UCLA
UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
The Presidential News Conference: Press-State Relations in Action

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8b71d751

Author
Hualpa, Laila del Valle

Publication Date
2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Presidential News Conference:

Press-State Relations in Action

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of

the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Applied Linguistics

by

Laila del Valle Hualpa

2012

© Copyright by

Laila del Valle Hualpa

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Presidential News Conference:

Press-State Relations in Action

by

Laila del Valle Hualpa

Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Marjorie Harness Goodwin, Co-Chair

Professor Steven E. Clayman, Co-Chair

The purpose of this study is to investigate, through analyses of videotaped records, how presidents of the United States interact with members of the White House press corps during presidential news conferences. The study is divided into two main parts. The first part examines practices of interaction in this institutional setting. One main objective is to determine when and how the president of the United States starts reacting to the propositions and presuppositions contained in the journalists questioning turns, or put slightly differently, what features of a journalist's questioning turn trigger non-vocal responses from the president that show his stance on the question he is listening to. In addition, this part of the dissertation also analyses refusals to answer without an account. More specifically, it studies how a president manages a refusal to answer a question without an account by defusing the fact that he is not being accountable. The president uses various semiotic resources to accomplish this task and the chapter provides a

detailed analysis of these practices. The second part of this dissertation builds on studies that have documented a rise in aggressiveness in presidential news conferences (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b; Clayman et al., 2006, 2007, 2010) and zeroes in on a particular strategy the White House employed starting in the George H.W. Bush presidency to counteract this trend: holding joint press conferences—where the president appears with another head of state and answers only two or three questions. These types of conferences have surpassed solo press conferences in frequency. Yet, a key question about the effectiveness of this strategy has yet to be answered: how has this change in participation framework affected micro-level journalistic practices? In other words, do journalists address less aggressive questions to the president in joint press conferences than in solo conferences? With these two major objectives, this study contributes to the growing literature on stance-taking in interaction and the research on president-press relations. Employing qualitative and quantitative methods, this dissertation seeks to study press-state relations to show how these two bodies relate to one another.

The dissertation of Laila del Valle Hualpa is approved.

Charles Goodwin

Marjorie Harness Goodwin, Committee Co-Chair

Steven E. Clayman, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract of the Dissertation ii
List of Tables viii
Transcription Conventions ix
Acknowlegments xi
Vita xiv
Introduction 1
1.1 Phenomena and Objectives of the Study 1
1.2 Key Concepts Underscored in this Study 2
1.2.1 Multimodality and Stance-taking 2
1.2.2 Participation 7
1.2.3 Sequence Organization 8
1.2.4 Projecting Actions 10
1.2.5 Action Formation and Action Ascription 11
1.2.6 Communicative Projects 13
1.2.7 Question-Answer Sequences and the Accountability of Response 15
1.2.8 Aggressive Questioning 16
1.3 Methodology 19
1.4 Data and Transcription 21
1.5 Outline of the Study 23
Chapter 2 25
Background and Literature Review 25
2.1 President Press Relations in the United States 25
2.2 The Presidential News Conference 28
2.3 Doing Questioning 35
2.3.1 The Normativity of Adjacency Pair Sequences and the Notion of Type Conforming Responses 35
2.3.3 Questioning in News Interviews and Presidential News Conferences 36
2.4 Stance-taking 41
2.5 Multimodality 44
Chapter 3 48
First Operations 48
3.1 Introduction 48
3.2 A shift from Analysis of Next Turn Responses to Analysis of Online Responses 56
3.3 First Operations 58
3.4 Overt Stance Displays in Reaction to Criticism or Attacks Contained in the Journalist's Questioning Turn. 59
3.5 Behaviors by the President Prior to the Emergence of Criticism 69
3.6 Discussion 74
Chapter 4 77
Flat Refusals to Answer without an Account 77
4.1 Introduction 77
4.2 Refusals to Answer: Some Examples 80
4.3 The Sheer Refusal to Answer: Use of Recipient Names and other Elements in the Talk that Serve to Build and Ascribe Actions 85

4.3.1 Recipient Names Mobilized to Do More than One Action 86
4.3.2 Refusal Assertions and Insinuations of Wrongdoing on the Part of the Journalist 93
4.4 The Refusal to Answer: Semiotic Resources in the Sequential Organization of Question Evasion and Resistance 98
4.6 Discussion 114
Chapter 5 116
Questioning Presidents in Solo and Joint Press Conferences 1989-2011 116
5.1 Introduction 116
5.2 Previous Studies of Questioning in Presidential News Conferences and Purpose of this Study 117
5.3 Data and Methodology 119
5.3.1 Sample 119
5.3.2 Methodology 120
5.4 Dimensions of Aggressiveness and their Indicators 121
5.5 Results and Discussion 131
5.5.1 Findings 131
5.5.2 Discussion 140
Chapter 6 146
Conclusion 146
6.1 Summary of the Dissertation 146
6.2 Contributions of this Study 153
References 156

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Number of Solo and Joint Press Conferences George H.W.Bush to Barack Obama administrations (first terms) 30
Table 5.2 Number of solo vs. joint press conferences in the George H.W. Bush presidency 30
Table 5.1 Percent distribution of solo and joint press 116
Table 5.2 Percent Distribution of Questions 120
Table 5.3 Percent Distribution of Initiative Indicators by Conference Format 132
Table 5.4 Percent Distribution of Directness Indicators by Conference Format 133
Table 5.5 Percent Distribution of Assertiveness Indicators by Conference Format 133
Table 5.6 Percent Distribution of Adversarialness Indicators by Conference Format 135
Table 5.7 Percent Distribution of Accountability Questions by Conference Format 135
Table 5.8 Percent Distribution Composite Measures by Conference Format 137
Table 5.9 Percent Distribution of Domestic and Foreign Affairs Questions 138
Table 5.10 Percent Distribution of Domestic and Foreign Affairs Questions by Administration 138
Table 5.11 Percent Distribution of Aggressiveness Outcomes by Conference Format and Question Content 139

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

=	No interval between adjacent utterances
::	Lengthened syllable
?	Rising intonation, not necessarily a question
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
WOrd	Relatively high volume
word	Stress or emphasis by higher pitch
° °	Talk is quieter than the surrounding talk
<	Onset where a stretch of talk is markedly rushed
-	A cut-off or self-interruption
[ ]	Overlap brackets
( )	Unintelligible speech
(word)	When all or part of the utterance is between parentheses, this indicates uncertainty on the transcriber's part, but represents a possible rendition of what was said.
(.)	Micropause
(0.1)	Silence in tenths of a second
(( ))	A double parentheses is used for the transcriber's description of events.
.hh	Audible inbreath
hhh	Audible aspiration. It may represent breathing, laughter, etc.
> <	The talk between the "more than" and "less than" symbols is compressed or rushed
< >	A stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out

b	Hand baton
	Up-and-down arrow represents nod
	Lateral arrows represent headshakes
	President looking toward journalist
	President looking down at podium
	President looking at audience
	Raised eyebrows

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without the help, encouragement, and support of my dissertation committee members, family and friends.

First of all, I would like to thank each of my committee members: Candy Goodwin, Steve Clayman and Chuck Goodwin. All of them have been incredibly supportive and patient throughout this process. I would like to express my profound appreciation to Chuck and Candy Goodwin for their support, their insightful feedback and kindness. Whenever I sit in a room to look at data with you, I am always in awe of the incredible insights you have on human interaction. I feel honored to have been your student. I also express my deep appreciation to Steve Clayman, my dissertation co-chair. I first saw Steve talk at a CLIC Symposium during my first year at UCLA. He was presenting findings from his and John Heritage's work on presidential press conferences, which I found fascinating. Before coming to UCLA, I had studied political speeches and presidential campaign websites. After seeing Steve's presentation on presidential press conferences, I decided I wanted to pursue that topic. I felt extremely lucky he accepted to guide me in this endeavor and that I could combine the study of language and politics with the study of multimodality in interaction. I thank you all for the apprenticeship I was able to embark on by working with you. I have still so much to learn, but I am extremely grateful to you for guiding me through this learning process and for being supportive during difficult times.

I also want to thank my family. My mother and father for always striving to provide us with every opportunity they could afford and sacrificing themselves so much for their children. I would not have been able to make it to the United States without your help, and even though it was hard for my mom to accept I wanted to leave Argentina, she still supported me. I wish my

father were alive today to share this accomplishment with him. I thank my sister and my brother for being my close confidants, for not letting me give up, and for always being there for me, especially during the hardest times throughout this PhD when personal life decided to interfere with my academic life. I have an incredible family. I am truly lucky.

A very special person that deserves her own paragraph is Jennifer Guzman, my dissertation-writing partner. Jennifer, you are the dream dissertation-writing partner. I would like to thank you for you friendship, your help with amazing feedback, and your incredibly warm heart. I look up to you and have learned so much from you. I look forward to continuing to share drafts of papers and to many more shared moments of friendship. Thanks for all your support.

There are countless colleagues and friends I would like to thank as well. To my very close friends from UCLA: Anna Joaquin, Jennifer Guzman, Viviana Unda and Saeed Atoofi, Gail Fox Adams, Bahiyyih Hardacre, Stephanie Kim and Innwha Park, thanks for being great friends. I am especially lucky to have been surrounded by people like you when things weren't going too well. A big thank you to all of you. I would also like to thank many other friends like Elisa Pigeron, Lisa Mikesell, Inma Garcia Sanchez, Jinhee, Lee, SoYeon Kim, Satomi Kuroshima, Shimako Iwasaki, Lauren Mason Carris, Mick Smith and Netta Avineri. Thank you for being there during the fun as well as the most difficult times throughout this PhD process. Last but not least, I want to thank my supervisors throughout the years: Linda Jensen Darling, Christine Holten and Janet Goodwin. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to teach and to learn a great deal from you. You are all an incredible group of people.

I also want to thank a miscellaneous group of people. First, I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation writing support group colleagues for being so encouraging. Attending the weekly meetings was immensely valuable and helpful. I am glad I was able to

participate in them and that I was able to talk and share without being judged. I would also like to extend my thanks to the group members in Chuck's Discourse Lab throughout the years for their great feedback. Also, thanks to my colleagues in the ITC lab at the Center for Digital Humanities (2010-2011). I had a great experience working with you and also-why not- a lot of fun. Three former professors also deserve a big thank you: Judith Kaplan-Weinger, Rick Hallett and Lawrence Berlin for encouraging me to pursue a PhD. It was not easy, but I did it. I am also grateful for the friendships outside UCLA that helped me get through this process as well, and I would especially like to thank Veronica Cross, Elvira Gargiulo and Karen Franklin for being so supportive and encouraging. Last but not least, I would like to thank my official roommate during my last year at UCLA—Mauricio Comas Garcia—for always checking on the progress of my dissertation and most importantly, for making me laugh. Laughter is very important to keep our sanity. Thanks, Mauricio, for doing that. I also want to thank my unofficial roommate for the year—Nadim Ouladi—for also making me laugh and for very useful feedback on a draft of the quantitative chapter in this dissertation. Thank you all!

Finally, I would like to thank Paul Casadio for being an awesomely supportive, extremely funny and loving human being and for patiently listening to me complain about writing a dissertation. Si, Pipi!

VITA

2001	B.A. English Language and Linguistics National University of San Juan, Argentina
2001	Silver medal for highest GPA in School of Humanities, Arts and Sciences Gold medal for highest GPA within major National University of San Juan, Argentina
2000-2002	Spanish Language Assistant Lake Erie College, Ohio
2003-2004	Teaching assistant Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois
2005	Writing Instructor Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois
2005	M.A., Linguistics Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois
2005-2006	UCLA Graduate Division recruitment fellowship recipient
Winter 2007	Recipient of Departmental Research Mentorship Award for International Students
W 2008	Teaching Associate Anthro33: Culture and Communication, Anthropology Department University of California, Los Angeles
Su 2008	Recipient of the UCLA Graduate Division Graduate Summer Research fellowship
2008	Andrew H. Mellon Pre-Dissertation Writing Fellowship
2005-2009	Teaching associate, Applied Linguistics Department University of California, Los Angeles
2006-2009	Humanities Council Representative, Applied Linguistics Department University of California, Los Angeles
F 2010	Graduate Division Fellowship University of California, Los Angeles
2010-2011	Instructional Technology Consultant University of California, Los Angeles
2006-2012	Rater for Test of Oral Proficiency (TOP)

	University of California, Los Angeles
2011-2012	Writing Instructor Santa Monica Community College, California
2011	Best Student Paper Award, Language and Social Interaction Division National Communication Association, New Orleans, Louisiana
2009-2012	Teaching Fellow, Writing Programs University of California, Los Angeles
2011-2012	Dissertation Year Fellowship University of California, Los Angeles

Presentations

- Paper Presentation: President Obama's embodied stance displays while monitoring questions in presidential news conferences. National Communication Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, La, November 2011 (Language and Social Interaction Division Best Student Paper Award)
- Paper Presentation: American Presidential Press Conferences: an analysis of presidents' embodied responses. CLASP, University of Colorado, Boulder, October 2011
- Panel presentation: American Presidential Press Conferences: an analysis of presidents' embodied responses at turn beginning. International Pragmatics Association, Manchester, UK, July 2011
- Paper presentation: Questioning in Presidential News Conferences: a study of presidents' embodied stance displays. American Association for Applied Linguistics, Chicago, IL, March 2011
- Paper presentation: Measuring aggressiveness in question design in joint and solo press conferences. South Eastern Conference on Linguistics, Tulane University, New Orleans, La, April 2009
- Paper presentation: "Los peores pasajeros son los argentinos": The interplay of semiotic resources in the projection of stance in talk in interaction. American Association for Applied Linguistics, Costa Mesa, California, April 2005
- Paper presentation: Leave No Hispanic Behind: A Multimodal Analysis of the 2004 Bush Re-Election Campaign Website and the GOP website. Northeastern Illinois University Student Symposium, Chicago, IL, April 2005
- Poster presentation: Constructing a Hispanic Republican: The Role of Internet Campaign Literature in Creating an Additive Identity. Georgetown Linguistics Society Conference, Washington DC, February, 2005
- Paper presentation: Underlying Ideologies in Children's Literature. First International Critical Discourse Analysis Conference, Valencia, Spain, May 2004
- Paper presentation: "El exito está escrito en Ingles": examining the role of English in Argentina. Northeastern Illinois University Student Symposium, Chicago, IL, April 2004
- Paper presentation: The Power of Language in the Context of War. International Association for Dialogue Analysis, Chicago, IL, April 2004

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Phenomena and Objectives of the Study

This dissertation investigates practices of interaction to illuminate the relationship between the news media and the presidency of the United States. The presidential news conference—the focus of this study— is the "only forum where a president can be questioned on a regular basis and held accountable for his actions," as argued by long time White House correspondent Helen Thomas (Kennedy et al., 2008). In such a forum, we can see the president thinking on his feet and often tackling aggressive questions. This dissertation examines the actors involved in this institutional setting and their practices. That is, the work here analyzes presidential conduct and journalistic conduct. One of the chapters on presidential conduct examines presidents 'thinking on their feet': how does the president show he understands a question, and how does he demonstrate his attitude towards it—his stance—as the question is emerging? That is, what kinds of non-vocal or minimal vocal responses does he deploy in performing operations on the journalist's turn before his own turn at talk and how do these behaviors prefigure the response the president will give in his upcoming turn at talk? The other chapter on presidential conduct analyzes a rare phenomenon in recent times: refusals to answer without an account. What happens when a president refuses to answer a question? How does he manage this "breach of contract"?

With respect to journalistic conduct, this research builds on studies that have documented a rise in aggressiveness in presidential news conferences (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b; Clayman et al., 2006, 2007, 2010) and zeroes in on a particular strategy the White House employed starting in the George H.W. Bush presidency to counteract this trend: holding joint

press conferences—where the president appears with another head of state and answers only two or three questions. These types of conferences have surpassed solo press conferences in frequency. Yet, a key question about the effectiveness of this strategy has yet to be answered: how has this change in participation framework affected micro-level journalistic practices? In other words, do journalists address less aggressive questions to the president in joint press conferences than in solo conferences?

With these three major objectives, this study contributes to research on forms of interactive organization to which participants are oriented in producing their own actions and interpreting the actions of others. In particular, the analysis of this study sheds light on the organization of interaction within the American presidential news conference.

1.2 Key Concepts Underscored in this Study

In this section, I try to separate and define the key concepts highlighted in this study. This is, however, a quite difficult task since all of them are quite interrelated.

1.2.1 Multimodality and Stance-taking

Charles Goodwin and Marjorie H. Goodwin have long argued that human action is constructed by combining "unlike materials into configurations where the separate elements create something new by mutually elaborating each other" (Goodwin, 2012). The study of **multimodality** is key in this dissertation and the work of the Goodwins and others (Goodwin C., 1981, 1999, 2000a, 2003c, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2010b; Goodwin M.H., 1980, 2006, 2007; Goodwin & Alim, 2010; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986, 1987, 1992, 2000, 2004; Goodwin, Goodwin &Yaeger-Dror, 2002, Heath, 1986, 2002, 2006; Heath and Hindmarsh, 2002, Mondada, 2009, 2011, among others) provides a road map for studying discourse in such a way

that it allows us to account for the many semiotic resources (talk, gesture, intonation, etc.) that human beings use when communicating with each other.

As we will see in the analysis of chapter 3 (First Operations), when monitoring an unfolding questioning turn, presidents display their **stance** towards the presuppositions and attacks embodied in the questions with headshakes, head nods, other head movements (e.g. head tilting), particular facial displays, gestures, body posture and prosody. Interactants nearly always display how they align themselves towards their own and other participants' actions (Goodwin et al., forthcoming). That is, they display their stance, footing, or their "projected selves" (Goffman, 1981a, p.128). Du Bois (2007) has observed that stance displays are public acts whereby speakers are "simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field." (p. 163). In her work on the sociolinguistics of stance Jaffe (2009) explains that stance deals with "*positionality*: how speakers and writers are necessarily engaged in positioning themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts (which are embedded in histories of linguistic and textual production), their interlocutors and audiences (both actual and virtual/ projected/imagined), and with respect to a context that they simultaneously respond to and construct linguistically" (p. 4). Ochs (1996) has defined affective stance as denoting "a mood, attitude, feeling and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern." (p. 410). In this dissertation, following the work of Goodwin and Goodwin, stance is defined as the evaluative positioning adopted by social actors towards their own actions or the actions of other interlocutors through talk, intonation, gesture, and body posture. The different semiotic resources the presidents use help construct an evaluative assessment of the journalists' actions.

Perhaps the clearest way to indicate how the analysis carried out here is multimodal is to

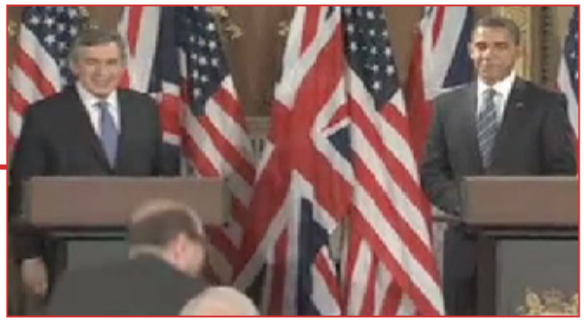
provide a specific example. The following excerpt comes from the first press conference that Obama gave together with then Prime Minister Gordon Brown while visiting the United Kingdom (April 1, 2009). The journalist's questioning turn made reference to the economic crisis in the US that also affected the European economy. The analysis here centers on the behaviors of both heads of state while listening to the unfolding turn in progress. The example shows that aggressive question prefaces can engender disaffiliating or amused embodied responses from an addressee.

The first question in this press conference was asked by Nick Robinson from BBC News. Before Robinson is selected, Brown says that he told president Obama that he was going to introduce him to his "friends" in the British media—a statement that expresses some sarcasm and amusement at the same time. The very first framegrab in the transcript captures the jolly mood after Brown says this.

Excerpt 1.1.1

01 PM: Thank you very much. I said to Barack I was going to introduce him to
02 my friends in the British u:h media.
03 E:h, Nick.

framegrab tries to capture the mood before the journalist asks the question. A salient shift in stance on the part of PM Brown will follow

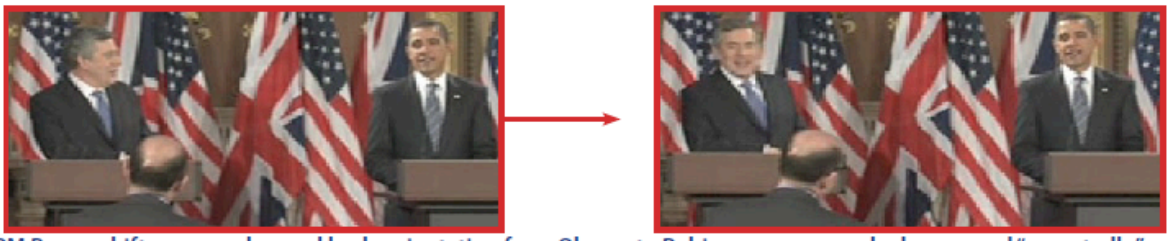


When Robinson gets the floor, he issues the characteristic "thank-you" for being selected to ask a question and immediately launches a question preface where he puts Prime Minister Brown on the spot by saying that he (Brown) has repeatedly blamed the United States for the current crisis. When Robinson says "repeatedly" – an adverb which projects that the mention of a negative behavior will follow—Brown shifts his gaze and upper body from looking at Obama to

looking at the journalist. From here on, we notice a shift in Brown's facial display: from a grin to a serious facial expression. He also shifts his body weight several times as if he was fidgety.

Excerpt 1.1.2

04 (4.0)
05 Q: ((clears throat)) (2.)) Prime Minister, thank you very much indeed.
06 Nick Robinson, BBC News. A question for you both, if I ma:y.
07 .hh the Prime Minister has repea:tedly blamed



PM Brown shifts gaze and upped body orientation from Obama to Robinson as soon as he hears word "repeatedly"

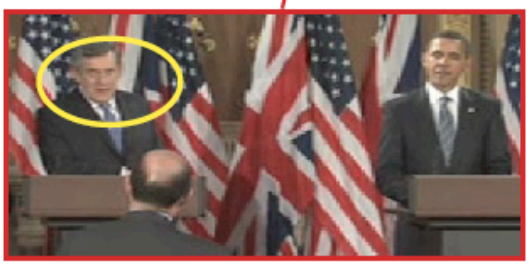
08 the United States of America fo:r cau:sing this crisis,

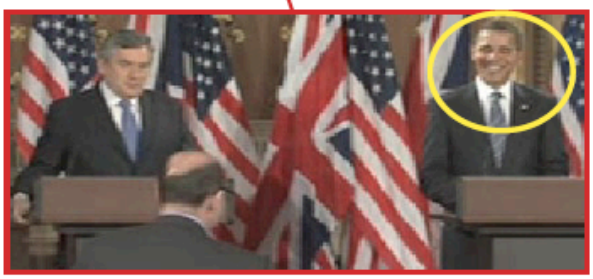
PM Brown's shift in facial display

At the point where Robinson expresses that France and Germany blame Britain and the United States, we can see that Brown's stance becomes more serious as displayed on his face while Obama breaks into a broad grin and shifts body weight (lines 9-10). One head of state becomes visibly uncomfortable by the disclosure that he has blamed the current crisis on the country his guest represents, the other amused by the fact that the journalist is trying to embarrass his host.

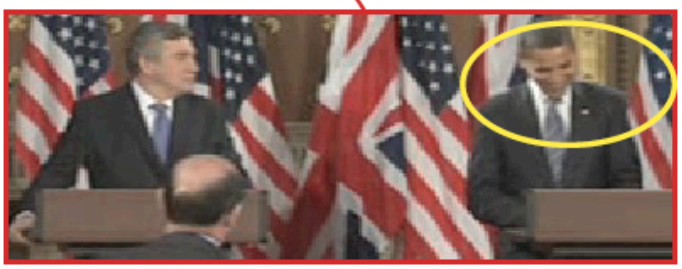
Excerpt 1.1.3

09 (0.3) France and Germany blame both Britain a:nd America





10 for causing this crisis. Who is right? (0.8) And isn't the debate about tha:t (0.2)



framegrabs capture facial displays from both heads of state.

11 at the heart of the debate about what to do now?

When the journalist delivers the questions in his turn at talk, neither Obama nor Brown produce nods or headshakes. The first question ("Who is right?") is hostile in the sense that it presupposes that somebody is right and somebody is wrong while the last questioning TCU is not hostile. We could say the heads of state do not display any more embodied responses while the questions are being issued because they have already listened to the aggressive preface, they are being cautious and holding in abeyance any displays that may signal affiliation with the questions the journalist is asking. As we can see in this example, the hearers here have the option of taking up visible stances towards the questions they are asked in part through facial displays or head movements for example, but they can also suppress the expression of those stances when they do not want to show affiliation with the propositions in the preface or questions per se. The

notion of participation is deeply relevant to the study of listener behavior. The next subsection will elaborate this concept.

1.2.2 Participation

Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) have problematized the particular notion of participation focused on the categorical elaboration of different possible kinds of participants (see Goffman, 1981a). Instead, they propose defining participation based on the description and analysis of the practices through which different kinds of actors "build action together by **participating** in structured ways in the events that constitute a state of talk" (p. 225). For these researchers participation is a dynamically and temporally unfolding interactive process (Goodwin, C., 1979, 1981, 1984; C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004; M. H. Goodwin, 1980).

This notion of participation is particularly relevant in this dissertation when we examine the embodied responses the president of the United States gives as a questioning turn is unfolding. Thus, the hearer is not a static participant[1], but a very active one performing simultaneous operations on a public substrate (Goodwin, 2012)—in this case the journalist's

---

1 Listener behavior has received its share of attention in the last three decades. Early work focused on –what we now know as continuers (uh-huh or yes)—signals of attention to continuous discourse (Fries, 1952). Sacks (1992/1995), for example, noted that the placement of elements like *uh-huh* follows very consistent patterns:

> "Another sort of utterance for which placing may be definitive, is *'Uh huh.'* It's such a tremendously used thing and it's obviously a tying term, i.e., it would be heard that 'uh huh' ties to some last utterance, clause, phrase.... the placing of 'uh huh' is important. 'Uh huh' is carefully placed at things like grammatical units - after clauses, after phrases, after various intonation sequences - and they show that sort of attention, anyway." (p. 746)

Work on the role of gaze in turn-taking by Kendon (1967) also identified these "accompaniment signals" (p.43) into two classes. He observed that the typical hearer signals that are produced when a speaker is presenting a series of points in an argument are lexical forms like *yes* or *surely* among others ("the point granting or assenting signals", p.44) . However, the types of signals produced by hearers when speakers are expressing their own opinions are items like *mhm* or *yes* ("the attention signal proper", p.44) showing that the hearer is attending to the ongoing talk.

For early work on listener behavior including vocal and non-vocal behaviors, see Birdwhistell, 1970; Dittman and Lewellyn, 1968; Duncan, 1972,1974; Kendon, 1967, 1970; Orenström, 1983; Rosenfeld and Hancks, 1980;Yngve, 1970; among others)

questioning turn. In those instances where the president refuses to answer without an account, again we see the president performing simultaneous or sequential operations on the journalist's turn, that is, the public substrate in Goodwin's terms. Goodwin (2007b) explained his alternative view of participation:

> Participants demonstrate their understanding of what each other is doing and the events they are engaged in together by building both vocal and nonvocal actions that help to further constitute those very same events. One consequence of this is a multi-party, interactively sustained, embodied field within which utterances are collaboratively shaped as meaningful, local action. Within such a framework the speaker is no longer positioned as the locus of all semiotic activity and the cognitive life of the hearer, including his or her analysis of the details of emerging language structure, is recovered. (p.45)

Therefore, the notion of participation articulated by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) and Goodwin (2007b) offers resources to examine how an interaction is organized through dynamic, interactively organized practices (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

A framework in which participation is viewed as engagement in unfolding action allows for the close analysis of both the actions of the speaker and those of the hearer. In such a framework, the speaker and the hearer(s) do not "inhabit separate analytic worlds" (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004, p.240). It is possible then to study the "way in which each takes the other into account as they build relevant action together" (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004, p.240). We will see in chapters 3 and 4 how a framework like the one described above facilitates the inspection of the participants' practices.

1.2.3 Sequence Organization

The previous section on participation highlighted how participants perform concurrent and sequential operations on a public substrate (Goodwin, 2012). An important notion in this dissertation is that of sequence organization. This notion has been defined as "the organization of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk—coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or

sequences of actions or moves" (Schegloff 2007, p. 2). Schegloff explains that sequences are "the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished" (p.2). Participants in an interaction monitor and analyze a turn to determine what action or actions the current speaker may be trying to accomplish (Schegloff, 2007). Schegloff and Sacks (1973) observed that parties to an interaction deal with the question of "why that now" (p.299) and what is being done by that. This notion of sequence organization is relevant in particular to the analysis of refusals to answer without an account examined in Chapter 4. We will see how in the "argument-like" sequences presented in that chapter participants to the interaction organize their moves and countermoves by carefully attending to prior forms of talk and embodied action. Although the notion of sequence organization (Schegloff 2007, p. 2) is central to chapter 4, the concept as presented by Schegloff (2007) emphasizes the idea of courses of action built through "TCUs":

> So each turn - actually, each turn-constructional unit- can be inspected by coparticipants to see what action(s) may be being done through it. And all *series* of turns can be inspected or tracked (by the parties and by us) to see what course(s) of action may be being progressively enacted through them, what possible responses may be being made relevant, what outcomes are being pursued, what 'sequences' are being constructed or enacted or projected. That is, sequences of turns are not haphazard but have a shape or structure, and can be tracked for where they came from, what is being done through them, and where they might be going. (Schegloff, 2007, p. 3)

However, as we will see in Chapter 4 (Refusals to answer without an account), the full effect of the president's moves when continually refusing to answer a question is not achieved through the sequence organization of turns-at-talk alone. As the reader will see in the analysis of Chapter 4 (Multimodal Sequential Analysis of Refusals to Answer without an Account), President Bush systematically uses talk in concert with other semiotic resources (gestures, facial displays, prosody) in order to refuse to provide an answer to a journalist's question. The use of these resources allows him to advance his own communicative project (Linell, 1998a), which is in competition with that of the journalist. Without looking at discourse taking into account the

different semiotic resources that participants to an interaction use, we would get an incomplete picture of the types of actions that the president—in this particular situation—is performing as a turn is unfolding or when refusing to answer a question.

1.2.4 Projecting Actions

As it may be evident from the studies cited in previous sections, over the past forty years, an important area of research in human social interaction has been the study of how participants coordinate their talk (and other resources) in the production of action (see Kendon, 1967, 1970; Jefferson, 1973, 1983; Sacks et al., 1974; Goodwin, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1996, 2000a,b, 2003; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2002; Schegloff, 2000; Streeck, 1995; Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron, 2011; Heath, 1986, 1992; among many others).

In establishing the coordination of their moves to carry out common courses of action, interactants continuously monitor each other and make projections. Goodwin (2000a) observes

> The accomplishment of social action requires that not only the party producing an action, but also others present, such as its addressee, be able to systematically recognize the shape and character of what is occurring. Without this it would be impossible for separate parties to recognize in common not only what is happening at the moment, but more crucially, what range of events are being projected as relevant nexts, such that an addressee can build not just another independent action, but instead a relevant coordinated next move to what someone else has just done. (p. 149)

Projectability is "the feature of human conduct that prefigures possible trajectories of how an action (or a sequence of actions) might develop in the next moment, and which thereby allows interactants to negotiate and accomplish coordinated action in the subsequent course of interaction" (Hayashi, 2004, p.1341). Work in CA has examined the notion of projectability in story prefaces (Sacks, 1974), pre-requests and pre-invitations (Schegloff, 1980); pre-announcements (Terasaki, 1976) or pre-closings (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), projectability of possible completion (Sacks et al., 1974) to name a few. CA studies have also analyzed how

earlier parts of the unfolding turn project subsequent parts (Lerner, 1991).

Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) investigated projection in the environment of assessments. These researchers demonstrated how in this particular environment the hearer constantly monitors the unfolding structure of the utterance in order to participate in the assessment activity before the speaker produces the actual assessment segment. Projection then is a crucial resource that participants use in coordinated action in interaction. It has been studied at different levels like prosody (see Local, 1992; Local et al., 1986; Auer, 1996; Couper Kuhlen, 1996; Selting, 1996, 2000, among others), turn-design (see Schegloff, 1968, 1980; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; Lerner, 1991, among others) as well as non-vocal conduct like gaze, gesture and posture (Goodwin, 1981; Iwasaki, 2009, 2011; Schegloff, 1984; Streeck and Hartge, 1992; Streeck, 1995) to name a few examples.

Chapter 3 (and to a lesser extent Chapter 4) investigates the notion of projection from the point of view of the hearer—the president of the United States—who actively monitors the journalist's unfolding turn in progress producing embodied actions that express a stance towards the emerging talk while at the same time projecting his response in his next turn at talk.

