

It can be seen from this study that the use of intertextuality to shift the genre of speeches in this context enables MPs to create and transform monotonous and possibly tedious formal speeches into more lively debate with possible hidden agendas of other MPs. Such a colloquial and outrageous style of debate seems not only to capture the attention of people from different backgrounds but also enables the MPs to remain permissible in terms of parliamentary behavior. In addition, the use of intertextuality as a communicative strategy through the use of reported speech allows the MPs to launch a verbal attack with fewer risks of being perceived as impolite and insulting. Intertextuality is therefore, a discursive device used to implicitly narrow the gap between the formal genre of parliamentary practice and the casual genre of flamboyant talk.

Another discourse study on political speeches focused on radio talk (Nipa Geerapatr, 2008). The study shows that the discourse could be used to convincingly affect people's perception through a step-by-step process. Geerapatr studied the former Prime Minister Thaksin's speech on poverty and found that through different stages Thaksin discursively convinced and changed the people's perception on poverty. The data was transcribed from his radio talk *na yok thaksin pob pra cha chon* (2001-2005), then analyzed under the framework of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Analysis (SCA) along with Foucault's Archeology of Knowledge and Genealogy. The findings disclose that through six steps, Thaksin's discourse not only incorporates his perception of poverty and develops his higher social status in relation to the poor, but also created a new perception of poverty.

Thaksin's discourse was initially employed to alter the people's perception of the value of *bun* (merit) which traditionally assumed to cause the individual's struggle. Through the discourse he pointed out that such the traditional merit was no longer effective and beneficial for the future (e.g. "...I do not want you all, the people in my generation, to stay still waiting for *bun* or merit from our ancestors to shape your life, to just waste your lives, that will not benefit the country. The country will be lost., Nipa Geerapatr, 2008, p.8").

The next two steps showed that Thaksin discussed a number of current problems, particularly those that were poverty-related and raised different social issues (both within and outside of the country) with focus on change. At this point, Nipa Geerapatr argued that Thaksin's talk about the current problems perhaps aimed to show the audience that the problem occurred during the previous government and left for him to solve. Also she observed that while Thaksin suggested on internal and external change, he presented his personal issues as part of the social issues, for example "I will dedicate myself to work ... without regard for any stress or forces against me." (Nipa Geerapatr, 2008, p.15). The transformation of Thaksin's personal issue could imply his importance of being in the position to eradicate the problem of poverty from the people's life. In other word, the proposed resolution for the social problem would not be successful without him.

Following this, Thaksin discursively created the need for change by adopting the people's desire to change as his own commitment. According to Nipa Geerapatr, Thaksin's discourse at this stage led the people to await the outcomes of his projects as a solution for poverty that would change their lives instead of waiting for bun – a traditional idea of wealth. The next step revealed that though Thaksin presented himself in higher status as a nation leader, he discursively invoked the poor's emotion and feeling through his praise and encouragement. The discourses were believed to help create bond between the speaker and the audience (Nipa Geerapatr, 2008, p.19). Lastly, as a result of the previous steps, Thaksin displayed himself as indispensable leader who was capable to change the poor's lives. That Thaksin replaced himself in a position of bun which was thought of as a source of good life could be seen as a way to secure the people's recognition that would in turn, transformed into a great number of votes (Nipa Geerapatr, 2008, p.19). From this study, the findings show that the politician used the discourse as an essential tool to intricately create social reality so as to convince the audience in a way that serves his political end.

The previous studies examined natural occurring data from Thai political context. The utterances were analyzed to show how the politicians discursively produced their utterances to achieve their political gain and control. Although these studies reveal various discursive practices employed by the Thai politicians in order to achieve their political gain and control, the dynamic of interactional activity is

excluded. There is still a need of studies of natural utterances from live interviews that examine the politicians' use of discursive devices and explore interaction between interlocutors during immediate context and thereby disclose how the goal of interactional activity is interactionally achieved.

Furthermore, there are still limited studies that explore how Thai politicians' utterances are produced during interaction in order to handle the journalistic interviews. Among the limited number of the studies, Suparthida Theamsomboon (1998) explored linguistic devices in Thai politicians' responses in televised interviews in both prepared interview – the components of the interview (i.e. the topic and time of interview as well as a person who interviewed) were known to the IE, and impromptu interview – the components of the interview were unknown to the IE. The corpus of data which contained 20 instances of interview were then transcribed and analyzed under Saville – Troike's (1982) ethnography of communication along with Grice's (1975) Cooperative principle and Brown and Yule's (1983) topic continuity.

The study reveals that Thai politicians respond to the interview questions in both form of interrogative and statements in three types namely: (1) answer-response providing relevant information to topic and task required by the preceding questions, (2) non-answer response providing partial evasive answer or the information that was relevant to topic of the prior question and (3) non response providing irrelevant and full-evasive answer. In addition, the study suggests that different sub-types of interviews result in different frequency of occurrences, for example more non-answer response occurred often in simultaneous interview.

Moreover, hedging devices are produced along with all three types of answer for various communicative purposes. These hedging devices include: quality hedges – use of words or phrases to decrease the degree of commitment (e.g. “I think” and “I believe”), quantity hedges – use of words or phrases to signal uncertainty of the amount of information given (e.g. “to some extent...” and “sometimes”) either to modify the content of information or to provide hypothetical statements through a conditional structure so as to avoid giving an actual answer to the question. Another hedging device is relevance hedges – use of words or phrases to introduce topic change (e.g. “I’ve just recall (the other questions)...”). This type of hedging device was mainly found when the IEs denied responding to questions by pointing out inappropriateness of a certain period of time, reproaching the questions, forbidding

the IRs' questioning and begging not to answer. The last hedging device is *manner hedges* – use of techniques such as a joke, exclamation or deference to avoid explicit non-answer responses. In addition, the manner hedges were sometimes found in the form of an interactional cue such as raising one's eyebrows.

Although Suparthida Theamsomboon's (1998) study points out that in news interview with Thai politicians, responses range from fully relevant responses to evasive and irrelevant ones; more details are left to be explored regarding the nature of the interview responses-in-interaction within political context. First, the question of micro-circumstances in which each type of response occurs remains uncovered. In addition, while the study shows cases of non-response answer, it fails to identify how the IR handles such evasions. Nonetheless, the findings on different hedging devices are essentially salient for the study of politicians' discourse in news interviews in Thailand. This is because the devices usually facilitate the IEs to avoid answering the question and possibly foster politeness during public interaction while appearing as if they did. Therefore, it would be interesting to further explore how and why they are employed and in what circumstance.

There is also the study conducted by Suwichit Sean Chaidaroon (2010) who explored how a Thai politician managed hostile interview questions in international broadcasting interview context. His study focused on how a former Prime Minister Abhisit handled the adversarial questions and regained the country's image during his interview with a BBC anchor. The data were transcribed and analyzed based on Benoit's (1995) image restoration strategies. The findings reveal that the PM employed several interactional techniques to gain control from the interviewer during the live interview: such as perturbation technique, and long and technical terms. According to Suwichit Sean Chaidaroon, Abhisit used the first technique to hasten his talk thus reducing the IR's chance to affirm her point or interrupt. His use of long and technical terms occurred when he was alleged of being illegitimate leader. In such case, Abhisit justified his position by describing a process of democracy in Thailand with complicated and technical terms. Using these interactional techniques, Abhisit not only took control of the direction of talk but also provided counter argument to the IR's questions.

Because the interview was conducted during the time of political turmoil in Thailand 2010, the findings also disclosed two techniques of image restoration i.e.

provocation and transcendence strategies. The provocation was used by Abihisit as a tool for defending his reaction to the protest by pointing out that the protesters were equipped with weapons and the situation was violently escalated. Another strategy, transcendence occurred when the IE claimed that his solution proposed to the country's political unrest was based on severe law enforcement and continuous democracy practice. The IE's assertion on his solution could thus lead the audience to perceive that the protest was unlawful and disagreeable. These techniques enabled the IE to justify his reaction to the protest while impeding the undesirable questions and to convince the audience to perceive positive image of the country.

Focusing on designs of the answer turn, Suwichit Sean Chaidaroon's (2010) study reveals the discursive strategies that potentially justify the IE's action along with interactional techniques that provide him extra floor for speaking. The discursive and interactional techniques entirely help the IE in reaching his goal i.e. to gain compliance from international eyes. However, because the transcribed talk from the interview is not provided, it might be inconceivable to conclude how the IE's interactional feature such as perturbation is actually practiced. For example, there is no evidence to show what was described as 'faster' pace of talk. Also, the question on how the IR manages the IE's evasive responses should be further explored due to the interactional nature of the interview. The fact that interview is mutually carried out by IR and IE suggests that both parties must cooperate with one another in some way in order to achieve their goals; hence, the study is unclear on this aspect.

In conclusion, these reviewed studies provide guidelines on possible features and patterns of interaction that should be further explored from the natural occurring data of news interviews. In addition, the context of the news interview with focus on political issues in this current study has been particularly interesting. Because news interview during election campaigns is one of the essential tools to introduce one's policies, and to win over public support, the candidates may be under pressure to get their messages across while maintaining a desirable public image. In addition, although the act of questioning and answering in news interview occurs ubiquitous around the globe and resembles each other in some ways (e.g. direct and indirect answer), the cultural differences contribute to the construction of the IE's answer in a unique way. Accordingly, it is crucial that this study adopts the framework of CA

developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974 quoted in Heritage, & Clayman, 2010) and Jeffersonian transcription (Heritage & Clayman, 2010) in order to illustrate that the talk in these interviews is a detailed and dynamic social phenomena. The transcribed instances are hence suitable for an analysis which aims to explore structures of ongoing talk mutually displayed by the interactants' emic perspective and how such understanding is sequentially developed.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces 3.1 research questions; and 3.2 related philosophical frameworks. It also discusses 3.3 the research methodologies which include the discussion of conversation analysis; 3.4 data collection and analysis; 3.5 information of corpus data; 3.6 methodological justification of the research; and 3.7 methodological limitation of the research.

3.1 Research Questions

The main research questions aim to investigate in news interviews with focus on political issues on a broadcasting television program in Thailand;

- 1) How do the interviewees design their turns to respond to the interviewer's questions?
- 2) How do the interviewer and interviewees work together to accomplish the goals of news interviews with focus on political issues?

3.2 Philosophical Frameworks

The philosophical framework of this research is based on ontological assumptions of multiple realities. According to Alfred Schutz – the phenomenological sociologist, people create different versions of reality for an existing phenomenon based on their diverse sociocultural backgrounds, experiences, and socially-shared knowledge of signs and symbols (Wilson, 2002). Subjective interpretations and definitions assigned to the phenomenon are probably predetermined by an individual's perception of the world. Despite having different subjective perceptions, members of each society could attain intersubjectivity based on a perceived reality through social interaction. The interactional processes, both verbal and non-verbal,

allow societal members to share, negotiate, maintain and/or reconstruct consensual versions of the reality. Hence, reality is believed to be fluidly and constantly alterable within the human mind (Grbich, 2007). Bryman (2001) supportively asserted that even macrostructures of society like social structures, perceptions of social categories and comprehensions of abstract concepts are socially constructed into socio-cultural specific perceptions, and they are subject to spatio-temporal change. These taken-for-granted social and cultural perceptions and practices become resources for members of the particular community to orient themselves to in order to respond and behave in normatively appropriate fashion for each situation. Such agreed upon perceptions could then attribute to various conventions and rules which in turn, constitute social institutions. To gain an indigenous perspective of reality and how social orders are maintained by referring to the methodological tools employed by the members of the community, researchers should be able to capture an empathetic understanding of social phenomenon from the indigenous point of view.

Understanding social reality and social institutions as emerging and contingently developed phenomena could be studied through the epistemological position of interpretivism. The interpretivists argue that human subjective perceptions and complex behavior could not be effectively and sufficiently investigated through scientific methods adopted from the studies of natural sciences. Grbich (2007), argues that the law-like generalization method of the sciences is incapable of uncovering a wide range of possible subtle reasoning for distinct social practices because each practice is socio-culturally constructed, and varies from one society to another. Additionally, Baxter and Babbie (2004) state that the interpretivists believe that:

Human action is purposive; it is action intended to achieve some purpose. Human acts based on the social web of meanings in which they are embedded, and their actions are attributed meanings by others from within that same system of meaning. Humans are accountable for their actions..., and they make sense...on the basis of their capacity to render their action intelligible. (Baxter & Babbie, 2004, p.59)

In other words, humans are perceived as having a central role in the meaning-making process, and they are treated by the interpretivists as a subject who attributes meaning to organize the world they live in. This subjective view thus prompts the interpretivists to seek an understanding of the meaning of social actions through the indigenous perspective. The interpretive tradition is enforced in Weber's notion of *Verstehen*, the theory of phenomenology and the theory of symbolic interaction (Bryman, 2001).

3.2.1 Weber's Notion of Verstehen

Max Weber proposed the notion of *Verstehen* as a way of understanding that every individual human being is a creator of their world who not only attributes meaning to that reality but also organizes their understanding of it. The idea then has underlined the latter development of Hermeneutics (Bryman, 2001).

During the eighteenth to the twentieth century, the natural sciences flourished and were celebrated as a result of the industrial revolution. Systematic studies of human behavior to explain intricate social realities were also carried out with similar fashion of searching for a universal truth. However, such notions and practices of scientific methodology were challenged by a number of social scientists and philosophers notably, Immanuel Kant, who argued that subjective judgment could not be verified solely by external stimuli and specific objectives (Dues & Brown, 2004). For Kant, an individual is seen as a collection of past experiences with conventional beliefs that could influence the way he/she interprets immediate social phenomenon. Accordingly, there is no absolute truth to explain diverse and complex subjective opinions as a whole. Rather, truth could only be experienced through the interpretation of constructed meanings shared among societal members. Wilhelm Dilthey, German philosopher and phenomenologist, explained that the scientifically pre-determined social categories (e.g. race and gender) might possibly lead to mistaken interpretations since humans do not dwell within realities, but construct and assign meanings to immediate experiences dependently to their cultures and under contextual conditions (Dues & Brown, 2004, p.45). Dilthey thus protested the idea of using a positivist paradigm in the social sciences to discover empirical facts for the purpose of generalization. Instead, he suggested the aim of social science research is

to gain a deep understanding of particular the social reality being studied (Willis, Jost & Nilakanta, 2007).

The ideas led to the development of Hermeneutics which refers to a systematic and logical approach to study how linguistic expression derives a particular meaning (Dues & Brown, 2004). Along with this, context is considered significant to the interpretation of meaning because the meaning, though implied within words, is subject to human thought and experience. Therefore, the meaning of words is alterable depending on the context associated with it (Griffin, 1997; Ogden & Richard, 1946 quoted in Dues & Brown, 2004, p.45).

3.2.2 Phenomenology

According to Aspers (2009), Alfred Schutz developed a phenomenological approach based on an idea that there is a difference in the studies of subject matters, i.e. between physical sciences and social sciences. Phenomenology is the study of human beings who are believed to be capable of interpreting their life-world through commonsense which is collectively constructed and internalized via social interaction. Schutz's key idea focuses on meaning structuring (Aspers, 2009, p.3) or the way a meaning is structured interconnecting with other meanings. Therefore, the meaning could be constructed at an individual level as well as constituted at a social level. Therefore, researchers, based in phenomenology, interpret social behaviors with a similar sense-making process that people use when they communicate and interpret meaning (Wilson, 2002).

Another point Schutz emphasized is that language is used as a vital process of constructing mutual understanding because humans could reach intersubjectivity through verbal and/or non-verbal communication. In other words, much of what a person understands comes from verbal and non-verbal negotiation of the meanings other people intend to infer. The complexity is that language could be seen as vehicle carrying the subjective mental expression of the user while becoming objective content for the recipients to interpret and extract the meaning intended. Besides the different statuses, language is socially constructed i.e. the meaning could not be entirely transmitted, rather, it needs to be holistically interpreted within the current context of use (Aspers, 2009). Accordingly, the Verstehen approach and

phenomenological tradition similarly concentrate on the meaningful social actions which enable humans to select relevant interactions and make sense of others for their own purposes, thus proposing that social actions are analyzed in accordance with the emic perspective or point of views of the people under studied (Bryman, 2001).

3.2.3 Symbolic Interaction

Another influential theoretical approach to interpretivism is symbolic interactionism. The term was first introduced by Herbert Blumer (Wallace & Wolf, 1991) who explained his theoretical viewpoint on the social development of human beings as a result of humans actively partaking in collective life within the society.

According to Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism is a belief that human interaction is a process of interpretation of the ideas that each action represents in order to respond accordingly. Therefore, individuals' situational responses mainly result from immediate definitions assigned to the situated interactions. Indeed, symbolic interactionists hold the belief that individuals are active participants whose interactions are unpredictable due to possible diverse interpretations of symbolic usage.

The premise of symbolic interactionism which highlights the fact that human beings orient themselves to process of interpretation as a means to mediate their understanding of social activity, and guide subsequent responses, has been enormously influenced by the philosopher George Herbert Mead (Bryman, 2001).

The key components of Mead's theory are society, self and mind. Society denotes cultural life which is jointly produced and shared among social members via the symbolic use of language. Because society exists through socially shared understanding of symbols, Mead has termed them significant symbols (Littlejohn, 1996, p.162). Due to shared meanings, the symbol users are not only allowed to activate and articulate social actions, they also could observe the interactants' reception of the messages thus mentally impersonating their parts. Society then comprises a web of interaction in which each member assigns meanings and acts accordingly to one another's use of symbols. Also other social institutions are actualized through a web of interaction and symbolic usage involving bodies (Littlejohn, 1996, p.162).

Self refers to how the individual sees his/herself via the internalization of language use. Symbolic interactionists view human beings as active agents in society; the self then has two parts, the I and me. Each part compatibly allows the members to balance individual and group life within a particular society. While the I is a creative, impulsive and unpredictable part, the me is derived from shared perspectives and expectations of social norms. According to Mead, the me part could be used to clarify acquiescent behavior from the society whereas the I part might explain innovative, indeterminate and different behaviors of a person (Littlejohn, 1996, p.162).

Additionally, the use of significant symbols or language to reflect an individuals' interpretation of the immediate action and contemplate for an appropriate response has invoked internal processes or mind, the third component in Mead's theory. Developed alongside with the self, the mind could be perceived as a way to interact with oneself. The individuals dealing with one situation would have to consider various interactional cues that enable them to assign certain meanings, weighing possible alternative responses, testing one and memorizing the practical one for future events. The human ability to assign symbolic meanings to experiences and concepts thus constitutes the human mind toward objects of realities. Similar objects could be differently defined by different individuals through their distinctive actions toward the objects (Littlejohn, 1996). Thus, what constitutes an object is interrelated with the individuals' act of interpretation; Mead's example is that a tomato could be seen as a nutritious object when served as food whereas the very same tomato could become a weapon when it is thrown to others (Wallace & Wolf, 1991).

3.2.4 Ethnomethodology

Rooted in Weber's concept of Verstehen, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism, Ethnomethodology affirms that within the immediate environment human beings constantly are oriented to shared symbols or language to interpret the meanings of social activity and thereby respond to them. This process is called the "construction of meaning". It is a subjective and taken-for-granted process. To understand it thoroughly, a methodology which could help to understand and delineate the social life world from an emic perspective or from the participants' experiential points of view is needed.

As a paradigm within sociology, ethnomethodology is interested in how social members orient to shared knowledge of their respective society as an interactional resource to actualize the immediate situation. During interactional activities, social members employ the seen but unnoticed (Garfinkel, 1967 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004, p.5) norms or a “rhetorical manner to describe the morality of some way of life” (Maynard & Peräkylä, 2006, p.245) as a resource for reasoning. In order to explore the extent to which the practical norms collectively guide societal members’ actions, Garfinkel suggested that one might need to behave in contravention of expected normality and to see if that behavior is noticed and questioned or not (Seedhouse, 2004, p.6).

According to Garfinkel (1967 quoted in Maynard & Peräkylä, 2006), all talk activities are indexed and context-bound in which the talk’s sequential organization becomes context for understanding realities of different social activities. That is because, the construction and maintenance of social realities are constructed through practices of talk among the social members who instinctively interpret both linguistic and interactional cues in order to assert, reproduce and maintain social reality at the same time (Angrosino, 2007).

Ethnomethodology slightly differs from conversation analysis (CA) in the sense that the former explores the principles through which social activities in general are carried out, whereas the latter specifically focuses on the principles of social interaction, and the sequential patterns of interactional activities. Accordingly, the CA approach is deeply operated under overarching ethnomethodological principles. There are few principles of ethnomethodology which Seedhouse (2004) notes in details as shown in the following section.

1) Indexicality

Indexicality refers to the quality of utterances which could provide meanings to interactional participants. The participants then use socially shared knowledge as a resource to interpret meanings of the utterances. According to this principle, when ethnomethodologists interpret data, only the features of talk that are oriented to by the interactants during the talk are taken into account.

2) The Documentary Method of Interpretation

The documentary method of interpretation refers to the processes through which the participants treat social phenomenon as a document which is ready

to be activated as an interpretive scheme once the interactants re-encounter similar phenomenon. However, the document is reflexive and adaptive because a variety of phenomenon could be updated and established as possible forms of particular activity. According to this principle, Seedhouse (2004) suggests that the analysts should approach social activity through the point of view of the indigenous under studied. This means that each turn of talk is perceived as interpretation of or documentation of the previous turn, and its production could contextualize the subsequence turn.

3) The Reciprocity of Perspectives

The reciprocity of perspectives refers to general agreement of the interactants to follow the same conventions, i.e. the participants agree on the similar attitudes of good or bad social practices while trying to reach mutual understanding. This principle is reflected in CA in the form of preference order in which different types of response could show affiliation or disaffiliation between interactants.

4) Normative Accountability

Normative accountability refers to the interactants' use of norms as a constitutive reference to identify, analyze and evaluate others' action and in their design of a responding action. In addition, the accountability or sanction in a particular setting, which is judged on the basis of constitutive normality, becomes a judgment tool of a dispreferred action in an adjacency pair.

5) Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to how the interactants (re) produce the meaning of an utterance in ongoing interaction through a sense of continuity. From an ethnomethodological perspective, the production of first action would provide context for its subsequent action while the subsequent action displays interpretation of its first action. Seedhouse (2004) notes that besides the principle of normative reference of social actions, it is possible for a person to decisively display action considered deviant for a particular setting in order to show his/her different attitude or disaffiliation with the interactants.

3.3 Research Methodology: Conversation Analysis (CA)

CA has been known as a methodology which was originally developed from sociological work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. Goffman, turned

sociological attention to the study of social situations, argued that social situations are constructed orderly through mundane human interaction. This organization of human interaction or “interaction order” (Goffman, 1983 quoted in Sidnell, 2002, p.6), becomes intricate social practices that embrace norms, expectations and standards potentially oriented to during the interaction so as to maintain orders and appropriateness in particular social settings.

Another aspiration was from Garfinkel’s theory which points out that though social life has been socioculturally conditioned, practical reasoning for any norm-regulated behavior in each activity cannot be predetermined. For Garfinkel, the meaning of any social action is best understandable when interpreted within its context where the social members are believed to operate everyday actions based on their “background expectancies” (Sidnell, 2002, p.8). The mutual understanding of embedded intangible culture could be forged through relational interaction among social members who bring in their collective viewpoints and use language as a tool for social interaction. Social discourse, therefore, metaphorically becomes a verbal vassal for normative practices of social activities (Sidnell, 2002, p.8).

In 1974, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Shegloff and Gail Jefferson developed an analytic procedure of CA as a more systematic way to identify the organization of ordinary practices through the study of recurrent patterns of turns, and sequences of talk which are locally constructed by interactional participants (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). The approach aims to (1) identify dynamic structures of ongoing talk emerging within an interaction and interpret the meaning from an emic perspective and; (2) to examine how mutual understanding is sequentially developed during the course of an interaction (Seedhouse, 2004). The CA study of ordinary talk is also applied to study institutional conversations where the talk activities are distinctively constructed to achieve particular goals. Seedhouse (2004, p.14) explicates that despite the partial influence of ethnomethodology, CA itself establishes four specific principles as following:

- 1) Talk in interaction is orderly organized; that is there is order at all points in interaction.

- 2) Talk in interaction is context-shaped and context-renewing; that is each turn of talk is shaped by the previous turn; therefore, it can be used (by a

researcher) as a resource to understand how the participant makes sense of the previous talk, and the turn itself automatically shapes the subsequent turn of talk.

3) CA requires detailed transcription of naturally occurring data, thus all small aspects produced and oriented to by interactants could not be undermined due to particular assumptions of the researchers.

4) The analysis of the data is inductive in nature.

3.3.1 Types of Basic Features in CA

Over the course of CA's development, it has found that interactants in general orient to four basic features or norms of conversation when organizing the interactional action and co-constructing intersubjectivity. These four features of interaction are: adjacency pairs, preference organization, turn taking, and repair.

3.3.1.1 Adjacency Pairs

According to Seedhouse (2004), adjacency pairs are paired utterances which are produced and responded to in cohesive order by different interactants. Therefore, the first turn provides context for its subsequent turn while resulting in various types of social actions. In addition, Heritage (1984b quoted in Seedhouse, 2004, p.18) argues that with a normative frame of reference, adjacency pairs constitute basic elements for mutual understanding or accountability. The developing trajectories of interaction could be continually developed from initial adjacency pairs, to series of pairs of utterances, which are called sequences of interaction.

3.3.1.2 Preference Organization

Within an adjacency pair, the second part response could be alternatively responded to in the form of either a preferred or a dispreferred action. According to Seedhouse (2004), the types of responses are produced with regards to the interactants' desire to exhibit affiliation or disaffiliation concerning the issues at hand. The preferred action is usually seen as a normative and unmarked response which could generally be produced in immediacy. On the other hand, the dispreferred action becomes marked and possibly requires accountability. Also, it might be subject to social sanction. However, Heritage (1984a quoted in Seedhouse, 2004, p.24) suggests that only the dispreferred response that is usually invoked by snap and unmitigated talk is sanctionable because it presumably threatens the social face of the

interlocutors. Yet, the dispreferred action is often carefully designed with mitigating devices, such as delay and pause in order to minimize hostility. Such mitigating devices are employed by interactants in order to avoid the possibility of social sanction.

3.3.1.3 Turn Taking

It is obvious that the construction of adjacency pairs and preference organization inevitably involve a turn-taking system. Sacks et al. (1974; quoted in Seedhouse, 2004) proposed that turn-taking is governed by a local management system (p.27). This system is mutually managed by interactants to help organize the allocation of turns in live conversation. The mechanism consists of components which are known as turn-constructual units (TCUs) and transition relevance place (TRP). While TCUs could be constructed through linguistic categories and gesture, TRP indexes possible ends and projectability at certain points in TCUs, thus allowing the interactants to initiate their responses. Because the production of TCUs and TRP are closely knitted, overlap occurs at various positions, such as at a TRP or within TCUs. Such occurrence of overlap potentially shows affiliation, or bolsters disaffiliation, towards social action. To resolve overlap, Schegloff (2000a quoted in Seedhouse, 2004, p.28) suggests that interactants might orient to the normative practice where one person speaks at a time as an overlap resolution device in live conversation. In addition, the interactants may use other resources to manage their overlapping talk such as hitches (e.g. stretching a part of talk or repeating preceding element of talk) and perturbations (e.g. using faster or slower pace of talk or increasing pitch and/or volume of talk) or even solo talk (i.e. the talk which is performed by only one speaker). In addition, Sacks (1974 quoted in Liddicoat, 2007.) argues that using solo talk could be considered as the strongest counter to overlap since it treats the interrupting instances as non-existent.

3.3.1.4 Repair

While adjacency pairs, preference organization, and turn taking constitute the sequential organization of talk; another feature, repair, is invoked once interactional problems of speaking, hearing or understanding occur. For CA, there is a belief that shared perspectives and mutual understanding among societal members could be reciprocally constructed and maintained via repair in ongoing talk

(Seedhouse, 2004). Schegloff et al. (1977 quoted in Liddicoat, 2007) have proposed four types of conversational repair depending on the roles taken by speakers who make troubles. These include: (1) self-initiated self-repair that is, the problem is pointed out and resolved by the speaker, (2) self-initiated other-repair that is, the problem is pointed out by the speaker but corrected by other participants, (3) other-initiated self-repair that is, the problem is indicated by other participants then repaired by the speaker and (4) other-initiated other-repair that is, the problem is commented and resolved by other participants rather than self.

Schegloff et al. (1977 quoted in Liddicoat, 2007) concluded that self-initiated self-repair is the most preferred form of repair. From the position of repair, it is noticeable that the first two positions, same turn repair and transition space repair explicitly allow the speaker to initiate and execute possible problematic talk. Accordingly, it decreases the possibility of other-repair which is often inappropriate because it is face-threatening. On the other hand, other-initiated other-repair is the least preferred form of repair. Such unpopularity might be due to the possibility that people would interpret the act of other-initiated other-repair as face-threatening or disaffiliation. Thus, problems repaired by the others are often designed with preface and/or mitigation (e.g. I think) (Seedhouse, 2004, p.36). Although the design of other-initiated other-repair implicitly confers dispreferred status, it allows the previous speaker to accept or reject the correction. The modification shapes the dispreferred other-repair to function as having correction invitation format; therefore, it affirms self-repair as more favorable action (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979 quoted in Liddicoat, 2007, p.248).

3.3.2 Conversation Analysis Procedure

Established as an analytical approach, CA is not randomly but systematically conducted following several steps during the analysis. According to Seedhouse (2004, p.38), it is crucial that the researchers, first of all, must approach available data of social interaction with unmotivated looking; i.e. to uncover possibly new social phenomenon in mundane talk activities without pre-theorized or pre-assumption. Equally important, the data must be obtained from its naturally occurring setting by means of recording. Heritage (1984b quoted in Sidnell, 2002) affirms that recording

could preserve the complexity of live conversation and its details could be subject to extensive study through repeated replay and transcription. In addition, Sacks (1984b quoted in Sidnell, 2002, p.21) insists that the use of actual data often exhibits extraordinary things, the researchers and interested others could revisit the original data to discover different aspects of interaction which are previously unnoticed (Psathas, 1995).

Following this process of data recording, the researchers need to produce rigorous transcripts of the data. Due to ample details and need for public accessible of data, the transcription convention was originally invented by Gail Jefferson (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). The conventions provide symbols which indicate both linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects of a conversation.

Next, the distinctive phenomenon of talk should be identified based on how the interactants' empirical conduct the talk (Psathas, 1995). Once the focus is established, the researchers inductively scrutinize the data in order to gather various instances of such phenomenon. After that, the researchers could unfold the sequential organization which regularly occurs in the phenomenon and explicate how such phenomenon is actually produced, noticed and oriented to by the interactants as normative reference for their actions (Heritage, 1988 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004). The researchers can begin with basic features of conversation such as turn-taking organization (Seedhouse, 2004, p.39). Also, they can descriptively analyze adjacency pairs, preference order, or course of actions namely its sequential patterns of interaction.

Furthermore, Heritage (1995 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004) proposes deviant case analysis as a measurement of the validity of the normative organization of the sequence of the phenomenon. Finally, other social aspects which are interactionally constructed within the actual organization of sequence such as social roles, identities, gender, etc. could be discussed (Seedhouse, 2004, p.41). Based on CA's concern over an emic perspective, it is impossible for the researchers to make assumptions on the interactants' cognitive state unless it is empirically expressed, addressed and oriented to by the interactants (Psathas, 1995).

3.3.3 Conversation Analysis and the Concept of Context

According to Seedhouse, CA researchers regard context as dynamic, complex and highly empirical (Seedhouse, 2004, p.42). To explore the extent to which the aspect of context is relevant to talk in interaction, CA considers that the sequential organization of talk is context – free and context – sensitive (Sacks, 1974 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004, p.42). The organizational sequence is considered context-free because basic features such as turn taking and adjacency pairs could be applied to every type of talk unaffected by given contextual characteristics such as gender, race, etc. of the interactants. Moreover, it is context-sensitive in the sense that contexts could shape patterns of talk into certain characteristics (Cheng, 2003). For example, Sacks et al. (1974 quoted in Cheng, 2003, p.15) suggest that socio-cultural categories such as the ethnic identity of the interactants which are implicitly brought into talk could affect the allocation of speakership.

Furthermore, the context is perceived as complex because either the sequences of action or the modes of interactional organization (Schegloff, 1987 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004, p.44) – a particular way people interactionally manage the encounter – could be similarly regarded as the context. Consequently, context in CA's sense is not static rather it is talked into being by volatile interactional organization.

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

The data that I analyze in the research presented here are derived from televised interviews called “เจาะข่าวเด่น (cho-khwao-den)”. The audio data which concerned the political event was retrieved from <http://www.krobkruakao.com> on February, 2013. As part of the evening news, “เรื่องเด่นเย็นนี้ (reung-den-yen-nii)” which was broadcast daily on channel 3 during 15:55-17:45 p.m., the interview session lasted approximately twenty minutes and was hosted by a well-known Thai anchor, Sorayuth Sathassanachinda. During the election period, each of the five candidates were separately invited for an interview (one time) on different evenings. The overall activity was mainly carried out in general question-answer sequences focusing on several themes namely electoral campaigns, career achievements and personal

experiences. The total corpus of the data is approximately 102 minutes and 33 seconds.

The live conversations were then transcribed based on Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Heritage & Clayman, 2010), and sparse modification was additionally made in accordance to Du Bois' (1991, 2006) modified transcription for borrowing words from foreign languages (i.e. English and Chinese) and non-verbal cues (e.g. laughter). Following the previously described conversation analytic approach found by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1972 quoted in Heritage, & Clayman, 2010), my analytical focus is on the IEs' responsive turn construction, and the process through which the IR and IEs co-construct the interaction. The IEs' responsive turns were grouped based on different types of IR's questions and structurally observed and analyzed in accordance with their relevancy to both topic and action agenda of the IR's questions. In addition to discursive strategies demonstrated by the IEs to handle possible hostile questions, the analysis includes the exploration of interactional goals and how they are co-constructed through the sequential organization of news interviews with focus on political issues by the IR and the IEs along with other possibly emerging issues such as relationships and social roles. Though this is a study of the interactional process of talk, other features (e.g. non-verbal cues) are cautiously unobtainable due to the production process. Because the news interviews in this study concerned the Bangkok governor electoral campaigns, the recordings may focused largely on the guests' talks. Thus, the camera often captured the guests who were acting as the IEs. Therefore, it was impossible to explore other reactions and as such my analysis focuses largely on linguistic interaction.

3.5 Information of Corpus Data

Following the resignation of the Bangkok governor – M.R. Sukhumbhand Paripatra – the day before his term was complete (Fredrickson, 2013), the Election Commission of Thailand (ECT) held the next Election date in March 3rd, 2013. Although the total number of Bangkok governor candidates was 25, the research sample frame was determined by the polls differently conducted by several

educational institutions. Therefore, the samples were selected through a non-probability method indicating five candidates who were constantly surfacing on top of the chart namely: (1) Pol.Gen. Pongsapat Pongcharoen from Pheu Thai party; (2) M.R. Sukhumbhand Paripatra from Democrat party; (3) Mr. Kosit Suvinijit; (4) Pol.Gen.Seripisut Temiyavet; and (5) Mr. Suharit Siamwalla as independent candidates (“NIDA Poll,” 2013). Due to the popularity of these candidates, they were frequently invited to televised interview programs. The data analyzed in this corpus were thus collected from convenience samplings. The selected samples were found to have roughly similar social characteristics. They were Thai middle-aged males holding top positions in workplaces as indicated in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Demographic Information of Top Five Candidates in Bangkok Governor Election, 2013

Demographic	Number of element ($n=5$)	Percentage (total=100%)
Gender	Male = 5	100
Age	40-50 = 1	20
	51-60 = 3	60
	61≤ = 1	20
Education	Bachelor degree = 1	20
Attainment	Master degree = 3	60
	Ph.D. = 1	20
Affiliation	Political party =2 (Pheu Thai party, Democrat party)	40
	Independent candidate =3	60
Position held	Executives in government service =3	60
prior to the competition	Executives in private sector =2	40

The Bangkok gubernatorial election in March 2013 was considered tense between two major political parties – Democrat party and Pheu Thai party. While

several members of the Democrat party have consecutively held the city's governor office for over eight years, the Pheu Thai party led the then national government at that point. Following these two teams of administration, there were widespread rumors about conflicts between the city and national government on corruptions, flooding problem and thereby affected the people to perceive the then governor's performance as poor. Amidst the political mayhem, the current governor resigned and the tense on gubernatorial electoral campaign escalated (Arevaamy, 2013). The victory of a candidate from one of these political parties would reflect their political bastion in Bangkok metropolitan; the area that Democrat party attempted to preserve while Pheu Thai party tried to overturn. With already established support of the parties, Pol.Gen. Pongsapat Pongcharoen and M.R. Sukhumbhand Paripatra were placed ahead which possibly forestalled the entrance of independent candidates into the election. However, Singkaneti (NIDA Poll, 2013) argued that they were not on an easy road to victory because quite a large number of undecided voters might have elected the candidates whose campaigns were deemed to be improving their lives. Thus, the entry of the independent candidates might have heated up the situation not only because they were fresh alternatives, but also their popularity and the votes earned, might have affected those expected by the two party-affiliated candidates thus reducing their chance to win.

The micro-analysis of the interviews with the Bangkok gubernatorial candidates would be interesting in the sense that, first it would yield insight into the mechanisms in which the IEs employ strategies for responding to journalistic inquiries. Based on the normative practices of the interview and the IR's different types of questions, it might be interesting to uncover the way in which the IEs' responsive turns are constructed. In addition, the study might reveal other implicit issues such as the relationship and roles of the IR and the IEs. Lastly, all selected samples were of candidates who actually gave interviews themselves. Usually during a Thai election, the party leaders or the key persons are invited to do interviews, not necessarily the candidates. Therefore, this study is interesting because it focuses on specific candidates in an election, not just party leaders or political figureheads.

3.6 Methodological Justification of the Research

Qualitative research seeks to understand social life in context-specific settings and from people's point of views through approaches such as naturalistic, ethnographic and participatory approaches. The issue of trustworthiness, concerning how the findings of qualitative study are worthwhile for interested others and could be credible accounts of particular social phenomena, is crucial to qualitative research with a distinct methodology and process specifically defined for each context Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Tuli (2010 quoted in Clayman, 2004).

While ethnomethodology and conversation analysis are alike in terms of exploring social practices of members of a particular society, the data in this study would be analyzed based on conversation analysis approach. Due to the scope of this study which aims to explore structure of talk- in-interaction between the participants in the news interviews only, the application of conversation analysis which emphasizes the way talk and interaction constitute social action (Arminen, 2006) is the most suitable. In addition, this study which focuses on interactional patterns of the IEs' responsive turns could rely on CA because the approach allows emic understanding of how each participant perceives one another's social action and thus responding to accordingly. Through CA's next turn proof procedure (mentioned elsewhere), the analysis on sequences of interaction in the news interviews could be claimed to be made based on mutual cooperation of the participants themselves.

The emphasis of CA on the analysis from an emic perspective, based on naturally occurring data confirms in credibility and confirmability of the research. Seedhouse (2004) states that in searching for the construct validity in emic perspective studies, the CA researchers can examine how the participants locally manage to accomplish their goal throughout interaction. Seedhouse asserts that the CA researchers infer their explanations to the participants' organization locally displayed during interaction. He further explains that the participants usually rely on normative reference to organize their interaction, thereby exchanging and accomplishing their social actions. The present research gains emic perspective from the participants' interpretations and understandings of one another unfolding in and through the

interaction. The use of audio and video recording together with transcripts reduces uncertainty and obscurity of raw materials – instances of talk – thus ensuring dependability of the research. It also allows detailed and apparent access to how the social interactions are locally managed and displayed (Peräkylä, 1997).

Unlike other qualitative studies, Lepper (2000 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004) adds that CA as well as its interpretation of data is based upon sequential accountability – giving an account of how the turn at talk is reasonable and sensible by analyzing its sequential development and distributional accountability – providing explanation why a certain phenomenon only functions in one particular interactional condition.

With the advance of recording technology and careful arrangement of data gathering, Peräkylä (1997) further claims three aspects to strengthen the reliability of CA research including: (1) selection of what is recorded, (2) the technical quality of recordings and (3) the adequacy of transcripts.

First, selection of what is recorded – since the prime interest of this study lies in the news interview with focus on political issues– the interaction between a famous IR and several IEs who were candidates for particular election was specifically selected. Because the politicians as the IEs are obliged to piece together different groups of interests in the society while attempting to win over the discussion, the data collected over a short period of time before the actual election helped provide ample information concerning discursive practices used to increase political gain while maintaining a particular image. Moreover, each session of the interview, which lasted approximately twenty minutes, offered a large enough corpus for observing and analyzing phenomena of interest. Next, the technical quality of recordings – because the data were derived from audio files originally recorded by the broadcast channel and distributed online, the recording quality, particularly the sound, was excellent. Accordingly, the superb condition of recording facilitated the transcription process. Lastly, the adequacy of transcripts – to ensure the accuracy and standard of the study – the data derived from each session of the interview were transcribed in accordance with Jeffersonian transcription (Heritage & Clayman, 2010) yet with the addition of modified transcription (Du Bois, 1991, 2006) on borrowing words from foreign languages (i.e. English and Chinese) and non-verbal cues (e.g. laughter). The detailed transcriptions were frequently revisited during the analysis process so as to develop

optimal accuracy of the ongoing phenomena. Moreover, the accuracy and correction of transcriptions were evaluated and co-edited by the research advisor.

Peräkylä (1997) asserts that despite being context-bound, CA studies could be generalized to a certain extent. The basic interactional mechanisms such as a turn-taking system, repair, adjacency pairs and preference order could be generalizable across all domains of talk and possibly cross-culturally. However, there are specific features of conversation which are socio-culturally bound such as the features in the micro-analytic manner of interview questioning and answering. Therefore, the findings of professional practices in this broadcasting news interview with politicians could be generalizable to a similar setting to show what people in this profession could verbally perform. Also, the findings of such interactional organization could be applied to understand interviews or similar acts of questioning – responding that have shared institutional goals of news interview in which the IR acquires the information from the IEs in adversarial yet objective manner (Levinson, 1992 quoted in Seedhouse, 2004).

In addition, a more recent trend has been CA comparative studies of institutional practices. This way of analysis allows the researchers to compare one social action that is found across multiple institutions. For example, Drew (2003 quoted in Peräkylä, 1997) compared formulation – how the participants propose a gist of prior talk in news interviews, workplace negotiations, radio call-in programs and psychotherapy. The study showed how these institutions accomplished such actions differently in order to handle specific consequences. Although, the comparative studies address the issue of generalizability because they provide comparison and contrast between different settings, most of them are likely to be considered case studies.

Nonetheless, Peräkylä further suggests that the generalizability of CA studies could be approachable from the concept of possibility. He explains that “Social practices that are possible, i.e. possibilities of language use” (Peräkylä, 1997, p.297) are considered units of analysis for most conversation analysis studies, institutional settings in particular. Hence, the possibility of diverse conducts in similar contexts could be considered generalizable although they might be differently actualized across settings. That the possibility could indicate generalizability is relevant to the fact that

any competent member of the same socio-cultural context could possibly perform and understand the variations themselves. Finally, Seedhouse (2004) claims that the CA approach has strong ecological validity due to its procedural requirements. The units of analysis, i.e. talk, must be naturally recorded in its authentic context. Moreover, the research findings focusing on an emic perspective are analyzed in accordance with the same normative reference the participants employ in their interaction, thus showing what the people could and actually do in real situations.

3.7 Methodological Limitation of the Research

In addition to the inclusiveness provided by recorded data, Peräkylä cautions that there is a possibility that some features of social interaction might be lost. These features include (1) medium- and long- span temporal processes, (2) ambulatory events and (3) impacts of text and other non-conversational modalities of actions (Peräkylä, 1997, p.286). For temporal processes, CA's notion that social interaction is accomplished in and through the relative timing of how sequential orders contrast with some social interactions continuously operated in longer temporal spans. For example, in social service or healthcare service, the agents might have to conduct several meetings for each case in order to deal with problems and provide help. As a result, just recording one interaction of these events might provide inadequate data for analysis; Peräkylä thus suggests a longitudinal study of each case for a larger corpus efficient for analysis.

