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Knowledge-Testing Questions in Korean Political Campaign Debates

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Applied Linguistics

by

Eun Young Bae

2019

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Knowledge-Testing Questions in Korean Political Campaign Debates

by

Eun Young Bae

Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguitics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Steven E. Clayman, Co-Chair

Professor Marjorie H. Goodwin, Co-Chair

This dissertation aims to discover the systematic properties of 'knowledge-testing' questions (KQs) to broaden our understanding of the action of knowledge-testing accomplished via questions. The data of this study consist of 190 KQs obtained from cross-examinations among political candidates in 116 Korean political campaign debates (155 hours and 23 minutes in total). The defining features, emergence, and compositional forms of KQs are explored in great detail using the methodological and analytic framework of conversation analysis (CA).

To clearly define KQs, this study examines the interactional functions of KQs, and their production and recognition as KQs during the cross-examinations. The findings show that candidates use KQs to discredit their opponents and expose their ignorance of the subject of inquiry while promoting their own knowledgeability. Candidates also utilize linguistic,

sequential/interactional, and broad social resources for action formation and ascription of KQs and can retrospectively transform the action import of KQs.

The investigation of the emergence of KQs during the cross-examinations show that they occur in three distinctive but potentially co-existing contexts: (a) where candidates have good reason to believe that the respondents are vulnerable to KQs, (b) where candidates are involved in undermining their opponents' policies/promises/claims, and (c) where candidates fail to provide the correct answers to the KQs issued by their opponents earlier and subsequently attempt to show that their opponents have the same weakness as themselves regarding a domain of knowledge. Candidates therefore find KQs to be a useful debate tool to primarily expose their opponents' ignorance, which can serve as a basis for undermining their opponents' promises/claims or doing damage control via counterattack. The different sequential contexts contribute to diversifying the import of KQs as a political campaign debate strategy and point to the close relationship between sequential position and action import.

The compositional forms of the KQs are analyzed by identifying the parameters (or dimensions) that explain linguistic variation in KQ design and the import delivered by each KQ format in testing knowledge. This study identifies two parameters of KQ design and their respective formats: the epistemic parameter accounting for nine types of KQ formats, and the precision parameter accounting for three types of KQ formats. The nine epistemic KQ formats convey different degrees of expectation towards the likelihood of the opponents' knowing the answers, which range from strongest pessimism to strongest optimism. The three precision formats realize to varying degrees how precise an answer the KQs will accept. Acceptable answers as conveyed by these formats range from approximate to precise and accurate. The sequential and frequency analyses of the epistemic and precision formats show the variation in

their surface forms to be an accountable and systematic phenomenon geared towards maximizing the effectiveness of KQs as a linguistic device for testing the opponents' knowledge and proving their ignorance.

As a rare conversation analytic study providing a detailed and comprehensive analysis of KQs used in political campaign debates—a type of question crucial in constituting various forms of institutional interactions such as pedagogical interactions, news interviews with political candidates, job interviews, and legal proceedings, this dissertation adds to our understanding of the institutional uses of KQs, linguistic strategies for political campaign debates, and question design in Korean, thereby contributing to the fields of conversational analysis, political communication, and linguistics.

This dissertation of Eun Young Bae is approved.

Hongyin Tao

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Steven E. Clayman, Committee Co-Chair

Marjorie H. Goodwin, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

To my husband, son, and parents

For their love, encouragement, and support

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objective

Asking and responding to questions are fundamental human acts ubiquitous to all human communities and are vital to building human interaction (Stivers, Enfield, & Levinson, 2010). This dissertation examines this act by focusing on a very special type of question, i.e., 'knowledge-testing' questions (hereafter, KQs). KQs, also known as 'known-answer' questions, are distinctive in that they focus on probing the respondent's knowledge about an established fact while at the same time assuming that the questioner knows the answer (e.g., Do you know when Columbus discovered America?). This sets them apart from typical questions speakers use to seek information unknown to them (e.g., What's your favorite movie?). The unique feature of KQs allows them to be deployed in various institutional settings as an interactional tool to achieve particular institutional objectives, especially where the respondents' knowledgeability is at issue as in the cases of student-teacher interactions, job interviews, news interviews with political candidates, and legal proceedings.

In spite of the importance of KQs as a linguistic medium for accomplishing diverse institutional objectives, our understanding of KQs is quite limited to their pedagogical uses in classroom settings. In fact, we are still very far from understanding the wide range of functions KQs serve. We do not have answers to more fundamental questions such as how speakers grammatically and sequentially compose KQs to be recognizable as a KQ and not as other types of questions such as information-seeking questions so that the intended functions of KQs can get across to the hearers. We also do not know what triggers speakers to test the hearers' knowledge by using KQs. In addition, we do not have a comprehensive picture of the linguistic repertoire

employed for constituting KQs as well as the role linguistic variations in KQ forms play in implementing interactional functions of KQs.

This dissertation addresses the aforementioned niche in the study of question-response sequences by examining the interactional functions, emergence, and compositional forms of KQs during Korean political campaign debates within the methodological framework of Conversation Analysis. Using 116 televised Korean political campaign debates (155 hours and 23 minutes in total) from 2012 to 2016, I look at cross-examinations of Korean political campaign debates in which the candidates are obligated to debate each other directly by asking and responding to each other's questions. Unlike ordinary conversation where interactional goals are multi-faceted, cross-examinations of Korean political campaign debates are geared to the specialized task of probing each candidate's qualification on behalf of the electorate. Thus, these cross-examinations provide a unique research site for the investigation of how candidates, who are conscious of the institutional purpose of such debates, compose and use KQs as a political debate strategy for disproving their opponents' qualifications.

By examining KQs employed in the institutional context of Korean political campaign debates, this dissertation seeks to advance our understanding of the institutional uses of KQs, the linguistic strategies of political campaign debates, and question designs in Korean, thereby contributing to the fields of conversational analysis, political communication, and (Korean) linguistics.

1.2. Research Questions

Specific research questions this dissertation examines to shed light on the interactional functions, emergence, and compositional forms of KQs utilized in cross-examinations of Korean political campaign debates are presented below:

1. What are the defining features of KQs used in cross-examinations of Korean political campaign debates? More specifically, what specialized actions (or interactional functions) do KQs implement during cross-examinations of Korean political campaign debates, and what resources do candidates rely on to produce and recognize questions as KQs and not other types of questions?

2. In what contexts do KQs emerge during the cross-examinations of Korean political campaign debates, and what do the findings on the emergence of KQs tell us about when political candidates perceive KQs as a useful political campaign debate strategy?

3. What are the parameters that explain the linguistic variations in the compositional forms of KQs, and what are the various imports each KQ format delivers in implementing the actions (or interactional functions) identified in exploring the first research question?

1.3. Significance

This section briefly introduces previous research on or relevant to KQs and discusses the significance and specific contributions of this dissertation to the following fields of conversational analysis, political communication, and (Korean) linguistics.

1.3.1. Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis is greatly interested in examining the systematic properties of action, the basic unit of human interaction, to discover the regularities of human interaction (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011). KQs are indispensable constituents of various institutional interactions— in particular, where the respondents' knowledgeability or expertise is under scrutiny (e.g., pedagogical interactions, job interviews, presidential candidate interviews, and political campaign debates), thus presenting itself as an important type of an action that merits investigating.

Conversation analytic research on KQs (or more broadly speaking, known-answer question-response sequences) has been centered on pedagogical interactions (e.g., Koshik, 2002, 2003; Lee, 2007; Lerner 1995; Macbeth, 2000; Mchoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979) as noted earlier in Section 1.1. We do not know much about the systematic properties of KQs outside the pedagogical context, however, as only a small number of studies have examined KQs or known-answer questions in general in other institutional contexts. The few exceptions are Levinson (1992) and Stokoe and Edwards (2008), which examine the use of known-answer questions in cross-examinations during a courtroom interaction and police interviews with suspects, respectively, and Roth (2005) and Clayman and Romaniuk (2011), which explore the use of KQs in the electoral discourse context of political news interviews.

Roth's (2005) study and Clayman and Romaniuk's (2011) study on KQs are the most directly relevant to the present study. Roth (2005) examines eight instances of "pop quizzes," which I call KQs in my dissertation, asked by journalists to political candidates in political news interviews. In doing so, he focuses on the compositional features of pop quizzes, the actions achieved by pop quizzes, and responses to pop-quizzes.

According to Roth (2005), pop quizzes are designed with the grammatical forms that presuppose the requested information from candidates is a knowable, factual matter (e.g., "Can you name the president of Chechnya?"). Roth (2005) also argues that the content of pop quizzes concerns a knowable, factual matter such as specific figures (e.g., "But how many troops- how many man and women do we now have on active duty?"). Based on the observation on the form and content of pop quizzes, he argues that pop quizzes simultaneously implement two actions: first, they suggest that the matter being asked about should be known by the candidate, and second, they expose that the candidate does not possess definite knowledge of the requested information. In addition, Roth (2005) documents that candidates can resist pop quizzes by directing the same or similar pop quizzes to the journalists, contesting the legitimacy of pop quizzes, or defending their ignorance.

Whereas the focus of Roth's (2005) study is solely on pop quizzes, Clayman and Romaniuk's (2011) study examines various types of questions that journalists employ in interviews with political candidate to probe the knowledge of the political candidates. Along with pop quizzes, Clayman and Romaniuk (2011, p.18) register that questions such as "And when it comes to establishing your worldview, I was curious, what newspapers and magazines did you regularly read before you were tapped for this to stay informed and to understand the world?", which I call general-knowledgeability questions in this dissertation, can also explicitly

foreground the issue of the candidates' knowledge. They also mention that even questions about candidates' opinions and policies could reveal something about the candidates' level of knowledge and show that these questions can serve as a context triggering the occurrence of explicit pop quizzes.

Both Roth (2005) and Clayman and Romaniuk (2011) have made at least two significant contributions to the study of KQs. First, they chart a new area for the investigation of KQs other than pedagogical discourse—i.e., electoral discourse. Second, they explicitly or tacitly lay out a series of research agenda that can be pursued by examining KQs employed in electoral discourse such as the interactional functions of KQs, the nature of forms and content of KQs, the distinctiveness of KQs in comparison to other knowledge-probing questions, and the emergence of KQs during the course of interaction.

On the other hand, the studies by Roth (2005) and Clayman and Romaniuk (2011), however, look at a relatively small number of instances of KQs (and other knowledge-probing questions) and thus do not provide a comprehensive analysis of the research agenda mentioned above. This dissertation goes beyond previous research by conducting an in-depth investigation of the systematic properties of KQs in the unexplored genre of electoral discourse, that is, cross-examinations of political campaign debates, and thereby broadens our understanding of KQs across different institutional contexts. Furthermore, the collection of KQs examined by this dissertation is of considerable size—190 KQs—which is sufficient to capture the diversity in KQ design, the sequential and social context that KQs appear, and their varied usage as political campaign debate strategies.

As a rare conversation analytic study providing a detailed and comprehensive analysis of KQs used in electoral discourse and based on a significant collection of KQs, this dissertation

thus lays the groundwork for understanding the interactional functions, emergence, and compositional features of KQs used in cross-examinations of political campaign debates. In addition, this dissertation contributes to the cross-institutional study of KQs and thereby is conducive for discovering institution-specific and institutional-general properties of KQs, which are essential building blocks of various institutional interactions.

1.3.2. Political Communication

Many political communication researchers have shown a great interest in identifying specific political campaign debate strategies and evaluating the effectiveness of these strategies (e.g., Benoit & Brazeal, 2002; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit, Pier, Brazeal, McHale, Klyukovski, & Airne, 2002; Benoit & Wells, 1996; Reinemann & Maurer, 2005; Martel, 1983; Pfau & Kang, 1991; Hinck & Hinck, 2002). For instance, Benoit and Wells (1996) argue that during political campaign debates, political candidates seek to present themselves in a favorable light by employing strategies for persuasive attack (e.g., increasing negative perceptions of the act, and increasing perceived responsibility for the act), as well as strategies for persuasive defense (e.g., denial or evasion of responsibility; reducing the offensiveness of an event; corrective action; and mortification).

Although such research on political campaign debates have advanced our understanding of the typology of debate strategies and the function and efficacy of a particular debate strategy, they tend to focus on the overt content of the political candidates' talk and pay less attention to subtle, off-the-record strategies that are not registered in the propositions of the political candidates' talk. This dissertation fills this gap by focusing particularly on the linguistic design of KQs and the sequential and broader social context in which KQs occur. By exploring these

nuanced yet crucial tactics employed by candidates, this dissertation shows that candidates not only use the content of talk but also the sequential and grammatical organizations of talk as an interactional resource constituting their political campaign debate strategies.

1.3.3. (Korean) Linguistics

Korean, as an agglutinative language with a rich morphological system, employs various types of interrogative sentence enders to construct a question (e.g., *-na, -(nu)-nya, -ni, -nka,* or *-kka*) even without changing the basic word order of subject-object-predicate. In contrast, English obligates an inversion between syntactic constituents and the movement of a question word to form a question (see Sohn, 1999; Yoon, 2010).

On the other hand, Korean, like English, does not have a distinctive grammatical inventory reserved only for constructing KQs (or known-answer questions in general) despite its complex repertoire of morphology. This opens up a chance for an interesting inquiry that addresses the long standing issue of many-to-many relations between form and function in linguistics and the subsequent problem of recognition of a particular function intended with a linguistic form (Weber, 1993): how do Korean speakers recognize KQs as KQs and not as information-seeking questions? Furthermore, the absence of a one-on-one relation between KQ forms and KQs in Korean suggests multiple linguistic formats in designing KQs and warrants an explanation of the role of linguistic variations in implementing the interactional functions of KQs. This dissertation investigates the defining features of KQs and the compositional features of KQs, thereby contributing to deepening our understanding of systematicity in the relationship between form and function in KQ design in the Korean language. As a comprehensive study of the compositional features of KQs in Korean, the findings of this dissertation also lay the

foundations for cross-linguistic research on KQs that sheds light on language-specific and language-general features of KQ design and thus provides insight into how linguistic difference functions as affordance or limitation in KQ design.

To summarize Section 1.3, this dissertation, which seeks to illuminate the interactional functions, emergence, and compositional features of KQs, is highly relevant and significantly contributes to multiple disciplines—such as conversation analysis, political communication, and (Korean) linguistics— interested in examining the linguistic forms and/or functions of KQs in the context of political campaign debate such as conversation analysis, political communication, and (Korean) linguistics.

1.4. Organization

The remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 introduces the data, the methodological framework, specific analytical procedures, and the transcription method used in this study. Chapter 3 examines the defining features of KQs by investigating what actions (or interactional functions) KQs serve during cross-examinations of political campaign debates as well as how KQs are produced and recognized as KQs and not as other types of questions. Chapter 4 explores the sequential and broader socio-interactional contexts that trigger candidates to test their opponents' knowledge through KQs and discusses the usefulness of KQs as a political campaign debate strategy. Chapter 5 identifies parameters that can explain the lexical and grammatical variations among KQs, the specific KQ formats within each parameter, and the various imports conveyed by each KQ format. Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the present study and discusses the limitations and future research directions.

CHAPTER 2. DATA AND METHODS

2.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the data and analytic methods of the study. Section 2.2 covers both the data for this study and the criteria applied to count the number of KQs. Section 2.3 introduces conversation analysis as the methodological framework of the study, illustrates the specific analytical procedures, and defines the transcription method used in this study.

2.2. The Data

2.2.1. Korean Political Campaign Debates and Cross-Examinations Among Political Candidates

The data for this study consist of a range of political campaign debates featuring candidates running for public office (e.g., presidential debates; parliamentary election debates among candidates running for a seat in the National Assembly, the national legislature of South Korea; local election debates among candidates running for head of the local government such as mayor, governor, and county governor), which occurred from 2012 to 2016 and were broadcasted through national, cable, or internet television networks. In total, 116 political campaign debates amounting to 155 hours and 23 minutes were examined for this study.

Overall, the political campaign debates were composed of several phases: (a) the moderators' opening remarks, (b) candidates' opening statements, (c) debate proper, which included a series of question–response sessions, (d) candidates' closing statements, and (e) the moderators' closing remarks. Among these different debate phases, this study focuses on the debate proper phase, especially on the cross-examinations in which the candidates were

obligated to debate each other directly by asking and responding to each other's questions. Cross-examinations were introduced into Korean political campaign debates to create "a true clash or debate between candidates" (Song, 2000, p.50) and feature in almost every political campaign debate in South Korea.[1] During the cross-examinations, candidates who ask their opponents questions are expected to take an adversarial position towards their opponents and probe their qualifications rigorously, albeit respectfully, on behalf of the electorate.

The cross-examinations consist of at least one question turn and one response turn. The cross-examination format pre-allocates a particular turn type to a particular political candidate (cf. Atkinson & Drew, 1979)—that is, normally, a political candidate who is obligated to ask questions of his/her opponent should *only* ask questions, and the opponent to whom the questions are directed should *only* respond to the questions. However, this does not necessarily mean that every candidate always conforms to the norm. Candidates who are in the discourse role of the respondents at times ask questions in their response turn, although rarely, which may incur a sanction from the moderators or candidates who are in the discourse role of the questioners.

2.2.2. Criteria For Counting KQs

By closely investigating cross-examinations among the candidates, this study was able to identify 197 instances of KQs in total (for detailed information on the criteria for identifying KQs, refer to Chapter 3). Among these instances of KQs, however, seven instances were excluded from the data set for the following two reasons. First, three KQs, which were true-false tests, were not included in the data set. These KQs were different from the rest of the KQs in that they asked a respondent to judge whether the propositional content of a KQ was true or false

[1] Cross-examinations among political candidates (a.k.a. Oregon-style debating) rarely occur in American political debates. However, they are occasionally used in intra-party or primary debates (Song, 2000,

instead of requesting the respondent to create an answer. Extract (2.1) below is an instance of true-false KQs.

Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (2.1), L was responding to B's question that requested clarification on L's policy of establishing an autonomous public school in their electoral district, Cheongwon-gun. In doing so, L explained that although bringing special-purpose high schools into Cheongwon-gun would be desirable in terms of local development, he was currently pursuing the more plausible alternative of changing a preexisting public school into an autonomous public school. Afterwards, B commented that special-purpose high schools were what used to be called vocational high schools, thereby implicitly pointing out that L's words—that bringing a special-purpose high school would be desirable for Cheongwon-gun—are incorrect. In Extract (2.1), however, L focuses on B's remark that special-purpose high schools were what used to be called vocational high schools.

Extract (2.1) [Special-Purpose High Schools]

01	L:	akka	thuk-mok:-ko-ka silepkyey:
		a moment ago	s(pecial)-p(urpose)-high school-NM vocational
02		kotunghakkyo-la-ko	kule-sy-ess-ci-[yo.]
		high school-DC-QT	like that-SH-PST-COMM-Q:POL
		(You) said a moment ago that	
		s(pecial)-p(urpose) high schools were vocational high schools, didn't you?	
03	B:		[thuk]swu mokcek
			special purpose
04		kotunghakkyo-[ka kuleh-supnita.	yey.]
		high school-NM like that-DC:DEF	yes
		Special-purpose high schools are (vocational high schools). Yes, (I did).	
05→	L:	[kulssey thukswu	mok]cek kotunghakkyo-ka e-
		well special	purpose high school-NM uh

06→ ku-ke-y pantusi silepkyey
that-thing-NM necessarily vocational

07→ kotunghak[kyo-pnikka?]
high school-Q:DEF
Well, are special-purpose high schools uh -necessarily vocational high schools?

08 B: [kkok sipep]kyey kotunghakkyo-nun
necessarily vocational high school-TC

09 ani-ko-[yo,]
not-and- POL
They're not necessarily vocational high schools.

10 L: [a]ni-pnita:,
not-DC:DEF
They're not.

… *((The nine lines where L clarifies that specialized high schools are*
... *what people called vocational high schools in the past are omitted.))*

20 L: (kyeysok) ku: hakkyo ku- ku cikum
continually the school the the now

21 kyo-kkwa wiwencang ha-sin-un pwun-i:, (0.4)
education-subject chairman do-SH-RL person-NM

22 hakkyo kaney kwupyul-to cenghwakhakey mosha-si-pnikka:?
school between distinction-even accurately cannot-SH-Q:DEF
The school the- the- (you)'re the present chair of the education, science, and technology committee (of the National Assembly), (0.4) but (you) are unable to accurately tell (these) schools apart?

Extract (2.1) [Special-Purpose High Schools] in Korean

01 L: 아까 특목:고가 실업계:
02 고등학교라고 그러셨지[요.]
03 B: [특]수 목적
04 고등학교[가 그렇습니다.예.]
05→ L: [글쎄 특수 목] 적 고등학교가 어-
06→ 그게 반드시 실업계
07→ 고등학[굡니까?]
08 B: [꼭 실업]계 고등학교는
09 아니고[요,]

10 L: [아]닙니다:,
... *((The nine lines where L clarifies that specialized high schools are*
... *what people called vocational high schools in the past are omitted))*
20 L: (계속) 그: 학교 그- 그 지금
21 교좌 위원장 하시는 분이:, (0.4)
22 학교 간에 구별도 정확하게 못하십니까:?

In lines 1-2 L asks B to confirm whether or not B had uttered the remark in question. Upon receiving B's confirmation (lines 3-4), L issues a true-false KQ to B that requests B to explicitly judge the truth-value of the proposition that special-purpose high schools are necessarily vocational high schools by affirming or disaffirming it. By doing so, L puts B in an uncomfortable position of having to overtly evaluate whether or not his previous remark that special-purpose high schools are what used to be called vocational high schools is indeed true. In lines 8-9 B backs down from his initial statement and says special-purpose high schools are not necessarily vocational high schools. In line 10 L makes it clear that special-purpose high schools are not necessarily vocational high schools by saying *ani-pnita* 'They are not.' Furthermore, L adds an explanation that specialized high schools—thus, not special purpose schools— are what people called vocational high schools in the past (not shown in the transcript). In lines 20-22 L even explicitly criticizes B's inability to accurately distinguish the different types of school by pointing out that despite being the present chair of the education, science, and technology committee of the National Assembly and thus someone who should have a solid grasp of such issues, B is ignorant of them.

As shown in the analysis of the true-false KQ in Extract (2.1) above, the three true-false KQs identified in the data set establish a different action agenda from the rest of the KQs: these KQs ask the respondents to evaluate the truth of the propositional content of the KQs instead of asking them to produce knowledge. For this reason, the usage, emergence, and linguistic design

of these true-false KQs may subtly but significantly be different from the rest and thus warrant separate treatment from the rest of the KQs.

Second, the remaining four KQs, which were produced as incomplete utterances, were excluded from the data set. This is because it was difficult for the researcher to examine the linguistic designs of the unfinished KQs with confidence and accuracy. In particular, when the predicate part of a KQ was left unproduced, it was extremely challenging for the researcher to figure out which epistemic KQ format the KQ was designed with. Extract (2.2) is the case in point.

In Extract (2.2) YS and LK are talking about LK's campaign pledge that by 2018, LK would have all senior citizens whose income was in the lower 70 percent receive a basic pension of 300,000 won. At the time of the debate in 2016, the basic pension was paid on a sliding scale from 100,000 won to 200,000 won. In lines 1-3 YS, despite knowing how much more this would cost (refer to line 21), asks LK the amount of the additional cost this would require in order to test whether or not LK has this knowledge. In lines 5-9 LK issues an evasive response. Instead of providing a straightforward answer by stating the additional cost, LK explains that the additional cost itself would be a bit different from what he can estimate at this point based on the current number of people whose income is in the lower 70 percent, since this number may be different in 2018. LK's evasive response triggers YS to issue a follow-up KQ and thereby renews his initial question (line 10). YS's follow-up KQ in line 10, however, does not come to completion as LK comes in and eventually wins the floor.

Extract (2.2) [Basic Pension for Senior Citizens]

01 YS: kulehkey toy-myen-un hyencay:-ey pihayse
like that become-if-TC the present-compared to

02 elma-na chwuka caywen-i
how much-approximately additional financial resources-NM

03 soyo-ka toy-pnikka?
cost-NM become-Q:DEF
In that case, approximately how much would the additional cost be?

04 (0.4)

05 LK: ku cacey-nun akka ku: ttay swucwun-ey wa kaciko, (0.4)
that itself-TC a while ago that time level –at come when

06 keyngcey cil-sip phulo-ey haytangha-nun
economy 70 percent-at belong-RL

07 kulen haytangtoy-nun salam-i-ki ttaymwuney .h
like that belong-RL person-be-because

08 ccokum-ey chai-ka iss-ul su-ka iss-eyo:. (0.2)
a bit-of-of difference-NM be-can-NM be-DC:POL

09 iss-nun[tey:,]
be-but
The (additional cost) itself would be a bit different then .h since it's based on the (number of) people (whose income is) in the (lower) 70 percent. (0.2)

10→ YS: [ani] kulenikka taylyak el[ma cento-ka]
well I mean approximately how much degree-NM
Well, I mean approximately how much

11 LK: [cay- caywen]:-i
finan- financial resources-NM

12 enu cengto-ka cwungyoha-n ke-y anila-yo:.
what degree-NM be important-RL thing-NM not-POL
The amount of the (additional) costs is not what's important.

13 YS: yey.
okay
Okay.

14 LK: cey-ka_sangkakha-ki-ey-nun
I-NM think-NOM-at-TC

15 kukes pota-nun (0.6) caki uyci-ka:, (0.5)
that thing than-TC self will-NM

16 ceketo te cwungyohata
at least more be important

17 [cen-un kulen sangkak-ul ha-ketun-yo? yey:.]
I-TC like that thought-AC do-ENDER-POL yes
In my view, (.) one's will (0.5) is more important (0.6)than that; at least that's what I think.

18 YS: [kulehta-myen-un coh-supnita. mwe ayk] swu-ya
be so-if-TC be good-DC:DEF what amount-just

19 mwe mo[l-ul su iss-nun ke]-c(i)-yo.
what not know-can-be-TC thing-COMM-POL
In that case, fine.
It's not a big deal even if (you) don't know the amount.

20 LK: [yey: yey.]
right right
Right, right.

21 *((YS goes on to explain that the additional costs this policy would incur would be around 6.4 trillion won and asks LK to speak roughly about how he was planning on coming up with this money.))*

Extract (2.2) [Basic Pension for Senior Citizens] in Korean

01 YS: 그렇게 되면은 현재:에 비해서
02 얼마나 추가 재원이
03 소요가 됩니까?
04 (0.4)
05 LK: 그 자체는 아까 그: 때 수준에 와 가지고, (0.4)
06 경제 칠십 프로에 해당하는
07 그런 해당되는 사람이기 때문에 .h
08 쪼금에 차이가 있을 수가 있어요:. (0.2)
09 있는 [데:,]
10 → YS: [아니] 그러니까 대략 얼[마 정도가]
11 LK: [재- 재원]:이
12 어느 정도가 중요한 게 아니라요:.
13 YS: 예.
14 LK: 제가 생각하기에는: (.)

15 그것 보다는 (0.6) 자기 의지가:, (0.5)
16 적어도 더 중요하다
17 [저는 그런 생각을 하거든요? 예:.]
18 YS: [그렇다면은 좋습니다. 뭐 액]수야=
19 =뭐 모[를 수 있는 거]죠.
20 LK: [예: 예 .]
21 *((YS goes on to explain that the additional costs this policy would incur would be around 6.4 trillion won and asks LK to speak roughly about how he was planning on coming up with this money.))*

As YS's follow-up KQ (i.e., *ani kulenikka taylyak elma cento-ka* 'Well, I mean approximately how much') does not have a predicate part, we cannot clearly see which epistemic KQ format YS was using in designing this KQ, as at least more than one epistemic KQ format can be syntactically compatible with YS's follow-up KQ. The examples below show two possible KQ formats out of many others that are not shown here.

Example (2-a) YS's Follow-up KQ in the Typical Type C KQ Format
ani kulenikka taylyak elma cento-ka
well I mean approximately how much degree-NM

chwuka caywen-i soyo-ka toy-nya-ko-yo.
additional financial resources-NM cost-NM be-Q-QT-POL
Well, I mean, what I asked was approximately how much the additional cost would be.

Example (2-b) YS's Follow-up KQ in the Typical Type B KQ Format
ani kulenikka taylyak elma cento-ka
well I mean approximately how much degree-NM

chwuka caywen-i soyo-ka toy-nunci a-si-pnikka?
additional financial resources-NM cost- NM become-OQ know-SH-Q:DEF?
Well, I mean, do you know approximately how much the additional cost would be?

Excluding the aforementioned seven instances of either true-false KQs or unfinished KQs, this study examined 190 instances of KQs in total. In counting the number of KQs, this study treated KQs consisting of multiple substances (i.e., the contents a questioner is testing the respondent on) as a single instance of a KQ since they were syntactically constructed as one question, sometimes with prosodic cues, reflecting the speakers' perspective that multiple substances are part of a larger unit rather than separate independent units. I call this kind of KQs multiple-substance KQs. Extracts (2.3)-(2.4) below illustrate such cases.

In lines 1-2 and 4-6 of Extract (2.3), LJ issues a multiple-substance KQ that consists of three parts: a) the current amount of minimum wage, b) the minimum wage for the following year, and c) the number of workers whose wages are below the current minimum wage. Although the three components deal with distinctive substances, LJ packs them into a single question syntactically by making each of the three components the subordinate clause of the same matrix clause *kutongan com phaak↑ha-sy-ess-nunci-yo* '(I'd like to ask) whether (you)'ve grasped~' Furthermore, the continuing intonation indicated with ',' at the end of the first two components of LJ's KQ—i.e., *cikum choyce-imkum elma-nci:*, 'how much the minimum wage is now' *nay-nyen choyce-imkum-un elma-nci:*, 'how much the minimum wage will be next year'—provide prosodic cues that these components are part of a larger, uncompleted unit.

Extract (2.3) [Minimum Wage_KQ Only]

01→	LJ:	=cikum	choyce-imkum	elma-nci:, .h	
		now	minimum-wage	how much-OQ	
02→		nay-nyen	choyce-imkum-un	elma-nci [:,	tto]=
		next-year	minimum-wage-TC	how much-OQ	and
03	PK:			[h	h]
				h	h
		hh			

04→ LJ: =choyce-imkum-to mos pat-nun
minimum-wage-even not receive-RL

05→ notongca-tul elma-nci. (0.3)
worker-PL how many-OQ (0.3)

06→ kutongan com phaak↑ha-sy-ess-nunci-yo.
meantime a little grasp-SH-PST-OQ-POL
(I'd like to ask) whether (you)'ve grasped (0.3)
how much the minimum wage is now,
how much the minimum wage will be next year,
and how many workers there are that cannot even
receive the minimum wage.

07 PK: yey. ku choyce-imkum-kwa kwanlyenha-y kaci-ko,
yes that minimum-wage-with relate-have-and
Well, regarding the minimum wage (question that I previously received)

Extract (2.3) [Minimum Wage_KQ Only] in Korean

01→ LJ: =지금 최저임금은 얼만지:, .h
02 내년 최저임금은 얼만지[:, 또]=
03 PK: [h h]
04 LJ: =최저 임금도 못 받는
05 노동자들 얼만지. (0.3)
06 그동안 좀 파악↑하셨는지요.
07 PK: 예. 그 최저임금과 관련해 가지고,

Extract (2.4) provides another instance of multiple-substance KQs. Here the participants, NSC and KKH, are running for Governor of Sinan County. As the county had a relatively high percentage of multicultural families, one of the major social issues of the county at the time of the debate was how to support these multicultural families. In lines 1-5, NSC asks KKH a KQ to test whether KKH has a concrete understanding of the reality of the support multicultural families have currently been receiving from the government. This KQ of NSC is a multiple-substance KQ in that it requires KKH to state a) what is currently being provided for the multicultural families and b) the amount of this support. What is interesting about this multiple-substance KQ is that each questioned element (i.e., *mwues-i* 'what' *elma-na* 'how much (of it)')

forms a constituent of the same clause as the subject and the adjunct, respectively, instead of being composed as a separate dependent clause as in the multiple-substance KQ of Extract (2.3).[2] As such, these multiple substances syntactically form a single question rather than two separate questions.

Extract (2.4) [Multicultural Families_KQ Only]

01→	NSC:	tamwunhwa kaceng-ey cikum yey-lul tul-ese multicultural family-to now example-AC give-so
02→		yen: il-nyen-ey (0.2) yey-lul tul-e year one-year-in example-AC give-so
03→		kupwun-tul: icwuha-yss-ul cek-ey. they-PL relocate-PST-PRS event-at
04→		saynghwalha-si-l cek-ey. mwues-i elma-na live everyday life-SH-PRS event-at what-NM how-approximately
05→		cikum cikuptoy-ko iss-ta-ko sangkakha-si-pnikka. now be given-and exist-DC-QT think-SH-Q:DEF ***What and how much (of it) do (you) think is currently being given to multicultural families, for instance, (0.2) yearly- in a year for everyday expenses of multicultural families formed by a Korean parent and a non-Korean parent who left their country of origin and relocated to Korea for marriage?***
06	KKH	mwues-ul elma-na [cikup]toy-ko iss-ta. (0.4) i- what-AC how much- approximately be given-and exist-DC:PLN this ***(Regarding the issue of) what and how much (of it) is being given, (0.4) this-***
07	MOD:	[ah:] ah ***Ah,***

[2] Due to structural difference between English and Korean, the English translation was not able to fully capture the syntactic function of *'elma-na'* 'how much (of it)' as the adjunct of the clause.

Extract (2.4) [Multicultural Families_KQ Only] in Korean
05→ NSC: 다문화 가정에 지금 예를 들어서
06→ 연: 일년에 (0.2) 예를 들어
07→ 그분들: 이주했을 적에.
08→ 생활하실 적에. 무엇이 얼마나
09→ 지금 지급되고 있다고 생각하십니까.
10 KKH: 무엇을 얼마나 [지급]되고 있다. (0.4) 이-
11 MOD: [아:]

Extracts (2.3) and (2.4) have shown instances of multiple-substance KQs to explain that this study treats a multiple-substance KQ as *one* instance of KQs as they are constructed as a single question from a syntactic perspective, However, when a questioner self-repaired the initial version of his/her KQ within the same turn after fully producing it (e.g., Extract (2.5) on pp. 23-24) or when a questioner issues a follow-up KQ that addresses essentially the same substance with its preceding KQ after the respondents' response to the preceding KQ (e.g., Extract (2.6) on pp.25-26), the questioner's initial KQ was counted separately from either the self-repaired version of the KQ or the follow-up KQ due to analytic advantages this way of counting KQs could bring into investigating the linguistic design of KQs.

To begin with, treating an initial KQ and its self-repaired version separately—especially, in cases where the initial KQ and its self-repaired version are designed with different types of KQ formats—make it possible for the researcher to investigate the types of KQ formats that can appear in the same sequential environment since the initial KQ and its self-repaired version occur in the same turn. For instance, let us take a look at Extract (2.5) below.

During the time of the debate, part of which is shown in Extract (2.5), a series of transmission towers were being built in Gunsan, KGY and KYT's electoral district. Some residents demanding that changes be made in the route along which the transmission towers were going to be built were locked in conflict with the city of Gunsan and the Korean Electric Power

Corporation, the company in charge of the construction. Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (2.5), KGY mentioned that just like KYT, he also hopes the conflict concerning the construction of the transmission towers would be resolved well. Then, in lines 1-4 KGY issues two KQs that ask KYT about the same matter—i.e., the number of transmission towers needed for the currently planned power line. The first KQ is located in lines 1-2, and the second KQ, in line 3-4. The latter KQ, which is the self-repaired version of the former KQ, is different from the former in many aspects, but the analysis will be focused on their difference in terms of their linguistic design concerning the epistemic dimension (for more information on epistemic dimension, refer to Chapter 5).

Extract (2.5) [Transmission Towers for Power Line]

01→	KGY:	hyencay:,	i	songcensenlo		chelthap-i
		currently	this	a route for a power line		transmission tower-NM
02→		myech	kay	cengto	toy-nunci	a-si-pnikka?
		what	CL	degree	be-OQ	know-SH-Q:DEF
		Do (you) know approximately how many transmission towers the power line (requires) at the moment?				
03→		chong	myech	kay-ka (0.2)	chelthap-i	cinhayngtoy-ko
		in total	what	CL-NM	transmission tower-NM	be proceeded-and
04→		iss-[supnikka?]				
		be-Q:DEF				
		How many transmission towers (0.2) have been planned in total?				
05	KYT:	[wuli	*kim*]*wanyeng* (0.4)	hwupo-kkeyse-nun		
		our	KGY	candidate-NM: hon.-TC		
06		i-pen	kwuhoyuywen-senke-pangsong-tolon-ul			
		this	parliamentary-election-broadcast-debate-AC			
07		mwusun (.)	canghak-khwicu-lo	sangkakha-ko		
		some kind of	scholastic-quiz show-to	think-and		

08 kyey-si-nun kes kath-untey……
be:hon.-SH-RL thing seem-but
You (0.4) seem to think that this campaign debate (between candidates running for) the National Assembly is some kind of (.) quiz show, but ……

Extract (2.5) [Transmission Towers for Power Line] in Korean

01→ KGY: 현재:, 이 송전선로 철탑이
02→ 몇 개 정도 되는지 아십니까?
03→ 총 몇 개가 (0.2) 철탑이 진행되고
04→ 있[습니까?]
05 KYT: [우리 김]관영 (0.4)후보께서는
06 이번 국회의원선거방송토론을
07 무슨 (.) 장학퀴즈로 생각하고
08 계시는 것 같은데,……

KGY designed his initial KQ in lines 1-2 using the framing expression *a-sip-nikka?* 'Do you know~?' that highlights the issue of whether or not the respondent KYT knows the requested knowledge as the explicit focus of the question. I call this KQ format the 'Typical Type B KQ' format in Section 5.3.1 of Chapter 5. KGY, however, does not keep the same KQ format when he implements the same turn self-initiated self-repair on his initial KQ. Instead, he designs the repair solution as a wh-question format that foregrounds the substance of the KQ without using the FE. I call this format the 'Typical Type C KQ' format in Section 5.3.1 of Chapter 5. By counting these two KQs separately, we can see that the two different KQ formats—i.e., the Typical Type B KQ format and the Typical Type C KQ format—at least share a particular sequential environment of occurrence. More specifically, these two KQ formats can appear when the respondents' vulnerability to the KQ has not been established in the details of their conduct and the respondents also have not claimed that they have the requested information.

Counting a KQ and its follow-up KQ as a separate instance also offers an analytic benefit in that it allows us to examine how differences in terms of the sequential environment in which KQs occur influence their linguistic designs and offer a way to understand differences in the

usage of diverse KQ formats. Consider how a KQ and its follow-up KQ may deal with essentially the same substance, but the sequential environment in which the follow-up KQ occurs may be different from that of its initial KQ due to the influence of the respondent's response to the initial KQ. This difference in the sequential environment may in turn influence the linguistic design of each KQ as in Extract (2.6) below.

In lines 1-3 of Extract (2.6), which will be examined in more detail later in Section 3.3.1.1.1 of Chapter 3 and Section 5.3.2.1 of Chapter 5, SY is testing YJ's knowledge on the amount of the national budget allocated for local social overhead capital (SOC) at the time of the debate. In doing so, SY designs his KQ in the Typical Type B KQ format using the framing expression *a-sip-nikka?* 'Do you know~?'. However, when SY issues the follow-up KQ in line 8, he select a different KQ format that is formed with another framing expression *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~?,' which I call the 'Typical Type A KQ format' in Chapter 5.

Extract (2.6) [Local SOC]

01→	SY:	kuntey ku-cwungey (.) cipang eysuossi	
		but that-among local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)	
02→		yeysan-i elma-nci	
		budget-NM how much-OQ	
03→		a-si-pnikka?	
		know-SH-Q:DEF	
		But do (you) know how much the budget for	
		local social overhead capital is (.) out of that?	
04		(0.4)	
05	YJ:	kulsseyyo mwe cipang eysuossi::-lul	
		well what local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)-AC	
06		mwe cengcheycekulo:,	
		what overall	

07 el[ma-nci : ,]
how much-(be)-OQ
Well, uhm how much local SOC is uhm overall,

08→ SY: [chong-ayk]-i elam-n[ci molu]-si-pnikka?
total-amount-NM how much-OQ not know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) not know how much the total amount is?

09 YJ: [ey ey.]
yes yes
Mm hm,

10 YJ: yey.
no
No.

11 SY: .hhh chong-ayk-i cikum han isip co cenhwu-pnita,
total-amount-NM now about 20 trillion around-DC:DEF
The total amount is around 20 trillion (won).

Extract (2.6) [Local SOC] in Korean

01→ SY: 근데 그중에 (.) 지방 에스오씨
02→ 예산이 얼만지
03→ 아십니까?
04 (0.4)
05 YJ: 글쎄요 뭐 지방 에스오씨:: 를
06 뭐 전체적으로:,
07 얼[만지:,]
08→ SY: [총액] 이 얼만[지 모르]십니까?
09 YJ: [에 에.]
10 YJ: 예.
11 SY: .hhh 총액이 지금 한 이십 조 전홉니다,

The change in SY's selection of a KQ format between his initial KQ and his follow-up KQ is attributable to differences in the sequential environment in which each of SY's KQ occurred. SY's Typical Type B KQ in lines 1-3 is issued in a sequential context where there is no ground to believe that YJ does not know the answer to the KQ. SY's KQ in lines 1-3 is the first time SY deals with the local SOC budget issue as a topic of a question addressed to YJ, so the prior interaction between SY and YJ does not reveal anything about whether YJ possesses

knowledge of the local SOC budget. By contrast, SY's Typical Type A KQ in line 8 is positioned after apparent signs in YJ's turn that indicate the possibility that YJ does not have knowledge about the local SOC budget: instead of providing the amount of local SOC budget timely, YJ employs various interactional devices which delay his provision of an answer, such as a 0.4-second silence, the discourse marker *kulseyo* 'well,' and the repeat of the element of SY's KQ *cipang eysuossi::* 'local SOC'.

The respective sequential environments in which both KQs occur give us a clue to understanding the differences in the usage of the Typical Type B KQ format and the Typical Type A KQ format—that is, unlike the Typical Type B KQ format, the Typical Type A KQ format may *not* appear in the sequential environment in which a respondent's potential ignorance of the matter at hand has *not* been displayed in the conduct of the respondent. To put it another way, the Typical Type A KQ format is employed after a respondent's vulnerability to a KQ has reasonably been established through the conduct of the respondent. Extract (2.6) thus clearly demonstrates the analytic merits for treating a KQ and its follow-up KQ as separate instances of KQs: If we had counted SY's initial KQ and his follow-up KQ as one instance of KQs, we might have not been able to uncover the important distinctions between the Typical Type B KQ format and the Typical Type A KQ format.

Section 2.2 has introduced both the data of this study and the criteria applied to count the number of KQs. As pointed out, a total of 190 instances of KQs that occurred during cross-examinations among the candidates will be examined in this study. In what follows, the methods of this study will be introduced.

2.3. Methods

2.3.1. Conversation Analysis as the Methodological Framework of the Study

This study analyzes 190 instances of KQs within the methodological framework of conversation analysis (CA). Developed by Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel A. Schegloff and Gail Jefferson in the mid-1960s, CA seeks to uncover structural organizations of human social interaction by investigating naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. The premise underlying this goal is that our everyday interactional conduct is produced according to a certain order and thus is amenable to systematic investigation. When CA emerged as a field of study, this belief in the regularity of human social interaction contradicted what the vast majority of scholars interested in human social interaction believed in. These scholars, coming from areas such as philosophy, the humanities, and social sciences, had concluded that our everyday interactional conduct was produced almost randomly and disorderly (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011). CA studies, however, has successfully proven how incorrect this conclusion was by empirically demonstrating the orderliness of our interaction (e.g., organization of turn-taking, sequence organization, organization of repair, the epistemic order) even to its most minute details.

In investigating the regularities of human social interaction, CA has a great interest in exploring the systematic properties of actions. This is because our social interaction is built out of sequences of actions—that is, what the interactions "are doing interactionally *vis-a-vis* one another" (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011, p.169). For instance, the beginning part of telephone conversations typically consists of a sequence of paired actions as follows: a) summons-answer, b) caller identification-recognition, c) greeting-greeting, and d) "how are you?" sequences that consist of the initial "how are you"-response sequence and the other reciprocal "how are you"-response sequence (Schegloff, 1986).

As mentioned earlier, CA reveals the systematic properties of actions by examining audio- or video-recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction instead of resorting to elicitation methods such as asking interactants about how they organize their actions during interaction through interviews. The organization of human social interaction is complicated and complex and thus tends to be elusive from our conscious reflection. For this very reason, CA views that investigation into social actions, or human interaction in general, can most effectively be pursued by *actually* looking at how interactants weave their interaction in concert with each other (Sidnell, 2013). In addition, when interactants carry out their interaction, what matters is their *own* understanding of each other's conduct. Consider that it is the *interactants themselves*, not the conversational analysts, who should respond to each other's conduct during interaction by producing the next relevant action to the previous action (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, p.729). Thus, CA analyzes social actions/interaction from the interactants' own perspectives as demonstrated in the details of their own conduct. To put it another way, in CA, any claims on social actions/interaction has to be grounded in the internal evidence of the data.

The significance of evidence intrinsic to the data explains why conversational analysts strive to capture detailed aspects of interaction accurately in transcripts. CA transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; see Appendix A) thus include numerous symbols that represent a) temporal and sequential relationships between utterances such as overlaps, pauses, and gaps, and b) features of speech delivery such as intonation, laughter, and vowel lengthening. Furthermore, conversation analysts who are greatly interested in non-verbal behaviors such as Charles Goodwin, Marjorie H. Goodwin, and Lorenza Mondada include drawings and images excerpted

from video-recordings of talk-in-interaction in their transcripts to precisely represent interactants' bodily conduct.

By closely analyzing detailed transcripts of interaction in conjunction with the actual recordings of the interaction, conversation analysts attempt to discover practices of conduct that enact actions. CA pays close attention to practices of speaking in particular, which is one of the most crucial resources interactants use to instantiate actions is turns-at-talk. Heritage (2010) provides the definition of a practice as follows:

> A 'practice' is any feature of the design of a turn in a sequence that (i) has a distinctive character, (ii) has specific locations within a turn or sequence, and (iii) is distinctive in its consequences for the nature or the meaning of the action that the turn implements. (p.212)

In delving into the question of what a particular practice of speaking does in interaction, CA considers both the composition and position of the practice as "actions achieve meaning through a combination of their content and context" (Heritage, 2010, p.209).

After conversation analysts identify a particular practice by carefully observing the interaction between interactants with the aid of transcripts and recordings, they build a collection. Establishing a collection of a particular practice is extremely important in CA since it enables conversation analysts to compare various instances of the practice and discover "the generic, context-independent properties of [the] practice—the proprieties, that is, which are independent of some particular instantiation of it" (Sidnell, 2013, p.78). With a collection of a particular practice (also called a phenomenon in CA literature), conversation analysts can begin to work on

describing the generic, context-free features of that practice. Note, however, that this does not mean that conversation analysts are not interested in the particularities of any single instance; on the contrary, they are always expected to be able to explain its particularities (Sidnell, 2013).

2.3.2. Analytic Procedures

This section explains how CA methods introduced in the previous section are applied to investigate each analytic theme of this study—that is, the defining features of KQs, the contexts of their occurrence, and the parameters that explain the variations in their linguistic design.

First, this study explores the analytic theme of what KQs are by looking at what KQs *do* in political campaign debates and by examining what resources candidates rely on to produce and recognize questions as KQs. I start by comparing the use of KQs in political campaign debates with their use in pedagogical interactions and presidential candidate interviews by focusing on how questioners respond differently to the respondents' responses that display or imply their ignorance of the matter being asked about and on the kind of information presented in the prefatory statements preceding the questioners' KQs (i.e., question prefaces; see Clayman & Heritage, 2002a, 2002b for a detailed explanation on question prefaces). After identifying the specialized actions/functions of KQs used in the institutional context of political campaign debates, I compare how KQs in political campaign debates are different from other types of seemingly similar questions such as policy questions and general knowledgeability questions by documenting the differences in content and the required answers of these questions. I also examine the properties of interaction questioners and respondents use to construct or assign the actions/functions of KQs through or to a turn by analyzing the followings: turn design, the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the nature of the content of KQs, the epistemic

status between questioners and the respondents, and the sequential position of KQs.

Second, this study explores the contexts in which KQs occurred in the following two ways: In the cases where KQs occurred as a response to the immediately prior turn or the immediately prior sequence of actions, the nature of these preceding turns or action sequences were closely examined. In the cases where KQs were not closely tied to the immediately prior turn or sequence of actions, the content of question prefaces were analyzed in detail given that question prefaces crucially establish the context for the occurrence of questions particularly when the immediately prior turn does not serve as the context (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b, p.105; Heritage, 2003, p.47). I identify three major contexts in which KQs occur.

Third, this study identifies the parameters that explain linguistic variations in the composition of KQs by categorizing the 190 KQs according to the similarity in surface linguistic formats. I identify two parameters that explain the variations among these categories—the epistemic parameter and the precision parameter. The data revealed nine different types of KQ epistemic formats and three different types of KQ formats of KQ precision formats. I analyze the compositional characteristics of each format as well as the sequential position of its occurrence to uncover how the nine epistemic formats differently present the epistemic gap between questioners and respondents. Similarly, I uncover how the three precision formats set varying boundaries of an acceptable answer by exploring the compositional features and sequential position of each format and by examining how respondents display their understanding of each format in designing their responses. I also document the frequency of occurrence of each KQ format to attain an overall view of and further insight into how the epistemic KQ formats and precision KQ formats are used.

2.3.3. Transcription of the Data

The data excerpts that will be introduced in this study were transcribed following the CA transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; see Appendix A). The transcript is presented in three lines. The first line shows Korean utterances romanized according to the Yale system. The Korean utterances represent the actual sounds of Korean rather than standard orthography. The second line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (see Appendix B). The third line displays an idiomatic English translation. Non-verbal bodily behaviors of candidates are glossed within double parentheses, sometimes with images captured from videos of political campaign debates. Target lines are indicated with an arrow. For the convenience of readers who have knowledge of the Korean alphabet *Hangul,* the transcript written in the Korean alphabet is also provided under each three-line transcript.

2.4. Chapter Summary

This study examines a total of 190 KQs obtained from cross-examinations among political candidates embedded in 116 political campaign debates amounting to 155 hours and 23 minutes. Within the methodological framework of CA, the KQs are analyzed according to the following three analytic themes: a) the defining features of KQs, b) the contexts of their occurrence, and c) the parameters that explain the variations in their linguistic design. The three chapters that follow present the findings of this study: Chapter 3 will explicate what KQs are by focusing on their actions/functions in political campaign debates and on how candidates produce and recognize a turn as KQs. Chapter 4 will show how KQs emerge in local interactional scenes. Chapter 5 will illustrate the parameters involved in the design of KQs and how different KQ formats as defined

by these parameters can constitute varying meanings.

CHAPTER 3. THE PHENOMENON:

THE KQs IN KOREAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN DEBATES

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 aims to explicate the phenomenon of this dissertation, i.e., KQs, in order to lay out the boundaries of this phenomenon and thereby provide readers with a clear definition of KQs. This endeavor is essential in that the analytic themes of other chapters, i.e., how KQs emerge in the local interactional scenes and what dimensions are involved in the design of KQs, are based on the identification of KQs. Not only that, knowing what questions are counted as KQs in the present study help readers be aware that the analyses and findings of this study are primarily applied to KQs as defined in this study and not to other types of questions.

This chapter attempts to define what a KQ is by looking at what a KQ does, and then by exploring what resources the candidates rely on to produce and recognize a question as a KQ. More specifically, Section 3.2 of this chapter first focuses on what functions (or actions, in CA terms) KQs perform in the institutional context of political campaign debates as well as how KQs can be differentiated from other types of questions such as policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions in implementing their primary function. Furthermore, it deals with features of the answers to KQs as they relate to the distinctive features of KQs. After examining the functions/actions of KQs in Section 3.2, Section 3.3 then explores how candidates produce or recognize a question as a KQ and illuminates various interactional and broader social resources these candidates use for the formation of a KQ and the ascription of a question as a KQ. Lastly, Section 3.4 summarizes the findings of this study along with a discussion on their implications and concludes the chapter.

3.2. The Features Defining KQs

Section 3.2 is devoted to exploring what a KQ is in an attempt to delineate the boundaries of the phenomenon this dissertation is investigating. The section begins this endeavor of defining a KQ by investigating the functions KQs perform, focusing on the specialized functions of KQs in the institutional context of political campaign debates (Section 3.2.1). Next, it turns to the issue of how KQs can be distinguished from other types of questions such as policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions that can also reveal the respondents' uninformedness (Section 3.2.2). In mapping out the differences between KQs and these other questions, this section closely examines the focus, substance, and granularity of KQs. Lastly, the section explores the distinctive features of the answers to KQs that have to do with the nature of the substance and granularity of KQs (Section 3.2.3.).

3.2.1. Specialized Functions of KQs in Political Campaign Debates

Typically, when we mention questions as an action, we refer to information-seeking questions, which are questions used to gain information unknown to the questioner from the recipients. However, not all questions are information-seeking questions. In particular, KQs are in stark contrast with information-seeking questions in terms of their usage. As a type of known-answer question where the questioners already know or are assumed by others to know the answers, KQs are used to probe whether the recipients have knowledge of a specific established factual matter. This unique feature of KQs allows them to be deployed in different institutional settings as an interactional tool to achieve particular institutional objectives, especially where the knowledgeability of the respondents is at issue as in the cases of student-teacher interaction, partisan news interviews, presidential candidate interviews, and political campaign debates.

This section explores the uses of KQs in the institutional context of political campaign debates in an attempt to delve into their specialized functions in this particular institutional context, which has not been investigated yet. To that end, this section pays close attention to both the contents and unfolding of KQ-response sequences. Furthermore, the KQs in political campaign debates, pedagogical interactions, and presidential candidate interviews are compared and contrasted in order to highlight the distinctive functions of KQs that occur in political campaign debates. Based on these analytic procedures, this section shows that candidates use KQs not only to expose their opponents' uninformedness but also to advertise their own knowledgeability, all of which will be explicated in great detail below.

By using KQs, candidates primarily seek to expose the fact that their opponents do not have definite knowledge of the subject of an inquiry and thereby demonstrate how unqualified their opponents are. This function of KQs used in political campaign debates is evidenced by the kinds of responses candidates seek when asking KQs, i.e., responses that display their opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge of the matters being asked about. A comparison between how candidates deal with such responses to KQs in the next turn and how teachers interacting with students in a classroom respond to inaccurate or incorrect responses from students to KQs will vividly show that the candidates are indeed looking for such responses.

Mehan's study (1979) of an inner-city elementary school classroom shows that when the teacher uses "elicitations"—which I call KQs in my study—to gauge student knowledge, she is oriented towards eliciting the correct answers from the students. Mehan points out that the correct answers to elicitations obtained from students are obligatory components of elicitation sequences. He notes that once an elicitation sequence has been initiated, the interaction continues until the correct answer is obtained (p.287). For instance, when students initially fail to produce

the correct answers by not responding to the elicitations at all or by producing incorrect or only partially correct answers, the teacher may employ various practices such as prompting, simplifying the elicitations, or repeating the elicitations until she obtains the correct answers from the students. These strategies provide the students with further opportunities to come up with the correct answers while offering guidance in the process or at least keep the opportunities open. To illustrate the cases in point, let us examine Extract (3.1) and Extract (3.2) from Mehan's study (1979, pp.55-56, pp.59-60) where the teacher T and her students are engaged in a first-grade reading lesson.

In line 1 of Extract (3.1), T is testing whether the students can read the word "machine" in the line "see the machine" from a story displayed in front of them.