1.2.5 Action Formation and Action Ascription

A prominent topic of research in the field of social interaction is that of action formation and action recognition. Schegloff (2007) formulated what he called "the action formation problem":

> how are the resources of the language, the body, the environment of the interaction, and position *in* the interaction fashioned into conformations designed to be, and to be recognized by recipients as, particular actions – actions like requesting, inviting, granting, complaining, agreeing, telling, noticing, rejecting, and so on – in a class of unknown size?" (xiv)

In a review of these two concepts, Levinson (2013) has problematized the use of the term "action recognition" arguing that a more apt term is "action ascription" since the latter does not presuppose that actions have a correct identity like the term "action recognition" does. Rather, the concept of "action ascription" could be defined as the attribution of "an action to a turn as revealed by the response of a next speaker, which if uncorrected in the following turn(s), becomes in some sense a joint 'good enough' understanding" (p.103). Levinson also posits that there are two key factors in action ascription: turn design and turn location. He adds that there are other factors such as actions in other modalities, the context of ongoing activities, the larger institutional framework and the social roles ascribed to participants.

While there is no doubt that turn design and turn location play a crucial role in action ascription and action formation, the "other factors" that Levinson cites above receive much less attention in his analysis. Although eventually he discusses the notion of a "project" and advocates the view that the notion of project needed for action ascription is not 'thematic thread' but 'plan of action', he still centers this discussion on what project a *turn* portends (emphasis added). And while there is an attempt in his article to incorporate what he calls "non-verbal action streams" into the analysis, we do not get a full picture of how this might be done. For example, this notion of project does not allow us to explain how the president of the United States in the examples analyzed in this dissertation carries out a competing project (Chapter 4) using different semiotic strategies and not just the turn at talk. The question then is: how do talk and other resources such as head movements, facial displays, gestures and prosody interact in order to bring about this competing communicative project into being? And what is meant by (competing) communicative project?

1.2.6 Communicative Projects

I borrow the concept of communicative project from Linell (1998). However, I have redefined it to accommodate the practices observed in this dissertation. The term communicative project "denotes a sequence enacting the performance of a communicative task, and evaluates the sequence in terms of its meaning accomplished in and through action and interaction (Linell, 1998, p. 232)". Linell (2009) explains that when he uses the term '(*communicative) project*', "it serves to refer to a task carried out (among other tasks) by participants in and through their interaction" (p. 190). Communicative project theory (Linell, 2009)

- focuses the analysis of discourse on "what's going on" for the participants in interaction: solving communicative problems, making things known, accomplishing intersubjectivity.
- deals with structural provisions (Schegloff's sequentiality) and topicality (content) at the same time, as two sides of discourse.
- accommodates the fact that there are communicative projects on different time scales (from micro-moments to tasks across many communicative events and encounters) (Linell, 2009, p. 212).

While the term is attractive for analyzing the data presented in this chapter, this definition (and theory) is still focused on analysis of language alone. I therefore propose that this definition be revised to the following in order to explain the phenomena in Chapter 4 in particular: a communicative project is a sequence enacting the performance of a communicative goal. The task at hand may not only be accomplished through talk but also through the simultaneous or alternative use of other semiotic resources such as head nods and headshakes, facial displays, intonation, gestures and body posture.

Another important aspect of Linell's definition is that of asymmetry of participation. He argues that although communicative projects are collectively accomplished, they are often characterized by an *asymmetry of participation.* By this he means that actions generate an asymmetric distribution of "epistemic and practical responsibilities" (Linell & Markova 1993, p.

176). The data in chapter 4 will examine this notion of asymmetry inherent in president-press relations.

Linell (1998) also introduces the idea of *competing communicative projects*, an apt concept for describing and analyzing the conflicting enterprises that the actors analyzed here (president and journalist) are trying to advance. A competitive communicative encounter is "like a tennis match, in which opponents do their best to outdo each other, while at the same time following the rules of the game; without the rule following, the game is gone, and with it the possibilities of winning the game (p. 225)". The examples in chapter 4 will highlight the moves in this tennis match-like encounter. However, as we will see, one of the actors (the president) will not be following the rules of the game; instead, with his actions, he will be redefining the rules.

In analyzing the competing communicative projects in the data (Chapter 4: Refusals to Answer without an Account), the notions of retrospective and prospective orientations utilized by Goodwin (2006) in his analysis of a father-son dispute proves particularly useful. Heritage introduced the idea of an utterance being "context-shaped" and "context renewing" (Heritage, 1984, p.18). Goodwin (2006) observes that the dual orientation to the particulars of what has just been said and the shaping of a consequential future action is particularly noticeable in argument sequences.

While the sequences presented in Chapter 4 do not exactly constitute arguments, they have argument-like features. While in argument sequences prior claims are met with counter-claims which may in turn elicit a relevant reply, in the sequences analyzed here, a refusal to answer a question without an account is met with a pursuit on the part of the journalist, which in a way constitutes his or her refusal to accept the president's response. This pursuit is followed by

a subsequent refusal on the part of the president and so forth. While turns at talk are used to build the different moves, the president uses other semiotic resources together with the talk or by themselves to build these oppositional moves. Therefore, it is not only utterances that are context shaped and context renewing; facial displays or a particular intonation play also crucial roles in building these moves, as we will see.

1.2.7 Question-Answer Sequences and the Accountability of Response

The data in this dissertation consists exclusively of question-answer sequences in presidential news conferences and the embodied behaviors that co-occur in these encounters. As Clayman and Heritage (2002b) and Heritage and Clayman (2010) note, questions set agendas for a response and interviewees (in the case of the news interview) or presidents (in the case of the presidential news conference) are accountable in terms of these agendas. This notion of **accountability of response** is central to Chapter 4 (Refusals to Answer without an Account). Clayman and Heritage (2002b) and Heritage and Clayman (2010) have written extensively about what happens when a respondent fails to orient to a question's agenda. They explain that respondents can be held accountable by the questioner when the latter, for example, reissues the same question or a follow-up question designed to elicit an acceptable response. Heritage and Clayman (2010) observe that evasiveness has a downside. They state:

> answering questions is treated as a basic moral obligation not only for public figures in journalistic interviews but for interactional participants more generally. And while interactants expect one another to be properly responsive to the questions they receive, the responsiveness of politicians is perhaps more closely scrutinized, so that attempts to resist, sidestep or evade can be costly." (p.245)

Besides respondents being held accountable by the questioner during the interview when the former try to resist, sidestep or evade a question, journalistic monitoring extends beyond the interview, an issue that Clayman (1990) investigated by examining how these attempts at

evasiveness are selected and replayed by the media in the form of quotations and soundbites. Heritage and Clayman (2010) also note that even if journalists do not sanction evasiveness, the broadcast audience may infer that a public figure is sneaky when resisting or sidestepping a question's agenda. Public figures are then faced with "various pressures from the journalists and from the audience, from within the interview and in subsequent media coverage, to answer straightforwardly" (p.246). Faced with an adversarial question, a public figure tempted to provide a resistant response needs to consider the benefits of engaging in such a risky move while at the same time minimizing the potential negative consequences (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

At the heart of Chapter 4 is this issue of accountability of response. Faced with questions whose subject matter President George W. Bush does not want to comment on, he engages in the risky game of refusing to answer a question while at the same time not providing an account. The chapter examines these *refusal assertions* and the pursuits from the journalist to obtain an answer to what he or she considers a legitimate question. A central question the chapter addresses is how President Bush manages to shift the focus from the act of not fulfilling the moral obligation of answering a question by using various strategies (talk, gesture, intonation, and facial displays) that suggest the journalists' actions are inappropriate.

1.2.8 Aggressive Questioning

For Chapter 5 (Measuring Aggressiveness in Solo and Joint Press Conferences), the coding system (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b) used to code the questions journalists ask at solo and joint press conferences is based on findings from conversation analytic studies of turn design in institutional as well as non-institutional interaction (see Chapter 5 for detailed examples of the

different dimensions of aggressiveness coded). This coding system consists of various discrete indicators, which are combined to form five outcome measures:

Initiative: the level of initiative is evidenced by whether or not questions place constraints on the president's answer. If they do place constraints, a given question is seen as more enterprising, setting a more constrained agenda. The indicators in this dimension are question complexity (i.e. how elaborate a turn is. Does it contain multiple questions?), follow-up questions (when journalists regain the floor to ask about a more substantial matter or to raise a related matter), and question prefaces (does the journalist provide any substantial background information before issuing the question).

Directness: the degree of directness is measured by looking at whether the question is blunt or cautious when raising an issue. Here the indicators that are examined are the use of self-referencing frames (I wonder, I want/would like to ask, Can/Could/May I ask) that invoke a journalist's intentions or desires, and the use of other-referencing frames, which invoke the president's ability or willingness to answer (Can you/Could you tell us; Will you/Would you tell us).

Assertiveness: what the analyst examines here is whether a question presses for a particular answer and is thus more opinionated than neutral. Only yes-no questions are taken into account in this dimension, as studying wh-questions poses some problems. Yes/No questions can be built to press for a yes or no answer through 1) prefaces, or 2) through the linguistic form of the question. That is to say a preface can tilt a question towards a yes or a no response. In addition to this, the question itself can push for a given answer. For example, a journalist may choose to issue a negative yes-no question by saying

Adversarialness: in this dimension, the focus is on whether a question sets an agenda in opposition to the president or his administration, and whether this is done in the preface or in the design of the question as a whole. Prefaces could disagree with the president or be extremely critical of the administration. The subsequent question may focus on the preface treating it as debatable, or it may presuppose the truth of the preface making it more aggressive.

Accountability: in this last dimension, a question is examined to see whether it is asking the president to justify his policies or actions. Typical formats include: "Why did you do X?" "How could you do X?", and "How is it possible for you to do X?"

Clayman et al. (2006) explain that the forms of conduct captured by this coding system can be described in terms of how they relate to general norms of interaction and to specific norms of journalistic practice. With regards to the former, they state "human conduct is shaped by certain fundamental human desires that persons are obliged to respect" (p. 571). Clayman et al. observe that these basic desires and the mutual obligations involved were conceptualized by Goffman (1967) as "face" and "facework". This notion of face was later finessed by Brown and Levinson (1987) to distinguish between negative face (the desire to be free from imposition) and positive face (the desire for approval and validation). The different aspects of face were operationalized with respect to different linguistic strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Brown and Levinson found that these linguistic strategies are correlated to social variables such as the social distance among participants and the power difference in relation to one another.

After explaining how these notions helped them in the conception of this coding system, Clayman et al. (2006) observe that the dimensions of initiative, directness and assertiveness exert pressure on and constrain presidents' responses. The authors note that these impinge on

presidents' negative face. The dimension of adversarialness brings to the fore information that challenges or is critical of the president, and as a result, threatens presidents' positive face.

With respect to the specific norms of journalistic conduct, Clayman et al. (2006) observe that the dimensions of aggressiveness "vary in their professional salience" (p.571), with initiative, assertiveness and adversarialness closely related to the norms and ideals of journalistic independence, objectivity, and the watchdog role of the press. They argue that the discrete indicators in these dimensions (multiple questions, follow-up questions, prefaced questions both assertive and adversarial prefaces) are specific to broadcast journalism and are hardly ever present in ordinary conversation. The dimension of directness, however, is not so much related to journalistic norms per se but to more general norms of politeness and civility (Clayman et al., 2006).

1.3 Methodology

The present study adopts conceptual and theoretical frameworks of interaction analysis, viewing interaction as a socially-distributed and interactively-constituted phenomenon. I use the tools offered by multimodal discourse analysis (e.g. C. Goodwin, 2006; C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin, 2004; M. H. Goodwin, 1980, 1990; Streeck and Hartge, 1992; Streeck and Knapp, 1992) and conversation analysis (see Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; C. Goodwin and Heritage, 1990; Sacks et al., 1974; ten Have, 1999) to study presidential conduct. The combination of these two methodologies makes it possible to use video-recordings with detailed multimodal transcripts of discourse that document silence, overlaps, prosody, hesitations, restarts, facial displays, gestures, body positioning and eye gaze "to elucidate generic mechanisms that recurrently organize interaction" (Clayman and Gill, 2004).

In writing about conversation analysis and institutional interaction, Heritage (2006)

observes that CA approached the study of institutional talk taking as a point of departure the fact that "context is both a project and a product of the participants' actions" (p. 4). According to Heritage (2006),

> "the assumption is that it is fundamentally through interaction that context is built, invoked and managed, and that it is through interaction that institutional imperatives originating from outside of the interaction are evidenced and made real and enforceable for the participants" (p. 4)

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) talk about a unique "fingerprint" (p.5-6) that goes with each kind of institutional interaction. This fingerprint is created by "specific tasks, identities, constraints on conduct and relevant inferential procedures that the participants deploy and are oriented to in their interactions with one another" (Heritage, 2006, p. 4). Thus, in the study of institutional interaction, it is possible to examine participants in specific goal orientations tied to their institution relevant identities, allowable contributions in that specific institutional setting, and the inferential frameworks and procedures associated with a particular institutional context (Drew and Heritage, 1992).

Heritage (2006) proposes six basic places to investigate the "institutionality" of interaction (p. 5): 1) turn-taking organization, 2) overall structural organization of the interaction, 3) sequence organization, 4) turn design, 5) lexical choice and 6) epistemological and other forms of asymmetry. This dissertation tackles the last four areas proposed by Heritage adding two other important areas: the study of multimodality in this setting as an important aspect to be considered in investigating the "institutionality" of interaction as well as the quantification of different features of the journalists questions in the comparison of joint and solo press conferences.

In Chapter 5, I employ quantitative methods to analyze the level of aggressiveness in questioning in solo versus joint press conferences. The coding system used to measure this

aggressiveness was created based on conversation analytic studies of questioning practices in institutional as well as non-institutional settings. Even though conversation analysis is a qualitative methods, it has been the basis for quantitative efforts (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a, 2006, 2007, 2010; Heritage et al., 2006, 2007, 2010). The basic CA (Conversation Analysis) work allows researchers of human interaction to discover the social meaning of specific practices which can be the basis for building a coding system to measure these practices just like Clayman and Heritage have done. In this study, I apply this framework developed by Clayman and Heritage to the study of solo and joint press conferences[2].

1.4 Data and Transcription

Data for this dissertation were downloaded from the White House website, youtube.com, CNN Image Source, the American Presidency Project at UCSB and other media sites. The data consist of a corpus of over 120 hours of videotaped press conferences spanning four presidencies: George H.W. Bush, William J. Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack H. Obama (1989-2011). Raw transcripts were obtained from the UCSB Presidency Project. For Chapters 3 and 4, the data excerpts come from the presidencies of George W. Bush and Barack H. Obama (2001-2011). These excerpts were selected after carefully watching each press conference and noting the particular recurring phenomena that is the foci of Chapters 3 and 4. For Chapter 5, the conferences that were coded came from all four presidencies in order to be able to compare joint and solo press conferences since the joint press conference were adopted in 1989 (more details on the sampling in Chapter 5). While coding the questions for Chapter 5, I watched the press conferences almost in their entirety. Although the data is in English, the clips have all been

[2] For more details about this coding system, please see Chapter 5.

subtitled (a nice additional feature for making relevant phenomena more salient when presenting this data).

For the qualitative chapters (Chapters 3 and 4), I created multimodal transcripts to show details of the talk and of the president's embodied behaviors. To transcribe the talk I used the CA conventions created by Gail Jefferson to transcribe natural interaction (see Appendix). To signal head movements like head nods and headshakes I used up-and-down arrows for the former ( ) and horizontal arrows for the latter (). In addition, particular facial displays are shown through framegrabs positioned at relevant junctures during the unfolding turn in progress. Where pertinent to the analysis, gaze shifts signaling engagement and disengagement where depicted with the drawings: (president looking toward the journalist- the direction may vary based on where the journalist is positioned), (president looking at the podium), (president looking toward the audience of journalists in the room). In some instances, raised eyebrows were displayed through the following drawing to emphasize their role in particular facial displays.

For the comparison of joint and solo press conferences, I watched the majority of the conferences (a few were not available) following along with the transcripts. Although I could have coded the question turns examining the transcripts alone, listening to the questions allowed me to detect a few errors in the transcripts. I was also able to get the names of most of the journalists asking the questions as sometimes this information was not reflected on the transcript (this may be relevant for future research). As I stated in the previous section, I used a modified version of the Clayman-Heritage coding system (2002b) which allows the analyst to code particular features of turn design in this setting (see Chapter 5 for more details).

1.5 Outline of the Study

This chapter has introduced the phenomena to be investigated and the main objectives of this dissertation. It has also explicated important concepts used in this study, explained the framework employed to examine the data and provided a description of the data collected. Chapter 2 sets the context for my research by examining how relevant issues to this study have been formulated within the fields of discourse analysis, conversation analysis, anthropological linguistics, media studies and political communication. The chapter features a background section on president-press relations and the presidential news conference in particular. It also reviews studies on questioning in news interviews and presidential news conferences.

Chapter 3 examines when and how presidents begin to display a stance towards a journalist's question? The chapter presents the range of practices the presidents use to display their (dis)alignment and (dis)affiliation to a question as it is emerging and how such embodied behaviors anticipate their answer in their turn at talk. The chapter aims to zoom in on the concurrent operations that the hearer—the president of the United States—is performing on the speaker's talk—the journalist—emphasizing the fact that through constant monitoring hearers express their stance on the emerging talk through means other than talk. The presidents' nods, headshakes, facial displays, engagement and disengagement through gaze patterns, hand gestures and body posture are all examined at particular junctures during the journalist's turn in order to document how these behaviors are performing clear operations on the talk in progress.

Chapter 4 analyzes several instances of refusals to answer without an account that were observed in president George W. Bush's press conferences. Like chapter 3, this chapter examines the kinds of semiotic strategies president George W. Bush often used to refuse to answer a question. A close analysis of the data reveals that embodied stances and prosody are

crucial in building subsequent refusals to answer a question when the journalist repeatedly follows up pursuing a relevant answer.

Chapter 5 presents the results of a comparison of joint and solo press conferences during the first terms of the George H.W. Bush, William J. Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack H. Obama administrations. The joint press conference format became official during the George H.W. Bush presidency (1989). Initially, the number of these conferences was low, but by the end of his presidency, it had risen, and with subsequent presidencies the number of joint press conferences continued to increase, surpassing that of solo press conferences. The objective of the chapter is to discuss how increasing the number of joint press conferences may have affected journalistic practices at the micro level since the joint press conference was introduced in the George H.W. Bush presidency.

Chapter 6 summarizes findings of this dissertation and discusses its contributions to the fields of institutional discourse analysis, media studies and political communication.

Chapter 2

Background and Literature Review

2.1 President Press Relations in the United States

The media play a powerful position in the American political system. Grossman and Kumar (1984) point out that journalists play a number of roles including influencing the selection and removal of those who hold office, bringing attention to issues they think the public should pay attention to, commenting on the significance of a leader's actions, making interpretations that can lead to changes in decision making—particularly when these interpretations contain leaked information—and stimulating investigation, among other roles. To use Grossman and Kumar's words, the media "legitimize and delegitimize individuals, points of views of issues, and even institutions such as the presidency itself" (p.197), and the contemporary White House—far from oblivious to this fact—considers the media as one of the key factors that has an influence on its reputation and prestige (Grossman and Kumar, 1984). In this section, I survey literature on the role of the press in presidential politics. I will start with an overview of how president-press relations have been characterized by various scholars and subsequently narrow down the focus to the role and formats of the presidential news conference and to how it has adapted to the needs of modern presidents faced with an adversarial press corps.

Media scholars like Cook (1984, 1998) elevate the status of the media to that of an unofficial "fourth branch of government," a conception which he took from Cater (1959)— and an idea which many resist (e.g. Grossman & Kumar, 1984). Cater had argued that the media both chronicle government news and take part in the governing system. Because of this, they constitute a separate branch of government. By arguing that the news media are "a coherent

intermediary institution without which the other three branches established by the Constitution could not act and could not work" (Cook, 2005, p. 2), Cook means that news organizations coordinate communication between the branches of government and serve as a link between government and citizens. The author explains that in order to get others to sign onto one's policies, it is necessary and useful to use media strategies to persuade others to act since this constitutes a more efficient use of resources. Cook continues to say that by interpreting "what an institution should be and it should do, the news media contributes to the process of institutional leadership" (Cook, 2005, p. 126). The author contends that the news media is a political institution not only in the sense that individual news outlets strengthen each other's reporting of events or in that newsmaking is similar from one news outlet to the next, but also in the sense that it has a fundamental political role as communicator.

Cook further argues that evidence that the news media is a political institution comes from the fact that policy makers or political actors from other institutions place particular emphasis on the importance of newsmaking in carrying out their agendas. Politicians at all levels have gone public. At the presidential level, Kernell (2007) has examined president-press relations and proposed a number of reasons why modern presidents have gone public: modern technology facilitates the process, outsiders in the White House find it attractive, and diffusive power requires it. This author suggests that "public-styled" presidents have to assiduously cultivate public opinion and argues that even though the president and the press jointly produce news, this is not a collaborative enterprise, with each side trying to predict and respond to the – often "exploitive" (p. 103)-- actions of the other. As an example, he describes how modern network news bureaus try to resist presidential influence and affirm their own control over the content of presidential communication: president's failures are emphasized over his successes,

and presidential statements are 'severely' edited and editorialized for their purposes. For their part, modern presidents have sought new ways to communicate with the American public. This entails using techniques that do not involve the participation of journalists, or as we will see later on in this dissertation choosing venues that are not very threatening (e.g. the joint presidential news conference).

The relationship between the news media and the presidency of the United States is quite complex. Han (2001) has highlighted the fact that even though the news media can help spread the president's message, they are also known for distorting it. Like Kernell, she points out that the White House and the press corps have fought as to who would control the agenda. The relationship of the president with the press is one of strengths and weaknesses. That is, the power of a president can be undercut by failure of the administration to control the news, by the norms that govern the journalism industry, and by the skepticism from the press (Han, 2001). Although thus far the scholars referred to here tend to underscore the adversarial nature of the relationship between the president and the press, the relationship is also characterized by cooperation and continuity (Grossman & Kumar, 1981).

In sum, since going public, presidents have leaned on the media, and especially the press corps, in order to reach the American people. And even though in recent years the White House press corps has had to compete with new forms of media outlets and media forms—with a changing presidential media environment (Wattenberg, 2004), the role of the White House journalists is still significant. In what follows, I focus on one of the most important forms of contact between the president and the press corps: the presidential news conference. I will briefly discuss its development and the practices involved—especially, how journalistic questioning

practices have been investigated—and subsequently focus on the most recent change it has been subjected to.

2.2 The Presidential News Conference

The presidential news conference, as we know it today, has had an interesting trajectory since its inception during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson. Wilson is credited with having opened news sessions to all accredited reporters, and historical accounts (Smith, 1990; Joynt Kumar, 2005; Kernell, 2007) report that every president after him has held press conferences[3]. However, it was not until the Truman presidency that strict rules regarding quotations were relaxed and several changes were introduced that would lead to the current press conference format. First, he changed the location from the Oval Office to the State Department Indian Treaty room. The physical layout adopted, with the president standing and facing the reporters, had a major impact and created distance between the president and the reporters (Smith, 1990). What used to be a conversation turned into competitive questioning. Second, the manner in which Truman answered questions was different from Roosevelt's. His answers were "short, snappy and not particularly well thought out" (Smith, 1990, p. 34). Third, the conferences were progressively more public: Truman allowed radio broadcasts of recorded excerpts (Smith, 1990). With Eisenhower, the press conference session became completely public. In 1954, Eisenhower told reporters that they could quote him directly and that the public could hear tapes of all the news conferences (Small, 1972). Kennedy instituted one of the most important changes by deciding to go live (Smith, 1990; Kernell, 2007, Han, 2001). According to Salinger (1996), Kennedy knew the press corps would become hostile, so he wanted to set up a system whereby he could talk directly to the people. These developments have made the press conference a

[3] Theodore Roosevelt was the first president to discover that he could use the press to persuade the American people (Smith, 1990; Kernell, 2007).

unique forum where people outside the government regularly question the president (Joynt Kumar, 2005). There is no law that stipulates that the president must give press conferences (Smith, 1990). However, because of their semi-institutionalization, press conferences "cannot be avoided with political impunity" (Smith, 1990, p. 71).

This is one reason they have been investigated by presidential scholars. Joynt Kumar (2005) observes that the study of presidential news conferences is important for several reasons, namely, the American chief executive does not submit to questions from other branches of government; there is a considerable amount of time devoted by presidential and White House staff to preparing for press conferences; the press conferences reveal the president's thinking about policy, people and events; and they monitor "the growth of the on-the-record presidency" (p. 172). On this last point, Joynt Kumar explains that the White House staff can make adjustments and have reporters meet the president in different venues that make him less vulnerable. This has given rise to other formats, with the president meeting reporters in the Oval Office for short question-answer gatherings, in other venues in the White House or anywhere he may travel. The number of these alternative sessions has grown and surpassed the traditional press conference session. This author goes on to note that until the Reagan presidency, press conferences were usually solo appearances. However, one important development since the presidency of George H.W. Bush has been the joint press conference where the president appears before the press with a foreign leader, be it at the White House, in a presidential residency elsewhere in the US, or when going to another country on an official visit or for an international forum meeting.

The tables below show figures comparing solo and joint press conferences. Table 1 displays the number of solo and joint press conferences during the first terms of the George H.W.

Bush presidency up to the third year of the Barack Obama presidency. Table 2 shows the number of joint and solo press conferences held during each of the four years of the George H.W. Bush presidency:

Table 2.1 Number of Solo and Joint Press Conferences George H.W.Bush to Barack Obama administrations (first terms)

President/Format	Solo	Joint
George H.W. Bush	66% (89)	34% (45)
William J. Clinton	33% (44)	67% (88)
George W. Bush	20% (18)	80% (71)
Barack H. Obama (up to June 2012)	44% (32)	56% (40)

Table 5.2 Number of solo vs. joint press conferences in the George H.W. Bush presidency

George H.W. Bush press conferences	Solo	Joint
1989	90% (27)	10% (3)
1990	81% (29)	19% (7)
1991	50% (20)	50% (20)
1992	46% (13)	54% (15)

Both tables show a steady increase in the number of joint press conferences since they were institutionalized in 1989. Table 2 shows the increase in the first administration to adopt this format. President George H.W. Bush went from giving 3 (10%) joint press conferences in 1989 to 15 (54%) joint press conferences in 1992. Notice there is a marked contrast in this number between the first two and last two years of this administration.

Scholars have also devoted some time to the discussion of what constitutes a press conference and what particular practices are involved in it. In *Presidential Press Conferences*, Smith (1990) described the structure and some of the rules of these encounters. For example, the decision to call a press conference always rests on the White House, which usually plans it in advance and gives a few days notice to the different networks or may decide to have a spontaneous session. Smith classifies these as formal and informal sessions, respectively, with the former usually attracting more accredited correspondents. On the other hand, the president may choose to have a spontaneous press conference by just stepping into the briefing room, where he will find those reporters who are assigned to the White House, have usually "followed the intricacies of the administration's policies" (p.72) and are more likely to ask detailed questions. Another feature of these press conferences is that the president comes to them with an implied or stated agenda. Nevertheless, the reporters may have a very different agenda from that of the president, which is evident in the design and content of the questions they ask.

Smith's description covers the evolution and basic rules of press conferences sessions. However, more recently, Joynt Kumar (2003, 2005) embarked on the task of documenting in detail what counts as a press conference since it is an evolving form, which seems to escape rigid classification criteria. Her discussion of the subject, informed by extensive ethnographic fieldwork in the White House during the George W. Bush presidency, presents a more complex and detailed picture of who decides to classify a press conference as such and the reasons underlying that classification.

Like Smith, Joynt Kumar (2003) describes the press conference as that encounter between the president and the reporters that are permanently or temporarily accredited to be present in this public event. The reporters can ask questions on different subjects without any

control from the White House. In addition, immediately a press conference is broadcast live, a transcript of this "on-the-record" session is generated and made available to the public. One other feature is that neither the president nor his staff can put restrictions on who attends. That said, Joynt Kumar notes that the president does have a say on whom he calls on to ask questions. The author also discusses two other features of the conference: 1) for the most part, they are "announced-in-advanced" events, although in the Bush administrations and several of the former ones, this advanced notice could be an hour or less; 2) the conference is announced in advance in an "agreed upon location" (p. 227), that is, the press corps would be notified of where to go. In an interview she carried out with Marlin Fitzwater—White House Press Secretary in the Reagan/Bush administration—he contended that a press conference does not need to be announced in advanced since the press corps are always there—"as long as the major news organizations were available we could have one" (telephone interview with Kumar, Nov. 22, 2002). Fitzwater added that if it had been a requirement that the event be announced in advanced, many press conferences would not be classified as such.

Joynt Kumar also discusses other interactional formats that have been developed in recent years to provide the president with a less vulnerable environment to answer questions. One such format is the short question-and-answer session. Froomkin (2004) refers to them as the "two-to-four-question Oval Office photo op". Anna Compton from ABC News characterizes the questions reporters ask in these short Q&A sessions as weak and predictable. Within the press conference category, the White House has introduced and exploited the 'joint press conference' format, where both the president and a foreign leader make a short statement, and then answer questions, typically six total, from a pool of reporters from the White House and from the other head of state's country (although in more recent presidencies it is not uncommon to have one or

two journalists on each side ask a question). The White House staff can easily predict what the questions will be about, which allows the President time to prepare an answer in advance. Because this new format is more prevalent now than the solo press conference, a comparison of questioning practices is essential in order to determine how this new format may have an impact on the level of aggressiveness embodied in question design and content.

Aggressiveness in questioning practices, however, has proved hard to measure. Students of the presidency have observed that it is difficult to demonstrate the adversarial nature of journalists' questions in presidential news conferences (Smith, 1990; Kernell, 1986, 2007). This in part may be due to the fact that the typical analysis classifies questions based on content alone, but has not looked at the formal features of question design. For example, Smith (1990) classifies questions as 'attitude questions', 'consistency questions', 'requests for new information', 'questions for the record', 'advocacy questions', 'on the attack questions' and 'follow-up questions'. Smith devotes some space to what form some questions may take, but her analysis is mainly centered on the content of a given question. Clayman and Heritage (2002b) have observed that the challenges facing a content-based approach is that "it is less likely to reflect the culture of journalism per se, so much as the extrajournalistic reality of a particular administration" (p.752).

Clayman and Heritage (2002b, 2006, 2007) noted the fact that many practitioners in the field of political communications and political science have not been able to reliably measure aggressiveness and are skeptical that it could be measured at all. In light of this, and informed by extensive research in the field of Conversation Analysis, they set out to study aggressiveness as embodied in formal features of question design as well as on content (see next section). Their

work has proved that quantifying aggressiveness is possible, and that the adversarial aspect of president-press relations is not as 'elusive' as some have contended.

With respect to the study of the newer format of the press conference—the joint session—to date, only one study by Banning and Billingsley (2007) has compared solo and joint press conferences using the Clayman & Heritage (2002b, 2006) coding scheme. This research, however, suffers from two weaknesses: the sample is very small (only four conferences were sampled) and two very important indicators that measure aggressiveness were discarded because of low intercoder reliability. In order to understand this newer format, studies should involve a more substantial sample across presidencies and describe in detail how journalistic questioning practices do or do not differ from the practices documented in traditional presidential news conferences.

This section has addressed some of the literature that has characterized the relationship between the president and the press. While there is not doubt that the nature of the relationship is adversarial, and that the press exercises considerable power (some elevating it to the status of 'fourth branch of government'), the relationship is also characterized by cooperation and continuity (Grossman and Kumar, 1984). Presidents are dependent on the media to relay their message to the public, and even though they have started to rely on other forms to communicate with the American public, they could not afford to avoid the press corps without consequences—especially allowing it access to the president when he is faced with waning public support (Clayman et al., 2006). In light of recent developments in the presidential communications landscape (with the introduction of joint press conferences), research should address (and quantify) how the questioning practices involved in this newer format differ from the traditional press conference. Are the questions less or equally aggressive? The answer to this question may

shed some more light on whether the presidency is succeeding in having a better control of its adversarial relationship with the press corps.

2.3 Doing Questioning

2.3.1 The Normativity of Adjacency Pair Sequences and the Notion of Type Conforming Responses

In Chapter 1, I discussed sequence organization as one central area of study in Conversation Analysis of great relevance in this dissertation. At a basic level, what drives the study of sequences in this field is the idea that "the production of some current conversational action proposes a local, here-and-now 'definition of the situation' to which subsequent talk will be oriented" (Heritage, 2006, p. 1). The projection of a relevant next activity can be carried out "through a conventionally recognizable pair of actions" (Heritage, 2006, p.2) or what has come to be called an "adjacency pair" (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973, pp. 295-296). The adjacency pair structure is "a *normative* framework for actions which is *accountably* implemented" (Heritage, 2006, p. 3). That is, a first pair part (FPP) proposes that a second speaker produce a second pair part (SPP) "which is accountably 'due' immediately on completion of the first (Heritage, 2006, p.3).

Why is it claimed that adjacency pairs have a normative character? Heritage (2006) explains that when a SPP is not produced, interlocutors can make inferences about the motives or intentions of the person who failed to produce that SPP. In addition, Heritage goes on to argue that the normative character of adjacency pairs is derived from the large number of cases in which actions launched in a FPP (e.g., question) are responded to with an appropriate action implemented in a SPP (e.g., answer). One interesting fact about the adjacency pair is that even though actions are largely produced in the way that this concept specifies, "some of the more

significant and characteristic aspects of the nature and workings of adjacency pairs come to light when the expected pattern of action is breached" (Heritage, 2006, p. 8)[4]. Cases in which the expected pattern of action is breached is one particular issue this dissertation carefully examines (Chapter 4).