Next, ambulatory events concerns the fact that in some situations, the position of the participants engaging in the interaction is not fixed. For example, the interaction in a hospital's ward round consists of busy professionals and alternate patients who are always on the move either in the patient's room or along the ward's corridor. Hence, the entire event might be better captured with different recording devices stationed in multiple sites. Finally, documentary realities discussing 'textual realities' (Smith, 1974 quoted in Peräkylä, 1997, p.286) points out that for certain interactions, written documents might play a part in organizing verbal interaction. For instance, a business order sent by telex and fax might organize a negotiation between

two traders during a telephone conversation. For complete and consistent analysis, relevant documents should be gathered along with the recording of the interaction.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter analyzes the IE's responses to different types of interview initiations. The initiative turns of the IR include the first type of questioning as interrogative which is divided into four sub-types: 4.1.1 neutral interrogatives; 4.1.2 follow-up interrogatives; 4.1.3 interrogatives in the form of anticipatory discourse; and 4.1.4 negative follow-up (judgment) interrogatives. The second type of the IR's initiation turn is known as an invitation to talk. The third type is found in the form of a declarative statement, and the last type of type is another form of declarative statement but with IR's negative assessment of IEs' proposals or ideas. Based on the concept of the adjacency pair (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973 quoted in Raymond, 2003) and sequence of question – answer (Heritage & Roth, 1995; Clayman, 2001), the IEs' responses are analyzed in accordance to its relevancy or irrelevancy of topic and action, detailed analysis and discussion of the IE's responses to interview questions are also focused within this chapter.

4.1 Responses to Interrogatives

Sentences are often treated as actual questions by the IR and the IEs through the grammatical element known as an interrogative. The interrogative is an utterance that forms the basis of question/answer adjacency pair grammatically. This type of question is usually produced by inverting a position of auxiliary verb before introducing the subject, and expects the IE to provide acceptance or denial (Quirk et al., 1985 quoted in Heritage & Roth, 1995). However, the actual designs of IR's interrogatives are more complex, as well as those of the IE's response to the interrogatives. The analysis of the IE's response is described according to four designs of the IR's interrogatives: 4.1.1 neutral interrogatives; 4.1.2 follow-up interrogatives; 4.1.3 interrogatives in the form of anticipatory discourse, and 4.1.4 negative follow-up (judgment) interrogatives.

4.1.1 Responses to Neutral Interrogatives

Neutral interrogative is the interrogative used in an impartial tone, seeking for a wide range of information (e.g. confirmation, elaboration and explanation). In the context of a TV show interview, the IR is asking questions to IEs who are candidates for governor in the year 2013. As part of the interview, the IR asks the IE to address his weakness, using a neutral interrogative. The question is formed in a neutral tone in order to initiate responses from the IEs to address such topics in various ways.

Extract 21 (21 Jan. 2013, IE₁)

- 1 IR: อ้อ^๑อะจุตอ่อนมีมัย
- 2 IE₁: →ผมพูดไม่ค่อยชอบพูดอะ
- 3 IR: อ้อ^๑[จุตอ่อน
- 4 IE₁: → [แล้วพูดไม่ค่อยเป็นอะ
- 5 IR: พูดไม่ค่อยเป็นนะอะ[แล้วจะปรับยังง
- 6 IE₁: [อ้อ^๑ (พยักหน้า)
- 7 ก็ผมคือผมอะครับ

In line 1, the IR uses a neutral interrogative to ask whether the IE has any weaknesses or not. This type of question shown in line 1 “Do you have any weakness?” (“อ้ออะจุดอ่อนมีมัย”) normally requires yes or no answer. However, the IE responds with non-conforming action. Instead of giving a yes or no answer, the IE (line 2) gives a descriptive response to address his specific trait “I don’t like to talk” (“ผมพูดไม่ค่อยชอบพูดอะ”), without indexing the question asked. The answer is seen as topic relevant because the IE’s suggestion on his disfavor of talking is evidently accepted by the IR (line 3). The IE (line 4) continues addressing his lack of talking skills using the conjunction “and” (“แล้ว”) that shows continuity of his previous response. The continued response is also seen as topic relevant through the IR’s (line 5) repetition and follow-up asking for the way to overcome the weakness.

As shown in extract 21, rather than expressing affirmation of having weakness via regular yes-form, the IE's answer in the form of an explanation could effectively decrease the degree of explicit acceptance of having weakness. Such form of response

is seen as indirect acceptance and it could constitute polite behavior on part of the IE, because the IE conforms to the institutional norms of answering relevant answer to the question in subtle manner. Accordingly, the implicit acceptance not only gives the IE immediate defense but also allows him to control the direction of the answer rather than conforming to the IR's question. However, without indexing the question asked, this indirect response maybe difficult to understand as topical relevant to the listeners.

Besides giving a plain description of oneself in response to the IR's close-ended question, the IE in extract 22 is found using this technique together with a repetition of word from the IR's previous turn, thus clearly linking the IR's turn and the IE's response.

Extract 22 (25 Jan. 2013, IE₂)

- 1 IR: สุดท้ายผมถามพูดมาเป็นจุดเด่นทั้งนั้นเลยตัวเองมีจุดอ่อนมัย
- 2 IE₂: →จุดอ่อนเหรอครับ(.)ไม่มีทุน
- 3 IR: “อ้อ”
- 4 IE₂: →ไม่มีทุนเท่ากับคนอื่นเขา
- 5 IR: “อ้อทุนแล้วก็”
- 6 IE₂: [งบน้อยกว่าแล้วก็ตั้งใจจะไม่ใช้
- 7 IR: “อ้อ”

To respond to the IR's (line 1) question on the IE's weakness, the IE indexes the question through lexical repetition “weakness” (“จุดอ่อน”) from the question to form the first TCU in a confirmation check form “weakness?” (“จุดอ่อนเหรอครับ”). Hence, the IE's response is first irrelevant to the action agenda of the question. That is instead of saying yes or no, the IE starts the turn with a confirmation check and a descriptive statement. After the IR's acceptance (line 3), the IE provides further details of his answer in lines 4 and 6. In line 4, the IE repeats his answer in previous turn “I don't have money to invest” (“ไม่มีทุน”) as the initial TCU in this turn before adding more information to compare his weakness of having limited funding to other political parties “I don't have as much money as the others to invest” (“ไม่มีทุนเท่ากับคนอื่นเขา”). By deliberately showing himself in a lower economical position than his

opponents, the response is topic relevant and the IE might gain sympathy from the audience. Following this the IR repeats the answer given, and invites the IE to supply additional affirmative information.

The use of an explanation of what could be understood as weakness to respond to the interrogative might allow the IE to answer the question without having to admit explicitly that he has a weakness. Indexing the question by repeating a certain keyword from a prior turn might help the IE to create, in the explicit sense, continuity and connectivity between the previous and current turn. Accordingly, such a practice might facilitate the audience to perceive the IE's responses as answering the question explicitly. Moreover, that the IE selects specific keywords and adopts them is an indication that the responses might remind the audience of the directional point he wants to discuss.

Unlike the two previous extracts, the IE in extract 23, although using a lexical repetition in responsive turn, produces an answer which actually switches the topic agenda determined by the IR's question.

Extract 23 (22 Jan. 2013, IE₃)

- 1 IR: คุณพงศ์พัคมีจุดอ่อนมั๊ย
- 2 IE₃: → ครับจุดอ่อนผมว่าทุกคนมีนะครับผมอาจจะมีความรู้ในส่วนหนึ่งนะครับเกี่ยวกับการบริหาร=
- 3 =จัดการเมืองใหญ่ นะครับ
- 4 IR: อ้อ
- 5 IE₃: → แต่ว่าส่วนอื่นๆเนี่ยที่เป็นความรู้เฉพาะบุคคลหรือว่าเฉพาะเรื่องเฉพาะราวเนี่ยเราก็จะมีที่มที่=
- 6 =ปรึกษา
- 7 IR: อ้อ
- 8 IE₃: แล้วก็จะมีคนมาช่วยดูและครับผมก็จะสามารถบริหารจัดการในภาพรวมแล้วก็ตั้งเป้าประสงค์ในการ=
- 9 =ที่จะวัดดัชนีความสุขของพี่น้องประชาชนเนี่ยให้เข้มแข็งให้แข็งแรงขึ้นให้ทุกคนมีความสุขมาก=
- 10 =ขึ้นอันนี้ก็จะเป็นเรื่องของการบริหารจัดการที่จะนำองค์ความรู้ต่างๆที่เกี่ยวข้องเนี่ยนำไปสู่จุดหมาย=
- 11 =ปลายทางเดียวคือการเปลี่ยนแปลงให้เกิดสิ่งที่ดีกว่าแล้วก็ดีขึ้นต่อไปครับ
- 12 IR: [อ้อ

In response to the IR's question asking the IE to address whether he has any weakness or not, the IE (line 2) is clearly seen avoiding overt acceptance that he does. In the responding turn, the IE first provides token of acknowledgment, then indexes

the question with a keyword, “weakness” (“จุดอ่อน”), in the next TCU. In the following TCU, the IE answers, “I think everyone has his own weakness” (“ผมว่าทุกคนมีนะครับ”) in line 2 when implies not only that the IE, but also everyone has a weakness, and such weakness is a normal condition for every human being. Therefore, his answer is not relevant to the topic of the question specifically asked about him. Instead of accepting or denying whether or not he has a personal weakness, the IE proceeds to claim that everyone does have some kind of weakness.

The IR does not see this topic irrelevant answer as a problem, and does not repair to obtain a topic relevant one, but rather he lets the IE continue providing a descriptive statement of what he is good at instead of what he is lacking “...I may have some managerial knowledge on urban city” (“...ผมอาจจะมีความรู้ในส่วนหนึ่งนะครับ เกี่ยวกับการบริหารจัดการเมืองใหญ่ นะครับ”) in lines 2-3. So far in this extract, despite the shift of both action and topic agenda, the IE gains approval from the IR’s turn (line 4) urging the IE to distribute more information. The IE is then granted permission to continue his response without answering the question. By not denying directly of having a weakness, rather the IE presents his positive character traits.

Comparing the three previous extracts, the IE responding to the IR’s question that seeks either confirmation or denial with a descriptive statement might be advantageous. In some cases acceptance of the IR’s question might suggest negativity on part of the IE; the descriptive statement helps the IE to comply with the question in an indirect manner. In addition, the IE could easily smuggle in a new topic and thus take control of the ensuing talk. Although a blunt answer or the answer without indexing the previous questioning turn might be practical, it could also confuse the audience in terms of what is being discussed. Whereas, the use of repetition of word to index the previous question could help the audience keep track of the ongoing talk. On part of the IE, such a technique seems to facilitate the continuity of the question turn and his responsive statement. In addition, the descriptive statement which generalizes that weakness is a part of the human condition, as shown in extract 23, seems to be an effective technique to control the direction of talk. This is because the IE is able to give an explanation of having a weakness not only for himself but for most people. This practice can only be achieved with the acceptance from the IR. In

this case, the IR withdraws from the entire sequence of discussion despite the irrelevance of the IE's response. Therefore, the IE continues the turn with an irrelevant topic, which could be understood as purposefully promoting his campaign. Actually, the IR's lack of intervention could be seen as disadvantageous for the audience because the question has not been answered and thus information which is sought after is absent for the audience.

It is notable from the previous extracts that the IE usually responds to the IR's close-ended question in an indirect manner when the question is asked about their weak characteristics or qualifications. However, when facing a close-ended question that concerns an extraneous matter, the IE is seen to provide an overt response as shown in extract 24. During the interview, the IR asks the IE to reflect upon his previous working experience. Though the IR's question turn is about the IE's negative experience, his actual question is a neutral interrogative since no IR's judgment is added.

Extract 24 (21 Jan. 2013, IE₁)

- 1 IR: นะอะแล้วถามจริงๆ[ทะเบียนผมถามต่อไปอีกอะไรในสี่ปีที่ผ่านมาที่คุณขาย(.)คือผิดหวังอะหรือว่าไป=
- 2 IE₁: [ครับ
- 3 IR: =เจออะแล้วมันผิดหวังจนติดอยู่ในใจมีมัยยะ
- 4 IE₁: → (.)ก็ผิดหวังเพราะบังเรื่องได้เกิดความล่าช้า[ในะครับปีห้าสองวิกฤตการณ์ทางการเมืองปีห้าสาม=
- 5 IR: [อ้อ [ครับ
- 6 IE₁: =วิกฤตการณ์ทางการเมืองปีห้าสี่น้ำท่วม[ในะครับเราๆได้สูญเสียเวลาเราได้สูญเสียกำลังๆกาย=
- 7 IR: [ครับ [อ้อ
- 8 IE₁: →=ของ(.)องค์กร[เราได้สูญเสียงบประมาณในการที่จะบูรณะเมืองกับอะไรเป็นต้น[ในะครับอา=
- 9 IR: [ครับ [อ้อ
- 10 IE₁: →=ดังนั้นก็เสียดายโอกาสแต่ว่าความเสียดายโอกาสนะ[มันไม่เท่าความเสียใจที่เกิดเหตุๆ=
- 11 IR: [ครับ
- 12 IE₁: =[ร้ายดังกล่าวดูที่น้องประชาชน
- 13 IR: [ครับ

As a former governor running for his second term, the IE is asked whether or not he had any disappointment during the previous term. The IR's question (lines 1 and 3) is produced in a neutral interrogative form. Following a brief silence, the IE (line 4) directly answers with an action and topic agenda relevant response to the question by repeating a key word from the question "disappointed" ("ผิดหวัง") then

accounts for his disappointment “...I’m disappointed because some projects were delayed...” (“...ก็ผิดหวังเพราะบางเรื่องได้เกิดความล่าช้า นะครับ...”). Interestingly, toward the end of his elaborated turn, the IE (line 10) concludes his answer by shifting the topic from his disappointment to his empathy toward the people. Despite this topical shift, the IR (line 11) acknowledges its continuity. This might possibly due to the IE’s use of another lexical repetition “felt pity for” (“เสียดาย”) from his previous TCU. The repetition thus effectively links the two TCUs; the divergence of talk is achieved smoothly and maybe unnoticed.

From this case, the effect of using a lexical repetition from a previous turn of talk is clearly advantageous in the interview process for several reasons. First, the IE is able to achieve an acceptance of his response to a negative question even though the IE does not actually answer the question. Accordingly, he could still maintain his public image to a certain degree. Second, the use of a repeated keyword allows the IE to shift topic without being seen as devious. This method that the IE could elaborate the turn to add more information irrelevant to the question allows him to take control of a part of the interview. Therefore, the talk is potentially beneficial to the IE in a way that it helps to promote his campaign.

4.1.2 Responses to Follow-Up Interrogatives

Follow-up questions enable the IR to follow up on information produced by the IE. These questions regularly seek for confirmation or clarification from the IE. Follow-up questions emerge in a few different forms to include: confirmation check, and clarification request.

In extract 25, during the interview, the IE is allowed to discuss his campaign in details. Following this, the IR produces follow-up questions that allow him to act as an animator (Goffman, 1981 quoted in Clayman, 1992) who makes a summary based on the IEs' previous discussions, before asking for confirmation.

Extract 25 (24 Jan. 2013, IE₄)

- 1 IR: → [สรุปว่า:
2 ต้องมีทะเบียนบ้านในกรุงเทพได้จับ[สลากก]่อนไข่ม้อยะ

- 3 IE₄: →อะอ่า:ถูกต้องเลยอะ[ผมต้องดูแลคนกรุงเทพก่อน[ใช้มัยยะใช้มัยครั้นะครับเนี่ย↓แค่นี้เอง
 4 IR: [เอ้อ [เอ้อ [ใครได้=
 5 =อยู่หัวขอยไล่เสี่ยงกันไป
 6 IE₄: เสี่ยงกันไปนะครับ

Following the IE's discussion of remodeling the trading zone, the IR's (lines 1-2) interrogative is based on the interpretation of the IE's given information "Based on what you said, those who have registered in Bangkok area get first chance on lot-drawing" ("สรุปว่า:ต้องมีทะเบียนบ้านในกรุงเทพได้จับ[สลาก]ก่อน...") and confirmation check "doesn't it" ("...ใช้มัยยะ"). The IE (line 3) first acknowledges the question then responds with relevant action providing confirmation to the IR's prior turn "exactly" ("ถูกต้องเลยอะ") without pause, before further providing an explanation "I must take care of the Bangkok people first" ("...ผมต้องดูแลคนกรุงเทพก่อน..."). The explanation implies that giving a priority to a group of Bangkok people is an inevitable duty rather than his personal issue. Then he checks for confirmation from the IR.

Apparently, it is shown from the data that the use of a direct answer with yes to confirm the interrogative provides a clear and direct answer for the audience to quickly understand the issue under discussion. In addition, the IE in this case quickly adds justification to his overt acceptance of the IR's presupposition. Such extra information could lead the audience to understand the IE's situation thus gives them insight into the IE's reason behind his accusable action. Accordingly, this extract shows that it might be convenient and beneficial for the IE to provide direct acceptance and continue with descriptive details using a presupposition found accurate and relevant to the IE. Such practice could be economical in a way that the IE does not need to recap the entire story, but only needs to add more information to support his answer.

The previous extract shows that an overt form of response is used, and it shows that the IR's follow-up question is found relevant and accurate. This technique allows the IE to continue with more elaboration. However, the IE sometimes provides

confirmation in part as shown in extract 25, which shows that the IR's interpretation is not totally accurate.

Extract 26 (30 Jan. 2013, IE₅)

- 1 IR: คุณสุหฤทธิคิดว่าถ้าสมมติว่าเป็นผู้ว่ากทม.เปลี่ยนกรุงเทพได้เฉียบพลัน(ใช้)มั๊ย
- 2 IE₅: →หลายอย่างเฉียบพลันหลายอย่างไม่ได้ครับ
- 3 IR: อะไรที่เฉียบพลันเลย
- 4 IE₅: →เฉียบพลันคือการ[—
- 5 IR: [คือปีนึงเห็นเลยชัดเจนว่า>ได้แน่<เลย
- 6 IE₅: →ครับอันนี้ก็คือการมีส่วนร่วมของสังคมอะครับมันมีข้อหนึ่งที่ผมคิดว่าน่าจะทำได้เลย[แล้วจะ=
- 7 IR: [อื้อ
- 8 IE₅: =เปลี่ยนชีวิต[คนกรุงเทพจริงๆคือห้าสิบเขตห้าสิบเส้นที่[เรื่องนี้เป็นเรื่องระยะสั้น[เราสามารถ=
- 9 IR: [อื้อๆ [อื้อ [อื้อ
- 10 IE₅: =จะให้ผอ.เขตไปคุยกับเขตประชาชนในเขต[และสร้างจุดเด่น[ของเขตตัวเอง
- 11 IR: [อื้อ [ของแต่ละเขต
- 12 IE₅: ใช่มั้ยครับ°

Based on the IR's interpretation of the IE's discussion on fast-track schemes of development, his question in line 1 presumes that the IE believes that the city could be altered by his plans at once. The IE (line 2) replies with a confirmation in part "Many things could be changed immediately whereas others couldn't be" ("หลายอย่างเฉียบพลันหลายอย่างไม่ได้ครับ"). By indexing the question with a keyword "immediately" ("เฉียบพลัน"), he provides topic relevant response, which suggests the quick success of some proposals, but not all. The use of a partial confirmation could benefit the IE in the sense that he does not have to fully commit to the success of his proposals, although it is not action relevant. As a result, the IR seeks more information through a follow-up question asking for clarification of what could be changed (line 3). Rather than answering directly, the IE responds by repeating the key words in the question "immediate change is" ("เฉียบพลันคือการ"). The IE's turn results in the IR's interruption to define the term "[immediate change] refers to the project that could be in effect

within a year” (“คือปีนึงเห็นเลยชัดเจนว่า>ได้แน่<เลย”). Notably, the IR’s interrupting turn might perhaps be seen as self-initiated self-repair rather than interruption per se because the IR merely provides the definition of the keyword that has not been provided in his earlier turn possibly to assure mutual understanding. Accordingly, the IE (line 6) switches quickly to clarify the exact situation that could be instantly changed.

In this case, the use of a partial confirmation influences the IR to switch from a close-ended question that requires only a yes or no answer to a wh-question which calls for varieties of possible answers. In detail, the ambiguity of an anaphoric expression “many things” (“หลายอย่าง”) in the IE’s responsive turn (line 2) encourages the IR to call for more information, and allows the IE to selectively discuss what he believes can be changed immediately. In extract 26, it is obvious that the IE successfully determines new direction of talk from line 2 after providing partial confirmation.

However, the IR’s repair of his own question seems to negatively render the IE as not knowing the meaning of the question, although the IE’s action and topic relevant answer without delay in line 6 might regain his public face. According to Brown and Levison (1978 quoted in Longcope, 1995), the IE’s immediate response in line 6 shows his awareness to reclaim his public self-image which might already be impeded by the IR (line 5). That is the IE may perceive the IR’s turn (line 5) as a threat and thus straightforwardly proceeds to respond rather than finishing his turn in line 4. Although the IE might gain his positive face through information immediately provided in line 6, the negative effect of the IR’s turn may remain on the listeners’ perception toward the IE already. It should be noted that if the IE had supplied elaboration of his answer immediately after his response in line 2, he might have saved more space for the responsive turn and more importantly he would not risk losing face in the public. Conversely, the IR should withhold his definition in line 5 and observes whether or not the IE’s response contains a genuine answer after connecting his turn to the IR’s previous turn via a lexical repetition. The IR’s urgent action might be criticized as impolite. In sum, the IR’s interrupting follow-up turn clearly affects the development of sequence of talk, and it could as well affect the

listeners' perception toward the IE. With regard to this, the IR should be more careful before interrupting this kind of follow-up.