Extract (3.1)

01	T:	See the (pause)
02	E:	Tractors
03→	T:	The, yes, tractors, it says mmm
04	E:	Tractors
05→	T:	It, it, but it is a tractor, but the word I wrote here,
06→		I didn't write tractor. But I wrote a word that, another name
07→		for tractor that starts with 'mm'
08	P:	Mmmmmmm
09→	T:	It starts with 'mm' Patricia, yes.
10→	T:	I called the tractor a 'mmm' (pause)
11	R:	Machine
12	T:	Machine, Rafael, good. I call it a machine.

In responding to T's elicitations, E provides an incorrect answer, "tractors," (lines 2 and 4) and P, a partially correct answer, "Mmmmmmm," (line 8). In face of these inaccurate answers, T employs the strategy of prompting (i.e., adding additional information as a prompt) until she obtains the correct answer, "machine," from R. More specifically, in line 3 T provides information on how the first sound of the word "machine" is pronounced. In addition, T points

out in lines 5-7 that the sought-after answer is not “tractor” but another word that starts with the “m” sound, which is also reiterated in lines 9-10. By giving hints in this way about the correct answer using a prompting strategy, the teacher not only helps the students to come up with the correct answer but also provides further opportunities for the students to try out their responses.

In line 1 of Extract (3.2), T is asking the students the name of the story discussed in Extract (3.1). When the students were unable to respond to her wh-question elicitations, indicated by the description “no response” in line 2, T uses the strategy of simplifying her elicitations, which reduces the complexity of her initial elicitations.

Extract (3.2) [The Map]

01	T:	Who remembers, what’s the name, what’s the story about?
02	All:	((no response))
03→	T:	Is it about taking a bath?
04	Many:	No
05→	T:	Is it about the sunshine?
06	Many:	No
07	T:	Edward, what’s it about?
08	E:	The Map
09	T:	The map, That’s right, this says “the map”

More specifically, in substitution for the wh-questions in line 1, T introduces yes/no questions in lines 3 and 5. By doing so, T provided students with two possible options (i.e., an affirming ‘yes’ response or a disaffirming ‘no’ response) and reduced the difficulty of answering the open-ended wh-questions. Using these easier-to-answer questions, T succeeds in inducing and maintaining the students’ engagement in this elicitation sequence, thereby preventing the elicitation sequence from being abandoned due to the lack of response before T gets the correct answer, “the map,” from the students. In addition, the yes-no question-response sequences in lines 3-6 convey the information that “taking a bath” and “the sunshine” are not the correct

answers to the original elicitations, which is helpful for the students in figuring out the correct answer.

Unlike teachers, candidates who ask KQs to their opponents are not oriented to eliciting correct answers. What they are looking for is the kind of response that can display their opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge. Thus, when their opponents provide responses that display their indefinite or lack of understanding of the matters being asked about (e.g., incorrect answers or responses that admit their inability to answer the KQs), candidates neither allow their opponents further opportunities to provide responses nor do they provide scaffolds that aid their opponents to come up with correct answers. Instead, candidates themselves may provide the correct answers in the next turn, which forestalls their opponents' further attempts to provide a correct answer and establishes their incorrect responses as incorrect answers as in Extract (3.3). They may also highlight their opponent's insufficient or lack of knowledge and then move on to a different agenda as in Extracts (3.4) and (3.5)

In Extract (3.3), the questioner K and the respondent W are running for member of the National Assembly for the constituency Seogwipo city, where the tangerine industry is one of the main industries. In line 1, K asks W about the set price of tangerines per kilogram sold by farmers to manufacturers as ingredients for processed food. In line 2, W provides an incorrect answer by saying that the set price is 150 won.

Extract (3.3) [Tangerine Price_1]

01	K:	elma-pnikka.=
		how much-Q:DEF
		How much (is it)?
02	W:	=yey. paykosip wen-i-pnita.
		okay 150 won-be-DC:DEF
		Okay. (It)'s 150 won.

03 (0.2) ((K is looking at his notes.))

04→ K: payk:osip wen:-i [ani-ko]= ((looking at his notes))
150 won-NM not-and
(It)'s not 150 won;

05 W: [yey:.]
okay
Okay.

06→ K: =paykyuksip [wen-i-pnita.]
160 won-be-DC:DEF
(It)'s 160 won.

07 W: [yey. paykyuksi]p wen-yo.
yes 160 won-DC:POL
Yes. (It's) 160 won.

08 [yey.]
yes
Yes.

09 K: [yey.] kulemyen (0.8) to:-ka elma cengto
okay. then local government-NM how much extent

10 ciwenha-pnikka?
support-Q:DEF
Okay. Then (0.8) approximately how much does the local government subsidize (out of 160 won)?

Extract (3.3) [Tangerine Price_1] in Korean

01 K: 얼맙니까.=
02 W: =예. 백오십 원입니다.
03 (0.2) ((K is looking at his notes.))
04→ K: 백: 오십 원:이 [아니고]= ((looking at his notes))
05 W: [예:.]
06→ K: =백육십 [원입니다.]
07 W: [예.백육시]ㅂ원요.
08 [예.]
09 K: [예.] 그러면 (0.8) 도:가 얼마 정도
10 지원합니까?

K's response to W's incorrect answer is starkly different from that of the teacher T in Extract (3.1). Whereas T keeps providing additional information to prompt the correct response, 'machine,' from the students after student E gives the incorrect answer 'tractors' (see lines 3, 6, and 7 of Extract (3.1)), here K does not provide any further assistance that would help W correct his wrong answer and come up with the right one. Instead, K forestalls opportunities for W to self-correct his wrong answer by providing the correct answer, *paykyuksip wen* '160 won' (line 6), himself, thus making any further attempts of W unnecessary. K also highlights the incorrectness of W's answer. Using the syntactic frame 'A *-i/-ka aniko* B *–ipnita* (It is not A; It is B),' K first explicitly construes W's answer as wrong and then juxtaposes it with the correct answer, thereby directly contrasting W's incorrect answer with the correct answer.

Extract (3.4) below illustrates how candidates highlight their opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge following their responses showing that they do not know the correct answers and then move on to ask other questions. In this exchange, the questioner KD and the respondent PH are running for member of the National Assembly for the combined areas of Imsil County, Sunchang County, and the city Namwon in Jeollabuk-do, the last of which includes Ibaek-myeon area. Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (3.4), KD asked PH what PH thought the most urgent pending issue of Ibaek-myeon was, to which PH was not able to give an answer. In lines 14 KD explains that the biggest petition from the people living in this area is regarding the expansion of a certain road. Then in line 5, KD issues a KQ that asks whether PH knows where the jurisdiction of the road lies.

Extract (3.4) [The Biggest Petition in Ibaek]

01 KD: cikum *ipay*-myen: kacang kun minwen-un-yo, (0.3)
now Ibaek-myeon most big petition-TC-POL

02 e: so-say-ci *phyengchon*-eyse (0.5)
uhm myeon office-located-place Pyeongchon-from

03 ku pyencensok-kaci (0.3)
that substation-to

04 *wunpon*-myen cayl-ul nemeka-nun tolo.
Unbong-myeon hill-AC cross over-RL road

05 sa-chasen (.) hwakcang-i-pnita=
4-lanes expansion-be-DC:DEF
The biggest petition from the public in Ibaek-myeon right now (0.3) uhm is to (.) expand the road crossing over Unbong-myeon hill (0.3) from Pyeongchon, where the myeon office is located, (0.5) to that substation into four lanes.

06 PH: =°n [ey°:. ((with nods))]
I see
I see.

07 KD: [i to]lo-ey kwanhalkwen-i
this road-of jurisdiction-NM

08 eti-nci a-si-ko kyeysi-pnikka?
where-OQ know-SH-and be:hon,-Q:DEF
Do (you) know where the jurisdiction of this road lies?

09 (1.0)

10 PH: kulssey-yo, (.) [mwe ku]=
well-DC:POL what that
Well, (.)

11→ KD: [ney : .]
yes
Yes.

12 PH: pwupwun-un (.)
issue-TC
uhm as for that issue, (.)

13→ KD: kulenikka cenhye cikum phaak-i
so at all now grasp-NM

14→ an toy-ko iss-ta:,
not become-and be-DC
So (you) have no grasp of the situation at all right now.

15 PH: ney ney.=
okay okay
Okay. Okay.

16→ KD: =ilen malssum-ul (.) e cicek-ul
like this word:hon.-AC uhm point out-AC

17→ [ha-pnita.] [ey:. taumey *iyongho*]=
do-DC:DEF uhm next LYH
(I) would like to uhm point out (the problem of what you have said) (.) like that.

18 PH: [yenkwuhay]-se [ku ke-n kemthohay-po-kyess-supnita.]
research-and that thing-TC examine-try-will-DC:DEF
(I) will research and examine the matter.

19 → KD: =hwupo-kkey: han kaci mwut-keyss-supnita.
candidate-to one CL ask-will-DC:DEF
Uhm, next, (I) would like to ask a question to Candidate LYH.

Extract (3.4) [The Biggest Petition in Ibaek]

01 KD: 지금 이백면: 가장 큰 민원은요, (0.3)
02 어: 소재지 평촌에서 (0.5)
03 그 변전소까지 (0.3)
04 운봉면 재를 넘어가는 도로.
05 사차선 (.) 확장입니다.=
06 PH: =°ㄴ [ㅔ°:. ((with nods))]
07 KD: [이 도] 로에 관할권이
08 어딘지 아시고 계십니까?
09 (1.0)
10 PH: 글쎄요, (.) [뭐 그]=
11→ KD: [네 : .]
12 PH: 부분은 (.)
13→ KD: 그러니까 전혀 지금 파악이
14→ 안 되고 있다:,
15 PH: 네 네.=
16→ KD: =이런 말씀을 (.) 어 지적을

17→ [합니다.] [에:. 다음에 이용호]=
18 PH: [연구해] 서 [그 건 검토해보겠습니다.]
19→ KD: =후보께: 한 가지 묻겠습니다.

What follows the KQ is a 1.0 second silence, which indicates PH's trouble in answering it. During this rather long period of silence, KD does not provide any assistance to PH and instead waits for PH to produce a response, thereby co-constructing the silence. KD's way of dealing with PH's nonresponse thus is very different from that of the teacher T in Extract (3.2). Unlike T, who tries to elicit her students' involvement with her elicitations by simplifying her wh-questions into yes/no questions, KD does not modify his question into a more answerable question such as "Does the jurisdiction of the road lie in X or Y?".

In line 10, PH starts to respond to the KQ addressed to him with the discourse marker *kulseyo* 'well,' which usually indicates that the speaker does not have a definite answer to a question (The National Institute of Korean Language, 2008). Then, he continues designing his response in a way that makes it apparent that his response is heading towards admitting his inability to answer the KQ. More specifically, he uses the expression *mwe ku pwupwun-un* 'As for that issue,' which is frequently followed by predicates that admit the speaker's inability to answer a KQ such as *cal molukesssupnita* '(I) don't know (it very) well.'

When PH momentarily stops before producing the rest of his utterance, KD takes up the opportunity. Even though PH still has the right to complete his own turn, KD comes in and enunciates the import of PH's responses (see lines 13, 14, 16, and 17). This shows that KD prioritizes getting out the message that PH has no idea over complying with the turn-taking norm. KD states that PH's response so far reveals his *complete* ignorance of the road expansion issue in Ibaek-myeon area and thereby emphasizes PH's lack of knowledge. Afterwards, KD moves on to another agenda by asking a question to the other candidate.

Extract (3.5) below is another instance where candidates who ask KQs engage in highlighting their opponents' lack of knowledge regarding the matters being asked about and then move on to another agenda. In lines 3-6 and line 9, the questioner K is testing W's knowledge of the official name of a particular public petition office.

Extract (3.5) [Official Name_1]

01 K: ku :: (.) hana ccom tul-epo-keyss-supnita.
that one a little bit listen-try-will-DC:DEF
(I) would like to hear (you) tell (me) one.

02 (0.6)

03 K: ku:: *sengsan*-up-samwuso-ey
that Seongsan-eup-office-at

04 selchitoy-n (0.4) konghang mil- (.)
be established-RL airport pup-

05 konghang-kwa kwanlyentoy-n minwen. (0.3)
airport-with be related-RL public petition
Regarding the public petition (office) (0.4) which was established at the Seongsan-eup Office to deal with pup- (.) public petitions (regarding problems) caused by (the expansion) of the airport, (0.3)

06 ku cengsik myengching-i mwe-pnikka?
that official name-NM what-Q:DEF
what is its official name?

07 (1.6) ((W keeps looking down and writing on paper))

08 W: s.hh ((tilting his head as a sign of uncertainty))

Figure 3.1. W Tilting His Head

09 K: cengsik myengching.
official name

10 W: ku: cengsik myengching-un: (0.3)
that official name-TC

11 cal molu-keyss-supni[ta.]
well not know-I think-DC:DEF
s.hh As for the official name (0.3), (I) don't know (it very) well.

12→ K: [ku]leh-c(i)-yo. ((with head nods))
like that-COMM:POL
You don't.

13→ [cengsik]=
official

14 W: [ey.]
okay
Okay.

15→ K: =myengching,=
name
The official name.

16 W: =ey,=
okay
Okay.

17 K: =ku taum-ey cikum myech pwun cengto-ka ……
that next-at now how many CL about-NM
Next, currently around how many people are ……

Extract (3.5) [Official Name_1] in Korean

01 K: 그:: (.) 하나 쫌 들어보겠습니다.
02 (0.6)
03 K: 그:: 성산읍사무소에
04 설치된 (0.4) 공항 밀- (.)
05 공항과 관련된 민원. (0.3)
06 그 정식 명칭이 뭡니까?
07 (1.6) ((W keeps looking down and writing on paper))
08 W: s.hh ((tilting his head as a sign of uncertainty))

Figure 3.1. W Tilting His Head

09 K: 정식 명칭.
10 W: 그: 정식 명칭은: (0.3)
11 잘 모르겠습니[다.]
12→ K: [그]렇죠. ((with head nods))
13→ [정식]=
14 W: [에.]
15→ K: =명칭,=
16 W: =에,=
17 K: =그 다음에 지금 몇 분 정도가 ……

As seen in lines 7 and 8, and Figure 3.1, W does not respond to K's KQ immediately. The presence of a 1.6 second silence, a slightly long in-breath, and the tilting of his head all display W's trouble in providing the answer to K's KQ. As foreshadowed, W explicitly admits in lines 10 and 11 that he does not know the official name very well. Immediately, even before W is completely done speaking (see the overlap between the first syllable of K's talk and the last syllable uttered by W in line 12), K begins highlighting W's lack of knowledge by affirming W's previous utterance with the pro-termed repeat *kuleh-c(i)-yo* 'you don't' and the noun phrase *cengsik myungching* 'the official name' (lines 12, 13, and 15).

K intensifies his affirmation of W's ignorance with grammatical, prosodic and visual resources. With the use of the committal suffix *-c(i) in kuleh-**c(i)**-yo*, K shows that he is committed to the truth of the proposition that W does not know the answer very well. Furthermore, he not only adds prosodic salience by strongly pronouncing *kuleh-c(i)-yo*, as

indicated by the underline on its first syllable, but also accompanies his words with affirmative head nods. K's strong affirmation of W's lack of knowledge as a device for highlighting W's ignorance thus reveals that the function of K's KQ is to expose W's uninformed status. After achieving the goal, K initiates another question-response sequence in line 17, which indicates the closure of the current KQ-response sequence.

So far we have examined the use of KQs by candidates as a means to expose their opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge of the subject of an inquiry. We explored how the practices of providing correct answers and/or highlighting a problem with the opponents' knowledge without offering further opportunities for the opponents to provide another answer after their failure to provide the correct answer can be evidence to support the analysis of the function of KQs in political campaign debates. Such practices of candidates were in stark contrast with those of the teacher in Mehan's study (1979) (e.g., prompting tactics and simplifying elicitations) that provide more chances for the students to come up with the correct answers. Although a candidate's KQ primarily functions to prove the opponent's ignorance, the KQs also have a secondary function. Candidates may use KQs to advertise their own knowledgeability. Candidates' orientation to showing that they know about the matter at hand is observable in either question prefaces (i.e., the prefatory statements that precede questions, see Clayman & Heritage, 2002a, 2002b for more information on question prefaces) of KQs or their provision of correct answers following the opponents' responses to KQs.

According to Clayman and Heritage (2002a, 2002b), prefaces to questions provide background information useful for understanding upcoming questions and give meaning to the questions. While this still holds true in the case of KQs, candidates may utilize question prefaces as a locus to display their own knowledge regarding the matters pertinent to the subject of a KQ.

By advertising their knowledge before exposing their opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge of a knowledge domain, candidates can contrast themselves with their opponents, present themselves as more knowledgeable, and by extension make themselves look better qualified than their opponents. Extracts (3.6) and (3.7) below illustrate how candidates use question prefaces as a locus for knowledge display.

In Extract (3.6), the questioner KJ and the respondent OJ, who are running for member of the National Assembly for the constituency Pohang North District, address the issue of designating a special zone in the area. In lines 9 through 11, KJ asks OJ a KQ that tests OJ's knowledge of the process of receiving the designation as a special zone (lines 9-11). In doing so, KJ precedes the KQ with some prefatory statements (lines 1-8).

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Extract (3.6) [Special Zone for Electric Car Industry _1]

01→ KJ: e ce-to mwe hayyang:-mwunhwa-kwankwang-thukkwu
uhm I-also what marine-culture-tourism-special zone

02→ ciceng-ey cikum kwansim-i manh-untey .h
designation-in now interest-NM many-but
Uhm I also have a lot of interest in designating
a Special Zone For Marine Culture and Tourism,

03→ thukkwu ciceng-ul: ha-lye-myen sangtanghi:
special zone designation-AC do-intend to-if quite

04→ i kwaceng-to pokcapha-ko i elyep-te-la-kwu-yo. .h
this process-also complicated-and this difficult-RT-DC-QT-POL
and the process of designating a special zone is
quite complicated and difficult. .h

05→ kekita oykwukin: sipman isang-i
in addition foreigner 100,000 more than-NM

06→ toy-ya han-ta-lanun cocen-i pwuth-te-ntey: .hh
become-must-DC-called condition-NM added-RT-but
On top of that, (for a special tourism zone), there is a condition
stating that there should be 100,000 or more foreigners. .hh

07 cikum cenki-cha sanep thukkwu-lul
now electric-car industry special zone-AC

08 cikum hanpen .h ciceng- e:
now once designation uhm

09 mantul-ko siph-ta hay-ss-nuntey
make-want to-DC say-PST-given that
Just now (you) said that you wanted to try making
a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry,

10 i thukkwu: ciceng-ul:, ettehkey ha-myen
this special zone designation-AC how do-if

11 patu-l swu iss-nunci
receive-can be-OQ

12 hoksi .hh mwe: (1.0) malssumha-y cwu-si-l swu iss-supnikka?=
by any chance what tell:hon. -and give-SH-can-Q:DEF
so could (you) by any chance .hh uhm (1.0) tell (me)
how (we) can receive the designation as a special zone?

13 OJ: =yey.=
yes
Yes.

14 KJ: a h [yey.] ((with smile))
oh h okay
Oh h Okay.

15 OJ: [iltan]: (1.1) wuli icey *phohang*-ey::
first of all we now Pohang-in

16 icey: (0.4) ey peplyulcek kwaceng::ilanun kes-un .hh
now uhm legal process-be-called NOM-TC

17 iltan kwukhoy::-wa i hayngceng-kwancheng,
first National Assembly-and this administrative-office

18 hayngcengpwu-lul: thonghayse (.) e chwungpwunhi
administration-AC through uhm thoroughly

19 kemtho toy-eya ha-l mwuncey-ko .hh ……
examination become-must-PRS problem-and
Now first of all, (1.1) the legal processes of (designating a special zone) (0.4) uhm in Pohang .hh is an issue that should first be thoroughly examined (.) uhm by the National Assembly and the executive branch of the administrative office .hh…….

Extract (3.6) [Special Zone for Electric Car Industry _1]

01→ KJ: 어 저도 뭐 해양:문화관광특구
02→ 지정에 지금 관심이 많은데 .h
03→ 특구 지정을: 하려면 상당히:
04→ 이 과정도 복잡하고 이 어렵더라구요. .h
05→ 거기다 외국인: 10 만 이상이
06→ 되야 한다라는 조건이 붙던데: .hh
07 지금 전기차 산업 특구를
08 지금 한번 .h 지정- 어:
09 만들고 싶다 했는데
10 이 특구: 지정을:, 어떻게 하면
11 받을 수 있는지
12 혹시 .hh 뭐: (1.0) 말씀해 주실 수 있습니까?=
13 OJ: =예.=
14 KJ: = 아 h [예.] ((with smile))
15 OJ: [일단]: (1.1) 우리 이제 포항에::
16 이제: (0.4) 에 법률적 과정::이라는 것은 .hh
17 일단 국회::와 이 행정관청,
18 행정부를: 통해서 (.) 어 충분히
19 검토 되어야 할 문제고 .hh ……

The most adjacent preface to KJ's KQ is in lines 7-8. Using the preface that refers to OJ's campaign promise that he would like to make a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry, KJ establishes a context that makes her following KQ relevant. It is meaningful and relevant to ask OJ about the process of receiving the designation as a special zone because OJ plans to establish a special zone, a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry in particular, and thus is expected to be knowledgeable of it.

Although it seems that the contextualization of and justification for the KQ could sufficiently be done with the preface in lines 7-8 alone, KJ interestingly places additional

prefatory statements providing background information as seen in lines 1-6. What KJ is doing using these seemingly unnecessary prefatory statements is to advertise her knowledge of the process of designating a special zone. KJ first talks about her great interest in designating a Special Zone for Marine Culture and Tourism in lines 1-2, which is one of her campaign pledges. Then, in lines 3-4 she provides the summative evaluation of the process (i.e., the process is quite difficult and complicated). Afterwards, she mentions that there should be 100,000 or more foreigners, referring to the condition that stipulates the minimum number of foreign tourists per year as 100,000 for the designation of an area as a special tourism zone.

By displaying knowledge relevant to designating an area as a special (tourism) zone in lines 3-6, she presents herself as a figure knowledgeable of the requirements and procedures that are necessary to implement her campaign pledge. Furthermore, she does this before she attempts to expose the opponent OJ's ignorance on the process of designating a special zone, the knowledge of which OJ should have in order to implement his pledge of making a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry, so that a direct contrast between herself and OJ in terms of knowledgeability can be possible.

In Extract (3.7-a), the questioner P and the respondent C, who are running for Mayor of Seoul, are talking about the issue of flood damage in Seoul during the rainy season. In lines 11-14, P produces a KQ that asks P to provide the number of frequently flooded areas in Seoul. Like the questioner KJ, P prefaces the KQ with rather long prefatory statements (lines 1-10) before asking the KQ. These prefatory statements contain background information relevant to the matter at hand. In particular, the information on the severity of flood damage in the area (lines 5-6, 8, and 10) makes P's KQ relevant. To put it another way, P's asking a KQ that probes the respondent's grasp of the issue becomes meaningful and relevant because this issue is a serious

and important matter which the Mayor of Seoul should take care of. P, however, utilizes the prefaces not only to contextualize the KQ but also to display his knowledge or claim that he has knowledge on the issue of flood damage, thereby presenting himself as more informed of the issue than C and by extension making himself look better qualified.

Extract (3.7-a) [Flood Damage]

01→	P:	cikum	.h	e::	cikum	wuki-ka	takao-ko
		now		uhm	now	rainy season-NM	approach-and

02→ iss-ketun-yo? ((see Figure 3.2 for P's hand gesture))
be-ENDER-POL
Now, .h uhm the rainy season is approaching now.

Figure 3.2. P's Hand Gesture

03→ onul. nayil. cikum pi-ka
today tomorrow now rain-NM

04→ o-ko iss-ci anh-supnikka?
come-and be-L. NEG -Q:DEF
Isn't it raining right now and won't it continue to rain today and tomorrow?

05→ e: kukayse sasil ile-l-ttay-myen:
uhm so in fact like this-PRS -time-when
Uhm, so in fact, during these times,

06→ *sewul*-sicang-ulose-nun cam-i (.) an o-pnita.
Seoul-mayor-as-TC sleep-NM not come-DC:DEF
as the mayor of Seoul, (I) am unable (.) to sleep.

07→ e *sewul*-un san-ulo twulelssay-e iss-ki ttaymwuney:,
uhm Seoul-TC mountain-by surrounded-and be-NOM because of
Uhm, since Seoul is surrounded by mountains,

08→ sansathay-latunci,
landslide-or
landslides can occur,

09→ tto cipcwung-howu-ey ttalase
aslo localized-downpours-following

10→ yelekaci chimswu phihay-ka manh:-c(i)-yo:.
various flood damage-NM be plenty-COMM-POL
and following localized downpours,
the water causes a lot of flood damage of various kinds.

11 *sewul*-si nay-ey iss-nun sangsup-chimsu-cieok
Seoul-city within-in be-RL frequent-flooded-area

12 .h *ceng* hwuponim-un hoksi (0.3) acwu sangsupcekulo, (0.2)
C candidate:hon.-TC by any chance very frequently

13 o-nun kos-i myeoch kuntey-nci
come-RL place-NM how many CL-OQ

14 al-ko kye-sey-yo?
know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:POL
Do you by any chance (0.3) know how many frequently flooded areas,
.h areas that are flooded almost invariably, (0.2) there are in Seoul?

15 C: *sewul*-si cenchey-ka (0.2) myech kwuntey-nci-nun
Seoul-city all-NM how many CL-OQ -TC

16 cey-ka cal mo[lu-keyss]-kwu-yo,=
I-NM well not know-think-and-POL
As for how many there are (0.2) in Seoul overall, I don't know (very) well, and

17 P: [ney : .]
okay
Okay.

18 P: selun ney kwuntey-ka iss-[supnita.]
34 CL-NM be-DC:DEF
There are 34 places.

19 C: [cey-ka:,] (0.3)
I-NM

20 ciyekkwu-hay-ss-te-n *tongcak*-kwu-ka simsup-
local constituency-do-PST-RT-RL Dongjak-gu-NM fraquently

21 sangsup-chimswu-kwuyek-i-kwu-yo, .h
frequent-flooded-area-be-and-POL
Dongjak-gu, which was my (0.3) local constituency,
is a fraquently- frequently flooded area, .h

Extract (3.7-a) [Flood Damage] in Korean

01→ P: 지금 .h 어:: 지금 우기가 다가오고
02→ 있거든요? ((See Figure 3.2 for P's hand gestures))

Figure 3.2. P's Hand Gesture

03→ 오늘. 내일. 지금 비가
04→ 오고 있지 않습니까?
05→ 어: 그래서 사실 이럴때면:
06→ 서울시장으로서는 잠이 (.) 안 옵니다.
07→ 어 서울은 산으로 둘러싸여 있기 때문에:,
08→ 산사태라든지
09→ 또 집중호우에 따라서
10→ 여러가지 침수피해가 많:죠:.
11 서울시 내에 있는 상습침수지역
12 .h 정 후보님은 혹시 (0.3) 아주 상습적으로, (0.2)
13 오는 곳이 몇 군덴지
14 알고 계세요?
15 C: 서울시 전체가 (0.2) 몇 군덴지는
16 제가 잘 모[르겠]구요,=
17 P: [네: .]
18 P: =서른 네 군데가 있[습니다.]
19 C: [제가:,] (0.3)

20 지역구했던 동작구가 심습-
21 상습침수구역이구요, .h

First, in lines 1 and 2, P displays his knowledge about when the rainy season starts in Seoul by saying that the rainy season is approaching now, which is an important piece of information in preparing for flood damage. In doing so, P presents himself as more knowledgeable than C by designing the utterance as if C does not know about the information with the sentence-ending suffix *–ketun* and hand gestures together. *–Ketun* is an A event marking sentence-ending suffix (Kim & Suh, 2010.) that indicates that the information conveyed with it is mainly known to its speaker. Using *–ketun,* P conveys that the information that the rainy season is approaching now is mainly known to P himself, not to C, and thereby positions himself as the informer and C as the informed. In addition, P employs a "presenting" hand gesture by slightly putting his right hand out towards C with the palm facing up (see Figure 3.2). This hand gesture visually expresses the informing function of the utterance and further reinforces the portrayal of P as the informer and C as the informed. Second, in lines 5-7 P implicitly claims having knowledge about the issue of flood damage by conveying that he is deeply invested in the issue and is well aware of its seriousness to the point that he is unable to sleep. Third, in lines 7 and 9 P presents his knowledge about the geographical and meteorological characteristics of Seoul that make the area prone to flood damage with certainty as seen with the use of the committal suffix *–ci,* which indexes a speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition (Lee, 1999). Fourth, in line 8 P displays that he has knowledge of what kinds of flood damage can occur in Seoul by mentioning landslides. Fifth, in lines 8 and 10, P shows that he is well informed about the seriousness of flood damage by registering that a lot of flood damage of *various* kinds including landslides occur in Seoul. After establishing his own image as a knowledgeable figure with the

use of the prefaces, P finally tests C's knowledge on the number of frequently flooded areas in Seoul in lines 11-14 by issuing a KQ.

In this excerpt, P also promotes his knowledgeability by providing the correct answer to his KQ after C's admission that he does not know the overall number (line 18). His ability to provide the correct answer to the KQ directly contrasts with C's inability to do so and thereby contributes to constructing himself as the more informed candidate compared to C, at least regarding the issue of flood damage in the area. In providing the correct answer, P starts his turn slightly before C finishes his response. Note that the acknowledgement token *ney* 'Okay,' which is the first element in P's turn where P provides the correct answer, overlaps with C's talk as indicated with the overlap brackets in lines 16 and 17. P's early start seems to be conducive for securing the best sequential position for creating the contrast by making it possible to position P's provision of the correct answer right after C's explicit admission of his inability to provide the requested information.

In the later exchange that occurs after Extract (3.7-a), C explicitly comments on P's use of the KQ as a tool to advertise his knowledgeability—more precisely, on how the KQ-response sequence that includes the prefaces and P's provision of the correct answer is utilized to P's advantage. C's comment is provided in Extract (3.7-b) below.

Extract (3.7-b) [Comments on KQ on Flood Damage]

01	C:	kulemyense	ilen	tholonhoy	nawa-se .hh
		yet	like this	debate	come out-and
		Yet (you) come out in a debate like this,			
02		"*ceng* hwupo .h	*sewul*-ey	sangsup-chimswu-kwuyek	
		C candidate	Seoul-in	frequent-flooded-area	

03 myech kay-nya::," .hh kule-myense
how many CL- Q say like that-while
and say "Candidate C, how many frequently flooded areas are there in Seoul?"

04→ ponin-un a- cal a-si-nun kes kathi ha-nuntey .hh
yourself-TC well know-SH-RL NOM like do-but
as if you yourself are very knowledgeable (about it), .hh

05 *sewul*-si il nyen yeysan-i isipil-co ani-pnikka?
Seoul-city one year budget-NM 21-trilion be not-Q:DEF
but isn't the 1 year budget of Seoul 21 trillion won?

Extract (3.7-b) [Comments on KQ on Flood Damage] in Korean

01 C: 그러면서 이런 토론회 나와서 .hh
02 "정 후보 .h 서울에 상습침수구역
03 몇 개냐::, " .hh 그러면서
04→ 본인은 아- 잘 아시는 것 같이 하는데 .hh
05 서울시 일 년 예산이 이십일조 아닙니까?

In lines 2-3 C quotes P's previous KQ regarding the number of frequently flooded areas in Seoul with some modifications. Then, in line 4 C provides his interpretation of the intended function of the KQ-response sequences, i.e., that it is a device to advertise P's informedness. However, by using the clause "*ponin-un a- cal a-si-nun kes kathi ha-nuntey .hh* ," which implies that in fact P does not really know the issue of flood damage in the area well, C attempts to mar P's image as a knowledgeable candidate, which had been constructed through the use of the KQ-response sequence in Extract (3.7-a).

The importance of providing the correct answers to KQs as a strategy of questioners to promote their own knowledgeability is also illustrated in Extract (3.8) below. In this excerpt, KH tests PW's knowledge about an incident that is of special importance to South Korean people, i.e., the tragic sinking of the South Korean warship Cheonan by a North Korean torpedo, during which 46 sailors lost their lives. In lines 2-3, KH is testing whether PW is aware of when the incident happened by asking what the upcoming March 26 is.

Extract (3.8) [The Warship Cheonan]

01 KH: ney:. mence: *pakwancwu* hwupo:-eykey mwut-keyss-supnita.
okay first PW candidate-to ask-will-DC:DEF
Okay. First, (I) will ask a question to Candidate PW.

02 samwel isipyuk-il nal-i mwusun nal-i-nci
March 26-CL day-NM what day-be-OQ

03 a-si-pnikka?
know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know what March 26 is?

04 (0.4)

05 PW: ney:, (0.6) *chenan*-ham:: (0.4) a:
yes Cheonan-warship uhm
Yes, (0.6) the warship Cheonan (0,4) uhm

06→ KH: ney. [i cwuki toy-nun nal-i-c-yo.]
yes 2nd anniversary become-RL day-be-COMM-POL
Yes. (It) is the day of the 2nd anniversary,

07 PW: [*chenan*-ham saken-i (.) i cwu]
Cheonan-warship accident-NM 2nd anniversary

08 nyen-i toy-[nun] nal-i-pnita.
year-NM become-RL day-be-DC:DEF
(It) is the day of the 2nd anniversary of the sinking of the warship Cheonan.

09 KH: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

10 KH: a: ku ttay: ku tangci: *tayhanminkwuk*: haykwun:
uhm that then that time Republic of Korea navy

11 sasipyuk myeng-i censahay-ss-supnita.
46 CL-NM die-PST-DC:DEF
Uhm during then, at the time (of the incident), 46 sailors of the Republic of Korea Navy died.

12 huysayng canpyeng cwungey-nun: (.)
sacrifice sailor among-TC
Among the sailors who died, (.)

13 PW: cenwen
all
All of them

14 (0.7)

Extract (3.8) [The Warship Cheonan]

01 KH: 네:. 먼저: 박완주 후보:에게 묻겠습니다.
02 삼월 이십육일 날이 무슨 날인지
03 아십니까?
04 (0.4)
05 PW: 네:, (0.6) 천안함:: (0.4) 아:
06→ KH: 네. [이 주기 되는 날이죠.]
07 PW: [천안함 사건이 (.) 이 주]
08 년이 되[는] 날입니다.
09 KH: [예.]
10 KH: 아: 그 때: 그 당시: 대한민국: 해군:
11 사십육 명이 전사했습니다.
12 희생 장병 중에는: (.)
13 PW: 전원
14 (0.7)

As seen in the 0.4 second silence in line 5, PW fails to provide an answer right away after KH's completion of his KQ, thereby foreshadowing his trouble in providing the correct answer. However, in line 5 PW affirms that he knows what the upcoming March 26 is by issuing the affirmative token *ney* 'yes.' In spite of this claim to have the knowledge, PW delays providing an answer again, yielding a 0.6 second silence in line 6. After the silence, PW starts providing an answer by saying *chenanham* 'the warship Cheonon,' but again he displays trouble continuing the answer as indicated by the lengthening of the last syllable of the word *chenanham,* the 0.4 second silence, and the insertion of the filler *a*, all of which signal a word search is in progress to delay the production of the next item due (Schegloff, 1979, p.273).

Then, in line 6, instead of waiting for PW to complete his answer, KH comes in and provides the correct answer by building on PW's partial answer. More specifically, KH first

affirms PW's partial answer *chenanham* 'the warship Cheonon' with the affirmative token *ney* 'yes' and adds the information that it is the 2nd anniversary of its sinking. KH's provision of the correct, complete answer while PW's provision of an answer is still in progress shows that KH is oriented towards providing the correct answer before PW provides it. By doing so, KH seems to seek to construct PW's answer-in-progress as incomplete and somewhat inaccurate, compared to his answer, and thereby convey that he is better aware of this tragic incident and by extension cares more about it than PW. PW also seems to notice this self-promoting function of KH's providing the correct answer in that PW resorts to a measure that does not let KH's strategy fully work as follows: instead of giving up his turn to KH at his interruption, PW chooses to compete with him as seen in the overlap between his and KH's talk in lines 6-7. PW keeps producing his answer (line 6) and successfully completes it (line 8), thereby showing his ability to produce the correct answer independently from KH's contribution.

The analyses of Extracts (3.6)-(3.8) have shown that in using KQs, candidates not only can expose their opponent's lack of definite knowledge of the matter at hand but also display their own knowledge of it. The function of KQs as a device to promote the candidate's own knowledgeability becomes more evident when we compare the use of KQs between candidates and journalists. Roth's (2005) study shows that when journalists interview political candidates, journalists use pop quizzes, which I call KQs in my study, to expose candidates' insufficient or lack of knowledge of the matters being asked about. However, unlike candidates who ask KQs to their opponents, journalists who vet candidates running for public office are not oriented to advertising their own knowledgeability. For instance, let us examine Extract (3.9) where the journalist Andy Hiller is asking a series of pop quizzes about world leaders to Governor George Bush, who was at the moment running to be the Republican presidential nominee.

Extract (3.9) (Excerpted from Roth, 2015, pp.33-34)

01 Hiller: Can you name the president of Chechnya?
02 Bush: No, can you?
03→ Hiller: Can you name the president of Taiwan?
04 Bush: Yeah, Lee.
05 Hiller: Can you name the general who is
06 in charge of Pakistan?
07 Bush: Wait, wait. Is this 50 Questions?
08 Hiller: No, it's four questions of four leaders
09 in four hot spots.
10 Bush: The new Pakistani general, he's just been
11 elected—Not elected, this guy took over office.
12 It appears this guy is going to bring stability
13 to the country and I think that's good news for
14 the subcontinent.
15 Hiller: Can you name him?
16 Bush: General—I can't name the general. General—
17→ Hiller: And the prime minister of India?
18 Bush: The new prime minister of India
19 is [pause]. No. Can you name the
20 foreign minister of Mexico?
21 Hiller: No sir, but I would say to that,
22→ I'm not running for president.

By contrast with candidate P of Extract (3.7-a) and candidate KH of Extract (3.8), who were eager to provide the correct answers to their own KQs to reveal their knowledge of the matter at hand, the journalist Hiller does not care to do so. Even after Bush's explicit admission of his inability to answer Hiller's pop quizzes in line 2 and line 16, Hiller does not provide the correct answers. Instead, he asks the next pop quiz on his list as seen in lines 3 and 17.

Hiller's role as journalist can account for why he does not provide the correct answers to his pop quizzes. Note that when Bush issues a counter pop quiz that asks the name of the foreign mister of Mexico to Hiller in line 19, Hiller defends his lack of knowledge in line 22 by saying that he is not running for president. By doing so, Hiller is arguing that the knowledge of world leaders is necessary for someone like Bush who is running for president, not journalists like him.

Hiller's response sheds light on why journalists are not oriented towards providing the correct answers to pop quizzes and thereby displaying their own knowledgeability. It is because pop quizzes are meant to probe the *candidate's* qualifications as *candidate,* not the journalist's qualifications as journalist. Thus, journalists' display of certain knowledge that candidates are expected to have do not help journalists to be seen by the public as well-qualified journalists. Furthermore, as Roth (2005) points out, the correct answers pop quizzes seek are not newsworthy in their own right in that they are factual information that is already known.

However, it is a different story for candidates who ask KQs to their opponents. Because the questioners themselves are also candidates as their respondents are, providing the correct answers to their own KQs can be read as an index of their qualifications as a candidate, especially in the cases where knowledge on the matters being asked about is expected of the questioners as well as in Extract (3.7-a) and Extract (3.8). Thus, this difference in the institutional role between journalists and candidates explain why candidates, unlike journalists, are oriented towards utilizing KQ-response sequences to promote their own knowledgeability.

In summary, Section 3.2.1 has identified two functions of KQs used in the context of political campaign debates. The first and primary function of KQs is to expose the respondents' lack of definite knowledge about the matters being asked about and thereby discredit the respondents' qualifications as a candidate. This function of KQs is evident in how the questioners deal with responses that display the respondents' insufficient or lack of knowledge on the matters at hand. In responding to such responses, the questioners do not employ practices that provide further opportunities for the respondents to correct themselves or modify their questions to help the respondents, but instead point to the insufficient or lack of knowledge of the respondents. For example, the questioners may provide the correct answers in the next turn in

order to forestall their opponents' further attempts to provide a correct answer and establishes their incorrect responses as incorrect answers, or they may highlight the imprecision of the respondents' knowledge concerning the matters at hand and then move on to another agenda. The secondary function of KQs is to advertise the questioners' own knowledgeability. For this purpose, the questioners may use question prefaces as a locus to display their own knowledge of the subject of an inquiry, or they themselves may provide the correct answers following the respondents' response in order to emphasize their own ability to do so.

The two specialized functions of KQs during political campaign debates seem to be tied to the dual institutional roles assigned to candidates who participant in the activity of cross-examination and take the discourse role of questioner. As the questioners who run the cross-examinations, they are expected to ask questions that can probe the respondents' qualifications as a candidate; at the same time, as a candidate, they also need to appeal their own qualifications to the viewers by showing how better qualified they are than their opponents. It appears that the role as a questioner is fulfilled by the primary function of KQs and the role as a candidate is achieved either by the secondary function of KQs or by a combination of the two.

The close relationship between the functions of KQs and the institutional roles assigned to their users can also be observed in the different ways candidates, teachers, and journalists use them. As educators, teachers are expected to encourage and help students learn knowledge. This institutional role as an educator seems to explain why the teacher in Mehan's study (1979), unlike the candidates in the present study, orients to attaining the correct answers to her elicitations from her students by prompting them and simplifying her elicitations.

In contrast, the primary role of journalists is not to educate their candidates but to probe their qualifications as candidates, a role that is in some part shared by candidates who take the

role of a questioner in a cross-examination phase during political campaign debates. It seems the reason why journalists also utilize KQs in an adversarial way to expose a candidate's insufficient or lack of knowledge regarding the matter of an inquiry. Nevertheless, journalists are not candidates. This means that they have no need to prove their own qualifications as a candidate or compete with their interviewees to appeal to the public that they are better qualified as a candidate. This seems to explain why journalists, unlike candidates, do not use KQs as a tool to display their knowledge. The findings of the functions of KQs in political campaign debates thus show how institutional roles shape the usages of KQs and how different institutional roles are at the same time constructed through the distinctive uses of KQs.

3.2.2. The Focus, Substance, and Granularity of KQs: Distinguishing KQs from Policy Questions and General-Knowledgeability Questions

In Section 3.2.1, we have seen that the primary function of KQs used in political campaign debates is to expose the respondents' lack of definite knowledge of the matters at hand. However, questions that are not KQs, which are used in the political campaign debates as well, can also expose the respondents' insufficient or lack of knowledge.

For instance, opinion questions (i.e., questions that seek the respondents' viewpoints on political issues such as "Do you agree with the Bush doctrine?", Clayman & Romaniuk, 2011, p.27) and policy questions (i.e., questions that seek the respondents' plans/measures for addressing public affairs such as "If you have measures to improve the treatment of these workers in special employment, please tell me about them.") can reveal whether the respondents indeed have the relevant knowledge and to what extent in that giving an opinion or proposing a policy requires knowledge of the matters concerned. In addition, general-knowledgeability

questions (i.e., questions that seek to establish the respondents' general lack of knowledge of a certain domain by asking about activities or experience that are pertinent to acquiring that knowledge, such as "I was curious about what newspapers and magazines did you regularly read before you were tapped for this to stay informed and to understand the world", Clayman & Romaniuk, 2011, p.18) can serve a similar function. This is because the respondents' not taking part in such activities and experiences can indicate the respondents' ignorance or insufficient knowledge of the matters in question that could have been acquired through such activities or experience.

Then how are KQs different from these aforementioned questions of other types in addressing the issue of the respondents' knowledge? Section 3.2.2 delves into this question by analyzing the distinctive features of KQs related to screening the respondents' knowledgeability in comparison to policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions. This section will show that KQs are different from policy questions in that the explicit focus of KQs is on finding out whether the respondents have knowledge of the matter at hand whereas the focus of policy questions is on eliciting the respondents' plans/measures for solving sociopolitical issues. Furthermore, it will show that KQs are also distinguishable from general-knowledgeability questions in that the substance of KQs (i.e., the content the respondents are being tested on by KQs) is a specific piece of knowledge of established factual matters whereas the substance of general-knowledgeability questions are the activities or experience pertinent to acquiring the knowledge of a particular domain. Therefore, the failure to provide a correct answer to a KQ shows that the respondent does not possess a specific piece of knowledge whereas the failure to provide an answer to general-knowledgeability questions that claims or shows the respondent's

experience engaging in these activities reveals the respondent's lack of general knowledge in that domain.

To begin with, let us examine how KQs are different from policy questions in terms of their explicit, primary focus on an inquiry by analyzing Extract (3.10) below. Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (3.10), the questioner LS reiterated the seriousness of contingent work in private business sectors. Afterwards, he introduced one type of contingent workers called "workers in special employment" by enumerating specific examples of these workers (e.g., freightliner drivers, dump truck drivers, parcel delivery workers etc.). Then, in Extract (3.10), the questioner LS issues two questions to the respondent CH regarding workers in special employment. The first question is in lines 1-3. As a policy question, the question requests CH to propose measures to improve the treatment of workers in special employment. LS's second question is in lines 20-22. As a KQ, the question asks CH to confirm or disconfirm whether he knows the concept of workers in special employment in order to expose CH's ignorance of it.

Extract (3.10) [Special Employment Workers]

01→	LS:	i thukswu-koyong-notongca-tul-uy chewu-kaysen-ul	
		this special-employment-worker-PL-POS treatment-improvement-AC	
02→		wihan pangan-i iss-umyen (0.4)	
		for measure-NM be-if	
03→		choyhongcip hwupo, (.) malssumha-y cwu-si-psio.	
		CH candidate tell:hon.-and give-SH-IM:DEF	
		If you have measures to improve the treatment of	
		workers in special employment such as these (0.4),	
		please tell (me about them).	
04		(0.6)	
05	CH:	.hhhhhhh e: thukswu-notongca:-tul:	
		uhm special-worker-PL	

06 kunmwu yeken-i: (.) thulpyelha-ki ttaymwuney (0.5)
working condition-NM unique-NOM-because
.hhhhhhh Uhm because the working conditions of workers in special employment (.) are unique, (0.5)

07 ey:: thukswu:-notongca-tul-ey ku kunmwu coken-ina: (0.4)
uhm special worker-PL-POS that working condition-or

08 kunmwu hayngthay-ey ttalase (0.6)
working type-according to

09 e:: cenghwakhi phaak-ul:: hay-se
uhm accurately understanding-AC do-and

10 tayche-lul hay-ya toy-l kes kath-supnita.
treat-AC do-must-PRS NOM seem-DC:DEF
uhm it seems that the problems related to their treatment should be dealt with after uhm attaining an accurate understanding of the working conditions (0.4) or the type of work (0.6) that these workers do.

11 kuliko .hhh kulehan mwuncey-nun (0.4)
and like that problem-TC
And (in dealing with) these problems, (0.4)

12 e: pwunmyenghi (0.3) i elyewun (.) yeken sok-eyse
uh clearly this difficult condition inside-in

13 kunmwuha-nun: salam-tul-ina
work-RL people-PL-or
uhm (I) think certainly people who are working in difficult conditions

14 anin-myen te himtun (0.4) yeken sok-ey ilha-nun
not-if more difficult condition inside-at work-RL

15 salam-tul-ey tayhayse-nun
people-PL-about-TC
or those working in worse (0.4) conditions

16 .hh thukpyelhan (0.3) kwanli-na: ani-myen
special management-or not-if

17 thukpyelhan, (0.3) chewu-ka ttala-ya toynta-ko
special treatment-NM follow-must-QT

18 sayngkak-ul ha-pnita.
thought-AC do-DC:DEF
should receive .hh special (0.3) management or special (0.3) treatment.

19 (0.8)

20→ LS: .hh (0.2) hoksi thukswu-koyong-notongca::-tul-ul, (0.8)
by any chance special-employment-worker-PL-AC

21→ notongca-tul-ey (.) kaynyem-i mwues-i-nci
worker-PL-POS concept-NM what-be-OQ

22→ al-ko kyey-sip-nikka.
know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
.hh (0.2) Do (you) by any chance know what workers in special employment (0.8) what the concept of workers in special employment is?

23 CH: tch! (0.2) ku-ke-n mwe sacen-ey
that-thing-TC what dictionary-in

24 cal iss-ul ke-pnita
well be-probably NOM-DC:DEF
Tch! (0.2) That is probably well defined in the dictionary.

25 (1.7)

26 LS: thukswu-koyong-notongca (0.6) sacen-ey
special-employment-worker dictionary-in

27 chac-a po-si-myen, (.) nao-ci anh-supnita. (.)
find-and see-SH-if come out-L.NEG -DC:DEF
(The word) "worker in special employment" (0.6) does not come out (.) if (you) look it up in the dictionary. (.)

28 wuli nala kwuke sacen-ey: (0.3)
our country Korean dictionary-in

29 thukswu-koyong-notongca:, (1.0) eps-supnita. (0.6)
special-employment-worker not exist-DC:DEF
There is no (entry) (1.0) (for the word) "worker in special employment" (0.3) in the Korean dictionary.

30 (wuli-ka) thukswu-koyong-notongca-lako hanun kes-un (0.2)
we-NM special-employment-worker-QT called thing-TC

31 swipkey yaykihayse, (0.5) pan:-un notongca-ko, (0.2)
easily tell-if half-TC worker-and

32 pan:-un kayin-saepca-la-nun ke-pnita. (0.8)
half-TC individual-owner-QT-RL thing-DC:DEF
What we call "workers in special employment" are in plain language half worker and half individual business owners

33 *((LS continues his explanation on "workers in special employment"))*

Extract (3.10) in Korean [Special Employment Workers]

01→ LS: 이 특수고용노동자들의 처우개선을
02→ 위한 방안이 있으면 (0.4)
03→ 최홍집 후보, (.) 말씀해 주십시오
04 (0.6)
05 CH: .hhhhhhh 어: 특수노동자:들:
06 근무 여건이: (.) 특별하기 때문에 (0.5)
07 에:: 특수:노동자들에 그 근무 조건이나: (0.4)
08 근무 행태에 따라서 (0.6)
09 어:: 정확히 파악을:: 해서
10 대처를 해야될 것 같습니다.
11 그리고 .hhh 그러한 문제는 (0.4)
12 어: 분명히 (0.3) 이 어려운 (.) 여건 속에서
13 근무하는: 사람들이나
14 아니면 더 힘든 (0.4) 여건 속에 일하는
15 사람들에 대해서는
16 .hh 특별한 (0.3) 관리나: 아니면
17 특별한, (0.3) 처우가 따라야 된다고
18 생각을 합니다.
19 (0.8)
20→ LS: .hh (0.2) 혹시 특수고용노동자::들을, (0.8)
21→ 노동자들에 (.) 개념이 무엇인지
22→ 알고 계십니까.
23 CH: tch! (0.2) 그건 뭐 사전에
24 잘 있을 겁니다.
25 (1.7)
26 LS: 특수고용노동자 (0.6) 사전에
27 찾아보시면, (.) 나오지 않습니다. (.)
28 우리 나라 국어 사전에: (0.3)
29 특수고용노동자:, (1.0) 없습니다. (0.6)
30 (우리가) 특수고용노동자라고 하는 것은 (0.2)
31 쉽게 얘기해서, (0.5) 반:은 노동자고, (0.2)
32 반:은 개인사업자라는 겁니다. (0.8)

33 *((LS continues his explanation on "workers in special employment"))*

The policy question in lines 1-3 has an implicit function of revealing how well or how poorly the respondent CH knows about problems related to the treatment of workers in special employment. This is because one has to have a firm understanding of the legal status of workers in special employment and the predicaments associated with it in order to provide specific, implementable policies for improving the treatment of such workers, that is, workers in special employment are legally considered as individual business owners even though in reality they are more like employees and thus are excluded from the protection of labor laws that ensure employees' labor rights.

In responding to the policy question, CH provides an overly general answer that conveys his ignorance of the problems concerning the treatment of workers in special employment. More specifically, both the approach in lines 5-10 (i.e., working conditions and the type of work should be examined first, and based on that, the issue should then be dealt with) and the solution in lines 11-18 (i.e., people who are working in difficult conditions or those working in worse conditions should receive special management or special treatment) that CH is proposing are so general that they could be applied to solve any kind of treatment issue for any type of worker. In addition, the utterance *thukswu-notongca:-tul: kunmwu yeken-i: (.) thulpyelha-ki ttaymwuNey* 'because the working conditions of workers in special employment (.) are unique' in lines 5-6 reveals that CH's understanding of the term "workers in special employment" is based on a rough guess without proper understanding of "workers in special employment" as a technical term. Furthermore, CH's remark *ey:: thuswu:-notongca-tul-ey ku kunmwu coken-ina: (0.4) kunmwu hayngtay-ey ttalase (0.6) e:: cenghwakhi phaak-ul:: hay-se* 'after uhm attaining an accurate understanding of the working conditions (0.4) or the type of work (0.6) that these

workers do' in lines 7-9 conveys that CH has *not yet* attained an accurate understanding of the working conditions or the type of work workers in special employment do and thus is not prepared to propose any specific measures.

As analyzed above, LS's policy question reveals CH's ignorance of the notion of workers in special employment as well as problems in the treatment of these workers. However, it is clearly different from LS's KQ in lines 20-22 in that exposing CH's lack of knowledge regarding the problems workers in special employment are facing is not the main job the policy question is doing. Note that what the policy question explicitly requires the respondent CH to do is to put forward a policy to improve the treatment of workers in special employment. Thus, CH's response to the question does not explicitly focus on stating whether he knows about the problems pertinent to the treatment of workers in special employment. Instead his response focuses on explaining his approach and solution to this issue of the treatment of workers in special employment even if he is only able to give a vague outline. Probing CH's knowledgeability is an implicit, unofficial function of LS's policy question.

By contrast, the explicit focus of LS's KQ in lines 20-22 is on finding out whether CH knows what the concept of workers in special employment is, as the expression *al-ko kyey-sip-nikka* 'Do (you) know~?' clearly shows, and thereby to expose his ignorance of it. More specifically, the KQ requires the respondent CH to either confirm or disconfirm that he understands the concept of workers in special employment. In line 23 CH, however, resists the KQ by mentioning a reference where the concept can probably be found instead of issuing a disconfirming 'no' answer straightforwardly. CH's efforts not to explicitly admit his lack of knowledge and thereby to protect his candidate image as a knowledgeable figure is proven to be

unfruitful when LS explicitly points out that the term "workers in special employment" cannot be found in the dictionary and goes on to provide its definition in lines 26-32.

The analyses of LS's policy question and KQ in Extract (3.10) have shown that KQs are distinguishable from policy questions in that the explicit, official focus of the questions is on addressing the issue of the respondents' knowledge. Next, let us examine how KQs are different from general-knowledgeability questions by analyzing a general-knowledgeability question in Extract (3.11) and contrasting it with the KQ in Extract (3.10).

In Extract (3.11), the incumbent KD is probing whether the challenger PH has had any experience working for the district they are running for to be a member of the National Assembly by issuing a general-knowledgeability question in lines 16-19.