An important finding in research on question and answer adjacency pairs is the role that grammar plays in them. Raymond (2003) provides a fresh look at the adjacency pair sequence by analyzing the role of grammar in this basic unit of social organization. By examining yes-no interrogatives (YNIs), he articulated the notion of "type-conforming" responses (Raymond, 2003, p.946). YNIs invite a "yes" or a "no" response. That is, the specific form of the FPP places specific constraints on what kind of SPP should be produced. Raymond argues that speakers are very attuned to the asymmetry between responses that are "type conforming" (i.e., yes or no) versus those that are not. His insights into adjacency pairs and YNIs evolved our understanding of the basic organization of this unit of analysis by describing a role grammar plays in them.

2.3.3 Questioning in News Interviews and Presidential News Conferences

The study of questioning in both institutional and non-institutional settings has received a great deal of attention from conversation analysts and social interactional linguists in recent years. While traditional linguists see questions as the primary way to get a response, sociologists like Schegloff and Sacks (Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) rather focus on the functional properties of different types of actions that mobilize response (Stivers and Rosanno, 2010). Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that speakers mobilize a response by deploying a number of resources simultaneously, namely, "through the social action a speaker produces, the sequential position in which it is delivered, and through turn design features that increase the recipient's accountability for responding—interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative

[4] Also, see Question-Answer Sequences and the Accountability of Response section (section 1.2.7) in Chapter 1.

prosody, recipient-focused epistemicity, and speaker gaze" (p. 4). They show that these features increase response relevance across action types and sequential positions.

A number of conversation analytic studies have focused on how recipients have a variety of ways to push against the constraints that questions or questioning TCUs impose on them. Stivers and Hayashi (2010), for instance, examine transformative non-conforming answers. They look at how question recipients in both English and Japanese signal problems with the question term or the question agenda through their answers. In addressing problems with the question terms, recipients do so by adjusting components of the question design either narrowing the scope of what (s)he is confirming or disconfirming or by replacing one or more terms of the question. In targeting problems with the questions' agenda, question recipients can shift the focus of the question, its bias (by replying in absolute terms to a relative evaluation) and presuppositions.

Fox and Thompson (2010) analyze responses to wh-questions. They distinguish two types of wh-questions: "specifying" and "telling" wh-questions. In their article, they focus exclusively on responses to "specifying" wh-questions and argue that while phrasal responses to this type of questions do simple answering, clausal responses signal trouble with the question or sequence. Another recent study by Heritage and Raymond (2012) examines different forms of agency and resistance in relation to questions. They specifically study the emergence of this resistance at turn beginning since this is a crucial location in the process of turn-construction and action formation (Schegloff 1987, 1996a). Comparing Y/N responses to repetitional responses to polar questions, they found that the latter assert the respondent's epistemic and social entitlement to the issue at hand and do so by 'confirming' (as opposed to 'affirming') the proposition raised by the questioner.

A concern with questioning practices is not only limited to the realm of everyday talk. In research on news interviews and presidential news conferences from a CA perspective, some of the objectives have been to identify recurring features of questioning in these settings as well as on how to measure aggressiveness in journalistic questioning. An example of a study where microanalysis focuses on the particular features of questioning is a study by Heritage and Roth (1995). They examine ways of coding and formally quantifying questioning in news interviews. An important contribution of this article is the fact that they examine other forms (referred to as 'pragmatic and turn-constructional extensions to the grammatical nucleus') that do questioning besides the canonical forms outlined by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1985). Forms that accomplish the pragmatic force of questioning include directives as question substitutes and B-event statements (Labov and Fanschel, 1977). A B-event statement is a declarative statement by one speaker that includes events that another speaker has primary access to or knowledge about (Labov and Fanschel, 1977).

Under the second category, Heritage and Roth include lexical and clausal/phrasal[5] forms that do questioning, intersected TCUs and multiple TCU turns. In addition, they also analyze "question delivery structures" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991, p. 117) such as background statement + question, relevance statement+question, counter statement+question and contrast structure+question (for an extensive treatment of these, see Heritage and Roth, 1995).

---

[5] Examples from Heritage and Roth (1995)
Questioning with Lexical Forms:
From excerpt 20 (p. 14)
7 IR: Multiple slate multiparty?
Questioning with Clausal/Phrasal Forms
From excerpt 21 (p.14)
8 IR: For: what reasons. Political reasons?
From excerpt 22 (p.15)
7 IR: Because there isn't really any longer (.) a Russian ideology in [thuh sense of the old
8 IE: [The ah nor
9 IR: communist i[deology.....

In another article examining question delivery structures, Clayman (1992) focuses on footing in the achievement of journalistic neutrality in news interviews. He observes that journalists change footing when they produce evaluative or controversial assertions. For instance, it is quite common for journalists to attribute a controversial statement to a third party. Clayman explains that interviewees in general do not treat the journalist's assertion as being his/her own opinion, except in cases when the journalist does not shift footing or when the interviewer's footing is ambiguous. An example of a lack of change in footing or ambiguous footing typically results in the interviewee treating the journalist's assertion as his own. Clayman's analysis highlights the fact that neutrality is an "interactionally organized phenomenon" (p. 195).

Heritage (2002b) studied negative interrogatives (e.g., But isn't consumer spending or overspending how we got into this mess?) in the context of news interviews and found that negative-interrogative question formulations were treated as contestable assertions by their recipients, whereas declarative statements with negative tags (e.g., "you'll have to consider threatening to vote against the government, won't you") were not. He observes that interviewees treat [statement]+ [negative tag] question as a yes/no question to be answered. However, a negative interrogative, he explains, is usually treated as a statement to be agreed or disagreed with. A well-known example from Clayman and Heritage (2002b) can illustrate this feature. In this example, President Clinton starts his response by expressing his disagreement with Helen Thomas' negative interrogative. This disagreement treats Thomas' question as a statement expressing a point of view rather than a question in search of information:

[Presidential Press Conference: 7 March 1997] (From Clayman and Heritage, 2000a, p. 765)

1	IR:		W'l Mister President in your zea:l (.) for funds during
2		->	the last campaign .hh didn't you put the Vice President (.)
3		->	an' Maggie and all the others in your (0.4) administration
4		->	top side .hh in a very vulnerable position, hh

5 (0.5)
6 IE: -> I disagree with that.hh u- How are we vulnerable because ...

The findings from these studies have allowed researchers to quantify aggressiveness in news interviews and presidential news conferences. An initial comparative study of questioning in the presidential news conferences of Eisenhower and Reagan (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b), revealed that journalists had become more aggressive in their questioning of presidents. Subsequently, Clayman et al. embarked on a larger scale longitudinal study of questioning in presidential news conferences (2006, 2007, 2010). Based on their own research and other insights from conversation analytic studies of questioning, they constructed a coding system and grouped the different indicators of aggressive questioning into five outcomes or measures: initiative (the degree to which journalists' questions are enterprising rather than passive), assertiveness (the degree to which journalists' questions press for a particular answer), directness (the degree to which journalists' questions are direct rather than cautious in raising an issue), adversarialness (the degree to which journalists' questions embody an agenda in opposition to the president) and accountability (the degree to which journalists' questions ask the president to explicitly justify his policies or actions).

These pioneering studies yielded a number of important insights. First, it was found that – compared to fifty years ago—journalists take more initiative, are more assertive, direct, and adversarial and seek more accountability in their questioning of presidents (Clayman et al., 2006). Second, certain conditions are associated with aggressive questioning, namely, that aggressiveness is a) more pronounced in second terms than in first terms, b) not associated with a honeymoon period (the first three months of a presidential term), d) more apparent in domestic policy questions than in foreign and military affairs questions, and e) positively associated with unemployment and interest rates (Clayman et al. 2007). Third, Clayman et al. (2010) conclude

that a clear turning point in White House journalism towards more aggressive questioning after 1968 is likely due to events like Vietnam and Watergate-related presidential abuses that undermined journalistic trust in the president. These abuses, they add, very likely led White House reporters to reconsider their roles.

This dissertation contributes to the growing research on questioning —especially aggressive questioning— in social interaction studies in general and in presidential news conferences in particular by examining 1) the embodied processes that take place while the president is listening to a questioning turn, 2) the trajectories of questioning sequences where a president refuses to answer a question without an account, and 3) the questioning practices in joint and solo press conferences.

2.4 Stance-taking

This dissertation is concerned in large part with the expression of stance within the institution of the presidential news conference. I conceptualize stance-taking as the process whereby social actors in interaction take up positions towards their own actions or those of others using a multiplicity of semiotic resources. I, therefore, subscribe to the notion that participants in an interaction "build action together in the midst of situated interaction, typically by using different kinds of semiotic resources that mutually elaborate each other" (Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron, 2011, p. 3). In the data analyzed in this dissertation, the positions those actors take are evaluative in nature and often disapproving or disaffiliative. In what follows, I briefly go over some definitions of stance and studies of stance-taking (both the study of affective and epistemic stance).

In recent years, the study of stance has received considerable attention from the fields of linguistics, linguistic anthropology, social psychology, education and sociology. In reviewing studies on stance, Jaffe (2009) explains that the research produced on the topic deals with

> *positionality*: how speakers and writers are necessarily engaged in positioning themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts (which are embedded in histories of linguistic and textual production), their interlocutors and audiences (both actual and virtual/ projected/imagined), and with respect to a context that they simultaneously respond to and construct linguistically. (p. 4)

In defining affective stance, Jaffe argues that affective stances are vehicles for individuals to perform particular identities and statuses and to evaluate others' claims to specific identities and statuses. With respect to epistemic stance, she notes that participants to an interaction use the different resources afforded by epistemic stance to establish their relative authority over the propositions expressed in their talk.

Du Bois (2007) has defined stance as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field" (p. 163). Du Bois' definition highlights the fact that evaluation is at the same time an act of alignment or disalignment.

In the fields of corpus linguistics and systemic-functional linguistics, scholars have studied the lexical and grammatical items that function as epistemic markers. Biber and Finnegan (1988) and Conrad and Biber (2000), for example, focused on adverbials as a vehicle for the expression of epistemic, attitudinal and style stances. Biber et al. (1999) drew a useful distinction between epistemic, affect and manner stances; however, as was the case with Biber and Finegan (1988. 1989), they focused on speakers alone (see Du Bois 2000, 2002; Goodwin and Goodwin,

1987, 1992, 2000; Goodwin C., 2000a; Goodwin M.H., 1980, 1998; Haddington, 2004, 2006, Jefferson 1973; Kärkkäinen 2003, 2006; Sacks 1995, Schegloff 1968, 1981 for interactive accounts of stance taking). Chafe (1986) has also studied epistemic stance, in particular the linguistic expression of attitudes towards knowledge, but the analysis is centered solely on speakers and linguistic structure.

In the realm of talk-in-interaction, several studies have focused on epistemics. Heritage and Raymond (2005) studied the indexing of epistemic authority and subordination and observed that when speakers evaluate a state of affairs in first position, they claim to have a primary right to assess that referent as compared to the rights of a second speaker. They note that 1) first position assessments are commonly downgraded and produced by persons with what they call K- rights (having lesser rights to evaluate a referent), 2) second position assessments are generally upgraded and produced by persons who have K+ rights (a claim of primary rights to assess a referent), 3) when both speakers have "equal access" to a referent, a first speaker may use a tag question to downgrade an assessment whereas a second speaker uses a declarative. The first and second practices are usually observed in presidential news conferences where journalists generally produce assessments either in the background statement or question proper (first position) and the president then launches a second position assessment where he asserts his primary right to assess the situation.

Stivers (2005) studied modified repeats, a practice that occurs when a speaker produces a modified repeat with stress on the copula or auxiliary. Like Heritage and Raymond (2005), she argues that these modified repeats in second position serve to undermine the first speaker's rights over the claim and asserts the second speaker's rights to the statement in question. She identified two types of repeats—partial and full—that occur in different sequential environments. Partial

repeats tend to appear after what she calls an epistemically downgraded claim. Full repeats, on the other hand, are often seen after an initial claim that was not downgraded.

Clift (2006) studied how speakers index their epistemic authority using interactional evidentials and like Heritage and Raymond, she concludes that a given stance is marshaled across turns. Reported speech (self-reported speech), she argues, is a resource that participants use to index their epistemic authority over a referent and that can prevent other participants from continuing with their own assessments. Stance in CA is "jointly constructed, negotiated and realized in and through interaction (Englebretson, 2007, p. 19).

Many of the studies cited in this section focused on talk alone. In the following section, I review studies examining the role of embodied interaction to then relate these findings to the work presented here.

2.5 Multimodality

"The simultaneous use of diverse semiotic resources is pervasive in the organization of endogenous human action"
(Streeck, Goodwin, LeBaron, 2011, p.4)

The concept of multimodality was discussed in the previous chapter, but to reiterate the point made earlier, in co-present interaction, participants do not only build utterances within the stream of speech. Speakers do take into account the visible actions of the hearer by monitoring the hearer's orientation towards their talk and the operations the hearer performs on the talk both visible through displays of the body and through minimal vocal contributions as the turn unfolds (Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron, 2011). Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron (2011) observe

> Within such frameworks, both the utterance and the turn-at-talk within which it emerges are not only intrinsically multiparty activities, but also ones built through the interplay of structurally different kinds of semiotic processes including the talk of the speaker and the

> visual displays of hearer (the speaker also makes consequential visual displays, for example using gaze to indicate address). (p.5)

This notion that participants to an interaction build action through the use of multiple semiotic resources has been emphasized in C. Goodwin's and M.H. Goodwin's research on talk and embodied action for the past thirty years. One of C. Goodwin's early studies (1979) analyzed a videotaped dinner interaction closely examining a sentence that was constructed and re-constructed as the speaker shifted his gaze from knowing to unknowing recipients. In another study (Goodwin, 1980), he analyzed a number of videotaped examples examining utterance-initial restarts and shifts in participants' eye-gaze towards the speaker. More specifically, he demonstrated that restarts secure the orientation of a recipient who was not attending to the speaker's talk at the beginning of the speaker's turn at talk.

C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin have also studied the embodied actions of the hearer. C. Goodwin (1984) demonstrated that the detailed study of interlocutors' actions as the talk emerges sheds light on the particular interactive tasks that the activity they are engaged in engenders and the kind of organization that is invoked. As C. Goodwin (2000a) points out:

> Within this process the production of action is linked reflexively to its interpretation; to establish the public, recognizable visibility of what they are doing speakers must build action that takes into account the particulars of what their addressees can and do know (p.1491-92).

According to Goodwin this does not entail that 'congruent interpretation' will always ensue or that participants will view the events in the same way. But participants have at their disposal resources such as repair in addition to facial displays, intonation and other semiotic resources that will ultimately allow them to achieve intersubjectivity (Schegloff, 1992; Goodwin, 2000a).

Since in the data analyzed in this dissertation, the face is an important locus for stance displays aligning or disaligning with the propositions contained in a reporter's question, it is necessary to make reference to Paul Ekman's work on facial expressions. Ekman and Friesen (1975) characterize the face as a "multisignal, multimessage system". If we are to read emotions in the face (in our case stances), they suggest, we must pay attention to the temporary changes in it. They add that the face provides three kinds of signals: "static (such as skin color), slow (such as permanent wrinkles), and rapid (such as raising the eyebrows)" (p. 10). Rapid changes can flash on the face for seconds or fractions of a second. Ekman and Friesen (1975) also argue that the face is a multi-message system since it gives information about emotion, mood, attitudes, character, and attractiveness, among others. Since they are concerned with emotions, they describe how different feelings are displayed in the face by looking at how wrinkles appear and disappear, the location and shape of the eyebrows, eyes, eyelids, nostrils, lips and chin. They clarify that they do not study attitudes, which I interpret to be stance displays. Despite this, their rich descriptions and analysis constitute an important starting point for talking about facial displays of stance.

In their work, C. Goodwin's and M.H. Goodwin have highlighted the fact that research on stance typically involves looking at language alone (but see Kärkkäinen 2003, 2006; Haddington, 2004, 2006; Stivers, 2008). However, analyzing language alone or gesture alone neglects the fact that the different sign systems that human beings can make use of interact in very intricate ways to convey a message and the speaker's and recipient's stance towards that message. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) have shown how speaker's facial displays are a component of assessments together with intensifiers, intonation and syntax. This provides evidence for the fact that talk cannot be analyzed in isolation by ignoring other semiotic

resources if one is to achieve an understanding of how human beings are able to make projections and display their stances towards their talk or somebody else's talk.

Chapter 3

First Operations

"By lodging participation in situated activities
it is possible to investigate how both speakers and hearers
as fully embodied actors and the detailed organization of the
talk in progress are integrated into a common course of action."
C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin (2004, p.223)

3.1 Introduction

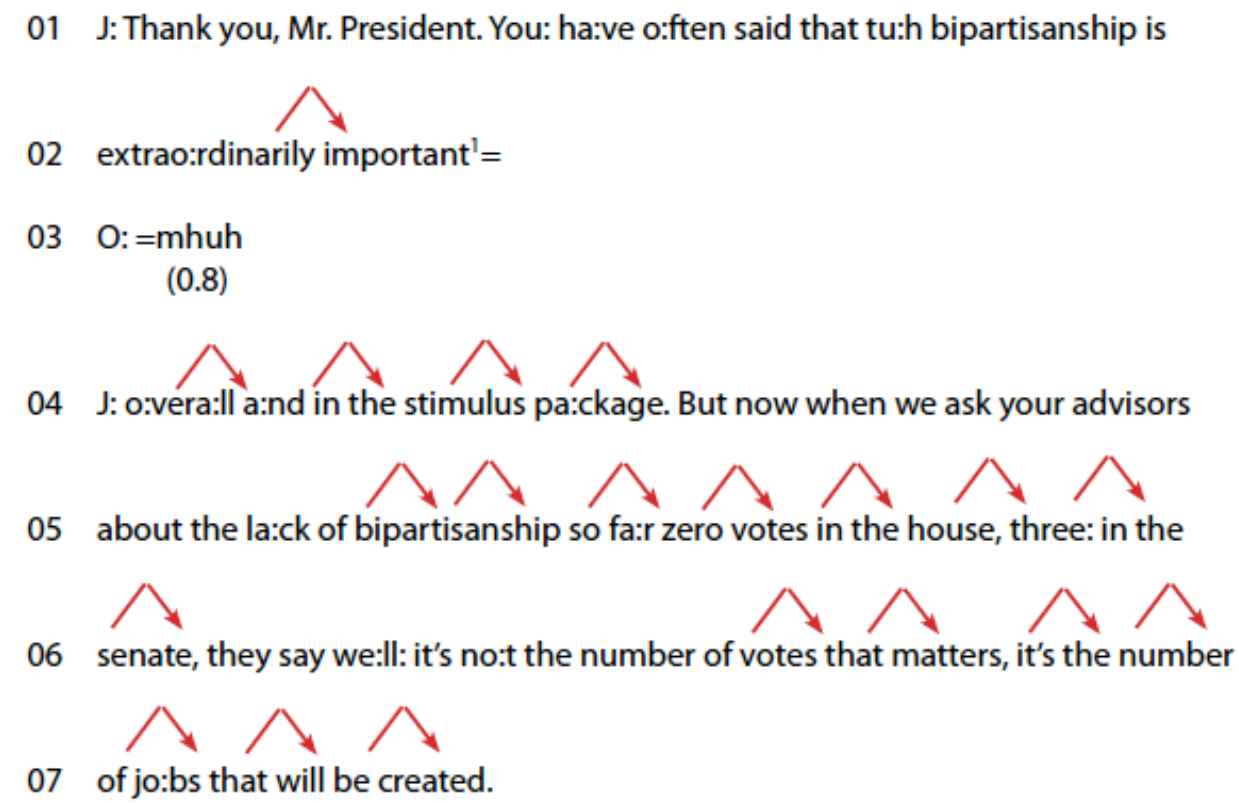
In *Interrogative Structures of American English*, Dwight Bolinger argues that a question "is fundamentally an attitude…it is an utterance that 'craves' a verbal or other semiotic (e.g., a nod) response" (Bolinger, 1957, p.4). Bolinger suggests that in the act of questioning, the speaker subordinates himself to his hearer. Heritage and Raymond (2012), however, contend that studies of medical, court and mass media interaction have revealed that the act of questioning places considerable constraints and demands on the respondent and is therefore not necessarily a subordinating action on the part of the questioner. A key issue here is that a question "craves" a verbal or other semiotic response. Typically, studies of social interaction examine responses in next turn. What has been neglected is the study of "online" responses to questions. That is, embodied semiotic displays that a question recipient produces before his/her turn at talk that clearly constitute a response or clearly predict the response in the next turn at talk. The question remains then "where does a response start to emerge"? The focus of this article is on conjoint action (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987) within the turn itself.

Given the constraints and demands that questions impose on respondents in various institutional settings, this article focuses on the interrogative practices of White House Press

Corps in presidential news conferences in the United States to see how president-press relations are enacted in this setting. Because of the way presidential news conferences are filmed (the president is on camera while listening to a question), there is valuable information to an observer of the kinds of displays the presidents make. Therefore, the presidential news conference is a prime site for examining this phenomenon. This article examines how, prior to the beginning of their turn at talk, presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama perform operations on the question(s) a journalist is asking through the use of embodied semiotic resources. More specifically, the article explores embodied behaviors such as head nods, head shakes, facial displays (smiles, frowning, etc.), and laughter, among others, which display a particular stance is response to aggressive questioning turns. I propose the term *first operations* to describe when and how listeners- in this case the president of the United States- start to display a stance towards what their interlocutor is saying. I make the argument that the embodied behaviors performed by the presidents while listening to questions constitute responses in their own right, while also foreshadowing how the presidents are going to respond in their turn at talk.

To exemplify the main argument of this investigation, consider the following example. It illustrates a range of embodied operations that the president first performs as he is listening to a question. From nods to headshakes and particular facial displays, this example illustrates how the president reacts to the cast of characters animated in the preface and to the aggressive questions that follow. This example comes from President Obama's first presidential news conference (Feb. 9, 2009), in which CBS White House correspondent Chip Reid asks the president about the lack of bipartisanship during his first twenty days in office.

Excerpt 3.1.1



In this preface, the journalist conveys three propositions: 1) that Obama has said that bipartisanship is important, 2) embeddedly—that there has been a lack of bipartisanship so far, and 3) that his advisors said the number of jobs (and not so much votes) that will be created is important. We see Obama producing a series of nods as the journalist quotes first Obama and then Obama's advisors and presents what is largely factual information.

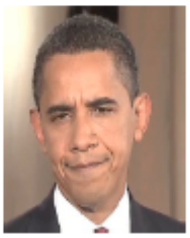
However, when the journalist asks the president whether his administration is moving away from bipartisanship, we see a nod at "emphasis" followed by a facial display at the word bipartisanship that signals disaffiliation (excerpt 3.1.2). The juxtaposition of this last nod and the President's facial display of disaffiliation may at first appear contradictory.

Excerpt 3.1.2

08 .hhh Is that a si:gn that you are moving away- your White House is moving

Projects disaffiliation

09 awa:y from this emphasis on bipartisanship,



"lip-pressed-against-lip mouth" (Ekman and Friesen, 1975)

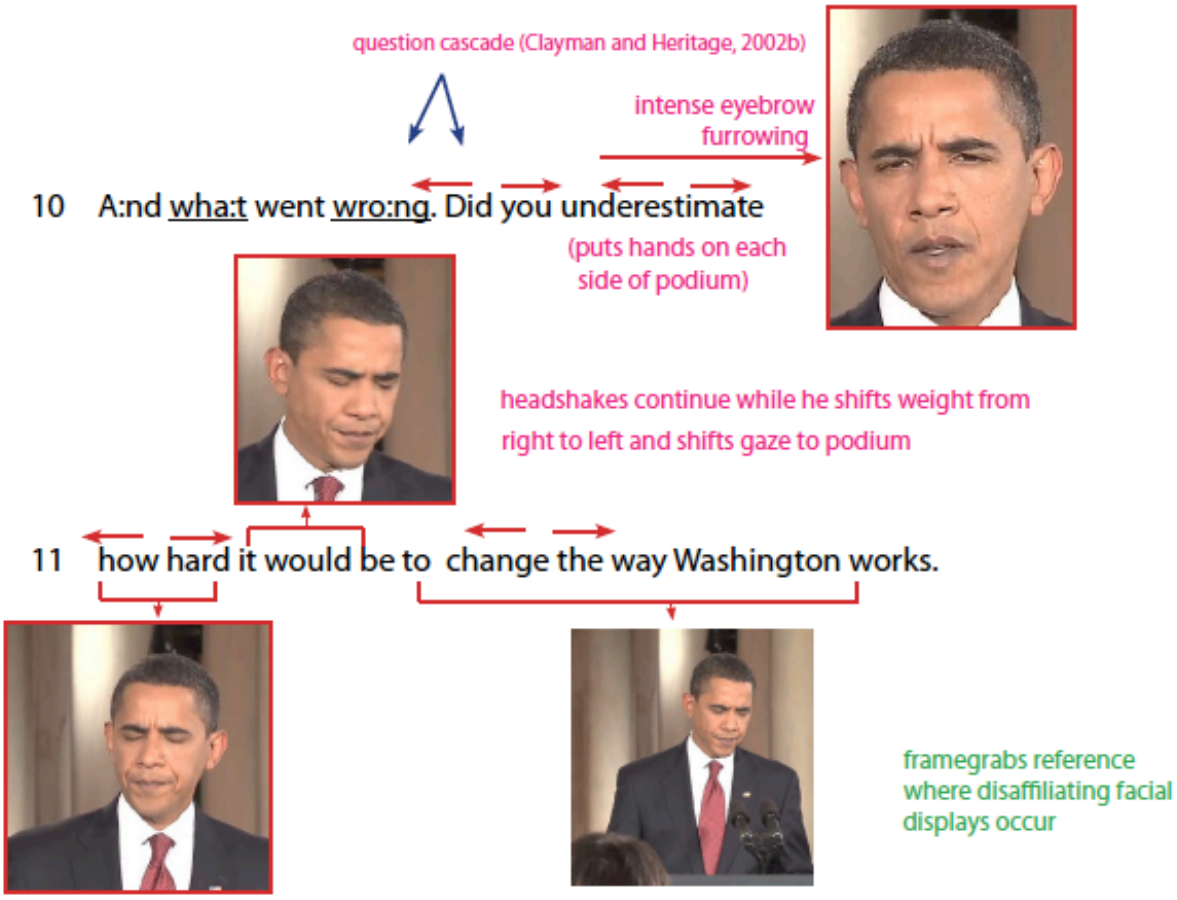
In order to understand how they are related, it is important to highlight that not all nods are created equal. In story-telling, Stivers (2008) demonstrated that by nodding during mid-telling, story recipients claim to have gained some access to and understanding of the teller's stance. She also argued that by claiming access to an understanding of the teller's stance, story recipients show themselves to endorse or affiliate with the teller's perspective. In the environment of the presidential news conference, nods show that the president has gained some access to and an understanding of the journalist's stance. Sometimes, as when the journalist is quoting the president or his advisors, the nods—like in Stiver's storytelling data—show affiliation, but more often, they show only that the president has gained access to the journalist's stance. We can see this in the nod that the president produces at the word "emphasis" when Reid asks him if he is "moving away from this emphasis on bipartisanship". Thus the president's last nod does not mean that the president is affiliating with the proposition contained in the journalist's question, but that he now understands what the question is building up to.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that at the word "bipartisanship", we see a shift in Obama's stance. He produces a facial display where we see a "lip-pressed-against-lip mouth" (Ekman and Friesen, 1975) together with the furrowing of his eyebrows. The movements of the muscles in these two areas of the face work together to signal that Obama is not affiliating

with the proposition expressed in the question. The facial display, like the nod that precedes it, communicates that the president understands what kind of problematic scenario the journalist has created and helps to retroactively underscore that the prior nod was not affiliative.

In lines 10 and 11 (excerpt 3.1.3 below), Reid issues two more questions which constitute a question cascade (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b) since the second question is a refinement of the first question ("what went wrong?"). With the first question, the journalist shifts from citing facts to a question that presupposes a negative point of view. It is at this moment in the unfolding of the turn in progress that Obama's oppositional stance becomes more visible in response to the assumption encoded in the question that something has not gone according to plan. As soon as Reid asks what went wrong, we can see that Obama starts shaking his head and continues to do so throughout the subsequent TCU (the last TCU in the turn). He furrows his eyebrows more intensely, shifts his body weight from right to left and looks down to the podium while still shaking his head. Together, the President's facial displays, headshakes, and body movement project a disaffiliating response in his upcoming turn at talk.

Excerpt 3.1.3



Contrast this example to the following one, where the questioning turn does not contain any criticism or attacks against the president and his policies. In the same press conference, Mara Liasson from NPR asks the president about dealing with the opposition party while trying to strike a deal on the stimulus package. The quite extended preface is followed by multiple questions:

Excerpt 3.2

01 P: Ma:r-Mara Lia:sson
02 (1.8)
03 J: Thank you Mr. President. If it's thi:s hard to get more than a handful of Republican votes
04 on wha:t is (0.2) relatively easy,
05 P: [he:hh]

06 J: [spending] to:ns of money and cutting people's taxes
07 P: [° right]
shifts body from L to R
08 J: [when you look do]wn the road at health care, and [entitlement reform], and energy reform,
09 P: [°right]
10 J: hhh tha- those are really tough choices. You're gonna be asking
11 P: [° right]
12 J: [some people] to get less and
13 some people to pay more,

breaks into a broad smile

14 J: what do you think you're gonna have to do: to get more bipartisanship, are you gonna need
shifts head from R to L
15 a new legislative model, bringing in Republicans from the very beginning, getting more
16 involved in the details yourself from the beginning, or uh using bipartisan commissions,(0.2)
17 wha:t has thi:s experience with the stimulus (0.5) l-led you to think about when you think
18 about these future challenges.=
19 P: =Well, eh e- as I said before, Mara, I think that(0.3)uh old habits are hard to break. u::h a:nd
20 (0.3) we're coming off an election and (0.5) u::h (0.5) I think people (1.2) wanna sort of test (1.2)
21 uh (0.2) tch (2.0) the limits of-of what they can get,(1.0)u::h yow: ther-ther-there's a lot of
22 jockeying in this town and a lota(0.5) who's up and who's down and (0.2) positioning for the
23 next election...

Notice that the question content—difficulties/problems in achieving bipartisanship—is the same as the content in the first example presented above. What is it—however—that makes this questioning turn less aggressive and how does the president react to it in comparison? First, let us examine the way the journalist starts her questioning turn. She begins with a conditional

clause “If it’s this hard to get a handful of votes on what seems relatively ea::sy…”. One could argue that after a beginning like this, one could expect an aggressive second half such as “what makes you think you can get anything done on issues like x, y and z?” However, Liasson packages these difficulties in a way that is sympathetic to the president’s plight. She does this by casting the other side as being partial to “spending tons of money and cutting people’s taxes” which is something that is “relatively easy” to get them to do. After launching this conditional clause, she does not finish it. Instead, she continues to outline other scenarios down the road (healtcare reform, entitlement reform and energy reform), which she characterizes as tough choices and where people will have to sacrifice something. After this, she moves on to end the conditional construction by asking two questions. The first one—a wh- question—asks the president about what he thinks he is going to have to do and gives him several choices. The second question asks him to reflect on what he has learned from this experience with the stimulus package. Now, let us examine the president’s embodied responses. First, the president produces a series of nods at line 4, followed by a laugh token (line 5) and broad smile that extends up to the end of line 6. This is the moment in the unfolding of the turn in progress where Liasson is referring to how Republicans like to spend tons of money and cut people’s taxes. Between lines 6 and 10, Obama produces fewer nods, and again breaks into a broad smile when Liasson characterizes these other issues down the road as tough choices. After that, at lines 12-13 and 16-17, he again produces a series of nods. At lines 12 and 13, he acknowledges what seems to be a fact. In line 16, he nods as Liasson presents the different alternatives he could consider, and then again in line 17, the nods signal recognition that he understands what the journalist is asking.

If we compare the questions that Reid asked in excerpt 3.1 to the questions asked by Liasson in excerpt 3.2, we notice that in the former example, the questions focus on the past and on assigning blame while in the case of excerpt 3.2, the questions are about the future and focus on solutions rather than blame. In other words, in excerpt 3.2 even though the question raises the problem of bipartisanship as an issue that has presented the president with some difficulties, the questioning turn is not aggressive. Rather, it asks the president to reflect from this experience and to focus on possible courses of action in the future, which is quite different from presupposing that he is approaching the issue the wrong way and blaming him from underestimating the way Washington works as is the case with excerpt 3.1.

3.2 A shift from Analysis of Next Turn Responses to Analysis of Online Responses

In Conversation Analysis, much has been written about how the beginning of a turn has an impact on overall turn design. Heritage and Raymond (2012) examine different forms of agency and resistance in relation to Y/N questions. They focus on the emergence of this resistance at turn beginning, building on the notion that turn-initial position is a critical location in the process of turn-construction and action formation (Schegloff 1987, 1996a). Schegloff (1996a) explains that turn-beginnings are a locus where people recurrently deal with the relationship between the turn being launched and talk or other conduct that preceded it and a place interactants where interactants use particles such as “oh”, “well” and other items that project the shape of the turn to come. While turn beginnings constitute a locus for expressing resistance, careful examination of my data revealed that resistance to the terms imposed by a question, especially an aggressive question, starts emerging before the question recipient starts responding.