Both the overt acceptance and confirmation in part in previous extracts (extract 25 and 26 respectively) show how the IE could continually distribute elaboration, or deliberately select certain aspects for further discussion. That is to say IE has the ability to control certain level of topic control. The difference is found in extract 27 where the IR's follow-up question is indirectly confirmed through the IE's use of descriptive statements.

Extract 27 (25 Jan. 2013, IE₂)

- 1 IR: เป็น:ผู้ว่าจะหาเงิน^๑หรือ^๒ฟังดูแล้ว
- 2 IE₂: →ต้องหาเงินเข้าครับ
- 3 IR: →หาเงิน[เข้า]กม
- 4 IE₂: → [ไม่ใช่ใช้เงินอย่างเดียวครับ
- 5 IR: นะฮะ
- 6 IE₂: ครับ

Based on the IE's proposal concerning several plans for generating income into the city, the IR asks (line 1) whether the IE would be a profit-making governor. The final part of the IR's turn, "from what you said" ("ฟังดูแล้ว"), shows that his stance is inferred from the IE's previous talk. Thus, the question seems challenging to the IE because the IR's question contains a negative presumption about the IE's idea regarding the role of a governor. Although there is no confirmation token, yes or no, provided the IE's description that a governor has to raise money "[we] need to raise money" ("ต้องหาเงินเข้าครับ") in line 2 implies a confirmation of the IR's claim. It is interesting that, the IR's next turn is designed to clarify the meaning of the IE's answer that "to raise money" is for the city ("หาเงินเข้ากม"), thus it helps lessen the possibility of severe criticism of the IE. In addition to this, the IE (line 4) provides another descriptive sentence to elaborate on the IR's clarification by saying, "not exclusively spending the city's money" ("ไม่ใช่ใช้เงินอย่างเดียวครับ"). This elaborated

information produces a positive image of the governor, which is to raise money for the city, not only to spend money. In conclusion, though the IR starts with a negative presupposition challenging the governor's role in the viewpoint of the IE, they finally work together through talk to justify the governor's role which is rather positive. As this example illustrates, the IE provides a description that implies confirmation and at the same time, adds information that initiates the IR's repair of the presupposition which is seen to be incorrect.

From several previous extracts, the IR's follow-ups obviously have influence on the IE's social image in different ways. That is, these follow-ups could be produced in a way that facilitates the IE to further elaborate their responses (e.g. fill in words or clarify the IE's concept). Frequently, the mutual construction of talk in which both the IR and the IE are found contributing bits of information in a supportive manner develops a sense of the IE's trustworthiness to the listeners. On the other hand, some follow-ups which treat the IE's response as inadequate or incomprehensible might foster a negative perception toward the IE.

From previous extracts, it is evident that the IEs use different techniques to accept the IR's follow-up interrogatives such as overt acceptance, partial confirmation, and the use of plain descriptive statements. Though these devices are formed differently, the IEs similarly provide the elaborated part so as to justify their answers. The techniques used display, and vary according to degrees of the perceived adversarial-ness of the follow-up questions. That is the IEs are likely to provide clearer forms of acceptance when the follow-up question is designed not to directly attack the IE's established statement. To show that the question is partly true, the IE employs partial confirmation as a way to retain correct information while adding extra information to repair some parts of the IR's question that is viewed as incorrect. However, the IE is found using overt forms of denial as shown in extract 28, to signal that the presuppositions embedded in the IR's follow-up questions are not acceptable.

Extract 28 (22 Jan. 2013, IE₃)

1 IE₃: แต่กระบวนที่จะให้[คนนั่งรถ<L2เมล์L2>(XXX)[

- 2 IR: [นั่นล่ะอะ [คือกำลังบอกว่าเป็นผู้สมัครเพื่อไทยประชา=
 3 =นิยมแล้วหรือ
 4 IE₃: → ครับไม่ใช่ประชานิยมครับแต่ว่าอะไรที่มันเป็นปัญหาของพี่น้องประชาชนที่เราจะคืนความสุข=
 5 IR: [อื้อ
 6 IE₃: =เราจะสร้างรอยยิ้มแม้จะเป็นความสุขเพียงเล็กน้อยนะคะครับ[แต่ก็สร้างความหวังสร้างกำลังใจ=
 7 IR: [อื้อ
 8 IE₃: =ในการที่เค้าจะดำเนินชีวิตหรือใช้ชีวิตประจำวันประจำวันได้อย่างมีความสุขต่อเนื่อง
 9 IR: [อื้อ

Listening to the IE's discussion on how his campaign would positively impact a number of poor people, the IR (line 2) initiates a presupposition that the IE is attempting to implement populism in the same way his affiliating party did. The IE (line 4) provides a token of acknowledgment in the first TCU, followed by his explicit denial via no-form "this is not populism" ("...ไม่ใช่ประชานิยมครับ..."). The IE's action of overt denial which clearly repairs (other-initiated other- repair) the IR's interpretation of his statement might result from an attempt to avoid the extant criticism of prodigal populism. The IR's follow-up question is seen to accuse the IE directly. This is because populism has been widely debated among groups of scholars and knowledgeable persons in the country for its true effectiveness in developing the country since it first debuted during the 2001 general election in Thailand (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2008). While the IE's response rejects the presupposition, his following TCU clarifies topic relevant intention in detail. Though the IE explicitly denies that his policies are populist initially, his account reflects one of the essences of the populist scheme, and highlights the significance of giveaway governmental services to the poor particularly targeting their support.

Accordingly, when the IE encounters a critical negative presupposition toward him, he rejects the presupposition directly through the use of *no*. Such an answer would be clear and simple enough for everyone to understand his stance without delay. In addition, the disagreement which is theoretically regarded as a dispreferred

response, gives the IE extra space to account for his dispreferred action. Hence, the IE could first distance himself of the negative presupposition before supplying more information. Though the following declaration of his goal reflects some ideas from the presupposition, the effect of the previous direct denial helps signal that the presupposition is already rejected. The suggestion is that the IE should proceed to reject the question straightly without giving acknowledgment since it might cause confusion. Based on the data, though the first TCU “krub” (“ครับ”) or final particle used by Thai Male is intentionally used to acknowledge the question, it is similar to the act of acceptance which could lead the audience to perceive that the IE already accepted the presupposition.

4.1.3 Responses to Interrogatives in the Form of Anticipatory Discourse

According to Scollon and Scollon (2000 quoted in De Saint-Georges, 2003), an anticipatory discourse refers to a discourse that might be employed in order to create either possible or impossible future action. Because the future events, for some reason could be determined subjectively by an action of a social actor and the way he/she decides to deal with them. The anticipatory discourse thus assigns meaning to the future events and at the same time, the social actor’s viewpoint embedded within the discourse could influence how they are actualized (De Saint-Georges, 2003, p.54). Based on this definition, the IR’s instances of anticipatory discourse thus linguistically question the IE about possible circumstances, or consequences that might be caused by the IE’s actions in the future.

In the following extract, the IE encounters the IR’s challenge on his position of being a non-government nominated candidate by anticipating future cooperation with the government which may be more supportive if the governor came from the same party.

Extract 29 (25 Jan. 2013, IE₂)

- 1 IR: อ๊ะแต่ถ้าเกิดเป็นพรรคเดียวกับรัฐบาลดีกว่ามั๊ยผมลองถามดูนะฮะ
- 2 IE₂: [ก็-
- 3 IR: [พรรคเดียวกันเลยขออะไรจะจัดให้

- 4 IE₂: → ก็ๆบอกแล้ว[คราวที่แล้วผมก็ลองแล้วไง[เลือกคุณชายสุขุมพันธ์เนี่ยพรรคเดียวกับรัฐบาล
- 5 IR: [อ้อ [อ้อ
- 6 อ้าถึงเวลาเปลี่ยนรัฐบาล
- 7 IE₂: เปลี่ยนรัฐบาลอีก
- 8 IR: เอ้อ
- 9 IE₂: → แล้วบางที่เป็นพรรคเดียวกันกับรัฐบาลเนี่ยบางครั้งความ^{ู้}คิดมันไม่อิสระ
- 10 IR: อ้อ
- 11 IE₂: → คือวันนี้^{ู้}ว่ากรุงเทพมหานครต้องอิสระ[ไม่สังกัดพรรค[ต้องเป็นตัวจริงเสียงจริงคิดได้เอง...

The IR (line 1) asks for the IE's confirmation on the idea that being a government – nominated governor would be more advantageous. The IR adds a hedging device “just asking” (“ผมลองถามคุณะฮะ”) to claim that it is just a trial question, or that it is not very truthful information to ask. The IR's question is elaborated in line 3 showing how easy the cooperation between the government – nominated governor and the government could be. The IE (line 4) begins his response by referring to his experience when he elected a government – nominated governor but it did not work well. From line 4 to 8, the IR and IE work together to talk about how a government – nominated governor is not always a successful one. Though this response is non-conforming to the action agenda of the question in line 4, the IR accepts its topical relevance by using back-channeling device to support the story in lines 5-6. The IE (line 9) then switches back to the former action and topic agenda by repeating words from the question “affiliated with the government party” (“พรรคเดียวกันกับรัฐบาล”) which reconnects his turn with the IR's question in turn 1. Moreover, it is a way to keep the audience reminded of the direction of talk. With the lexical repetition, the IE designs this turn to disagree with the IR's presupposition by giving negative aspect of being controlled by the government in terms of thought. However, the disagreement is mitigated using a hedging device “sometimes” (“บางที” and “บางครั้ง”), thus reducing

possible uproar from the audience. The answer is thus acknowledged by the IR in line 10. The IE reconfirms his position in line 11, rejecting the IR's presupposition.

That the IE first responds with the example of a failed government – nominated governor rather than the actual answer might result from his need to counter the IR's elaboration that shows how it could be easier to gain approval for any proposal for those candidates who already have ties to the government. To use his experience as a reference, the IE could deny the presupposition with evidence that leads to the idea that such a claim might not always be true. Although the technique is useful, his responses might be more cohesive and easier to understand had he provided his argument to disagree in initial position and then followed with an example.

The idea of gradually building the answer from bits of information partly resembles a technique known as roundabout trajectory (Clayman, 2001). According to Clayman, such a technique is considered one of the IE's methods of evasion in interviews. That is to say, the chunks of seemingly unrelated information are put together to form a cohesive and relevant answer. Throughout the completion of such a turn, the IE empirically smuggles a new focus and takes control over the ensuing talk. In this study, the current IE however returns to the topic agenda previously set by the IR, thus showing his intention not to evade the question, but to merely give an example. Thus the listeners might have difficulty following the IE's responsive direction. Therefore, the IE's response might be optimally beneficial if the actual answer and the example are rearranged. With minor alteration such responses might well serve the IE to avoid answering disagreeable questions in a more effective way.

While the IE in extract 29 responds to the IR's evaluation of the future event, using a technique that helps to mitigate his disagreement before giving actual answer, the IE in the following extract also responds to the IR's opinion in such a way that he could evade the main question asked entirely.

Extract 30 (25 Jan. 2013, IE₂)

1 IR: มีเงินเทรอสสะกัทม. [ปีนี้ไม่เท่าไรร่นะงบประมาณ]

2 IE₂: → [โอ้โห:

- 3 →นี่แหละเป็นสำคัญทุกวันนี้ก็ทม.เนี่ยผมไม่อยากจะพูดนะวันนี้เรื่อง<L2คอร์ปชั่นL2>ทุจริตนี้ติด=
- 4 →=อันดับโลกแล้วไข่ม้อย
- 5 IR: ครับ
- 6 IE₂: นะครับก็เป็นที่ยูกันว่าทุกคนก็บอกพอมองถึงความ>ปัญหา<L2คอร์ปชั่นL2><ไม่รู้จะโทษใคร=
- 7 =เป็นทั้งนั้น[นะครับประชาชนรู้สึกอย่างนั้นถ้าเราไม่โกงนะครับ[ซื้อสตัยนะ[ตรงไปตรงมา[เงิน=
- 8 IR: [อ้อ [ฮะ [อ้อ [ครับ [อ้อ [ครับ
- 9 IE₂: =เหลือ[ครับอีก...
- 10 IR: [อ้อ

In this extract the IR's questioning turn is produced in an interrogative but it contains IR's presupposition in a form of personal opinion toward the topic asked (i.e. financial status of Bangkok). The IE produces an exclamation "oh" ("โอ้โห:") in line 2 at the first TRP. Then he (lines 3-4) uses anaphoric expression "this" ("นี่แหละ") to make the response relevant to the preceding question. However, he does not answer the question whether or not the city has money (to support his proposals), but adds his opinion that corruption is the main problem of Bangkok and it is the problem that causes the scarcity of financial resources. Therefore, the IE shifts the focus of the ensuing talk by sharing that if there was no corruption Bangkok would have enough money, but that does not answer the IR's question. Therefore, his shift of the focus allows him not to answer the question directly but rather to discuss the IR's opinion. Though such a shift of action and topic agenda is noticeable, it is initiated with an anaphoric expression which creates connection to the previous questions and prevents the IR from interrupting. In addition, the right to continue talking is clearer when the IR acknowledges the IE's (line 4) rhetoric interrogative at the turn-final place. Therefore, the question is perceived as being answered with the collaboration from the IR, even though there is a shift of topic and action agenda focus in this instance. The IE then continues to complete his talk.

Extract 31 still shows example of the IR's use of interrogative in a form of anticipating discourse and the IE's act of not answering the question. In this extract, the IE alters not only the topic focus but also the primary recipient of the information.

Extract 31 (24 Jan. 2013, IE₄)

- 1 IR: มันจะทะเลาะกันเต็มไปหมดเลยมั๊ยคุณเสรีพิสุทธ์
- 2 IE₄: →คุณอย่าอ่อนแออ่อนแอไม่ได้ผมก็ให้คุณมีอาชีพเหมือนกันถูกปะ[นะมีรายได้เหมือนเดิม[นะ=
- 3 IR: [อือ [ฮะ
- 4 IE₄: =เพียงแต่จัดระเบียบเข้าน่ะครับ

Upon the discussion on relocating the street vendors from famous and established streets to other areas of Bangkok, the IR initiates a question with a presupposition based on his estimation of a future situation. In line 1, the IR seeks a confirmation from the IE on his presupposition which claims that such a relocation might cause chaos. This presupposition puts the IE in a dilemma because to accept such a point implies that, – his plan might be perceived as ineffective. On the other hand, overt denial might risk exposing himself as being deceptive because such a chaotic incident is unpredictable. So, what the IE does is that instead of answering the question, he responds with a reference to the third party using pronoun “you” (“คุณ”) as if he were talking to the street vendors directly “you can’t be weak...” (“คุณอย่าอ่อนแอ...”). Accordingly, the topic of talk is also changed because in the following TCU, the IE is still in control of the turn topic. It is obvious that the IE does not deny or confirm the IR’s the presupposition though his action might imply the possibility of such chaos.

Through invoking a group of imagined participants, the IE could switch the talk to gain a higher status than the participants (i.e. the imagined vendors). This action is accomplished through the IR's acknowledgment of the continuity of the IE's talk, in line 3, although the relevant answer is not actually provided. Based on the IE's achieved evasion, the listeners are disadvantageous because the IE's given information

has no concern to answer the challenging question. In other words, the IE's answer is constructed in a way that allows him to campaign. Accordingly, the interview becomes a platform for the IE to convince his specific target group (i.e. the vendors) rather than providing sought-after information to the people in general.

4.1.4 Responses to Negative Follow-Up (Judgment) Interrogatives

The IR's presupposition is sometimes formulated based on his opinion or feeling toward received information. Also, there are times when the IR produces the questions based on his interpretative point of view without any mitigating device, therefore, enhancing the adversarial-ness of questions. Some of the viewpoints are in the form of negative judgments toward the IE's positions as well as their proposals. One such example is the use of negative questioning such as "Don't you know...?" which shows negative judgment toward the IE and increases the level of adversarial-ness to the question round.

Facing the IR's flat and hostile question, the IE in extract 32 discards his institutional role of an interviewee and assumes an alignment with a larger group of ordinary people. Accordingly, he could respond on behalf of the people regardless of the IR's accusation toward him initially.

Extract 32 (30 Jan. 2013, IE₅)

- 1 IR: [คุณสุหฤทไม่รู้หรือว่าการแก่นั้สยคนยากที่สุด
- 2 IE₅: →เราจะทำอะไรละครับ[เราจะยอมอย่างนี้ไปเรื่อยๆ[แล้วก็จะขอแต่รถไฟมันไม่มีทางหรอกฮะ=
- 3 IR: [อื้อ [ฮะ

Interpreted from the IE's wish to enforce ordinary people to participate in his traffic solution program by encouraging them to report any unlawful driving, the IR (line 1) forms a question without any mitigating device. Moreover, the interrogative is designed to accuse the IE of being unaware that it is difficult to change people's habit. The IE (line 2) counters the accusation by producing a topic and action irrelevant response through a shift in footing using "we" ("เรา") in a rhetorical question "what

are we supposed to do then...” (“เราจะทำอะไรล่ะครับ...”). By using shift in footing (i.e. using ‘we’ instead of ‘I’), the IE could evade the question that obviously refers to him and instead respond on behalf of ordinary people. In addition, he further initiates a sequence on behalf of the general public “thing will never be changed if we are doing nothing and keep asking for more trains” (“...[เราจะยอมอย่างนี้ไปเรื่อยๆ [แล้วก็จะขอแต่รถไฟมันไม่มีทางหรอก”]) when counteracts the IR’s attacking question, and implying his awareness of the habits of Thai people.

Through the use of shift in footing, this device allows him to respond on behalf of the people in general, or that he is not the only person responsible for answering this question. The IE implies that people are aware of old habits which the IR suggests are hard to change, but still they have got to do something different. Shifting the position and the topic of talk without the IR’s interruption (shown in line 3), the IE seems to have control over the ensuing talk. The IE successfully changes his position from the candidate who is blamed for not understanding the problem, to one of the people who know and are responsible for solving the problem. The responding act of the IE not only rejects but also counteracts the IR’s negative judgment.

The previous extract shows how the IE evades answering the IR’s negative judgment of his awareness. On the other hand, the following extract shows the IE’s use of overt denial to negate the IR’s negative judgment on a certain issue that the IE is well-aware of.

Extract 33 (30 Jan. 2013, IE₅)

- 1 IR: ไม่มีนโยบายหรือก่อนหน้านี้
- 2 IE₅: → มีนโยบายมาตั้งนานแล้วครับ[ตั้งแต่ตอนที่ผมเริ่มประกาศเมื่อเดือนสิงหา:ไปสายสิงหาไปทางกันยานะ=
- 3 IR: [อ้อ [อ้อ
- 4 IE₅: =ครับ[เรา:พอประกาศตัวเสร็จปั๊บ[เราก็มาร่วมนโยบายในะครับ[ที่นี้เราก็ต้องค่อยๆปรับมา=
- 5 IR: [ครับ [อ้อ [ครับ [อ้อ
- 6 IE₅: =เรื่อยๆมันจะมีนโยบายระยะสั้นบ้างนโยบายระยะยาวบ้าง[แต่ว่าในที่สุดแล้ว:เราต้องกลับมาให้=
- 7 IR: [อ้อ [อ้อ

- 8 IE₅: =เหลือ:อ่า:ในสิ่งที่โดนใจ[ประชาชนมากที่สุดนะครับ[ก็เป็นนโยบายหนึ่งโหล[คือสิบสองข้อ=
- 9 IR: [ครับ [อ่า [ครับ
- 10 IE₅: =ด้วยกันครับ
- 11 IR: สิบสองข้อเรียกว่าหนึ่งโหลนะฮะ
- 12 IE₅: ครับ

After the introductory part the IR (line 1) initiates a question which seems to threaten the IE's public face since it accuses the IE of not having finalized proposals and being ready for the campaign. This accusation implies that the IE is unprepared for the competition; thus it might affect a certain social image of the IE. The IE's response "[I've] the policy planned out for long" ("มีนโยบายมา:ตั้งนาน::แล้วครับ...") in line 2 is action and topic relevant. It is initiated with a strong insistence of having a planned proposal for a long time, thus directly rejecting the IR's judgment. Moreover, the IE relates his response with the IR's accusation with an index "policy" ("นโยบาย"). The entire TCU directly negates the IR's accusation. Therefore, the use of explicit rejection of the judgment not only helps restore the IE's face but also makes the talk simple and clear for the audience to understand. In the following TCUs, the IE provides elaboration describing lengthy preparation which is possibly aimed at creating the sense of readiness. Accordingly, the IE attempts to reverse the IR's accusation into a misunderstanding based on his explicit form of denial and the account on timely developed policies. The IE's long response is collaboratively uninterrupted, and the IR merely provides a confirmation check toward the end of sequence (line 11).

From the data, it seems easy for the audience to understand when the IE provides a clear form of acceptance or denial. However, such case occurs rarely in this interview. It seems that the IE would provide direct acceptance or denial to the IR's presupposition or judgment only when they find themselves in an advantageous situation, or when they could be certain that their explicit position can be justified, and that the justification will be fruitful to them.

4.2 Responses to IR's Invitation to Talk

Invitation to talk refers to the IR's turn which acts as an invitation to the IE to talk, and ends with phrases or TCUs that suggest transition of turn to the IE. It also includes the IR's invitation remark that sets parameters of talk to the IE to respond.

During the initial phase of the interview, the IR often provides a statement to invoke the IE to discuss his proposals for the election, inviting them to talk about their potential or distinctive proposals or slogans used in the electoral campaigns.

Extract 34 (21 Jan. 2013, IE₁)

- 1 IR: >นะอะ<คงใช้เวลาที่จะไล่เลียงทั้งหมด[แต่ว่า::ให้คุณชายเลือก:มาสองเรื่องเอาที่เด่นที่สุดที่ถ้าเรียก=
2 IE₁: [ใช่ครับ
3 IR: =เลือกสุขุมพันธุ์เกิดขึ้นแน่นอนแล้วคนอื่นทำไม่ได้เชิญอะ
4 IE₁: →.hhhสิ่งที่อยู่ในใจพี่น้องประชาชน[มากที่สุดนะครับ[ก็มีสองเรื่องด้วยกัน[นะครับคือเรื่องแรก=
5 IR: [ครับ [อ้อ [ครับ
6 IE₁: →=คือเรื่องอำนาจจรรยา[นะครับเรื่องที่สองคือเรื่องอำลาคความปลอดภัย
7 IR: [อ้อ
8 [จรรยาหนึ่งความปลอดภัยสอง
9 IE₁: [จรรยากับความปลอดภัยครับ

From the extract, the IR (line 1) invites the IE to select and discuss two of his outstanding proposals. The IR initially determines the parameters of talk by giving a remark that the proposal should be something that no one except the IE can do. The IR's turn thus provokes the IE to respond through the use of an invitation token at the end unit “go ahead” (“เชิญอะ”) in line 3. This invitation token not only signals possible TRP for the IE to begin his talk, but also determines definitely that the recipient, which is the IE in this case, is responsible to provide the next turn of talk.