Extract (3.11) [Working Experience]

01	KD:	ey *kolyetayhakkyo inayyeng* kyoswuk:-keyse: uhm Korea University Lee, Nae-Young professor-NM
02		malssumha-si-ki-lul:, say:hon, -SH-NOM-AC ***Professor Nae-Young Lee of Korea University has said,***
03		sa-ilsam chong-sen hwupo-ey tayhayse-nun, April-13 general-election candidate-about-TC ***"In terms of the candidates of the general election on April 13,***
04		.h siuywen-ina touywen. simin-tanchey hwaltong city council-or provincial council civic-group activity
05		kyenghem-i iss-nun, (.) hwupo-ka experience-NM be-RL candidate-NM
06		ciyek-ul cal a-nta:. (0.6) district-AC well know-DC ***.h candidates with (previous) experience serving as a member of the city or provincial council or civic groups (are the ones that) know the district well.***

07 ey kulayse ciyek-ul wihay ilha-l: (.) kyenghem-kwa
uhm so district-AC for work-PRS experience-and

08 kyenglyek-i taytanhi cwungyoha-ta:.
past history-NM extremely be important-DC
Uhm so experience (.) or a past history of working for the district is extremely important."

09 ilehkey yaykihay-ss-nuntey tonguyha-si-pnikka?
like this say-PST-so agree-SH-Q:DEF
This is what he has said. Do (you) agree (with this)?

10 (0.7)

11 PH: ney [mwe]=
yes well
Yes, well,

12 KD: [yey.]
okay
Okay.

13 PH: =tonguyha-pnita.
agree-DC:DEF
(I) agree.

14 (.)

15 PH: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

16→ KD: [ca] kulehta-myen (0.5) *pak* hwupo-kkeyse-nun
then be like that-if PH candidate-NM:hon,-TC

17→ phyengsayng phansa chwulsin-ulose (0.2)
whole life judge serve-as

18→ wuli ciyek-ul wihayse ilha-n
our district-AC for work-RL

19→ kyenghem-kwa kyenglyek-i cenhye eps-usi-c(i)-yo?
experience-and history-NM at all not-SH-COMM-POL
Now then (0.5) you as a person who has served
(your) whole life as a judge, (0.2)
you have no experience or history of working for
our district at all, do you?

20 (0.4)

21 PH: um:: .h ku [pha-]
well that ju-
Well, the ju-

22 KD: [tan]-mwun-ulwu yey. (0.2) tap-ul
short-sentence-with yes answer-AC

23 ha-y cwu-si-myen kam- (.) kamsaha-keyss-supnita.
do-and give-SH-if appre- appreciate-will-DC:DEF
(I) would appreciate it if (you) could answer in a short sentence.

Extract (3.11) [Working Experience] in Korean

01 KD: 에 고려대학교 이내영 교수:께서:
02 말씀하시기를:,
03 사일삼 총선 후보에 대해서는,
04 .h 시의원이나 도의원. 시민단체 활동
05 경험이 있는, (.) 후보가
06 지역을 잘 안다:. (0.6)
07 에 그래서 지역을 위해 일 할: (.) 경험과
08 경력이 대단히 중요하다:.
09 이렇게 얘기했는데 동의하십니까?
10 (0.7)
11 PH: 네 [뭐]=
12 KD: [예.]
13 PH =동의합니다.
14 (.)
15 PH: [예.]
16→ KD: [자] 그렇다면 (0.5) 박 후보께서는
17→ 평생 판사 출신으로써 (0.2)
18→ 우리 지역을 위해서 일한
19→ 경험과 경력이 전혀 없으시죠?
20 (0.4)
21 PH: 음:: .h 그 [파-]
22 KD: [단]문으루 예. (0.2) 답을
23 해 주시면 감- (.) 감사하겠습니다.

The import of KD's general-knowledgeability question in lines 16-19 can clearly be understood by taking into account the remark of Prof. Nae-Young Lee, who is an expert in the field of political science in Korea, which KD quotes in lines 1-8. Prof. Lee's remark highlights the importance of one's previous experience working for the district as a selection criterion for electing the member of the National Assembly of the district as seen in the expression *taytanhi cwungyoha-ta:*. 'is extremely important' (line 8). The basis for Prof. Lee's argument is the reasoning that candidates with the past experience of working for the district (e.g., serving as a member of the city or provincial council or civic groups) know the district well (lines 4-6). In other words, the experience of working for the district is important because it is a crucial means of acquiring in-depth knowledge of the district. Thus, in light of the quote from Prof. Nae-Young Lee, we can know that what KD is doing by requesting PH to confirm that he has no experience or history of working for the district at all—that is, to confirm that he has no experience or history of engaging in activities that would have helped him acquire knowledge of the district—is to expose that PH does not know the district at all and thus is unfit for the public office he is running for.

As examined above, KD's general-knowledgeability question in lines 16-19 explicitly aims at probing PH's knowledgeability, an aspect KD's general-knowledgeability question shares with LS's KQ in Extract (3.10). However, the former is different in that instead of probing whether PH knows a specific fact about the district as the latter does, it aims to establish PH's general lack of knowledge about the district by asking about PH's experience or past history of working for the district. By contrast, the latter, LS's KQ, is specifically about the concept of "workers in special employment" and thus seeks to show that PH lacks specific knowledge on the concept of "workers in special employment."

Section 3.2.2 so far has explored the issue of how we can distinguish KQs from other types of questions that can also reveal the respondent's knowledge of the matter at hand. By comparing KQs with policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions using the analyses of Extracts (3.10)-(3.11), this section has shown that KQs are different from policy questions in terms of their focus and from general-knowledgeability questions in terms of their substance and granularity. Unlike policy questions, whose explicit focus is on eliciting the respondents' policies, KQs explicitly focus on probing the respondents' knowledgeability—that is, on exposing the respondents' insufficient or lack of knowledge. Whereas general-knowledgeability questions seek to establish the respondents' *general* lack of knowledge of a certain area by asking about activities and experience pertinent to gaining that knowledge, KQs seek to expose that the respondents lacks *specific* knowledge of established factual matters by asking about specific factual information. In the section to follow, we will continue to examine properties of KQs by focusing on features of the answers given in response.

3.2.3. Features of the Answers to KQs

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, one characteristic of the substance of KQs is that it is about a specific piece of information of established factual matters. This means that the respondents' answers to KQs can be evaluated by the questioners in terms of their correctness as Clayman and Romanuik (2011) call the "dramatic pass/fail dimension" of pop quiz questions, which I call KQs (also see Roth, 2005).[3] Extract (3.12) below, which Extract (3.3) is part of, clearly demonstrates this feature of the answers to KQs. In Extract (3.12), the questioner K issues two KQs, and the respondent W's answer to each KQ is evaluated in terms of its correctness.

[3] This does not imply that the correctness of the answers as judged by questioners is undisputable since there are cases in which the respondents challenge the questioners' judgments on the correct/incorrectness of their answers.

Extract (3.12) [Tangerine Price _2]

01 K: elma-pnikka.=
how much-Q:DEF
How much (is it)?

02 W: =yey. paykosip wen-i-pnita.
okay 150 won-be-DC:DEF
Okay. (It)'s 150 won.

03 (0.2) ((K is looking at his notes.))

04→ K: payk:osip wen:-i [ani-ko]= ((looking at his notes))
150 won-NM not-and
(It)'s not 150 won;

05 W: [yey: .]
okay
Okay.

06→ K: =paykyuksip [wen-i-pnita.]
160 won-be-DC:DEF
(It)'s 160 won.

07 W: [yey. paykyuksi]p wen-yo.
yes 160 won- POL
Yes. (It's) 160 won.

08 [yey.]
yes
Yes.

09 K: [yey.] kule-myen (0.8) to:-ka elma cengto
okay. like that-if local government-NM how much extent

10 ciwenha-pnikka?
support-Q:DEF
Okay. Then (0.8) approximately how much does the local government subsidize (out of 160 won)?

11 (0.3)

12 W: tch! to-ka-yo. osip wen ciwenha-pnita.=
provincial government-NM-POL 50 won subsidize-DC:DEF
Tch! The provincial government subsidizes 50 won.

13→ K: =yey. o[sip wen] ku mac-supnita.
yes 50 won that correct-DC:DEF
Yes. 50 won. That is correct.

14 W: [yey : .]
yes
Yes.

Extract (3.12) [Tangerine Price_2] in Korean

01 K: 얼맙니까.=
02 W: =예. 백오십 원입니다.
03 (0.2) ((K is looking at his notes.))
04→ K: 백: 오십 원:이 [아니고]= ((looking at his notes))
05 W: [예:.]
06→ K: =백육십 [원입니다.]
07 W: [예. 백육시]ㅂ원요.
08 [예.]
09 K: [예.] 그러면 (0.8) 도:가 얼마 정도
10 지원합니까?
11 (0.3)
12 W: tch! 도가요. 오십 원 지원합니다.=
13→ K: =예. 오 [십 원] 그 맞습니다.
14 W: [예 :.]

The first KQ is in line 1. Here K asks W about the set price of tangerines per kilogram sold by farmers to manufacturers. In line 2 W provides an answer by uttering that the set price is 150 won. Then, in line 3, K evaluates W's answer as incorrect and provides the correct answer *paykosip wen* '160 won.' The second KQ, which asks approximately how much the provincial government subsidizes out of 160 won, is in lines 9 -10. In responding to the KQ, W gives the answer '50 won' in line 12. Right after W's provision of the answer, K evaluates it in line 13 as correct by saying *"yey. o[sip wen] ku mac-supnita* 'Yes. 50 won. That is correct.'

Because the correctness of the answers to KQs can explicitly be judged by the questioners as shown in Extract (3.12), KQs serve as a tool for the questioners to *demonstrate* whether the respondents have definite knowledge of the matters at hand or not. Incorrect answers

and responses that admit the respondents' inability to answer KQs demonstrate the respondents' ignorance (see Extracts (3.3)-(3.5)) whereas the correct answers demonstrate the respondents' knowledge (see Extract (3.12)). The questioners' orientation to KQs as a tool to induce the display of the respondents' knowledge can clearly be seen in the practice of how the questioners respond to the respondents' claims of possessing the knowledge. In these cases, the questioners of the KQs often do not accept the claims as they are and instead issue follow-up KQs that explicitly request the respondents to display their self-claimed knowledgeability. In other words, in order for the respondents to prove that they themselves indeed have the knowledge being tested by KQs, they need to display their knowledge. Extract (3.13) below illustrates the case in point.

The participants KJ and KM of Extract (3.13) are running for the Mayor of Kimhae. KJ is the challenger and KM is the incumbent. Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (3.13), KJ pointed out that KM extensively publicized the inauguration of the KT Training Institute data center in the voters pamphlets as one of his achievements as current Mayor of Kimhae and advertised the indirect employment effect of creating jobs for about 3,000 people. Then, KJ raised a doubt regarding whether it really created that many jobs by asking KM to validate the information. In responding to KJ's question in line 1, instead of confirming whether the data center really has an indirect employment effect for about 3,000 people, KM issues a clarification regarding whether KJ's question is about the KT center. In line 3, KJ clarifies that his question is about the data center. Then, in lines 5 and 6, KJ issues a KQ that tests KM's knowledge of what the data center does, thereby conveying that KM might not even know what the data center does and is lying about its indirect employment effect.

Extract (3.13) [Data Center]

01 KM: *keyithi* seynthe-yo?
KT center-Q:POL
(Do you mean) the KT center?

02 (0.5)

03 KJ: teyithe seynthe.
data center
The data center.

04 (0.5)

05 KJ: i-ke mwe-ha-nun kos-i-nci
this-thing what-do-RL place-be-OQ

06 [a-si-pnikka?]
know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know what this (center) does?

07→ KM: [teyithe seynthe.] al-ci-yo.
data center know-COMM-POL
The data center. (I) certainly do..

08→ KJ: mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y.
what-do-RL place-be-Q:DEF this-thing-NM
What does it do?

09 KM: teyithe seynthe-ka: ku: ceongpo:
data center-NM that information

10 seykyeyceki-n cengpo thongsin-ul (.) hay-se
global-be-RL information communication-AC do-and
The data center does information, world-renown infocommunication.

11 ilpon-uy *sophuthupayngkhu* teyithe seynthe. (0.2) ka
Japan-POS SoftBank data center NM

12 cikum ha-ko an iss-supnikka.
now do-and not be-Q:DEF
Hasn't the Japanese (company) SoftBank been running
their data center there?

13 [tul-e w-a iss-e-]
enter-and come-and be-and
(The company's data center) has already moved in.

14 KJ: [i-ke-y samchen myeng]-kka- (.) koyung hyokwa.
this-thing-NM 3,000 CL-up to employmen effect

15 KJ: ike iss-supnikka.
this be-Q:DEF
Does this have the effect of employing 3,000 people?

16 KM: sam[chen myeng]
3,000 CL
3,000 people

17 KJ: [elmana] koyonghay-ss-supnikka.
how many hire-PST-Q:DEF
How many (people) have been hired?

Extract (3.13) [Data Center] in Korean

01 KM: 케이티 센터요?
02 (0.5)
03 KJ: 데이터 센터.
04 (0.5)
05 KJ: 이거 뭐하는 곳인지
06 [아십니까?]
07→ KM: [데이터 센터.] 알지요.
08→ KJ: 뭐하는 곳입니까 이게.
09 KM: 데이터 센터가: 그: 정보:
10 세계적인 정보 통신을 (.) 해서
11 일본의 소프트 뱅크 데이터 센터. (0.2)가
12 지금 하고 안 있습니까.
13 [들어 와 있어-]
14 KJ: [이게 삼천 명]까- (.) 고용 효과.
15 KJ: 이거 있습니까.
16 KM: 삼[천 명]
17 KJ: [얼마나] 고용했습니까.

In line 7, KM strongly confirms that he knows what the data center does by saying the utterance *teyithe seynthe. al-ci-yo.*'The data center. (I) certainly do'. More specifically, although it is grammatically unproblematic to omit *teyithe seynthe* 'the data center' and just say '*al-ci-yo*'

'(I) know,' KM explicitly mentions it, thereby emphasizing that he knows what the data center does. He also use the committal marker *–ci* in forming the predicate '*al-ci-yo*' to show his commitment to the truth of the statement saying that he knows it (Lee, 1999).

In spite of KM's strong claim of knowing what the center does, KJ does not take the claim as it is. Instead, KJ issues the follow-up KQ *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y.* 'What does it do?' in line 8, which is explicitly worded to request KM to display this knowledge he claims to have regarding what the center does. This shows that when KJ uses his initial KQ, he is seeking to *demonstrate* whether KM knows what the data center does. Note that it is only after KM actually demonstrates his knowledge of the function of the data center in detail in lines 9-13 that KJ resumes his inquiry about the employment effect of this center in lines 14 and 15.

Section 3.2.3 has explored how the substance of KQs' being about specific established factual matters can configure the characteristics of the answers to KQs. It has shown that because KQs have correct answers, answers to KQs can also be judged in terms of whether they are right or wrong, thus letting the candidates demonstrate whether their opponents have definite knowledge of the matter at hand or not. Incorrect answers or responses that admit the respondents' ignorance demonstrate the respondents' uninformedness. In addition, while the correct answers demonstrate the respondents' informedness, the respondents' mere claims of possessing the knowledge are not taken as a demonstration of the respondents' informedness, and follow-up questions that require the respondents to display their knowledge are often subsequently issued. In sum, KQs expose whether respondents are informed of the matter at hand or not by actually making them demonstrate it in front of the viewers.

3.2.4. Summary of Section 3.2

Section 3.2 has explored the features defining KQs in order to clearly lay out the phenomenon of this dissertation, KQs used in political campaign debates. As an initial step to achieve this end, Section 3.2.1 explored what specialized functions KQs conduct in the institutional context of political campaign debates. It identified two specialized functions of KQs in this particular institutional context. The primary function of KQs is to expose the respondents' lack of definite knowledge about the matters being asked about and thereby to discredit the respondents' qualifications as candidates. The secondary function of KQs is to advertise the questioners' own knowledgeability and by extension their qualifications as candidates. The dual uses of KQs were then explained by reference to the dual institutional roles of the questioners of KQs: the questioners of KQs are not only questioners of a cross-examination that need to probe the qualifications of the respondents as candidates, but also are candidates themselves who need to prove their own qualifications as candidates.

After exploring the two specialized functions of KQs, Section 3.2.2 dealt with the problem of how KQs can be differentiated from other types of questions such as policy and general-knowledgeability questions that may also implicate the respondents' knowledgeability issue. In delving into the issue of differentiating these questions, Section 3.2.2 zeroed in on the focus, substance, and granularity of KQs. The analyses of these features of KQs showed that the explicit focus of KQs was on finding out whether the respondents possess the knowledge they were being asked about (i.e., the substance of KQs) and that the substance of KQs was about specific factual matters. By contrast, the explicit focus of policy questions was on eliciting the respondents' plans/measures for solving sociopolitical issues and not checking the respondents'

knowledge per se, and the substance of general-knowledgeability questions was concerned with general activities or experience pertinent to acquiring knowledge of a certain domain.

Lastly, Section 3.2.3 examined the properties of answers to KQs that were associated with the nature of the substance of KQs of being about specific and established factual matters. Answers to KQs could be evaluated in terms of their correctness given that the substance of KQs concerns specific factual matters that are difficult to dispute. The fact that correct answers to KQs exist makes it possible for candidates to demonstrate their respondents' ignorance via KQs. In addition, because KQs are interactional tools for proving/demonstrating the respondents' knowledge problems, mere knowledge claims from the respondents were often met with follow-up questions that explicitly required the respondents to display the knowledge they claimed to have.

Having defined what KQs are in terms of their functions, focus, substance, and granularity, what follows is the investigation of how candidates build KQs in a way that is recognizable by the respondents as KQs, and correspondingly, how the respondents ascribe a KQ to a certain question. Taking up the theme of action formation and ascription of KQs is also indispensible in the analytic process of identifying KQs in that it explores what resources candidates use to produce and understand a question as a KQ, the very resources analysts rely on for the recognition of a question as a KQ.

3.3. KQs: Action Formation and Ascription

Sections 3.2.1 & 3.2.2 have shown that the explicit, primary function of KQs used in political campaign debates is to probe whether the respondents have knowledge of a specific, established factual matter—more precisely, to expose the respondents' lack of definite knowledge of it. In

order for KQs to conduct the intended function (or action, using CA terms), KQs should first be produced in such a way that the respondents (and the viewers) can recognize them as questions aiming to test the respondents' knowledge of the substance of the questions (Sidnell, 2013, p.78). Section 3.3 will investigate the questioners' problem of action formation, originally defined by Schegloff (2007) as follows:

> "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 fact, respondents also have a corresponding problem, that is, the problem of action ascription: how to assign an action to a turn (Levinson, 2013). In other words, how do the respondents assign the action of doing knowledge-testing to a question? Because the resources that the questioners use to construct the action of doing knowledge-testing are the very resources that the respondents use to assign the action of doing knowledge-testing to an utterance, this question of action formation and action ascription cannot be explored separately.

The issue of action formation and ascription is of particular importance in the cases of KQs in Korean because the Korean language does not have separate linguistic forms reserved only for forming KQs. As examined in Section 3.2.2, the focus, substance, and granularity of questions are features that distinguish KQs from other types of knowledge-probing questions such as policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions. However, these features do not

completely explain the issue of action formation and ascription. This is because the exact same questions that are used as KQs can also be used as genuine information-seeking questions requesting information about factual matters the questioners do not have. For instance, *myech si-ey-yo?* (what time-be-Q:POL) 'What time is it?' functions as a KQ when a teacher who is giving a lesson on how to tell time asks his/her student the question, but it can also function as a genuine information-seeking question when asked by a person who does not have the time.

Thus, by exploring the properties of interaction questioners and respondents use to construct or assign the action of doing knowledge-testing through or to a turn, this section seeks to further our understanding of the resources questioners and respondents resort to in order to disambiguate between the actions of knowledge-testing and information-seeking. This section will show how the turn design (Section 3.3.1), the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the nature of the substance, the epistemic status between the questioners and the respondents (Section 3.3.2), and the sequential position of a question (Section 3.3.3) work together as resources for action formation and ascription of KQs. At the same time, this section will also demonstrate the dynamic nature of action formation and ascription of KQs by documenting cases where the respondents reasonably recognize a question as a KQ or another type of question based on the aforementioned action ascription resources but the follow-up responses from the questioners retrospectively reshape the action of their questions differently from how it had been understood by the respondents (Section 3.3.4).

3.3.1. Turn Design, and Action Formation and Ascription

According to Drew (2013, p.132), a turn is built out of a variety of linguistic (e.g., phonetic, prosodic resources, words, morphological, syntactic, and other grammatical forms) and

paralinguistic (e.g., timing, laughter, aspiration, gesture, eye gaze, and other bodily movements) resources. Then how do questioners construct or design a turn that functions as a KQ with such resources so that the respondents (and the viewers) can understand the turn as a KQ? This section addresses the question with a focus on the linguistic resources for designing KQs.

3.3.1.1. Framing Expressions

The analysis of the turn design of KQs show that questioners may attach framing expressions that highlight, as the explicit focus of the questions, the issue of whether the respondent has or can provide the requested knowledge to phrases or clauses that contain the contents they are testing the respondents on (i.e., the substance of the questions). For instance, let us examine the turn design of KH's KQ *samwel isipyuk-il nal-i mwusun nal-i-nci a-si-pnikka? 'Do (you) know what March 26 is?'* below, which was introduced in Extract (3.8) earlier.

Extract (3.14) [The Warship Cheonan KQ]

01→ KH: samwel isipyuk-il nal-i mwusun nal-i-nci

March 26-CL day-NM what day-be-OQ

→ The substance of the KQ realized as an oblique question clause with an oblique question suffix (OQ) *-nci*

02→ **a-si-pnikka?**

know-SH-Q:DEF

→ The framing expression formed with the verb of knowing *al-* 'know'

Do (you) know what March 26 is?

Extract (3.14) [The Warship Cheonan KQ] in Korean
01→ 삼월 이십육일 날이 무슨 날인지
02→ 아십니까?

As seen in line 1, the substance of KH's KQ in Extract (3.14) is about what March 26 is. In asking this KQ, KH, however, does not design this using a direct question format. Instead, KH articulates the substance of his KQ using an oblique question clause (i.e., indirect question clause) with the oblique question suffix (OQ) *–nci,* which not only marks the preceding clause as an oblique question but also connects the oblique question clause with the framing expression following it. Then, KH adds the framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?', which is formed with the verb of knowing *al-* 'know', to the oblique question clause.

Using the framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' KH foregrounds the issue of the respondent PW's knowledge, making it, rather than the substance of the question itself, the explicit focus of the question. By doing so, KH explicitly conveys that the question KH is asking PW is not meant to seek information unknown to KH but is meant to probe whether PW knows the information being asked about. To put it another way, the framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' explicitly marks KH's question as a KQ.

Framing expressions are commonly formed with verbs of (not) knowing (e.g., *al-* 'know,' *phaakha-* 'grasp,' *molu-* 'do not know'), examples of which will be presented in Extract (3.15), b) verbs of remembering (e.g., *kiekha-* 'remember'), which will be examined through Extract (3.16), or c) verb phrases that refer to the ability to verbally provide the requested information (e.g., *malha-l su-iss-* :tell-can-exist-DC: 'can tell,' *selmyeongha-l su iss-*:explain-can-exist-DC: 'can explain'), which we will see in Extract (3.17). Let us take a look at specific examples of KQs designed with these framing expressions beginning with Extract (3.15) below.

3.3.1.1.1. Framing Expressions Formed With Verbs of (Not) Knowing

In Extract (3.15), the questioner SY, like KH in Extract (3.1) above, designs his KQs utilizing the framing expressions formed with the verbs of (not) knowing. SY's KQs deal with the amount of the national budget for local social overhead capital at the time of the debate and are located in lines 1-3 and in line 8.

Extract (3.15) [Local SOC]

01→ SY: kuntey ku-cwungey (.) cipang eysuossi
but that-among local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)

02→ yeysan-i elma-**nci**
budget-NM how much-**OQ**
→ The substance of the KQ realized as an oblique question with OQ *-nci*

03→ **a-si-pnikka?**
know-SH-Q:DEF
→ The framing expression formed with the verb of knowing *al-* 'know'

But do (you) know how much the budget for local social overhead capital is (.) out of that?

04 (0.4)

05 YJ: kulsseyyo mwe cipang eysuossi::-lul
well what local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)-AC

06 mwe cengcheycekulo:,
what overall

07 el[ma-nci : ,]
how much-(be)-OQ
Well, uhm how much local SOC is uhm overall,

08→ SY: [chong-ayk]-i elma-**n[ci** **molu]-si-pnikka?**
total-amount-NM how much-**OQ** do not know-SH-Q:DEF

The substance of the KQ designed as an oblique question with OQ *-nci*

The framing expression formed with the verb of not knowing *molu-* 'do not know'

Do (you) not know how much the total amount is?

09 YJ: [ey ey.]
yes yes
Mm hm,

10 YJ: yey.
no
No.

11 SY: .hhh chong-ayk-i cikum han isip-co cenhwu-pnita,
total-amount-NM now about 20-trillion around-DC:DEF
The total amount is around 20 trillion (won).

Extract (3.15) [Local SOC] in Korean

01→ SY: 근데 그중에 (.) 지방 에스오씨
02→ 예산이 얼만지
03→ 아십니까?
04 (0.4)
05 YJ: 글쎄요 뭐 지방 에스오씨:: 를
06 뭐 전체적으로:,
07 얼[만지:,]
08→ SY: [총액] 이 얼만[지 모르]십니까?
09 YJ: [에 에.]
10 YJ: 예.
11 SY: .hhh 총액이 지금 한 이십조 전홉니다,

In lines 1-3 SY designs his KQ with the framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' which is formed with the verb of knowing *al-* 'know.' More specifically, SY constructs the content which YJ is being tested on, i.e., the amount of the national budget allocated to local social overhead capital, as an oblique question clause with the use of the oblique question suffix *–nci*. Then, he attaches the framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' to the oblique

question clause. With this framing expression, SY makes it clear that the purpose of the question is to test whether YJ knows the amount of the national budget for local social overhead capital, not for SY to learn the information from YJ.

In line 8, SY addresses a KQ to YJ again. This KQ, as does his previous KQ, also concerns YJ's knowledgeability regarding the budget allocated for local social overhead capital. In designing this KQ, SY, however, chooses to use a different framing expression, *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~?' which is made with the verb of not knowing *molu-* 'do not know.' In doing so, SY articulates the substance of his KQ, the total amount of the national budget allocated for local social overhead capital, through an oblique question clause using the oblique question suffix *–nci* and then attaches *molu-si-pnikka? '*Do (you) not know~*'* to the oblique question clause. By using a framing expression, SY makes it clear that the focus of his question is not on seeking information about the substance of the question but on revealing YJ's ignorance of it

Compared with the framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' the framing expression *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~? embodies SY's skeptical stance towards the possibility of YJ knowing the amount. Consider how SY's latter KQ, designed with *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~?' in line 8, invites YJ to affirm that YJ does not know the amount in question whereas SY's initial KQ in lines 1 and 2, designed with *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' invites YJ to affirm that YJ does.

The grounds on which SY chooses to use the pessimistic framing expression *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~? are likely YJ's response in lines 3-5, where YJ displays trouble answering SY's initial KQ in lines 1-3. YJ was not able to provide an answer to SY's initial KQ immediately, evident by his 0.4 second pause before replying. Additionally, YJ starts his turn

with *kulseyo* 'well,' which indicates that the speaker does not have a definite answer to a question (The National Institute of Korean Language, 2008). YJ's following talk provides further evidence that YJ may not know the answer to SY's initial KQ. Instead of providing a straightforward number as his answer, YJ slightly modifies and reuses the contents of SY's question. SY does not miss these indicators of YJ's ignorance. Even before YJ finishes his turn, SY zeros in on the issue of YJ's knowledge in lines 8 by asking the follow-up KQ designed with the pessimistic framing expression *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~?'

Although the framing expressions *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~? and *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~?' employed by SY are different in terms of the degree of the speaker's pessimism, as implicated in the framing expressions, both explicitly indicate that the focus of SY's KQs are on finding out whether YJ knows the amount of the national budget for local social overhead capital. In other words, they make it clear that SY's questions are KQs, not genuine information-seeking questions.

3.3.1.1.2. Framing Expressions Formed With Verbs of Remembering

So far we have examined framing expressions made with verbs of (not) knowing. What follows is an instance of KQs where the framing expression is formed with verbs of remembering. In Extract (3.16) below, which is a continuation of Extract (3.8), KH tests PW's knowledge of the number of sailors from their district Cheonan who lost their lives in the sinking of the warship named Cheonan (see lines 4-6).

Extract (3.16) [Victims]

01 KH: huysayng-cangpyeng cwungey::-nun
victim-military personnel among-TC

02 ku: *pakwancwu* hwupo-uy kotunghakkyo: hwupay-lul
that PW candidate-POS high school junior-AC

03 phohamha-n *chenan* chwulsin-to, (.) iss-supnita.
Include-RL Cheonan origin-also be-DC:DEF
Among the victims (.) were (people) from Cheonan,
including alumni from your high school.

04→ .hhh *chenan* chwulsin cangpyeng::-i myech myeng
Cheonan origin military personnel-NM how many CL

05→ <huysayngtoy-si-**nci**>
be sacrificed-SH-OQ

→ The substance of the KQ realized as an oblique question with OQ *-nci*

06→ hoksi **kiekha-si-pnikka?**
by any chance remember-SH-Q:DEF

→ The framing expression formed with the verb of remembering *kiekha-* 'remember'

.hhh Do (you) by any chance remember
how many sailors from Cheonan died?

07 (0.2)

08 PW: su (yey. ceyl) e: cenghwakhakey kiek::-ul
well yes the most uhm exactly remember-AC

09 mos ha-[keyss-supnita]
not do-will-DC:DEF
Well, the most, uhm (I) don't remember exactly.

10 KH: [wuli sey salam]-i-pnita. ney.
our three person-be-DC:DEF yes
Three people from our (area) died. Yes.

Extract (3.16) [Victims] in Korean
01 KH: 희생장병 중에::는
02 그: 박완주 후보의 고등학교: 후배를
03 포함한 천안 출신도, (.)있습니다.
04→ .hhh 천안 출신 장병::이 몇 명
05→ <희생되신지>
06→ 혹시 기억하십니까?
07 (0.2)
08 PW: 스 (예. 젤) 어: 정확하게 기억::을
09 못 하[겠습니다]
10 KH: [우리 세 사람] 입니다. 네.

In lines 4-5, KH forms the substance of the KQ, the number of sailors from Cheonan who died during the incident, into an oblique question clause using the oblique question suffix *-nci* and then embeds the oblique question clause into the framing expression *hoksi kiekha-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) by any chance remember~?' The framing expression consists of the adverb *hoksi* 'by any chance' and, most importantly, the interrogative form of the verb of remembering *kiekha-* 'remember' *kiekha-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) remember~?' Using a framing expression that foregrounds whether PW remembers the number of victims from their district, KH explicitly conveys that his question aims at probing PW's knowledge of this matter, not at finding out the number of victims per se.

3.3.1.1.3. Framing Expressions Formed With Verb Phrases Referring to the Respondent's Ability to Verbally Provide the Requested Information

Framing expressions are also constructed with verb phrases that refer to the respondent's ability to verbally provide the requested information. Such framing expressions normally consist of a verb of saying (e.g., *malha-* 'tell,' *malhay cwu-* 'tell,' *selmyengha-* 'explain,' *selmyenghay cwu-* 'explain') plus an interrogative form of the idiomatic prospective modifier clause *-l swu iss-*

means exist:'can/could,' which are equivalent to English expressions such as 'Can/Could you tell~?' or 'Can/Could you explain~?' Extract (3.17) below, which has already been introduced in Extract (3.6), illustrates the use of such framing expressions. In lines 4-6, KJ tests OJ's knowledge of the process of receiving the designation as a special zone.

Extract (3.17) [Special Electric Car Industrial Zone_1 KQ]

01	KJ:	cikum cenki-cha sanep thukkwu-lul	
		now electric-car industry special zone-AC	
02		cikum hanpen .h ciceng- e:	
		now once designation uhm	
03		mantul-ko siph-ta hay-ss-nuntey	
		make-want to-DC say-PST-given that	
		Just now (you) said that you wanted to try making	
		a Special Electric Car Industrial Zone,	
04→		i thukkwu: ciceng-ul:, ettehkey ha-myen	
		this special zone designation-AC how do-if	
05→		pat-ul swu iss-**nunci**	
		receive-can-OQ	
		→ The substance of the KQ formed as an oblique question with OQ *-nunci*	
06→		hoksi .hh mwe: (1.0) **malssumha-y cwu-si-l swu iss-supnikka?**=	
		by any chance what tell:hon.-and give-SH-can-Q:DEF	
		→ The framing expression formed with the verb phrase that indicates the respondent's ability to tell KJ the requested information	
		so could (you) by any chance .hh uhm (1.0) tell (me)	
		how (we) can receive the designation as a special zone?	

Extract (3.17) [Special Electric Car Industrial Zone_1 KQ] in Korean

01 KJ:	지금 전기차 산업 특구를
02	지금 한번 .h 지정- 어:
03	만들고 싶다 했는데
04→	이 특구: 지정을:, 어떻게 하면
05→	받을 수 있는지

06→ 혹시 .hh 뭐: (1.0) 말씀해 주실 수 있습니까?=

In constructing her KQ, KJ puts the substance of the KQ, how to receive the designation as a special zone, into an oblique question clause using the oblique question suffix *–nunci*. Then KJ attaches the oblique question clause to the framing expression *hoksi .hh mwe: (1.0) malssumha-y cwu-si-l swu iss-supnikka?* 'Could (you) by any chance .hh uhm (1.0) tell (me)~?' This framing expression consists of the adverb *hoksi* 'by any chance,' the filler *mwe* 'what', which is translated as 'uhm,' and the verb of saying *malssumha-y cwu-* 'tell', the subject honorific suffix *-si*, and the interrogative form of the prospective modal clause *-l swu iss-* 'can/could,' *-l swu iss-supnikka?* 'Can/Could (you)~?' With this framing expression, KJ makes it clear that the focus of this question is on finding out whether OJ has the ability to describe the process of receiving the designation as a special zone—that is, whether OJ has knowledge of the designation process—and not on learning the information from OJ.

3.3.1.2. The Importance of Framing Expressions for the Recognition of KQs

By examining the turn design features of KQs, we have learned that candidates may compose their KQs with framing expressions that explicitly show that the focus of their questions are on probing whether the respondents know the matter being asked about or whether the respondents have the ability to display their knowledge of it. The importance of framing expressions in the ascription of the action of knowledge-testing to a question can clearly be demonstrated in instances where the respondents explicitly bring up the ambiguity of KQs that are formed without such framing expressions and request the questioners to clarify whether their questions are intended to test the respondent's knowledge or to seek information unknown to the questioners. Extract (3.18) below illustrates the case in point.

In Extract (3.18), LK and YS are talking about the rice farming direct payment system, through which the government supports rice farmers by subsidizing either a fixed or variable amount, called a fixed or floating direct payment system, respectively. At the time of the debate, the former determined that the government provide a subsidy of 1,000,000 won per one hectare; the latter, to be applied during the years when the producer price of rice was seriously low, determined that the government guarantee 85% of the difference between the target price and the market price per 80kg of rice by providing rice farmers with extra financial support in addition to the subsidy from the fixed direct payment. YS promised during his campaign that he would make this rice farming direct payment system more realistic.

In lines 3-4, 8, and lines 11-12, LK scrutinizes the credibility of YS's pledge by issuing KQs that aim at probing YS's knowledge of the current rice farming direct payment system, in particular the floating direct payment system. In doing so, however, LK employs question formats without the framing expressions that explicitly show that these questions are meant to test YS's knowledge.

Extract (3.18) [Direct Payment_1]

01	YS:	kulentey .h cey-ka i-kes-ul
		but I-NM this-thing-AC
02		hyensilhwa-ha-[ko cocengha-ca]-la-nun iyaki-nun .hh
		making realistic-do-and adjust-PR-QT-RL talk-TC
		But .h what I'm saying about making this realistic and adjusting it .hh
03→	LK:	[a kule-myen]
		well like that-if
04→	LK:	pyentong-cik-pwul::-kum-un elma-p[nikka?]
		floating-direct-payment-amount-TC how much-(be)-Q:DEF
		Well, then how much is the floating direct payment?

05 YS: [pyentong-c]ik
floating-direct

06 pwulkum-un .h ku: ch chaayk. mokphyo kakyek-kwa .h
payment-amount-TC that difference target price-and

07 ku haytang [yento-ey si-ka-uy chaayk-ey: .h]=
that applied year-POS market-price-POS difference-POS

08→ LK: [(kungkey) mokphyo kakyek-i elma-nya-ko-yo,]
I mean target price-NM how much-Q-QT-POL
I mean, (I'm asking) how much that target price is.

09 YS: =chaayk-ey phalsip-pheseynthu-lul cikupha-y cwu-nun ke
difference-POS 80-percent-AC provide-and give-RL NOM

10 ani-[ey-yo.]
not-be-Q:POL
Isn't the amount of floating direct payment.h the di difference, that is, 80% of the difference .h the difference between the target price .h and the market price for that year?

11→ LK: [(kungkey) mok]phyo cikum kakyek-ul elma-lo
I mean target now price-AC how much-as

12→ pyentong-cik-pwul-cey noh-ko
floating-direct-payment-system set up-and

13→ ci[kum kule-nya-ko.]
now do like that-Q-QT
I mean, (I'm asking) how much the current target price is for the floating direct payment system right now.

14→ YS: [ani kungkey mokphyo-ka]kyek-ul moll-ase
well so target-price-AC not know-because

15→ ce-hanthey al-lako mwul-e po-nun ke-eyo,
I-to know-in order to ask-try-RL NOM-(be)-DC:POL
Well, so are (you) asking me in order to know because (you) don't know the target price?

16→ a[nimyen cey-ka a-nunci mwul-e po-nun]
or I-NM know-OQ ask-try-TC
Or are (you) asking me whether I know?

17 LK: [ani molu-l kes kath-eyse mwul-e po-]nun
no not know-PRS NOM like-because ask-try-RL

18 ke-ey-yo.
NOM-be-DC:POL
No, (I)'m asking (you) because I think (you) don't know.

19 (0.3) ((YS hits the table))

20 YS: cham:.
huh
Huh!

21 LK: molu-l kes kath-eyse.
not know-PRS NOM like-because
Because (I) think (you) don't know.

22 (.)

23 LK: um
mm
Mm

24 YS: tay-
ans-
Ans-

25 (0.2)

26 YS: [chalali]
rather
Maybe it would be better if

27 LK: [a nongswu]san wiwen-ul [(tangsi ha-si-ko)]=
ah agriculture-fisheries-product committee-AC at that time do-SH-and
A person who was a member of the Agriculture, Food, Rural Affairs Committee

28 YS: [c h a l a l i : :]
rather
Maybe it would be better if

29 LK: =kansa-lul ha-si-n pwun-i[: :]
secretary-AC do-SH-RL person-NM
and an administrative secretary of the Agriculture, Food, Rural Affairs, Oceans, and Fisheries Committee

30 YS: [ney:.]
yes
Yes.

31 (0.2)

32 LK: ku cachey-lul molu-ko: (.) nongmin-tul-hanthey:=
that itself-AC not know-and farmer-PL-to
doesn't know (the rice farming direct payment system) itself,

33 YS: =chalali [cey-ka:]
rather I-NM
Maybe it would be better if

34 LK: [mwusun] non-nongep cik-pwul-cey
what rice-farming direct-payment-system

35 hyen[silhwa sikhi-keyss-ta kule-n kong]yak-ul [he-nikka:,]
making realistic make-will-DC like that-RL pledge-AC do-because
and makes the pledge of making the rice farming direct payment system realistic for the farmers.

36 YS [chalali ce:: cey-ka taytap-ul] [taytap-ul]
rather I I-NM answer-AC answer-AC

37 an ha-y cwu-eya wuli kwunswunim cilmwun chwici-ey
not do-and give-then our governor question intent-at
38 cey-ka com kulay[to com kunama]=
I-NM a little bit still a little bit still
Maybe it would be better if I didn't answer,

39 LK: [a::i cham]
well huh

40 YS: =h macchwu-nun kes-i toy-keyss-[ney-yo?]
fulfill-RL NOM-NM become-SUP-realize-POL
so (I) could still at least still at least .h fulfill the intention of our county governor's question, right?

41 LK: [mwusun]
what

42 kulen malssum-ul ha-sey-yo.
like that word:hon. -AC do-SH-Q:POL
Well, huh!, why phrase it like that?

Extract (3.18) [Direct Payment_1] in Korean

01	YS:	그런데 .h 제가 이것을
02		현실화하[고 조정하자]라는 이야기는 .hh
03→	LK:	[아 그러면]
04→	LK:	변동직불::금은 얼맙[니까?]
05	YS:	[변동 ㅈ] ㅣ ㄱ
06		불금은 .h 그: ㅊ 차액. 목표가격과 .h
07		그 해당 [연도에 시가의 차액에: .h]=
08→	LK:	[(긍게) 목표가격이 얼마냐고요,]
09	YS:	=차액에 팔십 퍼센트를 지급해 주는 거
10		아니[에요.]
11→	LK:	[(긍게) 목]표 지금 가격을 얼마로
12→		변동직불제 놓고
13→		지[금 그러냐고.]
14→	YS:	[아니 긍게 목표가]격을 몰라서
15→		저한테 알라고 물어 보는 거에요,
16→		아[니면 제가 아는지 물어보는]
17	LK:	[아니 모를 것 같에서 물어보]는
18		거에요.
19		(0.3) ((YS hits the table))
20	YS:	참:.
21	LK:	모를 것 같에서.
22		(.)
23	LK:	음
24	YS:	대-
25		(0.2)
26	YS:	[차라리]
27	LK:	[아 농수]산 위원을[(당시 하시고)]=
28	YS:	[차라리 : :]
29	LK:	=간사를 하신 분이 [: :]
30	YS:	[네:.]
31		(0.2)
32	LK:	그 자체를 모르고: (.) 농민들한테: =
33	YS:	=차라리 [제가:]
34	LK:	[무슨] 논농업 직불제
35		현[실화 시키겠다 그런 공]약을 [허니까:,]
36	YS:	[차라리 저:: 제가 대답을] [대답을]
37		안 해 주어야 우리 군수님 질문 취지에
38		제가 좀 그래[도 좀 그나마] =
39	LK:	[아:: 이 참]
40	YS:	=h 맞추는 것이 되겠[네요?]

41 LK: [무슨]
42 그런 말씀을 하세요.

In lines 3-4 LK tests YS's knowledge on the amount of the floating direct payment paid to rice farmers. LK requests that YS provide the amount, using a direct wh-question, *a kule-myen pyentong-cik-pwul::-kum-un elma-pnikka?* 'Well, then how much is the floating direct payment?' without a framing expression that explicitly places the focus of the question on testing YS's knowledgeability. In lines 5-7 YS does not answer LK's KQ as it has been put before him, that is, YS does not provide the current amount of the floating direct payment in a specific number. Instead, YS starts to explain how this payment is calculated in general, thereby avoiding having to state a definite figure.

LK follows up YS's evasive response with another KQ in line 8 that asks what the current target rice price set for the floating direct payment is to expose that YS does not actually know this, thereby aiming to show that YS does not know how much the floating direct payment paid to the rice farmers is either. Like the previous KQ in lines 3-4, the KQ in line 8 *(kungkey) mokphyo-kakyek-i elma-nya-ko-yo*. 'I mean, (I'm asking) how much that target price is' does not have the aforementioned framing expression and on the surface again does not clearly indicate whether LK's question is to test YS's knowledge or seek knowledge from him.

Due to the overlap between LK's question and YS's response in lines 7-8 and YS's subsequent success in holding his own turn as seen in lines 9-10, LK in lines 11-12 slightly elaborates but virtually reissues the same question he asked in line 8: *(kungkey) mokphyo cikum kakyek-ul elma-lo pyentong-cik-pwul-cey noh-ko cikum kule-nya-ko*. **'**I mean, (I'm asking) how much the current target price is for the floating direct payment system right now.' Similar to his

two previous KQs, here LK again designs his question without a framing expression that would have made the focus of his question clear.

Note how YS responds to LK's third KQ. YS explicitly requests in lines 14-16 that LK clarify whether the intention of his asking the current target price is to test his knowledge. YS's response thus clearly shows how LK's KQ, produced without a framing expression establishing the explicit focus of its inquiry, risks being (mis)understood as a genuine information-seeking question.[4]

Even though YS's utterance in lines 14-16 is clearly the response to LK's question in lines 11-13 and not to LK's question in line 8, the ambiguity YS registers regarding the question in lines 11-13 is equally applicable to the question in line 8 in that the former is simply a more elaborated version of the latter. In addition, YS's take on LK's question in lines 11-13 has the effect of retrospectively showing how YS had not treated LK's question in lines 3-4 as a KQ either. Because the floating direct payment is calculated based on the target price, a questioner who has set out to test the respondent's knowledge of the amount of the floating direct payment would not suddenly ask the respondent in earnest how much the target price is during a political campaign debate. Thus, if YS had treated LK's question in lines 3-4 as a KQ testing his knowledge, YS would not have expressed doubt on whether LK's next question in lines 11-13 was a genuine information-seeking question or a KQ; he would have naturally treated it as another KQ in line with LK's previous question. In brief, YS's response asking for clarification on the function of LK's question in lines 11-13 shows that LK's KQs in lines 3-4, 8, and 11-13, which do not have the framing expressions explicitly stating that the focus of the question is on

[4] YS's clarification request may reflect YS's sincere difficulty in understanding LK's question, or it may have been strategically deployed to turn the tables on LK and suggest that LK may not be knowledgable on this point. No matter what motivates YS to issue the clarification request, it still holds true that LK's KQ, which is formed without a FE, can be treated as a genuine information-seeking question.

testing the respondent's knowledge, can be treated by the respondent as genuine information-seeking questions.

In lines 17-18 and 21, LK enunciates that his intention behind asking this question about the target price was to expose YS's lack of knowledge of it, which retrospectively shows that his question in lines 11-13 was meant to be a KQ, not an information-seeking question. LK's clarification also retrospectively configures his question in line 8 as a KQ, since, as mentioned earlier, LK's question in lines 11-13 is basically a redoing of line 8. Not only that, LK's clarification also shows that his initial question on the amount of the floating direct payment in lines 3-4 was meant to be a KQ as well. Consider that it would be very unlikely for a questioner to test—that is, issue a KQ to—the respondent on the target price after he had just issued an information-seeking question to that respondent in order to learn how much the floating direct payment is. That LK's question in lines 3-4 functions as a KQ becomes more evident by LK's comment stretching across lines 27, 29, 32, 34-35, which reveals that the whole point of asking YS a series of questions regarding the amount of floating direct payment and the target price is to expose YS's lack of knowledge of the rice farming direct payment system and by extension to discredit LK's promise that he would make the rice farming direct payment system realistic.

The analysis of Extract (3.18) has shown that LK's questions in lines 3-4, 8, and 11-13, which are constructed as KQs, can also be understood as information-seeking questions. The ambiguity associated with LK's KQs has been attributed to the absence of the framing expressions explicitly showing that the focus of inquiry is on probing YS's knowledge of the matter at hand and not on seeking the information from YS. In addition to demonstrating the importance of framing expressions for action ascription of KQs, the fact that LK's questions in lines 3-4, 8, and 11-13 are intended to be KQs raises an interesting issue regarding action

ascription of KQs. Given that the turn design of LK's questions do not explicitly convey that they are KQs, what other resources does LK resort to in order for YS (and the viewers) to recognize his questions as KQs? More generally speaking, what other resources besides turn design features are used to form and ascribe the action of knowledge testing to a turn? The following section will show that the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the nature of the substance of the question, and the assumed epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent regarding the substance of the question are some of these resources.

3.3.2. The Institutional Role of Candidates as Cross-Examiner, the Nature of the Substance, the Epistemic Status, and Action Formation and Ascription

In cases where KQs are designed without the aforementioned framing expressions, the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the nature of the substance of the question, and the assumed epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent regarding the substance of the question can be utilized individually or in combination for the formation and ascription of the action of knowledge testing.

During the cross-examination phase of political campaign debates, candidates who ask their opponents questions are expected to take an adversarial position towards their opponents and probe their qualifications rigorously on behalf of the electorate. The institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner serves not only as a guiding principle but also as an interpretative framework that informs the candidates' questioning activates/actions occurring within the cross-examination phrase. Thus, since the cross-examination phase is not a place for candidates to learn about established factual matters of public affairs from other candidates, when questioners inquire about such matters in this special context, their behavior tends to be interpreted both by

the respondents and the viewers as a means of testing the respondents' knowledge, not as a means of acquiring knowledge from the respondents. This means that the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner combined with the nature of the substance of KQs have epistemic implications.

According to Heritage (2012), epistemic status concerns "the relative access to some domain of two (or more) persons at some point in time" (p.4). Both the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner and the nature of the substance of KQs are important resources by which a questioner of a KQ can establish the knowing status of himself/herself and the potentially unknowing status of the respondent. Leaning on the relative epistemic status of the questioners and the respondents that are implicated in the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner and the nature of the substance of KQs, questioners can construct KQs and the respondents can understand the questions to be KQs without explicit framing expressions in both cases. Extract (3.19) below, which has already been introduced as Extract (3.5) earlier, is the case in point.

Extract (3.19) [Official Name_1]

01	K:	ku :: (.) hana ccom tul-e po-keyss-supnita.
		that one a little bit listen try-will-DC:DEF
		(I) would like to hear (you) tell (me) one.
02		(0.6)
03→	K:	ku:: *sengsan*-up-samwuso-ey
		that Seongsan-eup-office-at
04→		selchitoy-n (0.4) konghang mil- (.)
		be established-RL airport pubri-

05→ konghang-kwa kwanlyentoy-n minwen. (0.3)
airport-with be related-RL public petition
Regarding the public petition (office) (0.4) which was established at the Seongsan-eup Office to deal with prop- (.) problems caused by (the expansion) of the airport,

06→ ku cengsik myengching-i mwe-pnikka?
that official name-NM what-Q:DEF
what is its official name?

07 (1.6) ((W keeps looking down and writing on paper))

08 W: s.hh ((tilting his head as a sign of uncertainty))

Figure 3.3. W Tilting His Head

09 K: cengsik myengching.
official name

10 W: ku: cengsik myengching-un: (0.3)
that official name-TC

11 cal molu-keyss-supni[ta.]
well not know-I think-DC:DEF
s.hh As for the official name (0.3), (I) don't know (it very) well.

12 K: [ku]leh-c(i)-yo. ((with head nods))
like that-COMM-POL
You don't.

13 [cengsik]=
official

14 W: [ey.]
okay
Okay.

15 K: =myengching,=
name
The official name.

16 W: =ey,=
okay
Okay.

17 K: =ku taum-ey cikum myech pwun cengto-ka ……
that next-at now how many CL extent-NM
Next, currently around how many people are ……

Extract (3.19) [Official Name_1] in Korean

01 K: 그:: (.) 하나 쫌 들어보겠습니다.
02 (0.6)
03 → K: 그:: 성산읍사무소에
04 → 설치된 (0.4) 공항 밀- (.)
05 → 공항과 관련된 민원. (0.3)
06 → 그 정식 명칭이 뭡니까?
07 (1.6) ((W keeps looking down and writing on paper))
08 W: s.hh ((tilting his head as a sign of uncertainty))

Figure 3.3. W Tilting His Head

09 K: 정식 명칭.
10 W: 그: 정식 명칭은: (0.3)
11 잘 모르겠습니[다.]
12 K: [그]렇죠. ((with head nods))
13 [정식]=
14 W: [에.]
15 K: =명칭,=
16 W: =에,=
17 K: =그 다음에 지금 몇 분 정도가 ……

In lines 3-6 the questioner K designs his KQ without a framing expression. In particular, refer to line 6 where the main part of K's KQ is located. The KQ *ku cengsik myengching-i mwe-pnikka?* 'what is its official name? is designed as a direct wh-question without any framing expressions such as *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' overtly indicating that the focus of the question is on probing whether or not W knows the official name of the public petition office. This exact same question format could have been used if K had genuinely wanted to know what the name was either because he did not know or had forgotten it. However, W unequivocally understands K's question as a KQ in spite of the ambiguity of action caused by the absence of a framing expression that would have restricted the question to be interpreted as a KQ. Since the question is designed without the framing expressions, W's understanding of K's question as a KQ cannot be attributed to the question's linguistic design. Rather, W's understanding of the institutional role of K as cross-examiner, the contents of K's question, and the epistemic status implicated in them all contribute to W's being able to identify K's question as a KQ.

That W is treating K's question as a KQ aiming to mar his political image as a knowledgeable figure by exposing his lack of knowledge is further demonstrated in the careful design of his response to K's question. First, W's admission of his inability to answer K's question is delayed for quite a long period of time as shown in the 1.6 second silence in line 7 and the in-breath in line 8, which eventually makes K reissue his question in line 9 to urge W's response. This relatively long delay shows not only W's trouble in coming up with an answer but also W's understanding that admitting not being able to answer K's question will be damaging to his political image given that face-threatening actions tend to be delayed in their delivery (e.g., Clayman, 2002).

Second, W's concern of his political image can also be seen in how he formulates his turn in lines 10-11where he admits his inability to answer K's question. The production of the verb phrase *cal molu-keyss-supnita* 'don't know very well,' which explicitly admits his ignorance of the matter being asked about, is delayed through sound stretches as indicated by the colons next to *ku* and *un* in *ku: cengsik myengching-un:* as well as by a 0.3 second pause. In addition, instead of plainly stating that he does not know the answer, he qualifies the extent of his ignorance by adding the adverb *cal* 'well' and thereby modifying the verb phrase *molu-keyss-supnita* 'don't know.' In other words, W is not completely ignorant of the matter at hand, since it is not that he does not know anything at all; he just does not know (*very*) *well*. By doing so, W claims to have partial knowledge of the matter being asked about and tries to control the damage done on his political image. W's delay in replying and claim of possessing partial knowledge thus shows that W does not take K's question as a benign information-seeking question solely aiming to learn the name of the public petition office from him, but as an adversarial knowledge-testing question that is employed to expose W's lack of knowledge and therefore should be responded to with caution.

We have so far examined how the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the substance of KQs, and the implicated epistemic status of the questioners and the respondents can serve as resources for constructing and attributing the action of knowledge testing to a turn. Thinking back to Extract (3.18), why then does YS point out that LK's KQ in lines 11-13 of Extract (3.18) (and extension, LK's KQs in lines 3-4 and line 8 of Extract (3.18) as well) can also be heard as information-seeking questions? It is impossible that YS does not understand LK's role as cross-examiner. In addition, LK's KQs are obviously about established factual matters (i.e., the amount of the floating direct payment for rice farmers and the target price of the

floating direct payment). The key to understand the ambiguity in LK's KQs in lines 3-4, 8, and 11-13 as expressed in or logically inferable from YS's talk in lines 14-16 can be found in the sequence preceding LK's KQs. As we will see in Extract (3.20) below, which includes an exchange between LK and YS preceding Extract (3.18), LK's KQs emerged as follow-up questions of his initial question in lines 15-16 and 18-19 of Extract (3.20)

Extract (3.20) [Direct Payment_2]

01	LK:	nongep-ul salli-nuntey:, agricultural industry-AC revive-given that ***"To revive the agricultural industry,***
02	YS:	yey. yes ***Yes.***
03		(0.8)
04	LK:	non-nongep cik-pwul-cey:-lul hyensil-ey mac-keckey rice-farming direct-payment-system-AC reality-to match-AD
05		ha-keyss-ta ku iyakki:= do-will-DC that story ***(I) would make the rice farming direct payment system realistic."***
06	YS	=yey. yes **Yes.**
07	LK:	kongyak-ey nay-ss-[c(i)-yo ey?] pledge-in come out-PST-COMM-Q:POL right ***This remark is what you pledged, isn't it? Right?***
08	YS:	[k u l e h-s u p]nita. like that-DC:DEF ***It is so.***
09	LK:	.hh cikum pyuntong cik-pwul:-cey-hako now floating direct-payment-system-and

10 koceng-cik-pwul-cey-ka iss-c(i)-yo:?
fixed-direct-payment-system-NM be-COMM-Q:POL
.hh Currently, there is a floating direct payment system and a fixed direct payment system, isn't there?