The study of this phenomenon calls for a framework of social interaction that accounts for embodied displays. A point that is worth registering is that these embodied behaviors are not as constrained by turn-taking organizational limitations as talk is since listeners can make embodied stance displays without interrupting the current speaker. A number of studies have examined stance taking into account not only the linguistic practices used by participants to an interaction, but also their body posture, facial displays and gestures. Goodwin (1984) has demonstrated how recipients often display their stance and alignment towards the events in a story before it reaches completion. In *Notes on Story Structure and the Organization of Participation*, C. Goodwin (1984) analyzed a situation in which one of the parties to the interaction is reporting (and characterizing) the talk of her husband on a particular occasion where he said something inappropriate. The husband, who is present at the moment of this telling, displays his stance and alignment to the talk in progress through facial displays and body posture. The detailed study of interlocutors' actions as the talk emerges sheds light on the particular interactive tasks that the activity they are engaged in engenders and the kind of organization that is invoked. As C. Goodwin (2000a) points out:

> The accomplishment of social action requires that not only the party producing an action, but also that others present, such as its addressee, be able to systematically recognize the shape and character of what is occurring. (p. 1491)

In their research, C. Goodwin's and M.H. Goodwin have highlighted the fact that research on stance in talk-in-interaction typically involves looking at language alone (but see Kärkkäinen 2003, 2006; Haddington, 2004, 2006; Iwasaki, 2009; Mondada, 2007, 2009, 2011; Stivers, 2008, among others). Their work has expanded our understanding of the multiple resources speakers and hearers use to build common courses of action. They have shown that analyzing language alone or gesture alone neglects the fact that the different sign systems that

human beings can make use of interact in very intricate ways to convey a message and the speaker's and recipient's stance towards that message.

Shifting the focus from the study of next turn responses to embodied 'online' responses, this article examines the micro-organization of presidents' use of gaze, head and body movements, facial expressions and gestures to perform operations on journalists' questioning turns as these are emerging and how the presidents' displays communicate their stance(s) towards those questioning turns.

3.3 First Operations

In his book *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*, Goffman proposed that in studying interaction, the center of attention should not be the psychology of the individual. Rather, he argued, we should analyze "the glances, gestures, positionings and verbal statements" (Goffman, 1967, p. 1) of social actors in interaction because these are the "external signs of orientation and involvement" (p. 1). This section presents detailed analyses of examples where gaze, gestures, facial displays and body movements are analyzed along with the emerging talk to explain how the presidents' 'orientation to and involvement' in the activity of questioning in presidential news conferences are managed.

Before proceeding to the analysis, a quick a note is due on the organization of questioning turns. Research on news interviews and presidential news conferences from a conversation analytic perspective (Heritage and Roth, 1995; Clayman, 1992; Clayman and Heritage, 2002a; Clayman et al., 2006, 2007) has revealed that these questioning turns are typically composed of a preface- where the journalist quotes the president himself, members of his administration or party, members of the opposition or independent political commentators- followed by an interrogative or a B-event statement (Labov and Fanschel, 1977), among other

forms. These prefaces contain detailed descriptions and quotations that cast the president in a certain light. The president is constantly monitoring the preface of the question and the questioning TCUs that follow to decipher the position the journalist is trying to put him into. The focus on this article is on online responses to aggressive questions. In order to show how qualitatively different responses emerge at different junctures while the president is listening to the questioning turn, I have divided this section into two subsections. I first present the more overt displays of resistance and dissatisfaction with a question. Then I present those behaviors that appear prior to the emergence of the criticism proper.

3.4 Overt Stance Displays in Reaction to Criticism or Attacks Contained in the Journalist's Questioning Turn.

The first example in this subsection (Excerpt 3.3) shows Obama's embodied oppositional stance emerging as he hears the substance of one journalist's questions. The excerpt comes from a conference held in July of 2009 where president Obama answered questions about health care reform. In this example, CBS's Chip Reid asks President Obama about Medicare[6]. The multimodal transcripts show the part of the questioning turn that embodies presuppositions about the president's health care plan.

Excerpt 3.3

01	O:	Chip Reid
02	J:	Thank you, Mr. President. O:n:(.)Medica:re,(.).the:r obviously (.) millions
03		of Americans who: u:h depend on Medica:re,(.).hhh a:n:d(.)when you
04		talk about be:nding the long term cost downward, or when you talk
05		about(0.2)cuts in the:: current proposal on Capitol Hill, u::h you talk
06		about cuts in Medicare, and they talk about cuts in Medicare, but
07		the:re:(.) are never many speci:fics.

[6] Before each example in this section, I include the first part of the questioning turn that engenders different types of embodied behavior without displaying any symbols. I will analyze these in the following section.

08 J: Speci:fically, what kind of pai:n, what kind of sa:crifice,

09 are you ca[lling] on beneficiaries to make

10 O: [mmn::]

Shakes head/withdraws gaze and lifts hand with index finger

11 J: And >E::ven if no:t right away:,

12 O: Mhu:h

13 J: aren't fu:ture benefi:ciaries going to be getting less generous benefits tha[n:to]day:'s?

14 O: [No:.]

15 O: [NO:.]

Three questions follow: the first one starts with an adverbial which requests the president to be specific ("specifically"). This first question is a wh- question with a strong presupposition embodied in it: that Obama is calling on Medicare beneficiaries to undergo pain or suffering. When Obama hears the word "calling", he shakes his head twice and raises his index finger. He also looks downwards, preparing to speak. Obama's headshakes and orientation to incipient speakership occur specifically when Reid implies that there will be pain and suffering involved.

Obama's embodied stance displays during this first question prompt Reid to rush through and issue a second question. This second question starts out with a conditional clause which pre-empts a response from Obama ("and e:ven if not right away::") followed by a negative interrogative yes/no question. These kinds of questions are interpreted by the recipient of the question as embodying a particular point of view (Heritage, 2002b). This is in contrast to yes/no questions in general, which advance a "neutral" stance (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a).

Notice how in this question (see the headshake arrows at lines 13 and 14), the president is visibly troubled by the proposition embodied in it, starts shaking his head as soon as he hears the word “less” and does not wait until Reid finishes the question. His first “No:.” is very categorical and accompanied by a headshake. Next, Obama delivers an even more definitive “NO.:” while raising his head up and then down as he issues the particle. This lends more emphasis to his response.

As in the first example presented in this article, we see that the president starts building his resistance to the question before answering in his turn at talk. Through the way he is organizing his body, Obama is displaying an analysis of the unfolding structure of this extended question turn and reacting to strong presuppositions embodied in the question as well as the specific question form (negative interrogative).

In the following example, the disaffiliative stance that the president produces as the journalist’s question unfolds is accomplished differently. Whereas in the excerpts 1 and 3, the president managed disaffiliation through facial displays that expressed disagreement with the propositions embodied in the questions (e.g. intense furrowing of eyebrows and pressed lips and repeated headshakes), in the following example, President Obama uses smiling and laughter to convey disaffiliation.

The example comes from a press conference held on Sept. 10, 2010. Ed Henry from CNN asks the president about capturing Osama Bin Laden. The preface to the question makes reference to the fact that even though the Obama administration has captured some AlQaeda leaders, they have not captured Bin Laden (this part of the transcript is included for your reference below).

Excerpt 3.4.1

01 J: Mr. President, you were talking about some of the Al Qaida leaders that
02 you have captured. One that you have not is Osama bin Laden.
03 O: mmhuh
04 J: tomorrow is gonna be nine years since he was the mastermind of three
05 thousand Americans (.).hu:h being ki:lled, and what you said-obviously the
06 last administration had seven years and couldn't do it- but what you said as
07 President-elect to CBS is quote I think capturing or killing bin Laden is a critical
08 aspect of stamping out Al Qaida.(0.3)tch he is not just a symbol, he is also the
09 operational leader of an organization (.) planning attacks against the U.S.

In line 10, the reporter then issues two questions, the first of which is a canonical yes/no question, which builds on the preface. When he delivers the second question, he starts mirroring the format of the first "And do you think it's a f-" (lines 10 and 11), but decides to restart it and make it a negative interrogative- a format that is typically treated as expressing a position or point of view that embodies a very strong preference for a 'yes' response (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a; Heritage, 2002b). This question is advancing a position, and a hostile one at that.

As soon as Obama hears the redoing of the second question, he breaks into a smile accompanied by a laugh token. While he laughs (line 12), he breaks gaze with the journalist, but quickly resumes it at line 13. He maintains the smile, but abandons it when the journalist starts to say "You haven't captured…" (line 15), before the end of the turn. At line 14, Obama produces a continuer and his smile gives way to a serious expression that displays attention.

It is important to consider here what Obama's smile and laughter are accomplishing. Studies of laughter in social interaction have stressed the importance of viewing laughter as not solely marking something as humorous, but more importantly as locating a laughable (see Romaniuk, 2009 for an analysis of laughter in news interviews, and Jefferson, 1984 and Glen, 2003 for an extended treatment of laughter in interaction). In the unfolding of the turn in progress, Obama's smile and laugh token mark the journalist's proposition of the "failure" as a laughable. Obama is treating the question as expressing an opinion and his laughter is making a comment on the hyperbolic quality of the term "failure", particularly given the fact that in the preface Henry had mentioned that the previous administration could not capture bin Laden in seven years (compared to the two years that had passed since Obama had taken office).

Although Obama had stopped smiling by the end of Henry's turn, he started smiling and laughing again as he started answering the question (excerpt 3.4.2 below):

Excerpt 3.4.2

mirrors laughter/smile transitions to serious facial display

17 O: Well, u- he he heh, .hh Ed (.)u:v, I-I think (0.8) tch (1.0) capturing or

18 killing u:: bin La:den (.) an:d Zawahiri (1.2) would be: extre:mely

headshakes

19 impo:rtant to our na:tional secu:rity. (1.0) It doesn't solve all our

20 problems, but (0.5) it remains a high priority of this administration...

The smile at the beginning of this turn at talk like the laughter is treating what is being said lightly. The laughter goes further. Together, they are not treating the question seriously.

This example illustrates how laughter and smiling are used by President Obama as semiotic resources for the display of a disaffiliative stance and that these resources, like the ones analyzed in the previous examples, are particularly useful because they can be deployed prior to the president securing the floor, while he is still the listener, effectively foreshadowing the stance he will display once he begins speaking.

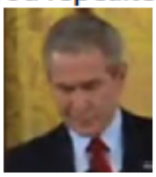
A similar tack is employed by President Bush in the following case. In this press conference from February of 2007, Bret Baier from Fox News quotes John Bolton about a deal with North Korea that the former U.N. ambassador thinks will not bring about any benefits.

Excerpt 3.5.1[7]

01 B: U::hb (0.2) Bret.
02 (3.0)
03 J: Mr. President, on the North Korea deal u::h (0.3)
04 the::: former U.N. ambassador, John Bolton, yesterday said, quote, it's a ba:d, disappo:inting
05 dea:l, and the best thing you can say about it .hhh is that it will probably fa:ll apa:rt.

shifts body from L to R and closer to podium while looking down

06 This is from a man you repea:tedly praised for his judgment and leadership



both facial displays reveal suppressed smiles

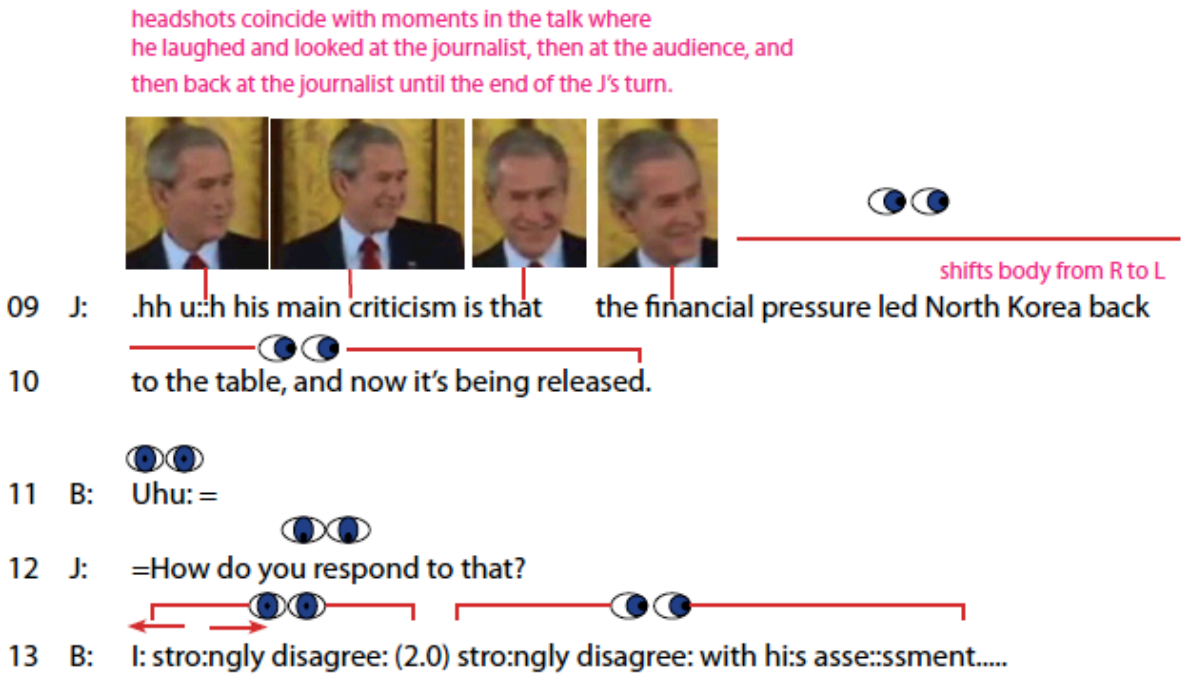
07 B: [hmhhhhh]

08 J: [at the United Na]tions.

After delivering Bolton's quote, Baier produces lines 6 and 8 stating that the criticism comes from a man that President Bush has "repeatedly praised for his judgment and leadership at the United Nations". After hearing the word leadership (and still looking down), President Bush produces a semi-smile and a mixture of laugh token and exhalation. He then turns to face the journalist while producing a subtle smile. These subtle displays give way to more overt ones as the journalist continues. President Bush breaks out into a broader smile (excerpt 3.5.2). He looks at the audience in the room smiling and very subtly shrugs his shoulders. He holds the smile until Baier's end of the turn in line 10.

[7] Wherever pictures are not included, the gaze drawings provide information about where the president was directing his gaze.

Excerpt 3.5.2



Unlike all previous excerpts, in this instance the criticisms are restricted to the preface. The question is a pure interrogative that merely solicits a response to this preface. If we look more in detail, the quite extended background statement could be divided into three parts. First, the journalist begins by quoting Bolton's biting criticism of the North Korea deal. Second, Baier states that the criticism comes from someone that Bush had praised. Third, the journalist summarizes Bolton's main criticism. Bush's embodied reaction surfaces not during the first part of the preface, but during the second part when the journalist spells out that someone who Bush had praised has harshly criticized him. It is difficult to gloss the meaning of Bush's smile. Unlike the previous example, where Obama laughs and smiles when Ed Henry characterizes Obama's Bin Laden quest as a failure, in this case Bush seems to find the humor in the irony of the situation.

Excerpt 3.6 again presents us with an instance where the president makes embodied displays while listening to the background statement of the question. The excerpt comes from a press conference held in February of 2007 where CNN's Ed Henry asks the president about contradictions between what the president has said about an issue related to Iran/Iraq and what US officials in Baghdad had said. David Gregory had already asked him about the same issue.

Excerpt 3.6

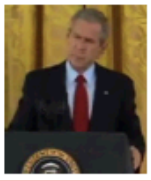
President looks at podium and fidgets

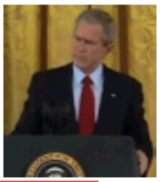
01 J: Thank you, Mr. President. I wanna follow up on Ira:n o:ne mo:re ti:me. You: sa:ying today::

President reestablishes gaze with reporter

02 that you do no:t know: if senior .huh me:mbers of the Iranian Government are in fact behi:nd
03 these explosives,

Facial display signals surprise/ confusion





04 .hh u:hm tha:t contradicts what U.S. officials (.) said in Baghda:d on Sunday.

05 They said the highest levels (.) of the Ira[nian Government were >be][hind this].

06 B: [°(heh heh)] [.hhhhhh]

07 J: it A:lso:<-it seems to square with what General Pace has been saying, but contradicts with
08 what your own [Press Secretary said yesterday]
09 B: [LET CAN I-CAN I-can I-][I can't say-]
10 J: [(what if)]
11 B: u:h lemme-lemme explain it to you, Ed -I can't say it more plainly (1.2) There are wea:pons in
12 Ira:q that are ha:rming (0.3) U:.S. troo:ps (.) because o:f the Qods Force.

At line 4, Henry states that Bush's pronouncement that day contradicts what US officials had said in Baghdad. Immediately after Bush hears the word "contradict" he makes a facial display (a very typical display he makes while listening to quoted speech) that signals surprise or confusion. When Bush hears the actual quote from US officials in Baghdad, he laughs and smiles and prepares to speak communicating with these displays that the journalist is perhaps wrong. The laughter, smiling and display of incipient speakership make the reporter produce a rush-through (line 5 and 7) and raise his voice (line 7). Henry goes on by emphasizing the contradictions he has detected. At this point (line 9), Bush decides to take the floor by producing several restarts while raising his voice. This example is similar to excerpt 4 above in the sense that Bush employs the same tack in reaction to a journalist's questioning turn: laughter and smiling. However, they are different in the sense that Obama's laughter is in response to an aggressive negative interrogative which had presented him as having failed to capture Bin Laden. In the case of Bush, his laughter and smiling are reacting to the supposed contradictions that Henry is outlining in the preface.

The excerpts in this section have shown the kinds of overt displays that presidents Bush and Obama produce in response to criticisms either contained in the interrogative forms employed by the journalist or in the background statements or prefaces that precede an interrogative form. In the next section, we will examine other parts of the questioning turn that engender different kinds of embodied online responses from the presidents.

3.5 Behaviors by the President Prior to the Emergence of Criticism

Let us examine now the beginning of excerpt 3.7 where Chip Reid asks President Obama about specifics on Medicare. Reid starts his questioning turn with a preface that asserts that the president and Congress are planning cuts to Medicare, but that these pronouncements lack specificity.

Excerpt 3.7

01 O: Chip Reid

02 J: Thank you, Mr. President. O:n:(.) Medica:re,(.). the:r obviously (.) millions of Americans

03 who: u:h depend on Medica:re,(.) .hhh a:n:d(.)when you talk about be:nding the

04 long-term cost downward, or [when you talk about] (0.2)cuts in the:: current proposal on

05 O: [mhhhhhhhhhhh]

06 J: Capitol Hill, u::h you talk about cuts in Medicare, and they talk about cuts in Medicare,

07 but the:re:(.) are never many speci:fics.(0.2)

08 J: Speci:fically, what kind of pai:n, what kind of sa:crifice,

09 are you ca[lling] on beneficiaries to make

10 O: [mmn::]

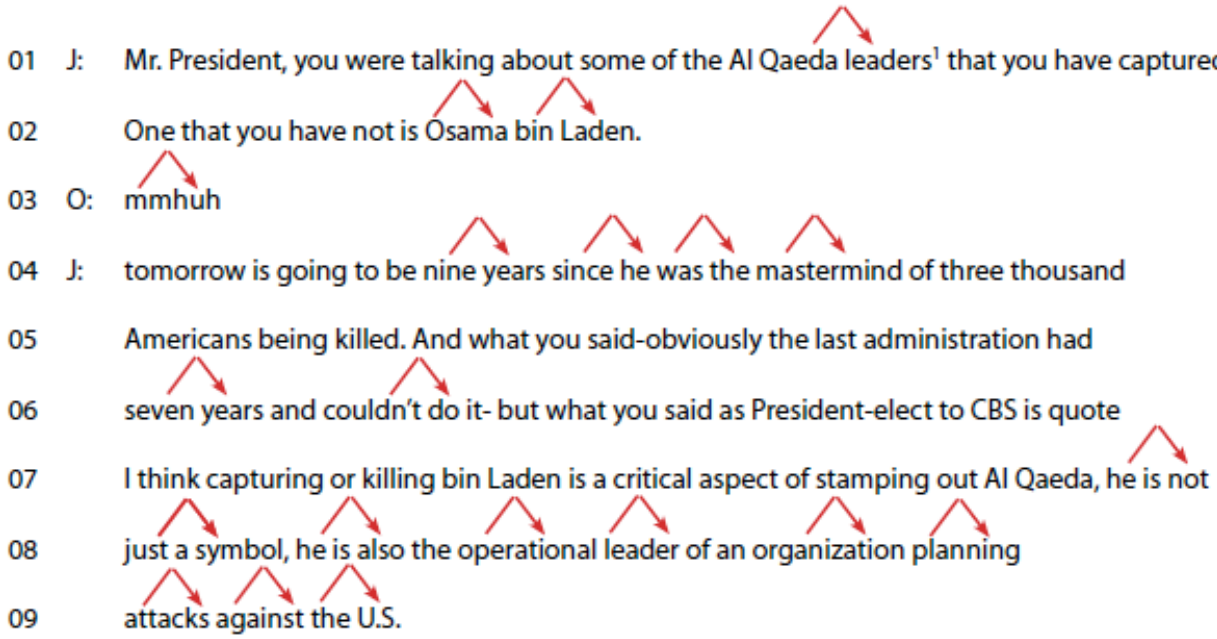
Shakes head/withdraws gaze and lifts hand with index finger

Different from his embodied responses in the rest of this questioning turn, during the preface, President Obama produces a series of nods. These nods either acknowledge a fact (such

as there are millions of Americans who depend on Medicare) or act as continuers signaling to the journalist that the president is giving him the floor while at the same time also communicating that he understands what the journalist is building up to.

In excerpt 3.8 (see excerpt 3.4 above to see the rest of the turn), Ed Henry starts by stating that President Obama has talked about the Al Qaeda leaders his administration has caught, but that he has not caught Osama Bin Laden. Henry then quotes Obama as president elect stating that capturing Bin Laden was critical:

Excerpt 3.8

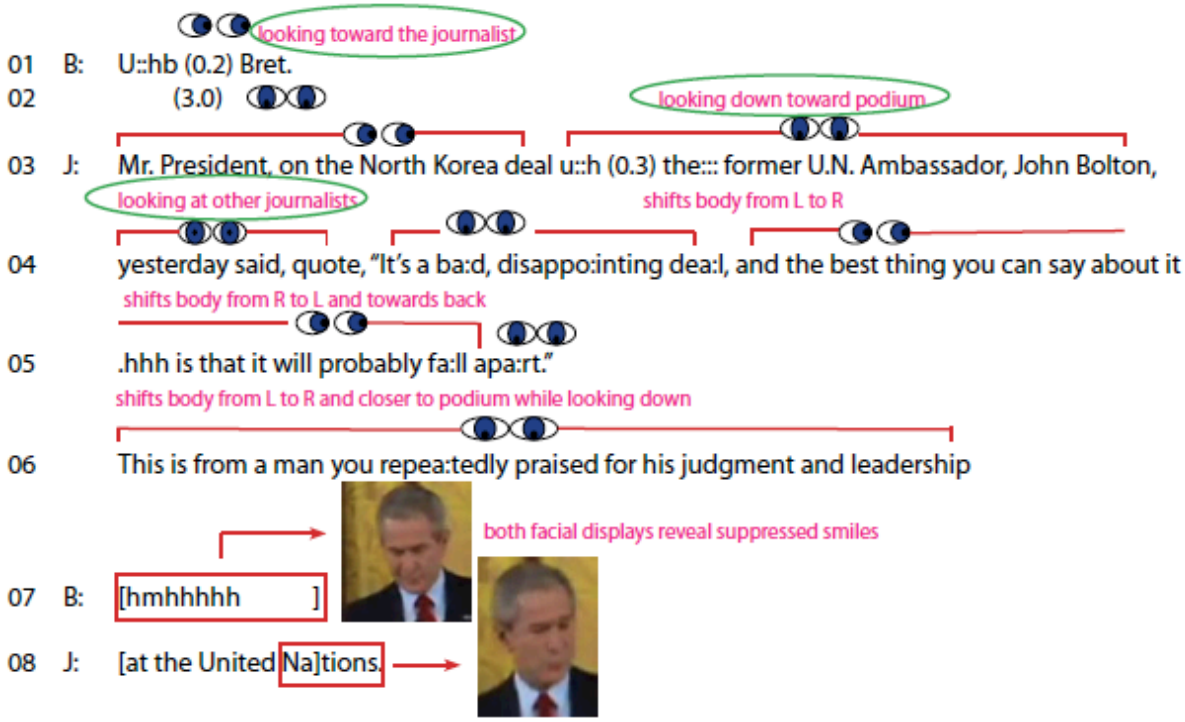


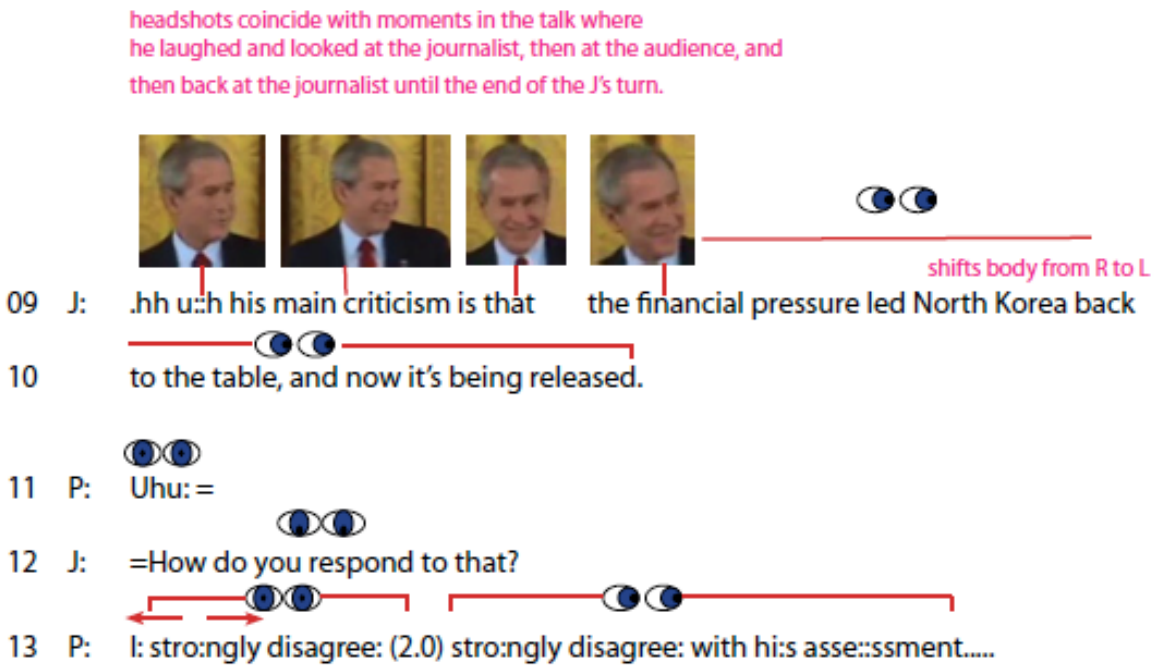
While monitoring the preface of Henry's question, Obama produces some continuers and nods, displaying attention and showing that he acknowledges the veracity of the quote. The nods become more emphatic as the journalist reaches the end of the quote showing affiliation. However, after this extended background statement containing quotes from the president, Henry moves on to deliver a sharp criticism in the form of a negative interrogative. As we saw with the examples analyzed in the previous section, president Obama's stance displays when the

journalists criticize or highlight problems with his policies or actions are markedly different from the displays (nods) he produces during the first part of the questioning turns analyzed here.

The last two excerpts in this section are from the Bush press conferences analyzed in the previous section. As mentioned above, these examples are different in the sense that the criticism is packaged in the preface to the question. In one instance (excerpt 3.9 below), the journalist manages to deliver the whole questioning turn in which the question proper is a wh-interrogative that merely solicits a response to the preface:

Excerpt 3.9





As I said earlier in the previous section, Bush produces an overt embodied display (laughter and smile) when the journalist highlights the fact that the criticism originates from someone that President Bush had praised for his work at the United Nations. During the first part of the preface, however, where the journalist clearly shifts footing and delivers a very caustic criticism in the form of a direct quote from Bolton, President Bush looks at Baier when he announces the topic, down at the podium when Bolton's name is mentioned, and then briefly at the other journalists in the room. While the direct quote is being delivered, Bush looks down at the podium, then at the journalist and finally back to the podium again. He also shifts body posture frequently while listening to this part of the questioning turn. In the third part of the preface, President Bush is still smiling about what was stated in the second part of the preface and returns his gaze toward the journalist. It is quite common, in fact, for President Bush to do gaze shifts and to shift his body weight from side to side while listening to question prefaces that deliver sharp criticisms of his administration. Less common is to see him smiling while listening to a preface.

Excerpt 3.10 is similar to excerpt 3.9 as we see a criticism, more specifically contradictions, highlighted in the preface. However, in this case, the journalist does not get to deliver the question proper since President Bush does not let him finish:

Excerpt 3.10

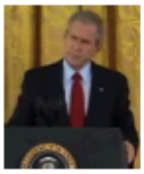
President looks at podium and fidgets

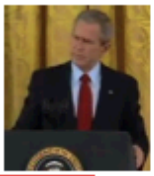
01 J: Thank you, Mr. President. I wanna follow up on Ira:n o:ne mo:re ti:me. You: sa:ying today::

President reestablishes gaze with reporter

02 that you do no:t know: if senior .huh me:mbers of the Iranian Government are in fact behi:nd
03 these explosives,

Facial display signals surprise/ confusion





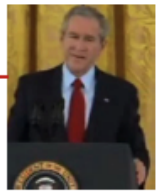
04 .hh u:hm tha:t contradicts what U.S. officials (.) said in Baghda:d on Sunday.

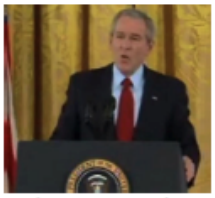
05 They said the highest levels (.) of the Ira[nian Government were >be][hind this].

06 B: [°(heh heh)] [.hhhhhh]

Laughter +

incipient speakership





07 J: it A:lso:<-it seems to square with what General Pace has been saying, but contradicts with
08 what your own [Press Secretary said yesterday]
09 B: [LET CAN I-CAN I-can I-][I can't say-]

After calling on Henry, Bush breaks gaze with the journalist and reestablishes it after Henry starts quoting him on something he had said earlier that day. More specifically, Bush

directs his gaze at the journalist after hearing "you: sa:ying today:: that you do no:t know:". As previously stated, President Bush reacts visibly by producing a facial display that signals surprise (line 4) after hearing that what he has said contradicts what US officials had said in Baghdad and by laughing after Henry spells out what the contradiction is. In this particular case, before the journalist mentions and details the first contradiction, Bush only looks at him. When the journalist goes on to mention the second contradiction, Bush re-establishes gaze with the journalist. That is, during these moments, the president is engaging in more subtle behaviors that do not communicate a clear stance toward the question being asked.

3.6 Discussion

The excerpts presented illustrate three main points. First, they show how the non-vocal behaviors produced by the presidents while listening to a question constitute responses in their own right while at the same time foreshadow the response that the president will produce in his turn at talk. The data show how the president's headshakes, particular disaffiliating facial displays, shifts in body posture, smiles and laughter are used to resist the presuppositions embodied in the questions that the journalists ask. The occurrence of these embodied behaviors as a journalist's turn emerges shows us that resistance—in this case resistance to the terms imposed by a question—can be powerfully and publically displayed prior to the beginning of a turn-at-talk. While turn-beginnings are an important locus for turn construction and action formation (Schegloff, 1987, 1996a), we see here how this resistance emerges before the president's upcoming turn at talk. As previously stated, embodied behaviors in response to an aggressive questioning turn provide a clear indication of disaffiliation. And typically, at the beginning of the president's turn at talk as many of the examples showed, the presidents started

with particles like “oh” or “well” that echoed the disaffiliative stance conveyed by the prior embodied behavior displayed as a journalist asked a question.

Second, in general, we typically see the presidents nodding or displaying attention (in the case of Obama) or producing a mixture of attentive and inattentive behaviors (in the case of Bush) during the preface phase of the questioning turn. It is also possible, although less common, for the presidents to produce displays that signal resistance while they are listening to the preface of a questioning turn as we saw in the case of the last two excerpts (3.9 and 3.10). It is far more common, however, for the embodied behaviors that foreshadow the response to typically occur when the questions are delivered, and when such questions either presuppose what the president’s response is going to be, offer a candidate answer or express an opinion. We see a distinction between a president’s embodied behaviors that merely do acknowledging or signal disengagement vs. those embodied displays which typically foreshadow or project how the president will begin to answer in his turn at talk. The acknowledging embodied behaviors typically, although not always, occur during the preface, and the foreshadowing embodied behaviors frequently occur while the journalist is delivering the question or questions which happen to be very aggressive questions.