In his responsive turn, the IE (line 4) produces an audible breath which could suggest that he is holding the floor and searching for an appropriate way to respond. Next, the IE's use of a listing device “first and second” (“เรื่องแรก” and “เรื่องที่สอง”) in

lines 4 and 6 to enumerate his responses in numerical order makes actions relevant to the IR's prior invitation to talk. Providing the listing device, the IE clearly sets the parameters of his talk relevant to the IR's invitation. However, the topic of his contribution is irrelevant because the IE shifts the discussion to talk about the two wishes of the people instead of talking about his two best policies. It could be explained that his perceived two best proposals maybe justified by referring to the people's wishes.

From the analysis of this extract, it shows that the IE's use of a listing device makes the talk relevant, thus easier for the listeners to follow the course of talk. However, the IE's reference to the people's wishes as justification for his two best proposals could mislead the listeners in terms of topic of talk. Accordingly, the IE's answer might be effective and more understandable if he rearranges his answer such that he is giving his actual answer prior to providing an account.

From extract 34, although the IE paraphrases the IR's key word and uses it as the reference to shift the topic of talk; the listeners' understanding is facilitated through the use of listing device. Another example in extract 35 shows that the IE's use of similar technique to subtly switches the topic of talk previously determined by the IR.

Extract 35 (21 Jan. 2013, IE₁)

- 1 IR: อ่ะฟังและชัดเจนนานี้จุดเด่นของตัวบุคคลคือคุณชายสุชุมพันธุ์มีอะไรโดดเด่นอันนี้ต้องขอ=
- 2 =อนุญาตให้พูดถึงตัวเอง
- 3 IE₁: →.hhh((หัวเราะ))เออผมคิดว่าผมมีบางสิ่งบางอย่างซึ่งผู้สมัครหลายท่านอาจจะไม่มีนะครับ
- 4 IR: ครับ
- 5 IE₁: อ่างานเมืองเป็นงานต่อเนื่อง[เมืองเป็นงานสลับซับซ้อน[สิ่งที่สำคัญคือประสบการณ์นะครับ=
- 6 IR: [อ้อ [ครับ
- 7 IE₁: =[และสิ่งที่สำคัญอีกเรื่องหนึ่งก็คือความคุ้นเคย[นะครับผมคุ้นเคยกับคน[คนคือสมาชิกสภา=
- 8 IR: [อ้อ [อ้อ [ครับ
- 9 IE₁: =กรุงเทพมหานครซึ่งเรา...

After discussing the proposals, the IR continues another statement invitation to invite the IE to talk about his personal perceived unique strength. The IR's act of

invitation in lines 1 and 2 is politely formed with deference to the IE. That is the IR who performs the role of an inquirer, asks the IE for permission to invite him to discuss his strength. Although such a topic of talk is presumably advantageous for the IE, the IR's polite action may be influenced by his perceived lower social status, age or authority (i.e. the current candidate is the former governor). However, the IR's invitation in the form of asking for permission, possibly switches the control of talk to the IE. That is the IE is the one who is authorized to grant or refuse the IR's invitation. Still, the IE further provides an answer possibly because of an advantage obtainable from the invitation.

To respond, the IE (line 3) connectively refers back to the IR's invitation by clarifying the meaning of "strength" ("จุดเด่น") that it is what not other parties but him can do. It should be noted from this extract that although the IE does not use word from the prior turn, rather he provides the interpretation of it "I think I have certain qualities that other candidates don't" ("...ผมคิดว่าผมมีบางสิ่งบางอย่างซึ่งผู้สมัครหลายท่านอาจจะไม่มีนะครับ"). Such practice might be due to his desire not to overtly exaggerate his strength but rather for fear that the audience might mistake him as being boastful. This awareness is seen from his audible breathing, smile and laughter ("...hhh£££หัวเราะ))£££") in line 3 at the beginning of the IE's responsive turn.

The response seems to be topical and action relevant in the beginning. However, instead of telling directly what his strength is, the IE switches to refer to the necessity of the city. Similar to the reference to the people's wish discussed above in extract 34, this may be a tool used to show endorsement for himself that what he is specifically good at is actually necessary for the city. Accordingly, the IE's unique strength could be implied from the gradual development of the turn. Again, if the IE provides the response directly before giving more supporting details, his response might seem more relevant to the IR's question. Therefore, the following details could also be seen as reasonable and sensible to justify the main response.

Despite the IE's delayed response, the interaction cues might signal that the response is underway. Accordingly, the IR would not intervene while the IE is in a process of searching for an appropriate way to talk about his strength without

jeopardizing his image. In this case, although the IE's discussion seems relevant to the IR's previously determined topic of talk, the absence of connection between the IR's prior turn and the IE's responsive turn (e.g. through the use of listing device) might make it hard for the listeners to follow.

Although both IEs in extracts 34 and 35 subtly paraphrase the IR's key words, the responsive turns are deliberately produced for particular purposes. That is the IE's use of a paraphrase in extract 34 allows him to refer to the third party to justify his response and shift to talk on more desirable topic whereas the IE's use of paraphrase in extract 35 represents similar idea with that of the IR and responds accordingly. The next example shows the IR's distribution of listing device as an invitation to talk.

Extract 36 (24 Jan. 2013, IE₄)

- 1 IR: นโยบายนะฮะ
- 2 IE₄: ครับ
- 3 IR: ที่คนอื่นไม่มี[หรือมีก็ทำไม่ได้]อย่างที่คุณเสรีพิสุทธีมั่นใจ
- 4 IE₄: [ครับ [ครับ
- 5 ครับ
- 6 IR: →อะเรื่องที่หนึ่งอะ
- 7 IE₄: →คือที่ลงพื้นที่เนี่ยพบปะกับพี่น้องประชาชนนะ[สิ่งที่ฟังมาพี่น้องประชาชนต้องการให้แก้ไข=
- 8 IR: [ครับ
- 9 IE₄: →=ปัญหาจราจร[มากที่สุด]ในขณะนี้ครับ
- 10 IR: [ครับ [อ้อ
- 11 ครับ
- 12 IE₄: →เพราะฉะนั้นนโยบายในเรื่องการแก้ไขปัญหาคือเรื่องหนึ่ง[ก็คือว่าจะมีรถ<L2<รถเมล์แอร์ฟรีL2>ให้นั่ง=
- 13 =นะครับ

From the data, the IR invites and determines the topic of talk (lines 1 and 3) that the IE should present distinctive proposals. While the IE merely provides a token of acknowledgement, the IR (line 6) urges the IE to answer by providing a listing

device “okay, the first one is” (“อ่ะเรื่องหนึ่งอ่ะ”) to prompt the IE’s response. The IE then begins his response in line 7.

Similar to extract 34, the IE makes a reference to the people’s wish before the declaration of his own proposals. He seems to endorse that what he is planning to do as a governor is what the people really need rather than what he is good at or what he wants to do. Finally, the topic relevant response is produced with a lexical repetition “policy” (“นโยบาย”) in line 12. By using the repetition, the IE not only reconnects his talk to that of the IR but also hints that the trajectory of his talk has developed into the IR’s previously determined topic. Moreover, in this same turn, the IE adopts another repeated keyword from his prior turn “[traffic] solution” (“แก้ไขปัญหา”) in lines 7 and 9 so as to mark cohesion with the initial, the prior, and the current turn. The continuous use of lexical repetitions in the IE’s responsive turns is uninterrupted.

From the extract, it seems understandable that the IE put the elaboration turn first in order to show originality of his proposal and justification for the need to implement such plan. However, the IE’s response could be more straightforward and easier to understand if the IE switches the order of the turns. Given that the genuine answer was placed in the first position followed by the elaboration, the listeners would recognize the connection between the IE’s responsive turn and the IR’s previous statement immediately and possibly be notified of the parameter of talk.

It is noted from this extract that the use of listing device is not only connect the IR’s turn and the IE’s responsive turn as in usual case. The use of listing device is sometimes provided by the IR to signal the IE the transition of speaking turn and, in turn, provides action relevant to the IE’s response regardless to the content of the answer that follows.

The previous extracts show how the IEs respond to the IR’s invitation to talk; the next extract however, reveals a different way that the IE responds to the IR’s invitation.

Extract 37 (22 Jan. 2013, IE₃)

1 IR: ก็ถามก่อนเลยว่า:ประกาศตัวเป็นพ่อบ้านพ่อครัวและพ่อเมือง

- 2 IE₃: ถูกต้องครับ
- 3 IR: สร้างอนาคตกรุงเทพ(.)เออะนะฮะอย่างไรร้อยต่อ[(XXX)
.
.
.
- 8 IE₃: ครับ
- 9 IR: อันนี้เป็นจุดเด่นเป็น<L2สโลแกนL2>
- 10 IE₃: ครับ°ผม°
- 11 IR: แต่เอาที่เด่นที่สุดให้เลือกที่จะพูดวันนี้เนี่ยสองเรื่อง
- 12 IE₃: ครับ ((พยักหน้า))
- 13 IR: ที่:(.)คนอื่น:ไม่มีหรือ(.)คนอื่น(.)ถึงมีก็ทำไม่ได้อย่างคุณพงศ์พัศ((ผายมือ))
- 14 IE₃: →ครับคือจริงๆแล้วเนี่ยสิ่งที่ผมขออาสาสมัครครั้งนี้เนี่ยผมอยากจะคืนความสุขสร้างรอยยิ้ม
- 15 IR: ทุกวันนี้ไม่มีความสุข
- 16 IE₃: →ครับคือผมคิดว่าเราดูจากสายตาดูจากสีหน้าของพี่น้องประชาชน[หลังจากที่ลงชุมชนมาเป็น=
- 17 IR: [อื้อ
- 18 IE₃: =ระยะเวลายาวนานเนี่ย[นะครับทุกคนมีความสุข[แล้วทุกคนมะ:ไม่มีความสุขสบายใจพอๆที่จะ=
- 19 =เป็นความสุขได้อย่าง...



Figure 4.1 Line 11 แต่เอาที่เด่นที่สุดให้เลือกที่จะพูดวันนี้เนี่ยสองเรื่อง



Figure 4.2 Line 13 ที่:(.)คนอื่น:ไม่มีหรือ(.)



Figure 4.3 Line 13 คนอื่น(.)ถึงมีก็ทำไม่ได้ อย่างคุณพงศ์พัศ((ผายมือ))



Figure 4.4 Line 14 ครับคือจริงๆแล้วเนี่ยสิ่งที่ผมขออาสาสมัครครั้งนี้เนี่ยผมอยากจะคืนความสุข...

Like other candidates, the IR (line 11) invites the IE to address his two best proposals. As shown in the extract, the IR (line 13) uses his usual clarification that such proposals should be distinctive and can only be implemented by the IE. In addition, the IR signals the transition of this speaking turn to the IE, by changing from moving his hands randomly in the air, to pointing to the IE toward the end of his turn along with fixing his gaze (see figures 4.1 - 4.4). Following this interactional invitation, the IE thus immediately begins to provide an answer.

In response, the IE (line 14) declares his wish to regain happiness for the people “This time I volunteer because I want to return happiness that could make the people smile” (“...ผมขออาสาสมัครครั้งนี้เนี่ยผมอยากจะคืนความสุขสร้างรอยยิ้ม”). The IE’s response does not contain any listing device, a paraphrase or repetition of word from the IR’s talk, so it seems that his responsive turn is irrelevant to the agenda previously defined by the IR. However, the IR accepts the response as shown in the following turn when he provides an elaboration to the IE’s topic shift by initiating another elicitation to ask for clarification. In line 16, the IE then initiates a clarification on the topic shift by referring to his long term survey of people’s way of living. Rather than notifying the public of what his two best policies are, the IE informs a type of action that he wants to do “...return happiness that could make the people smile” (“...เนี่ยผมอยากจะคืนความสุข

สร้างรอยยิ้ม”) as well as a reason for it. Unlike previous extracts, the current IE’s responsive turn, contained neither a listing device nor a paraphrase or a lexical repetition. The absence of these discursive devices in the IE’s clarification might be difficult for the listeners to understand due to a lack of connection between the IR and the IE’s turns. Thus, it could be easier for the listeners to follow the talk if the IE orients to any of these discursive devices to show connection between the turns and rearrange his talk by giving a relevant response before his justification.

4.3 Responses to Declarative Statement

A declarative statement is an utterance that accomplishes a questioning function noticeably from rising intonation at end unit (Quirk et al., 1985 quoted in Heritage & Roth, 1995). In this study, declarative statement is a declarative utterance in Thai that has a pragmatic function to invoke the IE to respond regardless of rising intonation in the final position. The IR’s statements are often made to follow up on, and to share with the IEs’ information in a seemingly objective and unbiased manner. However, these statements are often followed by the IE’s explanation, or confirmation that gives more detailed information, or correction of the statement. Because this type of statement provides an implicit form of initiation (i.e. through an interactional cue), the IE needs to have interactional competence in order to understand the implicature and respond accordingly in the immediate situation.

The following extract shows how the IE discursively negates the IR’s declarative statement that announces the IE of being a person who believes in or favors social media, by not providing a complete confirmation or disagreement, and not waiting for any verbal cue of invitation to talk.

Extract 38 (30 Jan. 2013, IE₅)

- 1 IR: คุณสุหฤทเป็นคนี่เชื่อใน<L2โซเชียลมีเดียL2>
- 2 (.)
- 3 IE₅: →ครับผมรู้สึกว่ามันมันเป็นเรื่องหนึ่งนะครับ[อย่างวันนี้ผมคุยกับคุณสรยุทธอยู่นี่ผมเกิดมา=
- 4 IR: [อื้อ

- 5 IE₅: =จากตรงนั้น[แล้วก็ขึ้นมาสู่วงกว้าง[แต่ไม่ใช่กำลังจะขลุ่ยทุกอย่างอยู่ในนั้น[แต่ว่าตรงนั้นมันเป็น=
- 6 IR: [ฮะ [ครับ [อ้า
- 7 IE₅: =แหล่งที่ผมจะบอกข้อมูลของผม[เสร็จแล้วเรามาเจอกัน[ให้ผมได้ออกไปสู่วงกว้างขึ้น[นะครับ
- 8 IR: [อ้า [ฮะ [อ้า
- 9 ไม่ได้ทำแต่เฉพาะตรงนั้นถูกมั้ยะ
- 10 IE₅: ไม่ครับเพราะว่าในความเป็นจริงมันเป็นไปได้ครับ[นะฮะหลายคนจะเข้าใจว่าผมนั่งแต่เขียน=
- 11 =อยู่อย่างนั้น...



Figure 4.5 Line 1 คุณสุทธุทเป็นคนที่คุณเชื่อใน...



Figure 4.6 Line 1 ...<L2โซเชียลมีเดียL2>



Figure 4.7 Line 2 (.)



Figure 4.8 Line 3 ครับผมรู้สึกว่ามันเป็นสื่อๆหนึ่งนะครับ...

Based on the IE's campaign that is extensively promoted online, the IR (line 1) produces a statement neutrally claiming that the IE is a person who believes in the power of social media. There is a pause (line 2) which indicates a possible TRP, after the IR's statement. In addition, the IR's statement which deliberately assumes the IE's subjective belief might invoke a response from the IE, the following pause also assures the IE that his response is welcome. To understand this type of declarative statement that indicates a transition of speaking turn, the IE needs to have interactional

competence to know its implicature and provide his response accordingly. Moreover, toward the end of the IR's statement, the IR looks up and lingers his gaze to the IE (see figures 4.5 - 4.8). This interactional cue thus indicates that he is passing his turn and urges the IE to provide response.

To respond, the IE (line 3) declares his positive stance toward the social media as a medium of communication “I think that is merely a medium” (“ครับผมรู้สึกว่ามันเป็นสื่อหนึ่งนะครับ...”). His response indexes a specific relation with the IR's “social media” (“<L2โซเชียลมีเดียL2>”) in a form of anaphoric expression “that” (“อันนั้น”). Following this, the IE provides an example of how he presents himself to the wider society by sharing his information through such a medium. However, in line 5, the IE uses a discursive signpost “but” (“แต่”) to switch his position, and to show his disagreement of the IR's previous claim about his belief on the power of social media “...but [I would]not get so engrossed in it [social media]...” (“...แต่ไม่ใช่กำลังจะหลงทุกอย่างอยู่ในนั้น...”). The IR allows the IE's disagreement to be elaborated and then provides a follow-up turn that paraphrases the IE's answer and asks for confirmation in line 9. The IR thus allows the IE to elaborate on his viewpoint through more explanation (lines 10 and 11). From the data, though the IE discursively negates the IR's claim in an implicit manner, the IE shows attempt to mitigate disagreement, instead of giving strong disagreement or solid correction to the IR's claim. In other words, instead of explicitly informing whether or not the IR's claim of his subjective belief is accurate, the IE partially accepts his involvement in social media to share information while at the same time rejecting the likelihood that it is the sole source for his entire campaign.

From the previous extract, the IE's disagreement is indirectly produced possibly to comply with social manner. Next, the IE in extract 39 employs another device to provide a response that implicitly rejects the IR's claim.

Extract 39 (22 Jan. 2013, IE₃)

- 1 IR: =แต่บางคนบอกผู้ว่าต้องเป็นอิสระ
- 2 IE₃: →เอ่อ:อิสระในระดับหนึ่ง

- 3 IR: อ้อ
- 4 IE₃: → อีสระในระดับหนึ่งถ้าเป็นอีสระแล้วทำงานได้จริงกรุงเทพไม่มีปัญหาหมักหมมมาเช่นทุกวันนี้
- 5 IR: อ้อ
- 6 IE₃: นะครับปัญหาที่เราจะลืงพูดกันทุกวันนี้คือปัญหามาตั้งแต่ผู้ว่าราชการท่านไม่รู้มาก่อนว่าท่าน=
- 7 =แล้วแต่ปัญหาก็...



Figure 4.9 Line 1 =แต่บางคนบอกผู้ว่าต้อง...



Figure 4.10 Line 1 ...เป็นอีสระ

After the discussion on how being a government – nominated governor would bring a lot of advantage to the IE, the IR (line 1) declares that some people think the governor has to be independent. The IR's statement is prefaced with shift in footing (Goffman, 1981 quoted in Clayman, 1992) which allows him to foster the role of an animator who simply adopts and expresses the other people's thought. Accordingly, the adversarial-ness of the statement is lessened while functioning to invoke the IE's opinion. Although the IE's name is not mentioned as it was in extract 38, the IE initiates his response in line 2. This is possibly because the IE is not an independent candidate so the statement is challenging to him perceptively. In addition, the IR's firm gaze on the IE toward the end of the statement might also signal the transition of speaker (see figures 4.9-4.10). Accordingly, the IE initiates a responsive turn without delay in line 2, by sharing his opinion in the form of a partial agreement "ah:[the governor]must be independent to certain degree" ("เอ่อ:อิสระในระดับหนึ่ง"), followed by a declarative statement which implies disagreement to the IR's statement. In the statement, the IE first re-states his partial agreement then switches his position to disagree by referring to the incapability of the previous independent governor to manage the city's chronic problems. Accordingly, the altered focus of talk is produced to disagree with the claimed popular belief that the governor has to be independent (i.e. not being a member of any political party), and in order to defend the IE's position as being a non-individual candidate. The IE is allowed to continue his discussion, through the IR's sign of acceptance using backchanneling "aha" ("อ้อ").

Despite having been formed in neutral tone, the IR's statements in extracts 38 and 39 are possibly considered inaccurate or challenging to the IEs thus, the IEs respond in a defensive manner. From the data, it can be observed that in both cases the IR uses interactional cues (i.e. gestures and gaze) which according to Gumperz, are presumably understandable by competent members of that society (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992) to hint the completion of his turn. The IE again needs to have interactional competence to perceive the cue produced by the IR, and immediately respond. In part of the response, the IEs in both cases employ an index so as to mark a connection between their responses and the IR's statement, thus helping the listeners

Similar to the previous extract, the IR’s adversarial statement is neutralized through the use of a shift in footing. Accordingly, the IR’s seemingly hostile statement becomes merely the reproduced speech of the others. In the following extract, the IE also uses footing shift to mitigate his counterargument.

- 1 IR: บางคนคู่แข่งเค้าบอกว่าถ้าเกิดเป็นเนื้อเดียวกันน้ำท่วมกม.ไปแล้วคราวที่แล้ว
- 2 IE₃: [ครับ
- 3 → ครับเอ่อจริงๆถ้าเราคิดอย่างนั้นก็คิดในแง่ร้ายจนเกินไป
- 4 IR: อ้อ
- 5 IE₃: → นะครับกระบวนการบริหารจัดการน้ำเนี่ยผมก็มีส่วนอยู่ด้วยเหมือนกันนะครับแล้วก็ผมอยากจะ=
- 6 =ให้ว่าอย่างนี้ว่าถ้าเราสามารถคิดในทำนองที่เป็นเนื้อเดียวกันนะครับการดำเนินการต่างๆเนี่ยมัน=
- 7 =จะเป็นขั้นเป็นตอน[สิ่งใดที่กรุงเทพมหานครควรจะต้องเสียสละเพื่อคนส่วนรวมก็ต้องทำ[สิ่ง=
- 8 IR: [อ้า [อ้อ
- 9 IE₃: =ใดที่กรุงเทพมหานคร...



Figure 4.11 Line 1 บางคน...



Figure 4.12 Line 1 ...คู่แข่งเค้าบอกว่าถ้าเกิด...



Figure 4.13 Line 1 ...เป็นเนื้อเดียวกัน...