11 YS: yey.
yes
Yes.

12 LK: .h kuleko path-nongep cik-pwul-cey-ey tayhayse-to
and dry field-farming direct-payment-system-about-also

13 iyaki-lul ha-sy-ess-c(i)-yo:?
talk-AC do-SH-PST-COMM-Q:POL
And (you) also spoke about the dry field farming direct payment system, didn't you?

14 YS: yey.
yes
Yes.

15→ LK: .hh kuntey ku-ke-y cikum: elma-ntey
but that-thing-NM now how much-(be)-given that
But please explain how much it currently is

16→ hyunsilcekulo elma sanghyangha-y ya:,
realistically how much raise-then
and how much it needs to be realistically raised

17 YS: yey.
yes
Yes.

18→ LK: ku-kes-i sanghyang cocelhe-keyss-ta-nun iyaki-nci
that-thing-NM raise adjust-will-DC-RL talk-(be)-OQ

19→ ku-ke selmyeng hanpen ha-y cwu-si-pciyo.
that-thing explanation once do-and give-SH-IM:DEF
in order to be considered as a realistic upward adjustment.

20 YS: cey-ka *nongsikphwum*-wi
I-NM Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs Committee

21 wiwen-to[: sipchil- phal-tay] ttay hay-ss-ko:,
member-also 17 (1)8-line time do-PST-and
I was a member of the Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs Committee during the 18th National Assembly

22 LK: [a kule-nikka-yo,]
I know like that-because-DC:POL
I know, that's why (I'm asking.)

23 LK: nyey:.
yes
Yes.

24 YS: ce isp tay-nun hwupan-pwu-ey hyencay-nun cikum
uhm 20 line-TC second half-part-at current-TC now
During the latter half of the 20th National Assembly,

25 [*n o n g l i m s w u* :]=
the Agriculture, Food, Rural Affairs, Oceans, and Fisheries Committee.

26 LK: [a kule-nikka]=
I know like that-because

27 YS =[wiwen-i-ey yo. kuntey ku]=
member-be-DC:POL but that
currently I am a member of the Agriculture, Food, Rural Affairs, Oceans, and Fisheries Committee.

28 LK: = [mwul-e po-(si)-nun ke-pnita. yey.]
ask-try-SH-RL NOM-(be)-DC:DEF yes
I know, that's why I'm asking. Yes.

29 YS: =kes-i elma-nya-ko mwul-e po-nikka
thing-NM how much-Q-QT ask-try-so

30 .h ku-ke cham: i-ke tappyen mos he-myen-un
that-thing truly this-thing answer not do-if-TC

31 acwu khunil na-key sayng(h)-kyess(h)-nunteyi
very disaster happen-AD come along-will-given that
That being said, since (you)'re asking how much it is, .h
(I can tell that) if I can't answer, it wi(h)ll b(h)e a real disaster (for me).

32 LK: [ani ku-nikka ku-ke malssumha-y po-sey-yo.]
well that-because that-thing tell:hon.-try-SH-IM:DEF
Well, that's why (I'm telling you) to go ahead and tell (me) the answer.

33 YS: [.hh cikum hyuncay koceng-cik-pwul-]
now current fixed-direct-payment

34 kum:-i paykman wen swucwun ani-ey-yo. heykthalu-tang:,
amount-NM one million won level not-be-Q:POL hectare-per
.hh Isn't the current fixed direct payment right now at the level of one million won, per hectare?

35 LK: yey.
yes
Yes.

36 YS: yey. .h [path-nongep cikpwulkum-un:]
yes field-farming direct-payment-TC
Yes. .h The field farming direct payment

37 LK: [kuntey ku hyunsil]-i
but that reality-NM
But the reality

38 YS: path-nongep cik-pwul-kum-un cikum
field-farming direct-payment-amount-TC now

39 YS: sasipman-wen ani-pnikka.
400,000-won not-Q:DEF
Isn't the current field farming direct payment 400 thousand won?

40 hyencay. .h choki toip tankyey-eyse heykthalu-tang,
current initial introduction stage-in hectare-per
At the current .h initial introduction stage, per hectare,

41 LK: yey.
yes
Yes.

42 YS: sasipman wen.
400,000 won
400,000 won.

43 YS: kulentey .h cey-ka i-kes-ul
but I-NM this-thing-AC

44 hyensilhwa-ha-[ko cocengha-ca]-lanun iyaki-nun .hh
making realistic-do-and adjust-PR-said talk-TC
But .h what I'm saying about making this realistic and adjusting it .hh

45→ LK: [a kule-myen]
well like that-if

46→ LK: pyentong-cik-pwul::-kum-un elma-p[nikka?]
floating-direct-payment-amount-TC how much-(be)-Q:DEF
Well, then how much is the floating direct payment?

47 YS: [pyentong-c]ik
floating-direct

48 pwulkum-un .h ku: ch chaayk. mokphyo kakyek-kwa .h
payment-amount-TC that difference target price-and

49 ku haytang [yento-ey si-ka-uy chaayk-ey: .h]=
that applied year-POS market-price-POS difference-POS

50→ LK: [(kungkey) mokphyo kakyek-i elma-nya-ko-yo,]
I mean target price-NM how much-Q-QT-POL
I mean, (I'm asking) how much that target price is.

51 YS: =chaayk-ey phalsip pheseynthu-lul cikupha-y cwu-nun ke
difference-POS 80 percent-AC provide-and give-RL NOM

52 ani-[ey-yo.]
not-be-Q:POL
Isn't the amount of floating direct payment.h the di difference, that is, 80% of the difference .h the difference between the target price .h and the market price for that year?

53→ LK: [(kungkey) mok]phyo cikum kakyek-ul elma-lo
I mean target now price-AC how much-as

54→ pyentong-cik-pwul-cey noh-ko
floating-direct-payment-system set up-and

55→ ci[kum kule-nya-ko.]
now do like that-Q-QT
I mean, (I'm asking) how much the current target price is for the floating direct payment system right now.

56 YS: [ani kungkey mokphyo-ka]kyek-ul moll-ase
well so target-price-AC not know-because

57 ce-hanthey al-lako mwul-e po-nun ke-eyo,
I-to know-in order to ask-try-RL NOM-(be)-DC:PO:
Well, so are (you) asking me in order to know
because (you) don't know the target price?

58 a[nimyen cey-ka a-nunci mwul-e po-nun]
or I-NM know-OQ ask-try-TC
Or are (you) asking me whether I know?

59 LK: [ani molu-l kes kath-eyse mwul-e po-]nun
no not know-PRS NOM like-because ask-try-RL

60 ke-ey-yo.
NOM-be-DC:POL
No, (I)'m asking (you) because I think (you) don't know.

Extract (3.20) [Direct Payment_2] in Korean

01 LK: 농업을 살리는데:,
02 YS: 예.
03 (0.8)
04 LK: 논농업 직불제:를 현실에 맞겆게
05 하겠다 그 이야기:=
06 YS: =예.
07 LK: 공약에 냈[죠 에?]
08 YS: [그렇습]니다.
09 LK: .hh 지금 변동 직불:제하고 고정직불제가 있죠:?
10 고정직불제가 있죠:?
11 YS: 예.
12 LK: .h 그러고 밭농업 직불제에 대해서도
13 이야기를 하셨죠:?
14 YS: 예.
15→ LK: .hh 근데 그게 지금: 얼만데
16→ 현실적으로 얼마 상향해야:,
17 YS: 예.
18→ LK: 그것이 상향 조절허겠다는 이야긴지
19→ 그거 설명 한 번 해 주십시요.
20 YS: 제가 농식품위
21 위원도[: 십칠- 팔 대] 때 했고:,
22 LK: [아 그러니까요,,]

23 LK: 녜:.
24 YS: 저 이십 대는 호반부에 현재는 지금
25 [농림수:]=
26 LK: [아 그러니까] =
27 YS: =[위원이에요. 근데 그]=
28 LK: =[물어 보(시)는 겁니다. 예.]
29 YS: =것이 얼마냐고 물어 보니까
30 .h 그거 참: 이거 답변 못 허면은
31 아주 큰일 나게 생(h)겼(h)는데이
32 LK: [아니 그니까 그거 말씀해보세요.]
33 YS [.hh 지금 현재 고정직불]
34 금:이 백만 원 수준 아니에요. 헥타르당:,
35 LK: 예.
36 YS: 예. .h [밭농업 직불금은:]
37 LK: [근데 그 현실] 이
38 YS: 밭농업 직불금은 지금
39 YS: 사십만 원 아닙니까.
40 현재. .h 초기 도입 단계에서 헥타르당,
41 LK: 예.
42 YS: 사십만원.
43 YS: 그런데 .h 제가 이것을
44 현실화하[고 조정하자]라는 이야기는 .hh
45→ LK: [아 그러면]
46→ LK: 변동직불::금은 얼맙[니까?]
47 YS: [변동 ㅈ] ㅣ ㄱ
48 불금은 .h 그: ㅊ 차액. 목표가격과 .h
49 그 해당 [연도에 시가의 차액에: .h]=
50→ LK: [(긍게) 목표가격이 얼마냐고요,]
51 YS: =차액에 팔십 퍼센트를 지급해 주는 거
52 아니[에요.]
53→ LK: [(긍게) 목]표 지금 가격을 얼마로
54→ 변동직불제 놓고
55→ 지[금 그러냐고.]
56 YS: [아니 긍게 목표가]격을 몰라서
57 저한테 알라고 물어 보는 거에요,
58 아[니면 제가 아는지 물어보는]
59 LK: [아니 모를 것 같에서 물어보]는
60 거에요.

Interestingly, LK's question in lines 15-16 and 18-19 can be treated at least in two different ways according to how one sees the relation between this question and YS's campaign pledge introduced in lines 1, 4, 5, and 7. First, it can be treated as a KQ that tests YS's knowledge of the current amount of the rice farming direct payment and the realistically proper amount of the rice farming direct payment,[5] which seeks to probe whether YS indeed has enough knowledge of the rice farming direct payment system and the financial needs of rice farmers to successfully implement his pledge of making the rice farming direct payment system realistic.

Second, LK's question can also be treated as a request for YS to elaborate on his pledge, particularly on the current amount of the rice farming direct payment and how much YS would increase to make it realistic. This second interpretation is plausible because YS's pledge implies increasing the amount. LK's question, thus, can be heard as asking YS to elaborate on his own pledge, which YS had earlier introduced with the remark *non-nongep cik-pwul-cey:-lul hyensil-ey mac-keckey ha-keyss-ta* '(I) would make the rice farming direct payment system realistic.'

The two different interpretations of the function of LK's question in lines 15-16 and 18-19 have epistemic implications. The first interpretation places the questioner LK as having the knowing status and the respondent YS as potentially having the unknowing status in relation to the knowledge of the rice farming direct payment system. The second interpretation does the opposite: the questioner LK may have the unknowing status while the respondent YS has the knowing status in relation to the current amount of the rice farming direct payment and the specifics of YS's pledge.

[5] The evidence that LK intends this question to be a KQ can be obtained in a later exchange between LK and YS, which is not shown here. In the exchange, LK informs YS that the target price for the floating direct payment system is 170,000 won, but farmers unions are requesting it to be 210,000 won in order to make it realistic.

Given the different effects each interpretation has on YS's epistemic status, YS strategically treats LK's question as a request to elaborate on his pledge. Note that after YS gives the current amount of the fixed direct payment for rice farming in lines 33-34, he starts to elaborate on his pledge of making the rice framing direct payment system realistic in lines 43-44, thereby showing that he is taking LK's question as a request to elaborate on his own pledge and not as a KQ. Furthermore, YS mentions in the earlier portion of his response his service as a member of the Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs Committee as well as the Agriculture, Food, Rural Affairs, Oceans, and Fisheries Committee during the 18th and 20th National Assembly, respectively (lines 20-21, lines 24-25, and 27), and demonstrates his understanding of being expected to know the current amount of the rice farming direct payment due to the positions he held in the National Assembly (lines 27 and 29-31). By doing so, YS shows that he understands that the knowledge of the current amount of the rice farming direct payment clearly falls in his domain of knowledge.

YS provides the current amount of the fixed direct payment for the rice farming in lines 33-34 and even the current amount of the fixed direct payment for dry field farming in lines 36, 38-39, and 42, which LK had not asked for. YS's answers are all received by LK with the receipt token *yey* 'yes' as seen in lines 35 and 41, showing that YS succeeds in demonstrating his knowing status, which was what YS's treating LK's question as a request to elaborate had set out to do.

YS's treating LK's question as a request to elaborate on his pledge, his treating the knowledge of the current direct payment system as being within his knowledge domain, and the successful demonstration of his knowledge all contribute to presenting himself as knowledgeable about the current amount of the rice farming direct payment. In addition, LK's knowing status

regarding the current amount of the rice farming direct payment has not been explicitly shown yet. Positioning himself as the knowing party and LK as potentially the unknowing party as well as exploiting the surface linguistic design of LK's question of not including a framing expression specifying the objective of the question, YS is able to maintain the possibility that LK's question in lines 53-55 (or lines 11-13 of Extract (3.18)) is intended to be an information-seeking question, which then also lets LK's questions in lines 45-46 and 50 (or lines 3-4 and line 8 of Extract (3.18)) be information-seeking questions as well by logical extension.

What does YS's strategic interpretation of LK's questions in 15-16, 18-19, 45-46, 50, and 53-55 as potential information-seeking questions—not as KQs as LK originally intended— then tell us about the relationship between the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the nature of the substance of a question, and epistemic status for action formation and ascription? The analysis above seems to suggest that although the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner and the nature of the substance of a question are important resources by which the relative epistemic status between a questioner and the respondent is expressed or established, participants also pay close attention to the sequential unfolding of the interaction as another interactional resource in which the epistemic status of the participants is reflected and can be constructed.

Thus, when questions about established factual matters without overt indications of being a KQ occur in the sequential position where the interaction preceding these questions do not deliver much information about the epistemic position between the questioners and the respondents as in the case of Extract (3.19), the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner and the nature of the substance of the questions can play a major role in the action formation and ascription of KQs. By contrast, when the interaction preceding these questions include

indications about the epistemic status between the questioners and the respondents as in the case of Extract (3.20), the respondents may utilize that information for action ascription as a strategy to deal with the questioners' KQs. The sequential position of a question is not only a resource of action ascription but also a resource for action formation. In what follows, the role that the sequential position of KQs plays in the formation and ascription of knowledge testing will be examined.

3.3.3. Sequential Position, and Action Formation and Ascription.

Questioners can utilize the sequential position of KQs as a resource for action formation. First, they can place question prefaces before their KQs and let the respondents (and the viewers) know that the purpose of the following questions lies in testing the respondents' knowledge of the matters under discussion. By stating that the respondents should know the answers to the KQs that will come after, these question prefaces justify the upcoming KQs and contribute to their being construed as KQs by the respondents. To illustrate the case in point, let us examine Extract (3.21) below.

Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (3.21), K, while mentioning W's minimum price policy for agricultural products, asked W the minimum price he was setting for tangerines, which is one of the most important agricultural products in the district K and W are running for to be a member of the National Assembly. In responding to this policy question, W first mentions that the work of setting a minimum price belongs to the researchers who study minimum prices, not to politicians, and then adds that he thinks the minimum price for tangerines should be at least around 80% of the production cost. Following W's answer, K starts to deliver a follow-up question in line 1 that asks about the production cost of tangerines.

Extract (3.21) [Production Cost of Tangerines]

01→ K: kulemyen kamkyul saysan-pi
then tangerine production-cost
Then the production cost of tangerines

02→ (ku ce-) (.) <cengchayk-ul> kulayto com
that pol- policy-AC however a little bit

03→ al-aya toy-pnita.
know-must-DC:DEF
Uhm pol- (.) (you) still have to know (things relevant to your) policy.

04→ kamkyul [sayngsan] pi-ka elma cengto toy-p(hi)ni(h)kka. h
tangerine production cost-NM how much extent become-Q:DEF
Approximately how much i(hh)s the production cost for tangerines? h

05 W: [y e y.]
yes
Yes.

06 (0.7)

07 W: kamkyul[: :] [sayng]san:-[pi-ka]=
tangerine production-cost-NM
As far as (I) know, the production cost for tangerines

08 K: [(ke-) hh]h h h [h] [ey :.] ((looking at his notes))
that uhm
that hhhhh

09 W: =(0.8) e: khillokulam-tang a khi- >ikhey<
uhm kilogram-per uhm kil- like this
(0.8) uhm per kilogram, uhm kil- uhm

10 sip-khilo-tang:, (0.3) e: man wen: (0.5)
10-kilogram-per uhm 10,000 won
per 10 kilograms (0.3) uhm it's 10,000 won (0.5)

11 man wen cengto, (0.2) toy-nun
10,000 won extent become-RL
12 kel-[lo] [al-ko iss-supnita]
NOM-as know-and be-DC:DEF
(0.2) approximately 10,000 won.

13 K: [a] i [ko ku-ke-n :]
well that-thing-TC

14 ku-ke-n [a]ni-ko-yo. (.)=
that-thing-TC not-and-DC:POL
Well, that, that isn't right. And (.)

15 W: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

16 K: =man- sip khilo-tang sip khillo-tang man wen-i-myen
10,000- 10 kilogram-per 10 kilogram-per 10,000 won-be-if
10,000- if it were 10,000 won per 10 kilograms,

17 cikum sayngsan:-pi-ka hh (0.2) chen wen:
now production-cost-NM 1,000 won
then the production cost hh (0.2) would be 1,000 won

18 khi- khilo-tang
abo- kil- kilogram-per
abo- kil- per kilogram

19 khillo-tang chen wen toy-nta-ko kule-nuntey icey
kilogram-per 1,000 won be-DC-QT say like that-given that now
1,000 won per kilogram.

20 .hh (0.3) wuli-ka choyce-kkakyek-ul
we-NM lowest-price-AC

21 manul::-ki wihayse-nun,
make-NOM for-TC
In order for us to set the minimum price (for tangerines),

22 wuli-ka ilen kes-tul-ul al-aya toy-pnita.
we-NM like this thing-PL-AC know-must-DC:DEF
we need to know these things.

Extract (3.21) [Production Cost of Tangerines] in Korean

01→ K: 그러면 감귤 생산비
02→ (그 저-) (.) <정책을> 그래도 좀
03→ 알아야 됩니다.
04→ 감귤 [생산] 비가 얼마 정도 됩(h)니(h)까. h
05 W: [예.]
06 (0.7)
07 W: 감귤[: :] [생]산:[비가]=

08 K: [(거-) h h]h hh [h] [에:.] ((looking at his notes))
09 W: =(0.8) 어: 킬로그람당 아 키- >이케<
10 십키로당:, (0.3) 어: 만 원: (0.5)
11 만 원 정도, (0.2) 되는
12 걸[로] [알고 있습니다]
13 K: [아]이[고 그건:]
14 그건 [아]니고요. (.)=
15 W: [예.]
16 K: =만- 십키로당 십킬로당 만원이면
17 지금 생산:비가 hh (0.2) 천 원:
18 야 키- 키로당
19 킬로당 천 원된다고 그러는데 이제
20 .hh (0.3) 우리가 최저까격을
21 만들::기 위해서는,
22 우리가 이런 것들을 알아야 됩니다.

K, however, stops producing his question after uttering *kulemyen kamkyul saysan-pi* 'Then (about) the production cost of tangerines' in line 1 and inserts the question preface "*(ku ce-) (.) <cengchayk-ul> kulayto com al-aya toy-pnita"* 'Uhm pol- (.) (you) still have to know (things relevant to your) policy' in lines 2-3. This question preface emphasizes that W needs to have knowledge of things pertinent to his policy, and thereby effectively legitimizes K's KQ that seeks to probe W's knowledge regarding W's policy. Thus, although K's KQ is designed without the framing expressions discussed in the previous section, by using the inserted question preface K can still convey that the function of his question in line 3 is to test knowledge rather than acquire it.

In addition to question prefaces, the action(s) done in the immediately preceding sequences can serve as a resource for action formation and ascription as in Extracts (3.22) and (3.23). Let us first take a look at Extract (3.23), which was previously introduced as Extract (3.13). The question of interest is KJ's question *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y* 'What does it do?' in line 8.

Extract (3.22) [Data Center]

01 KM: keyithi seynthe-yo?
KT center-Q:POL
(Do you mean) the KT center?

02 (0.5)

03 KJ: teyithe seynthe.
data center
The data center.

04 (0.5)

05→ KJ: i-ke mwe-ha-nun kos-i-nci
this-thing what-do-RL place-be-OQ

06→ [a-si-pnikka?]
know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know what this (center) does?

07→ KM: [teyithe seynthe.] al-ci-yo.
data center know-COMM-POL
The data center. (I) certainly do..

08→ KJ: mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y.
what-do-RL place-be-Q:DEF this-thing-NM
What does it do?

09 KM: teyithe seynthe-ka: ku: ceongpo:
data center-NM that information

10 seykyeyceki-n cengpo thongsin-ul (.) hay-se
global-be-RL information communication-AC do-and
The data center does information, world-renown infocommunication.

11 ilpon-uy sophuthupayngkhu teyithe seynthe. (0.2) ka
Japan-POS SoftBank data center NM
12 cikum ha-ko an iss-supnikka.
now do-and not be-Q:DEF
Hasn't the Japanese (company) SoftBank been running
their data center there?

13 [tul-e w-a iss-e-]
enter-and come-and be-and
(The company's data center) has already moved in.

14 KJ: [i-ke-y samchen myeng]-kka- (.) koyung hyokwa.
this-thing-NM 3,000 CL-up to employment effect

15 KJ: ike iss-supnikka.
this be-Q:DEF
Does this have the effect of employing 3,000 people?

16 KM: sam[chen myeng]
3000 CL
3,000 people

17 KJ: [e l m a n a] koyonghay-ss-supnikka.
hom many hire-PST-Q:DEF
How many (people) have been hired?

Extract (3.22) [Data Center] in Korean

01 KM: 케이티 센터요?
02 (0.5)
03 KJ: 데이터 센터.
04 (0.5)
05→ KJ: 이거 뭐하는 곳인지
06→ [아십니까?]
07→ KM: [데이터 센터.] 알지요.
08→ KJ: 뭐하는 곳입니까 이게.
09 KM: 데이터 센터가: 그: 정보:
10 세계적인 정보 통신을 (.) 해서
11 일본의 소프트 뱅크 데이터 센터. (0.2)가
12 지금 하고 안 있습니까.
13 [들어 와 있어-]
14 KJ: [이게 삼천 명]까- (.) 고용 효과.
15 KJ: 이거 있습니까.
16 KM: 삼[천 명]
17 KJ: [얼마나] 고용했습니까.

KJ's question *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y* 'What does it do?' in line 8 is formulated as a direct wh-question without any framing expressions that clearly indicate that this question is intended to be a KQ. Thus, based on the form itself, it is not clear whether the question is a KQ or an information-seeking question. However, the question-response sequence in lines 5-7, immediately preceding KJ's question, guides its interpretation as a KQ.

The framing expression *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' in the question *i-ke mwe-ha-nun kos-i-nci a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know what this (center) does?' asked by KJ in lines 5-6 explicitly shows that the goal is to probe whether KM knows what the data center does, not to learn about the data center from KM. In responding to KJ's question, KM claims that he has knowledge of the data center in line 7 but does not actually demonstrate his knowledge. It is right after this claim of knowing what the center does that KJ places his question *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y* 'What does it do?' in line 8. Thus, because the sequence immediately preceding this question is clearly a KQ-response sequence employed to probe KM's knowledge of the data center, it is not difficult to see that KJ's follow-up question *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y* 'What does it do?' asking KJ to demonstrate this knowledge he claims to have is intended as a KQ, not an information-seeking question.

Extract (3.22) has demonstrated the role of immediately preceding sequences as a resource for action formation and ascription. Extract (3.23) is another example. Here, the question of interest is K's question *yeysan-i elmana toy-pnikka? il-nyen yeysan-i?* 'How much is the budget? The annual budget?' located in line 16. Similar to KJ's question *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y* 'What does it do?' this question is also designed without framing expressions showing that the question is a KQ and not an information-seeking question. The question here is again easily understandable as a KQ due to its sequential location.

Extract (3.23) [New Tangerines_1]

01	K:	akka	po-nikka (.)	kamkyul	(0.4)	sin-phwumcong
		a short while ago	see-when	tangerines		new-variety
02		kaypal::-[ey	cwulyek]ha-keyss-ta	sayngkakha-nuntey:	(0.5)=	
		development-at	focus-will-DC	think-given that		
		I noticed before (.) that (you) were thinking of focusing on developing new varieties (0.4) of tangerines, (0.5)				

03 W: [yey : .]
yes
Yes.

04 K: =<u>kam</u>kyul-yenkwu-so (0.4)
tangerine-research-institute

05 com tany-epw-ass-ess-[supnikka?]
a little bit visit-try-PST-PST-Q:DEF
so have (you)visited (0.4) the Citrus Research Institute often?

06 W: [yey yey.] cacwu tuli-cyo.
yes yes often visit-COMM:POL
Yes, yes. (I) visit (there) often.

07→ K: kam[kyul] -yenkwu-so-ey=
tangerine-research-institute-at
At the Citrus Research Institute,

08→ W: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

09→ K: =inwen-i myech myeng-i-pnikka? cacwu tuli-nuntey?
number-NM how many CL-be-Q:DEF often visit-given that
how many people are there? Since (you) drop by often?

10 (0.8)

11→ W: cikum::: sam: samsip (.) han
now thir thirty about

12→ i sam myeng cengto toy-na-yo?
two three CL extent become-Q-POL
Are there currently around thir- thirty (.) two or three?

13→ K: i[sip- yenkwuwen-un] isip myeng-ey pwulkwa[ha-pnita]:,
twenty researcher-TC twenty CL-at there is only-DC:DEF
Twenty- as for the researchers, there are only twenty researchers.

14→ W: [yey. yey. yey.] [yey yey.]
yes yes yes yes yes
Yes. Yes. Yes. ***Yes. Yes.***

15 (0.2)

16→ K: yeysan-i elmana toy-pnikka? il nyen yeysan-i?
budget-NM how much become-Q:DEF one year budget-NM
How much is the budget in a year? The annual budget?

17 (1.3)

18 W: ku yeysan-ey tayhayse-n cal mo[lu-keyss-supnita. yey.]
that budget-about-TC well not know-I think-DC:DEF yes
Regarding the budget,
I don't know (about the budget very) well. That's all.

19 K: [ku yeysan-ta ku]
that budget-and that

20 taum-ey al[eyn]tipi. (.)=
next-at research and development
Moving on from the budget
to the (costs) for research and development, (.)

21 W: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

Extract (3.23) [New Tangerines_1] in Korean

01 K: 아까 보니까 (.) 감귤 (0.4) 신품종
02 개발:: [에 주력] 하겠다 생각하는데: (0.5)=
03 W: [예 : .]
04 K: =감귤연구소 (0.4)
05 좀 다녀봤었[습니까?]
06 W: [예 예.] 자주 들리죠.
07→ K: 감[귤]연구소에=
08→ W: [예.]
09→ K: = 인원이 몇 명입니까? 자주 들리는데?
10→ (0.8)
11→ W: 지금::: 삼: 삼십 (.) 한
12→ 이 삼 명 정도 되나요?
13→ K: 이[십- 연구원은] 이십 명에 불과[합니다] :,
14→ W: [예. 예. 예.] [예 예.]
15 (0.2)
16→ K: 예산이 얼마나 됩니까? 일 년 예산이?
17 (1.3)
18 W: 그 예산에 대해선 잘 모[르겠습니다. 예.]
19 K: [그 예산에다 그]

20 다음에 알[엔]디비. (.)=
21 W: [예.]

Immediately preceding K's question *yeysan-i elmana toy-pnikka? il-nyen yeysan-i?* 'How much is the budget? The annual budget?' in line 16 is a KQ-response sequence as shown in lines 7-14. That K's question *kamkyul-yenkwu-so-ey inwen-i myech myeng-i-pnikka? cacwu tuli-nuntey?* 'At the Citrus Research Institute, how many people are there? Since (you) drop by often?' in lines 7 and 9 of this sequence functions as a KQ is especially visible in the design of W's response in lines 11-12 and K's feedback following it in line 13.

In providing an answer to K's question, W designs his answer in the form of a question with the interrogative suffix *–na* (i.e., *cikum::: sam: samsip (.) han i sam myeng cengto toy-**na**-yo*? 'Are there currently around thir- thirty (.) two or three?') The suffix *–na* indicates W's uncertainty about the truth of his answer (Lee, 2015, p.258). Additionally, the suffix *–na*, as an interrogative marker, functions to invite K's confirmation of W's answer. The design of W's answer thus shows that W considers K as more knowledgeable than himself regarding the matter being asked about, and that W is treating K's question as a KQ, not as an information-seeking question. K's feedback on W's response in turn demonstrates K's knowledge about the staffing at the Citric Research Institute in that he even specifically mentions the number of researchers working at the place, thereby making it evident that he is more knowledgeable than W regarding the matter at hand, and also that his question was indeed intended as a KQ.

The fact that K's question *yeysan-i elmana toy-pnikka? il nyen yeysan-i?* 'How much is the budget? The annual budget?' in line 15 is sequentially located after the KQ-response sequence in lines 7-14 has implications in understanding the action that is being done with this question. Although K's question is designed without explicit framing expressions marking it as a

KQ, it is not that difficult to see that K's question is in fact a KQ, since K is unlikely to ask this question to garner information on the annual budget of the Citric Research Institute after having so far probed W's knowledge of the staffing situation to show that W does not have a good grasp of the institute despite visiting it frequently. In other words, W's understanding of K's question here as a KQ is informed by the coherence that is assumed to exist between the preceding KQ-response sequence in lines 7-14 and the current question-response sequence in lines 16-18, both, as W clearly perceives, being part of K's strategy to successfully expose W's insufficient understanding of matters pertinent to the Citric Research Institute.

The way W employs linguistic devices to control the damage that may occur from admitting his lack of knowledge regarding the institute's annual budget reveals that W is aware of the adversarial nature of K's question in line 18 as a KQ. More specifically, instead of simply saying that he does not know the requested answer, W designs his response in a way that claims he has partial knowledge of the annual budget by qualifying the extent of his ignorance using the adverb *cal* 'well.' W also uses the topic/contrast marker *–n,* which is the shortened form of *–nun,* to clearly delineate only what he does not know—namely, the annual budget of the Citric Research Institute—, thus conveying that he still has knowledge regarding issues of the institute other than this (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p.126).

The analyses of Extracts (3.21)-(3.23) have shown how the question prefaces and preceding KQ-response sequences of KQs can be used as a resource for the action formation and ascription of doing knowledge-testing. What these resources have in common is that they are sequentially located immediately before the question of interest and guide its interpretation as a KQ. However, the import of an action of a particular turn can be shaped not only by the talk preceding the turn but also the talk following it (Heritage, 1984a, 2018; Jefferson, 1984). The

next section analyzes the retrospective reshaping of action import with regards to KQ-response sequences.

3.3.4. Retrospective Reshaping of Action Import

Sections 3.3.1-3.3.3 have shown that turn design, the institutional role of candidates as cross-examiner, the nature of the substance of the question, the implicated relative epistemic status of a questioner and the respondent, and the sequential position of a question are resources the respondent refers to in assigning the action of knowledge-testing to a question-asking turn. However, even in cases where the respondent reasonably identifies a question as a KQ or another type of question based on the aforementioned action ascription resources, the follow-up response from the questioner can retrospectively reshape the action of his/her question differently from how it had been understood by the respondent, revealing that the action import of a turn is not fixed but can change as a sequence unfolds. This section demonstrates this dynamic nature of action formation and ascription in relation to KQ-response sequences by examining Extracts (3.24) and (3.25).

In Extract (3.24), MJ is involved in a project criticizing the position proposed by KE's party (i.e., the People's Party), arguing that the government should raise the minimum wages in proportion at least to the inflation rate. In this exchange, MJ astutely points out that because the inflation rate is so low, the increase in minimum wages as proposed by KE's party would not improve the life of workers who live on them. In doing so, MJ issues a question in lines 6-9 about the average inflation rate under the current administration, which is understood by KE as a KQ.

Extract (3.24) [Inflation Rate]

01 MJ: .hh ku choyce-imkum-un kkwucwunhi
that lowest-wage-TC steadily

02 mwulka sangsung-lyul: isang-ulo insangtoy-eya toy-nta-ko
living cost increase-rate more than-as raised-must-DC-QT

03 palkhy-ess-te-n *kwukmin-uy-tang* ipcang
declared-PST-RT-RL People-POS-Party stance

04 kiekha-si:-na-yo?
remember-SH-I wonder-POL
.hh (I wonder whether you) remember the stance of the People's Party
that declared that the minimum wages should be raised steadily
as much as or more than the inflation rate.

05 KE: ney.
yes
Yes.

06→ MJ: hoksi kule-myen .h cikum (.) *pakkunhyey* cengpwu
by any chance like that-if now Park Geun-hye administration

07→ sam nyen-kan: .h mwulka sangsung-lyul-i phyengkyun
three year-during living cost increase-rate-NM average

08→ elma cengto-y-ess-nunci kiekha-ko kyeysi-lci
how much extent-be-PST-OQ remember-and be:SH-OQ

09→ molu-keyss-supnita
not know-SUP-DC:DEF
Then .h (I) don't know if by any chance (you) remember approximately
how much the inflation rate was on average .h for the 3 years
under the Park Geun-hye administration (.) right now.

10 KE: .h °a ku pwupwun-un° ((shaking her head "no" and then smiling))
oh that matter-TC
.h Oh, As for that matter

11→ MJ: yey. s.h cey-ka <u>way</u> (.) cilmwun-ul tuli-nya-myen-yo,
yes I-NM why question-AC give-Q-if- POL

12→ i : (.) phyengkyun mwulka sangsung-lyul-i
this average living cost increase-rate-NM

13→ com nac-ase kuleh-supni[ta : .]=
a little bit low-because like that-DC:DEF
Okay. s.h The reason why (.) I ask (you this) is because this (.) average inflation rate is a bit low.

14 KE: [ney:.]
yes
Yes.

15 MJ: =.hh phyungku- (.) *pakkunhyey* cengpwu::
avera- Park Geun-hye administration

16 pyengkyun mwulka sangsung-lyul-i phyengkyun
average living cost increase-rate-NM average

17 il cem il pheseythu-i-ntey-yo.
one point one percent-be-given that- POL
.hh aver- (.) the average inflation rate under the Park Geun-hye administration is 1.1 percent on average.

18 .hh kulem cikum si-kupi yukchensamsip wen-i-pnita.
then now hour-wage-NM 6,030 won-be-DC:DEF
.hh Now the hourly wages are 6,030 won.

19 .hh kulem kkwucwunhi il cem il phulos-sik olli-myen,
then steadily one point one percent-repeatedly raise-if
.hh So if it's steadily raised by 1.1 percent,

20 .h may-nyen yuksipyuk wen (.) isang-man
every-year 66 won more than-only

21 olli-myen toy-nta-lanun .h ipcang-ulo
raise-if become-DC-RL stance-as

22 *kwukmin-uy-tang* ipcangi hwakin-i toy-nuntey-yo,
People-POS-party stance-NM confirmation-NM be-given that- POL
.h (we can see that) the People's Party's position is .h that raising it by just 66 won a year (.) is enough.

Extract (3.24) [Inflation Rate] in Korean

01	MJ:	.hh 그 최저임금은 꾸준히
02		물가 상승률: 이상으로 인상되어야 된다고
03		밝혔던 국민의당 입장
04		기억하시:나요?
05	KE:	네.
06→	MJ:	혹시 그러면 .h 지금 (.) 박근혜 정부
07→		삼년간: .h 물가 상승률이 평균
08→		얼마 정도였는지 기억하고 계실지
09→		모르겠습니다
10	KE:	.h °아 그 부분은° ((shaking her head "no" and then smiling))
11→	MJ:	예. s.h 제가 왜 (.) 질문을 드리냐면요,
12→		이: (.) 평균 물가 상승률이
13→		좀 낮아서 그렇습니[다:.]=
14	KE:	[네:.]
15	MJ:	=.hh 평그- (.) 박근혜 정부::
16		평균 물가 상승률이 평균
17		일 점 일 퍼센트인데요.
18		.hh 그럼 지금 시급이 육천삼십 원입니다.
19		.hh 그럼 꾸준히 일 점 일 프로씩 올리면,
20		.h 매년 육십육 원 (.) 이상만
21		올리면 된다라는 .h 입장으로
22		국민의 당 입장이 확인이 되는데요,

KE's treating MJ's question in lines 6-9 as a KQ can be seen in the way she designs her response in line 10 admitting her inability to provide an answer. Using verbal and nonverbal resources, KE attempts to mitigate the damage her admission of ignorance can do to her political image as a knowledgeable candidate who is invested in the minimum wage issue. More specifically, KE employs the topic/contrast marker *-un* as seen in *a ku pwupwun-**un*** 'Oh, As for that matter.' Using this grammatical device, KE delimits the domain of knowledge she does not know—the average inflation rate—as *ku pwupwun* 'that matter,' thereby implicitly conveying that she still has knowledge of issues related to the minimum wage issue other than this. In addition, she avoids explicitly verbalizing that she cannot remember the average inflation rate by

purposefully leaving the predicate portion of her response unsaid and employing headshakes instead. Furthermore, KE's smile following the headshakes functions as a nonverbal mitigator that softens the seriousness of KE's not knowing the answer by making it seem inconsequential. Her use of such mitigating devices shows that KE is treating MJ's question as a KQ of adversarial nature that seeks to expose the extent of her knowledge about it rather than as a genuine information-seeking question.

KE's understanding of MJ's question as a KQ can be attributed to a number of action ascription resources. First and foremost, MJ's question has the framing expression *kiekha-ko kyeysi-lci molu-keyss-supnita* '(I) don't know whether (you) remember.' This framing expression—in particular, the component *kiekha-ko kyeysi-lci* 'whether (you) remember'—explicitly shows the focus of the question to be lying in probing whether KE remembers the average inflation rate and not in learning about the average inflation rate from KE. Second, the substance of the question is about the average inflation rate, that is, an established factual matter. In light of the role of MJ as a cross-examiner, it is very unlikely that MJ will issue this question to learn factual information from KE. Third, MJ is from the Justice Party, which is greatly invested in raising the minimum wage to improve the quality of the lives of working class people. As a member of the Justice Party, it is hard to imagine that MJ does not know the average inflation rate. In fact, lines 15-22 show that MJ is very well informed about the average inflation rate, the current amount of the minimum wage, and the actual numbers KE's party's policy would mean in terms of raising the minimum wage. In sum, KE has strong grounds for considering MJ's question as a KQ targeting her knowledgeability.

What is interesting, however, is that in lines 11-13, in responding to KE's response, MJ does not treat her previous question as a KQ. By saying *cey-ka <u>way</u> (.) cilmwun-ul tuli-nya-*

myen-yo, i: (.) phyengkyun mwulka sangsung-lyul-I com nac-ase kuleh-supnita 'The reason why (.) I ask (you) is because this (.) average inflation rate is a bit low,' MJ clearly indicates that the purpose of the question is to point out this fact, not to test KE's knowledge of it per se. In other words, MJ's response to KE's response retrospectively reshapes the action of MJ's question as had been suggested by KE's response in line 10. KE's response had showed that she had perceived MJ's question in lines 6-9 as doing knowledge testing, but MJ's response to KE's response now shows that the aim of her question was actually to bring up the fact that the position of KE's party on the minimum wage issue is problematic (i.e., the average inflation rate and subsequently the proposed increase of minimum wages is insufficient; also refer to lines 15-22). This suggests that MJ's question is not intended to be a KQ that seeks to expose KE's ignorance of the average inflation rate (and by extension of the actual amount the minimum wages would increase according to her party's proposal). MJ's response in lines 11-13 thus shifts the focus of her question in lines 6-9 from KE's knowledgeability to the actual substance of the question (i.e., the average inflation rate), reconfiguring the question as a substance-oriented question leading up to a discussion on the problem KE's party's policy on minimum wages carries.

Extract (3.25) is another instance where the action of a questioning turn assigned by the respondent gets retrospectively reshaped by the questioner's response to the respondent's response. This example is different, however, from Extract (3.24) in that here the respondent PH does not initially take the questioner KD's question as a KQ, and KD's later remark retrospectively reshapes the action of his question as doing knowledge-testing. In Extract (3.25), which occurs some time after the exchange shown in Extract (3.11) and includes parts of Extract (3.4), KD asks PH a question in lines 6-7 and by doing so, requests PH to share his thoughts

about what the most urgent pending issue facing Ibaek-myeon, which is an area within KD and PH's constituency, is at the time of the debate.

Extract (3.25) [The Most Urgent Pending Issue]

01 KD: ca (.) han kaci-man te (.) chwuka-lo mwut-[keys]-supnita
now one thing-only more addition-as ask-will-DC:DEF
Now (.) (I) will ask (you) one more thing in addition.

02 PH: [ney.]
yes
Yes.

03 PH: ney ney.=
yes yes
Yes Yes.

04 KD: =*pak* hwupo-kkeyse *namwen*-kwun u *namwen*-si
PH candidate-NM Namwon-gun uhm Namwon-city

05 KD: *ipayk*-myen chwulsin-i-eyyo,
Ibaek-myeon from-be-DC:POL
You're from Ibaek-myeon, Namwon gun, uhm (I mean) Nanwon-si,

06 PH: ney. mac-[supnita. yey.]
yes correct-DC:DEF yes
Yes, that is correct. Yes.

07→ KD: [*ipayk*-myen-ey] kacang tangmyenha-n
Ibaek-myeon-POS most face-RL

08→ hyenan saep-i, (0.4) mwe-la-ko sayngkakha-si-pnikka.
current issue-NM what-DC-QT think-SH-Q:DEF
What do (you) think the most urgent pending issue
Ibaek-myeon is facing right now is?

09 (1.0)

10 PH: mwe ku-kes-un *namwen*-si cenchey-hako-to
what that-thing-TC Namwon-city all-with-also

11 kwanlyentoy-n pwupwun-i-la-ko sayngkakha-pnita. (.) yey.
be related-RL part-be-DC-QT think-DC:DEF yes.
Well, (I) think that would be related to
(the aforementioned issues) of Namwon-si overall, that's all.

12→ KD: cikum *ipay*-myen: kacang khun minwen-un-yo, (0.3)
now Ibaek-myeon most big petition-TC-POL

13→ e: so-say-ci *phyengchon*-eyse (0.5)
uhm myeon office-located-place Pyeongchon-from

14→ ku pyencensok-kaci (0.3)
that substation-to

15→ *wunpon*-myen cayl-ul nemeka-nun tolo.
Unbong-myeon hill-AC cross over-RL road

16→ sa-chasen (.) hwakcang-i-pnita=
4-lanes expansion-be-DC:DEF
The biggest petition from the public in Ibaek-myeon right now (0.3) uhm
is to (.) expand the road crossing over Unbong-myeon hill
(0.3) from Pyeongchon, where the myeon office is located,
(0.5) to that substation into four lanes.

17 PH: =°n [ey°:. ((with nods))]
I see
I see.

18 KD: [i to]lo-ey kwanhalkwen-i
this road-POS jurisdiction-NM

19 eti-nci a-si-ko kyey-si-pnikka?
where-OQ know-SH-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know where the jurisdiction of this road lies?

Extract (3.25) [The Most Urgent Pending Issue] in Korean

01 KD: 자 (.) 한 가지만 더 (.) 추가로 묻[겠]습니다
02 PH: [네.]
03 PH: 네 네.=
04 KD: =박 후보께서 남원군 으 남원시
05 KD: 이백면 출신이에요,
06 PH: 네. 맞[습니다. 예.]
07→ KD: [이백면에] 가장 당면한
08→ 현안 사업이, (0.4) 뭐라고 생각하십니까.
09 (1.0)

10 PH: 뭐 그것은 남원시 전체하고도
11 관련된 부분이라고 생각합니다. (.) 예.
12→ KD: 지금 이백면: 가장 큰 민원은요, (0.3)
13→ 어: 소재지 평촌에서 (0.5)
14→ 그 변전소까지 (0.3)
15→ 운봉면 재를 넘어가는 도로.
16→ 사차선 (.) 확장입니다=
17 PH: =°ㄴ [ㅔ°:. ((with nods))]
18 KD: [이 도] 로에 관할권이
19 어딘지 아시고 계십니까?

In designing the question in lines 7-8, KD attaches the substance of his question *ipayk-myen-ey kacang tangmyenha-n hyenan saep-i, (0.4) mwe-la-**ko*** 'what the most pending issue Ibaek-myeon is facing right now is' to the expression *sayngkakha-si-pnikka* 'Do (you) think~?' The quotative particle *–ko* at the end of the clause containing the substance of the question grammatically links the clause to the expression *sayngkakha-si-pnikka* 'Do (you) think~.'

The presence of the expression *sayngkakha-si-pnikka* 'Do (you) think~?' allows KD's question to appear as an opinion question that is seeking PH's thoughts or view on the substance of the question, not as a knowledge-testing question. As a result, the requested answer—what PH *thinks* the most pending issue of Ibaek-myeon is—cannot be in principle evaluated in terms of whether it is correct or not. In addition, it is not very clear whether there is or can be a clear social consensus on what the most pending issue of Ibaek-myeon is. In other words, it is unclear whether or not the substance of the question consists of established factual matters, which is one of the important resources to judge whether a question is doing knowledge-testing.

In responding to KD's question, PH treats it as an opinion question as shown in his response design in lines 10-11. Using the quotative particle *–s*, PH attaches the expression *sayngkakha-pnita* '(I) think' to the clause containing his answer *mwe ku-kes-un namwen-si*

*cenchey-hako-to kwanlyentoy-n pwupwun-i-la-**ko*** 'Well, that would be related to (the aforementioned issues) of Namwon-si overall. Note that the expression *sayngkakha-pnita* '(I) think' is the exact counterpart of the expression *sayngkakha-si-pnikka* 'Do (you) think~?' which was used in KD's question. The format-tying technique (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) employed by PH thus clearly shows that PH is oriented to KD's framing of his own question as an opinion question.

However, KD's subsequent response to PH's response retrospectively shows that KD's question had not been intended as an opinion question but as a KQ. This transformation of the action of KD's question from an opinion question to a KQ is mostly done by KD's re
of the terms he uses in his question. The substance of KD's question in lines 7-8 is about the most urgent pending issue Ibaek-myeon is facing. In line 12, however, KD reformulates the substance of his KQ as being about the biggest petition from the public in Ibaek-myeon. The question of what the most pending issue is in the area can be a matter of opinion, but the question of what the biggest petition from the public in Ibaek-myeon is a matter of fact. This reformulation in turn retrospectively transforms KD's question in lines 7-8 into a KQ and thereby allows KD to judge whether PH's answer is correct. In lines 13-16, KD provides the correct answer, i.e., that the biggest petition is to expand the road crossing over Unbong-myeon hill from Pyeongchon to the substation into 4-lanes, in effect identifying PH's response given in lines 10-11 as wrong.

Through the analyses of Extracts (3.24) and (3.25), this section has demonstrated the dynamic nature of action formation and ascription by examining how a questioner's response to the respondent's response can retrospectively change action imports from what the respondent's response had suggested. In Extract (3.24), the respondent KE initially treated the questioner MJ's

question as a KQ, but later MJ reshaped the action import by indicating that it was not meant to be a KQ. Likewise, in Extract (3.25) the respondent PH understood KD's question as an opinion question, but later KD retrospectively treated it as a KQ. These changes in action ascription by the questioners thus show that the action import of a turn is not fixed but is subject to change in and throughout the course of interaction.

3.3.5. Summary of Section 3.3

Section 3.3 has looked at the issue of action formation and ascription in relation to KQs in order to gain an understanding of the linguistic, interactional, or broad social resources candidates use to produce or recognize a question as a KQ. To begin with, Section 3.3.1 showed that candidates utilize framing expressions such as *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?', *kiekha-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) remember ~?, and *malssumha-y cwu-si-l swu iss-supnikka?* 'Could (you) tell (me)~?' in designing and recognizing KQs. As seen in Extracts (3.14)-(3.17), these framing expressions explicitly highlight the focus of the questions—whether the respondents have or can provide the requested knowledge—and thereby overtly mark the questions as being designed for testing the respondents' knowledge. The analysis of Extract (3.18) further showed that the absence of such framing expressions in a question the questioner intended as a KQ allows the question to be strategically treated as an information-seeking question, thereby providing empirical evidence of the importance of such framing expressions in recognizing a question as a KQ.

Next, Section 3.3.2 demonstrated that candidates not only resort to framing expressions for designing and identifying KQs but also take note of the epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent implicated in their institutional roles as cross-examiner and cross-examinee, respectively, and the substance of the questions. During the cross-examination phase

of political campaign debates, candidates who ask their opponents questions are expected to take an adversarial position towards their opponents and probe their qualifications. Furthermore, the cross-examination phase is not a time for candidates to learn about established factual matters of public affairs from other candidates. Thus, when questioners ask about such matters in this particular context, their behavior tends to be interpreted both by the respondents and the viewers as a means of testing the respondents' knowledge even without the aforementioned framing expressions as observed in Extract (3.19). This, however, does not mean that questions regarding established factual matters asked by one candidate to another during a cross-examination phase are invariably treated as KQs. The analysis of Extract (3.20) proved exactly this point. In Extract (3.20), the respondent YS established his knowing status regarding the knowledge domain at hand through interaction with the questioner LK. By doing so, YS was able to treat these questions as information-seeking questions not as KQs. YS's strategic treatment of KQ as information-seeking questions thus shows that the epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent implicated in their respective institutional roles and the substance of a question may be overridden by the epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent constituted in and through the moment-by-moment interaction that unfolds.

Then, Section 3.3.3 delved into how candidates use the sequential position of questions as a resource to produce and recognize KQs. As shown in Extract (3.21), by placing question prefaces stating that the respondents should be aware of the matters covered by their questions before putting forward their questions, candidates make it clear that their upcoming questions are KQs and not genuine information-seeking questions. Similarly, the action(s) done in the immediately preceding sequences can serve as a resource for action formation and ascription of

KQs. The target questions introduced in Extracts (3.22)-(3.23) become interpreted as KQs based on their sequential locations of being placed immediately after KQ-response sequences.

Lastly, Section 3.3.4 covered the dynamic nature of action formation and ascription of KQs by examining how an action import of a turn can be revised over the course of interaction. The analysis of Extract (3.24) showed that a question initially understood as a KQ by its respondent can later be treated as a different type of a question by way of the questioner's follow-up comment. The analysis of Extract (3.25) showed the opposite case in which a question understood as an opinion question by its respondent is retrospectively treated as a KQ by the questioner.

The findings of Section 3.3 have thus shown how candidates lean on multiple resources for action formation and ascription of KQs including linguistic resources as well as sequential and broad social resources. The findings have also demonstrated that a turn's function is not fixed but is negotiable and transformable in and throughout the course of interaction.

3.4. Chapter Summary

As the first analytic chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 3 has attempted to explicate the definition of KQs, thus laying down a foundation for the following analytic chapters as well as delineating the boundaries of this phenomenon to which the findings of this study can be applied. In defining KQs, this chapter first examined the specialized functions (or actions, in CA terms) KQs conduct in the institutional context of political campaign debates, particularly during their cross-examination phases. Two specialized functions of KQs were identified by comparing and contrasting the use of KQs during cross-examinations with the use of KQs in pedagogical interaction and political campaign interviews. The primary function of KQs is to expose the

respondents' lack of definite knowledge about the substance of the questions and thereby to discredit the respondents' qualifications as candidates. This function of KQs is evident in how the candidates who issued KQs deal with (non)responses that suggest the respondents' insufficient or lack of knowledge on the matters at hand. In responding to such (non)responses, unlike the teacher in Mehan's study (1979) mentioned in Section 3.2.1, the candidates do not employ practices that provide further opportunities for the respondents to correct themselves or modify their questions to help the respondents. Instead, the candidates point to the insufficient or lack of knowledge of the respondents by providing the correct answers themselves, which renders the responses from the respondents as incorrect, and/or by highlighting the respondents' ignorance. The secondary function of KQs is to advertise the questioners' own knowledgeability. To that end, the candidates, unlike the journalist in Roth's study (2005) mentioned in Section 3.2.1, utilize question prefaces as a locus to display their own knowledge relevant to the substance of the KQs, or they provide the correct answers following the respondents' less-than-accurate responses in order to emphasize their own ability to do so. The dual uses of KQs were then explained in relation to the dual institutional roles of the candidates: the candidates who issue KQs are not only questioners of a cross-examination that need to probe the qualifications of the respondents as candidates but are also candidates themselves who need to prove their own qualifications as candidates.

After examining the two specialized functions of KQs during cross-examinations of political campaign debates, this chapter has zeroed in on the primary function of KQs and delved into the issue of how KQs can be differentiated from other types of questions such as policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions in testing the respondents' knowledge and exposing their insufficient mastery of the requested knowledge. The analyses showed that KQs

are different from policy questions and general-knowledgeability questions in terms of their explicit focus or granularity of the knowledge they deal with. More specifically, the explicit focus of KQs is on finding out whether the respondents possess the requested knowledge of specific factual matters. By contrast, the explicit focus of policy questions is on eliciting the respondents' plans/measures for solving sociopolitical issues, and the substance of general-knowledgeability questions was concerned with general activities or experience pertinent to acquiring knowledge of a certain domain. Additionally, this chapter has looked at the properties of answers to KQs that were associated with the nature of the substance of KQs being about specific and established factual matters. Due to the distinctive features of the substance of KQs, answers to KQs could be evaluated in terms of their correctness, which in turn makes it possible for candidates to use KQs as an interactional tool to demonstrate/prove their respondents' ignorance via KQs.

Lastly, this chapter has explored the issue of action formation and ascription in relation to KQs in order to gain an understanding of the linguistic, interactional, or broad social resources candidates use to produce or recognize a question as a KQ, the resources that analysts should rely on in building the collection of KQs alike. The findings showed that candidates may utilize framing expressions (e.g., *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?', *kiekha-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) remember ~?', and *malssumha-y cwu-si-l swu iss-supnikka?* 'Could (you) tell (me)~?') that overtly mark, as the explicit focus of the questions, the issue of whether the respondents have or can provide the requested knowledge in designing KQs. Besides these linguistic resources, candidates may pay attention to epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent implicated in their institutional roles as cross-examiner and cross-examinee, the substance of questions, and/or the course of moment-by-moment interaction. Candidates also make use of

sequential resources in producing and recognizing KQs by placing question prefaces stating that the respondents should be aware of the matters covered by their questions before their questions and/or by locating their questions immediately after KQ-response sequences. An important point to remember is that the action import of a question as a KQ is not unchangeable as it is possible for candidates to transform the action import of a turn in and through the course of interaction.

The findings of Chapter 3 thus show that candidates employ KQs as a political debate strategy that aims to expose the respondents' uninformedness regarding specific facture matters as well as promoting the questioners' informedness. The findings also show that candidates lean on multiple resources for action formation and ascription of KQs, which include linguistic, sequential/interactional, and broad social resources, and that the candidates can retrospectively negotiate/transform the action import of KQs.

CHAPTER 4. EMERGENCE OF KQs

4.1. Introduction

The present chapter focuses on illuminating the contexts in which KQs emerge during the cross-examinations of political campaign debates. In principle, it seems that KQs can occur at any point of a cross-examination phase of a political campaign debate. That is, although a cross-examination should be organized as a series of question-response sequences, its organization does not constrain what type of questions should be located where. This means that whenever a questioner decides to issue a question, and accordingly a KQ, can occur. The absence of built-in regulatory rules that constrain the occurrence of KQs implies that the emergence of KQs must be locally managed on a case-by-case basis. This creates several interesting inquiries regarding the emergence of KQs, which have yet to be answered: in what contexts are KQs mobilized? Are there any similarities among the contexts in which KQs occur? If so, what do they tell us about the situations candidates tend to judge KQs as a useful debate strategy?