A third point I would like to make is that these foreshadowing embodied behaviors are a methodological resource that needs to receive further attention in analyzing the meaning and import of questions in a mass communication environment. Raymond (2010) notes that by studying questioning patterns and the social relationships embodied in the questions that speakers pose to recipients, we can understand the way institutions shape the lives and conduct of the people in them. I would like to add that it is also crucial to study the embodied online behaviors of question recipients that are associated with such patterns of questioning. As I have

shown, important insights can be gained about aggressive questioning in presidential news conferences by lending analytical attention to the recipient's embodied actions as the questions are unfolding.

Chapter 4

Flat Refusals to Answer without an Account

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the special case of questions that are met with an explicit refusal to answer but without an explicit account. The actor under scrutiny is former president George W. Bush on occasions when he flatly refused to answer a question in presidential news conferences without providing any sort of overt account.

As it was explained in Chapter 1, questions set agendas for a response and presidents or public figures are accountable in terms of these agendas (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b; Heritage and Clayman, 2010). When a respondent fails to orient to a question's agenda, they are faced with a number of consequences. That is, respondents can be held accountable by the questioner when the latter, for example, reissues the same question or a follow-up question designed to elicit an acceptable response (Heritage and Clayman, 2010). In addition, after the interview or press conference is over, these attempts at evasiveness are selected and replayed by the media in the form of quotations and soundbites (Clayman, 1990). The broadcast audience may also sanction evasiveness. They may infer that the public figure is not being straightforward and is therefore hiding something (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

Several studies have analyzed the dynamics of resisting or evading a question from a conversation analytic perspective (Clayman, 1993b, 2001; Clayman and Heritage, 2002b; Heritage and Clayman, 2010). This research found that the strategies politicians use could be overt or covert. Among the former, politicians can show deference to the interviewer by requesting permission to shift the agenda or by minimizing the fact that they are about to change the agenda (for example by saying "very quick" or "just one comment"). They may also defend

and justify their resistance offering a legitimate decision to sidestep the question citing matters of national security or being unable to comment on an ongoing investigation. A Daily Show news interview between reporter John Oliver and president Obama's first press secretary Robert Gibbs highlighted and ridiculed this strategy. John Oliver from the Daily Show asked the press secretary what his "favorite dodge" was: "Don't comment on ongoing investigations or I'll get back to you later". Gibbs replied "any time you can talk about making sure that you are not divulging national security secrets, I think that's always a good one too". To this John Oliver replied: "A::::h so a kind of bull( ) evasion without engaging in the premise of the question. Cla::sic". This exchange illustrates how there is a certain degree of conscious awareness on the part of all parties that these linguistic formulations are efficient resources for sidestepping questions.

This interview between Oliver and Gibbs highlights one type of overt strategy used for sidestepping a question. To that list, Clayman (2001) adds blanket refusals to answer. But of course politicians also use covert ways to resist or evade a question (Clayman, 2001). That is, they may operate on the question and reformulate it or use phrases or words from the question presenting themselves as having answered it (Clayman, 2001; Clayman and Heritage, 2002b).

Other research has also addressed the issue of resistance and refusals to answer. Ekström (2009) documented several cases in Swedish news interviews where the politicians announced their refusal to answer and distinguished cases in which the politicians do not have an answer as opposed to those in which they claim they cannot or should not answer. He also analyzed journalists' reactions to such overt refusals. All the cases this researcher analyzed included an account. Ekström (2009) also found out that the politicians in his corpus avoid explicit criticism of the interviewer. Rather, they usually question the question implicitly.

But what happens when the president of the United States refuses to answer a question without an account? How does he manage the refusal and continues to manage that refusal when the journalist decides to pursue an answer? While prior research has produced a typology of answers and non-answers, there is no analysis yet on how these refusals are managed through multiple turns using multiple semiotic resources, which figure prominently in the cases analyzed in this chapter. The aim of this chapter is to document and analyze a range of semiotic strategies that president Bush utilized in managing a refusal to answer over an extended sequence. While other presidents I have analyzed did not deliver flat refusals to answer without an account, Bush was unusual in that he did issue these kinds of refusals.

Clayman and Heritage (2002a) have observed that flat refusals to answer are rare in the contemporary news interview. They are also quite rare in presidential news conferences, but perhaps more unusual are the strategies used by president George W. Bush to resist a question's agenda when further pressed by journalists to provide an answer after he has flatly refused to do so. In delivering and redelivering an overt refusal to answer without an account using different "unconventional" strategies, president Bush managed to delegitimize the question and the questioner. Among the strategies he used, intonation, facial displays, gesture or collusion with other journalists figured prominently. The act of refusal in these cases cannot be studied by examining the talk alone as clearly, this project was brought about deploying multiple simultaneous semiotic strategies.

In the remainder of this chapter, I first give some examples of refusals to answer without an account (section 4.2). In section 4.3, I zoom in momentarily and analyze the use of recipient names (4.3.1) and TCUs whose function is to deliver the refusal or to delegitimize the pursuits of the journalist (4.3.2). In the last section of the analysis (section 4.4), I zoom out again and

consider all the semiotic resources deployed in the delivery and redelivery of the refusal to answer. Section 4.5 (Discussion) summarizes the findings in this chapter.

4.2 Refusals to Answer: Some Examples

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, flat refusals to answer are considered rare today. But let us go back almost sixty years in time and briefly consider the following case of a news interview conducted in the 1950s with Dr. Hastings Banda—who would later be head of Malawi—prior to the nation's independence from the United Kingdom and democratization:

Excerpt 4.1
UK Interview with Dr. Hastings Banda (later, head of state of Malawi) prior to independence from the UK and democratization (1950s).

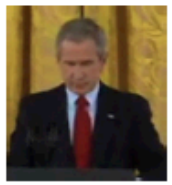
01	IR:	Doctor Banda what is the purpose of your visit.
02	IE:	Well I've been asked by the Secretary of State to come here.
03	IR:	Have you come here to ask the Secretary of State (for) a firm date for
04		Nyasaland's independence.
05	IE:→	I won't tell you that.
06	IR:	When do you hope to get independence.
07	IE:→	I won't tell you that.
08	IR:	Doctor Banda when you get independence are you as determined as ever to
09		break away from the Central African federation.
10	IE:→	Need you ask me that question at this stage.
11	IR:	Well this stage is as good as any other stage why do you ask me
12		why I shouldn't ask you this question at this [stage.
13	IE:→	[Haven't I said that enough for any-
14		everybody to be convinced that I mean just that?
15	IR:	Doctor Banda if you break with the Central African Federation
16		how will you make out economically after all
17		[your country isn't really a rich country [is it
18	IE:→	[(I'm not)- [Don't don't ask me that.
19		Le- leave that to me.

As it is apparent from this excerpt, Dr. Banda did not feel obligated to answer what he seemed to perceive as intrusive questions from the interviewer. In the United Kingdom, strong government regulation of broadcasting and the absence of competition before 1958 contributed to making interviewing a highly deferential enterprise (Heritage and Clayman, 2010). The

deferential style of the journalist is evident throughout most of the exchange. However, even in the 1950s journalists sanctioned evasion. Notice how in lines 11-12, the journalist justifies his act of questioning as legitimate.

Now let us fast-forward a little over fifty years in time and examine and excerpt from a George W. Bush press conference. Here we witness a similar instance to the one shown in excerpt 1 taking place at a presidential news conference in the United States during the second term of George W. Bush's presidency (February, 2007). In this instance Peter Baker from the Washington Post asks a question about the Valerie Plame incident in which several White House staffers were involved:

Excerpt 4.2.1



disengagement

01 B: U::h .hhh yeahh, Peter: .hhmhh
02 J: Thank you, Mr. President. U::h(.) sir, we've now learned through swo:rn testimony that

directs gaze to journalist

03 at least (.)three members of your administration, o:ther than Scooter Libby, (0.2) u::h
04 leaked Valerie Plame's identity to the me:dia,
05 J: None of these three is known to be under investigation. Without commenting on the
06 Li:bby trial, then, can you tell us whether YOU authorized any of these three: [to do that
07 B: [Not
08 gonna talk about it]
09 J: or were they autho]rized without your (.) permission.
10 B: Yeah, thanks, Pete. I'm not gonna talk about a:ny of it.
11 (0.6)
12 J: They're not un[der investigation], though, si[r.
13 B: [thank you]

chastising facial displays

raised eyebrows

14 B: [PE:ter (1.0) I'm not gonna talk about a:ny of it.

activity-occupied pause (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986)

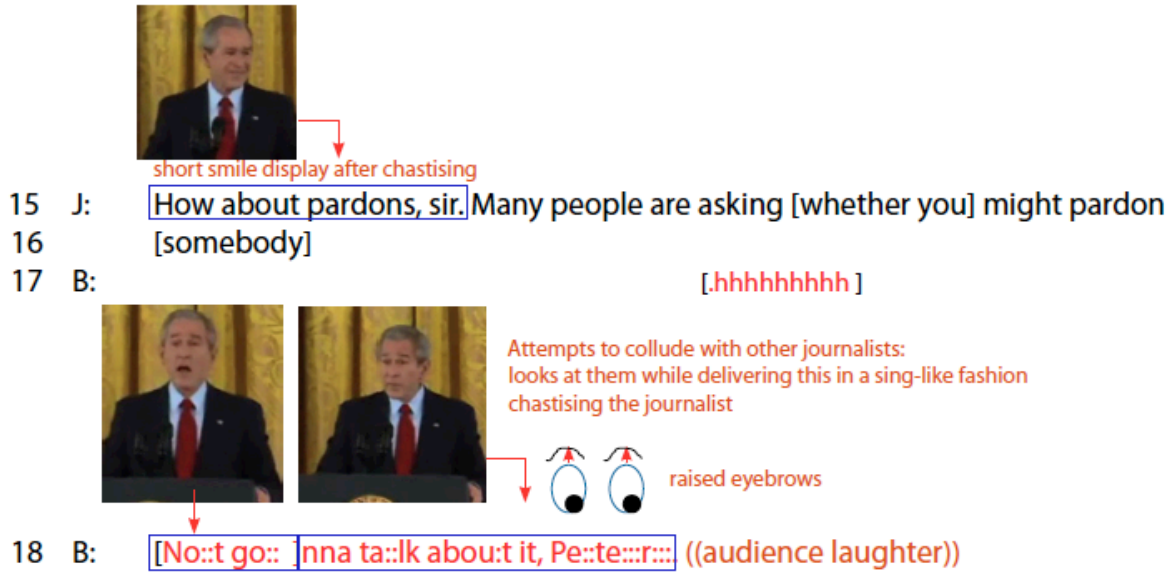
Notice how in the preface (lines 2-5) the journalist strives to establish the relevance of the question he is going to ask first by referring to the source of the news—"sworn testimony" (line 2)—and by establishing that none of these three people who also leaked Valerie Plame's identity (besides Libby) are under investigation (line 5). Baker takes steps to prevent Bush from saying he is not going to comment on an ongoing investigation since these three people are not on trial. It is noticeable that for the most part, President Bush withdraws gaze from the journalist (except for momentarily re-establishing it back in line 3). He is clearly withdrawing from participation. This is consistent with the way he later on quarantines himself from providing an answer.

In lines 5-6, Baker starts by reinforcing the pre-emptive strategy used before by clarifying to the president that he is not expected to comment on the Libby trial and asks whether he authorized these other people to leak the CIA agent's identity to the media. The preface in this alternative choice question clearly pushes for the first of the two choices offered. President Bush comes in in overlap (line 7) and says he is not going to talk about the issue. He repeats this in his following turn at talk (line 10), but this time he thanks the journalist for asking the question and addresses him by first name. Baker counters the president's response (line 12) by reiterating that these three individuals are not under investigation. This move engenders a somewhat unusual response from Bush. The president's embodied behavior while uttering line 14 could be glossed by reference to three salient facial displays. First, he addresses the journalist by first name (Peter) while raising his eyebrows. This is followed by an activity-filled pause (Goodwin, C., 1980, 2007; Goodwin, M.H., 1980, 1983; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986, 1992) where the president continues to raise his eyebrows while gazing at Baker and moves his head to the center and down (as a parent or a teacher would when chastising a child). Bush sustains this facial display while

delivering the rest of the turn and raising his hands from the podium. The raised eyebrows maintain the relevance of the action he is performing across time (Goodwin, M.H., forthcoming).

Subsequently, the journalist tries to pursue a response on issuing pardons (excerpt 4.2.2, line 15); however, Bush now turns to the audience while singing "no:t go::na ta::lk abou::t it, Pe:::te:::r:::" (see pitch track below). Later on (transcript not shown), the president offers Baker the possibility of asking another question while referring to himself as a kind man for doing so.

Excerpt 4.2.2



Excerpt 4.2.3

Excerpt 4.2 illustrates a number of points. First, as I said in the introduction, the president actively deploys the use of various semiotic strategies (prosody, facial displays, head movements) to advance his own communicative project of avoiding answering this question while at the same time ridiculing the journalist for being persistent. Second, the excerpt also draws attention to the use of recipient names and common formulations he uses to deliver the refusal. Third, we can see that while there is no overt account in delivering a refusal, there seems to be an implicit account in the way that he redelivers the refusal. That is, the facial displays, use of address terms in a chastising manner, prosody and collusion with the other journalists signal that the initial question and the subsequent pursuits are inappropriate, and therefore they provide an account for not answering the question.

4.3 The Sheer Refusal to Answer: Use of Recipient Names and other Elements in the Talk that Serve to Build and Ascribe Actions

In this section, I focus solely on the talk produced in situations when the president refuses to answer a question. This attempt to segment the interaction into more discrete parts will yield a partial analysis. However, for the time being, I would like to invite the reader to zoom into this picture to consider particular elements in the talk that are helping to accomplish the action of not

answering and of casting the journalist as having committed a breach in behavior. In the next section (4.4), I will return to an analysis that considers the different non-vocal semiotic resources that the president uses to accomplish a communicative project that competes with the journalist's communicative project.

An examination of the talk makes evident three kinds of elements that President Bush deploys when refusing to answer a question while at the same time expressing a disaffiliative stance towards the question and the questioner: 1) address terms, 2) *refusal assertions* and 3) insinuations. In the remainder of this section, I will tackle first, the use of recipient names in different examples (4.3.1) followed by an analysis of *refusal assertions* and insinuations (4.3.2)—typically sentential TCUs—that the president uses when announcing his refusal to answer or when he characterizes the prior action of the journalist not just as questioning, but as doing something else as well.

4.3.1 Recipient Names Mobilized to Do More than One Action

Much like most adverbs in the English language, address terms are optional elements that can appear in different positions within a TCU. Research on this phenomenon has asked what kinds of actions (besides addressing) these particular elements are accomplishing (Lerner, 2003, Clayman, 2010, forthcoming). This subsection, then, deals with the different positions where recipient names appear and the functions they may be performing. The data in this chapter reveals how the president uses this resource in managing a refusal to answer.

Consider the use of address terms placed at the beginning of a TCU. The following example comes from one of the opening excerpts in this chapter. Recall that Peter Baker, a correspondent for the Washington Post, had asked president Bush about the Scooter Libby-Valerie Plame scandal. After unsuccessfully trying to extract an answer from the president,

Baker continues to pursue the subject by clarifying to the president that these other individuals he is asking about are not under investigation, and by implication the president should be able to comment on the subject.

It is in this particular environment that president Bush uses a prefatory address term (line 3). Clayman (forthcoming) has observed that prefatory address terms have a quasi-summoning property which serves to initiate an action directed to a recipient who is engaged but following a course of action which happens to be at odds with what the speaker is about to launch (Clayman, forthcoming). This particular phenomenon is illustrated in excerpt 4.3:

Excerpt 4.3

01	J:	They're not un[der investigation], though, si[r.
02	B:	[Thank you]
03	B: →	[PE:ter (1.0) I'm not gonna talk about a:ny of it.
04	J:	How about pardons, sir. Many people are asking [whether you] might
05	B:	[.hhhhhhhhh]
06		pardon [somebody]

Notice the address term is disjoined from the subsequent talk rather than through-produced (line 3). This silence, however, is an activity-occupied pause (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986) whose analysis we will deal with in the following section. While the journalist tries to elicit an answer from the president, the latter continues to sidestep the action agenda of the initial inquiry. The basic function the address term is performing is that of re-directing the talk, but at the same time, it has a sanctioning effect. That is, the use of the journalist's name in second position here serves to cast the journalist's prior action—issuing a follow-up about a matter that Bush had already refused to address—as having crossed a line. Lerner (2003) has observed that address terms seem to be used primarily on occasions "in which they are deployed to do more

than simply specify whom the speaker is addressing" (p. 184). This prefatory address term is used here not just to address the journalist, but to sanction his prior behavior as well.

Consider additional examples where prefatory address terms are used to show disalignment and disaffiliation. In excerpt 4.4, David Gregory asks the president a question about a bombing in Syria by Israel, which he had asked about at a prior press conference a month before and which Bush had refused to answer as well. In this particularly extended sequence (which will be presented in full in the next section), Gregory has tried to ask him about the Israeli bombing in Syria directly, but Bush says his position has not changed, implying he is not going to comment on the subject. Gregory then asks him about a similar incident in 1981 and what the president's opinion is on the subject, thus using a past incident to elicit an opinion from the president on a current issue related to the ongoing conflict between Israel and Syria and on whether it is acceptable for Israel to engage in certain kinds of actions. However, the president takes Gregory's question literally and says he does not remember his reaction in 1981. At this point, Gregory launches line 1 below:

Excerpt 4.4

01	J:	But I'm asking you now, as you look back at it, do you think it was-it was
02		the right action for Israel to take?
03	B: →	David, I'm not going to comment on the subject that you're trying to
04		get me to comment on.

It is in this particular environment that president Bush deploys a prefatory address term where he departs from the action agenda set by the prior question. Instead of replying with a type-conforming yes or no answer (Raymond, 2003), president Bush uses the journalist's first name followed by a sentential TCU where he states he is not going to comment on the subject that Gregory is trying to get him to comment on. Gregory does not stop there and continues to

question why the president refuses to express an opinion on the matter (excerpt 5). In line 7, Bush addresses Gregory using the informal version of his fist name "Dave", followed by a sentential TCU:

Excerpt 4.5

01	J:	Well, [I'm just wondering] why you think it's not appropriate to make
02	B:	[Thank you.]
03	J:	that judgment when it's a--it is a real-world scenario, as we know, since
04		they a[pparen]tly
05	B:	[Dave.]
06	J:	took this action against Sy[ria
07	B:	[Dave (1.7) we::lcome ba::ck. ((Laughter))

Notice here that like in excerpt 4.3 line 3, "Dave" is followed by an activity-occupied pause (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986), but unlike excerpt 4.3, in this case, the president uses the informal version of the journalist's name as opposed to the two-syllable, more formal version "David". Whereas in the case of "Peter", the president uses the two-syllable, more formal version of the journalist's first name to sanction the journalist's action as not acceptable, in this case Bush seems to deploy the one-syllable, more informal version of the journalist's name to make him stop, but at the same time using humor to accomplish this. He is doing being friendly while at the same time getting the floor.

The use of the one-syllable name also evokes a sense of familiarity or close relationship that presidents may develop with members of the press corps that has been following them since their campaign days. The president makes relevant the personal nature of the social relationship in this and other cases. Because they know each other, Bush can get around the fact that he is the president and his interlocutor a journalist. He is thus taking advantage of the fact that the journalist is not just a journalist but is also a 'regular person' with a name. In addition, president Bush is exercising a privilege that the journalist does not have. That is, the journalist cannot

reciprocate by saying "George" to the president. This shows the asymmetry involved in this exchange.

There are other prefatory address terms that appear near the beginning of a turn following elements such as *uh*, *you know*, or *sighs*, among others:

Excerpt 4.6

01	J:	uh:b there's a report today from uh Israel Army Radio indicating that the
02		Sy:rians ha:ve confi:rmed that the Israelis struck a:: nuclear site in their
03		country. You wouldn't comment on that before, and I'm
04		wondering if no:w, on the ge:neral question, you think it's appropriate
05		for Israel to take such action if it feels that they are- there is mortal
05		danger being pos[ed to the state].
06	B: →	[hhhh] uh, David, my position ha'n't
07		changed.
		((lines omitted))
08	J:	Did you-did you support (0.7) Israel's strike in 1981 on the Iraqi reactor
09		outside Baghdad?
10	B: →	.hhhh uhhh you know, Dave, I don't remember what I was doing in
11		1980. Let's see, I was living in…

Like the address terms positioned exactly at the beginning of a TCU, these address terms near the beginning of a TCU also occur in an environment of disalignment and disaffiliation.

Another position address terms usually appear in is at the end of a TCU as a through-produced unit (Lerner, 2003, p. 187). In excerpt 4.7, there are two instances of an address term appearing at the end of a TCU. In line 11, president Bush prefaces his non-type conforming response by saying "yeah, thanks, Pete". The address term comes at the end of a TCU where the president is trying to soften the impact of his non-type conforming response much like he does when he offers the journalist another chance to ask a question. The second instance where the address term comes at the end of a TCU occurs once more in an environment of disalignment and disaffiliation (line 15). This particular recipient name is delivered in a sing-like fashion (as

analyzed earlier) accompanied by a distinct facial display with raised eyebrows and as part of an utterance with a particular prosody aimed to chastise the journalist (see earlier analysis)

Excerpt 4.7

01	B:	U::h .hhh yeahh, Peter: .hhmhh
02	J:	Thank you, Mr. President. U::h(.) sir, we've now learned through swo:rn
03		testimony that at least (.) three members of your administration, o:ther
04		than Scooter Libby, (0.2) u::h leaked Valerie Plame's identity to the
05		me:dia, none of these three is known to be under investigation. Without
07		commenting on the Li:bby trial, then, can you tell us whether YOU
08		authorized any of these three: [to do that or were they autho]rized
09		without your (.) permission.
10	B: →	[Not gonna talk about it]
11	B: →	Yeah, thanks, Pete. I'm not gonna talk about a:ny of it.
		((several lines omitted))
12	J:	How about pardons, sir. Many people are asking [whether you] might
13	B:	[.hhhhhhhhh]
14	J:	pardon [somebody]
15	B: →	[No::t go::]nna ta::lk abou:t it, Pe::te:::r:::. ((audience laughter))

In the case of excerpt 4.8, the address turn in final position is also deployed in an instance when the president is trying to stop the journalist from pursuing the question after the journalist has issued three to four follow-ups.

Excerpt 4.8

01	B:	I'd-I'm not gonna comment on it. [one way or the other.]
02	J:	[But, Mr. President,] your -YOUR
03	B:	[Elaine]
04	J:	[administra]tion has talked about [mushroom clouds in the]
05	B: →	[Thank you. (.) Martha.]

In addition to prefatory and final address terms, stand-alone recipient names in this particular setting constitute an interesting case. Consider excerpt 4.9:

Excerpt 4.9

18	J:	[Why won't you.] But isn't it-isn't it a fair question to say, is it-given all
19		the talk about Iran and the potential threat whether it would be:
20		appropriate [for Israel to act

21 B: → [Hey, Dave.
22 B: → Dave.
((several lines omitted))
23 J: real-world scenario, as we know, since they a[pparen]tly
24 B: → [Dave.]
25 J: took this action against Sy[ria

We could use the term "summons" for this use of recipient names, but the term "summons" seems insufficient to explain what the journalist is doing here. So what are these stand-alone recipient names doing? They are deployed in order to summon the journalist to align/acquiesce with the president's agenda or communicative project. This *chastising use of recipient* names is akin to the use of children or student names by parents or teachers when they are misbehaving. M.H. Goodwin (personal communication) has observed a similar use of recipient names in family interaction data. Notice in line 21 that we have two summonses: "hey" and "Dave". The basic function of a summons is to obtain a person's attention. In this case, however, the president already has the attention of the journalist. That is to say, having to summon someone's attention when you already have his or her attention implies wrongdoing. Hence, the chastising nature of this practice. In section 4.4, the analysis will consider this chastising use of recipient names along with other co-occurring semiotic resources.

Having provided an initial description of the positioning of recipient names in these examples, let us analyze what the import of these items is. They are certainly not used to secure recipient engagement since, as Clayman (2010) has pointed out, there is no need for the use of these items in an environment where "the directionality of talk and the selection of next speaker are already established" (p. 162). If we consider the position of the address terms, prefatory address terms appear in disaligning/disaffiliative responses (Clayman, forthcoming) with "initiations directed to recipients who are engaged but pursuing a course of action at odds with

what the speaker is about to launch". A similar stance is communicated by address terms positioned at the end of a TCU. Stand-alone chastising recipient names summon the journalist to align with a different kind of activity: stopping the pursuit of a question the president will not comment on.

The analysis of these excerpts aligns with Lerner (2003), who observed that address terms seem to be employed when addressing is used to do additional work. One of those instances is in circumstances in which a positive or negative stance toward an addressed recipient seems relevant. In the excerpt analyzed here, recipient names appearing at the beginning or end of a TCU are mobilized in the service of disaligning and disaffiliative responses (Clayman, 2010, forthcoming) and, in the case of stand-alone chastising recipient names, to get the journalist to align with the president and his course of action, which is to stop the journalist from pursuing an answer.

4.3.2 Refusal Assertions and Insinuations of Wrongdoing on the Part of the Journalist

In this section, I analyze the sentential TCUs the president uses as well as some of their constitutive elements so as to document how President Bush refuses to answer a question while at the same time delegitimizing the question and the questioner. In other words, the practices observed here involve refusal assertions with no explicit accounts. Rather, through the process of delegitimizing the question he is refusing to answer, the president conveys an implicit account: that the question is inappropriate. As pointed out earlier, research thus far has documented how politicians sidestep a question's topic or action agenda (Clayman, 2001; Clayman and Heritage, 2002b; Ekström, 2009). Typically, interviewees will offer an account of why it is they are not answering. These accounts range from "I can't comment on the subject because there is an ongoing investigation or trial/because of issues of national security" to "I have a policy of not

commenting on such matters". The current section seeks to contribute to prior research by analyzing the utterances used in these initial overt refusals to answer as well as in the follow-up sequences that ensue. The analysis reveals how the president manages to delegitimize the journalist's action as well as the journalist himself/herself.

Consider excerpt 4.10 below where David Gregory from NBC News asks the president about a bombing in Syria by Israel. The initial *refusal assertion* is followed by two follow-up questions from Gregory:

Excerpt 4.10

01	J:	u::h, sir, Israeli opposition leader Netanyahu has now spoken openly
02		about Israel's bo:mbing rai:d (.) on a target in Syria earlier in the
03		month(0.2) I wonder if you could (1.0) tell us what the ta:rget wa:s, (0.2)
04		whether you supported (02.) this bombing rai:d, and wha- what
05		do you think it doe:s to change the dynamic in an already ho:t region in
06		terms of (.) Sy:ria and Ira:n and the dispute with Israel and (.) whether
07		the U.S. could be drawn into any of this?
08	B: →	I'm not gonna comment on the matter. (0.5)
09		would you like another question.=
10	J:	= d-didju- didju support it?
11	B: →	No:t gonna co:mment on the ma:tter.
12		(0.3)
13	J:	Can you comment about your concerns that (.) come out of it at all?(0.2)
14		about for the region?
15	B: →	No. (0.8) saying I'm not gonna comment on the matter means I'm not
16		going to comment on the matter. You're welcome to ask another
17		question, if you'd like to, on a different subject.

In line 8, president Bush says he is not going to comment on the matter while offering Gregory the chance to ask another question—as a sort of compensatory gesture or consolation prize. Gregory, however, pursues part of the original question by asking whether he supported the raid to which Bush replies with almost the same utterance "no:t gonna co:mment on the matter". Notice that at this point (lines 13 and 14), Gregory uses a polite question frame when

issuing a second follow-up. This constitutes a more conventionally indirect, more cautious way of delivering a question in the face of a prior refusal. Beyond the general category of deference, these types of other-initiated reference frames (Can you/could you) encode less pressure for a response. They seem to allow for the fact that the president may not in fact be answering this question (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). This more polite, more open question on Gregory's part is answered with a type-conforming answer (No) (Raymond, 2003) plus an explanation of what "not gonna comment" means. Of particular interest here is the fact that in all of president Bush's responses, he consistently refers to the issue of Israel and Syria using noun phrases such as "the matter". As we will see with other examples as well, refusing to label the issue being asked about contributes to the overall refusal to answer without an account. This is a way of doing not answering or commenting, marking the issue as a taboo subject. Notice also how once again, in order to lessen the impact of his refusal, he offers the journalist one more chance to ask a question on a different subject matter (lines 16 and 17).

An overt refusal to answer of the type "I'm not gonna comment on the matter" is not the only type of TCU we find in these particular examples. Excerpt 4.11 is closely related to excerpt 4.10 in both content and sequential organization, but when the journalist insists on pursuing an answer, the president deploys other TCUs that imply he can see the journalist is doing being crafty. This particular interaction took place at a press conference about a month later when once again David Gregory tries to ask the president about Israel and Syria in light of news reports earlier that day.

Excerpt 4.11

01	J:	uh:b there's a report today from uh Israel Army Radio indicating that the
02		Sy:rians ha:ve confi:rmed that the Israelis struck a:: nuclear site in their
03		country. You wouldn't comment on that before, and I'm
04		wondering if no:w, on the ge:neral question, you think it's appropriate
05		for Israel to take such action if it feels that they are- there is mortal

06 danger being pos[ed to the state].
07 B: [hhhh]
08 B: → uh, David, my position ha'n't changed.
(1.0)
09 J: Can I ask you whether you [su-
10 B: → [You can ask me another question.
11 J: But I'm asking you now, as you look back at it, do you think it was-it
12 was the right action for Israel to take?
13 B: → David, I'm not going to comment on the subject that you're trying to
14 get me to comment on.
((Several lines omitted))
36 B: [Thank you]
37 J: [Why won't you.] But isn't it-isn't it a fair question to say, is it-given all
38 the talk about Iran and the potential threat whether it would be:
39 appropriate [for Israel to act
40 B: [Hey, Dave.
41 B: Dave.
42 J: in [self-defense]
43 B: → [I understand I- .hh]
44 J: [if-if Iran] were to
45 B: → [I-I understand]
46 B: → [I understand where you're trying to take]
47 J: [develop nuclear weapons]
48 B: → I understand where you're trying to take. It's a clever ruse to get me to
49 comment on it, but I'm not going to.

We see in line 8 that Bush starts out by stating that his position has not changed. Given the fact that a month before he had refused to "comment on the matter", we infer here from line 8 that he is not going to comment on the matter at this time either. In line 9, Gregory tries to ask a follow up using an other-referencing questioning frame (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b), but is intercepted by Bush who format ties (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987) part of Gregory's utterance to grant him the possibility of asking another question.

In the ensuing interaction (lines 11-12 and omitted lines), Gregory uses a past event (a similar incident in 1981) to elicit the president's opinion on the current issue he is trying to ask about. At this point, Bush delivers lines 13 and 14, where he refuses to answer without an

account and also resists labeling the issue he is being asked about by referring to it as "the subject". Notice that unlike excerpt 4.10, in this particular case he adds the clause "that you are trying to get me to comment on". This metalinguistic commentary turns the tables. By referring to what the journalist is "trying to do", Bush shifts the focus off from what *he* is trying to do (which is to evade the question). The journalist then is no longer "asking a question" but trying to trap the president. This resurfaces in lines 43-49 where Bush states he understands what Gregory is trying to get him to do, and characterizes this maneuver on the part of the journalist as a "clever ruse" (line 48), thus implying the journalist is doing something sneaky or guileful.

In excerpt 4.12 (from the same press conference as excerpt 4.11), notice how president Bush characterizes the journalist's move as "trying to pull a Gregory". This comment is in reference to David Gregory and his question about Israel and Syria. Once more, the president implies that there is something sneaky or underhanded about trying to get him to answer a question like that:

Excerpt 4.12

01	J:	Let-let's stay with the nuclear thing here. When North Korea tested (.) a
02		nuclear device, you said that a:ny proliferation would be a grave threat
03		to the U.S., and North Korea would be responsible for the
04		consequences. Are you deny:ing that North Korea has a:ny role in the
05		suspected nuclear facilities in Syria,
06	B: →	See::, you're trying to pull a Gre:gory.
07	J:	Ye:s, I a:m.
08	B: →	Okay, well, I'm not going to fall for it.

The phrase "pulling a Gregory" seems to index a well-established practice in this particular setting: that of asking questions about issues that the president does not want to comment on. The fact that the president considers this practice to be a clever exercise or game in getting him to answer questions like the ones posed by these journalists is strengthened by the

fact that when the journalist confirms she is “trying to pull a Gregory”, president Bush says he is not going to “fall for it”, that is, he is not going to fall into the trap.

These excerpts have illustrated how the president used refusal assertions to first refuse to answer a question and second to convey that the question was inappropriate, thereby also providing a characterization of the questioner. The shape of the initial refusals may be a refusal assertion such as “I’m not gonna comment on the matter” or “I’m not gonna talk about it”. When pressed further, he may produce full or partial repetitions. As the examples show, in some instances he offers the journalist another chance to ask a question on a different subject as a compensatory gesture. And in some instances, he resorts to the use of metacommentary (e.g. It’s a clever ruse to get me to comment on it” or “See, “you’re trying to pull a Gregory”) to convey the journalist is crossing a line. In addition, as stated earlier, he consistently uses indexicals such as “it”, “the matter”, “the subject” to refer to the issue being asked about, thus avoiding to name it, thereby resisting the action and topic agenda of the question.