Figure 4.14 Line 1 ...น้ำท่วมกทม.ไปแล้ว...



Figure 4.15 Line 1 ...คราวที่แล้ว

Following the IE's discussion of how his government-nominated position would be more advantageous, the IR (line 1) issues a statement suggesting that if the former governor had been affiliated with the government, the city would have been under critical flooding a year before. In line 1, the IR's use of a shift in footing clearly lessens the adversarial-ness of the statement thus making his accusation seem like just a report of public commentary. However, because the IR's statement also accuses the IE's political status as being a member of the government party, it triggers the IE to

argue without token of questioning or invitation. Along with the verbal accusation, the transition of speaking turn from the IR to the IE is achieved noticeably through the IR's hand gesture. That is when making reference to the other people's claim, the IR frenetically moves his hands outwardly in the air; yet holding his hands together once the turn ends. The IR's final action might signal to the IE that he has finished his turn and is attentive to hear the IE's response. Accordingly, the IE launches his counterargument (see figures 4.11- 4.15).

In lines 2 and 3, the IE provides a defensive statement expressing disagreement toward the IR's prior turn. The IE first acknowledges the statement then he produces a counterargument that the accusation is pessimistic "krub ah it would be too pessimistic [if we] to actually think about it that way" ("ครับเอ่อจริงๆถ้าเราคิดอย่างนั้นก็คิดในแง่ร้ายจนเกินไป"). Notably that the IE employs a shift in footing "we" ("เรา"), when countering the IR, in order to make reference to other people on his side. By using this device to disagree with the statement, the IE could avoid explicitly accusing those who are claimed to own the idea (i.e. some people in control); an action that might lead the listeners to perceive him as a snitch. In the following part, the IE briefly mentions his involvement in the flood management team and that is when the focus is shifted to talk about how good he has been as a government party member. Despite no explicit form of denial, the IE's responsive turns are clearly designed to deny the IR's statement which values the opponent party.

From the data, it is clear that the IR's statement invokes the IE's response through its discourse as well as his body language. However, the data revealed that the IE responds with various techniques rather than overt denial, a much better way to counter the IR's statements which are perceived as inaccurate. This is because the IE who presents his own viewpoint without overt conflict or disagreement might be perceived as being rationale and well-prepared for the issue at hand. On the other hand, if the IE merely provides disapproval, he might be seen as self-centered or narrow minded as he keeps denying and making excuses.

Similar to the previous extract, the IE in extract 41 also employs a shift in footing to construct his responsive turn.

- 1 IR: อะผมแทรกตรงนี้นิดนึ่งมันก็เลย::ไปเข้า:ประเด็นที่คนต้องถามแน่ว่าถ้าผู้ว่ากทม.กับรัฐบาลคน=
- 2 =ละพรรคโอไ้โครงการระบบขนส่งมวลชนสาธารณะมันต้องใช้เงินเยอะรัฐบาลก็ประกาศว่าเค้า=
- 3 =จะทำหนึ่งสองสามเวลาหาเสียงเลือกตั้งใหญ่ไข่ม้อยอะ[ผู้ว่ากทม.ก็มาหาเสียงเลือกตั้งท้องถิ่น=
- 4 IE₁: [ครับ
- 5 IR: =แล้วตกลงมันยังง
- 6 IE₁:→ คือ:อันนี้เนี่ยสนข.เค้ารัฐบาลเค้าบอกว่าเอ่อถ้ากม.อยากทำก็หาดังค์เอาเอง[ผมจะหาดังค์ให้ได้รับ
- 7 IR: [อื้อ
- 8 อันนี้คือไม่อยู่ในแผนรัฐบาลแล้ว[เพราะฉะนั้นให้กม.ทำ
- 9 IE₁: [ครับ

To counter the challenge, the IE (line 6) discusses why he would propose his mass transport project “ah: according to OTP and the government, if Bangkok administrator wishes to implement the project, it must take full responsibility. I shall find the funding [for it]” (“คืออันนี้เนี่ยสนข.เค้ารัฐบาลเค้าบอกว่าเออถ้ากทม.อยากทำก็หาตั้งค์เอาเอง[ผมจะหาตั้งค์ให้ได้ครับ”). The IE’s response is also constructed through use of a shift in footing to refer to the statement made by the government and representatives “OTP [Office of Transport and Traffic Policy and Planning]” and “the government” (“สนข.” and “รัฐบาล”) agreed that Bangkok [administrative team] can carry out the projects on

the city's expenditure". The IE shifts back to use a first person pronoun clearly referring to the following act of promise as his own "I shall find the funding [for it]" ("...ผมจะหาตั้งค้ำให้ได้รับ"). The IE's use of a first person pronoun might result from his desire to explicitly show his commitment to the project to its fullest. Following this, the IR (line 7) produces a follow-up statement which paraphrases the IE's response and the IE accepts it in line 9.

From the data, the IE's response in this extract differs from the responses in extracts 38, 39 and 40 because there is no sign of partial agreement or disagreement. In this extract, the IE shifts his footing discursively to attribute the statement to the opponent (i.e. the government) which helps clarify his confirmation of the action that he is planning to do (i.e. traffic management) without directly attacking the statement made by the IR. Because of the IR's lengthy and detailed statement, it might be easier to follow if the IE produces an index or lexical repetition of the IR's previous statement possibly by pointing out the issue that he wishes to discuss before giving a clearer response which shows a sign of agreement or disagreement to the previous statement. By doing so the IE could set the parameters of talk as well as remind the listeners of what would be talked about, and what position he is taking.

4.4 Responses to Declarative with IR's Negative Assessment of IEs'

Proposals or Ideas

When the IE encounters the IR's negative judgment which is made based on his own idea; the IE handles such statements differently. In the following extract, the IE provides overt denial possibly to turn down the immediate influence from the IR's negative statement that might affect the listeners' perception toward the IE's social image.

Extract 42 (24 Jan. 2013, IE₄)

- 1 IR: คุณเสรีพิศุทธิ์คงรู้แน่ครับว่าแม่ค้าเนี่ยยากมาก[ไอ้ที่จะเปลี่ยนความเคยชินเค้าเคยเป็นมา=
- 2 IE₄: [ไ้อ้ย
- 3 IR: =[เขาวราชมีก็สิบปี

- 4 IE₄: [ไม่ยากผมเคย-
 5 IR: → [แล้วไม่รู้อยู่ริมถนนมันก็เค้าบางคนมองเป็นจุดขายเป็นๆแหล่งท่องเที่ยวนี้จะไป=
 6 =เอาเค้าเข้าซอยหมดเลยเรื่องใหญ่[นะครับเดียวไล่จับแม่ค้าวุ่นวายเลย
 7 IE₄: [ครับ
 8 → ไม่ๆต้องจับหรือผมเคยทำมาแล้วสำเร็จมาแล้ว[เพียงแต่ว่า:เมื่อผมพ้นแล้วก็กลับมาเหมือนเดิม=
 9 IR: [ฮะ
 10 IE₄: =ไง[อะเพราะเจ้าหน้าที่ไปรับผลประโยชน์ผมทำอะไรไม่มีผลประโยชน์ไง[เพราะงั้นจะต้อง=
 11 IR: [เอ้อ [อ้อ
 12 IE₄: =ยืนยันตามนั้นไข่ม้อยฮะ

Upon the discussion of the IE's relocation project, to manage the trading zone in one of the famous areas of the Bangkok city, the IR (lines 5-6) makes a judgment that such project could cause chaos among the affected vendors. As shown in the extract, the IR's statement is constructed through deference to the IE by explicitly calling out his name, claiming that he knows how hard the project can be done, before adding a criticism of the IE's proposal. During this direct judgmental statement, the IE is seen attempting to answer (line 2) at certain TRPs, yet the IR continues his talk. The IE then waits and continues his response in line 8.

From the extract, the IE's responsive turn comprises direct denial in the form of no followed by a statement that confirms his success of the action "no, I have achieved [such project] without having to arrest anyone." ("ไม่ๆต้องจับหรือผมเคยทำมาแล้วสำเร็จมาแล้ว"). That the IE orients to a clear and simple form of disagreement might result from his need to immediately detach himself from the IR's direct negative judgment while assuring the public that he is capable of managing the problem arising from his proposal and that such a proposal has been successfully managed. Then, the topic of talk is shifted to bribery as a cause of the remaining problem (line 10). Such responses force a change in the topic of talk in the ensuing interaction without the IR's intervention, thus helping the IE to evade or conceal an undesirable part of the question. That is the IE is able to respond with minimal and relevant cues so as to

maintain connection with the previous turn, then follows that with the introduction of a new topic of talk.

Based on the data, it can be observed that the IR's accusation is produced directly from the IR to the IE in an unambiguous manner (i.e. the IR directly mentions the IE's name, attacking on project and idea). Thus it triggers the IE to defend also in a direct manner without any mitigating device. It is seen that when the IR produces more than one claim in the same turn, the IE selectively responds to one of them. That is, in this case, the IE replies to the latter claim which is the IR's criticism. According to the IE's response, it could be assumed that the IE may need to completely detach himself from the IR's accusation and thereby deliberately responding to the claim that possibly creates the most damage to his social face.

Similar to the previous extract, the IE in extract 43 provides overt denial to negate the IR's negative comment on his proposal. The obvious disagreement is usually followed by elaboration that serves to justify the IE's rejection.

Extract 43 (30 Jan. 2013, IE₅)

- 1 IR: ไม่ได้แปลว่าจะเอาแม่ค้าออกหมดใช่ไหมครับ
- 2 IE₅: มีหลายคนนะครับที่อยู่ใช้ทางเท้า[ผมไม่ได้กำลังจะไป->หมายความว่า<แม่ค้าออกหมดจาก:จากทาง=
- 3 IR: [ใช่
- 4 IE₅: =เท่านั้นไม่ใช่[
- 5 IR: → [>อ้าว<แต่คนเดินถนนอาจจะชอบนะฮะบอกทุกวันนี้เดินไม่ไหวคุณสุฤทธาก็ก
- 6 IE₅: →ไม่ครับ[ผมพูดเรื่องกฎหมาย[ผมทำอะไรเหนือกฎหมายไม่ได้[ทุกอย่างมีกฎหมาย[จุดผ่อนผันเป็นจุด=
- 7 IR: [อื้อ [อื้อ [อื้อ [อ้า
- 8 IE₅: =ผ่อนผัน[ทางเดินต้องกว้าง:หนึ่ง<L2เมตร L2>ต้องกว้างหนึ่ง<L2เมตรL2>
- 9 IR: [ฮะ
- 10 ตามกฎหมาย
- 11 IE₅: ตามกฎหมายครับถ้าจะว่าผม[ผมก็บอกผมกำลังทำตามกฎหมายนะ[เพื่อคนหมู่มาก

- 12 IR: [อื้อ] [อื้อ]
 13 เพราะฉะนั้นมีจุดผ่อนผันก็มี(ก็ค้าขายได้)แต่ต้องมีทางเท้าอย่างน้อยหนึ่ง<L2เมตรL2>ตาม=
 14 IE₅: [มีครับก็เหมือนเดิม
 15 =กฎหมาย
 16 IR: ครับ

As part of his campaign, the IE proposes a plan to relocate the street vendors to maintain a safe footpath for pedestrians. In the beginning, the IR's (line 5) judgment is formed with reference to the people in general claiming their preference for a clear footpath, but the IE's project is to keep vendor on street although relocation will be applied. This shift in footing helps reduce degree of adversarial-ness of the IR's comment. The IR performs a role of animator who merely reports the thought of people who may find it difficult to walk on the street because of the IE's project. The criticism is directed to the IE since his name is clearly mentioned, accordingly the IE is urged to defend his position. To respond, the IE provides an overt denial (line 4) which is rejected by the IR's use of "but" Thai exclamation mark ("อ้าว") that shows surprise or disagreement.

Because the adversarial statement could damage his public face, in line 6 the IE quickly counters the accusation with an explicit no ("ไม่ครับ") completely denying the IR's negative judgment "no, I'm talking about the law" ("ไม่ครับ[ผมพูดเรื่องกฎหมาย]"). From the data, it is seen that the IE discards the previous discussion on the pedestrians' preference and shifts the talk to official rules that the people, including the IE himself have to obey. In lines 6 and 8, the IE thus elaborates on his obligation to abide by the law and exemption for use of public paths. The topical change is accepted as seen in the IR's follow-up in line 13 that summarizes the IE's law-abiding action and seeks for confirmation. The statement is directly confirmed by the IE (line 16). Accordingly, the IE's orientation to the law could justify his proposal while avoiding criticism of being biased in his treatment of the vendors or the pedestrians.

According to extracts 42 and 43, we see the IEs provided explicit *no* in their responsive turns, this action might result from the IR's use of negative

judgments that are directed to the IEs themselves. Therefore, the IEs in these extracts might find it necessary to defend their viewpoints and detach themselves from the accusation in a clear and comprehensible way as much as possible. As shown in both extracts, the IEs employing overt disagreement through the use of *no* successfully distanced themselves from the previous judgment or accusation, whereas the following elaborated part could be used either to shift the topic of talk or justify the previous denial. As a result, such a technique may be practical for both the IE who seeks to sidestep from the undesirable criticisms, and for the IE who has a firm knowledge or fact to argue.

The previous two extracts showed that the IE's use overt denial to reject the IR's negative statement. However, the following extract shows the IE's use of covert denial before giving a statement that clarifies his point, but it is not clear whether he agrees or disagrees with the IR's negative judgment.

Extract 44 (30 Jan. 2013, IE₅)

- 1 IR: → แต่ก็คือสมมติว่าสองล้านคนจริงอย่างที่>คุณสุทธท<บอกเค้าอาจจะมีการหรืออาจจะมีคนในใจ=
2 =ของเค้าอาจจะไม่ใช่คุณสุทธทก็ได้ไปคิดว่าคนกลุ่มนี้ไม่มีอะไรโล่งๆแล้วจะเลือกคุณสุทธทมัน=
3 =ก็ไม่แน่นอนอะไม่ใช่ชนะอะ
4 IE₅: →ไม่ใช่หรือครับแต่ว่ามันเป็นกลุ่มที่น่าสนใจมาก[นะครับเวลาผม(.)เดินหาเสียงในวันที่สอง=
5 IR: [เอ้อ [ครับ
6 IE₅: =กุมภาเนี่ยผมจะเดินหนึ่งล้านก้าว[เพื่อขอเสียงคนหนึ่งล้านคน[ให้ก้าวออกมาเปลี่ยนกรุงเทพ=
7 IR: [อ้อ [อ้อ [ฮะ
8 IE₅: =[มันอาจจะเป็นวิธีการลงพื้นที่...
9 IR: [อ้อ



Figure 4.16 Line 1 แต่ก็คือสมมติว่าสองล้านคน...



Figure 4.17 Line 1 ...จริงอย่างที่>คุณสุหฤท<บอก...



Figure 4.18 Line 1 ...หรืออาจจะมีคนในใจ...



Figure 4.19 Line 2 ...ของเค้าอาจจะไม่ใช่คุณสุหฤทก็ได้...



Figure 4.20 Line 3 ...ไม่ใช่ซะละ

Prior to this extract, the IE suggested that the social media users could be divided into two groups. The first group comprises those who have lost political interest whereas another group is those who wish to see an innovative way to develop the city. Accordingly, both groups might consider the IE as a potential candidate and vote for him. However, the IR (lines 1-3) produces a statement criticizing that the IE's assumption is overestimated and it could be wrong. The IR adds that those groups of voters may have a certain choice of the candidates in mind, thus casting their votes for

others. Along with the negative judgment, the IR also uses hand gestures to emphasize different groups of people he addresses. As such when he mentions the groups of voters his hands move here and there in the air whereas his eyes fix on the IE as a sole recipient of his talk. And when the turn ends the IR holds his hands toward the IE (see figures 4.16 - 4.20).

Because the IR's turn comprises several claims, the IE's response in line 4 which is produced in a negative form of an explicit no response (“ไม่ใช่หรือครับ...”) seems ambiguous. Moreover, there is no additional information given to suggest which one of the IR's claims has been responded. Accordingly, the IE's overt denial though does not reject any specific claim, it allows him to distance from the IR's claims in general. In the following part, the IE employs a signpost “but” (“แต่”) to signal that more contradictory information is forthcoming. The use of the signpost is expressed by Schiffrin (1987 quoted in Fraser, 1999) as a discourse marker which is basically used to create coherence within the discourse. Thus, while the IE (line 3) employs explicit denial to show his disagreement to the IR's statement, the ensuing talk cohesively connected through the signpost “but” shifts the direction of talk. Instead of giving explanation or elaboration to his prior disagreement, the IE expresses his stance on how interesting the target groups of voters are “...but such group of people is very interesting...” (“...แต่ว่ามันเป็นกลุ่มที่น่าสนใจมาก[นะครับ...]”), following by a discussion on his preparation to obtain the votes. Though the IE's response is contrastive and the topic of talk is altered, his talk is uninterrupted. This might result from the IE's use of a lexical repetition “group of people” (“กลุ่ม”) that possibly shows that the IE is still in the parameter of talk. Based on the data, the IE's disagreement is carefully produced to conceal his evasive response. Therefore, the IE would be able to express disagreement with the IR while maintaining polite social manner and rapport.

Similar to the previous two extracts, the IE usually detaches from the IR's negative judgment that is exclusively directed to him in a simple and definite form of response (i.e. *no* form). This discursive device helps the IE deny any possible unpleasant effects that might be created by the IR's judgment. In addition, the short

form of response allows the IE to supply more information to complete answering and rebut the IR's claims. Therefore, the IE is in control of this additional information because he could steer the topic of talk into a desirable direction or justify his opinion.

As shown in the previous extracts, the IE's direct denial is produced to respond differently to the IR's multiple claims developed within a turn. First, the IE may provide disagreement to each and every claim which might be time-consuming and tedious. Second, the IE could selectively deny the claim that is deemed the most severe and most likely to cause damage to his public face. Though the second technique allows the IE to evade the rest of the IR's claim, his direct denial to any claim has downside to it. That is the IE must justify his disagreement in sensible and comprehensible fashion. Lastly, the IE might sidestep all of the IR's claims by producing direct denial in ambiguous manner not acknowledging any claim in particular. Following this, the IE is able to give explanation or elaboration in the ensuing units of talk and thereby possibly alter the direction of talk into more satisfying one.

This chapter analyzes the IEs' responsive turns in broadcast news interviews with focus on political issues in Thailand. The findings suggest that the IEs orient to different discursive devices in order to respond to the interview questions in both direct and indirect manner.

While some answers are discursively constructed to evade the interview questions, others may be designed to completely sidestep the questions by providing irrelevant information.

It is interesting that the direct response is produced only when the IEs desire either to fully commit or completely distance from the IR's question or statement. In other cases, the IEs tend to provide indirect responses (i.e. either action or topic relevant to the one determined by the IR) to shift the topic of talk. Moreover, the answers that do not respond to the questions are often produced to surreptitiously exclude the IR's idea or assumption from the discussion before shifting or introducing a new topic of talk. Based on these findings, the significance of the IEs' various responsive designs will be discussed in more details in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter provides detailed discussion on the research questions based on the analysis and interpretation of the data presented in chapter four. Also the theoretical ground and findings from the literature reviews will be incorporated in the discussion of empirical findings of the current study. In addition, suggestions that may serve as a guide line to develop discursive practices for news interviews with focus on political issues will be made.

This study begins with the premise that, while answering from the IE is obligatory in interviews, evasion strategies are ubiquitous especially in the political interview context. However, there are normative features underlining how the answering and evasive turns are constructed by the interviewees. From the analysis of the corpus, the findings in this study share some similarities with those of Suparthida Theamsomboon's (1998) study conducted on prepared and simultaneous interviews. Based on Saville-Troike's ethnography of communication (1982), Suparthida Theamsomboon proposes 3 types of response (i.e. answer-response, non-answer response and non-response) along with hedging devices as a technique used by the IEs to avoid answering interview questions.

While both studies reveal that Thai politicians' responses comprise (1) answer-response and (2) non-answer response, Suparthida Theamsomboon's classification of direct and indirect response is based on topic relevance of the IE's response only. The direct and indirect responses in this study, however, are considered on the basis of both topic and action relevance. Accordingly, in this study direct response refers to an answer that is relevant to both action and topic agenda previously determined by the IR; and indirect response refers to an answer that is only relevant to either action or topic agenda of the interview questions.

In contrast to the third category of response in Suparthida Theamsomboon's study which is non-response, or an answer that has no relevant information pertinent

to the question set out by the IR at all, this study shows that the IE provides an irrelevant answer or the topic and action irrelevant answer, yet the answer could be understood by the audience as connected to the IR's turn. In addition, this CA study shows that the IEs orient themselves to various discursive resources to sidestep the IR's question through the thorough and detailed analysis of the sequential development of the interview. That is, this study explains various structures in which different types of relevant and irrelevant responses are produced, rather than grossly identifying different types of the IE's responses. Moreover, the corpus of data which was analyzed based on the perspectives of the IR and the IEs that exhibited through their co-constructions of the talk allows for an emic discussion of the regular and deviant cases of the news interview's response. Regarding to the first research question, details of the IE's responsive designs are discussed in the following sections.

5.1 The Structures of Response to Interrogative

5.1.1 Neutral Interrogatives - Responses

In this context of the IE's responses to the IR's neutral interrogatives, there were both indirect and direct responses. The structures of these responsive turns were constructed in accordance with the nature of the interview questions. That is, the IR's neutral interrogatives which asked about the IE's flaws or limitations were often answered indirectly, whereas the IR's questions that concerned an extraneous factor such as uncontrollable natural disaster that caused his poor performance, were responded to with direct answers.

From the analysis, the IE's indirect responses were largely constructed through a statement describing information that was relevant to the IR's topic agenda. In Extract 21, for example, to avoid directly accepting or rejecting the question about his flaws, the IE₁ indirectly responded by describing his poor trait instead. The action is irrelevant while the topic is still relevant to the question asked.