Exploring the aforementioned inquires contributes to our understanding of the practices of issuing KQs during the cross-examination phases of political campaign debates and their usefulness as political campaign debate strategies. Furthermore, it broadens our understanding of CA's general theme of what kinds of contexts influence the occurrence of an action. CA studies have shown that the occurrence of an action can be accountable by referring to the prior action (e.g., the occurrence of a second pair part in an adjacency pair as in the case of the occurrence of an answer after a question, see Schegloff, 2007), the compositional elements of the prior talk (e.g., the occurrence of a storytelling triggered by an element of a prior turn-by-turn talk, see Jefferson, 1978; the occurrence of an other-initiation of repair caused by a word choice problem

in the prior talk of the previous speaker, see Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), the prior sequence of actions (e.g., the occurrence of an initiation of terminal exchange such as "Bye bye" after the pre-closing sequence such as "A: O.K. B: O.K." Schelgoff & Sacks, 1973), or broader institutional contexts (e.g., the occurrence of the third turn comment in exam question-answer-comment sequence in pedagogical interaction, see Heritage 1984b). We, however, do not know much about what triggers the occurrence of a specific type of sequence-initiating action such as a KQ Additionally, exploring the contexts of the emergence of KQs will offer insights into how the relevant context for an action is constituted in the here-and-now local interactional context.

In exploring the contexts in which KQs emerge, this chapter will identify the three major contexts in which KQs occur: (a) where questioners have good reason to believe that the respondents are vulnerable to KQs, (b) where questioners are involved in undermining the respondents' policies/promises/claims, and (c) where after current questioners fail to provide the correct answers to the KQs issued by the previous questioners, they attempt to show that previous questioners have the same weakness as themselves regarding a domain of knowledge. These three major contexts where KQs emerge thus will show that the occurrence of KQs can be best explained both by referring to the likelihood of succeeding in exposing the recipients insufficient knowledge about the matter being asked about (e.g., (a)) and the nature of sequential projects the questioners of KQs are involved in (e.g., (b) and (c)). In addition, this chapter will demonstrate the importance of the immediately preceding talk, question preface, and prior sequence as contextualizing devices.

The analyses of these aforementioned contexts will further show that questioners find it useful and effective to mobilize KQs in the following occasions: (a) when taking advantage of the already displayed or expected holes in the respondents' knowledge of public affairs as a way

into underscoring the insufficiency or lack of their knowledge, (b) when aiming to undermine the respondents' promises/claims by exposing their lack of definite knowledge required to support their promises/claims, or (c) when attempting to reduce the damage done on the questioner's own political face from previously failing to answer the respondents' KQs by revealing their respondents' ignorance in the same knowledge domain.

The organization of the remainder of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 examines the occurrence of KQs in the context where the questioners of KQs have good reason to believe that the respondents do not have knowledge of the substance of KQs and explores the functions of such usage. Section 4.3 investigates KQs that appear in the context of undermining respondents' promises/claims, along with their functions in this sequential context. Section 4.4 explores the occurrence of KQs in the context of dealing with implications of the prior KQ-response sequences and examines the uses of KQs as a tit-for-tat strategy. Section 4.5 investigates how the aforementioned contexts for the occurrence of KQs can co-occur with each other, forming complex contexts for the occurrence of KQs. Section 4.6 provides a summary of the findings of this chapter.

4.2. In the Context Where the Questioners of KQs Have Good Reason to Believe That the Respondents Do Not Have Knowledge of the Substance of KQs

The first major context of the occurrence of KQs is where the questioners of KQs have good reason to believe that the respondents do not have knowledge of the substance of KQs, that is, where the interactional function of KQs as a device to expose the recipients' ignorance as examined in Section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3 is likely to be successful. The vulnerability of the respondents to KQs can be predicted through the respondents' talk that they made during or prior

to the debates, or it can be assumed based on the respondents' social identity as a newcomer politician who is new to the district for which s/he is running to be representative. To begin with, let us examine the cases where the respondents' vulnerability to KQs is revealed through their talk, i.e., (i) through the respondents' repair initiation that displays their problems in speaking, hearing, or understanding the talk, (ii) through the overly general policies/promises presented in response to the questioners' initial policy/promise questions, (iii) through providing mere knowledge claims or evasive answers to the questioners' initial KQs, or (iv) through their false statements made at other political events.

First of all, the questioners see an opening for exposing the respondents' ignorance via KQs in the context where the respondents initiate a repair. Extract (4.1) is an instance of such cases. In lines 7-9 of Extract (4.1) LCK asks LKD a policy question concerning what kinds of plans LKD has for Pohang city's administrative and financial role regarding "hitun champion" (i.e., small-but-strong companies). What follows after the moderator's turn allocation to LKD (lines 11 and 13) conveying that it is time for LKD to respond to LCK's question is not LKD's answer, but a 0.5 second pause and a rather extended in-breath, which foreshadows LKD's trouble in answering LCK's question. Then, in line 15 LKD initiates a repair on LCK's question and thereby displays some confusion on the content of LCK's question.

Extract (4.1) [Hidden Champion]

01	LCK:	ey	*ikangtek*	hwupo-nun:,	uu:	<u>kang</u>-so-kiep		yuchilul: (.)
		uhm	LKD	candidate-TC		strong-small-company		attract-AC
02		cwucang-ul:	ha-ko	iss-upnita.				
		argue-AC	do-and	be-DC:DEF				
		Uhm, Candidate LKD, you are arguing						
		that (we) should attract the small-but-strong companies.						

03 .hh ey kang-so-kiep yuchi-to cwungyoha-ciman:,
uhm strong-small-company attract-also be important-but
.hh Uhm attracting these small-but-strong companies is important,

04 .h ey yukseng-i .h *phohang* milay:, (0.2)
uhm nuture-NM Pohang future

05 sengcang sanep-ul (.) ha-nuntey, (.)
growth industry-AC do-given that

06 maywu cwungyoha-pnita.
very be important-DC:DEF
but .h uhm helping (them) grow .h is very important (.) for the future (0.2) industrial growth (.) of Pohang .

07 .hhh hitun champhien-ey tayhan
hidden champion-about

08 *phohang*-si-uy hayngceng mich:, cayceng yekhal-ey tayhay
Pohang-city-of administration and finance role-about

09 etten tayan-ul kac-ko iss-nunci:, .h <malssum-ul hay cwu-si-psio.>
what plan-AC have-and be-OQ word:hon.-AC say give-SH-IM:DEF
.hhh Please tell (me) .h what kind of plans you have for Pohang city's administrative and financial role regarding the hidden champions.

10 (0.3)

11 MOD: ney. *i* hwupo-kkeyse tap[hay-cwu]-si-c(i)-yo.=
Okay LKD candidate-NM:hon. answer-give-SH-COMMPOL
Okay. Candidate LKD, please respond.

12 LKD: [ney :.]
yes
Yes.

13 MOD: = il pwun samsip cho-pnita
one minute thirty second-DC:DEF
(You) have 1 minute 30 seconds.

14 (0.5)

15→ LKD: s.hh cayceng hyengphyen-ul malssumha-si-n ke-pnikka?
finance condition-AC say:hon.-SH-RL NOM-(be)-Q:DEF
s.hh Are you talking about (Pohang city's) financial situation?

16 (0.8)

17→ LCK: hitun camphien-i-lako molu-si-pnikka?
hidden champion-be-QT not know-SH-Q:DEF
Do you not know (the term) "the hidden champion"?

18 (0.2)

19 LKD: >ku-key musun mwe<
that-thing what what
What is that- what-

20 tasi hanpen selmyenghay cwu-si-psio.
again once explain give-SH-IM:DEF
Please explain (it to me) again.

21 LCK: a: ku-ke-nun:, (.) wuli ce: *ikangtek* hwuponim-kkeyse:,
well that-thing-TC our that over there LKD candidate.hon.-NM

22 .h (.) e: hongpomwul-ey-to naw-a iss-supnita.
uhm pamphlets-at-also appear-and be-DC:DEF
Well, it is (.) in uhm your .h (.) uhm voters' pamphlets as well.

23 kang-so-kiep-ul (0.5) yenge-lo
strong-small-company-AC English-in

24 hitun (0.2) champhien-i-lako ha-pnita
hidden champion-be-QT say-DC:DEF
Small-but-strong companies (0.5) are referred to as hidden (0.2) champions in English.

25 LKD: a: yey. al-ass-supnita.
ah yes know-PST-DC:DEF
Ah, yes. I see.

Extract (4.1) [Hidden Champions] in Korean

01 LCK: 에 이강덕 후보는:, 으으: 강소기업 유치를: (.)
02 주장을: 하고 있습니다.
03 .hh 에 강소기업 유치도 중요하지만:,
04 .h 에 육성이 .h 포항 미래:, (0.2)
05 성장 산업을 (.) 하는데, (.)
06 매우 중요합니다.
07 .hhh 히든 참피언에 대한
08 포항시의 행정 및:, .재정 역할에 대해
09 어떤 대안을 갖고 있는지:, .h <말씀을 해주십시오.>

10 (0.3)
11 MOD: 네. 이 후보께서 답[해주]시죠.=
12 LKD : [네:.]
13 MOD: =일분 삼십촙니다.
14 (0.5)
15→ LKD: s.hh 재정 형편을 말씀하신겁니까?
16 (0.8)
17→ LCK: 히든 참피언이라고 모르십니까?
18 (0.2)
19 LKD: >그게 무슨- 뭐-<
20 다시 한 번 설명해주십시오.
21 LCK: 아: 그거는:, (.) 우리 저: 이강덕 후보님께서:,
22 .h (.) 어: 홍보물에도 나와있습니다.
23 강소기업을 (0.5) 영어로
24 히든 (0.2) 참피언이라고 합니다.
25 LKD: 아: 예. 알았습니다.

LKD's repair initiation conveying that he understood LCK's question to be about Pohang city's financial situation clearly indicates that LKD has problems understanding LCK's question. What is interesting is LCK's response to LKD's repair initiation. Normally when an interlocutor initiates a repair, the speaker of the trouble source provides a repair solution in the next turn, thereby completing a repair sequence (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). However, LCK departs from this usual pattern. Instead of confirming or disconfirming (and correcting) LKD's understanding of his question in the next turn, LCK zeros in on LKD's understanding problem and utilizes LKD's repair initiation as an opening to explicitly draw the public's attention to LKD's knowledge issue by asking a KQ (line 17) that explicitly focuses on finding out whether LKD knows the term *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion.'

LCK's KQ attributes the trouble source that causes LKD to initiate the repair to the term *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion' and seeks to expose that LKD does not know its meaning. Note especially that LCK pressures LKD to admit his ignorance of the meaning of *hitun*

champhien ‘hidden champion’ by designing his KQ as a negative interrogative, which favors an answer that confirms LKD’s ignorance of it.

Thus, the emergence of LCK’s KQ is accountable by referring to its prior turn where LKD demonstrated his problem in understanding the question addressed to him through repair initiation. LKD’s repair initiation provides ground for LCK to infer that LKD is unlikely to know the term *hitun champhien* ‘hidden champion’ and that zeroing in on LKD’s knowledge of its meaning via a KQ is likely to be successful. LCK’s use of KQ as a device to highlight LKD’s ignorance implied in his repair initiation as a focal point of attention indeed turns out to be successful. Note that in lines 19 and 20, LKD requests LCK to explain the meaning of *hitun champhien* ‘hidden champion,’ thereby displaying his inability to provide an answer to the KQ.

Second, the questioners detect an indication of the respondents’ lack of knowledge that is present in their provision of overly general policies/promises in response to the questioners’ initial policy/promise questions and subsequently issue KQs as in Extracts (4.2) and (4.3). In lines 1-3 of Extract (4.2), which has already been introduced as Extract (3.10) and analyzed in Section 3.2.2 of Chapter 3 , the questioner LS issues a policy question that requests CH to supply measures to improve the treatment of workers in special employment.

Extract (4.2) [Special Employment Workers]

01	LS:	i	thukswu-koyong-notongca-tul-uy		chewu-kaysen-ul
		this	special-employment-worker-PL-POS		treatment-improvement-AC
02		wihan	pangan-i	iss-umyen (0.4)	
		for	measure-NM	be-if	
03		*choyhongcip*	hwupo, (.)	malssumha-y	cwu-si-psio.
		CH	candidate	tell:hon.-and	give-SH-IM:DEF
		If you have measures to improve the treatment of workers in special employment such as these (0.4), please tell (me about them).			

04 (0.6)

05→ CH: .hhhhhhh e: thukswu-notongca:-tul:
uhm special-worker-PL

06→ kunmwu yeken-i: (.) thulpyelha-ki ttaymwuney (0.5)
working condition-NM unique-NOM-because
.hhhhhhh Uhm because the working conditions of workers in special employment (.) are unique, (0.5)

07→ ey:: thuswu:-notongca-tul-ey ku kunmwu coken-ina: (0.4)
uhm special-worker-PL-POS that working contidtion-or

08→ kunmwu hayngtay-ey ttalase (0.6)
working type-according to

09→ e:: cenghwakhi phaak-ul:: hay-se
uhm accurately understanding-AC do-and

10→ tayche-lul hay-ya toy-l kes kath-supnita.
treat-AC do-must-PRS NOM seem-DC:DEF
uhm it seems that the problems related to their treatment should be dealt with after uhm attaining an accurate understanding of the working conditions (0.4) or the type of work (0.6) that these workers do.

11→ kuliko .hhh kulehan mwuncey-nun (0.4)
and like that problem-TC
And (in dealing with) these problems, (0.4)

12→ e: pwunmyenghi (0.3) i elyewun (.) yeken sok-eyse
uh clearly this difficult condition inside-in

13→ kunmwuha-nun: salam-tul-ina
work-RL people-PL-or
uhm (I) think certainly people who are working in difficult conditions

14→ anin-myen te himtun (0.4) yeken sok-ey ilha-nun
not-if more difficult condition inside-at work-RL

15→ salam-tul-ey tayhayse-nun
people-PL-about-TC
or those working in worse (0.4) conditions

16→ .hh thukpyelhan (0.3) kwanli-na: ani-myen
special management-or not-if

17→ thukpyelhan, (0.3) chewu-ka ttala-ya toynta-ko
special treatment-NM follow-must-QT

18→ sayngkak-ul ha-pnita.
thought-AC do-DC:DEF
should receive .hh special (0.3) management or special (0.3) treatment.

19 (0.8)

20→ LS: .hh (0.2) hoksi thukswu-koyong-notongca::-tul-ul, (0.8)
by any chance special-employment-worker-PL-AC

21→ notongca-tul-ey (.) kaynyem-i mwues-i-nci
worker-PL-POS concept-NM what-be-OQ

22→ al-ko kyey-sip-nikka.
know-and be-SH-Q:DEF
.hh (0.2) Do (you) by any chance know what workers in special employment (0.8) what the concept of workers in special employment is?

23 CH: tch! (0.2) ku-ke-n mwe sacen-ey
that-thing-TC what dictionary-in

24 cal iss-ul ke-pnita
well be-probably NOM-DC:DEF
Tch! (0.2) That is probably well defined in the dictionary.

25 (1.7)

26 LS: thukswu-koyong-notongca (0.6) sacen-ey
special-employment-worker dictionary-in

27 chac-a-po-si-myen, (.) nao-ci anh-supnita. (.)
find-and-see-SH-if come out-L.NEG -DC:DEF
(The word) "worker in special employment" (0.6) does not come out (.) if (you) look it up in the dictionary. (.)

28 wuli nala kwuke sacen-ey: (0.3)
our country Korean dictionary-in

29 thukswu-koyong-notongca:, (1.0) eps-supnita. (0.6)
special-employment-worker not exist-DC:DEF
There is no (entry) (1.0) (for the word) "worker in special employment" (0.3) in the Korean dictionary.

30 (wuli-ka) thukswu-koyong-notongca-lako hanun kes-un (0.2)
we-NM special-employment-worker-QT be called thing-TC

31 swipkey yaykihayse, (0.5) pan:-un notongca-ko, (0.2)
easily tell-if half-TC worker-and

32 pan:-un kayin-saepca-la-nun ke-pnita. (0.8)
half-TC individual-owner-QT-RL thing-DC:DEF
What we call "workers in special employment" are in plain language half worker and half individual business owners

33 *((LS continues his explanation on "workers in special employment"))*

Extract (4.2) in Korean [Special Employment Workers]

01 LS: 이 특수고용노동자들의 처우개선을
02 위한 방안이 있으면 (0.4)
03 최홍집 후보, (.) 말씀해 주십시오
04 (0.6)
05→ CH: .hhhhhhh 어: 특수노동자:들:
06→ 근무 여건이: (.) 특별하기 때문에 (0.5)
07→ 에:: 특수:노동자들에 그 근무 조건이나: (0.4)
08→ 근무 행태에 따라서 (0.6)
09→ 어:: 정확히 파악을:: 해서
10→ 대처를 해야될 것 같습니다.
11→ 그리고 .hhh 그러한 문제는 (0.4)
12→ 어: 분명히 (0.3) 이 어려운 (.) 여건 속에서
13→ 근무하는: 사람들이나
14→ 아니면 더 힘든 (0.4) 여건 속에 일하는
15→ 사람들에 대해서는
16→ .hh 특별한 (0.3) 관리나: 아니면
17→ 특별한, (0.3) 처우가 따라야 된다고
18→ 생각을 합니다.
19 (0.8)
20→ LS: .hh (0.2) 혹시 특수고용노동자::들을, (0.8)
21→ 노동자들에 (.) 개념이 무엇인지
22→ 알고 계십니까.
23 CH: tch! (0.2) 그건 뭐 사전에
24 잘 있을 겁니다.
25 (1.7)

26 LS: 특수고용노동자 (0.6) 사전에
27 찾아보시면, (.) 나오지 않습니다. (.)
28 우리 나라 국어 사전에: (0.3)
29 특수고용노동자:, (1.0) 없습니다. (0.6)
30 (우리가) 특수고용노동자라고 하는 것은 (0.2)
31 쉽게 얘기해서, (0.5) 반:은 노동자고, (0.2)
32 반:은 개인사업자라는 겁니다. (0.8)
33 *((LS continues his explanation on "workers in special employment"))*

In responding to the policy question in lines 1-3, CH provides an extremely general and vague answer that betrays his ignorance of the problems in the treatment of workers in special employment. To begin with, both the approach in lines 5-10 (i.e., working conditions and the type of work should first be examined, and the issue should then be dealt with based on that) and the solution in lines 12-18 (i.e., people who are working in difficult conditions or those working in worse conditions should receive special management or special treatment) that CH is proposing are so general that it could be applied to solve any kind of issue regarding the treatment of any type of worker. Next, the phrase *e: thukswu-notongca:-tul: kunmwu yeken-i: (.) thulpyelha-ki ttaymwuney* '*Uhm because the working conditions of workers in special employment (.) are unique,*' in lines 5-6 reveals that CH's understanding of the term "workers in special employment" is based on the general meaning of the word "special," a component of the term, and that CH does not understand "workers in special employment" as a technical term. Lastly, CH's remark *ey:: thuswu:-notongca-tul-ey ku kunmwu coken-ina: (0.4) kunmwu hayngtay-ey ttalase (0.6) e:: cenghwakhi phaak-ul:: hay-se* 'after uhm attaining an accurate understanding of the working conditions (0.4) or the type of work (0.6) that these workers do' in lines 1-7 conveys that CH has *not yet* attained an accurate understanding of the working conditions or the type of work workers in special employment do and thus he is not prepared to propose any specific measures.

As analyzed above, CH's overly general and vague response to LS's policy question reveals CH's ignorance of the concept of "workers in special employment" as well as the problems in the treatment of these workers. Note how LS exploits CH's displayed ignorance as an opportunity to explicitly highlight CH's lack of knowledge pertinent to workers in special employment. In the immediately following turn after CH provides the overly general and vague policy (lines 20-22), LS issues a KQ that explicitly asks whether CH knows the concept of workers in special employment and brings CH's knowledgeability issue to the forefront, thereby moving away from his initial line of questioning that focused on CH's policy on the improvement of the treatment of workers in special employment.

LS's KQ targeting CH's knowledge issue is successful. In lines 23-24, being unable to provide the correct answer and in an effort to avoid explicitly acknowledging his ignorance, CH presumes that the term is well defined in the dictionary. However, soon afterwards, in lines 26 through 33, LS poignantly points out that the term has not been introduced in the Korean dictionary and explains the notion of the term to LS, thereby effectively proving LS's ignorance of the notion of workers in special employment, and by extension, of the issues related to the treatment of these workers.

Similarly, in Extract (4.3) the same questioner LS sees an opportunity to issue a KQ in the context where CH provides an overly general and vague response to his initial promise-soliciting question that nudges LS to take a particular position and thereby make a political promise regarding the matter at hand. More specifically, in lines 2-5 LS asks CH whether he will be willing to convert all the non-regular employees of Gangwon Provincial Office and its affiliated organizations into regular employees if he is elected as the governor of Gangwon Province.

LS's question may appear to be simply seeking to know whether CH will do the conversion, but in fact it is attempting to solicit a promise from CH by exerting pressure on CH to commit himself to converting all the non-regular employees of Gangwon Provincial Office and its affiliated organizations into regular employees. Note that LS's question, designed as an affirmative yes/no question, prefers a 'yes' answer over a 'no' answer, that is, an answer that confirms CH's willingness to do the conversion. In addition, at the time of the debate, the majority of the general public favored the idea of converting non-regular employees in the public sectors into regular workers. In this line of thinking, converting all the non-regular employees in a public sector into regular workers could be thought as an ideal goal that a politician should pursue to solve the issue of non-regular workers. In this sense, the popularity of the position that LS nudges CH to take can function as another source of pressure put on CH to confirm his commitment in that CH needs the general public's support to win this election. Furthermore, prior to the exchange shown in this extract, LS even strongly stated that if he becomes the governor of Gangwon Province, he will achieve the complete conversion, which further pushes CH to commit himself to the position described in LS's question.

Extract (4.3) [Non-regular Employees]

01	LS:	*choyhongcip* hwupo-eykey, mwut-keyss-supnita. (1.1)
		CH candidate-to ask-intend-DC:DEF
		(I) address (this question) to candidate CH. (1.0)
02		*choyhongcip* hwupo-ka tocisa-ka toy-nta-myen:, (0.2)
		CH candidate-NM governor-NM become-PLN-if
		If you are elected as the governor of Gangwon Provice, (0.2)
03		*kangwen*-tocheng-kwa, (0.2) tocheng-sanhakikwan-ey, (.)
		Gangwon-Provincial office-and the office-affiliated organization-at
04		pi-cengkyucik. (0.3) cenwen cengkyucik-hwaha-l
		non-regular employee all regular employee-convert-PRS

05 yonguy-ka iss-supnikka.
intention-NM have-Q:DEF
will (you) be willing to convert (0.3) all the non-regular employees of Gangwon Provincial Office (0.2) and its affiliated organizations (.) into regular employees?

06 (0.4)

07→ CH: .hhhh (0.5) e: mwuncey:::-nun (0.2)
uhm problem-TC

08→ hay- haykyelhay-ya toy-n-ta-ko po-pnita:.
solve-must become-IN-DC-QT think-DC:DEF
.hhhh (0.5) Uhm (I) think problems (0.2) should be sol- solved.

09→ kulayse .hh e yeken:-ey ttalase (0.6)
so uhm circumstance-according to

10→ e: cemchacekulo haykyelha-y naka-tolok,
uhm gradually sove-and go out-in order to

11→ ha-keyss-supnita.
do-will-DC:DEF
So .hh uhm as long as the circumstances allow it, (0.6)
uhm (I) will solve (the problem of non-regular positions) gradually.

12 (4.8)

13→ LS: kule-myen mwuncey-ka mwe-nci
like that-if problem-NM what-OQ

14→ al-ko kyey-sip-nikka?
know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
Then do you know what (this) problem is?

15 CH: a yelekaci: mwuncey-ka iss-ul ke-pnita::.
well several problem-NM exist-probably NOM-DC:DEF
Well, it's likely that there are several problems.

16 kuke-n sanseyhi .h ku:: su- pi-cengkyucik-ey (0.2)
that-thing-TC in detail that non-regular employee-POS

17 kyengwu-ey ttalase: (0.4) e: etten cikchayk-ey
case-according to uhm what kind of position-at

18 etten il-ul ha-nunci (0.2) sangseyhi (.)
what kind of work-AC do-OQ in detail

19 phaak-ul hay-se, hay-ya toy-l mwuncey-la-ko po-pnita.
understanding-AC do-and do-must-PRS problem-be-QT see-DC:DEF
(I) think in detail .h (converting non-regular employees into regular employees) should be done uhm s- (0.2) case-by-case (0.4) after specifically understanding (0.2) in detail (.) uhm what kind of work is done in what kind of non-regular position.

20 (2.3)

21 LS: cinan: sey pen-uy tholon-kwaceng-eyse, (1.0)
last three time-POS debate-process-in

22 pi-cengkyucik-uy mwuncey:,
non-regular employee-POS problem

23 manh:un yaykil-ul hay-ss-supnita. (0.8)
many talk-AC do-PST-DC:DEF
During the last three debates, (we)'ve discussed many things regarding the problem of non-regular positions

24 kulentey (0.6) pangkum *choyhongcip* hwupo, (0.8)
but right now CH candidate

25 mwuncey-ka mwues-i-nci,
problem-NM what-be-OQ

26 cal molu-nun kes kath-supnita. (1.0)
well not know-RL NOM seem-DC:DEF
But right now, you do not seem to know what exactly the problem is.

Extract (4.3) in Korean [Non-regular Employees]

01 LS: 최홍집 후보에게, 묻겠습니다. (1.1)
02 최홍집 후보가 도지사가 된다면:, (0.2)
03 강원도청과, (0.2) 도청산하기관에, (.)
04 비정규직. (0.3) 전원 정규직화할
05 용의가 있습니까.
06 (0.4)
07→ CH: .hhhh (0.5) 어: 문제:::는 (0.2)
08→ 해- 해결해야 된다고 봅니다:.
09→ 그래서 .hh 어 여건:에 따라서 (0.6)
10→ 어: 점차적으로 해결해 나가도록,

11→ 하겠습니다.
12 (4.8)
13→ LS: 그러면 문제가 뭔지:
14→ 알고 계십니까?
15 CH: 아 여러가지: 문제가 있을 겁니다::.
16 그건 상세히 .h 그:: 스- 비정규직에 (0.2)
17 경우에 따라서: (0.4) 어: 어떤 직책에
18 어떤 일을 하는지 (0.2) 상세히 (.)
19 파악을 해서, 해야 될 문제라고 봅니다.
20 (2.3)
21 LS: 지난: 세 번의 토론과정에서, (1.0)
22 비정규직의 문제:,
23 많:은 얘기를 했습니다. (0.8)
24 그런데 (0.6) 방금 최홍집 후보, (0.8)
25 문제가 무엇인지,
26 잘 모르는 것 같습니다. (1.0)

In spite of the aforementioned forces that push CH to commit himself to converting all the non-regular employees under his governance into regular employees, CH avoids making a clear promise that he is willing to do this complete conversion. In lines 7-8 CH first utters a statement that acknowledges the problem of non-regular positions as a problem that needs to be solved. Then, in lines 9-11 CH conveys that he will solve the issue. In conveying this good intention of his, CH, however, avoids fully committing himself by adding a qualifying condition (i.e., *yeken:-ey ttalase* 'as long as the circumstances allow it') and manner (i.e., *cemchacekulo* 'gradually'). The presence of these qualifications allows CH to avoid being held accountable as his full commitment to do the conversion might have caused: if the circumstances are not right, CH will not be held accountable for not implementing this conversion. Furthermore, even under the condition that the circumstances are right, CH may have a way out for not accomplishing the complete conversion given that he said he would do it *gradually*.

Although CH's response has the advantage of allowing CH to avoid the issue of accountability, it generates another issue. The very condition and manner stated by CH that

allows him to avoid accountability lacks specificity, which renders CH's promise as a very general and empty promise. CH does not provide any information on what counts as the circumstances under which he can carry out the conversion nor does he detail what procedures a gradual implementation of the conversion would involve. The extreme generality and vagueness of CH's promise implicitly suggest that CH might not have a good understanding of the problem of non-regular positions in that a specificity of a promise is likely to be grounded on a thorough understanding of the problem in question. What follows LS's vague promise is LS's KQ that targets that generality and vagueness. In lines 13-14, LS asks CH whether he knows what the problem of non-regular positions is and attempts to expose CH's lack of definite knowledge of the problem. By doing so, LS changes the direction of his line of questioning from soliciting a promise to testing knowledge and seeks to highlight CH's ignorance of the problem of non-regular positions as the focus of their interaction.

LS's use of KQ comes to bear fruit. In line 15 CH displays his inability to show his knowledge of the issue. CH's response that states that it is likely that there are several problems shows that he is not only unable to pin down what specific problems there are with regards to the issue of non-regular positions but also not even completely sure whether there are several problems or not.

In lines 16-19 CH tries to shift the focus of their debate from his knowledge issue back to his promise of converting non-regular employees into regular employees by expressing his thought that the conversion should be done after specifically understanding in detail what kind of work is done in what kind of non-regular positions. However, this strategy of CH ends up being futile. In the subsequent turn (see lines 21-26), LS brings CH's knowledge issue back on the table by highlighting the import of CH's response. In particular, in lines 24-26 LS explicitly

points out CH's ignorance of the problem of non-regular positions by saying that CH does not seem to know what exactly the problem is.

Third, the questioners see an opportunity to use KQs when respondents provide evasive answers or claim to know about an issue but do not demonstrate the actual contents of their knowledge when responding to the questioners' initial KQs. Such behavior on the part of the respondents indicates their vulnerability to the KQs, since if they do indeed possess the requested knowledge, they would be able to provide it unless it is disadvantageous to themselves. Extracts (4.4) and (4.5) are the cases in point. Let us first examine Extract (4.4). In lines 5-6 of Extract (4.4), OY issues a KQ that tests BS's knowledge of the Customized Child Care System, which limits the maximum number of hours that stay-at-home mothers can send children between the ages of 0 to 2 to child care centers with governmental financial support to six hours per day. With this KQ, OY asks BS whether he knows what the Customized Child Care System is about.

Extract (4.4) [Customized Child Care System]

01	OY:	ku taumey chil[wel il-il-pwute cikum]: (.)=
		that next July first-day-from now
02	BS:	[hah hah hah hah]
03	OY:	=e: sihayng yeyceng-i-n,
		uh starting schedule-be-RL
04		macchwumhyeng kyoyuk-ceyto-lanun ke-y iss-supnita.
		tailored education-system-called thing-NM exist-DC:DEF
		Next, there is something called "Customized Child Care System," which is scheduled to be uhm implemented (.) starting from July 1st.
05		.h hoksi i nayyong-ey tayhayse
		by any chance this content-about
06		al-ko kyey-sip-[nikka?]
		know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
		Do (you) by any chance know
		what (the Customized Child Care System) is about ?

07→ BS: [ney. al]-ko iss-supnita.
yes know-and be-DC:DEF
Yes, (I) know.

08→ OY: etten nayyong-i-pnikka?
what kind of content-be-Q:DEF
What is (it) about?

09 BS: .hh cilmwun-ey tayhayse cey-ka
question-about I-NM

10 ku nayyoung-ul selmyengha-myen toy-keyss-[na-yo?]
that content-AC explain-if become-SUP-I wonder-Q:POL
.hh In response to the question, would it be good enough
if I explain what it is about?

11 OY: [a coh]-supnita.
ah be good-DC:DEF
Fine.

12 kulemun
then
Then,

13 BS: h
h
h

14 OY: cey-ka ilehkey tasi mwut-keyss-supnita.
I-NM like this again ask-will-DC:DEF
I will ask (my question) like this, instead.

15 macchumhyeng kyoyuk-ceyto-lul chansengha-si-pnikka?
tailored education-system-AC approve-SH-Q:DEF

16 pantayha-sip-nikka.
disapprove-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) approve or disapprove of the "Customized Child Care System?

Extract (4.4) [Customized Child Care System] in Korean

01 OY: 그 다음에 칠[월 일일부터 지금]: (.)=
02 BS: [하 하 하 하]
03 OY: =어: 시행 예정인,
04 맞춤형 보육제도라는 게 있습니다.
05 .h 혹시 이 내용에 대해서
06 알고 계십[니까?]

07 → BS: [네. 알]고 있습니다.
08 → OY: 어떤 내용입니까?
09 BS: .hh 질문에 대해서 제가
10 그 내용을 설명하면 되겠[나요?]
11 OY: [아 좋습]니다.
12 그러믄
13 BS: h
14 OY: 제가 이렇게 다시 묻겠습니다.
15 맞춤형 보육제도를 찬성하십니까?
16 반대하십니까.

In responding to OY's KQ in line 7, BS claims that he knows what the Customized Child Care System is about by saying *ney. al-ko iss-supnita.* 'Yes, I know.' However, BS does not provide any further explanation about it. BS's claim of having the knowledge without actually displaying its contents is indicative of BS's potential ignorance of the Customized Child Care System in that if BS knew what the new education system was about, he would have simply been able to elaborate on it instead of just claiming to know.

Note what OY does after BS's knowledge claim in line 8. Instead of taking BS's claim as it is and moving onto another agenda, OY keeps focusing on the issue of BS's knowledge and asks a follow-up KQ that explicitly requests BS to demonstrate his knowledge of the Customized Child Care System. This shows that OY recognizes BS's claim of possessing the knowledge in question as an indication of his potential ignorance and uses his KQ as a means to highlight this.

OY's attempt to expose BS's ignorance of the Customized Child Care System, however, turns out to be not quite successful. What follows OY's follow-up KQ is BS's repair initiation that asks for OY's confirmation on whether it would be good enough if he explains the education system (lines 9-10). Possibly due to time constraints—OY was almost running out of the time allotted to him to lead this cross-examination—, instead of dwelling on the issue of BS's knowledge by addressing BS's repair-initiation and issuing another follow-up KQ, OY changes

the direction of his questioning in lines 11-12 by asking whether BS approves or disapproves of the Customized Child Care System, which implicitly presents OY as being knowledgeable of it.

Extract (4.5) below illustrates the emergence of KQs in the context where the respondents provide evasive responses to the questioners' initial KQs. In Extract (4.5) P and C are running for mayor of Seoul. P is the incumbent, and C is the challenger. Immediately prior to the exchange shown in Extract (4.5), P introduces C's accusation that P approved the development of only three of the 30 vacant lots in Seoul while leaving the rest unused. P, in turn, rebuts C's attack by saying that except for the four lots that were judged to be unsuitable, he is already in the middle of developing or preparing to develop 19 of the remaining 26 lots. In order to further disprove C's accusation regarding P's use of vacant lots and reveal the absurdity of C's own plan to develop them, P issues two consecutive questions to C: The first question is a KQ that tests C's knowledge of the locations of all the vacant lots in Seoul (lines 1-2), and the second question is a policy-probing question which seeks C's clarification on his development plan for 15 vacant lots he proposed as one of his campaign promises (lines 4-9, line 11).

Extract (4.5) [Vacant Lots_1]

01	P:	e:: *ceng* hwuponim-un: *sewul*-ey (.) ilehkey .hh yuhyupwuci-ka	
		uhm C candidate:hon..- TC Seoul-in like this vacant lot-NM	
02		eti-ey ta iss-nunci: a-si-nunci-yo.	
		where-at all be-OQ know-SH-OQ-POL	
		Uhm: (I wonder) whether you know where in Seoul (.) uhm .hh	
		all the vacant lots are.	
03	C:	ney:.	
		yes.	
		Please continue.	
04	P:	kuliko e tto .h e: ku yeltases kay:-nun	
		and uhm also uhm that fifteen CL-TC	

05 kaypalha-keyss-ta.
develop-intend-DC
And uhm (you said that you) would develop at least fifteen lots.

06 ce-nun sasil imi. .h ku isang pelsse
I-TC actually already that more than already

07 kaypalha-ko iss-nuntey:,
develop-and be-given that
I'm actually already in the middle of developing .h
more than that,

08 .hh <etten: kos-ey etten: kes-ul> kaypalha-keyss-ta-ko
which place-at what thing-AC develop-intend-PLN-QT

09 ha-nun kes-i-nci.
say-RL NOM-be-OQ

10 C: km km ((throat clear))
km km
km km

11 P: com mwut-ko siph-supnita,
a little bit ask-want to-DC:DEF
so (I) would like to ask (you) which lots (you) intend to develop
and what (you) intend to build on (them).

12→ C: p! ((lip parting)) ku :: *sewul*-ey
that Seoul-in

13→ yuhuy-pwuci-ka han sam- samsip kwuntey toy-nuntey-yo.
vacant-lots-NM about thir- thirty CL become-given that-POL
p! There are around thir- thrity vacant lots in Seoul.

14→ .h sasil ↑han payk kwuntey toy-c(i)-yo.
in fact about one hundred CL become-COMM-POL
.h In fact, there are around one hundred.

15→ .hh ku cwungey samsip kos-un *sewul*-si-ey,
that among thirty CL-TC Seoul-city-to

16→ thwuca sinchengse-lul nay-ss-c(i)-yo:,
investment application-AC submit-PST-COMM-POL
.hh Among them, thirty lots submitted an investment application form
to the city of Seoul.

17→ .h kuntey *sewul*-si-nun (0.3) ku samsip kay: cwungey
but Seoul-city-TC that thirty CL among

18→ kyewu sey kay-man heka-lul hay-cwu-ess-supnita
only three CL-only approve-AC do-give-PST-DC:DEF
.h But the city of Seoul (0.3) only approved three out of thirty.

19→ kulayse cey-ka (0.3) way ilehkey insaykha-si-nya kulay-ss-teni,
so I-NM why like this be stingy-SH-Q say-PST-and then
So I (0.3) asked why (the mayor of Seoul) is being so stingy,

20→ .h *sewul*-si-ey enu kowi kongmwuwen-i (0.5)
Seoul-city-in some high-ranking official-NM

21→ ku sinmwu-eytaka: malssum-ul ha-sy-ess-eyo,
that newspaper-to say:hon. -AC do-SH-PST-DC:POL
and .h a high-ranking official working in Seoul city (0.5)
said in a newspaper

22→ .h ku-ke hay cwu-myen, cwupyun ttang-kaps-i ol-ase
that-thing do give-if around land-price-NM rise-because

23→ thukhyey-nikka mos hay cwu-nta:. (0.2)
preferential treatment-because cannot do give-DC:PLN
that if (the mayor) were to approve (all of them), the prices of the land around
the lots would rise, which would be (the same as) granting (that area)
preferential treatment, so he can't. (0.2)

24→ mwe kulehkey po-l swu-to iss-ciman
what like that see-can-also be-but
Well, (one) could view it like that,

25→ .h cen-un ku samsip kay pwuci-lul kac-taka (0.3)
I-TC that thirty CL lots-AC have-and then

26→ twuca sin[chengse-tul cwungeyse]
investment application-PL among
but as for me, with regards to those 30 lots, (0.3)
among (those) investment application forms,

27→ P: [hoksi eti-eti iss]-nunci
by any chance where-where be-OQ

28→ a-si-[nya-kwu]-yo,
know-SH-Q-QT-POL
(I asked) whether (you) know by any chance know where (they) are.

29 C: [ney: .]
yes
Yes.

30 C: wuli (0.2) sicangnim-kkeyse cinan pen:
our mayor.hon.-NM last time

31 chespenccay *kwanhwun*-tholonhoy nawa-se
first Kwanhwun-debate appear-and
(You,) our (0.2) mayor, appeared in the first Kwanhwun debate,

32 .hh ku *ttwuksem*-ey iss-nun:, keki pwuci-lul ka pw-ass-teni
that Ttwuksem-at be-RL there lot-AC go try-PST-and then

33 .hh mwe yeph-ey kongwen-to iss-ko
well next-at park-also be-and

34 pwuci-ka cop-ase an hay cwu-ess-ta
lots-NM small-because not do give-PST-DC
and (said that you) went to the lot in Ttwuksem and there was a park nearby and the lot was small so (you) didn't (give your approval).

35 ku-kes-[to hana toy-ci anh-keyss-supnikka.]
that-thing-also one become-COMM not-SUP-Q:DEF
Wouldn't that also be one (of those?)

36 P: [ku selun kwuntey-ka koyngcanghi]
that thirty CL-NM extremely

37 cwungyohan kos-[(i-nikka-yo,)]
important place-be-because-POL
Those thirty places are extremely important.

38 C: [kulayse]
so

39 kulayse cey-ka cikum malssum-tuli-l key-yo.
so I-NM now word:hon. -give:hon.-will -DC:POL
So so I will say one thing.

40 P: ney.
yes
Yes.

Extract (4.5) [Vacant Lots_1] in Korean

01 P: 어:: 정 후보님은: 서울에 (.) 이렇게 .hh 유휴부지가
02 어디에 다 있는지: 아시는지요.
03 C: 네:.
04 P: 그리고 어 또 .h 어: 그 열다섯 개:는
05 P: 개발하겠다.
06 저는 사실 의미. .h 그 이상 벌써
07 개발하고 있는데:,
08 .hh <어떤: 곳에 어떤: 것을> 개발하겠다고
09 하는 것인지.
10 C: km km ((throat clear))
11 P: 좀 묻고 싶습니다,
12 → C: p! ((lip parting)) 그:: 서울에
13 → 유휴부지가 한 삼- 삼십 군데 되는데요.
14 → .h 사실 ↑한 백군데 되죠.
15 → .hh 그 중에 삼십 곳은 서울시에,
16 → 투자 신청서를 냈죠:,
17 → .h 근데 서울시는 (0.3) 그 삽십 개: 중에
18 → 겨우 세 개만 허가를 해줬습니다.
19 → 그래서 제가 (0.3) 왜 이렇게 인색하시냐 그랬더니,
20 → .h 서울시에 어느 고위 공무원이 (0.5)
21 → 그 신문에다가: 말씀을 하셨어요,
22 → .h 그거 해 주면, 주변 땅값이 올라서
24 → 뭐 그렇게 볼 수도 있지만
25 → .h 저는 그 삼십 개 부지를 갖다가 (0.3)
26 → 투자 신 [청서들 중에서]
27 → P: [혹시 어디 어디 있]는지
28 → 아시[냐구]요, 6:39
29 C: [네:.]
30 C: 우리 (0.2) 시장님께서 지난 번:
31 첫번째 관훈토론회 나와서
32 .hh 그 뚝섬에 있는:, 거기 부지를 가봤더니
33 .hh 뭐 옆에 공원도 있고
34 부지가 좁아서 안 해 줬다
35 그것[도 하나 되지 않겠습니까.]
36 P: [그 서른 군데가 굉장히]
37 중요한 곳 [(이니까요,)]
38 C: [그래서]

39 그래서 제가 지금 말씀드릴게요.
40 P: 네.

C's response to P's questions, however, is resistant to them by being evasive. C does not identify the specific locations of the 30 vacant lots in Seoul, nor does he explain which 15 vacant lots he plans to develop or what he intends to build on them. Instead, C moves away from the knowledge and policy-probing agendas that P's questions have set and instead discusses the problematic aspects of P's current dealing of vacant lots. In doing so, C first points out that in fact the number of vacant lots in Seoul is not 30 but around 100, and 30 is the number of lots that submitted an investment application form to the city of Seoul (lines 12-16). By drastically increasing the number of vacant lots from 30 to 100, C intensifies P's image as a mayor who is negligent of the task of developing vacant lots, an image C has been seeking to establish. C then reiterates that the city of Seoul only approved three investment application forms out of 30 and characterizes this action as *ilehke insaykha-si-nya* 'being so stingy,' thus establishing the decision made by the city of Seoul, i.e., the mayor, as something extreme (lines 17-19).

Next, C depicts the reason for this decision as being disproportionately simple compared to the issue at hand by quoting a remark from a high-ranking official working in Seoul city (lines 20-23). Consider that according to the official's remark, the reason does not take into account other factors such as carefully weighing the benefits and costs of developing vacant lots and simply concerns the potential price increase around the lots and accordingly the issue of preferential treatment. Although C acknowledges that this could be a view one can take, he then suggests his disapproval of P's current management of vacant lots by revealing that he has a different plan. C builds this distinction by using linguistic devices that signal the contrast between P's decision of not developing the vacant lots as represented in the high-ranking

official's remark and C's own plan for developing them (lines 25-26): C uses the contrastive clausal connective *–ciman* 'but' at the end of the utterance *mwe kulehkey po-l swu-to iss-* 'one could view it like that' to linguistically signal that the following utterance presenting C's own plan for these lots is distinct from P's take on this issue. In introducing his own plan, C also uses the noun phrase *ce-nun* 'as for me,' which has the topic/contrastive marker *–nun* 'as for' and thereby conveys that his plan is different from P's current way of using the vacant lots.

Although C attempts to move away from the issue of his knowledge and focuses instead on negatively depicting P's current dealing with the vacant lots in Seoul, C's evasive response is suggestive of his potential ignorance of the specific locations of the 30 vacant lots in Seoul. Unless C does not know the answer to P's initial KQ that tests C's knowledge of the locations of the 30 vacant lots, there is no obvious reason for C to refrain from naming the locations, since identifying them would actually bolster his previous attack on P by showing that he is in fact well informed of the issue of vacant lots and that his criticism is well-grounded.

In face of C's evasive response (lines 12-26), what P does is to issue a follow-up KQ (lines 27 & 28) that targets exposing C's ignorance of the locations of the 30 vacant lots, which was implicit in his evasive response. In doing so, P designs his follow-up KQ in the format of a particular type of reported speech called *reduced indirect quotation* with *-nya-ko,* which P pronounced as *–nya-kwu* (i.e., hoksi eti eti iss-nunci *a-si-**nya-kwu**-yo*) (Yeon & Brown, 2011). According to Yeon and Brown (2011, p.394), this particular syntactic construction is employed "when the speaker repeats something he/she has previously said when the interlocutor fails to hear or heed his/her words." In light of Yeon and Brown (2011), we can understand that P is utilizing this reduced indirect quotation form to linguistically mark that his follow-up KQ is a repeat of his previous question, thereby suggesting that C's response to P's initial KQ did not

answer the question and thus merits the re-issuing of the same question. In brief, using *–nya-kwu*, P is explicitly registering the evasiveness of C's previous response and in turn conveying that his follow-up KQ is a measure to deal with this evasive response of C in the immediately prior turn.

P's follow-up KQ first appears to be unsuccessful, as C claims his knowledge of the locations of the 30 vacant lots in line 29 by emphatically confirming his knowledge with the affirmative token ney:. 'yes,' which is produced with elongation and loud volume as indicated with ':' and an underline. P's follow-up KQ, however, ends up being successful in displaying C's insufficient knowledge. In effect, C is able to provide only *one* location out of 30 (lines 31-35), i.e., *ku ttwuksem-ey iss-nun:, keki pwuci* 'the lot in Ttwuksem.' Interestingly, in doing so, C still attempts to shift the focus of the debate from his knowledge to P's negligence in managing vacant lots in Seoul. Note that C again portrays P as stingy in developing the 30 vacant lots by adding the unsolicited information that P did not approve the investment application form for the lot in Ttwuksem based on the reason that a park was nearby and the lot was small, which may be seen as insufficient reasons for turning the request down (lines 33-34).

Fourth, the questioners sometimes utilize their knowledge of the respondents' prior history of making false statements and subsequently target the displayed weakness of the respondents with KQs. This fourth context where KQs occur is different from the contexts examined so far in that the KQs occurring in this context are not responsive to the respondents' immediately prior talk but are connected to broader socio-interactional events. Unlike the KQs examined so far, such KQs include question prefaces in which broader socio-interactional events relevant to launching the KQs are verbally invoked.

Extract (4.6) below is an instance of this type of KQs. In this excerpt, before LJ issues a KQ, she builds a question preface that verbally invokes an incident of PK giving a wrong answer

to a KQ that tested PK's knowledge on - wage (lines 3-7). In reporting the previous incident of PK making a false statement, LJ provides detailed information on when and where it happened with the phrase *phalwel chilil-nal saynwuli-tang taysen-hwupo kyengsen tholonhoy-eyse* 'On August 7th, at the primary debate of the Saynuri Party' and thereby strengthens the credibility of her report.

Extract (4.6) [Minimum Wage]

01	LJ:	e ku choyce-imkum-ul olly-eya
		uhm that minimum-wage-AC increased-should
02		i pwun-tul walkup-i ollaka-nuntey,
		this people-PL monthly wage-NM increase-given that
		Uhm The minimum wage should be raised in order to increase the monthly wages of these people.
03→		phalwel chilil-nal *saynwuli*-tang taysen-hwupo
		August 7th-day Saynuri-Party presidential-candidate
04→		kyengsen tholonhoy-eyse
		primary debate-in
05→		*pak* hwupo-kkey ilen cilmwun wa-ss-ess-c(i)-yo?
		PK candidate-to like this question come-PST-PST-COMM-POL
		On August 7th, at the primary debate of the Saynuri Party,
		you received this question,
06→		choyce imkum elma-nci a-si-nya
		minimum wage how much-OQ know-SH-Q:PLN
		"Do (you) know how much the minimum wage is?"
07→		taytap mos ha-sy-ess-nuntey, yeccwup-ko [sip-supnita.]=
		answer not do-SH-PST-given that ask-want to-DC:DEF
		and (you) couldn't answer (the question).
08	PK:	[encey-yo?]
		when-Q:POL
		When?
09→	LJ:	=cikum choyce-imkum elma-nci:, .h
		now minimum-wage how much-OQ

10→ nay-nyen choyce-imkum-un elma-nci [:, tto]=
next-year minimum-wage-TC how much-OQ and

11 PK: [h h]
h h
hh

12→ LJ: =choyce-imkum-to mos pat-nun
minimum-wage-even not receive-RL

13→ notongca-tul elma-nci. (0.3)
worker-PL how many-OQ (0.3)

14→ kutongan com phaak↑ha-sy-ess-nunci-yo.
meantime a little grasp-SH-PST-OQ -POL
(I'd like to ask) whether (you)'ve grasped (0.3)
how much the minimum wage is now,
how much the minimum wage will be next year,
and how many workers there are that cannot even
receive the minimum wage.

15 PK: yey. ku choyce-imkum-kwa kwanlyenha-y kaci-ko,
yes that minimum-wage-with relate-have-and
Well, regarding the minimum wage (question that I previously received)

... *((To deal with L2's adversarial account of PK's gaffe in lines 3-7,*
PK explains why she was not able to answer the question
asking about the current minimum wage during the primary debate
... *of her own party))*

30 PK: choyce (0.3) e imkum::-ey tayhayse ku molu-n-ta-nun
minimum uhm wage-about that not know-IN-DC-RL

31 ke-nun mal-i an toy-cy-o:, yey.
thing-TC speech-NM not become-COMM-POL yes
(It) is absurd not to know about minimum wages, indeed.

32 LJ: elm[a- nka- yo?]
how much-Q-POL?
How much is (it)?

33 PK: [sachenopayk]phalsip wen.
4,580 won
4,580 won.

Extract (4.6) [Minimum Wage] in Korean

01	LJ:	어 그 <u>최저임금을</u> 올려야
02		이 분들 월급이 올라가는데,
03 →		팔월 칠일날 새누리당 대선후보
04→		경선 토론회에서
05→		박 후보께 이런 질문 왔었죠?
06→		최저 임금 얼만지 아시냐
07→		대답 못하셨는데, 여쭙고 [싶습니다.] =
08	PK:	[언 제 요?]
09→	LJ:	=지금 최저임금은 얼만지:, .h
10→		내년 최저임금은 얼만지[:, 또]=
11	PK:	[h h]
12→	LJ:	=최저 임금도 못 받는
13→		노동자들 얼만지. (0.3)
14→		그동안 좀 파악↑하셨는지요.
15	PK:	예. 그 최저임금과 관련해 가지고,
...		*((To deal with L2's adversarial account of PK's gaffe in lines 3-7,*
		PK explains why she was not able to answer the question
		asking about the current minimum wage during the primary debate
...		*of her own party))*
30	PK:	최저 (0.3) 어 임금::에 대해서 그 모른다는
31		거는 말이 안돼죠:, 예.
32	LJ:	얼ㅁ[ㅏㄴ가요?]
33	PK:	[사천오백팔]십 원.

With the aforementioned background information set in place, LJ issues a compound KQ that consists of three parts: a) the current amount of minimum wage, b) the minimum wage for the following year, and c) the number of workers whose wages are below the current minimum wage. What all three components of the KQ have in common is that they are scrutinizing PK's knowledge of minimum wage. This shows that PK's prior history of making a false statement regarding the amount of current minimum wage is not irrelevant to LJ's KQ. In addition, the phrase *kutongan* in *kutongan com phaak↑ha-sy-ess-nunci-yo* '(I'd like to ask) whether (you)'ve grasped (0.3))' in line 14, which refers to the period between when the incident happened and the

present and is translated here as present perfect, more explicitly shows that LJ's KQ is triggered by PK's gaffe of providing a wrong answer to the minimum wage question at another debate.

In responding to LJ's KQ, PK starts by dealing with LJ's account of her gaffe. Her response, which starts from line 15 and is omitted here for the sake of readability provides an explanation on why she was not able to correctly answer the minimum wage question during the primary debate of her own party. PK mentions that she misunderstood that the question was about the average hourly payment for part-time jobs and that her misunderstanding occurred because she received the question unexpectedly out of her turn to answer a question. The way PK prioritizes justifying the display of being unknowledgeable regarding the minimum wages during the incident reported by LJ over providing the answer to LJ's KQ shows that LJ's exposure of her gaffe is in itself detrimental to PK's own political image. This shows that invoking the social context of one's history of making a false statement as the background for issuing a KQ targeting that statement is in itself damaging to the candidate's face, independent from whether the candidate is able to answer the KQ or not. In this regard, the KQs triggered by candidates' history of making false statements are different from the ones triggered by candidates' immediately prior utterances that are interpretable as an indication of their ignorance. Consider that in the latter cases, if the candidates successfully answer the KQs, the damage that their prior utterances could have done on their political face is no longer effective.

After defending her side regarding LJ's account of her making a false statement regarding the minimum wage, PK proceeds to address LJ's question in lines 30-31 by claiming that she knows the amount of minimum wages, saying that it is absurd not to know about minimum wages. She does not, however, actually demonstrate her knowledge. This very behavior of PK provides the context for issuing a KQ as we have examined earlier in the analysis

of Extract (4.4). What LJ does in line 32 is to issue a KQ that specifically focuses on the amount of the current minimum wage and makes PK specifically name the amount—not just claim to have the knowledge—as the next relevant action.

Up to this point, we have examined four different sequential and broader social contexts where KQ occurs. What these different contexts have in common is that the potential vulnerability of the respondents to KQs is exhibited through the respondents' talk they made during the debates or prior to the debates. Unlike these aforementioned contexts, in the last context we turn to now, the respondents' vulnerability is not implicated in their talk but is assumed by taking into account their social identities as newcomer politicians who are new to the area they would like to represent. Extract (4.7) illustrates how the broader social context triggers the questioners' use of KQs as well as how the relevance of the broader social context to the KQs is invoked through question prefaces (and other devices.)

In Extract (4.7), CHJ and PJM are running to be a member of the National Assembly for the Eunpyeong-gu district. CHJ, who has several years of experience working for Eunpyeong-gu as a member of the Saynuri Party, asks a KQ that tests PJM's knowledge about the origin of the district name Eunpyeong and when the district was established (lines 9-12). The question preface in lines 1-3, 5, and 7-8, the grammatical design of the KQ in lines 9-12, and CHJ's response to PJM's answer in lines 33, 34, and 36-39 show that the emergence of his KQ uttered to PJM is related to the fact that PJM is a newcomer politician who is unfamiliar with the district he is running for.