I reiterate that these quite explicit refusals are not accompanied by explicit accounts. Rather, they are followed by oblique accounts insinuating there is something illegitimate about the question that the journalist is asking. What is the implication of giving an indirect account? If the president had provided no account at all, he would have put himself in a vulnerable position in the eyes of the media and the American public. However, by giving an indirect or oblique account, he insinuates that there is a good reason for not providing an answer.

4.4 The Refusal to Answer: Semiotic Resources in the Sequential Organization of Question Evasion and Resistance

In this section of the chapter, I conduct a more thorough analysis of the multimodal sequential organization of the refusal to answer without an account. While in the previous

section, I focused the analysis on the use of recipient names and particular linguistic formulations, the picture offered to the reader was rather partial since the refusal to answer is not only accomplished through the talk but through the deployment of other modalities, such as particular facial displays, prosody, hand gestures and laughter. The inclusion of these modalities in the analysis contributes to a more complete representation of the anatomy of president Bush's refusals to answer and his characterizations of the journalists and their actions.

We already considered the case of the Valerie Plame/Scooter Libby scandal in the opening pages. Now, let us examine other examples, parts of which have been presented in the previous section. The following two examples come from two consecutive press conferences (separated by about a month). In addition to the utterances President Bush utilizes to construct his refusal to answer, we will examine how his facial displays, hand gestures, body posture and intonation contribute to build a communicative project that is quite at odds with that of the journalist.

Excerpt 4.13 comes from a Sept. 20, 2007 press conference when president Bush calls on NBC's David Gregory. Of particular interest is that the starting sequence begins with Bush welcoming Gregory back to the White House and teasing him about "doing those shows," apparently making reference to Gregory's appearances in the Chris Matthews show and the like:

Excerpt 4.13.1

01 B: Da:vid (.)We:lcome ba:ck.
02 J: Thank you, Mr. Pre[sident.]
03 B: [Where've]ya been?
04 J: I've been around (.) ° been around.
05 B: You've been doing tho:se sho::ws ((subtle smile after "tho:se sho::ws))

06 ((Laughter from White House Press Corps))

Following this personal and light-hearted opening in line 7, Gregory moves to asking the question proper. The subject matter is Israel's controversial bombing of a target in Syria (excerpt 4.13.2). As soon as Bush hears "Israel's opposition leader Netanyahu", the joking disposition he had just displayed gives way to a set of very serious facial displays:

Excerpt 4.13.2

withdraws gaze from journalist

transition facial display from non-serious to serious

fig.1

fig.2

fig. 3

fig. 4

07 J: u::h, sir, Israeli opposition leader Netanyahu has now spoken openly about Israel's

in all framegrabs lips/eyebrows and gaze display displeasure/annoyance

fig.5

fig.6

fig.7

08 bo:mbing rai:d (.) on a target in Syria earlier in the month(0.2) I wonder if you could (1.0) tell

fig.8

fig.9

fig.10

09 us what the ta:rget wa:s, (0.2) whether you supported (02.) this bombing rai:d, and wha- what

fig. 11

fig. 12

10 do you think it doe:s to change the dynamic in an already ho:t region in terms of (.) Sy:ria and Ira:n and the dispute with Israel and (.) whether the U.S. could be drawn into any of this?

The facial shots above display Bush's discomfort with Gregory's question. Each figure was placed at a point in the unfolding turn where Bush looked towards the journalist (figures 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 12) or away from him (figures 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11). All the facial displays reveal facial muscles that people usually move when displaying anger, contempt or disgust (Ekman, 1975)[8].

[8] Starting with the top part of the facial area, the eyebrows are drawn down and together. This particular feature becomes more pronounced from figure 3 to figure 12. The eyebrows are angled downwards (figures 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) or they are lowered in a flat fashion (Ekman, 1975, p.82). If we now look at the eyes, the eyelids are tensed and whenever Bush looks at Gregory, he stares out in a penetrating or hard fashion (Ekman, 1975, p.83). This is particularly clear in figures 1, 5, 8, 10 and 12. Further down the face, we get to the mouth area. We notice throughout that the lips are pressed against each other with the edges turning slightly downward. Bush also tenses his jaw as well. The muscle movements in these three areas of the face, coupled with other features like withdrawing

The questioning turn contains two distinct parts. First, in lines 7-8, Gregory delivers a preface where he states that Benjamin Netanyahu has "spoken openly" about an Israeli strike of a Syrian target. With this statement, Gregory establishes the legitimacy of the questions he will ask, and establishes that it is a matter than can be openly discussed since the Israeli opposition leader has now spoken on record. Second, he goes on to deliver three (or four if the last part of the turn is considered a separate TCU) questioning TCUs (excerpt 4.13.3 below). When Gregory finishes delivering the question, Bush replies he is not going to comment on the matter (line 11) and offers the journalist a chance to ask another question, once again without providing any accounts for not answering the question. The flat refusal to answer is softened by offering a chance to ask another question:

gaze from the speaker and shifting body posture in a fidgety manner, reveal discomfort on the part of President Bush.

Excerpt 4.13.3

11 B: I'm not gonna comment on the matter. (0.5) would you like another question.=

12 J: = d-didju- didju support it?

13 B: No:t gonna co:mment on the ma:tter.

14 (0.3)

15 J: Can you comment about your concerns that (.) come out of it at all?(0.2) about for the region?

b b b b b b

16 B: No. (0.8) saying I'm not gonna comment on the matter means I'm not going to comment on the
b

17 matter. You're welcome to ask another question, if you'd like to, on a different subject.

From the initial questions Gregory asked, in the first follow up (line 12) he chooses to pursue whether Bush supported the raid. However, Bush repeats in the same tone and with the same facial display that he is not going to comment on the issue, slightly raising his hands from the podium as he says the word "comment". Not satisfied with the president's answer, Gregory delivers a second follow-up using an "other-referencing question frame" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b, p.759) '*can you+ speech act verb'*. As I explained earlier in the chapter, this particular frame makes reference to the president's ability to answer the question and adds an element of indirectness, which performs two functions: 1) it mitigates the forcefulness of the question, and 2) it gives the president the chance to sidestep the issue (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b).

While Gregory says in line 15 "about for the region", Bush shakes his head and moves to answering with a resounding "no", further reiterating his refusal to discuss the matter and making a particular facial display (see circled facial display) with forehead muscles tensed

upwards, intense eyebrow furrowing (right eyebrow tensed more inwards and lower than left eyebrow) and outer edges of lips turned downwards signaling his impatience with the journalist's insistence. The facial display, coupled with the rhythmic hand batons that Bush produces from the outer edge of the podium to the center and back mirror the same disaffiliative stance he displayed as he was listening to the question.

With the following excerpt, we have an opportunity to see a rare phenomenon at work: the same journalist pursuing an answer to a similar question he had asked a month before at a press conference. Excerpt 4.14 below features David Gregory once more pursuing an answer to the question President Bush had refused to answer a month before. Although the content of the inquiry and Bush's response are similar, the sequence following the initial question follows a different trajectory—one where the president employs a different set of semiotic strategies to resist the question's agenda:

Excerpt 4.14.1

01 B: .hhh u::h David. (0.3) Yeah w e:lcome ba::ck.
((members of audience laugh))
02 J: Mr. President, last time you used that line and we were here
((laughter))
03 B: .hhh he he but you know something, the interesting thing about
it is it works every time because .hh he he
((audience laughter))
04 J: I know.
05 B: b-because there's a grain of tru::th (1.1) ((audience laughter))
I won't use it again, though.
((audience laughter))
06 B: eh he he
07 J: uh:b there's a report today from uh Israel Army Radio indicating that the Sy:rians ha:ve confi:rmed that

smiles after Gregory says

09 the Israelis struck a:: nuclear site in their country. You wouldn't comment on that before, and I'm
10 wondering if no:w, on the ge:neral question, you think it's appropriate for Israel to take such action if it
11 feels that they are- there is mortal danger being pos[ed to the state].
12 B: [hhhh] ((raises shoulders while sighing))
13 B: uh, David, my position hadn't changed.
(1.0)
14 J: Can I ask you whether you [su-
15 B: [You can ask me another question.

Once more, the exchange starts with Bush using a line he used at the September 20 news conference, where he welcomed David Gregory back. Both president and journalist engage in this joking sequence (lines 1-6) before Gregory moves on to deliver the questioning turn proper. Lines 7-9 constitute the question preface. Gregory cites Israel Army Radio reporting that the Syrians have confirmed that the Israelis struck a nuclear site in Syria. In excerpt 13, Gregory refers to opposition leader Netanyahu having "spoken openly" on an Israeli bombing raid on a target in Syria. In this case, Gregory cites an Israeli radio report discussing the raid to establish the relevance of the question he is going to ask. Gregory then adds that Bush would not comment on that before (line 9)—a comment which elicits a smile from Bush. The reporter subsequently launches the inquiry using a self-referencing frame (line 10) and a yes-no interrogative that asks Bush to express his opinion "now" (after Netanyahu has spoken openly about it and after Israeli radio has reported on it) about whether or not it is appropriate for Israel to take such action.

On this occasion, president Bush does not use the "I'm not gonna comment" line immediately. Instead, he says his position has not changed while shaking his head. After delivering this line, he nods twice. These nods are interpretable as possible moves to close the sequence—akin to the same effect an "OK?" has in talk. Evidence that the nods indicate he wants to close the sequence comes from another example (excerpt 4.15 below) where he is asked about a question about CIA intelligence[9]:

Excerpt 4.15

01 J: It's widely assumed that the C-CIA operatives are in Pakistan, (0.2) cooperating wi-with the Pa:kista:nis,
02 and that they're sharing everything with you: an-an vice versa. Is tha:t a fai:r assumption?

03 P: .hhhh ah John, what's fai:r is I'm not-what-what-tch you mu:st assu:me is that I'm no:t gonna to ta:lk

04 abou:t ongoing inte:lligence matter(h)s (1.0)

While in this case Bush provides an account for not answering—namely that he is not going to talk about ongoing intelligence matters, the closing facial display with raised eyebrows together with the head nod emphasizes that the matter is closed and that the journalist should not expect an answer from him.

The rest of the sequence in excerpt 4.14 continues (see 4.14.2). We notice Gregory pursues the matter further again by using a self-referencing frame (Can I ask…line 14). Bush intercepts this attempt by offering Gregory the chance to ask another question (just as he did in excerpt 13). In an interesting move, Gregory resorts to asking about a similar incident in the 1980s and whether Bush supported it or not (line 16). This is met with a reply by Bush where he states he does not remember what he was doing back in 1980. He only remembers he was living

[9] I would like to acknowledge Danjie Su from the UCLA Asian Languages and Cultures Department for suggesting I depict eyebrow movement in the eye drawings and for providing a picture model I could imitate.

in Midland, Texas, but does not remember his reaction to the incident. Gregory does not stop there and continues to pursue the matter further, only this time instead of asking the president to remember his reaction to the incident, he asks him what he thinks about it now as president; that is, in a different role. This role invoked by Gregory overlaps with Bush conjuring up the role of "private citizen" (lines 19-20), and further elaboration of what this role was: "family provider/businessman" (line 21). While Gregory tries to use the 80s incident to get Bush's opinion now as president of the United States, Bush continues to remain in the past frame resisting the journalist's attempt to make him reflect on it and voice his opinion.

Excerpt 4.14.2

16	J:	Did you-did you support (0.7) Israel's strike in 1981 on the Iraqi reactor outside Baghdad?
17	B:	.hhhh uhhh you know, Dave, I don't remember what I was doing in 1980. Let's see, I was living in
18		Midland Texas, I don't remember my reaction that far back.
19	J:	Well, but as you look at it as Pres-(.)[President no::w]
20	B:	[private citizen back there]
21		in 1981 in Midland, Texas, trying to make a living for my family and u::h
22	J:	But you're a careful- you know u::h- st- s- st- someone who [studies history]
23		( )
24	B:	[Student of]
25		history. I do, yea::h. No, I don't remember my reaction, [to be frank with you]
26	J:	[But I'm asking you]
27		now, as you look back at it, do you think it was-it was the right action for
28		Israel to take?
		◄ ►
29	B:	David, I'm not going to comment on the subject that you're trying to get me
30		to comment on.

This is not the end of the sequence. Gregory launches a "but" prefaced turn where he praises the president as someone who studies history (line 22). Gregory once more asks for his reaction to the incident "now" as president of the United States (lines 26-28). It is at this point in the interaction that Bush says he is not going to comment. This time, however, instead of saying "I'm not going to comment", he says "I'm not going to comment on the subject that you're trying to get me to comment on" (lines 29-30) while shaking his head for part of the TCU. Bush therefore communicates that he knows what Gregory is trying to get him to do. As I said earlier,

the president refers to the issue as "the subject", avoiding assigning it a label. He follows that with a "thank you" (line 31) that signals he considers the exchange to be over while also signaling to the next journalist to take the next turn.

Nevertheless, Gregory comes in in overlap with a more aggressive pursuit asking for a justification ("Why won't you") and a negative interrogative ("Isn't it a fair question…") (excerpt 4.14.3, lines 32-33).

Excerpt 4.14.3

At this point in the unfolding interaction, Bush shifts his body from right to left, looks at other journalists in the room in an attempt to collude with them by smiling and shrugging. Bush summons Gregory to stop pursuing the matter while shaking his head, but this does not stop Gregory from continuing with his query.

After a series of overlaps (excerpt 4.14.4, lines 36-41 below), Bush gains the floor and engages in meta-commentary on the strategy that the journalist is using to comment on the matter. The first TCU in this turn (line 42) echoes what he said in lines 29-30. The second TCU characterizes the strategy as a "clever ruse" implying that there is something crafty in the journalist's pursuit. Gregory tries one more time, but in this instance wondering why Bush thinks it is not appropriate to make a judgment in this situation (line 43). Bush smiles and fidgets while gazing at the other journalists in the room followed by the chastising use of the recipient's

name with falling intonation while moving his head downwards (line 46). The next turn Bush takes repeats the summons followed by the "welcome back" line he used at the beginning.

Excerpt 4.14.4

36 J: in [self-defense]
37 B: [I understand I- .hh]
38 J: [if-if Iran] were to
39 B: [I-I understand]
40 B: [I understand where you're trying to take]
41 J: [develop nuclear weapons]

42 B: I understand where you're trying to take. It's a clever ruse to get me to comment on it, but I'm not going to.

President smiles

43 J: Well, [I'm just wondering] why you think it's not appropriate to make that judgment when it's a--it is a
44 B: [Thank you.]

raised eyebrows + gaze directed at Gregory
incipient speakership

45 J: real-world scenario, as we know, since they a[pparen]tly
46 B: [Dave.] ((head movement donwards accompanies falling intonation))
47 J: took this action against Sy[ria
48 B: [Dave (1.7) we::lcome ba::ck. ((Laughter))

This incredible exercise in persistent pursuit on the part of the journalist and strong resistance on the part of Bush sheds light on the strategies this journalist uses to elicit a statement from the president on this particular issue. Faced with a similar response to the one he received a month before, Gregory resorts to asking Bush about his reaction to a similar event in the past. This attempt also fails to elicit a response, so the reporter tries to compliment the president (as someone who studies history). When this does not work, Gregory tries to ask Bush what he thinks now about that past incident, thus establishing the relevance for the original question and subsequent pursuits. And when this is met with commentaries from the president about the journalist's strategy being somewhat devious, Gregory becomes more aggressive asking for a

justification. We can also see how the different strategies prompt president Bush to use the "not gonna comment line", meta-commentary, smiling, summons, and humor to stop Gregory from extending this exchange.

The exchange in excerpt 4.16 (from the same press conference as the previous example/Bush Press Conference, October 2007) constitutes an interesting example for how this president characterizes journalist's tactics. Martha Raddatz from ABC News asks the president a question about nuclear proliferation. Raddatz' questioning turn is composed by a preface where she quotes president Bush, followed by a questioning TCU (Y_N interrogative). After looking down at the podium when Raddatz nominates the topic, president Bush looks at her again while producing a frown at the end of the quote. Bush does not wait until the journalist finishes delivering the question and accuses her of "trying to pull a Gregory" (line 5) while he points in the direction where David Gregory is sitting. The journalist confirms that that is what she is doing, and president Bush treats it as a sort of trap that he is not going to fall for (line 7).

Excerpt 4.16.1

01	J:	Let-let's stay with the nuclear thing here. When North Korea tested (.) a nuclear device, you said that a:ny
02		proliferation would be a grave threat to the U.S., and North Korea would be responsible for the
03		consequences. Are you deny:ing that North Korea has a:ny role in the suspected nuclear
04		[facilities inSyria
05	B:	[See::, you're trying to pull a Gre:gory.
06	J:	Ye:s, I a:m.
07	B:	Okay, well, I'm not going to fa[ll for] it.
08	J:	[( )]
09	J:	( )
10	B:	hhh [BUT I here I'D LIKE to talk about
11	J:	[Don't DON'T AMERICANS HAVE A RIGHT to kno:w: abou:t [who] is proliferating,
12	B:	[I-I]
13	J:	[especially] when you're negotiating with
14	B;	[.mhhhh]
15	J:	Nor[th] Korea
16	B:	[No,] you have a right to know this(0.7)tha::t when it comes to the six-party talks, proliferation(0.7)the
17		issue of proliferation has equal importance with the issue of weaponry...

As it was stated at the beginning, although these exchanges are not arguments, they do contain argument-like features. Goodwin and Goodwin (1990) observed that one characteristic of oppositional exchanges is "the way in which the talk of the moment constitutes those who are present to it" (p. 85). It has been argued thus far that President Bush employs a number of strategies to delegitimize the question and the journalist who delivered it. In this example, he manages to delegitimize both by comparing Raddatz move to Gregory's prior moves. Bush is recognizing a type of genre or typical practice in the presidential news conference setting by saying that Raddatz is "trying to pull a Gregory". This metacommentary constitutes the journalist participants as being crafty and trying to set a trap.

A tangentially related example points to the fact that Bush very often tends to treat journalists' questions as traps he is not going to fall into. Notice the following sequence where after a quite long questioning turn, the president predicts that this journalist will try to make him comment about the upcoming primaries and presidential election and hopes he will "be disciplined enough not to fall prey to [your] question, not to fall into that trap" (lines 14-15):

Excerpt 4.17

01 J: Sir, on Monday at Camp David, when you met with President Karzai from Afghanistan, you were asked if
02 you had actionable intelligence in Pakistan of top Al Qaida leaders, would you take action unilaterally,
03 if in fact you felt that President Musharraf simply, for one reason or another, just simply couldn't get his
04 people there in time, would you move in? And you said, if we had actionable-good, actionable intelligence,
05 we would get the job done. My question one is (0.2) who is "we"? Does that we include the Pakistanis or if
06 if-because the question says ya know Musharraf wouldn't be able to be in wudja wudja do it unilaterally.
07 And one reason this is a hot question this week is that one of the Democratic Presidential candidates,
08 Barack Obama, talked about taking unilateral action. He kind of got beaten up by people in the
09 Democratic Party and by Mitt Romney in your party, Romney comparing him to Dr. Strangelove.
10 I don't know if you would agree with that, or if you would feel [( )]
11 B: [JOHN], I suspect that over the course of
12 the next months, when I hold a press conference, you'll be trying to get me to engage in Presidential
13 politics trying to get me to opine about what candidates are saying, whether they be Republicans or
14 Democrats. And hopefully I'll be disciplined enough not to fall prey to your question, not to fall into that
15 trap.

Going back to excerpt 4.16.1, immediately after delivering line 7, the president tries to change the topical and action agenda of the question by proposing what he would like to talk about (line 10). The journalist overlaps with him (line 11) asking a negatively-formulated yes-no question, questions that are understood by recipients to encode a preference for a yes response and are seen as opinionated (Heritage, 2002b). Notice that in this case, Bush does not refuse to answer. He produces a type-conforming response (Raymond, 2003). The next TCU is format-tied to part of the journalist's question. Format tying tends to appear in environments where there is disaffiliation (Goodwin, 1990).

After providing a response and changing the topical agenda of the question, Bush gestures to the next journalist (Elaine Quijano) signaling that it is her turn to ask a question. Raddatz decides to pursue the issue by asking whether Syria was part of the talks. She starts asking the first question in the past tense when as the president is retracting his pointing gesture. Bush looks at her, bites his lower lip, withdraws gaze from Raddatz and gestures towards (Elaine) Quijano to take her turn. Raddatz redoes the question using the present tense. Bush quickly gazes at her again while uttering the word "proliferation" in line 20 while returning his gaze and pointing gesture to the other journalist (Quijano) towards the end of the turn.

The journalist issues another follow-up in the form of a phrasal TCU with rising intonation. At this point, Bush decides to make a comment about the fact that he knows what Gregory and Raddatz are trying to do by saying this is not his first rodeo[10] (excerpt 4.16.2

[10] "This ain't my first rodeo" is the name of a song by country music artist Vern Gosdin. The lyrics to the song are about how experienced this person is.
"This ain't the first time this old cowboy's been throwed
This ain't the first I've seen this dog and pony show
Honey,This ain't my first rodeo"

below). The embodied stance display here is interesting in the sense that he raises both his hands to refer to Raddatz and Gregory. He then uses a line he has used before “And I know where you’re trying to get me to comment” (line 24). At this point, he summons the journalist to stop pursuing the matter both with his talk and a hand gesture that signals stop (lines 28-30).

Excerpt 4.16.2

18 B: And if NOT, there will be consequences to the North Korea::ns.

19 J: Was Syria part of those talks?(.) Is Syria part of the talks?

looks at Martha gazes at Elaine

20 B: Prolifera:tion (0.3) is a part of the tal[ks.

21 J: [Including Syria?

22 B: Elaine, look, y'see: .hhh (.)

23 B: look in all due respect to you and Gregory hhh,(.) this is no::t my first ro:deo:. ((1.1/Audience Laughter))

24 B: A:nd I know where you're trying to get me to comment.

25 B: I'd-I'm not gonna comment on it. [one way or the other.]

26 J: [But, Mr. President,] your -YOUR

27 B: [Elaine]

28 J: [administra]tion has talked about [mushroom clouds in the]

29 B: [Thank you. (.) Martha]

30 B: Martha, thank you. Elaine.

4.6 Discussion

While in the 1950s presidents and political figures were not necessarily held accountable by the press for their actions, today as Clayman and Heritage (2006) have pointed out, the contract between journalists and public figures has changed. Through their questioning, journalists express that the press and the public are entitled to receive an answer to their inquiries and treat the politician as obligated to provide an answer. Given the current rules of the game, Bush's "not gonna comment" flat refusal constituted a breach of that contract.

President Bush did not only refuse to answer without an account, he also did it using somewhat unconventional strategies. As we saw in the examples here, after the initial refusal *assertion* (with a formulation like "I'm not gonna comment on the matter"), he turned to other tactics when journalists pursued the topic with follow-up questions or comment. One strategy he deployed throughout the sequences analyzed here was the use of recipient names. Whether in initial or final position, the use of recipient names signal disalignment and disaffiliation, contributing to mark a departure from the goal of the communicative project as set by the journalist. Stand alone recipient names—which I call chastising use of recipient names—went further in sanctioning the action of the journalist as well as his character.

In addition to the use of recipient names, the president used insinuations in response to pressure from journalists to answer a question. These typically included formulations like "I know what you are trying to get me to do", "It's a clever ruse", I'm not gonna fall for it" and so on. Like the chastising use of recipient names, these formulations served not only to cast the question of the journalist as an inappropriate question but also to call into question the character of the journalist him/herself; that is to delegitimize the question and the questioner. In doing so, he defused attention from the fact that he was not answering in favor of a perception that the

journalist was doing something crafty. In defining a competitive communicative project, Linell (1998) argued that they are "like a tennis match, in which opponents do their best to outdo each other, while at the same time following the rules of the game; without the rule following, the game is gone, and with it the possibilities of winning the game (p. 225)". In the cases studied here, the president tries to outdo the journalist by not following the same set of rules. The various strategies (such as the use of recipient names, particular facial displays or use of prosody) highlight that this is an asymmetrical relationship, where one party (the president) deploys strategies such as calling the journalist by his first name when the reverse is not true.

In the last section of the analysis, I returned to an examination of different semiotic resources to argue how the ridiculing and delegitimizing of the questions/questioners is not accomplished through the talk alone. The activity-occupied pauses (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986) filled by particular facial displays (Excerpt 4.2) with eyebrows raised and disapproving gaze (much akin to "the look" in Kidwell (2005)) serve to cast the insistence of the journalist on pursuing an answer as something not appropriate. Attempts at collusion with the audience together with smiling and laughter (Excerpt 4.14) as well as use of prosody (Excerpt 4.2) served the same purpose. That is, the president used all these strategies to signal that a given question did not warrant a response. Schegloff (2007) observed that "not answering a question is truly a way of distancing oneself from the first pair part and not doing what is being asked" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 59). The president here went a step further by also managing to delegitimize those journalists who insisted that the questions they asked were relevant, legitimate and in need of a straight response.

Chapter 5

Questioning Presidents in Solo and Joint Press Conferences 1989-2011

5.1 Introduction

As stated in the opening to this dissertation, one of the aims of this investigation is to examine journalistic behavior in solo vs. joint press conferences to see whether journalists are less aggressive when questioning presidents when the latter give a joint press conference with another head of state. The impetus for investigating joint press conferences is the fact that over the past twenty years, the number of solo news conferences has dwindled as the White House has experimented with other formats that might give the president more control, such as short question-answer sessions and joint presidential news conferences. These joint press sessions accounted for 34% of all the George H. W. Bush press conferences, 67% of Clinton's press conferences in his first term, 80% of all the press conferences during George W. Bush's first term and 56% of all the conferences held during the first three and a half years of the Obama presidency.

Table 5.1 Percent distribution of solo and joint press conferences by president January 1989-June 2012

President/Format	Solo	Joint
George H.W. Bush	66% (89)	34% (45)
William J. Clinton	33% (44)	67% (88)
George W. Bush	20% (18)	80% (71)
Barack H. Obama (up to June 2012)	44% (32)	56% (40)

Washington Post's Dan Froomkin (2004) characterized the world leaders who appeared along with president George W. Bush at a joint press conference as "unwitting foils", suggesting

that the tightly controlled joint press session does not afford journalists the possibility of exercising their watchdog role. In addition, in recent decades, it has become more and more common for the president to hold press conference outside of Washington and outside the United States. In light of these developments, the main objective of this chapter is to examine joint and solo presidential news conferences since the George H. W. Bush presidency onwards to determine whether the increasing use of this format is associated with a lower level of aggressiveness in journalists' questions. The hypothesis advanced here is that questioning in joint press conferences is less aggressive than in solo press conferences because the occasion proves to be more formal and because the questions in joint press conferences are mostly about foreign affairs or the military. The fact that questions about foreign affairs tend to be less aggressive was revealed by studies which have found that politics stop at the water's edge, that is, journalists are not as aggressive when asking questions about foreign affairs as they are when they ask about domestic affairs questions (Bennett and Paletz, 1994; Clayman et al., 2006, Zelizer and Allan, 2002, to name some)

5.2 Previous Studies of Questioning in Presidential News Conferences and Purpose of this Study

As already explained in the introduction to this dissertation, conversation analytic studies of questioning in institutional and non-institutional settings formed the basis for a number of groundbreaking studies examining the rise in the level of aggressiveness in journalistic questioning in solo press conferences in the United States over a span of 50 years (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b; Clayman et al., 2006; Clayman et al., 2007; Clayman and Heritage, 2009; Clayman et al., 2010; Clayman et al., 2012; Clayman and Heritage, forthcoming)[11].

[11] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Clayman & Heritage and Clayman et al. studies.

While progress has been made in the study of solo press conferences, the analysis of joint presidential news conferences has just started to receive attention. To date, only one quantitative study (Banning and Billingsley, 2007) compared solo and joint press conferences in the United States using the Clayman and Heritage coding system (2002b)[12]. With respect to initiative (as indicated by multiple questions, use of prefaces and follow-up questions), the results showed that journalists tended to ask more multiple questions in joint press conferences than in solo press conferences; however, they were less likely to ask follow-up questions when the president appeared alongside a foreign dignitary. The difference in the level of assertiveness—as indicated by negatively formulated questions in this study—in both conference formats was negligible. Banning and Billingsley (2007) concluded that since assertiveness is contextually sensitive (Clayman et al., 2007), events like the 911 terrorist attacks may have had an impact on this particular outcome. With regards to directness, the study found that reporters in solo press conferences were less direct, which led these researchers to conclude that this may be so due to the fact that reporters think they need to be more deferential when the president appears solo. In addition to this, they found that journalists were more adversarial in solo press conferences. This was indicated by questions with hostile prefaces or questions whose content explicitly criticized the president or his administration. The findings for this dimension highlight the benefits of appearing alongside another head of state. Accountability questions were also more prevalent in solo press conferences. Banning and Billingsley (2007) concluded that journalists are much more likely to ask aggressive questions in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences.

This comparative study, however, suffers from a number of weaknesses: a) the final sample is very small (only 8 press conferences out of 89 from 2000 to 2004 were studied), with

[12] As it will be explained later on in more detail (Section 5.4), this Clayman/Heritage (2002b, 2006) coding system groups indicators into five outcome measures: initiative, directness, assertiveness, adversarialness and accountability.

the final sample consisting of 111 questions from solo press conferences and 22 from joint press conferences, b) two indicators of aggressiveness (question prefaces and preface tilt) were discarded because of a lack of consistency in the coding of the questions, and c) they offer no explanations as to why questioning is less aggressive. Despite these shortcomings, the study is a first attempt at examining this phenomenon.

The current chapter contributes to the growing research on president press relations by comparing joint and solo press conferences spanning four presidencies and starting with the first administration to have adopted joint press conferences—the George H.W. Bush presidency. In this way, the study covers a much larger time span than the one Banning and Billingsley did. Like the Banning and Billingsley study, the main purpose is to establish whether the presence of another head of state prompts the White House Press Corps to be less aggressive. However, one additional element that is important to consider and that adds a wrinkle to this investigation is the role played by question content. As previously stated, foreign affairs/military affairs questions have been found to be less aggressive. Besides the fact that joint press conferences are much shorter in length, does question content then account for the lower levels of aggressiveness?

5.3 Data and Methodology

5.3.1 Sample

The study encompasses the presidencies of George H.W. Bush, William J. Clinton, George W. Bush, and the first three years of Barack Obama's presidency. Solo press conferences typically contain between 25 and 35 questions while joint press conferences usually contain approximately 10 or fewer (going as low as 2 questions in the last 2 administrations). Conferences were selected through random sampling (oversampling joint press conferences). For solo press conferences, the first 10 questions of each press conference in the sample were coded.

However, for joint press conferences –because the number of questions is significantly smaller— all the questions addressed to the president of the United States by American journalists were coded. The final sample consists of a total of 509 questions (284 questions from solo press conferences and 225 questions from joint press conferences). While doing the coding, I watched most of the press conferences (only a few were not available on video) as this allowed for the detection of errors in the transcripts and the coding of details that were not reflected in the transcript (e.g. journalist's name and news outlet they work(ed) for). Table 5.2 shows the total number of questions from solo and joint press conference coded for each president.

Table 5.2 Percent Distribution of Questions by President

President	n	%
George H. W. Bush	132	26%
William J. Clinton	133	26%
George W. Bush	121	24%
Barack H. Obama	123	24%

The transcripts were obtained from the UCSB Presidency Project website (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/index.php) or from Public Papers of the President of the United States. Most videos for the press conferences were accessed or downloaded from the White House website, CSPAN, CNN Image Source or PBS News Hour.

5.3.2 Methodology

To reiterate what was described in Chapter 1, I used a slightly modified version of Clayman & Heritage's framework (2002b, 2006) for coding questions as it captures formal features of question design (e.g., whether or not journalists issue multiple questions, or questions with prefatory remarks). These features can be observed across questions and presidents;

therefore, they are more concrete and reliable (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a, 2002b) than the typical content analysis done in fields like Political Communication. In addition, examining these five dimensions separately permits to see how features vary across press conference formats. Descriptions and examples of these features can be found in the following section.

Reliability was evaluated by recoding 10% of the sample, using Cohen's Kappa to assess the level of agreement. Of the ten discrete indicators, five exceeded the .90 threshold (follow-up qs, multiple qs, q preface, negatively-formulated qs and other-referencing frames), three others exceeded .75 (preface hostility, accountability, global hostility), and two exceeded .65 (self-referencing frames and preface tilt).