Though no keyword was provided in the response, the IR allowed the turn to pass to the IE₁. It could be further discussed that, rather than expressing affirmation of having weakness via regular *yes*-form, the IE₁'s answer in the form of an

explanation could effectively decrease the degree of explicit acceptance of having weakness. Because an explicit yes or no is considered a normative form to respond to the interrogatives that seek confirmation (Raymond, 1998), the IE₁'s form of response is seen as indirect acceptance. The implicit acceptance not only gives the IE₁ an immediate defense but also constitutes polite behavior on the part of the IE₁, because it shows that the IE₁ conforms to the institutional norms of responding with relevant answers to the question asked. Nonetheless, without indexing the question asked, this indirect response maybe difficult to understand as topically relevant to the listeners.

It looks easier for the audience to follow, as shown in Extract 22, when the IE₂ used a descriptive statement to account for his weakness with lexical repetition repeating the keyword from the question asked and to index the direction of talk. The explanation of what could be understood as weakness allows the IE₂ to answer the question without having to admit explicitly that he has a weakness and this use of indexicality helps the IE₂ to create continuity and connectivity between the previous and current turns. Accordingly, such a practice shapes the audience to perceive that the IE₂'s response already answers the question. Also Clayman (2001) discusses that the use of repetition allows the IE to avoid answering in an implicit manner, because lexical repetition simply shows the audience that the IE is responsive to the issue raised by the IR, and at the same time enables him to pursue, or discreetly alter, the course of talk.

While the IE₂ in Extract 22 used lexical repetition to outline and hint the direction of his talk, the IE₃ in Extract 23 adopted a similar technique to appear to be answering. However, he actually switched the topic of talk in the development of his responsive turn. In details, the IE₃ firstly acknowledged the IR's interrogative through Thai final particle (i.e. *krub*) then he used lexical repetition to index the question. However, the IE₃'s ensuring TCUs were designed to say that weakness was common and that every human being possessed different kinds of weakness. Accordingly, regardless of the indexing technique, the IE₃'s response was an irrelevant answer because it referred to people in general even though the IR's question was directed to the IE₃ via his name. It should be noted that, the IE₃'s act to generalize that weakness is part of the human condition seems to be an effective technique, though it is an irrelevant action. This is because the IE₃ is able to give an explanation of having a

weakness present not only in himself but also present in most people. However, this practice can only be achieved with the acceptance from the IR.

From the extracts discussed above, it seems to be advantageous for the IEs to use such responses to the IR's questions that seek either confirmation or denial, about their weakness with a descriptive statement. This is because rejection or acceptance of the IR's question in this situation would directly or bluntly suggest negativity on part of the IE. Using this technique enables the IE not only to avoid such negativity but allows him to easily smuggle in a new topic and thus take control of the ensuing talk. Nevertheless, such a technique of answering without indexing the previous questioning turn could also confuse the audience in terms of what is being discussed. The use of repetition to index the previous question could help the audience to keep track of the IE's response since it creates continuity of the question turn and his responsive statement.

As mentioned earlier, the IEs tend to provide indirect responses to close-ended questions that concern their weaknesses, but provide direct answers to the same type of questions that concerns other extraneous factors. As shown in Extract 24, the IE₁ provided direct responses which contained both relevant action and topic agenda as well as lexical repetition to the question about any disappointment he found during the previous term of his governorship, he said "...I'm disappointed because some projects were delayed..." The IE₁ used a keyword from the IR's questioning turn to show connectivity before providing an account. Hence, the topic of talk was also altered at nearly end of the turn.

From these cases of response structures to the neutral interrogatives, the advantages of using lexical repetition from a previous turn of talk suggest two things. First, the IE is able to achieve an acceptance of his response to a negative question even though the IE does not actually answer the question. Accordingly, he could still maintain his public image to a certain degree, that is to say this is also a face-saving strategy. Second, the use of a repeated keyword allows the IE to shift topic without being seen as devious. The IE could elaborate the turn to add more information irrelevant to the question which allows him to take control of a part of the interview.

5.1.2 Follow-Up Interrogatives - Responses

This type of question is produced based on the IR's interpretation of information the IE provided and aims to seek the IE's confirmation. The IEs were found to provide responsive turns in order to show acceptance and rejection to the IR's follow-up questions in various degrees, and the structures ranging from explicit yes, confirmation in part, descriptive statements, and explicit no. While the use of explicit forms of response (yes and no) is considered a direct answer (Raymond, 1998), the IE's use of confirmation in part and descriptive statement constitute indirect responses.

As shown in Extract 25, the IE₄ responded to the IR's follow-up question by saying "exactly" to form an explicit yes and to give full acceptance. Such a response was produced immediately after the IR ended his turn. The use of a direct answer with yes to confirm the follow-up interrogative provides a clear and direct answer for the audience to quickly understand. Slightly similar to Clayman's (2001) study which discusses how the IE sometimes employs agreement or disagreement to firstly connect his/her turn with that of the IR's before adding more information that may shift the topic of talk. This technique is termed minimal answer plus elaboration and is used to facilitate the listeners' immediate understanding of the talk and to discretely sidestep the IR's question. In detail, the IE₄ quickly added justification to his overt acceptance of the IR's interpretation which could lead the audience to gain insight into the reason behind his acceptance of the accusable action. Accordingly, this extract shows that it is convenient and beneficial to both the audience and the IE₄ when direct acceptance with descriptive details is produced to the follow-up question found accurate and relevant to the IE. Such practice could be economical in a way that the IE does not need to recap the entire story, but only needs to add more information to support his answer. As seen from this extract once the IR's question is perceived as advantageous, the IE tends to respond with direct and plain answer that is most comprehensive for the listeners as much as possible.

Direct response was also employed in Extract 28, but in the form of explicit no. It was used to show clear denial to the IR's follow-up question which was considered wrong or unacceptable to the IE. In this extract, the IE₃ responded to the IR's follow-up question acknowledging it before giving an explicit no answer and

further clarification. The structure of response was clear and simple enough for everyone to understand his stance without delay. Though the IE's clarification reflected some ideas similar to the IR's perceived information, the previously produced denial signaled that the perception was already rejected. However, in his response, the IE₃ intentionally used "krub", the final particle used by Thai Male, to acknowledge the question, but it could be understood as the act of acceptance and lead the audience to perceive that the IE already accepted the presupposition. Therefore, the suggestion is that, the IE₃ should reject the question straightly without giving acknowledgment in the first TCU. Hence, the IE₃ could promptly distance himself from the negative presupposition before supplying further clarification.

In addition to using direct answer to respond to the IR's acceptable or unacceptable follow-up questions, the IEs in this context were found to use indirect responses to show partial agreement or to counteract and initiate the IR's repair on a certain part of his questioning turns. The actions are known as confirmation in part. The IE's use of the confirmation in part technique partly resembles Clayman's (2001) discussion of minimal answer plus elaboration in the sense that the IE's confirmation in part provides minimal information sought after by the IR's question (i.e. possibilities or a chance that certain project happens or being successful). In this study, an example was shown in Extract 26 that the IE₅'s answer confirmed some but not all information contained in the IR's question. The IE₅'s responsive turn was constructed through a repeated keyword indexing topic relevant information, but it did not conform to the action agenda, i.e. it did not show agreement or disagreement to the follow-up question. The IR provided another follow-up question to request more information from the IE₅. Thus, the IE₅'s response shaped the structural development of the IR's question to change from a close-ended question to wh- question type. The latter type allows the IE₅ to provide wider ranges of response compared to the close-ended follow-up question. Accordingly, the IE₅ was in control of the direction of talk.

To agree in part, the IE also employed a descriptive statement to indirectly accept the IR's follow-up question to a certain degree and, at the same time to counteract and initiate the IR's repair his questioning act on the part that he disagreed. As shown in Extract 27, the IR's follow-up question called for the IE₂'s confirmation that his aim was to make money from the city if he was the governor. Accordingly,

the IE₂ employed a descriptive statement which firstly implied confirmation, but later counteracted the IR's perception. Interestingly, once the IE₂ provided a clarification statement to reclaim his stance, it initiated the IR to repair his perception in spoken words in the next turn.

So far, the extracts have provided evidence which showed that the IEs use different techniques to respond to the IR's follow-up interrogatives. Though the responses were formed differently, all of the IEs similarly provided the elaborated parts to justify their answers. The techniques used vary according to degrees of the perceived adversarial-ness of the follow-up questions. That is, the IEs provide direct forms of acceptance and rejection when the follow-up questions are clearly right or wrong to the IEs. When the questions are partly true, the IEs tend to employ partial confirmation as a way to retain correct information while adding clarification which could also initiate the IR to repair and renew his questioning turn.

5.1.3 Anticipatory Discourse - Responses

From the detailed analysis, the IR used instances of anticipatory discourse to question the IEs on possibility or impossibility of certain events that may be a result of their actions. The use of descriptive statement to ask the IEs about the future event is previously mentioned in Heritage and Roth's (1995) study. According to Heritage and Roth, the use of the descriptive statement as questioning on the future event is a part of "B-statement" or the statement that is used to question on the issues that the IEs are presumed to have more knowledge or experiences. In more specific, such statement is known as "hypothetical or future-oriented statement about courses of action with which the IE may be associated" (Heritage & Roth, 1995 p.12). In this study, most of the IR's anticipatory discourses similarly questioned the IEs about the chances of particular circumstance that may occur or be affected by the IE's proposed projects. Empirically, this type of the IR's questioning turn received indirect answer and irrelevant answer.

The case of indirect answer can be observed in Extract 29; the IR sought acceptance from IE₂, who was a non-government candidate, on the potential benefits of being government-nominated candidate. The IE₂ gave an example of a failed government – nominated governor rather than actual agreement or disagreement. The

answer may have been the result from his intention to counter the IR's anticipatory discourse that shows how it could be easier to gain approval for any proposal for those candidates who already have ties to the government. To use his experience as a reference, the IE₂ could reject the assumption with evidence which shows that such a claim might not always be true. Although the technique is useful, his responses could be more cohesive, and easier to understand, had he provided his argument to disagree in the initial position then followed by the example.

The structure of gradually building the answer from bits of information was discussed in Clayman (2001), as roundabout trajectory. According to Clayman, such a technique is considered as one of the IE's methods of answering avoidance. That is to say, to take control over the focus of the ensuing talk, the IE puts together the chunks of seemingly unrelated information to form a cohesive and relevant answer. In this study, however, the IE returned to the topic agenda set out by the IR, thus showing his intention not to evade from the question, but to merely give an example. Thus the listeners might have difficulty following the IE's responsive direction. Therefore, the IE's response should be clearer and come straight to the point if the actual answer and the example are rearranged.

There was also a case where the IE constructed his response to discuss with the IR's anticipation about the future without giving a relevant action or topic agenda. In Extract 30, the IE₂ switched topic of talk which was irrelevant to the IR's topic agenda. That is he switched the sequence of topic using anaphoric expression ("This") and repeated key word ("Bangkok") which allowed a subtle shift of the direction of talk to different but related topic. Accordingly, the IE₂ (as well as the other IEs) did not always answer the question, sometimes he shared and discussed his opinion with the IR. The use of anaphoric expression to sidestep the IR's previous question could be seen in other political interview contexts, as Rasiah (2010) points out, this device is used to construct an evasive turn and to counterattack the IR that is to assert their political points and simply remind the audience that the questions asked had been responded to. This is because the use of anaphoric expression marks reference between the IE's response and the IR's previous turn and thereby creating an impression of the IE answering. However, the IE₂ in this study used the technique of anaphoric expression as a general term covering the point he wanted to discuss.

Instead of using anaphoric expression to conceal the altered topic of talk, the IE₂ actually used it to divert the course of his talk. Accordingly, it seems to be the case that Thai politicians are well aware of their social face hence, attempting to show the public his conformity to the interview norms.

There was also a deviant case of irrelevant answer, when the IE₄ (in Extract 31) counteracted the IR's presumption about the negative consequences that may be caused by the IE₄'s project proposal. The IE₄ brought in a third person as a primary recipient of his response rather than addressing the IR as the audience as usual. Therefore, his response did not show denial or confirmation to the IR's questioning turn, but it abruptly changed the topic and the recipient of talk, giving no clue on what is being discussed. The listeners may find it hard to follow. To make it more comprehensible, the IE might initiate his responsive turn using discursive devices such as lexical repetition to signal to the listeners the focus of talk. Alternatively, the IE may simply provide direct denial before adding elaboration.

By doing so, the IE can promptly reject and lead the IR's assumption and the listeners to attend to new information or evidence the IE has to offer.

5.1.4 Negative Judgments - Responses

Occasionally, the IR's interrogatives were produced to criticize the IE's given information with no mitigating device. Through grammatical forms such as "Don't you know...?" this type of question conveys a certain degree of adversarial-ness toward the IEs. The IEs tended to respond to this type of question by direct response and irrelevant answers.

As shown in Extract 32, the IE₅ provided irrelevant answers to the IR's criticism. He shifted his footing by saying "what are *we* supposed to do then..." to respond on behalf of the people in general, and to imply that he was not the only person responsible for answering this question. The IE₅ successfully changed his position through a footing shift (Goffman, 1974 quoted in Clayman, 1992), from the candidate who was blamed for not understanding the problem, to one of the people who knew and was responsible for solving the problem. The responding act of the IE₅ not only rejected but also counteracted the IR's negative judgment in an implicit way.

In contrast, as shown in Extract 33, explicit and direct rejection was used to negate the IR's negative judgment. When the IE₅ was directly accused, he responded with an explicit no in order to show clear and immediate detachment from the IR's accusation. This type of response provides action and topic relevance thereby facilitating the listeners' understanding of the IE's stance instantly.

The use of explicit rejection of the judgment (as shown in extract 33), therefore not only helps restore the IE's face but also makes the talk simple and clear for the audience to understand. The sequence of talk began with the IR's hostile question openly accusing the IE for not having ready-made plans for the city's development scheme beforehand. In the following TCUs, the IE who countered such adversarial questions with explicit rejection provided elaboration describing lengthy preparation which was possibly aimed at creating a sense of readiness. Accordingly, the IE₅ attempted to reverse the IR's accusation into a misunderstanding based on his explicit form of denial and the account on timely developed policies. From the data, it seems easy for the audience to understand when the IE provides a clear form of acceptance or denial. However, such case occurs rarely in this interview. The IEs would provide direct acceptance or denial to the IR's presupposition or judgment only when they find themselves in an advantageous or disadvantageous situation, or when they could be certain that their explicit position can be justified, and that the justification will be fruitful to them.

5.2 The Structures of Responses to IR's Invitation to Talk

During the interview, the IR's turns were sometimes produced in order to invite the IEs to discuss his proposals. These invitations framed the direction of the IEs' answer. However, the IEs' responses to the invitations were in forms of indirect and irrelevant answer.

For indirect responses, the IE used a listing device as a way to make it relevant to the action agenda determined by the invitation, while he shifted the topic of talk in the following TCUs. From the analysis of Extract 34, it showed that the IE₁'s use of a listing device made the talk relevant, thus easier for the listeners to follow the course of talk. When the IR requested the IE₁ to discuss his perceived two best policies,

however, the IE₁ firstly referred to things that people wanted rather than things that he could do. The reference to the people's wishes may be used as a justification for his two best proposals, but it could mislead the listeners. Accordingly, the IE₁'s answer could be easier to follow if it were rearranged in such a way that the main and relevant points were answered first followed by an account.

Another technique employed by the IE₁, as shown in Extract 35, was lexical repetition in the form of paraphrasing to keep relevant within the parameters of talk determined by the IR. That is when the IE₁ was invited to address his strengths, he paraphrased the keyword "strength" in to his own terms to mark both action and topic relevance to his response. Similar to Extract 34, the IE₁'s response was designed to start with the strength required by people in the city before claiming that those were the strengths he actually has.

Another example in Extract 36 shows that though the IR ended his turn with a listing device that enabled the IE₄ to provide a direct answer, the IE₄ still designed the response by referring to the people's wishes first as an account for his perceived two best policies. According to this, it seems understandable that the IE₄ put the elaboration TCU first, rather than the direct answer, in order to show or justify the value of his qualities or projects. However, the IE₄'s response could be more straightforward and easier to understand if he switched the order of the turns. Given that the genuine answer was placed in the first position followed by the elaboration, the listeners would recognize the connection between the IE₄'s responsive turn and the IR's previous statement immediately.

Apart from an indirect answer, the IE₃ was found to respond to the IR's invitation with irrelevant answers in Extract 37. Instead of telling two of his strengths, the IE₃ talked about the survey that he conducted concerning people's needs. Such a response comprised no discursive devices that could facilitate the listeners' understanding of the topic being talked about. Rather the IE's turn actually discussed the action he wanted to perform; hence, the IE₃'s entire response seemed irrelevant to the IR's invitation totally.

Since the absence of the discursive devices, namely listing device and lexical repetition, in the IE's statements caused a lack of connection between the IR and the IE's turns, it might be difficult for the listeners to understand. Thus, it could be easier

for the listeners to follow the talk if the IE orients to any of these discursive devices to show connection between the turns and rearrange his talk by giving a relevant response before his justification.

5.3 The Structures of Responses to Declarative Statements

Unlike the previous types of interrogatives and invitations, the IR's declarative statements do not provide allocation of turn to the IE to follow, but it invokes the IE's response from other elements (e.g. name calling, intonation, eye contact or gestures). The IE must rely on interactional competence in order to recognize the transition of the IR's turn and thereby initiate a responsive turn. Young (2008) refers to interactional competence as the participants' knowledge of interactional cues, and the ability to develop mutually understood interaction through discursive practices. Therefore, the following examples not only focus on the IE's design of responsive turns but also interactional cues that are co-constructed by the IR and the IE in order to achieve the aims of this news interview.

In Extract 38, the IR employed a neutral statement to inform that the IE₅ believed in the power of social media to influence people's decisions. The IR's statement referred directly to the IE₅ by calling out his name. The name calling invokes the IE to provide a response (Heritage & Roth, 1995). Moreover, toward the end of the questioning turn, the IR paused and fixed his gaze firmly at the IE₅; therefore, the IE₅ was urged to respond. The IE₅'s response is given based on his knowledge of the discursive practice of news interviews that he is obliged to provide a declaration of his claimed belief. The IE₅ shared his opinion in the form of a declarative statement, using lexical repetition to index specific aspects being discussed (i.e. social media). Then, he switched to discuss his contrastive opinion using a discursive signpost (i.e. but). From the analysis, the IE₅'s response is seen as non-direct denial and clarification on his different point of view. In order to recognize that the declarative statement indicates a transition of speaking turn, the IE₅ needs to have interactional competence to know its implicature and provide his response accordingly.

Close to the previous example, the IE₃ (in Extract 39) exhibited his interactional competence and counterattacked the IR's declarative statement. To begin the sequence, the IR initiated his turn using eye contact and a footing shift to express positive position towards an independent candidate which was in opposition to the IE₃ who was the government nominated candidate. Although, such a turn was produced without mentioning the IE₃'s name, the IR's advocacy to the opposite stance to that of the IE₃ and his eye contact which were made directly to the IE₃ at turn end could trigger the IE₃ to respond.

Despite having been formed in neutral tone, the IR's statements in Extracts 38 and 39 were possibly considered inaccurate or challenging to the IEs thus, the IEs responded in a defensive manner. From the data, it can be observed that in both cases the IR used interactional cues (i.e. gestures and gaze), which according to Gumperz, are presumably understandable by competent members of that society (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992), to hint that the transition of turn is coming. The IEs need to have interactional competence to perceive the cue produced by the IR, and initiate response without having to wait for an explicit turn allocation. The IEs in both cases employed the textual device of indexicality so as to mark a connection between their responses and the IR's statement, thus helping the listeners to follow the direction of talk easily. In addition, both IEs oriented themselves to partial confirmation possibly to avoid providing explicit agreement or disagreement to the IR's statement. Through the use of partial confirmation, the IEs could deliberately explain in part where they agree with the IR before switching to a more detailed argument where they think differently. Moreover, this technique could maintain the IR and the IE's relationship because it shows a certain degree of respect, while allowing a possibly different idea to be presented.

In the next example, the IR in Extract 40 initiated his turn using a footing shift device to distance himself from the accusation on the IE₃'s political status, and the IE₃ provided counterattack also with a shift in footing to untie himself from the negative effect of his response. He did not show explicit denial to the IR's claim hence possibly saving the face of both participants. While producing verbal accusation, the IR's hands moved randomly. However, his hands were folded when he finished his turn possibly suggesting transition of the speaking turn, thus the IE₃ began to respond.

From the data, it is clear that the IR's statement invokes the IE's response through its spoken language, meta language, as well as body language. Also in Extract 41, the IE₁ showed his interactional competence in responding to the IR's lengthy and complex declarative statement. It is seen from the analysis that the IR used very long and complex sentence structures to describe the events and sought the IE₁'s response. Despite complication of the IR's turn, the IE₁ showed his interactional competence by waiting until the IR finished then initiated his response. In addition, there are various techniques used to respond to, and to counter the IR's statements which are perceived as inaccurate rather than overt denial. This is because the IE who presents his own viewpoint without overt conflict or disagreement might be perceived as being rationale and well-prepared for the issue at hand. On the other hand, if the IE merely provides disapproval, he might be seen as self-centered or narrow minded as he keeps denying and making excuses.

5.4 The Structures of Responses to Declarative with IR's Negative Assessment of IE's Proposals or Ideas

Given that the IR's production of this type of turn was also in declarative forms, these statements however, were embedded with the IR's criticism of the IE or his idea. To respond to the IR's adversarial-ness embedded in the declarative statement, the IEs also exhibited their understanding of interactional competence before initiating their responses as well as counterattacking such accusations with direct response.

In Extract 42, to counter the IR's criticism, the IE₄ provided explicit disagreement followed by elaborated details. Even though the IR depleted the degree of adversarial-ness of his declarative statement by using a shift in footing (as shown in Extract 43), the IE₄'s response to the IR's criticism was also in a form of direct denial.

From extracts 42 and 43, it is noted that once the IR's negative criticism was constructed in short and precise sentences, the IE directly denied the IR's negative criticism in explicit form (e.g. *no* form). This may result from the IEs' need to defend their viewpoints and detach themselves from the accusation in as clear and comprehensible way as possible. As shown in both extracts, the IEs employing overt

disagreement through the use of no successfully distanced themselves from the previous judgment or accusation, whereas the following elaborated part could be used either to shift the topic of talk or justify the previous denial. As a result, such a technique is practical in the event that the IEs seek sidestep from the undesirable criticisms and they have firm knowledge or facts to argue their cases. However, when the IR produced more than one claim in the same turn, the IEs could selectively respond to one of them.