Extract (4.7) [Eunpyeong-gu]

01→ CHJ: yosay incey *unphyeng*-ey (0.3)
these days now Eunpyeong-at

02→ manhi sayngsoha-si-l: they-ntey:,
very unfamiliar-SH-PRS NOM-given that

03→ manhunt [kong]pwu-lul ha-ko kyey-si-l kes kath-supnita.
a lot studying-AC do-and be:hon.-SH-PRS NOM seem-DC:DEF
These days (0.3) (you)'re probably very unfamiliar with Eunpyeong
and (I) expect that (you)'re studying a lot (about this place.)

04 PJM: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

05→ CHJ: [kulay]to .shh=
however
However, .shh

06 PJM: [yey: .]
yes
Yes.

07→ CHJ: =amwuli sayngsoha-si-telato i cengto-nun
no matter how be unfamiliar-SH-even though this degree-TC

08→ com al-ko kyey-si-ci anh-ulkka siph-ese:,
a little bit know-and be:hon.-SH-COMM be not-guess want-because
no matter how unfamiliar (you) are (with this place),
(I) think (you) would at least know this.

09→ .hh wuli *unphyeng*-kwu-lanun ilum. (0.5)
our Eunpyeong-gu-called name

10→ way *unphyeng*-kwu-ka twayss-nunci::. (.)
why Eunpyeong-gu-NM became-OQ
(I wonder) whether (you) by any chance know,
regarding our district name Eunpyeong-gu,
why (it) became named Eunpyeong-gu

11→ ku encey *unphyeng*-kwu-ka sayngky-ess-nunci:. (.)
that when Eunpyeong-gu-NM be established-PST-OQ

12→ hoksi al-ko kyey-si-nci.
by any chance know-and be:hon.-SH-OQ
and when Eunpyeong-gu was established.

13 (0.4)

14 PJM: .hh a:: (.) sasilun cey-ka
uhm in fact I-NM

15 keki-kkaci caseyhi al-ci-nun mosha-nuntey, (0.5)
there-up to in detail know-COMM-TC cannot-given that
Uhm, (.) actually, I don't specifically know about that, (0.5)

16 kwake *cosen*:-sitay ttay:: (.) twu kay-ey ey (.)
in the past Choseon-period the time two CL-of uhm

17 chang:-ey i- (0.2) ilum-ul hana-ssik ttawa-se: (0.3)
song-of name-AC one-each take-then

18 mantul-ess-ta: cengto-nun al-ko iss-kwu-yo, (0.2)
make-PST-DC degree-TC know be-and-POL
but what (I) do know is that they made (0.3) (the name) by taking
the na- (0.2) names of two uhm (.) Korean traditional narrative songs (.)
during the Choseon era in the past. (0.2)

19 *swusayk*-ilanun cimyeng-un hangsang cangma ttay-mata
Susaek-called name-TC always rainy season time-every

20 mwul-i manhi cha-se (0.4)
water-NM a lot be full of-because

21 kulen ilum-ul pwuthy-ess-ta. (0.3)
like that name-AC attach-PST-DC

22 i cengto-man al-ko iss-supnita. [yey.]
this degree-only know-and be-DC:DEF yes
And (I) know that (0.3) Susaek is named as such (0.4) because flooding always
happened in the area during the rainy season. That's it.

23 CHJ: [yey.] .h
okay
Okay.

24 *unphyeng*-kwu-ka encey sayngky-ess-nunci-nun:. (0.2)
Eunpyeong-gu-NM when be established-PST-OQ-TC

25 cenghwak[hakey.]
exactly
(Then, what about) when exactly Eunpyeong-gu was established?

26 PJM: [s .h]h (0.4) han talyak han opayk nyen
around about around 500 year

27 cen-ccum-ey (0.3) ku:: *unphyeng*-ilanun cimyeng-i
before-about-at that Eunpyeong-called name-NM

28 naw-ass-ta-lako al-ko iss-nuntey
come out-PST-DC-QT know-and be-given that
s.hh (0.4) To my knowledge, the name Eunpyeong was made (0.3) around 500 years ago,

29 mwe [thulli-l swu-to iss-ul] kes kath-supnita.
what wrong-PRS possibility-also be-PRS NOM seem-DC:DEF
but I could be wrong.

30 CHJ: [um : : : .]
Mm
Mm

31 CHJ: yey::.
okay
Okay.

32 (0.6)

33→ CHJ: .hh kulayto (.) amwuli sayngsoha-si-telato
however no matter how be unfamiliar-SH-although
.hh However, (.) no matter how unfamiliar (you) are (with Eunpyeong-gu),

34→ *unphyeng*-kwu h ((smile))
Eunpyeong-gu

35 PJM: eh [hehhehheh .h]
eh [hehhehheh .h]
eh hehhehheh .h

36→ CHJ: [ey tayhayse un- ha]
about

37→ (°yethun°) ku cengto-nun com (° icey°)
anyway that degree-TC please now

38→ kkok ccom swukciha-yss-umyen
surely please be fully aware of-PST-if

39→ coh-keyss-supni [ta. *unphyeng*-ilan]=
be good-will-DC:DEF Eunpyeong-called
regarding Eunpyeong-gu h, Eun-, at any rate, (I) request that (you) be knowledgeable of at least these things no matter what.

40 PJM: [al-keyss-supnita.]
know-will-DC:DEF
Okay.

41 CHJ: =ilum-un .hh sasil incey
name-TC actually now
The name Eunpyeong .hh actually ……

42 *((CHJ explains the origin of the name Eunpyeong and when Eunpyeong-gu was established.))*

Extract (4.7) [Eunpyeong-gu] in Korean

01→ CHJ: 요새 인제 은평에 (0.3)
02→ 많이 생소하실: 텐데:,
03→ 많은 [공]부를 하고 계실 것 같습니다.
04 PJM: [예.]
05→ CHJ: [그래]도 .shh=
06 PJM: [예:.]
07→ CHJ: =아무리 생소하시더라도 이 정도는
08→ 좀 알고 계시지 않을까 싶어서:,
09→ .hh 우리 은평구라는 이름. (0.5)
10→ 왜 은평구가 됐는지::. (.)
11→ 그 언제 은평구가 생겼는지:. (.)
12→ 혹시 알고 계신지.
13 (0.4)
14 PJM: .hh 아:: (.) 사실은 뭐 제가
15 거기까지 자세히 알지는 못하는데, (0.5)
16 과거 조선:시대 때:: (.) 두 개에 에 (.)
17 창:에 이- (0.2) 이름을 하나씩 따와서: (0.3)
18 만들었다: 정도는 알고 있구요, (0.2)
19 수색이라는 지명은 항상 장마때마다
20 물이 많이 차서 (0.4)
21 그런 이름을 붙였다. (0.3)
22 이 정도만 알고 있습니다. [예.]
23 CHJ: [예.] .h
24 은평구가 언제 생겼는지는:. (0.2)
25 정확 [하게.]

26 PJM: [s .h]h (0.4) 한 대략한 오백년
27 전쯤에 (0.3) 그:: 은평이라는 지명이
28 나왔다라고 알고 있는데
29 뭐 [틀릴 수도 있을] 것 같습니다.
30 CHJ: [음 : : : .]
31 CHJ: 예::.
32 (0.6)
33→ CHJ: .hh 그래도 (.) 아무리 생소하시더라도
34→ 은평구 h ((smile))
35 PJM: eh [hehhehheh .h]
36→ CHJ : [에 대해서 은- 하]
37→ (°여튼°) 그 정도는 좀 (°이제°)
38→ 꼭 쫌 숙지했으면
39→ 좋겠습니[다. 은평이란]=
40 PJM: [알겠습니다.]
41 CHJ: =이름은 .hh 사실 인제
42 *((CHJ explains the origin of the name Eunpyeong and when Eunpyeong-gu was established.))*

To begin with, before CHJ issues the KQ, he issues a question preface in lines 1-2 that provides background information about the opponent PJM. More specifically, CHJ explicitly points out that PJM is likely to be very unfamiliar with Eunpyeong-gu and thus is probably studying a lot about the district. By doing so, CHJ portrays PJM as a figure who is likely not that well informed about the district to the extent that he needs to study *a lot* about the district to improve his knowledge and understanding of it, and thereby invokes PJM's social identity as a newcomer who does not know that well about Eunpyeong-gu.

Then, in lines 5, 7, and 8 CHJ provides other background information by stating the reason why he will issue the particular upcoming question to PJM with the use of the reason-marking causal connective suffix–*ese.* The offered reason is that CHJ thinks PJM would at least know the answer regardless of how unfamiliar he is with Eunpyeong-gu. Although this remark of CHJ is quite brief, it serves several important functions especially with regards to how to interpret the upcoming question and PJM's response. First, it re-emphasizes PJM's unfamiliarity

with the district as seen in *amwuli <u>sayng</u>soha-si-telato* 'no matter how unfamiliar (you) are (with this place).' In particular, note that CHJ produces the expression 'be unfamiliar' with an emphasis as indicated by the underline below its first syllable (i.e., *<u>sayng</u>soha-si-telato*). Second, it shows that the upcoming question is a KQ that deals with the issue of PJM's knowledge by saying *i cengto-nun com al-ko kyey-si-ci anh-ulkka siph-ese:,* '(I) think (you) would at least know this.' Third, it presents the substance of the question as something very basic and essential which even someone as unfamiliar to the district as PJM would know. Fourth, as a ramification of the third function, it makes PJM's failure to answer the upcoming KQ be read as a proof of just how unfamiliar PJM is with the district. Fifth, it functions as a nice cover for the very adversarial aspect of the upcoming question in that it explicitly states CHJ's expectation that PJM should be able to answer the upcoming KQ rather than fail it.

So far we have looked at how CHJ uses question prefaces to emphasize PJM's unfamiliarity with the district and set up an interpretative framework that guides the audience to read PJM's failure to answer the upcoming KQ as an indication of how seriously unfamiliar he is with the district. The relevance of PJM's social identity as a newcomer who is not acquainted with the district that well as a trigger for CHJ's KQ is further observable in the grammatical design of CHJ's KQ. Note that CHJ frames his KQ that asks about the origin of the district name Eunpyeong and the timing of the district's establishment with the expression *hoksi <u>al</u>-ko kyey-si-nci. '(I wonder) whether (you) by any chance know.'* By including the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance' in the framing expression, CHJ makes the indirect yes/no question to anticipate a 'no' answer that acknowledges PJM's lack of knowledge and displays how unfamiliar PJM is with the district.

CHJ's expectation that PJM will not know the answer of the KQ, which is embodied in the grammatical design of the KQ, becomes even more interesting when it is compared to his earlier remark. Note that in lines 7-8 of the question prefaces, CHJ has expressed the exact opposite view by stating that PJM would know the answer to the KQ. The pessimism encoded in the grammatical design regarding the possibility that PJM would know the answer to KQ thus shows that the positivism overtly expressed in CHJ's earlier remark is a mere cover to hide the intended adversarial function of the KQ. In other words, it is to expose that PJM is so unfamiliar with the district that he does not even possess very basic and essential knowledge about it. The function of the KQ as a device to expose PJM's utter unfamiliarity with the district implicit in its grammatical design thus reveals that the social identity of PJM as a newcomer to the area is what makes CHJ issue the KQ.

How CHJ's stance towards PJM's unfamiliarity with the district functions as the ground for launching the KQ is also visible in his follow-up comment to PJM's response to the KQ. In responding to CHJ's KQ, PJM explicates that the district name Eunpyeong originated from the names of two Korean traditional narrative songs during the Choseon era (lines 16-18) and the district name was made around 500 years ago. Following PJM's response is CHJ's request that PJM should be knowledgeable of the origin of the district name Eunpyeong and the time when the district Eunpyeong-gu has established (lines 33, 34, and 36-29). This remark of CHJ thus implies that PJM does not know about these matters. In other words, it construes PJM's response as incorrect.

In issuing the request and constructing PJM's image as an uninformed candidate, note that CHJ again emphasizes PJM's unfamiliarity with the district by starting his remark with the clause *kulayto (.) amwuli sayngsoha-si-telato* 'However, (.) no matter how unfamiliar (you) are

(with Eunpyeong-gu),' even though it would be perfectly fine to leave this clause out. CHJ's highlighting of PJM's unfamiliarity with the district thus further shows that what CHJ is seeking to accomplish through his KQ is proving PJM's serious unfamiliarity with the district and consequently his lack of basic knowledge of it. After issuing the comment, CHJ proceeds to provide the correct answer to his own KQ in the form of informing the opponent PJM (lines 39, 41-43), thereby projecting himself as a person who is well acquainted with the district and has an understanding of its fundamental historical facts unlike PJM.

This section so far has shown that questioners issue KQs to the respondents when they have strong grounds to believe that the respondents are vulnerable to the KQs. To begin with, the vulnerability of the respondents to KQs became visible to the questioners through the talk the respondents made during or prior to the debates. For instance, in responding to policy/promise-soliciting questions, the respondents displayed their insufficient knowledge or lack of it regarding the matters being asked about either by initiating a repair or by providing overly general polices/promises (e.g., Extracts (4.1)-(4.3)). What immediately followed the respondents' responses was the questioners' improvised KQs that zeros in on the respondents' emergent knowledge issues, thereby departing from their initial line of questioning that was focused on their respondents' policies/promises. In responding to KQs, the respondents also showed their ignorance by claiming knowledge without demonstrating it or by issuing evasive responses, thereby providing the grounds for the questioners to issue the same KQ in a more explicit and focused manner (e.g., Extracts (4.4)-(4.5)).

Besides the aforementioned cases where the vulnerability of the respondents emerged in the course of questioning and responding during the debate, there were cases where the questioners utilized their knowledge of the respondents' prior history of making false statements

and targeted the displayed weakness of the respondents with KQs (e.g., Extract (4.6)). KQs occurring in the latter context were different from the ones mentioned earlier in at least two ways. First, they were not responsive to the respondents' immediately prior talk but were connected to broader social events, which were invoked as relevant context with the use of question prefaces. Second, they did irreparable damage on the respondents' face by invoking the respondents' history of making false statements as the context for issuing the current KQs. Note that regardless of whether the respondents are able to answer the current KQs or not, the respondents cannot nullify the fact that in the past they indeed did not know about the matters that are being re-tested with the current KQs.

In addition to the talk the respondents produced during or prior to the debates, the vulnerability of the respondents to KQs may be assumed in light of the respondents' social identity as a newcomer politician who was unfamiliar with the district (e.g., Extract (4.7)). The questioners were oriented towards the social background of their opponents as a newcomer to the area they are running in, as displayed in the question prefaces of KQs (and other elements of their talk), and used KQs as a means to display how seriously the respondents are unfamiliar with and thereby uninformed of their districts.

The finding that the questioners issued KQs when they had strong grounds to believe that the respondents did not know the answers to the KQs show that the questioners used KQs in contexts where KQs are most likely to bear fruit in terms of proving the uninformed status of the respondents. This again reveals that KQs are interactional means to expose the respondents' ignorance as I have already discussed in Section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3. The finding that the questioners paid close attention to not only the respondents' immediate preceding remark but also the broader social events and social identity as the grounds for launching KQs show that

broader social contexts are essential in understanding the emergence of KQs in addition to the immediately prior talk.

4.3. In the Context of Undermining Respondents' Promises/Claims

KQs occur not only in the context where the questioners of KQs have good reason to believe that the respondents do not have the knowledge requested by the KQs, rendering their attack through KQs most likely to be successful, but also where questioners are involved in the sequential project of undermining the respondents' promises/claims. In this sequential context, the function of KQs as a means to expose the respondents' ignorance serves as a vehicle to reveal that the respondents do not have adequate understanding or knowledge to follow through with their own promises or that the respondents' claims are groundless.

Campaign promises and claims have in common the characteristic of not being a fact; thus, their credibility is always at issue. In other words, nobody knows for sure whether the politicians issuing them will actually follow through with their promises. In addition, unless one follows social issues or public affairs closely, it is very difficult for a layperson to verify the claims politicians make on the campaign trail. What the questioners achieve by using KQs is to expose that a particular promise/claim the respondents made is ill-founded and thus untrustworthy. Especially, in cases where the promises/claims that are being verified by the questioners' KQs belong to or are closely tied to the respondents' major promises, the payoffs of using KQs are bigger than just revealing the respondents' lack of specific knowledge. This is because the lack of specific knowledge then indicates that the respondents do not even know much about what they are particularly keen to promise and thus are not that serious or sincere

about carrying them out. It would be very unlikely for the public to vote for a politician who does not seem to be committed to implementing his/her major campaign promises.

Extracts (4.8)-(4.11) below illustrate the occurrence of KQs in the context of undermining the respondents' campaign promises/claims. Extracts (4.8) and (4.9), where KQs are used to undermine the respondents' campaign promises, will be analyzed first, followed by the examination of Extracts (4.10) and (4.11), where KQs are used to undermine the respondents' claims. In particular, Extracts (4.8) and (4.10) will show how the promises/claims that are verified by KQs are tied to the politicians' major promises.

In Extract (4.8), which is part of Extract (3.6) introduced in Section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3, the questioner KJ is asking a KQ to the respondent OJ regarding the process of being designated a special zone (lines 4-6). Before asking the KQ, KJ places a prefatory remark mentioning the campaign promise OJ put forth as his biggest a few minutes ago during the debate, which was to bring economic sustainability to the district (lines 1-3)[6]. By doing so, KJ makes it clear that her

[6] The excerpt below, provided for readers interested in seeing how OJ presents his campaign promises during the debate, shows OJ announcing his biggest promise of developing Pohang into a world-class electric car industrial city and his plans to develop the city into the country's first special zone for the electric car industry to that end. (Note: Emphases on the excerpt are mine.)

"kulayse ce-nun i-pen cenke-eyse tepwule toyakha-nun phohang-ul
wihan tayanghan kongyak-ul yaksokhay-ss-ciman, <u>tayphyocekulo</u>
phosukho chelkang-tosi-ey ie seykyeycekin cenki-cha sanep-tosi-lo phohang-ul yuksenghay-se
hyanghwu payk-nyen-un mek-ko sa-l kekceng-eps-nun
tepwule toyakha-nun phohang-ul mantul-kyess-ta-nun yaksok-ul tuli-pnita."

"So I've promised you many things (in order) to build a Pohang (city) where together we'll go forward. <u>Above all</u>, (I) promise that I will bring Pohang, in addition to being a Posco steel [industry] city, into becoming a world-class electric car industry city and build a Pohang where everyone will thrive together and will not have to worry about making a living for the next 100 years."

Then OJ adds details of his promise by saying that he will move electric car manufacturing and related parts industries and development institutions into the Youngil Bay area. Afterwards he continues as follows:

"kuliko kwuknay choycho cenki-cha sanep thukkwu-lo palcen-siky-e naka-kyess-supnita"

KQ is related to gauging whether OJ has the knowledge necessary for keeping his most important promise of establishing a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry in the district.

Extract (4.8) [Special Zone for Electric Car Industry_2]

01→	KJ:	cikum cenki-cha sanep thukkwu-lul
		now electric-car industry special zone-AC
02→		cikum hanpen .h ciceng- e:
		now once designation uhm
03→		mantul-ko siph-ta hay-ss-nuntey
		make-want to-DC say-PST-given that
		Just now (you) said that you wanted to try making
		a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry,
04→		i thukkwu: ciceng-ul:, ettehkey ha-myen
		this special zone designation-AC how do-if
05→		patu-l swu iss-nunci
		receive-can be-OQ
06→		hoksi .hh mwe: (1.0) malssumha-y cwu-si-l swu iss-supnikka?=
		by any chance what tell:hon. -and give-SH-can-Q:DEF
		so could (you) by any chance .hh uhm (1.0) tell (me)
		how (we) can receive the designation as a special zone?
07	OJ:	=yey.=
		yes
		Yes.
08	KJ:	a h [yey.] ((with smile))
		oh okay
		Oh h Okay.
09	OJ:	[iltan]: (1.1) wuli icey *phohang*-ey::
		first of all we now Pohang-in
10		icey: (0.4) ey peplyulcek kwaceng::ilanun kes-un .hh
		now uhm legal process-be-called NOM-TC

"And *(I) will develop Pohang into the country's first special zone for the electric car industry*."

11 iltan kwukhoy::-wa i hayngceng-kwancheng,
first National Assembly-and this administrative-office

12 hayngcengpwu-lul: thonghayse (.) e chwungpwunhi
administration-AC through uhm thoroughly

13 kemtho toy-eya ha-l mwuncey-ko .hh ……
examination become-must-PRS problem-and
Now first of all, (1.1) the legal processes of (designating a special zone) (0.4) uhm in Pohang .hh is an issue that should first be thoroughly examined (.) uhm by the National Assembly and the executive branch of the administrative office .hh …….

Extract (4.8) [Special Zone for Electric Car Industry_2] in Korean

01→ KJ: 지금 전기차 산업 특구를
02→ 지금 한번 .h 지정- 어:
03→ 만들고 싶다 했는데
04→ 이 특구: 지정을:, 어떻게 하면
05→ 받을 수 있는지
06→ 혹시 .hh 뭐: (1.0) 말씀해 주실 수 있습니까?=
07 OJ: =예.=
08 KJ: = 아 h [예.] ((with smile))
09 OJ: [일단]: (1.1) 우리 이제 포항에::
10 이제: (0.4) 에 법률적 과정::이라는 것은 .hh
11 일단 국회::와 이 행정관청,
12 행정부를: 통해서 (.) 어 충분히
13 검토 되어야 할 문제고 .hh ……

Unlike the KQs introduced in Section 4.2 where the questioners have firm ground to believe that the respondents are susceptible to KQs, note that in this excerpt, OJ has not shown any indication of being uninformed of the process involved in designating an area as a special zone. Rather, OJ is strongly expected to possess the knowledge that is being tested with KJ's KQ in that promising to establish a Special Zone for Electric Car Industry presupposes having the knowledge of relevant procedures.

Although there exist no signs of OJ's vulnerability to the KQ, KJ seems to employ the KQ to reap the great benefit of undermining OJ's biggest campaign promise as a whole. If she

successfully shows that OJ does not have the specific knowledge essential to realize his promise, she can reveal that OJ is not sincere or serious enough in keeping his most significant promise. The function of KJ's KQ as a vehicle to undermine OJ's main promise by exposing OJ's ignorance on the designation process seems to influence the KQ's grammatical design. More specifically, KJ designs the KQ with the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance'. Since yes/no questions with a negative polarity item such as *hoksi* 'by any chance' prefer a no-answer to a yes-answer, KJ's KQ makes OJ's response disaffirming his knowledge favorable over an affirming one (see Section 5.2 of Chapter 5 for more information on the preference organization of yes-no questions).

OJ's response to KJ's KQ is rather interesting. In line 7, OJ issues an affirmative token *yey* 'yes' loudly as indicated by the underline (yey) and thereby quite strongly affirms his knowledge of the special zone designation process. In line 7 KJ's follow-up response portrays this response of OJ as somewhat unexpected, evident by her interjection *ah* 'oh' and a laugh token before receiving OJ's response with a *yey* 'okay' as well as a smile. By doing so, KJ reveals her stance towards OJ as a politician who is unlikely to know much about his own promise.

In spite of OJ's knowledge claim that is done with the affirmative token *yey* 'yes,' OJ fails to display the contents of his knowledge on how to receive the designation as a special zone. In lines 9-13, he states generally that legal processes should first be thoroughly examined by the National Assembly and the executive branch of the administrative office. He, however, is unable to expound on the specific processes pertaining to establishing a special zone. OJ's failure in providing a correct answer thus brings to KJ the success of undermining OJ's biggest promise,

proving that KJ's pessimism towards OJ's knowledgeability implicated in the grammatical organization of KJ's KQ and KJ's aforementioned follow-up response was right.

Extract (4.9) is another instance of KQs occurring in the context of undermining the respondents' campaign promises. In this excerpt, the questioner JB issues a compound KQ that consists of two parts. First, it tests the respondent KD's knowledge of industrial complexes in Jincheon County, which is within JB and KD's district, that is, whether KD knows the number of industrial complexes that are being built in the area (lines 4-5, 7). Second, it also tests the respondent KD's knowledge of what industrial complexes are in the middle of being prepared to be built (lines 6-7).

In doing so, the questioner JB first provides background information by using a question preface that introduces KD's campaign promise, just as the questioner KJ did in Extract (4.9) (lines 1-3). More specifically, JB points out that KD said he would establish more industrial complexes in Jincheon County in his voters' pamphlet. This question preface is very interesting in that it is in fact misrepresenting KD's promise. What KD promised in his voters' pamphlet was that he would expedite the construction of industrial complexes within Jincheon County, not that he would establish more industrial complexes (see the second promise listed in Figure 4.1). Nevertheless, this question preface makes JB's KQ more than a tool to test JB's specific knowledge about the industrial complexes that are being developed /will be developed in the area. Rather, this question preface makes it clear to the audience that JB's KQ is a means to gauge KD's knowledge about *his own* campaign promise. KD's promise of establishing more industrial complexes as paraphrased by JB's question preface implies KD's adequate understanding of the current situation of the industrial complexes in the area and KD's judgment that their district needs more industrial complexes in addition to the ones that are being developed or will be

developed. Thus, KD failing this KQ can now mean that KD is making an empty promise that he does not really know much about.

Extract (4.9) [Industrial Complexes]

01→ JB: ku: senke:: kongpo-ey po-myen:: *cinchen* ciyek:-ey ku: .h
that election pamphlet-in see-if Jincheon county-in that

02→ santan:-ul te: ce chwucinha-keyss-ta::
industrial complex-AC more that over there establish-will-DC:PLN

03→ ilen malssum-ul ha-si-nuntey
like this word:hon.-AC say-SH-given that
In the voters' pamphlet of (yours),
(you) said (you) would establish .h more industrial complexes
in Jincheon County.

04→ .h cikum *cinchen*-ciyek-ey
now Jincheon-county-in

05→ ku cipang-santan:-i myech kay-ko
that district-industrial complex-NM how many CL -and

06→ cikum .h ce e- e- etten kes-tul-i cinhayng-toy-ko
now that over there what thing-PL-NM process-be-and

07→ iss-nunci-nun phaakka-ko kyey-si-pnikka?
be-OQ-TC grasp-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
.h Do (you) even grasp how many industrial complexes (are
being developed) in Jincheon County now and .h uhm wha- wha-
what industrial complexes are in the process of being prepared
(to be developed) now?

08 (0.5)

09 KD: cipang-santan-i cikum: .h *sinchek*-santan-hako
industrial complex-NM now Sincheok-industrial complex-and

10 *sanswu*-santan-hako
Sansu-industrial complex-and

11 *mwunpayk*-cengmil-kikyey-santan:
Munbaek-precision-machinery-industrial complex

12 cikum malssum .h e tuli-nun ku-ke
now word:hon. uhm give:hon.-RL that-thing

13 malssumha-si-nun ke-pni[kka?]
talk:hon.-SH-RL thing-Q:DEF
Are (you) talking about the industrial complexes that
(I) am telling .h uhm (you) right now, .h the Sincheok Industrial Complex, Sansu Industrial Complex, and Munbaek Precision Machinery Industrial Complex?

14 JB: [a] ko oyey cikum
well that beside now

15 ce :: (0.2) ku inceng p- inka pat-un kes-kkaci
that over there that acceptance approval receive-RL thing-up to

16 cenpwu ilkop kay:-ka: ((with eyebrow raising))
all seven CL-NM

17 cikum cwucintoy-ko iss-nun[tey-yo]=
now in the process-and be-given that-POL
Well, including those (three) and uhm (0.2) the ones that have received (governmental) approval, there are in total seven industrial complexes that are being developed or will be developed.

18 KD: [°yey. °] ((with nodding))
I see
I see.

19 JB: =yeki-eytaka .h mew-l ettehkey te
here-to what-AC how more

20 hwatay-lul ha-si-keyss-ta-[nun malssum-(i-pnikka.)]
expansion-AC do-SH-will-DC-RL word:hon. -be-Q:DEF
What more .h are (you) going to add onto them, and how?

21 KD: [ani keki-ey cik]um
well there-at now

22 ku:: kwukpi-ka twuiptoy-nun:, ku-wa kath-un
that governmental fund-NM be added-RL that-to like-RL

23 (tto) kikan:: .hh tolo-lal-kka ilentey yeysan-hwakpo-ka
also major road-be called-Q like this budget-secure-NM

24 cikum cenhye an toyko iss-nun pwupwun-i
now at all not become-and be-RL part-NM

25 manh-ci anh-supnikka:.
a lot-L. NET -Q:DEF
Well, isn't it true that (we) are having issues with securing governmental funds for these (industrial complexes) such as the budget for building major .hh roads leading into them?

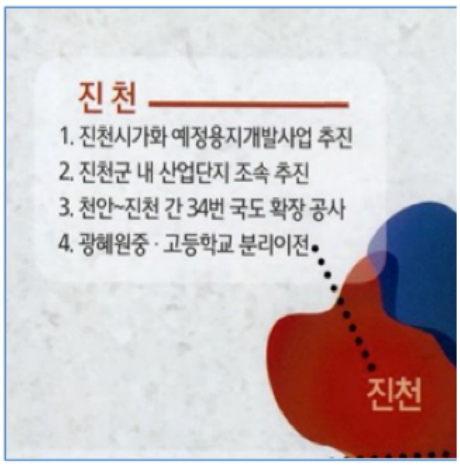
26 ku-kes-ul .hh e: kwukhoy-ey ka-myen-un com:
that-thing-AC uhm National Assembly-to go-if-TC a little bit

27 .h cekkukcekulo cwucinhay-se:,
actively push forward-and

28 cwumin-tul-i soksiwenhakey
resident-PL-NM enormously liberating

29 com haykyelha-l swu iss-tolok .h kulehkey
a little bit resolve-can-be-in order that like that

30 nolyekha-keyss-ta-nun kulen chwici-c(i)-yo:.
make an effort-will-DC-RL like that purpose-COMM-POL
What (I) intended was that if (I get elected as a member of the National Assembly) and .hh uhm go to the National Assembly, .h (I) would actively push for (the construction of these industrial complexes) and try harder .h to resolve (such issues) for the residents.

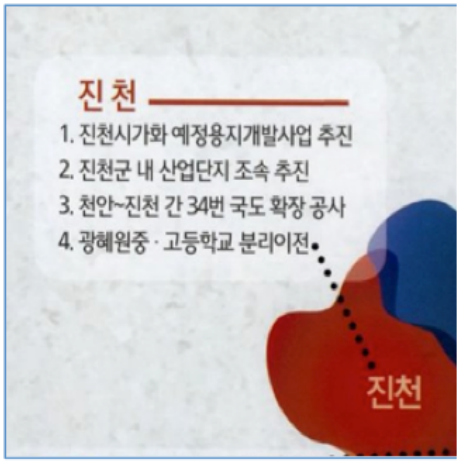


Jincheon
1. Implement the planned urbanization lot development project for Jincheon urbanization.
2. Expedite the construction of industrial complexes within Jincheon County.
3. Expand national highway 34 between Cheonan and Jincheon
4. Separate Kwanghyewon Middle School from Kwanghyewon High School

Figure 4.1. KD's Campaign Promises for Jincheon

Extract (4.9) [Industrial Complexes] in Korean

01→ JB: 그: 선거:: 공보에 보면:: 진천 지역:에 그: .h
02→ 산단:을 더: 저 추진하겠다::
03→ 이런 말씀을 하시는데
04→ .h 지금 진천 지역에
05→ 그 지방산:단이 몇 개고
06→ 지금 .h 저 어- 어- 어떤 것들이 진행되고
07→ 있는지는 파악하고 계십니까?
08 (0.5)
09 KD: 지방산단이 지금: .h 신척산단하고
10 산수산단하고
11 문백정밀기계산단:
12 지금 말씀 .h 어: 드리는 그거
13 말씀하시는 겁니[까?]
14 JB: [아] 고 외에 지금
15 저:: (0.2) 그 인정ㅂ- 인가 받은 것까지
16 전부 일곱 개:가: ((with eyebrow raising))
17 지금 추진되고 있는[데요.]=
18 KD: [°예. °] ((with nodding))
19 JB: =여기에다가 .h 뭘 어떻게 더
20 확대를 하시겠다[는 말씀 (입니까.)]
21 KD: [아니 거기에 지]금
22 그: : 국비가 투입되는:, 그와 같은
23 (또) 기간: .hh 도로랄까 이런데 예산확보가
24 지금 전혀 안 되고 있는 부분이
25 많지 않습니까:.
26 그것을 .hh 어: 국회에 가면은 좀:
27 .h 적극적으로 추진해서:,
28 주민들이 속시원하게
29 좀 해결할 수 있도록 .h 그렇게
30 노력하겠다는 그런 취지죠:.



Jincheon
1. Implement the planned urbanization lot development project for Jincheon urbanization.
2. Expedite the construction of industrial complexes within Jincheon County.
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Figure 4.1. KD's Campaign Promises for Jincheon

The grammatical design of JB's KQ further supports its function as a device to undermine KD's promise. More specifically, the topic/contrast marker *–nun* that is located at the end of the complement clause *.h cikum cinchen-ciyek-ey ku cipang-santan:-i myech kay-ko cikum .h ce e- e- etten kes-tul-i cinhayng-toy-ko iss-nunci-**nun*** 'how many industrial complexes (are being developed) in Jincheon County now and .h uhm uh uh what industrial complexes are in the process of being prepared (to be developed) now' (lines 4-7) embodies JB's expectation of KD's ignorance regarding the substance of the KQ. Like the English focus adverb 'even' (e.g., Does your crush *even* know you exist?), the particle *–nun* portrays the substance of JB's KQ as the most basic knowledge KD should possess. At the same time, the particle *–nun*, used in the interrogative, functions like a negative polarity item and thereby indexes JB's low expectation for KD to actually have this very basic knowledge, knowledge that KD should possess for his promise of adding more industrial complexes to Jincheon County, as JB's question preface put it, to seem well thought out and implementable.

In responding to JB's KQ that aims to expose KD's lack of the knowledge essential to his own promise and therefore undermine that promise, KD does not point out that JB's portrayal of

his promise is incorrect, which, in effect, endorses it. Furthermore, by failing to provide a complete and accurate answer to JB's KQ, KD himself actually participates in constructing his image as an uninformed candidate. In discordance with the original terms of JB's KQ, KD provides the names of three industrial complexes (i.e., the Sincheok industrial complex, Sansu industrial complex, and Munbaek precision machinery industrial complex) in lines 9-13 rather than providing the number of the industrial complexes that are being developed in Jincheon County. In doing so, KD designs this turn as an interrogative that seeks JB's confirmation on his proposed answer, thereby revealing his uncertainty while portraying JB as a knowledgeable figure who can evaluate the correctness of his answer. In addition, KD does not even address the second part of JB's question that asks KD to identify the names of the industrial complexes that will be developed later.

What follows KD's unsuccessful dealing with JB's KQ is JB's explanation on how many industrial complexes are being developed or will be developed in Jincheon County. In lines 14-17 JB points out that there are in total seven industrial complexes that are being developed or will be developed including those mentioned by KD and highlights the number seven by raising his eyebrows. This information given by JB is not worded in a way that exactly matches the terms used in his own KQ, but it clearly shows that unlike JB, KD is not aware of the presence of four other industrial complexes that will be developed in the district besides the three industrial complexes KD listed earlier. KD's ignorance is further observable in the way he receives JB's explanation with °*yey.*° (I see) (line 18).

After mentioning that seven industrial complexes in total are in the making, in lines 19 and 20 JB takes issue with KD's promise—or more accurately, JB's version of KD's promise—by asking him to clarify what more he plans to add onto the seven industrial complexes and how

he plans to achieve it. In other words, JB is implicitly pointing out that Jincheon County will already have a sufficient number of industrial complexes and thus KD's promise of establishing more industrial complexes, which is based on KD's insufficient understanding of the current situation of the industrial complexes in the area, is very unlikely to happen.

JB's KQ in lines 4-7 as well as his follow-up questions in lines 19-20 attacking the feasibility of KD's campaign promise as JB put it seem to be quite successful. Note that in this discourse situation where KD has accepted JB's version of KD's promise as unproblematic, KD's utterance in lines 21-30 is read as KD backing down from his initial position of establishing more industrial complexes and recasting his promise to be about actively carrying forward the existing industrial complex projects and resolving issues related to them. This action of recasting then can mean KD's implicit admission that establishing more industrial complexes in the area is unlikely to be carried out.

The analyses of Extracts (4.8) and (4.9) have shown that KQs can occur in the context where the questioners seek to undermine the respondents' campaign promises. What follows below are two instances of KQs (i.e., Extracts (4.10-a) and (4.11)) that appear in the context where the questioners attempt to undermine the respondents' claims. In the case of Extract (4.10-a), as mentioned earlier, the respondent's claim that is being verified by the KQ is closely tied to the respondent's major campaign promise. For this reason, the analysis of Extract (4.10-a) will proceed as follows: the analysis of how the KQ comes up in the context of undermining the respondent' claim will be presented first, and the analysis of how this claim is linked to the respondent's major campaign will be presented next.

The interactants of Extract (4.10-a) are KJ and KM, who are running to be the mayor of Gimhae city. In lines 9-10, the challenger KJ is addressing a KQ to the incumbent KM regarding

whether KM knows how many tap water inspection items the city of Gimhae has. The question preface in lines 1-8, the increment in line 12, and the subsequent remarks by KJ and KM in lines 18-25 reveal that KJ's KQ is employed to undermine KM's claim that the city's tap water is safe.

Extract (4.10-a) [Tap Water]

01→ KJ: ku tamey .hh swutoy-mwul-i ancenha-ta-ko
that next tap-water-NM be safe-DC-QT

02→ kulay ha-si-nuntey .hh
like that say-SH-given that
And next, .hh (you) keep saying that tap water is safe, .hh

03 wuli *kimhay*-si-nun: .h i swutos-mwul kemsa kicwun-ul:, (0.6)
our Gimhae-city-TC this tap-water inspection criteria-AC

04 cikum tayphok kanghwa-lul hay-ya toy-pnita. (0.6)
now drastically reinforce-AC do-must-DC:DEF
but our Gimhae city .h has to drastically reinforce
these tap water inspection criteria right now. (0.6)

05 ike (0.3) swu-cil kemsa hangmok-to
this water-quality inspection item-also

06 *seykyeypokenkikwu*-uy (0.7) kikwu swucwun-i-n (.)
World Health Organization-POS organization level-be-RL

07 yuksip- (.) paykyuksipsey kay hangmok-i: .h
sixty one hundred sixty three CL criteria-NM

08 isang-ulo nully-eya toy-nuntey
more than-to increase-must-given that
These (0.3) water quality examination items should be increased
to the World Health Organization's (0.7) Organization's level of (.) sixty-
(.) one hundred sixty three items or .h even more than that.

09→ wuli *kimhay*-si-ey-nun myech kay hangmok-i-n cw-ul
our Gimhae-city-in-TC how many CL item-be-OQ-AC

10→ al-ko iss-supnikka.
know-and be-Q:DEF
Do (you) know how many items our Gimhae city has?

11 (1.0)

12→ KJ: kulehkey ancenha-ta-ko malssumha-si-nuntey:.
like that be safe-PLN-QT say:hon. -SH-given that
As (you) keep saying that (it)'s safe.

13 (0.5)

14 KM: ani myech kay hangmok-i-ke-n kaney: .hh
well how many CL item-be-thing-regardless of
Well, regardless of how many items there are, .hh

15 wuli ce: *kim*-uywen-keyse: (0.7) e,=
our that over there KJ-candidate-NM uhm
(you), our uhm candidate KM, (0.7) uhm,

16 KJ: =kulenikka wuli *kimhay*-kath-un kyengwu-nun: (0.3)
I mean our Gimhae-like-RL case-TC
I mean in the case of our Gimhae, (0.3)

17 KM: [ku-] [ku : ,]
that that
it- it

18 KJ: [payk] (.) [yel kay-uy]
hundred ten CL-POS

19 hangmok kemsa-lul ha-ko iss-nun[tey : ,]
item inspection-AC do-and be-given that
(we) examine one (.) hundred ten items.

20 KM: [a kunt]ey
well but

21 ku payk- paykyel kay han-un:
that one hundred one hundred ten CL do-RL

22 hang:mok-i-[kena: (payki)sip kay hangmok-i-kena:]
item-be-or one hundred twenty CL item-be-or
Well, but whether (it)'s uhm one hundred- one hundred ten items, or one hundred twenty items,

23 KJ: [ce-nun: wuli simin-i ansimha-ko]
I-TC our citizen-NM without worrying-and

24 sa-l swu-iss-nun:, an[cenhan *kimhay*-ka toy-ki wihayse-nun:,]
live-can-be-RL safe Ginhae-NM become-in order to-TC
(***In) my (view), in order to make Gimhae safe for our citizens to live in without worrying,***

25 KM: [swutos:-mwul-un ancenha-pnita.]
tap-water-TC be safe-DC:DEF
the tap water is safe.

(4.10a) [Tap Water] in Korean

01→ KJ: 그 담에 .hh 수돗물이 안전하다고
02→ 그래 하시는데 .hh
03 우리 김해시는: .h 이 수돗물 검사 기준을:, (0.6)
04 지금 대폭 강화를 해야 됩니다. (0.6)
05 이거 (0.3) 수질 검사 항목도
06 세계보건기구의 (0.7) 기구 수준인 (.)
07 육십- (.) 백육십세 개 항목이: .h
08 이상으로 늘려야 되는데
09→ 우리 김해시에는 몇 개 항목인줄
10→ 알고 있습니까.
11 (1.0)
12→ KJ: 그렇게 안전하다고 말씀하시는데:.
13 (0.5)
14 KM: 아니 몇 개 항목이건 간에: .hh
15 우리 저: 김의원께서: (0.7) 어,=
16 KJ: =그러니까 우리 김해같은 경우는: (0.3)
17 KM: [그-] [그 : ,]
18 KJ: [백] (.) [열 개의]
19 항목 검사를 하고 있는[데 : ,]
20 KM: [아 근ㄷ]게
21 그 백- 백열 개 하는:
22 항:목이[거나: (백이)십 개 항목이거나:]
23 KJ: [저는: 우리 시민이 안심하고]
24 살수있는:, 안[전한 김해가 되기 위해서는:,]
25 KM: [수돗:물은 안전합니다.]

To begin with, let us take a look at the question prefaces in lines 1-8 that set a context for the occurrence of the KQ. The question preface shows that KJ, who is the questioner of the KQ,

has been involved in undermining KM's claim that the city's tap water is safe. In doing so, KJ first introduces KM's claim by pointing out that KM keeps saying that tap water is safe. Afterwards, in lines 3-4 KJ addresses the necessity for drastically reinforcing tap water inspection standards, which normally includes both the adjustment of the standard values of certain inspection items and the addition of new inspection items. In lines 5-8 KJ zeros in on the issue of the number of tap water quality inspection items and argues that the city should increase the number to more than the World Health Organization's level of 163 items— that is, the number recommended by an internationally renowned and accredited organization.

KJ's call to improve the city's current standards for tap water inspection including increasing the inspection items implies KJ's view that the current tap water quality inspection standards are not fully reliable in securing the safety of tap water quality. This implication has bearing on KM's claim regarding the safety of tap water. This is because this claim, which is not based on thorough tap water quality monitoring standards, may not hold true. Furthermore, KJ's portrayal of the current tap water quality inspection standards as inadequate reveals KJ's stance that although KM is claiming the safety of tap water, he is not really paying attention to securing its safety through thorough tap water quality monitoring. In other words, KJ portrays KM as a politician who is all talk but no action.

In the course of undermining KM's claim of the safety of tap water, KJ issues the KQ that specifically tests KM's knowledge of the number of tap water quality inspection items the city currently has in lines 9-10. This KQ, which aims at proving that KM does not know about the current tap water quality inspection standards the city has, serves the function of casting doubt on KM's claim in that it appears in the sequential context where KJ seeks to undermine KM's claim. The working of the KQ is as follows: KM's failure in providing the number means

that he does not know much about monitoring tap water quality and is not that devoted to securing the safety of the tap water, which in turn entails that KM's claim of the safety of the water lacks objective ground and thereby lacks credibility.

The relevance of KJ's KQ to KM's claim as a means of discrediting it is further supported by KJ's addition of the increment *kulehkey ancenha-ta-ko malssumha-si-nuntey:.* 'As (you) keep saying that (it)'s safe.' This increment clearly establishes KM's claim as relevant background information that should be taken into account in understanding the use of KJ's KQ as indicated in the use of the clausal connective *–nuntey,* which frames the utterance marked with it as relevant background information (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p.297). Therefore, the increment informs the audience (and the analysts) that KJ's KQ should be understood in reference to KM's claim.

KM's response to KJ's KQ shows that KM indeed does not know the number of the tap water inspection items: instead of affirming that he knows the number and saying it, KM resists KJ's KQ. More specifically, KM starts his turn in line 14 with the marker of resistance *ani* 'well,' which indicates that the response KM will give intends to reject and block the action agenda set by KJ's KQ of making the relevant next action either KM's affirmation and display of his knowledge or a disaffirmation of it (Kim, 2011). Then, in line 14 KM renders the knowledge of the number of tap water quality inspection items the city current has as irrelevant to what he is going to say by using the phrase *myech kay hangmok-i-ke-n kaney:* 'regardless of how many items there are' and thereby attempts to move away from the issue of his knowledge. In the subsequent line, KM tries to establish a new topic by mentioning KJ.

In spite of KM's attempt to shift attention away from his knowledge and thereby escape from KJ's attack on the credibility of KM's claim that the tap water is safe, KJ resuscitates the

topic of the number of tap water quality inspection items that their city currently has in lines 16, 18, and 19. Right after KM shows difficulty continuing his talk with a sound stretch, a 0.7 second pause, and the filler *e* 'uhm,' KJ usurps KM's turn-in-progress and provides the answer that their city examines 110 items, which displays KJ's understanding that KM is ignorant of the substance of his KQ and is thus unable to provide an answer to it, and by extension, that KM's claim about the safety of tap water is groundless.

KJ's remark in lines 23 and 24 reveals further evidence that the goal of KJ's KQ in lines 9 and 10 is to undermine KM's claim about the safety of tap water. In these lines, KJ tries to introduce measures that can make the city Gimhae safe for the citizens to live in without worry, which implies that Gimhae is not safe as it is. Moreover, KM's response to KJ's answer provides even clearer evidence regarding the purpose of KJ's earlier KQ. In lines 20-22 and 25, KM says that whether it is 110 items or 120 items, the tap water is safe. By emphasizing that the number of the water quality inspection items does not affect the credibility of his claim about tap water safety, KM explicitly defends his claim and thereby displays his understanding that KJ's KQ is targeting the credibility of his claim by exposing the insufficiency of his knowledge of the matter at hand.

So far we have examined how KJ's KQ in lines 9 and 10 emerged in the context where KJ attempted to undermine KM's claim that the city's tap water is safe. What follows next is the analyses of how KM's claim is linked to one of his major promises and how KJ's attack on KM's claim can undermine KM's important campaign promise. In order to understand the relevance, it is necessary to look into the larger sequential context in which the exchange shown in Extract (4.10-a) is embedded. This is because it is during the larger sequential context where KJ deliberately establishes the relevance between the issue of the city's tap water quality and

KM's campaign promise. As shown in Extract (4.10-b) below, prior to the exchange in Extract (4.10-a) KJ pointed out that KM put forth making Gimhae safe as his top priority and that he even mentioned just a moment ago that Gimhae city checks safety-related issues 24 hours a day (lines 1-7).

Extract (4.10-b) [Safe Gimhae]

01	KJ:	.hhh yey. *kimmayngkon* hwupo:: (.)-nun.	
		yes KM candidate-TC	
02		"ancenha *kimhay* mantulki" choy-wusen kongyak-ulo	
		safe Gimhae making top-priority campaign promise-as	
03		nayseyw-ess-ko. (0.2)	
		give-PST-and	
		Okay. Candidate KM put "making Gimhae safe"	
		as (his) top-priority campaign promise, (0.2)	
04		ccokum-cen-ey-to sumwulney- tappyen-ul ha-myense::. (0.4)	
		a while-ago-at-also twenty four answer-AC do-while	
05		mwe sumwul-ney sikan-ul:. ancen-ul wihayse	
		what twenty-four hour-AC safey-AC for	
06		cemkem-ul ha-ko iss-ta:.	
		monitoring-AC do-and be-DC	
07		ilehkey malssum-ul ha-sy-ess-nuntey:. .shhh	
		like this word:hon. -AC say-SH-PST-but	
		and also, just a while ago, twenty four- he said in his answer, (0.4)	
		(365 Safety Center) was monitoring the city	
		twenty four hours a day for (its) safety. .shhh	
08		wuli *kim(.)mayngkon* hwupok-keyse cayim sicel-ey:,	
		our KM candidate-NM in office while-at	
09		palsaynghan allynminyum kicwuchi chokwa. (0.3)	
		happen aluminum standard exceeding	

10 swutos-mwul kongkup-sako. (0.5) al-ko kyey-si-c(i)-yo.
tap-water supply-accident know-and be-SH-COM-POL
(***Candidate KM), (you) do know about the incident***
where tap water with levels of aluminum exceeding the standards was
distributed while you were in office, don't you?

11 (0.5)

12 (KM): (cey-)
my
My-

13 (0.3)

14 KJ: yey. ancenha *kimhay*-ka toy-l swu iss-ulci
yes safe Gimhae-NM become-can-OQ

15 simhi wulye-ka khu-nte-yo:,
deeply concern-NM big-given that-POL
Well, (I)'m deeply concerned
whether (it)'s possible [for you] to make Gimhae safe.

Extract (4.10-b) [Safe Gimhae] in Korean

01 KJ: .hhh 예. 김맹곤 후보:: (.)는.
02 "안전한 김해 만들기" 최우선 공약으로
03 내세웠고. (0.2)
04 쪼금전에도 스물네- 답변을 하면서::. (0.4)
05 뭐 스물네 시간을:. 안전을 위해서
06 점검을 하고 있다:.
07 이렇게 말씀을 하셨는데:. .shhh
08 우리 김(.)맹곤 후보께서 재임 시절에:,
09 발생한 알류미늄 기준치 초과. (0.3)
10 수돗물 공급사고. (0.5) 알고 계시죠.
11 (0.5)
12 (KM): (제-)
13 (0.3)
14 KJ: 예. 안전한 김해가 될 수 있을지
15 심히 우려가 큰데요:,

Against the backdrop of KM's campaign promise of making the city safe, KJ brings up a safety-related incident that occurred during KM's service as the mayor, which obviously shows KM's negligent attitude towards safety issues (lines 8-10). The incident concerned tap water

containing aluminum in excess of its permissible limit being supplied to the citizens. KJ then expresses his serious doubt regarding whether KM can indeed make the city safe as he promised, which reveals that KJ's mentioning of the tap water incident has to do with showing that KM is not committed to his own promise of making the city safe (lines 14-15). Afterwards, KJ asks a series of questions that interrogate KM's mishandling of the tap water incident and starts to attack KM's claim about the safety of the city's tap water as shown in Extract (4.10-a).

The larger sequential context where KJ's KQ is embedded thus shows that KJ's KQ is not only a device to undermine KM's claim but also a vehicle to attack KM's most important campaign promise, i.e., making the city of Gimhae safe. By conveying to the public that KM's continuing ignorance about the knowledge pertinent to monitoring the tap water quality even after the unfortunate incident is the epitome of KM's negligence of safety issues, KJ is trying to show not only that KM's claim of the safety of tap water is groundless, but also that KM's promise for the city's safety, which should include securing the safety of the tap water, is not trustworthy.

Now, let us examine another instance of KQs that appear in the context of undermining the respondents' claims. In Extract (4.11), part of which was introduced earlier in Extract (4.5), P, the incumbent mayor of Seoul, employs a KQ in the context where he is dealing with the challenger C's claim about P's negligent management of vacant lots in Seoul, a claim C has actively propagated in his voters' pamphlets and during other debates. In lines 1-4 P introduces C's claim that P approved the development of only three of the 30 vacant lots in Seoul, leaving the rest of the vacant lots unused. In lines 5-10, P, however, rebutted C's claim by saying that except for the four lots that were judged to be unsuitable, he is already in the middle of developing or preparing to develop 19 of these 26 lots.

Extract (4.11) [Vacant Lots_2]

01→ P: *ceng* hwuponim:-un *sewul*-si-ka yuhyu-pwuci selun kos cwungey.
C candidate:hon.-TC Seoul-city-NM vacant-lots thirty CL among

02→ h cey-ka sey kay-pakkey .hh ey:: hekaha-ci anh-ass-ta, (0.2)
I-NM three CL-only uhm approve-COMM be not-PST-DC
You said that the city of Seoul, or I, approved
(the development) of only 3 of the 30 vacant lots (in Seoul), (0.2)

03→ kukuko (.) nolli-ko iss-ta.
and unused-and be-DC

04→ ilen malssum-ul ha-sy-ess-nuntey-yo,
like this word:hon. -AC say-SH-PST-given that-POL
and that I'm leaving (the rest of them) unused.

05 .hh *sewul*-si-nun: ku selun kos cwungey:,
Seoul-city-TC that thirty CL among

06 .hh ikey pwulka phanceng-ul pat-un
like this unsuitable judgement-AC receive-RL

07 ney: kos-ul ceyoyha-ko
four CL-AC exclude-and
.hh Except for the 4 lots out of the 30 that were judged to be unsuitable,

08 .hh sumwulyeses kwuntey. (0.4) cwungeyse:,
twenty six CL among

09 yelhahop kwuntey-nun imi kaypalha-kena
nineteen CL-TC already develop-or

10 kaypal-ul .h cwunpi-cwung-i-pnita. (0.7)
development-AC preparation-in the middle of-DC:DEF
the city of Seoul is already in the middle of
developing or preparing .h to develop 19 of (0.4) these 26 lots. (0.7)

11→ P: e:: *ceng* hwuponim-un: *sewul*-ey (.) ilehkey .hh yuhyupwuci-ka
uhm C candidate.hon.-TC Seoul-in like this vacant lot-NM

12→ eti-ey ta iss-nunci: a-si-nunci-yo.
where-at all be-OQ know-SH-OQ-POL
Uhm (I wonder) whether you know where in Seoul (.) uhm .hh
all the vacant lots are.

13 C: ney:.
yes.
Please continue.

... *((8 lines where P adds one more question that requests J to provide the details of J's campaign promise of developing at least 15 vacant lots in*
... *Seoul are omitted.))*

22 C: p! ((lip parting)) ku :: *sewul*-ey
that Seoul-in

23 yuhuy-pwuci-ka han sam- samsip kwuntey toy-nuntey-yo.
vacant-lots-NM about thir- thirty CL become-given that-POL
p! There are around thir- thrity vacant lots in Seoul.

24 .h sasil ↑han payk kwuntey toy-c-yo.
in fact about one hundred CL become-COMM-POL
.h In fact, there are around one hundred.

25 .hh ku cwungey samsip kos-un *sewul*-si-ey,
that among thirty CL-TC Seoul-city-to

26 thwuca sinchengse-lul nay-ss-c(i)-yo:,
investment application-AC submit-PST-COMM-POL
.hh Among them, thirty lots submitted an investment application form to the city of Seoul.

27 .h kuntey *sewul*-si-nun (0.3) ku samsip kay: cwungey
but Seoul-city-TC that thirty CL among

28 kyewu sey kay-man heka-lul hay-cwu-ess-supnita
only three CL-only approve-AC do-give-PST-DC:DEF
.h But the city of Seoul (0.3) only approved three out of thirty.