5.4 Dimensions of Aggressiveness and their Indicators

Clayman and Heritage (2002b) and Clayman et al. (2006) identified a major gap in the study of questions in presidential news conferences by observing that the typical analysis classifies questions based on content alone, and has not looked at the formal features of question design. In contrast, the coding system developed by these two researchers (2002b, 2006) based on studies of question design in institutional and non-institutional settings decomposes aggressive questioning into five outcome measures; the first three dimensions (initiative, assertiveness and directness) are concerned with the actual grammatical design of the questions; the last two (adversarialness and accountability) with their content. In Chapter 1, I briefly introduced the reader to the coding system. The following is a more detailed description of the questioning dimensions developed by Clayman and Heritage (2002b) using examples from the joint and solo press conferences corpus from this study:

Initiative

The level of initiative is evidenced by whether or not questions place constraints on the president's answer. Journalists could choose to be more passive by allowing presidents relative freedom in crafting a response (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). When exercising initiative, a journalist is seen as more enterprising, setting a more constrained agenda through his or her question(s). The indicators in this dimension are question complexity (that is whether the questioning turn is elaborate either because it contains multiple questions or a preface or both) and follow-up questions (when journalists regain the floor to ask about a more substantial matter or to raise a related matter). The following examples illustrate these features:

Multiple Questions and Background Statements

Sometimes a questioning turn can contain multiple questions in it like in the following example. Note that each question has been bolded:

Excerpt 5.1
Clinton PPP, February 15 1994

Q: Mr. President, there's a G-7 meeting on Saturday in Frankfurt. It's supposed to focus on Russian aid. **Do we go to that meeting with any particular proposition on the speed of aid or the conditionality of aid to Russia?** And also, at that meeting, Bentsen will be meeting with Japanese Finance Minister Fujii regarding the failed trade talks, framework talks. **Do you see the Gephardt and Rockefeller open markets still being helpful to your mission to open markets in Japan? Do you support that?**

Multipart questions like this one place considerable demands on the president. Oftentimes presidents make comments about the fact the journalist is asking more than one question like in the example below:

Excerpt 5.2
Bush-Blair JPP, July 19 2001

Q: I have a three-part question for you, Mr. President, and a one- part question for you, Prime Minister Blair.

B: **Wait a minute, that's four questions.**

Q: Well, no, it's essentially one question

B: Okay, good.

Q: in three parts. ((Laughter)) I'm wondering, sir, how it is that it's taking you so long to make a decision on whether or not to continue embryonic stem cell research. What is the basis of the-this compromise that we've heard about? And now that Senator Frist has joined Senator Hatch and former Reaganites in supporting a continuation of funding for embryonic stem cell research, do you believe you now have enough political cover on the right to make a decision in the affirmative? And Prime Minister Blair, as some U.S. laboratories, in anticipation of a negative decision, have started the process to move to Great Britain, I'd like to know your position on embryonic stem cell research in the context of the global advancement of science.

Sometimes a questioning turn is elaborated with a background statement. Clayman and Heritage (2002b) observe that such statements give contextual background information to the audience and establish the relevance of the questions asked. Very often, these statements are used to present information that is hostile to the president and to exert pressure for a response (Heritage, 2002a) as we will see in examples in different dimensions of aggressiveness. Notice how elaborate the following question preface is, first quoting the president, followed by facts and a statement of what people might be wondering:

Excerpt 5.3
George H.W. Bush PPP, June 4 1992

Q: **You mentioned a moment ago the polls, the 70-percent figure about the economy. But you know, the cold war is over. Desert Storm has become pretty much a faded memory for many Americans. And people are turning inward and asking, "Well, Mr. President, what have you done for us lately?" More than 80 percent of the American people now feel that the United States is on the wrong track.** How, between now and November, are you going to convince Americans that they are better off than they were 4 years ago?

Another way of exercising initiative is by issuing a follow-up question like in the following example:

Follow-up Question

Excerpt 5.4
George H.W. Bush PPP, June 4 1992

Q: Mr. President, in the interest of party unity and since he has indicated that he is going to endorse you at the Houston convention, would you like Pat Buchanan to have the prime-time speech that he wants to have at the Republican Convention in August?
P: Susan [Susan Spencer, CBS News], I'll be honest with you, I haven't focused on that at all. I welcome the support of all Republicans. Let's see how he handles this, and let the people handling the convention work it out. That is not on my agenda.
Q: **With the benefit of hindsight, do you think his primary challenge was damaging to you or helpful or what?**
P: Well, I can't say it was particularly helpful….

Follow-up questions display initiative on the part of the journalist in the sense that they exceed the one-turn-per-journalist rule. In addition, follow-ups often treat a president's response as not sufficiently adequate (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). Follow-up questions are not as common in presidential news conferences as they are in news interviews, but journalists—especially those most familiar with the president—usually get away with asking one or several follow-up questions.

Directness

Research on directness has revealed that interactants tend to be more indirect when asking questions or making requests. This displays politeness and lessens the impact of the imposition created by the question or the request (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In the environment of the presidential news conference, indirectness is often packaged in the form of a phrase, clause or sentence that precedes the focal question (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). The

degree of directness is measured by looking at whether the question is blunt or cautious when raising an issue. Here the indicators that are examined are the use of self-referencing frames (e.g. I wonder, I want/would like to ask, Can/Could/May I ask) that invoke a journalist's intentions or desires and other-referencing frames (Can you/Could you or Will you/Would you…) which make reference to the president's ability to answer the question (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). Notice the use of self-referencing frames in the following example:

Self-Referencing Frames

Excerpt 5.5
Obama PPP November 3, 2010
Q: Thank you, Mr. President. Health care—as you're well aware, obviously, a lot of Republicans ran against your health care law. Some have called for repealing the law. **I'm wondering,** sir, if you believe that health care reform, that you worked so hard on, is in danger at this point and whether there's a threat as a result of this election?

As stated above, journalists also employ other-referencing frames, which invoke the president's ability or willingness to answer (e.g. Can you/Could you tell us; Will you/Would you tell us). In the following example, the journalist uses one of these other-referencing frames followed by a speech act verb (tell):

Other Referencing Frames

Excerpt 5.6
Clinton PPP, January 9 1996
Q: Mr. President, **could you tell us** whether the offer that you made at the start of today's meeting was a full-blown counter to the offer that the Republicans had made over the weekend? And secondly, could you describe, at least to some extent, the idea that you outlined at the end of the meeting?

Among self-referencing frames, "I wonder/was wondering" frames are more direct than the "could I ask you…" frames, which approximate a request for permission (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). Among other-referencing frames, "could you/can you" frames are

less deferential than the "would you/will you" frames in that they "license external circumstances as an account for not answering" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b, p.760). The "would you/will you" frames make it possible for the president to refuse to answer as a matter of personal choice (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b).

Assertiveness

What the analyst examines here is whether a question presses for a particular answer and is thus more opinionated than neutral. Only yes-no questions are taken into account in this dimension, as studying wh-questions poses some problems. Yes/No questions can be built to press for a yes or no answer through 1) prefaces, or 2) through the linguistic form of the question. That is to say a preface can tilt a question towards a yes or a no response. In addition to this, the question itself can invite a particular answer (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). For example, a journalist may choose to issue a negative yes-no question, which is understood by a recipient to express a very strong point of view (Heritage, 2002b).

Consider the following example where the questioning turn contains a preface that tilts the question to a yes response:

Preface Tilt

Excerpt 5.7
George W. Bush PPP, February 14 2007
Q: **Thank you, sir. I'd like to follow on Iran. Critics say that you are using the same quality of intelligence about Iran that you used to make the case for war in Iraq, specifically about WMD that turned out to be wrong, and that you are doing that to make a case for war against Iran.** Is that the case?

This preface contains a third party attributed statement citing critics who say that president George W. Bush was using faulty intelligence like he did in Iraq to make a case for war against Iran. This preface is hostile in character and tilted against the president and toward a

proposition that is damaging to him, namely, that he is using faulty intelligence as an excuse to go to war. The ensuing question invites confirmation of the proposition asserted in the preface.

Another tactic for exercising assertiveness is to formulate a question as a negative interrogative. As it was pointed out above, this format is understood by a recipient to embody a very strong opinion on the part of the journalist. Clayman and Heritage's (2002b) example from a Clinton press conference illustrates this feature very well when after hearing a negative interrogative, president Clinton starts his turn with an overt expression of disagreement:

Negatively Formulated Questions

Excerpt 5.8
Clinton PPP, March 7 1997

Q Mr. President, in your zeal for funds during the last campaign, didn't you put the Vice President and Maggie and all the others in your administration topside in a very vulnerable position?
C: **I disagree with that.** How are we vulnerable because…

Another example comes from an Obama press conference where the journalist wonders if Obama would be more productive by trying to work with Congress to pass legislation instead of going around the country accusing some members of the opposition of blocking everything:

Excerpt 5.9
Obama PPP, October 6 2011
Q: [some lines omitted] And secondly, on your jobs bill, the American people are sick of games, and you mentioned games in your comments. They want results. **Wouldn't it be more productive to work with Republicans on a plan that you know could pass Congress as opposed to going around the country talking about your bill and singling out—calling out Republicans by name?**
O: [several lines addressing the first question have been omitted] Now, with respect to working with Congress, I think it's fair to say that I have gone out of my way in every instance sometimes at my own political peril and to the frustration of Democrats, to work with Republicans to find common ground to move this country forward, in every

> instance, whether it was during the lame duck session, when we were able to get an agreement on making sure that the payroll tax was cut in the first place and making sure that unemployment insurance was extended, to my constant efforts during the debt ceiling to try to get what's been called a grand bargain in which we had a balanced approach to actually bringing down our deficit and debt in a way that wouldn't hurt our recovery.
> Each time, what we've seen is games-playing, a preference to try to score political points rather than actually get something done on the part of the other side. And that has been true not just over the last 6 months; that's been true over the last 21/2 years. Now, the bottom line is this: Our doors are open. And what I've done over the last several weeks is to take the case to the American people so that they understand what's at stake. It is now up to all the Senators and, hopefully, all the Members of the House to explain to their constituencies why they would be opposed to commonsense ideas that historically have been supported by Democrats and Republicans in the past. Why would you be opposed to tax cuts for small businesses and tax cuts for American workers?

Notice here that while Obama does not overtly disagree like Clinton did in the example prior to this one, he stresses how much he has tried to work with the opposition to no avail and tries to establish the relevance of taking the case to the American people.

Adversarialness: in this dimension, the focus is on whether a question sets an agenda in opposition to the president or his administration, and whether this is done in the preface or in the design of the question as a whole. Prefaces could disagree with the president or be extremely critical of the administration. The subsequent question may focus on the preface treating it as debatable, or it may presuppose the truth of the preface making it more aggressive. In the following example, the question preface highlights the fact that the administration issues empty threats, causing a lack of credibility:

Preface Hostility

Excerpt 5.10
Clinton PPP, October 7 1994
Q: **Over the past 20 months, Mr. President, some people would say that you have made very strong threats against the Bosnian aggressors; that you have warned North Korea not to build even one nuclear bomb, yet now there's acknowledgement that they at least have one, if not more; there have been threats against aggressors in Haiti and compromise, leaving the option for the leaders to stay there.** To what extent would you say that it is fair criticism that Saddam Hussein might be testing you because this country has not been strong enough in responding to aggression and to aggressive threats?

Questions can also be examined in terms of their global hostility. In this case, the question and any prefaces in the questioning turn must contain statements or propositions that highlight difficulties, contradictions between the president's words and deeds, disagreements within the administration or that simply challenge the president. In the following example, the preface contains a contrastive statement pitting the president's claims against facts that the journalist cites. The prefatory statement also contains third-party attributed statements that are very critical of the president's budget. The ensuing question—a negative interrogative—challenges the president:

Global Hostility

Excerpt 5.11
Obama PPP, March 24 2009
Q: Thank you, Mr. President. At both of your town hall meetings in California last week you said, "I didn't run for President to pass on our problems to the next generation." But under your budget the debt will increase $7 trillion over the next 10 years; the Congressional Budget Office says $9.3 trillion. And today on Capitol Hill some Republicans called your budget, with all the spending on health care, education and the environment, the most irresponsible budget in American history. Isn't that

kind of debt exactly what you were talking about when you said "passing on our problems to the next generation"?

Accountability:

In this last dimension, a question is examined to see whether it is asking the president to justify his policies or actions. Typical formats include: "Why did you do X?" "How could you do X?", and "How is it possible for you to do X?" This type of questions are not very common. The first example below presents the more hostile type of accountability question (How can you?):

Excerpt 5.12
Obama PPP, February 15 2011
Q: A little fine print, a little fine print in the budget, Mr. President. You said that this budget is not going to add to the credit card as of about the middle of the decade. And as Robert Gibbs might say, I'm not a budget expert, and I'm not an economist, but if you could just explain to me how you can say that when, if you look on one page, page 171, which I'm sure you've read (*laughter*) it is the central page in this—the deficits go from 1.1 trillion down to 768 billion, and they go down again all the way to 607 billion in 2015, and then they start to creep up again, and by 2021, it's at 774 billion. And the total over those 10 years, the total debt is 7.2 trillion on top of the 14 trillion we already have. **How can you say that we're living within our means?**

How could you-type questions are more accusatory than the other variant of accountability question (the Why did you-type). They are more hostile in the sense that the president is asked to explain his actions, but at the same time they embody a presupposition that the president cannot provide an acceptable account. In contrast, why did you-type questions (see next example) are milder in that they ask the president to explain an action "while remaining more 'neutral' as to what type of account is likely to be forthcoming" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b, p. 769).

Excerpt 5.13
George W. Bush PPP, March 6 2003
Q: Mr. President, you have, and your top advisers, notably Secretary of State Powell, have repeatedly said that we

have shared with our allies all the current, up-to-date intelligence information that proves the imminence of the threat we face from Saddam Hussein and that they have been sharing their intelligence with us as well. If all these nations, all of them our normal allies, have access to the same intelligence information, **why is it that they are reluctant to think that the threat is so real, so imminent that we need to move to the brink of war now?**

5.5 Results and Discussion

5.5.1 Findings

The final sample consisted of 509 questions: 284 questions from solo press conferences and 225 questions from joint press conferences. The results below will display first the percentages for the indicators of each measure of aggressiveness in joint and solo press conferences so that the reader can see finer distinctions with respect to these discrete indicators. Subsequently, percentages for the different composite measures will be displayed first without controlling for question content and later on holding question content constant.

As explained earlier in the chapter, the indicators were combined into five outcome measures: initiative, directness, assertiveness, adversarialness and accountability. For the assertiveness[13]outcome, the only questions coded were yes-no questions because with this type of interrogatives, the phenomenon of assertiveness is comparatively straightforward (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). Clayman and Heritage (2002b) explain that some yes-no questions are more or less neutral as to which answer they invite whereas others strongly favor a yes or a no response.

Initiative

[13] "Assertiveness in question design is analogous to the conversation-analytic concept of preference organization in what Schegloff (1988b) has called its structure-based sense" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b, p. 762).

Considering each indicator in this dimension across solo and joint press conferences, we can see that with regards to multiple questions and question prefaces, the difference is very small and not statistically significant (p=0.487 and 0.159, respectively). The incidence of follow-up questions, however, is higher in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences and therefore statistically significant (23% and 13%, respectively, p=0.004).

Table 5.3 Percent Distribution of Initiative Indicators by Conference Format

	Conference Format		p
	Solo (n=284)	**Joint** (n=225)	
Multiple Questions			0.487
Single	48% (135)	44% (100)	
Multiple	52% (149)	56% (125)	
Follow-up Questions			0.004
No follow-up	77% (219)	87% (195)	
Follow-up	23% (64)	13% (28)[14]	
Prefaced Questions			0.159
Non prefaced	43%(121)	36% (82)	
Prefaced	57%(163)	64%(143)	

Directness

An examination of the indicators for directness reveals no real statistically significant differences (p=0.363 for self-referencing frames and 0.455 for other-referencing frames). In both press conference formats, journalists are quite direct, which is in keeping with prior findings (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b). The most common type of frame used is the "I wonder/I was wondering" type for self-referencing frames and the "could you" type for other-referencing frames.

[14] Three questions were discarded as it was not clear whether they were follow-ups or not.

Table 5.4 Percent Distribution of Directness Indicators by Conference Format

	Conference Format		p
	Solo (n=284)	**Joint** (n=225)	
Self-referencing Frames			0.363
No frame	93%(265)	92%(207)	
I was wondering	6%(17)	5%(12)	
I would like to	<1% (1)	1% (3)	
Can I/ Could I/ May I?	<1%(1)	1%(3)	
Other Referencing Frames			0.455
No frame	93%(265)	92%(206)	
Could you?	7%(19)	8%(19)	
Will you/Do you care to?	0%(0)	0%(0)	

Assertiveness

The preface tilt indicator was coded differently than in the Clayman/Heritage (2002b) study. In this case, we considered whether journalists did not ask a question with a preface, and—wherever the question included a preface—we examined whether there was no tilt, whether the question preface was tilting the question and was also third party attributed or whether the preface was tilting the question but was not attributed to a third party:

Table 5.5 Percent Distribution of Assertiveness Indicators by Conference Format

	Conference Format		p
	Solo	**Joint**	
	n=160	n=137	
Preface Tilt[15]			0.034
No Preface	44% (71)	34% (47)	
No Tilt	7.5%(12)	11%(15)	
Tilt (3rd party attributed)	33%(52)	27%(37)	
Tilt (not attributed)	16%(25)	28%(38)	
Negatively Formulated Qs[16]	(n=157)	(n=134)	0.024
Not a neg. formulated q	90%(142)	97%(130)	
Neg. formulated q	10%(15)	3%(4)	

[15] In this particular case, the sample is reduced further as this phenomenon only applies to Y_N questions with prefaces (n=297)
[16] Once again, this phenomenon applies to yes/no questions only.

Table 5.5 below shows that the propensity to tilt questions is higher than the tendency not to tilt questions for both press conference formats. Notice too, that there is a considerable number of questions without prefaces (44% in solo press conferences and 34% in joint press conferences). Taking a closer look at the tilting subcategories, we see that third party attributed preface tilts are more common in solo press conferences that in joint press conferences (33% and 27%, respectively). However, when it comes to prefaces that are not third-party attributed, the data show that these are more prevalent in joint press conferences than in solo press conferences (28% and 16%, respectively). The differences for this category are statistically significant (p=0.034)

Considering now the incidence for negatively formulated questions, the results show that they are not very common in either press conference format. However, the data show that journalists tend to ask more negatively formulated questions in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences (10% and 3%, respectively), with this difference being statistically significant (p=0.024).

Adversarialness

The indicators in this dimension point to increased adversarialness in solo press conferences as opposed to joint press conferences. Hostile prefaces with questions that build on or presuppose the preface are more prevalent in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences (31% and 11%, respectively), making it a statistically significant difference (p=0.000). With regards to global hostility—which accounts for the level of aggressiveness of the questioning turn in its entirety (hostile preface plus hostile question)— the difference across conference formats is statistically significant (p=0.000). Thirty-three percent (33%) of questions in solo press conferences as opposed to 12% in joint press conferences are globally hostile.

Table 5.6 Percent Distribution of Adversarialness Indicators by Conference Format

	Conference Format		p
	Solo	**Joint**	
Preface Hostility[17]	(n=163)	(n=141)	0.000
Not a hostile preface	62%(101)	84%(118)	
Hostile pref + q seeking response	7%(11)	5%(7)	
Hostile pref +q builds on/ presupposes pref	31%(51)	11%(16)	
Global Hostility	(n=284)	(n=225)	0.000
Not a globally hostile q	75%(213)	89%(201)	
Globally hostile q	25%(71)	11%(24)	

Accountability

Table 5.7 shows that accountability questions are not very common in either press conference format. That said, however, notice that "why did you" type questions are the most common type of accountability questions asked and they are more prevalent in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences (7% vs. .89%, respectively) yielding this difference as statistically significant (p=0.004).

Table 5.7 Percent Distribution of Accountability Questions by Conference Format

	Conference Format		p
	Solo (n=284)	**Joint** (n=225)	
Accountability			0.004
Not an accountability question	93%(263)	98%(220)	
Why did you type	7%(19)	<1%(2)	
How could you type	<1%(2)	1%(3)	

Having shown the results for each indicator, let us now display the results for each composite measure. Table 5.8 below shows the different outcome measures against conference format. In general, the results for the composite measures confirm the findings from the disaggregated data. The differences across conference formats for adversarialness and

[17] Only questions with prefaces were counted here.

accountability are statistically significant (p= 0.000 and 0.008, respectively). Journalists are twice more likely to ask an adversarial question in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences (31% and 16%, respectively). In addition, although the tendency for accountability questions is low for both press conference formats, journalists are three times more likely to ask an accountability question in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences (7% vs. 2%, respectively).

The differences across conferences formats in the dimension of initiative and directness are not statistically significant (p= 0.150 and 0.787, respectively). For the assertiveness dimension, the results show that journalists are more assertive in joint press conferences that in solo press conference, but not by a wide margin (24% in solo press conferences compared to 31% in joint press conferences). These aggregated results, however, proved to be not statistically significant (p= 0.222).

Table 5.8 Percent Distribution Composite Measures by Conference Format

Composite Measure	Conference Format		
	Solo (n=284)	**Joint** (n=225)	p
Initiative			0.150
No initiative	7% (19)	10% (23)	
More initiative	93% (265)	90% (202)	
Directness			0.787
Less direct	2% (6)	2% (4)	
More direct	98% (278)	98% (221)	
Assertiveness[18]			0.222
Less assertive	76% (119)	69% (93)	
More assertive	24% (38)	31% (41)	
Adversarialness			0.000
Non-adversarial	69% (196)	84% (190)	
Adversarial	31% (88)	16% (35)	
Accountability			0.008
Not an accountability Q	93% (263)	98% (220)	
Accountability Q	7% (21)	2% (5)	

The above tables have given us an initial picture of the phenomenon, but what happens when we introduce question content? Introducing content as a control variable will show us to what extent content plays a role in accounting for the difference in aggressiveness in solo and joint press conferences. Recall that in previous studies, Clayman and Heritage (2002b) and Clayman et al. (2006, 2007) found that question content was a significant factor in explaining aggressiveness. They concluded that domestic affairs questions tend to be more aggressive than foreign or military affairs questions. Before displaying the results of this combination of variables (outcomes + conference format + question content), consider the following descriptive statistics.

[18] Only yes-no questions were coded in this category.

Table 5.9 Percent Distribution of Domestic and Foreign Affairs Questions by Conference Format

Content	Conference Format	
	Solo	Joint
Domestic Affairs Questions	51% (146)	17% (39)
Foreign/Military Affairs Questions	49% (138)	83% (186)
Total	100% (284)	100% (225)

Table 5.10 Percent Distribution of Domestic and Foreign Affairs Questions by Administration

Content	George H.W. Bush		William J. Clinton		George W. Bush		Barack H. Obama		
	S	J	S	J	S	J	S	J	Total
Domestic Affairs	47% (32)	14% (9)	54% (40)	27% (16)	42% (28)	11% (6)	61% (46)	17% (8)	36% (185)
Foreign/Military Affairs	53% (36)	86% (55)	46% (34)	73% (43)	58% (38)	89% (49)	39% (30)	83% (39)	64% (324)
n	68	64	74	59	66	55	76	47	509

Tables 5.9 and 5.10 reveal that there were overall more foreign affairs questions in the sample than domestic affairs questions and that for every administration, journalists asked more foreign/military affairs questions and considerably fewer domestic affairs questions at joint press conferences than at solo press conferences

Now let us consider what happens when we control for content. Table 5.11 gives us a much clearer picture of how the different outcomes of aggressiveness vary across solo and joint press conferences when holding question content constant.

Table 5.11 Percent Distribution of Aggressiveness Outcomes by Conference Format and Question Content

	Solo (n=284)	**Joint** (n=225)
Domestic Affairs Qs		
Initiative		
No initiative	8% (11)	3% (1)
More initiative	92% (135)	97% (38)
Directness		
Less direct	3% (5)	3% (1)
More direct	97% (141)	97% (38)
Assertiveness		
Less assertive	72% (58)	72% (13)
More assertive	28% (23)	28% (5)
Adversarialness		
Non-adversarial	59% (86)	79% (31)
Adversarial	41% (60)	21% (8)
Accountability		
Not an accountability Q	91% (133)	95% (37)
Accountability Q	9% (13)	5% (2)
Foreign/Military Affairs Qs		
Initiative		
No initiative	6% (8)	12% (22)
More initiative	94% (130)	88% (164)
Directness		
Less direct	<1% (1)	2% (3)
More direct	99.3% (137)	98% (183)
Assertiveness		
Less assertive	80% (61)	69% (80)
More assertive	20% (15)	31% (36)
Adversarialness		
Non-adversarial	80% (110)	85% (159)
Adversarial	20% (28)	15% (27)
Accountability		
Not an accountability Q	94% (130)	98% (183)
Accountability Q	6% (8)	2% (3)

Two outcome variables – initiative and directness—are quite consistent across press conference formats within the same category of question content. This is in keeping with findings from previous studies on solo press conferences that have indicated journalists exercise more initiative and are less direct than fifty or sixty years ago. For the three other measures of aggressiveness—assertiveness, adversarialness and accountability—the figures above reveal some interesting patterns. Journalists seem to be equally assertive when asking domestic affairs questions in either joint or solo press conferences (28%). However, they seem to be more assertive in joint press conferences (31%) than in solo press conferences (20%) when asking about foreign/military affairs questions. With regards to adversarialness, not surprisingly, journalists are more adversarial in solo press conferences (41%) when asking about domestic affairs than in joint press conferences (21%). However, when asking about foreign affairs issues, the difference is not as pronounced (20% vs. 15%, respectively). With regards to accountability, these types of questions are not common (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b), and the results show that they are uncommon in both types of press conferences formats within the same category of question content. That said, the figures above suggest that accountability questions are more ubiquitous in solo press conferences regardless of whether the question is about domestic or foreign affairs issues (9% vs. 5% within the domestic affairs questions category and 6% vs. 2% in the foreign affairs questions category).

5.5.2 Discussion

The first part of the analysis (with the disaggregated data) reveals that for some of the indicators, there are practically no substantial differences across conference formats. In the case of initiative, the only indicator that revealed differences was follow-up questions. Follow-up questions are understandably more common in solo press conferences than in joint press

conferences. This echoes the results found by Banning and Billinsgley (2007). Although follow-up questions are not as prevalent in presidential news conferences as they are in news interviews, journalists have more chances to ask one at a solo press conference than at a joint press conference due to the difference in the length of these sessions as well as the fact that they are not constrained by the protocol that has come to govern questioning opportunities in joint press conferences. That is, especially with the last two administrations, it is a common practice now to call on two American journalists and two foreign journalists only.

Similarly, the results for the directness indicators reveal no differences across conference formats. In Clayman and Heritage's studies of solo press conferences, the trend was for increased directness over the years. This trend is also observed in solo and joint press conferences revealing that the more ceremonial joint press conference does not necessarily make journalists ask more indirect questions. The results also show that the most common types of questioning frames are "I wonder/I was wondering" for self-referencing frames and "Can you/could you" for other referencing frames. As stated earlier, within the category of self-referencing frames, the I wonder/was wondering frames are less deferential than, for example, the "could I ask you…" frames, which approximate a request for permission. Within the category of other-referencing frames, "could you/can you" frames are less deferential than the "would you/will you" frames in that they "license external circumstances as an account for not answering" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b, p.760). The "would you/will you" frames make it possible for the president to refuse to answer as a matter of personal choice (Clayman and Heritage, 2002b).

As for assertiveness, the results for the indicators in this dimension are quite interesting. The results of the aggregated data show that journalists are generally not assertive in either conference format. However, when we take a close look at the disaggregated data, we notice that

third party attributed prefaces are more common in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences. In a discussion of third-party attributed statements, Clayman and Heritage (2002a) note that journalists shift their interactional footing (Goffman, 1981a) by introducing quotes from third parties in order to distance themselves from opinionated remarks. What the results highlight is that non-attributed tilting prefaces are more common in joint press conferences. It is not clear why the latter is the case. One possibility is that journalists feel that prefaces in joint press conferences are innocuous, and therefore, they do not feel the need to attribute them to a third party. Negative interrogatives, while not particularly observed in general in this dataset, are more common in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences. This marks a contrast between this study and the Banning and Billingsley (2007) study which found a negligible difference across conference formats for this indicator. The higher incidence in use of negatively formulated questions in solo press conferences could be attributed to the fact that these kinds of interrogatives serve to challenge a public figure and are more likely to elicit disagreement on the president's part. This type of interrogative seems to be more suited to the solo press conference where more domestic affairs questions are asked, which tend to be more aggressive than foreign affairs questions.

The indicators for adversarialness show some substantial differences across press conference formats. Among hostile prefaces, those that are followed by a question that builds on or presupposes the preface are far more common in solo press conferences. In addition, and as expected, journalists ask more globally hostile questions in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences. This is in part due to the fact that domestic affairs questions are more prevalent in solo press conferences and tend to be more aggressive. In this case, the joint press

conference format clearly favors the president in the sense that he is not faced with many hostile questions as he is in the solo press conference format.

With regards to accountability, these types of questions are not very common across conference formats. However, the results indicate that journalists ask more accountability questions in solo press conferences and that the "why did you" type of accountability question is by far the most common type. Journalists do not seem to ask many "how could you" type questions, which are more aggressive.

Unlike the Banning and Billingsley (2007) study, this research highlights the role played by question content when comparing joint press conference formats. Whether a journalist asks a domestic affairs or foreign/military affairs question has consequences for some of the dimensions studied here. First, no marked contrast exists between initiative and directness across press conference formats when controlling for question content. Journalists exercise a high level of initiative and were less direct in both press conference formats no matter what the content of the question was. With regards to assertiveness, the results are mixed. If the question is a domestic affairs question, journalists seem to be equally assertive in both press conference formats. However, this result should be read with caution because of the low number of domestic affairs questions at joint press conferences (see table 5.11). When the question is a foreign affairs question, journalists are more assertive. As the results for the discrete indicators showed, journalists ask more questions with prefaces that do not contain third-party attributed prefaces. This may be due to the fact that journalists in joint press conferences perceive prefaces to be harmless, and do not take the steps to make them less assertive.

The most salient contrast is in the adversarialness category. The White House press corps was far more adversarial when asking domestic affairs questions than foreign/military affairs

questions further confirming prior findings from solo press conference studies where journalists were found to be more aggressive when asking about domestic affairs issues (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a, Clayman et al. 2006). With respect to accountability questions, although they are not very common in both conference formats, journalists ask more accountability questions when the question was on domestic affairs issues.

To summarize, the results obtained in this study prove to be more conclusive than those in the Banning and Billingsley (2007) study. In certain dimensions (initiative, directness, assertiveness), the results here do not confirm those reported in Banning and Billingsley (2007). In the areas of adversarialness and accountability, the findings in this study confirm those in the Banning and Billingsley investigation. First of all, the data here has shown that there are no significant differences across conference formats for initiative and directness unlike the results reported by Banning and Billingsley. With regards to assertiveness, both indicators in this dimension were included in the analysis (recall the Banning and Billingsley study dropped the "preface tilt" indicator). As stated previously, the results for this dimension are not statistically significant. Like in the Banning and Billingsley study, the number of negatively formulated questions in both press conference formats is low, but unlike the Banning and Billingsley study which found negligible differences, the percentage of negatively formulated questions in this study is higher in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences. Finally, with regards to adversarialness and accountability, there is a clear trend towards more adversarialness and accountability seeking in solo press conferences than in joint press conferences. In addition, the current study considered the role played by question content in determining the level of aggressiveness in both conference formats. The results clearly indicate that domestic affairs

questions are more aggressive than foreign affairs questions confirming the hypothesis that politics stops at the water's edge.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Summary of the Dissertation

This study sought to examine, characterize and quantify the interactional practices in one particular institution: the presidential news conference in the United States. In this unique forum, presidents take questions from the White House press corps on the relevant issues of the day and are publically held accountable for their actions. The introduction laid several aims: to better understand 1) presidents' responses to questions and where these responses start to emerge; 2) the projection of an evaluative stance on the part of the president as a question is emerging through the use of non-vocal displays or minimal vocal displays; 3) the issue of accountability of response in this setting and how one particular president (George W. Bush) refused to answer questions on delicate matters using different semiotic strategies; and 4) a recent innovation in the press conference: the introduction of the joint press conference and how questioning practices in it compare to questioning practices in the traditional solo press conference. The first two aims were addressed in Chapter 3. The third aim was studied in Chapter 4 and the last objective was dealt with in Chapter 5.

Using data obtained from televised press conferences, Chapter 3 examined the range of semiotic strategies used by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama to express an evaluative (and most often disaffiliative) stance towards a journalist's emerging questioning turn. The analysis revealed how non-vocal behavior can constitute a response in itself and foreshadows the response that the president will produce in his turn at talk. The data showed how the president's headshakes, particular disaffiliating facial displays, shifts in body posture, smiles and laughter are used to resist the propositions and presuppositions embodied in the questions that the journalists ask.

This important finding contributes to our understanding of listener behavior in multiple ways. First, from an interactional perspective, it supports previous findings from multimodal interaction analysis that focused the attention on the operations the listeners constantly perform on the current speaker's talk (Goodwin, C., 1981; 1986, Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; 1992; Goodwin, M.H., 1980, to name a few). It thus shows that a listener is not a passive entity. Quite on the contrary, the listener is an active participant who is able to operate on the talk of the speaker (and many times transform it) or—as was the case with the examples in this chapter—to express an evaluative stance towards the propositions contained in the questioning turn thereby projecting his stance before his upcoming turn at talk. Second, from an institutional interaction perspective, this data has highlighted what particular journalistic questioning practices engender disaffiliative embodied responses from the president. In general, we typically see the presidents nodding or displaying attention or producing a mixture of attentive and inattentive behaviors during the preface phase of the questioning turn. It is also possible, although less frequent, for the presidents to produce displays that signal resistance while they are listening to the preface of a questioning turn. It is far more common, however, for the embodied behaviors that foreshadow the response to typically occur when the questions are delivered, and when such questions either presuppose what the president's response is going to be, offer a candidate answer or express an opinion. The chapter revealed a clear distinction between a president's embodied behaviors that merely do acknowledging or signal disengagement vs. those embodied displays which typically foreshadow or project how the president will begin to answer in his turn at talk. The acknowledging embodied behaviors typically, although not always, occur during the preface, and the foreshadowing embodied behaviors frequently occur while the journalist is delivering the question or questions which happen to be very aggressive questions.