Shown in Extract 44, the IE₅'s response could be seen as an effective way to respond to very long negative criticism. In this extract, the IR produced lengthy and complex sentences which were hard for both the IE₅ and the listeners to follow the exact point of questioning or detect the negative criticism. Still, in his responsive turn, the IE₅ used explicit no to completely detach from the IR's complicated criticisms then he switched to present the opposite idea using discursive signpost ("but"). The IE₅'s direct denial in Extract 44, may be able to guard off undesirable accusations from the IR's declarative statements. However, because the IE₅'s ensuring talk did not provide a focus of what exact point which the overt denial was provided for, thereby his response may cause confusion among the audience. It might be more comprehensible for the audience if the IE retains his focus of talk on a particular aspect set out by the IR (e.g. by asking for clarification of the statement before giving response), then the IE may provide response to each and every claim respectively. That is the IE may first provide disagreement to each and every claim. Second, he might selectively deny the claim that is deemed the most severe and most likely to cause damage to his public face. Though the second technique allows the IE to evade the rest of the IR's claim, it is required that he provides valid justification to his disagreement in a sensible and comprehensible fashion. Lastly, the IE might sidestep all of the IR's claims by producing direct denial to the IR's accusation as a whole. That occurs when the IE's direct denial does not acknowledge any aspect of the IR's accusation in particular but deny all the criticism made by the IR. The IE's denial to the IR's criticisms as a whole benefits the IE in a way that it allows him to sidestep all issues pre-determined by the IR while taking control of the ensuring talk. That is the IE could attribute the justification of his denial to other unrelated resources for example, inappropriateness of the question and general matter of the policy

(Clayman, 2001) while appearing to answer. Moreover, the audience would still be able to follow the IE's talk although the topic of discussion is shifted.

In conclusion, rather than fixed and solid fact, truths in politics are debatable and won over (Finlayson, 2001). Thus, the politicians who hope to gain people's consent must get their messages across in a convincing way. Accordingly, in the news interviews with focus on political issues, an attempt to secure the people's support is thereby incorporated in the way that the IEs' responsive turns are designed. In this context, the IEs are seen providing different types (i.e. direct, indirect and irrelevant answer) of response based on the nature of the interview questions. In details, the IEs tend to produce direct answer as a way to show strong commitment to or to provide immediate distance from particular IR's questions or statements seen as advantageous or disadvantageous by the IEs.

At the same time, the IEs also respond to some of the IR's questions or statements with indirect response. An indirect response which is usually found in most contexts (Clayman, 1993; Suparthida Theamsomboon, 1998; Clayman, 20001; Rasiarh, 2010) is often used by the IEs in this study to respond to the IR's elicitations or statements produced based on the IEs' previous responses or on the IR's prediction of future events. Because the IEs' indirect response does not explicitly show strong commitment or complete rejection to the IR's previous turn, it functions to compromise the IEs' discussion on the chance that their projects have of being implemented or being successful. This type of response may benefit to the IE in term of reducing risk of being too confidence about his project. As a result, the IEs could possibly secure the consent from the mass audience through the convincing answers.

On the other hand, when the IR's questions or statements are perceived as reproachful or difficult to deal with, the IEs are likely to provide irrelevant answers. The irrelevant answer found in this study though breaches of action and topic agenda set out by the IR, could be understood by the audience as relevant to the previous questioning turns through the IR's different cooperative feedbacks which are discussed in following section.

5.5 The IR's Cooperation to Actualize the Goals of News Interviews

Regarding to the second research question, this study explored the interaction in which the IR and the IE actively contributed to sequences of talk in order to achieve the goals of the news interview with focus on political issues.

From the data, it is seen that the IR in this study used various discursive devices as well as interactional cues to collaborate in the interview with the IEs. It is shown from the data that the contribution of the IR in interaction could influence both the development of the talk, and image of the IEs to public. In most situations, the IR empirically worked in a way that helped the IEs to convey the messages to the audience explicitly recognized as aiding the IEs. It is not usual that the IR would talk in a way that influence the audience to have negative perception about the IE.

There are several techniques that the IR uses in interaction to co-construct with and to support the IE's responsive turn. These different discursive devices function to: (1) invoke the IE's responses, (2) make relevance and facilitate continuity of the IE's responses, and (3) improve the IE's responses.

5.5.1 The Techniques to Invoke the IE's Responses

In order to invoke the IE's responses, the IR's use of footing shifts to initiate the talk is common in news interview contexts (Clayman, 1988), because such device (as shown in Extract 39) allows the IR to avoid taking full responsibility from claims or assumptions embedded in his questioning turn. The IR's adversarial statement could then be perceived as coming from other people rather than from his own thought or opinion, yet it is still challenging and critical and thereby triggers the IE to respond. In addition, the IR's act of mitigating through a footing shift exhibits his conformity to the journalistic norms, i.e. being objective, and also adversarial (Heritage & Clayman, 2010) and thus, reflecting his awareness of professional norms.

Another device which functions to invoke the IE's response is a listing. As shown in Extract 36, the IR employed a listing toward the end of his questioning turn. The IE₄ quickly provided a response, thus it was clear that the listing device signaled the IE₄ of transition of speaking turn. The IR's use of listing devices not only hinted transition of speaking turn, at the same time it provided action relevance to the IE₄'s

response regardless to the content of the answer that followed. Jefferson (1990 quoted in Liddicoat, 2007) discussed that when listing is used by a current speaker as a way to produce more TCUs within a turn, such a conversational device hints that more talk is underway and will only be completed when all listing items are provided. The IR's listing device, in this case, thus served as a base for the IE₄ to get his messages across. Therefore, the IE₄'s response could be seen as additional TCUs to the IR's turn and thereby connected his turn of talk with that of the IR.

In addition, the IR in this study used an invitation act to invoke the IE's response. In this study, the IR's invitation was produced in forms of direct invitation and asking for permission to invite; i.e. instead of calling for the IE's response, the IR asked the IE to grant him a permission to a particular elicitation. Accordingly, the participants' roles shifted as well as the control over the ensuring talk. The IR's request for the IE's approval may be avoided when the IR's invited topic of talk could be perceived as a threat or hostile. That is because the IE might negate or turn down the IR's invitation, thus causing the information unobtainable, and also possibly damaging relationship between the IR and the IE.

5.5.2 The Techniques of Making Relevance and Facilitating Continuity of the IE's Responses to the Questions

The IR's collaboration to the interview talk is also seen once the IE's response seems irrelevant to the topic of talk. In Extracts 1 and 2, although the IE's response seemed unconnected, the IR's use of repetition from the IEs' responses followed by follow-up questions requesting for more information from the IEs. That the IR adopted a word used previously by the IEs could help connect the IEs' responsive turns with his upcoming questioning and thereby marking their relevance. Accordingly, the IE was able to continue developing his talk.

Another technique in which the IR used to assist the IEs is back-channeling. Although the normative practice of the interview suggests that the IR should abstain from producing tokens of continuers and recipient tokens because these discourses would alter the IR's role from a questioner into primary audience (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2011), the IR in this study, however used certain types of discursive devices to facilitate the IE's response. Examples shown in Extracts 24, 30 and 31 reveal that

the IR would produce back-channeling, such as “krub” and “ugh” along with the IEs’ descriptive responses. Thus, the IR could be seen as providing acceptance to the IEs’ responses regardless to their relevance.

A clear example of the IR’s use of back-channeling to completely facilitate the IE’s continuity of talk is shown in extract 23. It is seen that after the IR’s questioning turn, the IE₃ provided a response which was irrelevant to topic agenda. However, the IR treated the IE₃’s response by letting it pass and, in turn, allowed the IE₃ to add more information. Accordingly, the IE₃’s topical irrelevant response was seen as unproblematic or did not require repair. Although the IR’s use of back-channeling is helpful to the IE, it seems unconstructive for the audience because they may be completely misled since the IE’s irrelevant information would be perceived to pass without reproach whereas sought-after information is missing. Moreover, that the IR continuously provides back-channeling may falsely convince the audience that the IE has provided accurate and relevant information. Therefore, the IE’s image could be positively fostered despite his non-responsive answer.

5.5.3 The Technique to Improve the IE’s Responses

Another technique used by the IR to help develop the IEs’ responses is repair initiation. In Extract 27, the IR responded to the IE’s answer by repeating certain part from the IE₂’s turn and adding a more relevant unit of information that could improve the quality of the IE’s response. Accordingly, the IR’s turn could be seen as repair initiation to indicate the IE₂’s acceptance of the additional information (Liddicoat, 2011). However, the IE₂ did not treat the IR’s turn as initiated for repair, instead he further elaborated his response. Based on the data, the IR’s feedback seems to show to the audience how he attempts to help the IE₂ to improve the quality of his response. Thus, the IR might be criticized by the audience as biased. It is interesting that, though the IR’s questioning turn was first produced to accuse the IE₂, the course of interaction was mutually developed to finally benefit the IE₂.

Apart from the IR’s cooperative interaction, there is another deviant case in which the IR’s repair initiated could implicitly threatened the IE’s social image. As shown in Extract 26, the IR interrupted, in order to repair his own question, while the IE was giving a response. Though the IR’s turn helped clarify the meaning of the question asked, this could be seen as highly adversarial because it was used to cut off

the IE₅'s turn. By pausing the response and accepting the interruption, the IE could be negatively judged by some audience that he did not understand the question asked. Accordingly, the IR should wait until the IE₅ completed his entire turn because it might contain relevant details sought after by the IR. On the other hand, the IR's abrupt interruption may affect the way in which he was perceived by the audience as well. Because the IR's interruption in this case was immediately produced without any mitigating device during the IE's continuous responsive turn, thus the IR risked being seen by some audience as impolite and domineering.

From this study, the empirical data suggest that during the campaign interviews; the IR's overall interaction could be perceived as highly supportive to the IE's responses. Whereas the rare case of increasing adversarial-ness of the IR's question occurred as an attempt to repair or clarify the earlier questioning turn. The IR's interactions obviously have influence on the IE's social image in different ways. That is, they could be produced in a way that facilitates the IE to further elaborate their responses (e.g. fill in words or clarify the IE's concept) and thus, show the IE's image as being cooperative, prepared and intelligent. On the other hand, the IR's interaction (e.g. interruption) could also be perceived as mistreating the IE's response as inadequate or incomprehensible and thereby, possibly fostering a negative perception toward the IE.

It has been established that the news interview is an institutional interaction governed by conventional practices and professional norms of being objective and adversarial (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Although the sequence of question-answer is highly formal and adversarial in nature (Clayman, 2004), there are various discursive techniques that allow both the IR and the IEs to get their messages across while showing conformity to the institutional constraints. Slightly different from the normative practice of the interview activity, the IR and the IEs in this study are mutually found contributing bits of information in a supportive manner. Such positive collaboration which develops a sense of the IE's trustworthiness to the audience might be motivated by particular type of political interview i.e. campaign interview. Accordingly, the IR might be enthusiastic to extract more information from the IE rather than scrutinizing them for truth. As a result, the entire interview is created in a way that facilitates the IE's contribution of information as much as possible.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provides summaries of the study and general conclusions of the main findings drawn from the analysis and discussion chapter. Contributions of the research are also discussed. The chapter then concludes with limitations and recommendations for further study.

6.1 General Conclusions

This study aims to explore the way in which Thai politicians as the IEs discursively designed their responses to broadcasting news interview questions. In this light, the study also examines mutual interaction of the IR and the IEs in pursuit of the institutional goals during the interviews. While there are a number of empirical findings on answering designs of politicians in news interviews, few studies were carried out in Thai context.

The news interview which is considered social interactional activity due to its normative practice and pre-allocated roles for participants reflects its institutional goals through the sequence of questioning and answering. A number of studies conducted in international contexts have disclosed that the IEs orient to various discursive techniques (mentioned elsewhere) in order to respond to and, in some cases, sidestep the IR's interview questions. In Thai context, the previous study (Suparthida Theamsomboon, 1998) revealed that the politicians as the IEs responded to the interview questions in three ways; by providing (1) full and relevant information, (2) partial evasion, and (3) full evasion. However, these three types of the IEs' responses were categorized solely based on their relevancy to the IR's predetermined topic agenda. Therefore, how the IR's action agenda of the interview questions is responded to, and how the IE and the IR mutually develop sequences of interaction during the interview sessions are left to be explored.

In order to answer the research questions, data from live interviews of five candidates for Bangkok governor election in 2013 were collected, transcribed and analyzed applying CA approach Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1972 quoted in Heritage, & Clayman, 2010) with slight alteration (i.e. on borrowing words from foreign languages). Based on different types of the IR's questions, the IEs' responses were examined and described according to their relevancy to the topic and action agenda set by the IR. In addition, how the IEs and the IR co-constructed their talk in order to achieve interactional goals were also examined and discussed.

In response to the first research question, the data showed that Thai politicians as the IEs employed different discursive techniques to fully answer, partially evade and sidestep the IR's questions. It revealed that the relevance of IEs' responses varied according to the level of their involvement in the issues asked. That is, when the IR's interview questions were related to the IE's personal issues in a negative way, the IEs were likely to evade answering, or to answer indirectly. The IEs tended to answer directly to the question that was not related to their personal realm. In addition, levels of adversarialness of the IR's questions could influence the IEs' designs of answering as well. It is shown from the data that the IEs tended to produce direct denial when they desired to explicitly show a complete detachment from the IR's statement or accusation that is undoubtably inaccurate (to the IEs). In other cases, when the IR's questions were perceived as partly accurate, the IEs provided confirmation in part. This technique allows the IEs to commit to certain aspect of the topic discussed and to justify other aspects that they disagree.

In addition, the IE's use of confirmation in part technique seems most practical in the news interview focusing on politics especially for promotional purposes. In term of social interactional function, such technique serves to maintain the IR's face through its design. That is to say, the IE's response which initially provides information sought after (i.e. confirmation or rejection) partly conforms to the IR's questioning turn while provoking another point of discussion. Accordingly, the IE's implicit disagreement is mitigated. In term of discursive function, the IE's use of confirmation in part empirically shows that the IE could alternately shift to discuss his argument or launch a counterattack while retaining its relevancy to the IR's prior turn. Furthermore, the use of confirmation in part technique evidently

changes sequential development of the talk. Since the IE's response with confirmation in part raises a point of disagreement, the IR is likely to request more elaboration and possibly changes grammatical structure of the questions (e.g. from close-ended question to wh-question) thus, allowing a broad range of answers. According to these functions, such technique could be useful to the IE for avoiding full commitment to certain issue and expressing his different viewpoint.

On the other hand, certain discursive technique like bringing in the third party, though helps the IE to sidestep the IR's interview questions, may confuse the listeners in term of what is being discussed. Moreover, the IE's use of such device breaches the institutional norm of the interview since the IE is expected to respond for the overhearing audience (Hutchby, 2006). That is because when the IE addresses specific group of people, he no longer responds to the IR's questioning turn. Rather he responds to the IR's given issue with his own agenda. Hence, the listeners who follow the IR's predetermined topic of talk might find it hard to keep track of the IE's talk. Also, it might be possible that the listeners who are excluded from the particular group of recipient may lose interest and become unsupportive of the IE since the IE's talk may not be relatable to them. In accordance with the second research question which asked how the IR and the IEs' collaboration contributed to the institutional goals of the interview, this study revealed that the IR contributed to the achievement of the interview goals by provoking the IEs to respond, through discursive devices such as footing shift Goffman (1992 quoted in Hutchby, 2006) to criticize the IEs' actions thereby prompting them to respond. Also the IEs were provoked to provide response by the IR's use of listing device signaling them transition of speaking turn. In addition, the IR's direct invitation was seen as a way to provoke the IEs to respond.

Furthermore, the IR's contribution was seen in his attempt to link the IEs' responses and to help the IEs to get their messages across. Despite the irrelevancy of the IEs' responses in some cases, the IR helped to reconnect the turns using repetition i.e. he adopted certain words from the IEs' previous answer and continued with the follow-up. Accordingly, the IEs' responses could be perceived as providing appropriate responses to the IR's questioning turns. Along the process of the interviews the IR also facilitated the IEs' talk by providing back-channel, hence making the IEs' responses seemed connected to the previous questions regardless to its actual relevancy to the topic or action agenda.

Interestingly, this study found that the IR also used repair-initiation to improve the IEs' responses during the interviews. It was seen from the data that the IEs provided clearer and more detailed information in order to respond to the IR's repair initiation. Accordingly, the IEs' responses could be seen as more complete and comprehensible by the audience thus, fostering positive images for the IEs.

The IR and the IEs' relationship in this study could be seen as mutually supporting. That is might due to the nature of the interview which was campaign interview. Therefore, the IR may feel obliged to extract more details as much as possible and thus urging the IEs to elaborate rather than having them cornered with adversarial questioning. According to this, different techniques employed by the IR clearly showed that he not only helped the IEs to initiate answering (e.g. through invitation and invoking) but also facilitated and completed the IEs' talk (e.g. through back-channeling and follow-up). Although the pre-given role of IR normatively allows him to oversee the interview, certain technique used by the IR in this study such as invitation to talk reflected his awareness toward sociocultural practice. The IR's awareness thus, resulted in his turn design which was highly depending on the IEs' collaboration to grant the responses. Accordingly, the IE indirectly gained control of talk at certain time of the interview. This technique as well as the IR's back-channeling and the IR's assistance to get the IEs' messages across constituted the interviews that slightly resembled ordinary conversation. Based on positive and mutual collaboration of the IR and the IEs, the interviews were possibly viewed as less tense than normal interview within political context and thus serving the purpose of promotional talk. Accordingly, the IEs may appear to be comfortable and confident which are positive characteristics during public interview.

However, the IR's assistance to get the IE's messages across could certainly result in negative image of the IE. Evidently, the IE who showed the sign of misunderstanding and thereby received greater amount of elaboration or clarification of the questioning turn could be perceived as unintelligent and unprepared. Therefore, it is cautious that the IR should monitor whether or not the IE's talk was relevant to the questioning in any way instead of constantly elaborating or giving more details of the IE's response. This is because such action might change the sequential development of the talk or it may affect the IE's social images (e.g. being seen as

unintelligent or unprepared) as well as that of the IR (e.g. being criticized as impolite or biased).

6.2 Contributions of the Research

In light of conversation analysis approach, this study examined answering patterns in news interviews with focus on political issues within Thai context. In term of theoretical contributions, this study revealed how the socio-cultural awareness of Thai politicians as the IEs shaped their discursive practices during the interviews. Furthermore, the mutual interactions between the IEs and IR during the interview sessions were scrutinized. Since a number of micro-analyses on news interviews with focus on political issues in Thai context were limited, the findings of this study offer interesting outlooks on how such ongoing talk is continuously managed and developed to achieve the institutional goals. Considering the empirical results, this study shows that the socio-cultural aspect also partakes in shaping the participants' discursive designs of talk as well as their interaction during the interview sessions.

In more specific, the IEs' use of certain technique also found in international context has been slightly adapted to cultural appropriateness. For example, an interpretation of a word was used instead of certain repetition in order to avoid being perceived as overconfident or exaggerated. Moreover, the ways in which the IR contributed to the interview sessions breached the institutional norms of being objective and adversarial. Rather than monitoring whether or not the IE responded accordingly to the predetermined topic of talk, the IR helped reconnect the IE's irrelevant responses to the violated topic of talk by requesting more information or let pass of the IE's irrelevant responses without interruption, thereby convinced the audience that such responses were relevant. Besides, the IR empirically helped develop the IE's response. Through repair-initiation, the IR added more information in order to clarify the IE's previous turn thereby allowing the IE to provide acceptance or elaborate more on the point under discussed.

For methodological contributions, CA is applicable to the study of natural and ongoing talk for practical as well as critical purposes. Moreover, the interactional organizations found in this study could be further investigated in comparison with

those from different but related political aspects such as general election, political debate and panel interview.

For those who are interested to apply the present research results into practice, the results of this study could be practical for people in various fields of interest. First, for people who interest in conversation analysis, this study reveals the way in which Thai politicians discursively designed their answering turns including detailed discussion on their effect that could influence sequential development of the interviews. It offers insights into fleeting and dynamic speech exchange which in turn provides preliminary step and better understanding on institutional practices of news interview with focus on political issues in Thailand.

Second, this study also contributes to professional improvement of talk especially in speech exchange. The analyzed findings and discussion on different techniques and their effect on ongoing interaction of news interview could serve as a guidance for interesting people especially those in political career. The certain discursive techniques from the empirical findings could practically be applied to improve their talk during the speech exchange session in order to gain endorsement from listeners, achieve mutual understanding or even avoid answering possible unpleasant interview questions.

Third, on part of the voters, the knowledge gained from the findings enable them to observe the relevance of the politicians' answers to the interview questions. Therefore, the inferred information would help the voters to primarily form their political decision.

6.3 Limitations of the Study

Because the data were collected from the news interview during the gubernatorial election for Bangkok governor in 2013, the sessions of interviews could be considered as a campaign interviews. Therefore, the results of the study may not be generalized to other news interviews with Thai politicians in other different but related aspects for example, the interviews with focus on political conflicts. In addition, the samples of the research which were selected based on the candidates' popularity reflected on polls represented the discourse of Thai male politicians only.

Therefore, the dimension of power relation of different genders could not be examined.

6.4 Recommendation for Further Studies

Due to the limitations mentioned earlier, further studies could be conducted on broadcasting news interview with female politicians with comparison with the result found in this study. Moreover, it might be interesting to study the interactional cues among participants in panel interviews and the IE's discursive designs of answering turns. With applicable CA method, the further studies might as well examine news interview in Thailand where the participants are from different sociocultural background, for example interviews with foreign embassies with focus on political issues in Thailand. In addition to the studies of interactional patterns of the interviewee's response, the further researches using CA method could explore power relationships between the interactants on the way in which the asymmetry of power predetermined by the institutional norms are achieved, challenged, negotiated and maintained.

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