… *((8 lines where J introduces a remark from a high-ranking official working in Seoul city that explains why the mayor of Seoul is being so strict in approving the development of vacant lots and starts to present his*
... *plans for the vacant lots are omitted.))*

37 P: [hoksi eti-eti iss]-nunci
by any chance where-where be-OQ

38 a-si-[nya-kwu]-yo,
know-SH-Q-QT-POL
(I asked) whether (you) know by any chance know where (they) are.

Extract (4.11) [Vacant Lots_2] in Korean

01→	P:	정 후보님:은 서울시가 유휴부지 서른 곳 중에 .
02→		h 제가 세 개밖에 .hh 에:: 허가하지 않았다, (0.2)
03→		그르고 (.) 놀리고 있다.
04→		이런 말씀을 하셨는데요,
05		.hh 서울시는: 그 서른 곳 중에:,
06		.hh 이케 불가 판정을 받은
07		네: 곳을 제외하고
08		.hh 스물여섯 군데. (0.4) 중에서:,
09		열아홉 군데는 이미 개발하거나
10		개발을 .h 준비중입니다. (0.7)
11→	P:	어:: 정 후보님은: 서울에 (.) 이렇게 .hh 유휴부지가
12→		어디에 다 있는지: 아시는지요.
13	C:	네:.
...		*((8 lines where P adds one more question that requests J to provide the details of J's campaign promise of developing at least 15 vacant lots in*
...		*Seoul are omitted.))*
22	C:	p! ((lip parting)) 그:: 서울에
23		유휴부지가 한 삼- 삼십 군데 되는데요.
24		.h 사실 ↑한 백 군데 되죠.
25		.hh 그 중에 삼십 곳은 서울시에,
26		투자 신청서를 냈죠:,
27		.h 근데 서울시는 (0.3) 그 삽십 개: 중에
28		겨우 세 개만 허가를 해줬습니다.
…		*((8 lines where J introduces a remark from a high-ranking official working in Seoul city that explains why the mayor of Seoul is being so strict in approving the development of vacant lots and starts to present his*
...		*plans for the vacant lots are omitted.))*
37	P:	[혹시 어디 어디 있]는지
38		아시[냐구]요,

In the context of undermining C's claim, P employs a KQ in lines 11-12 that tests C's knowledge of the locations of all the vacant lots in Seoul in order to further disprove the credibility of C's claim. If C is unable to display sufficient knowledge about where the 30 vacant lots are, then it indicates that C does not even know the very basic information about the vacant lots he is making a claim about.

In dealing with P's KQ that aims at discrediting C's claim, C not surprisingly provides a resistant response. Instead of confirming or disconfirming his knowledge of the location of the 30 vacant lots, C provides unsolicited extra information about the vacant lots in Seoul. In lines 22-26, C mentions that there are in fact 100 vacant lots, and that the 30 vacant lots P is talking about are the ones for which investment applications were submitted. C's action of giving this extra information is interesting in that it portrays C as knowledgeable about the matter of vacant lots, the exact opposite of what P is trying to achieve through his KQ. In addition, C's mentioning of the existence of 100 vacant lots highlights P's negligent management of vacant lots, as C claimed earlier. C's evasive response continues throughout his response turn until the lines 37-38 where P re-issues his initial KQ and thereby re-directs the focus onto C's knowledge as well as the credibility of C's claim against P.

So far this section has examined the emergence of KQs in the sequential context of undermining the respondents' promises/claims by analyzing Extracts (4.8)-(4.11). In all the examples, the questioners established the relevance of the respondents' promises/claims as the context for using KQs by introducing the respondents' promises/claims as question prefaces before they issued the KQs. In Extract (4.10-a), the questioner KJ even repeated the respondent KM's claim after his KQ as an increment to emphasize its relevance to his KQ.

Located after such question prefaces, these KQs were employed as a device to expose how the respondents did not have sufficient knowledge to follow through with their promises or to support their claim, and thereby to attack the credibility of the respondents' promises/claims. In particular, KQs that sought to undermine the respondents' major promises or claims that were connected to their major promises as in Extracts (4.8) and (4.10-a) seemed to be a powerful debate strategy in that beyond the specific substance of the KQs, they revealed the respondents'

ignorance and incompetence about what they were promising importantly. Such connections between KQs and the respondents' major promises were made either when KQs dealt with the matters that were relevant to what the respondents explicitly proclaimed as their major campaign promises during the debates (e.g., Extract (4.8)) or when the questioners of KQs discursively constructed the relevance through their talk (e.g., Extract (4.10-a)).

4.4. In the Context of Having Failed the Opponent's Previous KQs: Using KQs as a Tit-For-Tat Strategy

KQs can emerge in the sequential context of the current questioners turning the tables on their opponents who previously issued KQs to them. In this sequential context, the current questioner, who failed his/her opponent's previous KQs, direct different KQs that cover the same domain of knowledge or essentially the same KQs to his/her opponent. By doing so, the current questioner seeks to show that his/her opponent, who had earlier taken the position of testing the questioner's knowledge, is not so knowledgeable about the issue in question as s/he had portrayed himself/herself to be. Rather, s/he has the same flaw of not possessing sufficient relevant knowledge. Extracts (4.12) and (4.13) below illustrate the cases in point.

In Extract (4.12), after failing to answer a series of K's KQs about knowledge concerning the Citrus Research Institute, W turns the tables on K in lines 35-37 and asks him a KQ, which is different from K's previous KQs but still deals with a specific fact related to the Citrus Research Institute. Because K's previous KQs serve as the sequential context for the emergence of W's KQ, the emergence of K's initial KQs and their functions will be examined before we focus on W's KQ.

Extract (4.12)[New Tangerines_2]

01 K: akka po-nikka (.) kamkyul (0.4) cin-phwumcong
a short while ago see-when tangerines new-variety

02 kaypal::-[ey cwulyek]ha-keyss-ta sayngkakha-nuntey: (0.5)=
development-at focus-will-DC think-given that
I noticed before (.) that (you) were thinking of focusing on developing new varieties (0.4) of tangerines, (0.5)

03 W: [yey : .]
yes
Yes.

04 K: =*kamkyul-yenkwu-so* (0.4)
tangerine-research-institute

05 com tany-epw-ass-ess-[supnikka?]
a little bit visit-try-PST-PST-Q:DEF
so have (you)visited (0.4) the Citrus Research Institute often?

06 W: [yey yey.] cacwu tuli-cyo.
yes yes often visit-COMM:POL
Yes, yes. (I) visit (there) often.

07 K: *kam*[*kyul*] -*yenkwu-so*-ey=
tangerine-research-institute-at
At the Citrus Research Institute,

08 W: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

09 K: =inwen-i myech myeng-i-pnikka? cacwu tuli-nuntey?
number-NM how many CL-be-Q:DEF often visit-given that
how many people are there? Since (you) drop by often?

10 (0.8)

11→ W: cikum::: sam: samsip (.) han
now thir thirty about

12→ i sam myeng cengto toy-na-yo?
two three CL extent become-Q-POL
Are there currently around thir- thirty (.) two or three?

13 K: i[sip- yenkwuwen-un] isip myeng-ey pwulkwa[ha-pnita]:,
twenty researcher-TC twenty CL-at there is only-DC:DEF
Twenty- as for the researchers, there are only twenty researchers.

14 W: [yey. yey. yey.] [yey yey.]
yes yes yes yes yes
Yes. Yes. Yes. ***Yes. Yes.***

15 (0.2)

16 K: yeysan-NM elmana toy-pnikka? il nyen yeysan-i?
budget-NM how much become-Q:DEF one year budget-NM
How much is the budget in a year? The annual budget?

17 (1.3)

18→ W: ku yeysan-ey tayhayse-n cal mo[lu-keyss-supnita. yey.]
that budget-about-TC well not know-SUP-DC:DEF yes
Regarding the budget,
I don't know (about the budget very) well. That's all.

19 K: [ku yeysan-ta ku]
that budget-and that

20 taum-ey al[eyn]tipi. (.)=
next-at research and development
Moving on from the budget
to the (costs) for research and development, (.)

21 W: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

22 K: =[phwum]cong kaypalha-nun[tey]=
variety develop-given that

23 W: [yey.] [yey.]
yes yes
Yes. ***Yes.***

24 K: =yeysan-un elma cengto tuleka-pnikka?
budget-TC how much extent enter-Q:DEF
how much is the budget (for the institute) for developing (tangerine) varieties?

25→ (.)

26 K: .hh ikey kamkyul-uy sin-pwuncong-ul
this tangerine-POS new-variety-AC

27 kaypal:ha-keyss-ta-ko ilehkey [hay] noh-umyense=
develop-will-PLN-QT like this say put-while
.hh (You) said (you) were going to (focus on) developing new varieties of tangerines.

28 W: [((unintelligible))]

29 K: =*kamkyul-yenkwu-so*-lul cal ala-ya toy-pnita.
tangerine-research-institute-AC well know-must-DC:DEF
Then, (you) have to know the Citrus Research Institute well.

30 *kamkyul*-[*yenkwu-so* nemwu] yelakha-pnita.
tangerine-research-institute very poor-DC:DEF
The Citrus Research Institute is extremely lacking.

31 [((W smiles, looking at K))]

32 i *kamkyul-yenkwu-so*-lul ani-(.) ani-n ke-y ani-la
this tangerine-research-institute -AC not not-RL NOM-NM not-but

33 kwukka kikwan yenkwu-so tapkey,
national institute research-institute be like

34 .h yenkwuwen-to manhi nulli-ko.
researcher-also a lot increase-and

35 .h yeysan-to manhi ciwenha-l swu iss-tolok
budget-also a lot support-can-be-in order to

36 ce-[ka ha-y na]ka-keyss-supni[ta.]
I-NM do-and go forward-will-DC:DEF
I will truly do (my best) .h to increase the number of researchers and .h the amount of budget that is allocated, to suit its status as a national research institution.

37→ W [kulemyen] [ci]kum kam:kyul-lul
then now tangerine-AC

38→ cikum kamkyul yenkwu-lul ha-ko iss-nun
now tangerine research-AC do-and be-RL

39→ yenkwuwen-un myeh pwun cengto-n (.) ci a-sy-eyo?
researcher-TC how many CL extent-OQ know-SH-Q:POL
Then, do (you) know (.) approximately how many researchers there are right now who are (researching) tangerines, right now who are doing research on tangerines?

40 (0.5)

41 MOD: ca. yo mwuncey-[nun]
okay this question-TC
Okay, as for this question,

42 W: [hwu]ponim?
candidate
Candidate (K)?

43 MOD: twi-[ey tto tasi]
later-at also again
later in this debate,

44 K: [nacwungey hanpen]
later once

45 na-[hantey cil]mwun=
I-to question

46 W: [yey. yey.] ((responding to MOD))
yes yes
Yes. Yes.

47 K: =ha [(h)-si-psi(h)o.]
do-SH-IM:DEF
Ask me (that question) again later.

48 MOD: [hwupan-pwu-ey] tasi,
second half-part-at again

49 cwutokwen tholon-ul, tasi te kilkey
cross-examination debate-AC again more longer

50 tuli-keyss-supnita.
give-will-DC:DEF
(I) will give (you) more time for cross-examination later in this debate.

Extract (4.12)[New Tangerines_2] in Korean

01 K: 아까 보니까 (.) 감귤 (0.4) 신품종
02 개발:: [에 주력] 하겠다 생각하는데: (0.5)=
03 W: [예 : .]
04 K: =감귤연구소 (0.4)
05 좀 다녀봤었[습니까?]
06 W: [예 예.] 자주 들리죠.
07 K: 감[귤]연구소에=
08 W: [예.]
09 K: = 인원이 몇 명입니까? 자주 들리는데?
10 (0.8)
11→ W: 지금::: 삼: 삼십 (.) 한
12 → 이 삼 명 정도 되나요?
13 K: 이[십- 연구원은] 이십 명에 불과[합니다] :,
14 W: [예. 예. 예.] [예 예.]
15 (0.2)
16 K: 예산이 얼마나 됩니까? 일 년 예산이?
17 (1.3)
18 → W: 그 예산에 대해선 잘 모[르겠습니다. 예.]
19 K: [그 예산에다 그]
20 다음에 알[엔]디비. (.)=
21 W: [예.]
22 K: =[품]종 개발하는[데]=
23 W: [예.] [예.]
24 K: =예산은 얼마정도 들어갑니까?
25→ (.)
26 K: .hh 이게 감귤의 신품종을
27 개발:하겠다고 이렇게 [해] 놓으면서=
28 W: [( )]
29 K: =감귤 연구소를 잘 알아야 됩니다.
30 감귤[연구소 너무] 열악합니다.
31 [((W smiles, looking at K))]
32 이 감귤 연구소를 아니- (.) 아닌게 아니라
33 국가 기관 연구소 답게,
34 .h 연구원도 많이 늘리고.
35 .h 예산도 많이 지원할 수 있도록
36 저 [가 해나]가겠습니[다.]

37→ W: [그러면] [지]금 감:귤을
38→ 지금 감귤 연구를 하고 있는
39→ 연구원은 몇 분 정돈(.)지 아세요?
40 (0.5)
41 MOD: 자. 요 문제[는]
42 W: [후]보님?
43 MOD: 뒤[에 또 다시]
44 K: [나중에 한 번]
45 나[한테 질]문=
46 W: [예. 예.] ((responding to MOD))
47 K: =하[(h)십시오.]
48 MOD: [후반부]에 다시,
49 주도권 토론을, 다시 더 길게
50 드리겠습니다.

K's initial KQs about the Citrus Research Institute in lines 7, 9, 16, 19, 20, 22 and 24 emerge as a way to undermine W's promise of giving priority to developing new, improved varieties of tangerines that W had mentioned earlier in the debate as part of his tangerine industry policy. In lines 1 and 2 K invokes W's promise as relevant background information for understanding K's mentioning of the Citrus Research Institute, where research including developing new varieties of tangerines, improving the quality of tangerines, and managing diseases and pests that occur among tangerine varieties is conducted. Furthermore, in lines 26, 27, and 29, K even discursively establishes the knowledge of the current situation of the Citrus Research Institute as indispensible to implement W's promise.

K's use of the KQs becomes successful in showing that W does not know much about the Citrus Research Institute, as W fails to provide correct answers to these KQs, and by implication in revealing W's lack of knowledge to carry out his own promise. More specifically, W fails to provide the exact number of people working there (lines 11-12), and he is also unable to provide their annual budget (line 18) as well as the budget for the development of new tangerine varieties

(line 25). K's remark in lines 26, 27, and 29 further highlights W's apparent ignorance by expressing K's stance that W does not know this research institute that well even though he should in order to implement his own promise. Moreover, it evidently shows that K's successive KQs aim at undermining W's campaign promise by exposing the fact that W does not know that well about the research institute that is, from the perspective of K, at the heart of developing new tangerine varieties.

In addition to the aforementioned primary function of K's KQs, the KQs also have the secondary function of portraying K as knowledgeable about the current situation of the Citrus Research Institute, which, by implication, constitutes K as a figure who pays close attention to the improvement of the tangerine industry and is invested in bettering the Citrus Research Institute. The linguistic design of W's answer in lines 11and 12 to K's first KQ regarding the number of people working at the Citrus Research Institute and K's remarks in lines 30 and 32-36 provide evidence. To begin with, note that in lines 11 and 12 W designs his answer to K's first KQ in the form of a confirmation-seeking question with the question marker *–na* that indicates W's uncertainty towards the answer he is proposing (Jeong, 2018). By doing so, W displays his understanding that K, as a knowledge tester, possesses the knowledge that can confirm or disconfirm W's proposed answer.

Furthermore, K's remarks in lines 30 and 32-36 retrospectively configure K's informed status about the Citrus Research Institute and present measures to support this. In line 30 K reveals his understanding of the current situation of the institute by issuing a summative evaluation statement, i.e., that the Citrus Research Institute is extremely lacking. Then, in lines 32-36, K provides solutions for rebuilding the currently struggling institution by promising that he will increase the number of researchers and the size of budget that is allocated in order to suit

its status as a national research institution, which implies that he possesses the knowledge of the number of researchers at the Citrus Research Institute and the budget for it.

W's counter KQ occurs in this sequential environment where K, through his successive use of KQs and his follow-up commentary, is portrayed as a knowledgeable figure who can follow through with his promise while W is shown as the opposite. In lines 37-39, W asks K whether K knows how many researchers there are right now who are doing research on tangerines at the Citric Research Institute. By issuing this KQ, W, as a knowledge tester, positions himself as a knowledgeable figure regarding the substance of the KQ and K as a potentially uninformed figure, which is the exact opposite of what K had been pursuing through his successive KQs and follow-up commentary.

W's KQ is not exactly the same as K's previous KQs in that it is not one of K's previous KQs, but it is similar in that it is still dealing with knowledge regarding the Citric Research Institute. Thus, using the KQ, W can seek to reveal K's weakness as well as his own strength in the same area of knowledge.

W's KQ also has another function. It builds on K's promise to increase the number of researchers, as seen both in the use of the connective adverb *kulemyen* 'then, in that case,' which explicitly marks the relevance of the upcoming utterance to the prior utterance, and in its content that deals with the number of tangerine researchers. This shows that just as K's KQs aims at undermining W's promise, W's KQ also seeks to undermine K's promise. By exposing that K does not know the number of tangerine researchers that well, W seeks to show that K does not know the details of the current situation of the research institute as well as he presents himself to know, and by implication, he is not that committed to knowing the research institute as would have been necessary to successfully carry out his promise.

In the face of W's KQ that is employed as a tit-for-tat strategy, K initially produces no response, yielding a 0.5 second silence in line 40. Then, in line 42 W pursues K's response by adding the increment *hwuponim* 'Candidate (K),' explicitly calling for K's attention. However, W's pursuit of K's response becomes unsuccessful due to time constraints as seen in the moderator's remarks in lines 41, 43, and 48-50. Utilizing the time constraint as a resource to legitimately opt out of answering W's KQ, K closes W's KQ sequence by requesting W to ask the same question later with some laugh tokens in lines 44, 45, and 47, which suggest that K may not know the correct answer, since he could have utilized this turn to provide a quick answer to W's KQ.

Extract (4.13) includes another instance of KQs that occur in face of the opponent's previous KQ. Here, in a different debate, the current questioner K uses essentially the same KQ that the opponent W has directed to K first after spotting W's vulnerability to it through W's self-initiation of repair. First, let's take a look at K's initial KQ directed to W. At the time of the debate, issues pertinent to the expansion of the airport in the district—for instance, compensation for land acquisition, environmental noise pollution, and the implementation timeline for the airport expansion project—were considered as important. In covering the topic of airport expansion, W tests K's knowledge in lines 3-4 regarding the official name of the public petition office at the Seongsan-eup Office that was established to deal with various problems caused by the expansion. By doing so, K seeks to display W's ignorance regarding the matter and thereby portray W as being not that committed to following up with the residents' concerns regarding the airport expansion, since the public petition office is the governmental institute designated for addressing them.

Extract (4.13) [Official Name_2]

01 K: ku :: (.) hana ccom tul-epo-keyss-supnita.
that one a little bit listen-try-will-DC:DEF
(I) would like to hear (you) tell (me) one.

02 (0.6)

03 K: ku:: *sengsan*-up-samwuso-ey
that Seongsan-eup-office-at

04 selchitoy-n (0.4) konghang mil- (.)
be established-RL airport pup-

05 konghang-kwa kwanlyentoy-n minwen. (0.3)
airport-with be related-RL public petition
Regarding the public petition (office) (0.4) which was established at the Seongsan-eup Office to deal with pup- (.) public petitions (regarding problems) caused by (the expansion) of the airport, (0.3)

06 ku cengsik myengching-i mwe-pnikka?
that official name-NM what-Q:DEF
what is its official name?

07 (1.6) ((W keeps looking down and writing on paper))

08 W: s.hh ((tilting his head as a sign of uncertainty))

09 K: cengsik myengching.
official name

10→ W: ku: cengsik myengching-un: (0.3)
that official name-TC

11→ cal molu-keyss-supni[ta.]
well not know-SUP-DC:DEF
s.hh As for the official name (0.3), (I) don't know (it very) well.

12 K: [ku]leh-c(i)-yo. ((with head nods))
like that-COMM:POL
You don't.

13 [cengsik]=
official

14 W: [ey.]
okay
Okay.

15 K: =myengching,=
name
The official name.

16 W: =ey,=
okay
Okay.

17 K: =ku taum-ey cikum myech pwun cengto-ka
that next-at now how many CL degree-NM
Next, currently around how many people are

18 ku:: cikum ku: (0.6) ceki ce: (.) ceki (0.4)
that now that there that over there there
uhm right now, uhm (0.6) uhm uh (.) uhm (0.4)

19 konghang:-hawkchwung (0.3) e :: (.) ceki mwe-pnikka. (0.7)
airport-expansion uhm there what-Q:DEF
the Airport Expansion uhm (.) what is it, (0.7)

20→ W: etten: (0.4) [malssumha-y cwu-si-psio. yey.] yey.
what tell:hon. -give-SH-IM:DEF yes yes
Tell (me) please what (are you trying to say). (I)'m listening.

21 K: [ku ce ani ku]
that that over there I mean that
Uhm, uhm I mean uhm

22 K: .h cwumin-tul-i myech pwun cengto-ka ka-se. (0.4)
resident-PL-NM how many CL degree-NM go-and

23 ku [mwuncey:]-ey ce i=
that problem-at that over there this
.h Around how many residents went (there) (0.4)
and regarding the problems uhm uhm

24→ W: [ceki]
there
Well,

25→ W: =cey-key cey-key [mwul-ess-unikka [: .]]
I-to I-to ask-PST-because
(you are the one that) asked me (this question before),

26 K: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

27 K: [((looking down at his notes))]

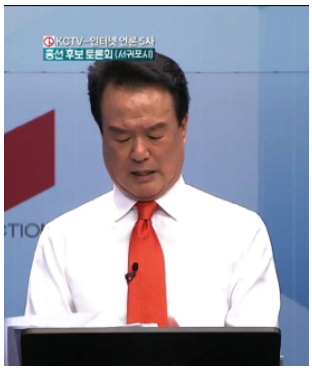


Figure 4.2. K Looking Down at His Notes

28 (.) ((K keeps looking at his notes))

29→ W: [ku ceng- cenghwakhan myengching-i mwe]-pnikka?=
that cor- correct name-NM what-Q:DEF
What ex- exactly is the (official) name?

30 K: [((K keeps looking at his notes))]

31→ W: =po-ci ma-si-ko
look-COMM stop-SH-and

32→ mal[ssumha-y cwu-(ko.) ce- .h]
speak-and give-and I
Tell (me) without looking.

33 K: [a po-ci anh-ulkkey-yo. po-ci]= ((K shakes his head 'no'))
ah look-COMM be not-will-POL look-COMM
Of course, (I) won't look.

34 W: =[ce-to po-myen]=
I-also look-if
If I- .h I look,

35 K: =[anh-ul ke-yey-yo. yey.]=
be not-PRS NOM-be-DC:POL yes
(I) won't look. Fine,

36→ W: =[yaykiha-l swu iss-supnita. yey.]
say-can-be-DC:DEF yes.
(I) can say (it) too. I can.

37 K: =[yey. yey. yey. yey.]
fine fine fine fine
Fine, fine, fine, fine.

38 (0.3)

39 K: ey:: konghang:-hwakcwung, (.)
uhm airport-expansion

40 K: e minwen:-cheli-ponpwu-pnita.
uhm civil petition- process-headquarter-DC:DEF
Uhm, (it's) Headquarters for uhm Processing Civil Petitions
(.) on Airport Expansion.

41 (0.4)

42 K: ey.
yes
Yes.

43 (0.4)

44 K: kuntey .h keki myech pen (0.7)
but there how many time

45 ceki ce: ka-ss-ta o-sy-ess-supnikka?
there that over there go-PST-and come-SH-PST-Q:DEF
By the way, .h how many times (0.7) have you uhm uh visited there?

46 (0.5)

47 W: um: .h ce-nun: ikey i-kos-ul:
uhm I-TC like this this-place-AC

48 pangmwunha-y po-ci-n mos ha-yss-supnita
visit-try-COMM-TC not do-PST-DC:DEF
Uhm, .h I uhm haven't been able to visit it (yet).

Extract (4.13) [Official Name_2] in Korean

01	K:	그:: (.) 하나 쫌 들어보겠습니다.
02		(0.6)
03	K:	그:: 성산읍사무소에
04		설치된 (0.4) 공항 밀- (.)
05		공항과 관련된 민원. (0.3)
06		그 정식 명칭이 뭡니까?
07		(1.6) ((W keeps looking down and writing on paper))
08	W:	s.hh ((tilting his head as a sign of uncertainty))
09	K:	정식 명칭.
10→	W:	그: 정식 명칭은: (0.3)
11→		잘 모르겠습니[다.]
12	K:	[그]렇죠. ((with head nods))
13		[정식]=
14	W:	[에.]
15	K:	=명칭,=
16	W:	=에,=
17	K:	=그 다음에 지금 몇 분 정도가
18		그:: 지금 그: (0.6) 저기 저: (.) 저기 (0.4)
19		공항: 확충 (0.3) 어:: (.) 저기 뭡니까. (0.7)
20→	W:	어떤: (0.4) [말씀해주십시오. 예.]예.
21	K:	[그 저 아니 그]
22	K:	.h 주민들이 몇 분 정도가 가서. (0.4)
23		그 [문제:]에 저 이=
24→	W:	[저기]
25→	W:	=제게 제게 물[었으니까[: .]]
26	K:	[예.]
27	K:	[((looking down at his notes))]

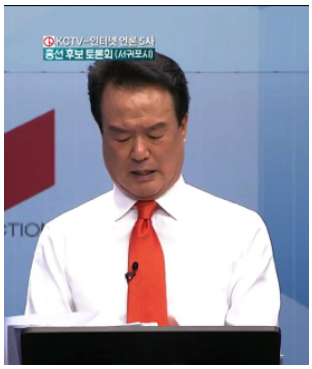


Figure 4.2. K Looking Down at His Notes

28		(.) ((K keeps looking at his notes))
29→	W:	[그 정- 정확한 명칭이 뭡]니까? =

30 K: [((K keeps looking at his notes)]
31→ W: =보지 마시고
32→ 말[씀해주(고.) 저- .h]=
33 K: [아 보지 않을께요. 보지]= ((K shakes his head 'no'))
34 W: =[저도 보면]=
35 K: =[않을 거예요. 예.] =
36→ W: =[얘기 할 수 있습니다.예.]
37 K: =[예. 예. 예. 예.]
38 (0.3)
39 K: 에:: 공항: 확충, (.)
41 (0.4)
42 K: 에.
43 (0.4)
44 K: 근데 .h 거기 몇 번 (0.7)
45 저기 저: 갔다 오셨습니까?
46 (0.5)
47 W: 음: .h 저는: 이케 이곳을:
48 방문해 보진 못했습니다.

K's initial KQ becomes successful in revealing W's ignorance. As signaled by the presence of a 1.6 second silence, a slightly long in-breath, and a head tilt in lines 7 and 8, W explicitly admits the lack of his knowledge regarding the official name of the public petition office in lines 10 and 11. K then even highlights W's ignorance in lines 12 and 14 by re-stating W's admission of ignorance with the pro-termed repeat *kulehcyo* 'you don't' and the noun phrase *cengsik myungching* 'the official name.'

Afterwards, in lines 17-19 K keeps attempting to probe the part of W's knowledge related to the public petition office and the residents' official complaints about the airport expansion by issuing another KQ. This time, K aims to test whether W knows approximately how many residents filed civil petitions to the public petition office regarding issues pertinent to the airport expansion. However, in constituting the KQ, K encounters trouble recalling the official name of

the public petition office and is involved in a word search, a type of self-repair, as visible in lines 18 and 19.

In line 18, K employs various devices that delay the next item that is due. In place of the official name of the public petition office, K uses the filler *ku* with elongation. Then, K inserts an adverb of time *cikum* 'right now'—a linguistic item that can be located anywhere in an utterance—to progress his turn while gaining more time to recall the name. However, K is still unable to produce the name and utilizes multiple fillers as seen in *ku: (0.6) ceki ce: (.) ceki (0.4)* 'uhm (0.6) uhm uh (.) uhm (0.4)', some of which accompany sound stretches and/or are followed by a gap. In line 19, K shows some progress by recalling the first two words *konghang:-hawkchwung* 'the Airport Expansion' of the official name of the public petition office, but again undergoes trouble in recalling the rest of the name as evidenced by the 0.3 second silence, the elongated filler e::, the micro pause, the expression *ceki mwe-pnikka* 'what is it,' which explicitly shows that K is in search for a word, and another 0.7 second silence.

It is after K's word search sequence in which K's inability to recall the official name of the public petition office is displayed where W issues essentially the same KQ that K had directed at W albeit with a different linguistic design. In line 19, W requests K to provide its official name in an indirect manner by urging K to continue on with his talk, which, of course, involves the provision of the repair solution, i.e., the searched item. However, this linguistic design of W's KQ is ambiguous in that it can also be understood as a mere request to clarify what question K is intending to ask rather than a KQ that checks whether K indeed knows its official name. K's response in lines 22-23, which attempts to self-repair his own previous question in lines 17-19, and 21, shows that K in fact treats W's question as a repair request rather than as a KQ.

More specifically, what K tries to do in lines 22-23 is reformulate his prior question without using the official name of the public petition's office. K's initial question in lines 17-19 includes the official name as the adjunct that specifies the place where the subject went and submitted their petitions after the subject *myech pwun cengto-ka* 'around how many people.' By contrast, in the case of K's reformulated question in lines 21-22, the verb *kase* 'went' comes right after the subject *cwumin-tul-i myech pwuncengto-ka* 'around how many residents.' By omitting the place adjunct before the verb *kase* 'went,' which is grammatically allowed in Korean, K treats the referent of the place adjunct as something retrievable from the context and thereby avoids mentioning it.

K's exploitation of the ambiguity of W's question as an opportunity to reformulate his question without having to recall and use the name in question meets W's resistance. Shortly after K's produces the verb *kase* 'went,' the point where K's avoidance of the official name of the public petition office becomes evident, W interjects in line 24 during the middle of K's talk with *ceki* 'well.' Then, in lines 25 and 29, W implements a third turn self-initiated self-repair on his previous talk in line 20 in a way that makes it clear that W is asking a KQ and not requesting K to clarify his previous talk. In doing so, W first says *cey-key cey-key mwul-ess-unikka:.* '(you are the one that) asked me (this question before) (line 25). This builds up pressure for K to provide the correct answer to his upcoming reformulated KQ by reminding K of previously having been the one testing this knowledge, thus implying that K is expected to know the official name of the public petition office. Then, W issues the reformulated KQ *ku ceng- cenghwakhan myengching-i mwe-pnikka?* 'What ex- exactly is the (official) name?,' directly testing K's knowledge of its official name without ambiguity (line 29).

W's KQ (i.e., *ku ceng- cenghwakhan myengching-i mwe-pnikka?* 'What ex- exactly is the (official) name?') is essentially the same as K's KQ previously directed to W (i.e., *ku cengsik myengching-i mwe-pnikka?* What is its official name?). Although W's KQ puts an emphasis on the precision of the answer by including the adjective *cenghwakhan* 'exact' as a modifier of the noun *myengching* 'name,' it still requests that K provide the official name of the public petition office. By using the KQ, W turns the tables on K and seeks to expose that although K implicitly claimed to be informed regarding the matter at hand by previously positioning himself as the knowledge tester, K in fact is also just as unknowledgeable of it as W.

After issuing the KQ, W even takes the trouble to ensure a level playing field between K and himself in lines 31-32 by noticing that K is looking at his notes (refer to lines 27, 28, and 30, and Figure 4.2) and asking K to answer the KQ without looking at them. In lines 34 and 36 W further emphasizes that the norm of answering a KQ is not to read the answer from one's notes but to provide it relying only on one's memory by saying that W himself can provide the official name of the public petition office if he looks at his notes too.

In responding to W's call for fair play without cheating in line 31 (i.e., for K to provide an answer to W's KQ without looking at his notes), K displays his commitment to fair play by emphasizing that he will not look at his notes, using verbal and non-verbal resources in lines 33 and 35. First, K uses the interjection *a* 'of course' to indicate that he obviously knows that he is expected to answer without looking and thereby make his previous action of looking at his notes seem not as an attempt to cheat. Second, when he explicitly mentions that he will not look at his notes by saying *po-ci anh-ulkkey-yo* 'I won't look,' he intensifies the message by shaking his head 'no' during its production. Third, K expresses his stronger will for not looking at his notes by reiterating the same message with *po-ci anh-ul ke-yey-yo*. In doing so, K uses the form *–(u)l*

ke-yey-yo, which K pronounced as –ul ke-ye-yo, in place of the form *–(u)l key-yo*, which K pronounced as *–ul kkey-yo*. Consider that *–(u)l ke-yey-yo* implies the speaker's stronger will for a future action than *–(u)l key-yo* does (Park, 2006).

In lines 39 and 40 K succeeds in providing the official name of the public petition office without looking at his notes, but K's stumbling performance as indicated by the use of the fillers (e.g., *ey::* and *e*), word elongations (e.g., *konghang*: 'Airport'and *minwen:* 'Civil Petitions'), and a micro pause creates an impression that K had perhaps scrambled to memorize the information beforehand without thoroughly digesting it and thus has trouble recalling it smoothly. W, however, does not further problematize K's performance nor does he make any further comments, probably because he also does not have the knowledge to judge whether K's answer is correct, as shown in his earlier failure to answer essentially the same KQ by K. In doing so, he implicitly accepts K's answer as satisfactory. In lines 44 and 45 K continues his talk by asking another question to W.

So far this section has demonstrated the emergence of KQs in the sequential context where a questioner who once failed his/her opponent's KQ in the prior sequence ask his/her opponent a KQ as a tit-for-tat strategy. The analysis of Extract (4.12) has illustrated a case of KQs different from those of the opponent but cover the same domain of knowledge, whereas the analysis of Extract (4.13) has shown a case where the KQs are virtually the same as those issued from his/her opponent.

In Extract (4.12), by employing a KQ that is different from that of his opponent K but deals with a specific fact in the same domain of knowledge, W sought to reveal K's weakness as well as his strength in the same area. To put it another way, on W's part, although W did not have knowledge on the matter tested by K's previous KQ, W sought to portray himself as

possessing different knowledge in the same area. As for the opponent K, although K had appeared to know the matter tested by K's own previous KQ, W sought to reveal the fact that K might not possess the knowledge tested by W's current KQ and thereby K might only have a very partial understanding of the knowledge under scrutiny.

In Extract (4.13), by using virtually the same KQ, W attempted to reveal that what K had claimed to know by issuing a KQ as the knowledge tester might not turn out to be true, which in turn means that K has the same weakness as W. To put it simply, using virtually the same KQ, W sought to show that K knows no more about the matter at hand than W does himself. However, unlike the use of a different KQ in the same knowledge domain, the use of virtually the same KQ has a limitation in that W cannot appropriately judge the correctness of the answer provided by his opponent as he does not know the correct answer either. Despite the differences, both KQs of W share the features of occurring in response to K's previous KQ and being used to display K's insufficient knowledge in the same area K had previously tested W about.

4.5. Complex Contexts for the Emergence of KQs

We have so far investigated three major contexts in which KQs occur, i.e., (a) where the respondents' vulnerability to KQs are displayed or can reasonably be assumed, (b) where questioners are involved in undermining the respondents' promises/claims, or (c) where questioners who once failed their opponents' KQs in the prior sequence attempt to show that the respondents have the same weakness as the questioners regarding a domain of knowledge by using KQs as a tit-for-tat strategy. As the analyses until now have demonstrated, these three contexts are distinguishable, but it does not necessarily mean that they cannot co-occur with one another as already alluded to in the analyses of Extracts (4.12) and (4.13). In Extract (4.12), the

questioner W used a KQ as a tit-for-tat strategy while at the same time undermining the respondent K's claim. In Extract (4.13) the same questioner W used a KQ as a tit-for-tat strategy based on the respondent K's displayed vulnerability of the KQ. In order to further illustrate how multiple contexts all work together for the emergence of a KQ, this section examines one such case in great detail by analyzing Extract (4.14).

In Extract (4.14), the participants GSM and MHS are running for the position of a member of National Assembly for the city Sejong. In lines 14-15, GSM asks a KQ to MHS in lines 13-14 that seeks to test MHS's knowledge of the underpopulated and overpopulated schools in their district. Before issuing the KQ, GSM provides background information by posing elaborate question prefaces that introduce multiple contexts driving his use of the KQ (lines 1-12).

Extract (4.14) [Overpopulated and Underpopulated Schools]

01→ GSM: ney .hh e: *mwunhungswu* hwuponim-kkeyse malssumha-si-pnita.
okay uhm MHS candidate-NM:hon. talk:hon.-SH-DC:DEF
Okay. .hh Uhm candidate MHS says, said,

02→ cehuy ye: *kwukminuytang* *kwusengmo* hwupo-ka
our uhm People's Party GSM candidate-NM

03→ nayn e: cengchayk-tul-i. konyak-tul-i,
promised uhm policy-PL-NM pledge-PL-NM

04→ e sicang-i-na (.) si- kyoyukkam:. um swucwun-ey
uhm mayor-be-or city superintendent of education uhm level-of

05→ e: cengchay-i-lako malssumha-sy-ess-nuntey,
uh policy-be-:QT say:HN-SH-PST-but
uhm the policies, (the) campaign pledges promised
by uhm the People's Party candidate GSM are uhm
at uhm the level of the policies of a mayor (.) or may-
a superintendent uhm of education,

06→ .h ceyka hanpen yeccwup-ko siph-supnita. .h
I-NM once ask-want to-DC:DEF
.h so I would like to ask (you). .h

07→ icey (0.2) pwulkwa mye-chil-cen-ey
now only a few-days-ago-at

08→ icey chwulma-senen-ul ha-sy-ess-nuntey
now candidacy-declare-AC do-SH-PST-but
Now (0.2) (you) declared your candidacy now only a few days ago,

09→ .hh kwayen incey kumun tto kwayen
indeed now then also indeed

10→ s*eycong*-ey tayhayse elmana al-ko kyey-si-nka
Sejong-about how unch know-and be:hon.-SH-OQ

11→ han pen te yeccwup-ko sip-untey,
one time more ask-want to-but
.hh, so I would like to ask (you) one more time
about how much really (you) really know about Sejong,

12→ .hh akka wuli: *Pakcongcwun* hwupo-kkeyse
a moment ago our PJJ candidate-NM:hon.

13→ cilmuwnha-sy-ess-supnita.
ask-SH-PST-DC:DEF
.hh Candidate PJJ (also) asked (you about this)
a moment ago.

14→ kwamil kwaso hakkyo. eti-ka iss-nunci-yo.
overpopulated underpopulated school where-NM be-OQ-POL

15→ .h al-ko kyey-si-pnikka?
know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
(I'd like to ask you) where the overpopulated and underpopulated
schools are located. .h Do (you) know?

16 (0.2)

17 MHS: p ((lip parting)) .hh (0.6) *seycong*-si:: h (0.3) mwuncey-nun, (0.5)
Sejong-city issue-TC

18 ey: (0.2) *seycong*-si-man-ey mwuncey-ka ani-ko, (0.4)
uhm: Sejong-city-only-POS issue-NM not-and

19 kwukkacek-i-n mwunce-y-pnita, (1.0)
national-be-RL issue-be-DC:DEF
p ((lip parting)) hh (0.6) The issue(s) (0.3)of Sejong city (0.5) are uhm (0.2) not issue(s) for Sejong city alone (0.4) but are national issue(s). (1.0)

... *((In lines 20- 32, MHS argues that in order for Sejong city to fulfill its role as the administrative city of the government of the Republic of Korea that will alleviate national concerns of the concentration of resources around the Seoul metropolitan area and achieve more balanced regional development across the country, it must become a city that prioritizes education. To support his argument, he adds that the inability of central administrative agency employees to reside in Sejong city is*
... *due to the lack of education infrastructure.))*

33 ye::lekaci-lo (0.3) mwe (0.6) thukhi,
many ways-to what especially

34 i: (0.5) sin:: (0.3)-tosi:, ey: tong: ciyek-ey (0.5) ey
this new-city uhm dong area-at uhm

35 elinicip. (0.2) yuchiwen. (.) chotunghakkyo-ka (.) mwuncey-ka
childcare centers preschool elementary school-NM problem-NM

36 simkakha-n kes-ul (0.4) phaak↑hay-ss-supnita. . (1.0)
serious-RL NOM-AC grasp-PST-DC:DEF
In many ways, (0.3) uh, (0.6) particularly,
(I)'ve come to grasp that (0.4) the issue of [the shortage of] child care centers, (0.2) preschools (.), and elementary schools (.) in uhm Dong-areas, (0.5) which belong to uhm (0.5) newly (established) (0.3) cities, are severe. (1.0)

37 kulen cem-to:, (0.2) hwaksilhi
like that point-also certainly

38 kaysen-tw-ayya-kyess-cimanun, (0.2)
improvement-become-and-will-although

39 wusen(.)cekulo hyencay sicem-eyse-nun, (0.3)
above all now time-in-TC

40 pi:cen-ul pwunmyenghi ha-yya toy-pnita. p ((lip parting)) .hh
vision-AC clearly do-must-DC:DEF
This aspect certainly needs improvement, (0.2) but at this moment, (0.3) above (.) all, (we) need to set a clear vision. p ((lip parting)) .hh

---
Extract (4.14) [Overpopulated and Underpopulated Schools] in Korean

01→ GSM: 네. .hh 어: 문흥수 후보님께서 말씀하십니다.
02→ 저희 여: 국민의당 구성모 후보가
03→ 낸 어: 정책들이. 공약들이,
04→ 어 시장이나 (.) 시- 교육감:. 음 수준에
05→ 어: 정책이라고 말씀하셨는데,
06→ .h 제가 한번 여쭙고 싶습니다. .h
07→ 이제 (0.2) 불과 며칠 전에
08→ 이제 출마선언을 하셨는데
09→ .hh 과연 인제 그믄 또 과연
10→ 세종에 대해서 얼마나 알고 계신가
11→ 한 번 더 여쭙고 싶은데,
12→ .hh 아까 우리: 박종준 후보께서
13→ 질문하셨습니다.
14→ 과밀 과소 학교. 어디가 있는지요.
15→ .h 알고 계십니까?
16 (0.2)
17 MHS: p ((lip parting)) .hh (0.6) 세종시:: h (0.3) 문제는, (0.5)
18 에: (0.2) 세종시만에 문제가 아니고, (0.4)
19 국가적인 문젭니다, (1.0)
... *((In lines 20- 32, MHS argues that in order for Sejong city to fulfill its role as the administrative city of the government of the Republic of Korea that will alleviate national concerns of the concentration of resources around the Seoul metropolitan area and achieve more balanced regional development across the country, it must become a city that prioritizes education. To support his argument, he adds that the inability of central administrative agency employees to reside in Sejong city is*
... *due to the lack of education infrastructure.))*
33 여::러가지로 (0.3) 뭐 (0.6) 특히 ,
34 이: (0.5) 신:: (0.3) 도시:, 에: 동: 지역에 (0.5) 에
35 어린이집. (0.2) 유치원. (.) 초등학교가 (.) 문제가
36 심각한 것을 (0.4) 파악↑ 했습니다. (1.0)
37 그런 점도:, (0.2) 확실히
38 개선돼야겠지만은, (0.2)
39 우선 (.)적으로 현재 시점에서는, (0.3)
40 비:전을 분명히 해야 됩니다. p ((lip parting)) .hh

To begin with, in lines 1-5 GSM mentions MHS's criticism about GSM's campaign promises that MHS presented earlier in the debate i.e., GSM's campaign promises are at the level

of policies of a mayor or a superintendent of education for the district, implying that they are not on par with the policies a member of the National Assembly should be presenting, which is the position GSM is currently running for. In other words, GSM's campaign promises are too specific and lack the broader insight that would reflect his ability to consider issues from a more national perspective.

The relevance of MHS's negative assessment on GSM's campaign promises in understanding GSM's action of asking the KQ is explicitly marked with the clausal connective *–nuntey*. *–Nuntey* frames the utterance marked with it as relevant background information (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p.297) for understanding the utterance that follows the *–nuntey*-marked utterance. Consider that the utterance that follows the *nuntey*-marked utterance is *ceyka hanpen yeccwup-ko siph-supnita* 'I would like to ask (you),' which indicates GSM's desire to ask MHS the KQ. Thus, the use of *–nuntey* indicates that GSM's desire to ask MHS the KQ is connected with MHS's negative assessment on GSM's campaign promises as reflected in the inclusion of 'so' in the English translation that links GSM's introduction of MHS's negative comment on GSM's campaign pledges and GSM's expression of his desire to ask the KQ to MHS (refer to line 6).

Afterwards, instead of moving on to issue the KQ, GSM inserts another piece of background information in lines 7-8 that reveals that MHS declared his candidacy just a few days ago. This background information evokes MHS social identity as a newcomer who is unfamiliar with one's district by implicitly indexing MHS's recent change in constituency, which received media coverage: MHS, in fact, registered himself as an independent aspiring candidate to the National Election Commission for his hometown Hongseong/Yesan a few months before the debate. After he received a strategic official nomination from the Minjoo Party of Korea

(Together with Democratic Party) for Sejong not long before the debate, he registered himself as the party's candidate for Sejong and declared his candidacy six days before the day of the debate. In lines 9-11 GSM expresses his pessimism towards MHS's informedness about Sejong more explicitly by saying *kwayen incey kumun tto kwayen seycong-ey tayhayse elmana al-ko kyeysi-nka han pen te yeccwup-ko sip-untey* 'so I would like to ask (you) one more time about how much really (you) really know about Sejong.' Note that this remark of GSM includes the negative polarity item *kwayen* 'really' that embodies GSM's negative expectation that MHS does not know much about Sejong. GSM's remarks in lines 7-11 thus show that MHS's social identity as a newcomer who is unlikely to know much about Sejong also drives GSM's use of the KQ.

Although it is due for GSM to issue the KQ, as seen in GSM's expression of his desire to ask MHS a question, in lines 12-13 GSM again chooses to include yet another piece of background information, which has already been asked previously by PJJ. By doing so, GSM invokes an earlier question-response sequence that involved PJJ as the questioner and MHS as the respondent. In this earlier sequence, MHS provided a very general and partial answer to PJJ's question about whether MHS has a grasp on which district in Sejong city lacks schools and how. MHS answered that in Sejong city, education institutions, elementary schools, and middle and high schools are all lacking, which revealed MHS's insufficient knowledge of the matter at hand.

As analyzed above, GSM's question prefaces in lines 7-8 and 12-13 thus share the fact that they all concern revealing MHS's vulnerability to the KQ that GSM will be issuing soon. At this point, it becomes quite clear what function GSM's upcoming KQ will serve in relation to MHS's unfavorable assessment of GSM's campaign promises cited in lines 1-5: to undermine MHS's negative assessment by showing that MHS in fact does not have sufficient knowledge

about Sejong to the extent that he can accurately judge the value and importance of GSM's campaign promises.

Afterwards, GSM finally issues his KQ in lines 14 and 15 by saying *kwamil kwaso hakkyo. eti-ka iss-nunci-yo. .h al-ko kyeysi-pnikka?* '(I'd like to ask you) where the overpopulated and underpopulated schools are located. .h Do (you) know? Although GSM's KQ is not exactly the same as PJJ's earlier KQ to MHS in terms of its substance in that PJJ did not ask about underpopulated schools, these two KQs are associated in that they deal with knowledge about the overpopulated schools in the district.

In brief, GSM's elaborate question prefaces show that the multiple and complex contexts for the occurrence of GSM's KQ—(a) MHS's previous negative assessment of GSM's campaign pledges, (b) MHS's assumed vulnerability to his KQ as a newcomer who is unfamiliar with the district, and (c) MHS's displayed vulnerability to his KQ in having provided only a very general and partial answer to PJJ's previous KQ, which overlaps with GSM's KQ,—all drive GSM's use of the KQ.

GSM's KQ becomes successful in showing MHS's insufficient understanding of the current situation of the overpopulated and underpopulated schools in Sejong and, by extension, revealing that MHS's earlier criticism on GSM's campaign promises is based on MHS's shallow understanding of the (educational) situation of the district. Note that MHS spends most of the time allocated for his response in explaining why he wants to prioritize education (lines 17-32), as he is unable to present a specific and complete answer to GSM's KQ. In lines 33-36 MHS only provides a very general and partial answer to GSM's KQ by mentioning that the shortage of childcare centers, preschools, and elementary schools in Dong-areas, which belong to newly established cities, is severe.

4.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the contexts in which KQs emerged during the cross-examination phases of political campaign debates. The analyses have identified three major contexts for the occurrence of KQs, which are distinctive but can co-exist with one another as complex contexts for a KQ. First, KQs occurred in the context where questioners had good reason to believe that the respondents were vulnerable to KQs and thereby they were likely to reap the fruit of using KQs, i.e., expose the respondents' insufficient knowledge of the substances of KQs.

The vulnerability of the respondents to KQs was perceivable through the respondents' talk they made during the debates or prior to the debates. The types of the respondents' verbal responses that were produced during the current debates and revealed the respondents' vulnerability to KQs included their repair-initiation on the questioners' questions, their overly general policies/promises in response to the questioners' initial policy/promise questions, and their claims of knowing the answer or their evasive responses to the questioners' initial KQs. In the next turn following such respondents' talks, KQs were improvised to zero in on the respondents' knowledgeability. The respondents' false statements made at previous political events other than the current debates were also utilized as an opening for issuing KQs. In such cases, the questioners employed question prefaces as a locus to invoke the broader social context and make connections between the broader social context and their use of KQs.

Furthermore, the vulnerability of the respondents to KQs was inferable based on the respondents' social identity as a newcomer politician unfamiliar with the district for which s/he was running to be representative. As in the cases where the questioners made use of the respondents' false statements that were uttered at previous political events, the questioners

employed question prefaces to establish the relevance of the respondents' newcomer identity to their upcoming KQs.

The role that the immediate local context as well as broader social contexts (e.g., prior history of social interaction, social identity) play for the occurrence of KQs thus illustrate the importance of paying attention to both local interactional contexts and broader social contexts in explaining the occurrence of a particular action. In addition, the questioners' use of question prefaces as a contextualizing device that brings a broader social context into the immediate local interactional scene nicely illustrates a method that interactants use to form a link between micro and macro contexts (see Schegloff 1987, 1992 for more information on the connection between micro and macro contexts). This way of invoking broader social contexts in the here-and-now local interactional scene of the political campaign debates seems to be especially important for the sake of the general audience: it creates a common ground between the questioners and the general audience in terms of why a KQ is emerging and thereby helps the general audience understand the relevance and importance of the KQ.

The second major context for the occurrence of KQs was where questioners were involved in undermining the respondents' promises/claims. In this sequential context, the respondents' vulnerability to KQs was not necessarily present or invoked. By contrast, the questioners established the relevance of the respondents' promises/claims to their KQs by introducing the respondents' promises/claims in the question prefaces as background information before they issued their KQs. Then, the questioners employed KQs that tested the respondents' knowledge relevant to their promises and claims.

The third major context for the occurrence of KQs was where the current questioner was involved in turning the tables on his/her opponent, who had previously issued KQs to the current

questioner. Thus, what was distinctive about these KQs in this third context is that it was positioned after other KQ-response sequence(s) that were initiated by his/her opponent previously. In this sequential context, the current questioner, who had failed his/her opponent's previous KQs, directed different KQs that covered the same domain of knowledge or essentially the same KQs to his/her opponent.

The varied but patterned sequential/social contexts in which KQs occur offered us an opportunity to further our understanding of when political candidates perceive KQs as a useful debate strategy. As we have already examined, the candidates used KQs when they have good reason to believe that their opponents were not likely to know the answers to the KQs. This shows that candidates found KQs useful as a tool to expose their opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge of the substances of KQs, and they took advantage of the respondents' displayed or expected problems in their knowledge of public affairs as an opening to use KQs.

The candidates, however, used KQs even when they did not have concrete basis to perceive or assume their opponents' vulnerability to KQs. Note that the candidates also used KQs to undermine their opponents' promises/claims by showing that the opponents lacked definite knowledge that was required to make their promises/claims trustworthy. Especially, in cases where the promises/claims that were being verified by the questioners' KQs belonged to or were closely tied to the opponents' major promises, the payoffs of using KQs were even bigger than just revealing the opponents' lack of a specific piece of knowledge. These KQs could show that the opponents did not know much about their major promises, creating an image of the opponents being all talk without competence and sincerity.

Moreover, the candidates employed KQs as a tit-for-tat strategy to deal with the damage done on their political face with their failure to answer KQs issued by their opponents. By

directing different or essentially the same KQs to their opponents, the candidates sought to show that the opponents, who once took the position of the knowledge testers, were not as knowledgeable as they portrayed themselves to be about a certain area of knowledge. Rather, they had the same weakness as the questioners of being uninformed in that area.

The three distinctive functions of KQs are interrelated in the sense that their functions as a device to undermine the opponents' promises/claims or as a tit-for-tat strategy is based on their basic functions as a device to expose the opponents' insufficient or lack of knowledge of the substances of KQs. The differences in terms of the sequential environments in which KQs are located (e.g., after the opponents' display of vulnerability to KQs, after the introduction of broader social contexts that display or serve as grounds for inferring the opponents' vulnerability to KQs, after the introduction of the opponents' promises/claims as relevant background information in question prefaces, or after KQ-response sequences initiated by the opponents), however, seem to contribute to the distinctions in the functions of KQs, thereby revealing that sequential positions can be a resource for making meaning.

CHAPTER 5. KQ DESIGN

5.1. Introduction

This present chapter investigates the issue of turn design in KQs and focuses particularly on uncovering parameters that explain linguistic variations in designing KQs. According to Drew (2013, p.132), turn design concerns the construction of a speaker's turn, i.e., how a speaker builds a turn-at-talk using both linguistic and paralinguistic resources in order to do a certain action in a way that lets it be recognized as doing that action.

Turn design is one of the most important areas of CA research in that human interaction depends on our ability to design our turn into a recognizable action. Without this ability, interlocutors would not be able to take into account each other's present turn in constructing and implementing their next action, and thereby joint construction of interaction between interlocutors would be utterly impossible. In this sense, explicating how we design our turn to implement an action is, as Drew (2013) accurately points out in the description of turn design as "one of the cornerstones of interaction and of studying interaction" (p.148), an essential part of furthering our understanding of how we build interaction in concert with each other.

Section 3.3.1 of Chapter 3 touched on this issue while exploring the role of turn design in the production and recognition of KQs. The section particularly focused on framing expressions, which explicitly convey that the focus of a question is on finding out whether or not the respondent possesses the requested knowledge. The present chapter builds on the findings of Section 3.3.1 of Chapter 3 but departs from it in two aspects. First, as the purpose of this chapter lies in explicating various linguistic forms employed to constitute KQs, the present chapter explores KQs formed both *with* and *without* any framing expressions. Second, this chapter delves

into the parameters that can account for varying turn designs for KQs and how different turn designs can have varying import for the action of knowledge-testing.

The relationship between turn design and action has been actively investigated by CA researchers as evidenced by the large amount of work done on specific practices for achieving interactional work (Levinson, 2013, p.105). Among those studies, of particular relevance to the present chapter are the ones that examine linguistic variations in implementing a certain action and the factors influencing the speaker's choice of a particular linguistic form. More specifically, CA studies on offers, requests, and questions such as Curl (2006), Curl and Drew (2008), Raymond (2010), and Pomerantz (1988), which will be explicated in Section 5.2, have clearly shown that interlocutors choose different linguistic forms in constructing an action for a reason. To put it another way, linguistic variations do not occur randomly but systematically.