To reflect on the findings of Chapter 4, I will discuss an article by Dan Froomkin (2004) entitled "Mr. President, will you answer the question?" published on Salon.com after Bush's re-election in 2004. The subtitle of the article reads "Bush has a special talent for avoiding tough questions and reporters who ask them. Here's what the White House press corps should do to smoke him out". The article develops this subtitle by referring to the low number of conferences that President Bush had given in his first term in office compared to other presidents and to the ways in which Bush avoided tough questions. Froomkin starts by leveling a strong charge against Bush: "when he does meet with the press, he avoids direct answers so brazenly that there is scant little value in it anyway". He even says that the president had an "aversion to be in the same room with people who might disagree with him". Froomkin also makes reference to Bush's post election press conference where the president stated that the will of the people entitled him to establish more restrictive rules with the press corps.

This news article constitutes an example of the repercussions that public figures face when they are perceived to be avoiding or resisting journalists' questions. A major part of the article is devoted to how reporters "can smoke Bush out" in his second term in office. Froomkin consulted former White House correspondents to get some advice. First, White House reporters should be more insistent in demanding that the president make himself available. Second, they should ask better questions. So what does it mean to "ask better questions"? The advice is to not worry about sounding smart when asking a question and to avoid asking more than one question at a time. Instead, journalists should worry about asking one question that will get a straight answer. Froomkin states "anything lengthy or multipart makes it easier for the president to deflect, distract and filibuster". Third, "reporters shouldn't be afraid to look a little disrespectful if that's what it takes to get an answer". Froomkin cites Sam Donaldson stating "Being

aggressive carries a slight risk: It makes your bosses nervous […]. But I never had to worry that my boss would not back me up, as long as I was doing something legitimate". Finally, the press corps should do a better job of reminding the public of what questions from Bush's first term remained unanswered. Froomkin concludes by saying "the best outcome we can hope for is that better questions themselves will help the media and the public focus on the vital issues of the day — so that the president's minimally valuable responses to them can at least appear in well-researched, consequential news reports full of context and facts."

Now let us reflect on the findings of Chapter 4. The examples analyzed come from press conferences in Bush's second term in office. The questions asked were on subjects that President Bush wanted to avoid: the Valerie Plame scandal, Israel, Syria and North Korea. In these cases, the White House reporters—knowing how hard it was to get a response from the president on a tough question—made sure they established the relevance of the question being asked and in the face of a *refusal assertion*, they continued to pursue an answer quite aggressively. But like Froomkin said, Bush has a "special talent for avoiding tough questions". The chapter addressed this very unusual phenomenon in contemporary politics: a very explicit refusal to answer without any explicit accounts and Bush's "special" or "unusual" talent to avoid tough questions.

Let us go back to the issue of accountability of response by examining Heritage and Clayman's (2010) observations on the subject:

> answering questions is treated as a basic moral obligation not only for public figures in journalistic interviews but for interactional participants more generally. And while interactants expect one another to be properly responsive to the questions they receive, the responsiveness of politicians is perhaps more closely scrutinized, so that attempts to resist, sidestep or evade can be costly. (p.245)

Journalists are attuned to this basic principle when questioning presidents. Through their questioning, journalists convey that the press and the public are entitled to receive an answer to their inquiries and treat the president as obligated to provide an answer. Bush's *refusal assertions*

outright broke this rule. President Bush did not only refuse to answer without an account, he also did it using somewhat unconventional strategies. As we saw in the examples in Chapter 4, after the initial *refusal assertion*, he turned to other tacks when journalists pressed the issue with follow-up questions. These strategies included the use of recipient names, insinuations that the journalists were doing something wrong, prosody and facial displays to ridicule the journalists and hand gestures to signal to the journalists to stop the project they were pursuing.

With respect to the use of recipient names, whether in initial or final position, they signal disalignment and disaffiliation, contributing to marking a departure from the goal of the communicative project as set by the journalist. Stand alone recipient names—which I call *chastising use of recipient names*—go further in sanctioning the action of the journalist as well as his character. In addition to the use of recipient names, the president used insinuations in response to pressure from journalists to answer a question. These typically included utterances like "I know what you are trying to get me to do", "It's a clever ruse", I'm not gonna fall for it", among others. Like the chastising use of recipient names, these formulations serve not only to mark the question of the journalist as an inappropriate question but also to call into question the character of the journalist him/herself. Through the use of these formulations, Bush managed to delegitimize the question and the questioner. I asked earlier in Chapter 4, what was the impact of these oblique accounts. In delivering these insinuations, Bush was trying to avoid the perception that he was not answering by suggesting that there was something sly about these questions in the first place. In other words, he defused attention from the fact that he was not answering in favor of a perception that the journalist was doing something crafty. As I stated earlier, in these competitive communicative projects (the journalist pursuing an answer to a tough question vs. the president trying to stop the course of the journalist's communicative project), the president

tried to outdo the journalist by playing by his own rules. The various strategies (such as the use of recipient names, particular facial displays or use of prosody) highlight that this is an asymmetrical relationship, where one party (the president) deploys strategies such as calling the journalist by his first name when the reverse is not possible or acceptable.

The different semiotic resources that the president used to sidestep these questions were particularly interesting. The chapter clearly revealed that the ridiculing and delegitimizing of the questions/questioners was not accomplished through the talk alone. The activity-occupied pauses (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986) filled by particular facial displays (Excerpt 4.2) with eyebrows raised and disapproving gaze served to cast the insistence of the journalist on pursuing an answer as something not appropriate. Attempts at collusion with the audience together with smiling and laughter (Excerpt 4.14) as well as use of prosody (Excerpt 4.2) served the same purpose. The president was not shy about using all these strategies to signal that a given question did not warrant a response. Through the use of all these resources, the president aggressively tried to delegitimize those journalists whose follow-up questions were strong attempts to fight back and establish their questions as relevant, legitimate and in need of a straight response.

Let us consider now the findings from Chapter 5. The central question asked in this chapter was whether there is a difference in questioning practices between solo and joint news conferences. Put differently, are journalists less aggressive when questioning the president at a joint news conference than at a solo news conference? In addition, another objective of this chapter was to examine the role played by question content in explaining the differences in the level of aggressiveness in questioning, if any.

The results showed that for the dimensions of initiative, assertiveness and directness, there were no significant differences in the level of aggressiveness displayed by the journalists in

the different news conference formats. That said, the disaggregated data results showed that follow-up questions or negative interrogatives were more common in solo press conferences, but overall, there were no substantial differences in these three dimensions. The more ceremonial joint news conference does not make journalists exercise less initiative or be less assertive or direct.

The most substantial differences were evident in the dimensions of adversarialness and accountability. This results were consistent when considering the indicators in each dimension (disaggregated data) and when examining the composite measures (aggregated data). The findings confirm the hypothesis that journalists are more adversarial and seek more accountability from the president in the solo news conference. In this case, the joint press conference format clearly favors the president in the sense that he is not faced with many hostile questions as he is in the solo press format.

Chapter 5 also considered the role that question content plays in any differences observed across conference formats. Whether journalists ask a domestic affairs or foreign/military affairs question has consequences for some of the dimensions studied here. With regards to initiative and directness, after controlling for question content, there were no substantial differences observed. With regards to assertiveness, the results were mixed. If the question was a domestic affairs question, journalists seemed to be equally assertive in both press conference formats. However, this result should be read with caution because of the low number of domestic affairs questions at joint press conferences (see table 5.11). On the other hand, if journalists asked a foreign affairs question, they were found to be more assertive in joint news conferences. The most significant findings are in the adversarialness and accountability categories. The White House press corps was far more adversarial when asking domestic affairs questions than

foreign/military affairs questions further confirming prior findings from solo press conference studies (see Clayman and Heritage and Clayman et al. studies cited throughout). Likewise, journalists asked more accountability questions when the question was on domestic affairs issues. The chapter revealed first what dimensions present clear differences across conference formats, and second to what extent these differences seem to be driven by question content. While the initial hypothesis that journalists would be found to be less aggressive in joint news conferences could not be confirmed for all the dimensions, the data clearly showed that for two dimensions (adversarialness and accountability), the joint news conference format favors the president as the journalists ask fewer adversarial and accountability questions.

6.2 Contributions of this Study

This dissertation makes contributions to different areas of research in interaction and other fields like journalism studies. First, in terms of multimodal interaction, the findings of this dissertation have further validated other studies that focused on the powerful role of the hearer in interaction (Goodwin C., 1981, Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Iwasaki, 2011; Aoki, 2011 to name a few). Hearers can perform operations on the emerging talk through embodied facial displays, and we can clearly see what evaluative stance the hearer is conveying by analyzing the moment-to-moment displays while he carefully monitors the emerging question. In the case of the press conferences, as I stated earlier, the resistance to the terms imposed by the question starts emerging prior to the beginning of the president's turn at talk. The emerging question does not impede a listener or hearer from performing operations on it. In this case, the president's embodied behaviors constitute a response in their own right while at the same time foreshadowing his stance in his upcoming turn at talk.

Second, in terms of the study of institutional talk, Chapter 3 validated findings from studies on aggressiveness in journalistic questioning in news interviews and presidential news conferences done by Clayman and Heritage (Clayman and Heritage, 2002a; Clayman et al., 2006, Clayman et al., 2007). We saw how the president visibly reacted to strong propositions and presuppositions contained either in the preface to the question being asked or, more often, in the question proper. The presidents' embodied responses as an aggressive question is emerging constitute visible evidence that certain features identified by Clayman and Heritage in their studies of journalistic questioning (e.g., how negative interrogatives are perceived by public figures to be statements embodying an opinion on the part of the journalist) make a questioning turn aggressive.

This study has also made contributions to the subject of question-answer adjacency pairs and question evasion by analyzing extreme cases of explicit refusals to answer without an explicit account. The sequences analyzed were quite unique in the sense that the president used a host of unconventional resources to prevent the journalists from fulfilling their goal of getting the president to answer a tough question. The findings expand our understanding of question evasion and the strategies a president can use to not be perceived as having evaded a question. The cases analyzed here were quite peculiar in featuring a multiplicity of strategies the president used to turn the tables and thus delegitimize the questions being asked and the journalists who asked them.

Finally, this dissertation contributed to the literature on president press relations by conducting a comparison of questioning practices in solo and joint news conferences. Using findings from interaction studies on questioning practices, this part of the dissertation coded different features of question to determine whether solo news conferences are more aggressive

than joint press conferences. The results showed clear trends for two dimensions of aggressive questioning: adversarialness and accountability. Journalists in solo press conferences ask more adversarial and accountability questions. These findings support a clear trend in president press relations where the White House constantly strives to control the message relayed to the public. The increase in the number of joint news conferences and the decrease in the level of adversarialness and accountability in them point to the success of this White House strategy.

The findings from this study are not only of interest to fields such as Applied Linguistics or Conversation Analysis. They should be relevant to the fields of Journalism, Political Communication, Political Science and American History. As a source of data for social scientists on the relationship between the press and the state, the presidential news conference is a very useful source of information. These encounters between presidents and the press are a significant type of interaction not just because we get information from them, but more importantly, because they give us a direct insight into how the press and the state are relating to one another. That is to say, it gives us a window into press state relations and the culture of journalism. To be sure, it is possible to study press-state relations by examining news stories, but the direct interaction between the press and the representatives of the state give us a more thorough understanding of how these bodies relate to one another.

References

Aoki, H. (2011). Some functions of speaker head nods. In J. Streeck, C. Goodwin & C. LeBaron (Eds.), *Embodied interaction: Language and body in the material world* (pp. 93-105). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Atkinson, J. M., & Heritage, J. (Eds.). (1984). *Structures of social action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Auer, Peter (1996). On the prosody and syntax of turn-continuations. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & M. Selting (Eds.), *Prosody in conversation: Interactional studies* (pp. 57-100). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Banning, S. & Billingsley, S. (2007). Journalist aggressiveness in joint versus solo presidential press conferences. *Mass Communication & Society*, *10* (4), 461–478.

Bennett, W. L., & Paletz. D. L. (1994). *Taken by storm: The media, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy in the Gulf War.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Biber, D. & Finegan, E (1988). Adverbial stance types in English. *Discourse Processes*, *11*(1), 1-34.

Biber, D., & Finegan, E (1989). Styles of stance in English: lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. *Text, 9*, 93-124.

Biber, D., Johannson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S, & Finegan, E. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. New York, NY: Longman.

Birdwhistell, R. L. (1970). *Kinetics and context: Essays on body motion communication.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bolinger, D. (1957). *Interrogative structures of American English*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cater, D. (1959). *The fourth branch of government*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Chafe, W. (1986). Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (Eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology* (pp. 261-72). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Clayman, S. (1990). From talk to text: newspaper accounts of reporter-source interactions. *Media, Culture, and Society 12*(1), 79-104.

Clayman, S. (1992). Footing in the achievement of neutrality: The case of news interview discourse. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at Work* (pp. 163-198). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, S. (1993b). Reformulating the question: a device for answering/not answering questions in news interviews and press aconferences. *Text 13*(2), 159-188.

Clayman, S. (2001). Answers and evasions. *Language in Society 30*(3), 403-442.

Clayman, S. (2010) Address terms in the service of other actions: the case of news interview discourse. *Discourse and Communication 4*(2), 161-183.

Clayman, Steven E. (in press). Address terms in the organization of turns at talk: the case of pivotal turn extensions. *Journal of Pragmatics.*

Clayman, Steven E. (in press). Agency in response: the role of prefatory address terms. *Journal of Pragmatics.*

Clayman, S., Elliott, M.N., Heritage, J. & Beckett, M.K.(2010). A watershed in White House journalism: explaining the post-1968 rise of aggressive presidential news. *Political Communication*, *27*(3), 229-247.

Clayman, S., Elliott, M.N., Heritage, J., & Beckett, M.K. (in press). The president's questioners: consequential attributes of the White House press corps. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*.

Clayman, S., & Gill, V.T. (2004). Conversation Analysis. In A. Bryman & M. Hardy (Eds.) *Handbook of data analysis* (pp. 589-606). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2002a). *The news interview: Journalists and public figures on the air*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2002b). Questioning presidents: journalistic deference and adversarialness in the press conferences of Eisenhower and Reagan. *Journal of Communication, 52*(4)*,*749-77.

Clayman, S., Heritage, J., Elliott, M.N., & McDonald, L.L. (2006). Historical trends in questioning presidents, 1953-2000. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *36*(4)*,* 561-583.

Clayman, S., Heritage, J., Elliott, M.N., & McDonald, L.L. (2007). When does the watchdog bark? Conditions of aggressive questioning in presidential news conferences. *American Sociological Review*, *72*, 23-41.

Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2002). Questioning presidents: journalistic deference and adversarialness in the press conferences of Eisenhower and Reagan. *Journal of Communication*, *52*(4), 749-77.

Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2009). Question design as a comparative and historical window into president-press relations." In M. Haakana, M. Laakso, & J. Lindström (Eds.), *Talk in interaction: comparative dimensions* (pp. 299-315). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society (SKS).

Heritage, J. and Clayman, S. The changing tenor of questioning over time: Tracking a question form across U.S. presidential news conferences 1953-2000. In M. Broersma, B. den Herder, & B. Schohaus (Eds.), *The Changing Dynamics Between Journalists and Sources,* special issue of Journalism Practice. Manuscript in preparation.

Clift, R. (2006). Indexing stance: Reported speech as an interactional evidential. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 10*(5), 569-595.

Conrad, S., & Biber, D. (2000). Adverbial marking of stance in speech and writing. In S. Hunton & G. Thompson (Eds.), *Evaluation in text: authorial stance and the construction of discourse* (pp. 56-73). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cook, T.E. (1998). *Governing with the news.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Cook, T. E. (2005). *Governing with the news* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1996). Intonation and clause combining in discourse: the case of because. *Pragmatics, 6*, 389–426.

Dittmann, A. T. & Llewellyn, L. G. (1968). Relationship between vocalizations and head nods as listener responses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 9*(1), 79-84.

Drew, P. and Heritage, J. (1992). Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at Work* (pp.3-65). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Du Bois, J.W. (2000, November). *Taking a stance: constituting the stance differential in dialogic interaction*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, CA.

Du Bois, J.W. (2002, April). *Stance and intersubjectivity in dialogic interaction*. Paper given at Linguistics Colloquium, University of California at Santa Barbara, CA.

Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse* (pp. 139–182) Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Duncan, S., Jr. (1972). Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 23*(2), 283-292.

Duncan, S., Jr. (1974). On the structure of speaker-auditor interaction during speaking turns. *Language in Society, 2,* 161-180.

Eckman, P., & Friesen, W.V. (1975). *Unmasking the face: A guide to recognizing emotions from facial clues*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Englebretson, R. (2007). (Ed.) *Stancetaking in discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ekström, M. (2009). Announced refusals to answer: a study of norms and accountability in broadcast political interviews. *Discourse Studies, 11*, 681-702.

Fox, B., & Thompson, S. (2010). Responses to wh-questions in English conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(2), 133-156

Fries, C. (1952). *The structure of English.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Froomkin, D. (2004, December 3). Mr. President, will you answer the question? *Salon*. Retrieved from http://dir.salon.com/story/opinion/feature/2004/12/03/bush_press/

Glenn, P.J. (2003). *Laughter in interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Interaction*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Goffman, E. (1981a). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goodwin, C. (1979). The Interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 97-121). New York: Irvington.

Goodwin, C. (1980). Restarts, pauses and the achievement of a state of mutual gaze at turn-beginning. *Sociological Inquiry*, *50*, 277-302.

Goodwin, Charles (1981). *Conversational organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, C. (1984). Notes on story structure and the organization of participation. In M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 225-46). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (1996). Transparent vision. In E. Ochs, E.A. Schegloff, & S.A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and Grammar* (pp. 370–404). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (1999). Practices of Color Classification in Professional Discourse. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The Discourse Reader* (pp. pp. 474-91). London and New York: Routledge.

Goodwin, C. (2000a). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 32*, 1489-1522.

Goodwin, C. (2000b). Gesture, aphasia and interaction. In McNeill, D. (Ed.), *Language and gesture* (pp. 84-98). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (2003). Pointing as situated practice. In S. Kita (Ed.), *Pointing: where language,*

culture, and cognition meet, pp. 217-241. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Goodwin, C. (2003c). The body in action. In J. Coupland & R. Gwyn (Eds.), *Discourse, the body, and identity* (pp. 19-42). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goodwin, C. (2006). Retrospective and prospective orientations in the construction of argumentative moves. *Text and Talk*. *26*(4/5), 443-461.

Goodwin, C. (2007a). Environmentally coupled gestures. In S. Duncan, J. Cassell, and E. Levy (Eds.), *Gesture and the dynamic dimension of language* (pp. 195-212). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Goodwin, C. (2007b) Interactive Footing. In E. Holt and R. Clift (Eds.), *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction* (pp. 16-46). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (2007c). Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse & Society, 18*(1)*,* 53-73.

Goodwin, C. (2010b). Things and their embodied environments. In L. Malafouris and C. Renfrew (Eds.), *The Cognitive Life of Things* (pp. 103-120). Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs.

Goodwin, C. (in press). The Formal Structure of Human Action. *Journal of Pragmatics.*

Goodwin, M. H. (1980). Processes of mutual monitoring implicated in the production of description sequences. *Sociological Inquiry, 50*, 303-317.

Goodwin, M. H. (1983). Searching for a word as an interactive activity. In J.N. Deely & M.D. Lenhart (Eds.) *Semiotics,* (pp. 129-138). New York: Plenum Press.

Goodwin, M. H. (1990). *He-said-she-said: Talk as social organization among black children.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Goodwin, M.H. (1998). Games of stance: Conflict and Footing in Hopscotch. In S. Hoyle & C. Temple Adger (Eds.), *Kids' talk: Strategic language use in later childhood* (pp. 23-46). New York: Oxford University Press.

Goodwin, M.H. (2006). Participation, affect and trajectory in family directive/response sequences. *Text and Talk*, *26*(4/5), 513-542.

Goodwin, M.H. (2007). Participation and embodied action in preadolescent girls' assessment activity. *Research on Language and Social Interaction 40*(4), 353-375.

Goodwin, M.H. (in press). Calibrating in Directive Response Sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics.*

Goodwin, M.H., & Alim, H.S. (2010). Whatever (neck roll, eye roll, teeth suck): the situated coproduction of social categories and identities through stancetaking and transmodal stylization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *20*(1), 179–194.

Goodwin, M.H., & Goodwin, C. (1986). Gesture and coparticipation in the activity of searching for a word. Semiotica *62*(1/2), 51-75.

Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M.H. (1987). Concurrent operations on talk: notes on the interactive organization of assessments. *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics 1*(1), 1-52.

Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M.H. (1990). Interstitial argument. In A. Grimshaw (Ed.), *Conflict Talk*, (pp. 85-117). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M. H. (1992). Context, activity and participation. In P. Auer and A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualization of Language* (pp. 77-99). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goodwin C., & Goodwin, M.H. (1992). Assessments and the Construction of Context. In C. Goodwin & A. Duranti (Eds.), *Rethinking context*: *Language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp. 147-90). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M.H. (2004). Participation. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 222-244). MA: Blackwell.

Goodwin, M.H and Goodwin, C. (2000). Emotion within Situated Activity. In N. Budwig, I.C. Uzgiris, & J.V. Wertsch (Eds.), *Communication: An arena of development* (pp. 33-54). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Goodwin, M.H., Goodwin, C., & Yaeger-Dror, M. (2002). Multi-modality in girls' game disputes. *Journal of Pragmatics, 34*, 1621–1649.

Goodwin, C., & Heritage, J. (1990). Conversation Analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 19*, 283-307.

Grossman, M.B. & Kumar, M.J. (1981). *Portraying the president: The White House and the news media*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Grossman, M.B., & Kumar, M.J. (1984). The refracting lens. In D. Graber (Ed.), *Media power in politics* (pp. 196-201). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Haddington, P. (2004). Stance taking in news interviews. *SKY Journal of Linguistics,17*, 101-142.

Haddington, P. (2006). The organization of gaze and assessments as resources for stance taking. *Text &Talk, 26*(3), 281-328.

Haddington, P. (2006). Identity and stance taking in news interviews: A Case Study. In I. Lassen, J. Strunck, & T. Vestergaard (Eds.), *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: Ten critical studies* (pp. (69-95). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Han, L. C. (2001). *Governing from Center Stage*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Hayashi, M. (2004). Projection and grammar: notes on the 'action-projecting' use of the distal demonstrative are in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics, 36*, 1337–1374.

Heath, C. (1986). *Body movement and speech in medical interaction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, C. (1992). Gesture's discreet tasks: multiple relevancies in visual conduct and in the contextualization of language. In P. Auer, A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The contextualization of language* (pp. 101–127). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Heath, C. (2002). Demonstrative suffering: the gestural (re)embodiment of symptoms. *Journal of Communication*, *52*(3), 597-616.

Heath, C. (2006). Body work: the collaborative production of the clinical object. In J. Heritage & D.W. Maynard (Eds.), *Communication in medical care: Interaction between primary care physicians and patients* (pp. 185-213) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, C., & Hindmarsh, J. (2002). Analysing interaction: video, ethnography and situated conduct. In T. May (Ed.) *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 99-121). London: Sage.

Heritage, J. (2002a) Designing questions and setting agendas in the news interview. In P. Glenn, C. LeBaron and J. Mandelbaum (Eds.), *Studies in language and social interaction* (pp. 57-90). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Heritage, J. (2002b). The limits of questioning: negative interrogatives and hostile question content. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *34*, 1427-46.

Heritage, J. (2006). Conversational organization: Paired actions. In P. Drew, & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Conversation Analysis* (pp. 1-10). Vol. II. London: Sage Publications.

Heritage, J. (2006). Conversation Analysis and institutional talk: Analysing data. In P. Drew, & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Conversation Analysis* (pp. 1-26). Vol. IV. London: Sage Publications.

Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. (2010). *Talk in action: Interactions, identities and institutions.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heritage, J., & Greatbatch, D. (1991). On the institutional character of institutional talk: The case of news interview interaction, in D. Boden and D.H. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Talk and Social Structure* (pp.93-137). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: indexing epistemic authority and subordination in assessment sequences. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *68*, 15-38.

Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2012). Navigating epistemic landscapes: acquiescence, agency and resistance in responses to polar questions. In J.P. de Ruiter (Ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. and Roth, A. (1995). Grammar and institution: questions and questioning in the broadcast news interview. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 28*, 1-60

Heritage, J., Elliott, M.N., Stivers, T., Richardson, A., & Mangione-Smith, R. (2010) Reducing inappropriate antibiotics prescribing: the role of online commentary on physical examination findings. Patient Education and Counseling, *81*, 119-125.

Heritage, J., Robinson, J., Elliott, M., Beckett, M., & Wilkes, M. (2007). Reducing patients' unmet concerns in primary care: the difference one word can make. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 22*(10), 1429-1433.

Iwasaki, S. (2009). Initiating interactive turn spaces in Japanese conversation: local projection and collaborative action. *Discourse Processes*, *46*, 226-246.

Iwasaki, S. (2011). The multimodal mechanics of collaborative unit construction in Japanese conversation. In J. Streeck, C. Goodwin, & C. LeBaron (Eds.), *Embodied interaction: language and body in the material world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Jaffe, A. (2009). *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. USA: Oxford University Press.

Jefferson, G. (1973). A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: overlapped tag-

positioned address terms in closing sequences. *Semiotica*, *9*, 47–96.

Jefferson, G. (1983). Notes on some orderliness of overlap onset. *Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature*, *28*, 1–28.

Jefferson, G. (1984). On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In J.M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp.346-369). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Joynt Kumar, M. (2003). *"Does this constitute a press conference?" Defining and tabulating modern presidential press conferences. Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *33*(1), 221-237.

Joynt Kumar, M. (2005). Presidential press conferences: the importance and evolution of an enduring form. *Presidential Studies Quarterly, 35*(1), 166-192.

Kärkkäinen, E. (2003). Epistemic stance in English conversation. A description of its interactional functions, with a focus on *I think*. *Amsterdam: John Benjamins.*

Kärkkäinen, E. (2006). Stance taking in conversation: from subjectivity to intersubjectivity. *Text & Talk 26*(6), 699-731.

Kendon, A. (1967). Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica, 26*, 22-63.

26:22-63, 1967.Kendon, A. (1970). Movement coordination in social interaction: some examples described. *Acta Psychologica, 32,* 100-125.

Kennedy, R., Garbus, L., Youngelson, J. (Producers) & Kennedy, R. (Director). (2008). *Thank You, Mr. President: Helen Thomas at the White House* (Documentary). United States: HBO.

Kernell, S. (1986). *Going public: News strategies of presidential leadership*. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly.

Kernell, S. (2007). Going public: News strategies of presidential leadership (4th ed.). Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly.

Kidwell, M. (2005). Gaze as social control: how very young children differentiate "the look" from a "mere look" by their adult caregivers. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *38*(4), 417-449.

Labov, W. and Fanshel, D. (1977). *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Lerner, G.H. (1991). On the syntax of sentences-in-progress. *Language in Society, 20*, 441–458.

Lerner, G.H. (1996). On the 'semi-permeable' character of grammatical units in conversation: Conditional entry into the turn space of another speaker. In E. Ochs, E.A. Schegloff, & S.A Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and Grammar*, pp.238-276. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lerner, G.H. (2002). Turn-sharing: The choral co-production of talk-in-interaction. In C.C Ford, B.A. Fox, & S.A. Thompson (Eds.), *The language of turn and sequence*, pp. 225–256. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lerner, G. (2003). Selecting next speaker: the context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in Society*, *32*(2), 177-201.

Levinson, S. (2013). Action formation and ascription. In T. Stivers, & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 103-130). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Linell, P. (1998a). *Approaching dialogue: Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Linell, P. (2009) *Rethinking Language, Mind, and World Dialogically*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Linell, P. and Marková, I. (1993) Acts in Discourse: from Monological Speech Acts to Dialogical Inter-acts. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 23, 173-195.

Local, J. (1992). Continuing and restarting. In P. Auer, & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualization of Language*, pp. 273-296. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Local, J., & Kelly, J. (1986). Projection and 'silences': notes on phonetic and conversational structure. *Human Studies, 9*, 185–204.

Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies, 9*(2)*,* 195-226.

Mondada, L. (2009). The embodied and negotiated production of assessments in instructed actions. *Research in Language and Social Interaction*, *42*(4), 329–361.

Mondada, L. (2011). Understanding as an embodied, situated and sequential achievement in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*. *43*, 542-552.

Mondada, L. (2011). The interactional production of multiple spatialities within a participatory democracy meeting. *Social Semiotics, 21*(2)*,* 283-308.

Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic Resources for Socializing Humanity. In J.J. Gumperz & S.C. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity* (pp. 407-437). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Orenstrom, B. (1983). *Turn-taking in English conversation.* Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language.* London: Longman.

Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review, 68*, 939-967.

Raymond, G. (2010). Grammar and social relations: Alternative forms of yes/no type initiating actions in health visitor interaction. In A.F. Freed and S. Ehrlich (Eds.), *"Why Do You Ask?": The function of questions in institutional discourse* (pp. 87-107.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Romaniuk, T. (2009). The Clinton cackle: Hillary Rodham Clinton's laughter in news interviews. *Crossroads of Language, Interaction, and Culture*, *7*, 17-49

Rosenfeld, H.M., & Hancks, M. (1980). The nonverbal context of verbal listener responses. In M. R. Kay (Ed.), *The relationship of verbal and nonverbal communication* (pp. 193-206). Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Sacks, H. (1974). An analysis of the course of a joke's telling in conversation. In R. Bauman & J. Sherzer, (Eds.), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking* (pp. 337–353). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, H. (1995). *Lectures on conversation: Volumes I & II.* Edited by G. Jefferson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E.A., Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, *50*, 696–735.

Salinger, P. (1966) *With Kennedy*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Schegloff, E.A. (1968). Sequencing in Conversational Openings. *American Anthropologist, 70*, 1075–1095.

Schegloff, E.A. (1980). Preliminaries to preliminaries: **'**can I ask you a question**'**. *Sociological Inquiry, 50*, 104**–**152.

Schegloff, E.A. (1981). Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some uses of ' uh huh' and other things that come between sentences. In D. Tannen (Ed.) *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1981*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1984). On some gestures' relation to talk. In J.M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in Conversation Analysis* (pp. 266–296). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E.A. (1987). Recycled turn beginnings: A precise repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organisation. In G. Button and J.R.E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and Social Organisation* (pp. 70-85). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.

Schegloff, E. A. (1988b). On an actual virtual servo-mechanism for guessing bad news: a single case conjecture. *Social Problems, 35*(4), 442-457.

Schegloff, E.A. (1992). Repair after next turn: the last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation. *Sociology*, *97*(5),1295-1345.

Schegloff, E.A. (1996a). Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. In E.Ochs, E. Schegloff, & S. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and Grammar* (pp. 52-133). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2000). Interruption, overlap and turn-taking: accounts of conduct in interaction. *Language in Society*, *29*, 1**–**63.

Schegloff, E.A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, *8*, 289–327.

Selting, M. (1996). On the interplay of syntax and prosody in the constitution of turn-constructional units and turns in conversation. *Pragmatics, 6*, 371–388.

Selting, M. (2000). The construction of units in conversational talk. *Language in Society*, *29*, 277–517.

Small, W. (1972). *Political power and the press*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Smith, C. (1990). *Presidential press conferences: A critical approach*. New York: Praeger.

Stivers, T. (2005). Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 38*(2), pp. 131-158.

Stivers, T. (2008). Stance, alignment and affiliation during story telling: when nodding is a token of preliminary affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *41*, 29-55.

Stivers, T. and Hayashi, M. (2010). Transformative answers: One way to resist a question's constraints. *Language in Society*, *39*, 1-25.

Stivers, T, & Rossano, F. (2010) Mobilizing Response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(1), 3 -31.

Streeck, J. (1995). On projection. In E.N. Goody (Ed.), *Social intelligence and interaction: Expressions and implications of the social bias in human intelligence* (pp. 84-110) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Streeck, J., Goodwin C. and LeBaron. C. (2011) *Embodied Interaction: Language and body in the material world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Streeck, J., & Hartge, U. (1992). Previews: gestures at the transition place. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualization of Language* (pp. 135-157). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Streeck, J. and Knapp, M. L. (1992). The interaction of visual and verbal features in human communication. In F. Poyatos (Ed.), *Advances in Nonverbal Communication: Sociocultural, Clinical, Esthetic and Literary Perspectives* (pp. 3-23). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

ten Have, P. (1999). *Doing conversation analysis: A practical guide.* London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Terasaki, A. K. (1976). Pre-announcement sequences in conversation. *Social Sciences Working Paper No. 99*. University of California at Irvine.

Wattenberg, M. P. (2004). The changing presidential media environment. *Presidential Studies Quarterly, 34*, 557-72.

Yngve, V. E. (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. In M.A. Campbell (Ed.), *Papers from the 6th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistics Society* (pp. 567-578). Chicago: Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago.

Zelizer, B. and Allan, S. (2002). *Journalism after September 11.* London, England: Routledge.