Building on the aforementioned studies that evidence the systematicity of linguistic variations in constructing an action, the present chapter,as previously mentioned,,explores lexical and syntactic variations in how candidates design KQs in political debates and uncover relevant parameters that explain such variations. By delving into the yet unexamined area of linguistic design of KQs, the present chapter seeks to contribute to attaining a more comprehensive picture of what role linguistic forms play in the construction of an action. In addition, by identifying the major parameters of KQ design, the present chapter attempts to lay the groundwork for future comparative research on the linguistic design of KQs occurring in different institutional settings such as pedagogical interactions, job interviews, and news interviews

The organization of the remainder of this chapter is as follows. Section5.2 reviews previous CA research in turn design with a focus on the actions of offers, requests, directives,

and questions. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 will present two major parameters of KQ design—epistemicity and precision—in this order. Section 5.5 will summarize the findings of this chapter.

5.2. Previous CA Studies on the Linguistic Design of an Action

The CA studies that have focused on exploring different linguistic forms that implement an action and explaining parameters that inform the speaker's selection of one linguistic form over another have shown that linguistic variations among turns of the same action is an accountable and systematic phenomenon. To begin with, let us refer to Curl's (2006) study on offers of assistance during telephone calls.

Curl (2006) found that offers are frequently made with three different types of syntactic structures, and more interestingly, that a speaker's selection of a linguistic format is sensitive to how an offer comes to emerge as well as the sequential position in which an offer is made. According to Curl, offers in the *If X (then) Y* format (e.g., If your husband would like their address, my husband would gladly give it to him) tend to occur when the offer is made as a reason for calling and appear in the opening section of the calls. By contrast, offers in the *DYW* format (e.g., Do you want any pots for coffee?) always emerge from a speaker's inference of a problem implicit in the other interlocutor's distant previous turn. An offer in the *DYW* format thus occurs mainly in the closing section of the calls, the sequential position where a new topic can be brought up without violating topical coherence (Schelgloff & Sacks, 1973). Lastly, offers that mirror the lexico-syntactic structure of a prior turn (e.g., A: I can bo- B: You can borrow mine) emerge as a response to the immediately prior turn where the other interlocutor explicitly mentions his/her problem and are located right after the other interlocutor's prior turn.

Curl (2006) also points out the pragmatic meanings of these grammatical structures used in offer sequences. The *If X (then) Y* format explicitly conveys an offerer's ability and/or willingness to either satisfy the recipient's needs/wants or help resolve problems, thereby foregrounding the agentive offerer. The *DYW* format indicates that the offerer is making an offer because s/he came to an understanding that the recipient's previous talk, produced in a sequentially distant turn from the offerer's current talk, was designed to implicitly solicit that offer. In this sense, the *DYW* format foregrounds the desire of the recipient and portrays the offerer as passive. Finally, the construction that ties the offer's lexico-syntactic structure to that of the immediately prior turn indicates that the offer matches the problem stated in the immediately prior turn and in many cases portrays the offerer as agentive.

Curl's (2006) study thus shows that in implementing an offer, a speaker is oriented towards what triggers the speaker to initiate the offer, where the offer is sequentially located, and how the speaker will portray his/her agency in doing the action of offering. In other words, syntactic structures are interactional resources to deal with these interrelated issues and thereby serve action-specific functions.

A speaker's systematic deployment of a linguistic design in constituting an action is not confined to offers. Curl and Drew (2008) demonstrate that in making requests, a speaker frequently employs two different lexico-syntactic forms: *I-wonder-prefaced* requests (e.g., I wonder if you could give me some advice) and *modal verb* requests (e.g., Can/Will you come over?). They further add that a speaker's selection of a particular form between these two depends on the speaker's evaluation of two interrelated interactional circumstances: the speaker's entitlement to make a request and the contingencies the recipient takes into account when granting the request, such as the recipient's own ability or willingness to grant the request.

Specifically, an *I-wonder-prefaced* request presents the speaker's request as if the speaker is merely wondering about it, thereby avoiding questioning the recipient's ability or willingness to grant the request. By doing so, this form displays the speaker's low sense of entitlement to the requested action/item and a high level of contingencies associated with the recipient's granting the request. By contrast, a *modal verb* request directly asks about the recipient's ability or willingness to grant the request and is less circuitous compared to an *I-wonder-prefaced* request. This form of request is often employed when a speaker's sense of entitlement to make a request is high and the level of relevant contingencies is low.

In addition, as Craven and Potter (2010) note, Curl and Drew's study (2006) illustrates how the study of linguistic variations in constituting an action can shed light on elements of an action that are crucial in defining its nature. In building on Curl and Drew (2006), Craven and Potter explore directives implemented in an imperative form (e.g., "Hold it with two hands.") and argue that whereas requests concern both the dimensions of entitlement and contingency, directives only concern the dimension of entitlement. To put it differently, directives do not take into account the recipient's contingencies and thereby present the speaker's high sense of entitlement. A recipient of a directive is told to comply with the directive no matter what: the imperative structure does not make relevant the recipient's ability and willingness as a precondition for implementing the directed action.

Linguistic variations in the dimension that is crucial for defining the nature of a certain action are also observable in the syntactic design of information-seeking questions. According to Heritage and Raymond (2012), the epistemic asymmetry between a questioner and the respondent in terms of their knowledge about the matter at hand is what allows an utterance to be heard as an information-seeking question. An information-seeking question thus conveys the

epistemic meaning that the questioner lacks certain knowledge or is uncertain, whereas the respondent has this knowledge or is likely to have it. In other words, an information-seeking question proposes that a questioner is in a less knowledgeable (K-) position, whereas the respondent is in a more knowledgeable (K+) position.

Heritage and Raymond (2012) further show that the syntactic design of an information-seeking question can encode information about the distinctive gap of knowledge between the questioner and the respondent by differing the degree of the questioner's commitment to the proposition predicated in his/her question. They illustrate this point with the following four examples.

(1) Wh-Question Format: Who did you talk to?
(2) Polar Question Format: Did you talk to John?
(3) Statement + Tag Question Format: You talked to John, didn't you?
(4) Declarative Question Format: You talked to John?

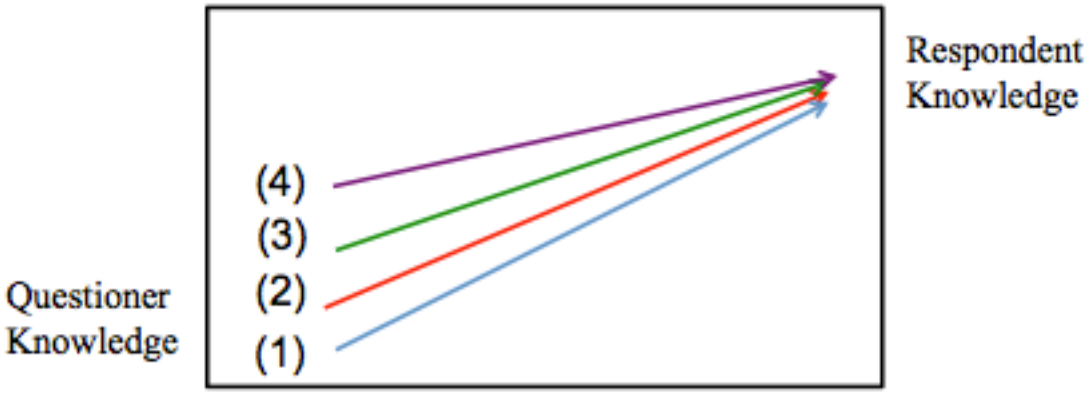


Figure 5.1. The Epistemic Gradient of the Four Questions

Although all four question formats position the questioner in a K- position and the respondent in a K+ position on an epistemic gradient, they differ in terms of the degree of the knowledge gap (i.e., the depth of the epistemic gradient) they index (see Figure 5.1). More

specifically, the wh-question format corresponding to (1) in the figure above does not embody any knowledge about what is being questioned and thus indicates the largest knowledge gap (or the steepest epistemic gradient) between the questioner and the respondent concerning the matter at hand. By contrast, the declarative question format corresponding to (4) displays the speaker's strong commitment to the proposed proposition of the answer to the question. Consequently, the knowledge gap and the epistemic gradient indexed by the grammatical form of (4) are much smaller and flatter.

Raymond's (2010) study empirically shows how health visitor nurses (HVs) discretely employ the polar question format and the declarative question format when asking questions to new parents and how it contributes to their building both a professional and friendly relationship with new parents, which is critical for the successful implementation of their work. Raymond (2010) found that HVs use polar questions, which index their unknowing stance towards the matter at hand, in order to encourage new parents to elaborate on their answers and thereby build a friendly relationship. By contrast, HVs utilize declarative questions, which index their relatively more knowing stance compared to polar questions, in order to invite minimal confirming responses from the new parents, thus contributing to constituting an impersonal and professional relationship with them.

In addition to the epistemic dimension, research on question design reveals other important dimensions that are related to imposing various constraints on the respondent's response. According to Clayman and Heritage (2002b), questions embody presuppositions, agendas, and preferences. Let us first examine the presupposition dimension. By varying the linguistic design of a question, a questioner can modulate what the question is assuming to be true, i.e., the presupposition of the question. For instance, "Why do you like Jane?" presupposes

that the respondent likes Jane, whereas “Do you like Jane?” does not assume that to be the case and instead makes whether the respondent likes Jane or not the focus of the inquiry.

Next, questions set the agendas the responding turn should deal with. More specifically, a question puts constraints on the topic the response should cover, thus setting the topical agenda, and on the action the response turn should do, thus setting the action agenda. For instance, the questions “Why do you like Jane?” and “Do you like Jane?” all deal with Jane as their topic and thereby projects it as the topical domain within which the response should be formed. However, these two questions set different action agendas. The former seeks the reasons why the respondent likes Jane, whereas the latter seeks a (dis)affirmation of the proposition that the respondent likes Jane. Thus, responses that provide reasons for liking Jane are appropriate for the former, whereas responses that (dis)affirm liking Jane are appropriate for the latter. Additionally, compared to a wh-question, a polar question narrowly defines the boundaries of an acceptable answer so that a response that avoids (dis)affirming the proposition of the polar question becomes accountable.

Lastly, a questioner can put constraints on the respondent by making one type of response preferred over other, even when both types of answers appropriately conform to the topical and action agendas of the question set by the questioner. A questioner can achieve this by utilizing a particular lexical and/or grammatical design in constructing the question (Heritage, 2010, Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). In the case of English, questions that make yes/no-answers relevant have the following preferences, as Hayano (2013) has accurately summarized (p.405), and is reproduced here slightly modified.

(a) Question constructions that prefer a yes-answer

- Positively formulated polar question
  (e.g., Have you heard from her?)
- Positive statement + negative tag question
  (e.g. You've heard from her, haven't you?)
- Positively formulated declarative question
  (e.g. You heard from her?)
- Negative interrogative
  (e.g. Haven't you heard from her?)

(b) Question constructions that prefer a no-answer

- Negative declarative
  (e.g. You haven't heard from her?)
- Negative declarative + positive tag
  (e.g. You haven't heard from her, have you?)
- Positive polar question+ negative polarity item (*any*, *ever*, *at all*, *yet*, etc.)
  (e.g. Have you heard from her yet?)
- Positive polar question + negatively tilted adverb (*seriously*, *really*, etc.)
  (e.g. Have you really heard from her?)

What is even more interesting is the preference for affirmation over disaffirmation (Sacks, 1987) that underlies the aforementioned systematicity. As Pomenrantz (1988) has registered, questions that make yes/no-answers relevant linguistically embody the speakers' expectation regarding the state of affairs. On the one hand, question constructions that prefer a yes-answer embody the speakers' expectation that the linguistically positively formulated statements (e.g., You have heard from her) regarding the state of affairs are likely to be the case, and the yes-answers affirm that expectation. On the other hand, question constructions that prefer the no-answers embody the speakers' assumption that the positively formulated statements about the state of affairs are unlikely to be true, and the no-answers affirm this assumption.

The previous studies on the linguistic variations in performing the actions of offers, requests, and questions thus clearly demonstrate that linguistic variations in constituting an action are systematic and that they may serve functions specific to a particular action. Moreover,

these studies suggest that examining this topic may provide a window to understanding the nature of a particular action itself. Taking these previous studies as a point of departure, this chapter will examine the systematicity in KQ design by identifying epistemic and precision dimensions as major parameters that explicate linguistic variations in KQs. Section 5.3 will delve into nine types of linguistic formats that realize the epistemic dimension of KQs and their usages. Section 5.4 will delve into three types of linguistic formats that realize the precision dimension of KQs and their usages. Let us begin with the epistemic dimension of KQs.

5.3. The Epistemic Dimension of KQs

The analyses of linguistic variations in KQs show that questioners vary the linguistic forms of the KQs they ask as a way of modulating the epistemic gap between themselves and their respondents. As reviewed in Section 5.2, linguistic structures used to construct information-seeking questions also vary in terms of this epistemic dimension. However, as Heritage and Raymond (2012) point out, the default epistemic presumption of an information-seeking question, i.e., that the respondent is more knowledgeable than the questioner regarding the matter at hand, is not applicable to known-answer questions. Thus, the epistemic uses of lexical and syntactic forms in KQs sharply contrast with that of information-seeking questions.

In designing KQs where the knowledgeability of the respondents, not the questioners themselves, was at stake, candidates were found to vary linguistic forms to index the extent of their expectations about ***the respondents' informedness,*** i.e., how likely the respondents were to know about the requested information**.** In typical information-seeking questions, however, epistemic variations in linguistic structures focus on conveying whether the questioners themselves have access to the matter being asked about, and if they do, signaling the extent of

the questioners' certainty of ***their own knowledge*** regarding the sought-after information, as previously shown in Figure 5.1 (Heritage & Raymond, 2012).

The remainder of this section will be organized as follows. Section 5.3.1 examines three main types of lexical and syntactic formats that embody the different expectations of a questioner regarding how likely it is for the respondent to possess knowledge on the matter at hand. Section 5.3.2 examines sequential environment in which the three main formats occur.
Section 5.3.3 provides a summary of the findings of Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. Section 5.3.4 explores how a questioner fine-tunes the epistemic gradient embodied in the three main formats by deploying various grammatical and lexical devices, as well as the preference organization of polar questions. Section 5.3.5 investigates the overall frequency distribution of all the identified epistemic formats of KQs in order to achieve a comprehensive picture of and obtain further insights into the uses of these formats.

5.3.1. The Typical Type A, B, and C KQ Formats and Epistemic Gradient

The linguistic elements that play crucial roles in adjusting the epistemic gradient of KQs are the framing expressions (FEs) that explicitly put the focus on whether the respondent has provided or can provide the requested knowledge, as explained previously in Section 3.3.1 of Chapter 3. Whether or not the KQs are designed with such FEs as well as the FE's semantic meanings influence how much the KQs embody the candidate's expectations regarding how much the respondent is likely to be knowledgeable about the substance of the KQs. The candidates accordingly constitute three main types of KQ formats as follows.

(a) The Typical Type A KQ Format: Negative[7] KQs with FEs that use the lexically negative verb of not knowing *molu-* 'not know'

Example[8] (a)

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→ *Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{molu-si-pnikka?}→*FE formed with molu- 'not know'*
not know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) not know how much our country's annual budget is?

(b) The Typical Type B KQ Format: Positive KQs with FEs that either use the verbs of knowing/remembering or ask about the respondent's ability to provide the requested knowledge.

Example (b-1)

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→*Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{a-si-pnikka?}→*FE formed with al- 'know'*
know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know how much our country's annual budget is?

Example (b-2)

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→*Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{malssumha-y cwu-si-l su iss-supnikka?}→ *FE that asks about the respondent's*
tell:hon.-and give-SH-can-be-Q:DEF *ability to provide the requested knowledge*
Could (you) please tell (me) how much our country's annual budget is?

(c) The Typical Type C KQ Format: Substance-focused KQs without FEs

Example (c)

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-ipni-kka? }→*Substance of KQ only*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-Q
How much is our country's annual budget?

[7] In discussing the epistemic formats of KQs, the terms positive and negative refer to the syntactic properties of these formats. Positive KQs refer to KQs that do not have any linguistic elements of negation, and negative KQs refer to KQs that have them.

[8] In introducing diverse types of KQ formats concerning the epistemic dimension of KQs, I may use made-up examples as is the case here in order to clearly illustrate significant differences among these epistemic formats. For the reader's convenience, I have labeled made-up examples "Example" and the authentic examples from the transcribed data "Extracts."

These three KQ formats are different in terms of the questioner's stance towards how likely the respondent is to possess knowledge on the substance of the KQs. To begin with, let us examine the first two types of KQ formats. The Typical Type A KQ format, i.e., negative KQs framed by FEs constituted with the lexically negative verb of not knowing *-molu* 'not know,' linguistically displays the questioner's expectation that the respondent may not know anything about the substance of the KQs. The propositions of this type of KQs, which are usually provided by the questioner as his/her best guess for the respondent to affirm or disaffirm (Pomernatz, 1988), are formulated in a way that negates the possibility of the respondent's possessing the requested knowledge.

By contrast, the Typical Type B KQ format—i.e., positive KQs constructed with FEs that either have verbs of knowing/remembering or ask about the respondent's ability to provide the requested knowledge—linguistically displays the questioner's expectation that the respondent may know about the substance of the KQs. This is because the propositions of this type of KQs advanced by the questioner to invite the respondent's affirmation or disaffirmation are positively formulated in a way that acknowledges the possibility that the respondent may possess or can provide the requested knowledge. For this reason, the linguistic design of the Typical Type A KQ format embodies a pessimistic stance towards the respondent's knowledgeability, whereas the linguistic design of the Typical Type B KQ format indexes an optimistic stance towards it.

Now, let us turn to the Typical Type C KQ format, i.e., substance-focused KQs without FEs. Unlike the Typical Type A and Type B KQ formats, the Typical Type C KQ format focuses on asking about the substance of the KQs, not on asking whether the respondent does or does not know about the matter at hand. The Typical Type C KQ format presupposes the respondent's informedness and asks the respondent to provide the requested knowledge. To put it another

way, the linguistic design of the Typical Type C KQ format takes the respondent's knowledgeability for granted.

The Figure 5.2 below illustrates the epistemic gradient of each of the three main KQ formats.

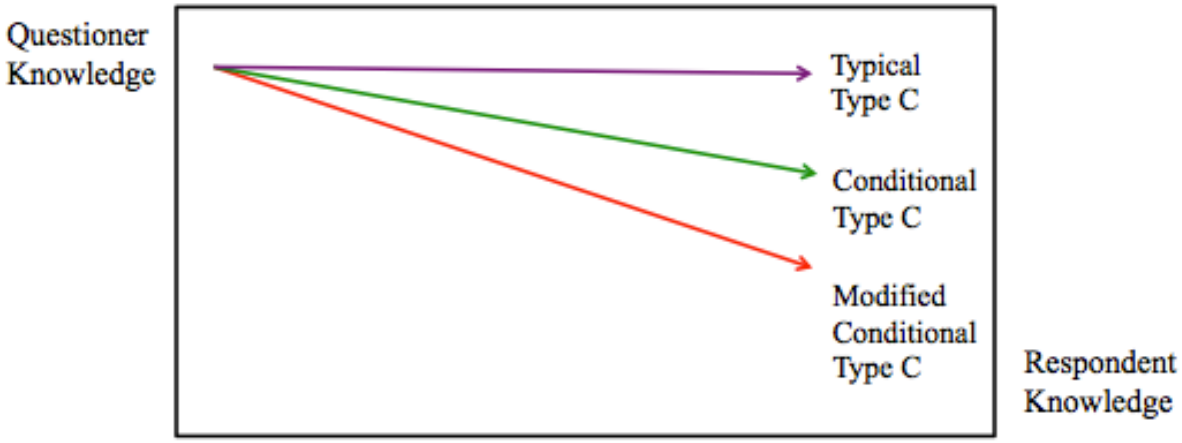


Figure 5.2. The Epistemic Gradient of the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ Formats

As shown in Figure 5.2, among the three main types of KQ formats, the Typical Type A KQ format displays the largest knowledge gap, or the steepest epistemic gradient, between the questioner and the respondent, whereas the Typical Type C KQ format indicates the smallest knowledge gap and thus the flattest epistemic gradient between them. The Typical Type B KQ format represents a degree of epistemic gap or epistemic gradient that lies in the middle of the Typical Type A KQ format and the Typical Type C KQ format.

5.3.2. The Typical Type A, B, and C KQ Formats and Their Sequential Environments of Occurrence

In the previous section, we have focused on explicating the epistemic differences among the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ formats. Based on this understanding, we will now look at how these three distinctive types of KQ constructions are used by candidates in real life and show

how the particular sequential environment in which each format occurs proves how the KQ formats embody different epistemic gaps and gradients. The KQs designed in the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ formats are referred to as the Typical Type A KQ, the Typical Type B KQ, and the Typical Type C KQ, respectively. The analyses on the sequential environments of occurrence are presented in the order of the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ formats.

5.3.2.1. The Typical Type A KQ Format and Its Sequential Environment of Occurrence

The Typical Type A KQ format only appears in the sequential environment where the respondent of a Typical Type A KQ has already revealed his/her vulnerability to the KQ during the respondent's prior turn—that is, the sequential environment where the questioner as well as the analyst and audience can reasonably expect the respondent to be ignorant of the matter being asked about. Extracts (5.1) and (5.2) below are cases in point.

Let us first examine Extract (5.1), which was already introduced as Extract (3.15) in Chapter 3. In this exchange, SY is testing YJ's knowledge on the amount of the national budget allocated for local social overhead capital (SOC) at the time of the debate in order to point out that the amount is insufficient for simultaneously implementing YJ's campaign pledges to newly construct railways for Great Train Express trains in the district and also extend the existing railways for Korean Train Express trains to the district. While asking about the local SOC budget, SY designs his KQ in line 8 with the Typical Type A KQ format using the FE *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) not know~?'.

Extract (5.1) [Local SOC]

01	SY:	kuntey ku-cwungey (.) cipang eysuossi
		but that-among local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)
02		yeysan-i elma-nci
		budget-NM how much-OQ
03		a-si-pnikka?
		know-SH-Q:DEF
		But do (you) know how much the budget for
		local social overhead capital is (.) out of that?
04		(0.4)
05	YJ:	kulsseyyo mwe cipang eysuossi::-lul
		well what local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)-AC
06		mwe cengcheycekulo:,
		what overall
07		el[ma-nci : ,]
		how much-(be)-OQ
		Well, uhm how much local SOC is uhm overall,
08→	SY:	[chong-ayk]-i elam-n[ci molu]-si-pnikka?
		total-amount-NM how much-OQ not know-SH-Q:DEF
		Do (you) not know how much the total amount is?
09	YJ:	[ey ey.]
		yes yes
		Mm hm,
10	YJ:	yey.
		no
		No.
11	SY:	.hhh chong-ayk-i cikum han isip-co cenhwu-pnita,
		total-amount-NM now about 20-trillion around-DC:DEF
		The total amount is around 20 trillion (won).

Extract (5.1) [Local SOC] in Korean

01	SY:	근데 그중에 (.) 지방 에스오씨
02		예산이 얼만지
03		아십니까?
04		(0.4)
05	YJ:	글쎄요 뭐 지방 에스오씨:: 를
06		뭐 전체적으로:,
07		얼[만지:,]
08→	SY:	[총액] 이 얼만[지 모르]십니까?
09	YJ:	[에 에.]
10	YJ:	예.
11	SY:	.hhh 총액이 지금 한 이십조 전홉니다,

SY's choice of the Typical Type A KQ format in designing his KQ in line 8 becomes particularly interesting when we consider his initial KQ in lines 1-3. The substance of SY's KQ in line 8 is the same as the substance of SY's KQ in lines 1-3: the knowledge both KQs seek from YJ is the amount of the national budget set aside for local social overhead capital. However, SY's follow-up KQ in line 8 is designed in the Typical Type A KQ format, whereas SY's initial KQ in lines 1-3 is constituted using the Typical Type B KQ format.

The respective sequential environments in which both KQs occur gives us a clue to understanding the differences in the Typical Type A and Type B KQ formats and what motivates SY to choose a particular format. SY's Typical Type B KQ in lines 1-3 is issued in a sequential context where there is no ground to believe that YJ does not know the answer to the KQ. The exchange between SY and YJ immediately prior to SY's KQ in lines 1-3 shows that YJ has an understanding of the national budget. Additionally, SY's KQ in lines 1-3 is the first time that SY deals with the local SOC budget issue as a topic of a question addressed to YJ.

By contrast, SY's Typical Type A KQ in line 8 is positioned after apparent signs in YJ's turn that indicate the possibility that YJ does not have knowledge about the local SOC budget:

First of all, YJ is not able to immediately provide an answer to SY's initial KQ in lines 1-3 and instead yields a 0.4 second silence in line 4. Next, YJ starts his responding turn in line 5 with *kulseyo* 'well,' which indicates that he does not have a definite answer to the question (The National Institute of Korean Language, 2008). Finally, instead of providing a straightforward number as his answer, YJ slightly modifies and reuses the contents of SY's question in lines 5-7. This is the sequential context that SY designs his follow-up KQ in the Typical Type A KQ format.

The use of the Typical Type A KQ format after a respondent's display of his/her potential ignorance of the matter at hand can also be observed in Extract (5.2), which is part of Extract (4.1) in Chapter 4. In this extract, before LCK asks LKD a KQ that tests LKD's knowledge of the term *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion' (i.e., small-but-strong companies), LCK issues a policy question to LKD concerning what kinds of plans LKD has for Pohang city's administrative and financial role regarding *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion' (see lines 1-3). When it is LKD's turn to answer LCK's policy question, LKD displays difficulty in understanding the content of LCK's question by initiating a repair on LCK's policy question (see line 9).

Extract (5.2) [Hidden Champion_short]

01	LCK:	.hhh	hitun	champhien-ey	tayhan		
			hidden	champion-about			
02		*phohang*-si-uy	hayngceng	mich:,	cayceng	yekhal-ey	tayhay
		Pohang-city-POS	administration	and	finance	role-about	
03		etten tayan-ul	kac-ko	iss-nunci:, .h	<malssum-ul	hay	cwu-si-psio.>
		what plan-AC	have-and	be-OQ	word:hon. -AC	say	give-SH-IM:DEF
		.hhh Please tell (me) .h what kind of plans you have for					
		Pohang city's administrative and financial role					
		regarding the hidden champions.					

04 (0.3)

05 MOD: ney. *i* hwupo-kkeyse tap[hay-cwu]-si-cyo.=
Okay LKD candidate-NM:.hon. answer-give-SH-COMM:POL
Okay. Candidate LKD, please respond.

06 LKD: [ney :.]
yes
Yes.

07 MOD: = il pwun samsip cho-pnita
one minute thirty second-DC:DEF
(You) have 1 minute 30 seconds.

08 (0.5)

09 LKD: s.hh cayceng hyengphyen-ul malssumha-si-n ke-pnikka?
finance condition-AC say:hon. -SH-RL NOM-(be)-Q:DEF
s.hh Are you talking about (Pohang city's) financial situation?

10 (0.8)

11→ LCK: hitun champhien-i-lako molu-si-pnikka?
hidden champion-be-QT not know-SH-Q:DEF
Do you not know (the term) "the hidden champion"?

12 (0.2)

13 LKD: >ku-key musun mwe<
that-thing what what
What is that- what-

14 tasi hanpen selmyenghay cwu-si-psio.
again once explain give-SH-IM:DEF
Please explain (it to me) again.

Extract (5.2) [Hidden Champions_short] in Korean

01 LCK: .hhh 히든 참피언에 대한
02 포항시의 행정 및:, .재정 역할에 대해
03 어떤 대안을 갖고 있는지:, .h <말씀을 해주십시오.>
04 (0.3)
05 MOD: 네. 이 후보께서 답[해주]시죠.=
06 LKD : [네:.]
07 MOD: =일 분 삼십 촙니다.

08 (0.5)
09 LKD: s.hh 재정 형편을 말씀하신겁니까?
10 (0.8)
11→ LCK: 히든 참피언이라고 모르십니까?
12 (0.2)
13 LKD: >그게 무슨- 뭐-<
14 다시 한 번 설명해주십시오.

LKD's repair initiation in line 9 reveals that LKD took LCK's question as a question about Pohang city's financial situation, thereby suggesting that LKD may be having trouble in understanding the meaning of certain components of LCK's question. Given that the components other then the term *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion' are easily understandable and appear frequently in formal discourse, LCK likely easily inferred that LKD might not know the term *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion,' and this seems to have lead him to initiate the repair.

Note that LCK's Typical Type A KQ, which seeks to test LKD's knowledge of the term *hitun champhien* 'hidden champion,' appears after LKD's turn revealing his potential ignorance. Thus, just like YS's Typical Type A KQ in Extract (5.1), LCK's Typical Type A KQ occurs when there is reasonable ground to assume that the respondent of the KQ may not possess the knowledge being tested by the KQ.

5.3.2.2. The Typical Type B KQ Format and Its Sequential Environment of Occurrence

Unlike Type A KQs, Type B KQs can occur even in the sequential environment where the vulnerability of the respondent to KQs has not been established and thus the questioner does not have any ground to assume the respondent's ignorance. For instance, KQs that do not build on (or do not touch on) any prior sequences in the debate can be designed in the Typical Type B KQ format, but not in the Typical Type A KQ format. Extract (5.3), which is part of Extract (3.8) of Chapter 3, illustrates a case in point.

In line 1 of Extract (5.3), KH is selecting the addressee of his upcoming question after the moderator of the debate has permitted KH to hold a turn to ask other candidates questions. After naming PW as the addressee, KH issues a KQ that tests PW's knowledge of when the South Korean warship Cheonan was sunk by a North Korean torpedo by asking him what day the upcoming March 26—the 2nd anniversary of the tragic incident—is.

Extract (5.3) [The Warship Cheonan_short]

01	KH:	ney:. mence: *pakwancwu* hwupo:-eykey mwut-keyss-supnita.
		okay first PW candidate-to ask-will-DC:DEF
		Okay. First, (I) will ask a question to Candidate PW.
02→		samwel isipyuk-il nal-i mwusun nal-i-nci
		March 26-CL day-NM what day-be-OQ
03→		a-si-pnikka?
		know-SH-Q:DEF
		Do (you) know what March 26 is?
04		(0.4)
05	PW:	ney:, (0.6) *cenan*-ham:: (0.4) a:
		yes Cheonan-warship uhm
		Yes, (0.6) the warship Cheonan (0,4) uhm
06	KH:	ney. [i cwuki toy-nun nal-i-c-yo.]
		yes 2nd anniversary become-RL day-be-COMM-POL
		Yes. (It) is the day of the 2nd anniversary,
07	PW:	*[cenan*-ham saken-i (.) i cwu]
		Cheonan-warship accident-NM 2nd anniversary
08		nyen-i toy-[nun] nal-i-pnita.
		year-NM become-RL day-be-DC:DEF
		(It) is the day of the 2nd anniversary of the sinking of the warship Cheonan.
09	KH:	[yey.]
		yes
		Yes.

Extract (5.3) [The Warship Cheonan_short]

01	KH:	네:. 먼저: 박완주 후보:에게 묻겠습니다.
02→		삼월 이십육일 날이 무슨 날인지
03→		아십니까?
04		(0.4)
05	PW:	네:, (0.6) 천안함:: (0.4) 아:
06	KH:	네. [이 주기 되는 날이죠.]
07	PW:	[천안함 사건이 (.) 이 주]
08		년이 되[는] 날입니다.
09	KH:	[예.]

Note the sequential environment where KH's KQ in lines 2 and 3 is located. KH's KQ is not triggered by any preceding turn of PW: rather, it initiates a new sequence. This sequential context shows that KH's KQ occurs in the context where KH has no objective and perceivable basis to assume KH's possible ignorance of the requested knowledge. In this particular sequential context, KH's KQ is designed in the Typical Type B, not the Typical Type A, KQ format, thereby showing that Typical Type B KQs can be used even when the respondents of KQs may have knowledge of the matter at hand.

Extract (5.4), which includes a portion of Extract (5.1), shows two other instances of Typical Type B KQs. The first Typical Type B KQ is in lines 1-2. Here, SY asks whether YJ knows the amount of the national budget for the year the debate was held.

Extract (5.4) [Local SOC_short]

01→	SY:	wuli (.) olhay		kwukka	yeysan-i	elma-nci
		our	this year	nation	budget-NM	how much-OQ
02→		a-si-pnikka?				
		know-SH-DEF:Q				
		Do (you) know how much (our) national budget is (for) this year?				

03 YJ: yey. han sambaykchilsip-ek. (0.2)
yes around 37-billion
Yes. Around 37 billion.

04 sam[bayk]chilsip-co: yey.
370-trillion yes
(Around) 370 trillion (won) yes.

05 SY: [sam-]
three-
Three-

06 SY: [sam]baykchilsipo-[co-pnita.]=
375-trillion-DC:DEF
(It) is 375 trillion (won).

07 YJ: [(um)] [ney: .]
mm Yes.
Mm ***Yes.***

08 SY: =kuntey ku-cwungey (.) cipang eysuossi
but that-among local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)

09 yeysan-i elma-nci
budget-NM how much-OQ

10 a-si-pnikka?
know-SH-Q:DEF
But do (you) know how much the budget for
local social overhead capital is (.) out of that?

11 (0.4)

12 YJ: kulsseyyo mwe cipang eysuossi::-lul
well what local s(ocial) o(verhead) c(apital)-AC

13 mwe cengcheycekulo:,
what overall

14 el[ma-nci : ,]
how much-(be)-OQ
Well, uhm how much local SOC is uhm overall,

Extract (5.4) [Local SOC_short] in Korean

01 →	SY:	우리 (.) 올 해 국가 예산이 얼만지
02 →		아십니까?
03	YJ:	예. 한 삼백칠십억. (0.2)
04		삼[백]칠십조: 예.
05	SY:	[삼-]
06	SY:	[삼]백칠십오[좁니다.]=
07	YJ:	[(음)] [네 : .]
08 →	SY:	=근데 그중에 (.) 지방 에스오씨
09 →		예산이 얼만지
10 →		아십니까?
11		(0.4)
12	YJ:	글쎄요 뭐 지방 에스오씨:: 를
13		뭐 전체적으로:,
14		얼[만지:,]

The sequential environment of SY's first KQ in lines 1-2 here is quite similar with that of KH's KQ in Excerpt (5.3) as it also does not emerge from the prior talk between SY and YJ. In the prior sequence (not shown in the extract), SY asks YJ what he thinks about SY's view that constructing new railways for Great Train Express trains in their district is more urgent than extending the existing railways for Korean Train Express trains to the district. YJ replies that he saw the demand for the Great Train Express project and also included the project as one of his own campaign pledges in addition to the Korean Train Express project. SY's KQ in lines 1-2 then shifts the topic of the debate from the necessity of the Great Train Express project to the total amount of the national budget of South Korea. Thus, the question-answer sequence preceding SY's KQ does not provide any perceivable indication that YJ may not know how much the national budget of South Korea is for the year. In other words, in the sequential context where SY does not have any reasonable ground to assume that YJ may not know the amount of

the national budget, SY designs his KQ in the Typical Type B format using the FE *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do you know~.'

In response to this KQ, YJ provides the approximate amount of the national budget for the year of *sambaykchilsip-co:* '(around) 370 trillion (won).' Although this number is not as accurate as SY seems to wish, it clearly shows that YJ has knowledge of the national budget. YJ's answer in lines 3 and 4 thus makes it relevant for SY to ask a subsequent KQ in lines 8-10 that delves into YJ's knowledge of the amount of local SOC out of the national budget. Consider that if YJ had not known the amount of the national budget, then YJ's ignorance would have logically meant that YJ does not know the amount of local SOC either. In that case, there would have been no point for SY to test YJ's knowledge of the local SOC budget. In this sense, SY's second KQ in lines 8-10, unlike his first KQ, is closely related to the prior KQ-response sequence in lines 1-7.

The prior sequence of SY's second KQ, however, does not show any indication that YJ may not know how much the local SOC is, similar to the prior sequence of SY's first KQ as mentioned in the analysis of Extract (5.1). This means that all of SY's Typical Type B KQs occurred when YJ's vulnerability to the KQs was not present in the details of the interaction between SY and YJ.

The analyses of Extracts (5.3)-(5.4) thus reveal that Typical Type B KQs can appear in the sequential context where the respondent's vulnerability to KQs has not been established in the interaction and thus there is no reasonable ground to assume the possibility that respondent may not be informed of the matter at hand. In this context, the candidate chooses the Typical Type B KQ format, thus linguistically portraying that the respondent may possess the requested knowledge.

5.3.2.3. The Typical Type C KQ Format and Its Sequential Environment of Occurrence

What is unique about Type C KQs in terms of their sequential context of occurrence is that only Typical Type C KQs can appear immediately after a respondent's explicit claim of knowledge.[9] This reveals that Type C KQs linguistically presuppose that the respondent is aware of the requested information. Extracts (5.5) and (5.6) illustrate cases in point. Let us first examine Extract (5.5), which was introduced as Extract (4.4) and analyzed in detail in Section 4.2 of Chapter 4.

In Extract (5.5), OY asks BS whether BS knows what the Customized Child Care System is about in lines 5-6.

Extract (5.5) [Customized Child Care System]

01	OY:	ku taumey chil[wel il-il-pwute cikum]: (.)=	
		that next July first-day-from now	
02	BS:	[hah hah hah hah]	
03	OY:	=e: sihayng yeyceng-i-n,	
		uh starting schedule-be-RL	
04		macchwumhyeng kyoyuk-ceyto-lanun ke-y iss-supnita.	
		tailored education-system-called thing-NM exist-DC:DEF	
		Next, there is something called the "Customized Child Care System," which is scheduled to be uhm implemented (.) starting from July 1.	
05		.h hoksi i nayyong-ey tayhayse	
		by any chance this content-about	

[9] This does not mean that the Typical Type C KQs cannot occur in other sequential envrionments. The Typical Type C KQs can also appear in the sequential environment where the Negative Interrogative Type A KQs or the Typical Type B KQs can occur (see lines 1-3, 5-6, and 12 of Extract (5.8)). However, there are no other types of KQs that can follow overt claims of knowledgeability other than the Typical Type C KQs.

06 al-ko kyey-sip-[nikka?]
know-and be-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) by any chance know
what (the Customized Child Care System) is about ?

07 BS: [ney. al]-ko iss-supnita.
yes know-and be-DC:DEF
Yes, (I) do.

08→ OY: etten nayyong-i-pnikka?
what kind of content-be-Q:DEF
What is (it) about?

09 BS: .hh cilmwun-ey tayhayse cey-ka
question-about I-NM

10 ku nayyoung-ul selmyengha-myen toy-keyss-[na-yo?]
that content-AC explain-if become-SUP-I wonder-Q:POL
.hh In response to the question, would it be enough
if I explained what it is about?

11 OY: [a coh]-supnita.
ah be good-DC:DEF
Fine.

12 kulemun
then
Then,

13 BS: h
h
h

14 OY: cey-ka ilehkey tasi mwut-keyss-supnita.
I-NM like this again ask-will-DC:DEF
I will ask (my question) like this instead.

15 macchumhyeng kyoyuk-ceyto-lul chansengha-si-pnikka?
tailored education-system-AC approve-SH-Q:DEF

16 pantayha-sip-nikka.
disapprove-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) approve or disapprove of the "Customized Child Care System"?

Extract (5.5) [Customized Child Care System] in Korean

01	OY:	그 다음에 칠[월 일일부터 지금]: (.)=
02	BS:	[하 하 하 하]
03	OY:	=어: 시행 예정인,
04		맞춤형 보육제도라는 게 있습니다.
05		.h 혹시 이 내용에 대해서
06		알고 계십[니까?]
07	BS:	[네. 알]고 있습니다.
08→	OY:	어떤 내용입니까?
09	BS:	.hh 질문에 대해서 제가
10		그 내용을 설명하면 되겠[나요?]
11	OY:	[아 좋습]니다.
12		그러믄
13	BS:	h
14	OY:	제가 이렇게 다시 묻겠습니다.
15		맞춤형 보육제도를 찬성하십니까?
16		반대하십니까.

In responding to OY's KQ in line 7, BS claims to have knowledge of the Customized Child Care System by saying *ney. al-ko iss-supnita.* 'Yes, I know.' Note that after BS's claim to have this knowledge, OS designs his follow-up KQ that explicitly asks BS to explain what the Customized Child Care System is in the Typical Type C, wh-question format, thereby not including any FEs and presenting the substance of the question (i.e., the Customized Child Care System) as its focus.

The same pattern is also observable in Extract (5.6). Prior to the exchange shown below, LH was talking about LC's pledge to promote "the Portable 3D Scanner" project as a force of new economic growth for their Iksan constituency. In order to argue that LC does not know that well about the project and is misrepresenting it as a means to bring economic prosperity to Iksan, LH asks LC in lines 1 and 2 whether he knows what the project is.

Extract (5.6) [Portable 3D Scanner]

01	LH:	kukey	cikum	etten	saep-i-nci
		that	now	what kind of	project-be-OQ
02		hoksi		a-si-pnikka?	
		by any chance		know-SH-Q:DEF	
		Do (you) by any chance know what kind of project that is?			
03		(0.2)			
04	LC:	al-c(i)-yo.=	((with a head nod))		
		know-COMM-POL			
		(I) certainly do.			
05→	LH:	=yey.	etten	saep-i-pnikka?	
		yes	what kind of	project-be-Q:DEF	
		Okay. What kind of project is (it)?			
06		cikum	kwucheycekulo (0.3)	ccalpkey	
		now	specifically	briefly	
07		ce-to	cey sikan	iss-unikkan .hh	
		I-also	my time	be-since	
08		samsip	cho (0.6) kelly-ese	malssum-lul	ha-y cwu–si-psio.
		30	second take-and	word: hon.-AC	do-and give-SH-IM:DEF
		Now, (0.3) briefly, in 30 (0.6) seconds,			
		since I have only limited time allotted to me,			
		.hh please tell me specifically what kind of project it is.			
09	LC:	.h ku ceyhanha-l	philyo-nun	eps-nun	ke-ko-yo.
		that limit-RL	need-TC	not exist-RL	NOM-QT-POL
		.h Uhm(you) don't have to limit (my response time).			
10		[ey.]			
		yes			
		You don't.			
11	LH:	[ey.]			
		yes			
		Okay.			

Extract (5.6) [Portable 3D Scanner] in Korean

01	LH:	그게 지금 어떤 사업인지
02		혹시 아십니까?
03		(0.2)
04	LC:	알죠.=
05→	LH:	=예. 어떤 사업입니까?
06		지금 구체적으로 (0.3) 짧게
07		저도 제 시간 있으니깐 .hh
08		삼십 초 (0.6) 걸려서 말씀을 해주십시오.
09	LC:	.h 그 제한할 필요는 없는거고요.
10		[에.]
11	LH:	[에.]

In responding to LH's KQ in line 4, LC strongly claims that he knows about the Portable 3D Scanner project by saying *al-c(i)-yo* '(I) certainly do.' Note that LC includes the committal suffix *–ci* into his response, which is known to index the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition (Lee, 1999) and thereby put an emphasis on his knowledge claim. After LH's strong knowledge claim, LC first acknowledges LH's response with *yey* 'Okay' in line 5 and then asks LH to explicate what kind of project the portable 3D scanner project is. In doing so, LH uses the content-focused Type C format just as OY does in the previous extract.

The analyses of Typical Type C KQs in Extracts (5.5) and (5.6) thus clearly demonstrate that the Typical Type C KQ format can occur after the respondent's claim of possessing the knowledge in question. This then reveals that the Typical Type C KQ format presupposes the respondent's possession of the requested knowledge. This particular presupposition present in the linguistic design of the Typical Type C KQ format explains why the Typical Type A or Type B KQ formats never appear in the sequential position that comes after respondents' claims of possessing the requested knowledge. Both the Typical Type A and Type B KQ formats do not

take the respondents' knowledgeability for granted. Instead, these two formats make finding out whether the respondents (do not) have the requested knowledge their explicit focus.

5.3.3. Summary of Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2

In Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, we have explored the types of linguistic constructions employed by candidates in designing their KQs and the implications of each type on how likely the questioners judge the respondents to have the requested knowledge. According to whether FEs were used or not and what kind of FEs were employed, three main formats of KQs were identified. The Typical Type A KQ format referred to negative KQs formed with the lexically negative verb of *–molu* 'do not know.' The Typical Type B KQ format referred to positive KQs built with FEs that asked about whether the respondents knew or remembered the requested knowledge or whether they had the ability to provide it. The Typical Type C KQ format was produced without such FEs and had respondents explicate the matter being asked about.

The analyses of the sequential environment in which each of the three types of KQ formats occur reveal the epistemic meaning of each KQ format. The Typical Type A KQ format appeared only in the sequential context where the respondent's vulnerability to a KQ had been displayed, for instance, in the next turn position after the respondent displayed difficulty in answering a KQ or after the respondent initiated a repair to solve problems in understanding the questioner's previous turn (see Extracts (5.1) and (5.2)). Thus we can assume that this format embodies the questioner's expectation that the respondent may not have the requested knowledge. By contrast, the Typical Type B KQ format could occur in the sequential environment where the vulnerability of the respondent to a KQ had not been revealed in the details of the prior sequence involving the questioner and the respondent (see Extracts (5.3) and (5.4)). Thus this format

implies the questioner's expectation that the respondent might know about the matter being asked about. Lastly, the Typical Type C KQ format was the only format that could appear after the respondent's explicit claim of possessing knowledge about the matter being asked about (see Extracts (5.5) and (5.6)). Thus this format can be viewed as presupposing the respondent's knowledgeability.In sum, these findings clearly show that the candidates' selection of a particular type of KQ format has a systematic basis.

5.3.4. Fine-Tuning of Epistemic Gradient

Building on the findings from the previous sections, this section examines how candidates fine-tune the epistemic gap embodied in the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ formats between their respondents and themselves. This section will show that candidates use various grammatical elements, such as the committal marker *-ci*, the (long form) negation marker *-ci anh,* the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance,' negatively tilted modal adverb *kwayeon* 'really,' and conditional clauses, as well as the preference organization of polar questions, as a resource to modulate the epistemic gradient. The section will begin by analyzing the modulation of the Typical Type A KQ format, followed by the analyses of the modulation of the Typical Type B KQ format and the modulation of the Typical Type C KQ format in this order.

5.3.4.1 The Typical Type A KQ Format and Epistemic Modulation

5.3.4.1.1. The Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ Format and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ Format

The Typical Type A KQ format implies the questioner's belief that the respondent may be ignorant of the matter being asked about by virtue of its linguistic design. Candidates who issue

KQs can modify the FEs of Typical Type A KQs in order to intensify the epistemic meaning embedded in the Typical Type A KQ format. The candidate can replace the question marker in the FE with the committal suffix *–ci*, which displays the speaker's belief in the truth of the proposition of a question (Lee, 1999), and add the polite particle *–(e/a)yo*. By doing so, the candidate can construct a pseudo-tag question that has a negative main clause, which is the equivalent format of a negative statement plus a tag question as in Example (d) below. I call this pseudo-tag question format 'the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ' format.

Example (d): Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ Format—a pseudo-tag question with a negative main clause that includes the lexically negative verb *molu-* 'not know' and the committal suffix *-ci*

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→ *Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{molu-si-**c(i)-**yo?}→*FE formed with molu- 'not know'* and ***-ci***
not know-SH-**COMM**-POL?
(You) don't know how much our country's annual budget is, do you?

The pseudo-tag question format displays the questioner's epistemic stance that the respondent is *unlikely* to have the requested answer, thereby making the knowledge gap between the candidate and his/her respondent greater than that of the Typical Type A KQ format previously covered in Example (a).

A candidate can also widen the epistemic gap even further by inserting the (long form) negation marker *-ci anh* (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p.165) before the question marker located in the FE of the Typical Type A KQ format. By doing so, the questioner can build a negative interrogative that indexes the speaker's strong certainty that the respondent is *very unlikely* to know about the matter being asked about as in Example (e) below. I call this negative interrogative 'the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ' format.

Example (e): Negative Interrogative Type A KQ Format—a question constituted with *molu-* 'not know' and the (long form) negation marker *-ci anh*

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→ *Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{ molu-si-**ci anh**-supnikka?}→*FE formed with molu-* 'not know' and *-ci anh* 'not'
not know-SH-**L. NEG**-:Q:DEF?
Don't (you) not know how much our country's annual budget is?
(Or, Isn't it the case that you don't know how much our country's annual budget is?)

The different epistemic gap between questioner and respondent conveyed by the Typical Type A, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A, and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ formats discussed so far is graphically represented in the epistemic gradient graph below.

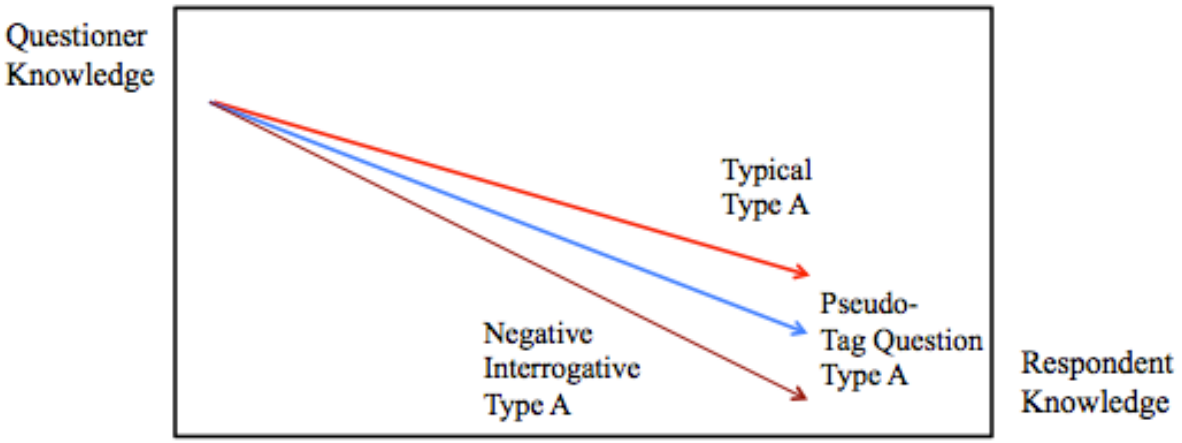


Figure 5.3. The Epistemic Gradient of the Typical Type A, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A, and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ Formats

5.3.4.1.2. The Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ Format and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ Format, and Their Sequential Environments of Occurrence

The following analyses of the sequential environments in which the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format appear provide empirical evidence of how their epistemic meanings differ, which was discussed in Section 5.3.4.1.1.

The Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format appears after a sequence in which there is strong evidence indicating that the respondent is very unlikely to possess the requested knowledge as in Extract (5.7)[10] below. Prior to the exchange, the moderator of the debate allotted B a turn so that B could ask O a question. Taking the turn, B provided the background information that one of O's main pledges was to designate the Ochang Industrial Complex of Science as a Special Zone for the Globalization of Education. In lines 1-5 and 9-10 of Extract (5.7), B then employs two KQs to demonstrate that this pledge of O is not implementable due to the lack of budget and that O has not been aware of this budget issue at all. Whereas B's first KQ is designed in the Typical Type B KQ format, his second KQ is designed in the Pseudo-tag Question Type A KQ format.

Extract (5.7) [Budget for the Special Zone for the Globalization of Education]

01	B:	.hhhh	i:	*osengkyun*	hwupo-kkeyse-nun	kumnyento:-ey
			this	O	candidate-NM:hon.-TC	this year-at
02		kyoyuk- (.)	kwukceyhwa-thukkwu-saep-kwa			kwanlyentoy-n
		education	globalization-special zone-project-with			be related-RL
03		.hh ey:	kyoyukpwu-uy		yeysani, (.)	
		uhm	Ministry of education-POS		budget-NM	
04		elma-ka	hwakpotoy-nci			
		how much-NM	be secured-OQ			
05		a-si-pnikka?				
		know-SH-Q:DEF				

.hhhh Do you know how much of .hh uhm the Ministry of Education's budget this year has been secured (.) in terms of 'Special Zones for the Globalization (.) of Education' projects like yours?

05 (0.3)

[10] Extract (5.7) is the only instance of the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format found in the data for this dissertation.

06 O: um cenghwakhi cal molu-keyss-supnita.=
uhm exactly well not know-SUP-DC:DEF
Uhm (I) do not know (very) well exactly (how much).

07 B: =hana-to eps-supnita.
one-even be not-DC:DEF
None.

08 (0.4)

09→ B: icensipsa nyento yesan-un elmma-nci
2014 year budget-TC how much-OQ

10→ molu-si-**c(i)**-yo.
do not know-SH-**COMM**-POL
(You) don't know how much the budget was for 2014, do you?

11 (0.7)

12 B: hana-to eps-supnita.
one-even not be-DC:DEF
None.

Extract (5.7) [Budget for the Special Zone for the Globalization of Education] in Korean

01 B: .hhhh 이: 오성균 후보께서는 금년도:에
02 교육 (.) 국제화특구사업과 관련된
03 .hh 에: 교육부의 예산이, (.)
04 얼마가 확보된지 아십니까?
05 (0.3)
06 O: 음 정확히 잘 모르겠습니다.=
07 B: =하나도 없습니다.
08 (0.4)
09→ B: 이천십사 년도 예산은 얼만지
10→ 모르시죠.
11 (0.7)
12 B: 하나도 없습니다.

B's first KQ deals with the amount of the Ministry of Education's 2016 budget set aside for 'Special Zones for the Globalization of Education' projects such as the one O has proposed. Note that this KQ is located in B's turn that begins a new question-answer sequence. The

interaction among the candidates before this debate played no part in the emergence of this KQ. Thus, since B has no interactional grounds to assume that O may not have the requested knowledge, he designs his KQ in the Typical Type B KQ format.

B's second KQ, however, is situated in a different sequential context from his first KQ. It is positioned right after the first KQ-response sequence in lines 1-7. In particular, in line 6 O explicitly admits his ignorance of the substance of B's first KQ by saying *Um cenghwakhi cal molu-keyss-supnita* 'Uhm (I) do not know (very) well exactly (how much).' Given that O does not know how much the Ministry of Education's budget for these projects is for the current year (i.e., 2016), he is very unlikely to know how much the amount of the budget was further back in 2014. In this sequential environment where B can assume with more certainty based on the evidence present in the interactional details that O is uninformed about the matter being asked about, B designs his KQ in the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A format.

The Negative Interrogative Type A KQs occur when the prior sequence(s) to the present KQ-response sequence provide very strong indications that the respondents do not know the matter at hand, such as the respondents' successive non-responses or the admission of their ignorance about previous KQs that dealt with the same substance as the current KQ. Extract (5.8) illustrates the former while Extract (5.9) illustrates the latter.

In Extract (5.8), a part of which was introduced in Extract (3.3), K is testing W's knowledge of the set price of tangerines per kilogram sold by farmers to manufacturers as ingredients for processed food. In doing so, K issues a series of essentially the same KQs to W as W keeps avoiding verbally responding to them. After W lets pass numerous opportunities to provide an answer to virtually the same KQs, K finally delivers his KQ in the Negative

Interrogative Type A format in line 14. The detailed analyses of this extract that capture the course of K's designing the KQs follow the extract shown below.

Extract (5.8) [Manufacturers' Purchasing Price_Long]

01 K: ey: khentheyna han: ani- .hh
uh container one I mean

02 ku khilokulam-tang kakong: kakyek-i
that kilogram-per manufacturing price-NM

03 kakong swumay kakyek-i elma-pnikka?
manufacturing purchasing price-NM how much-Q:DEF
Uh. how much is the manufacturing price, the manufacturers' purchasing price per container, I mean- .hh per kilogram?

04→ (1.6) ((W smiles and looks at K))
1st opportunity for K to answer

Figure 5.4. W Smiling and Looking at K

05 K: elma-pnikka?
how much-Q:DEF
How much is (it)?

06 khilokulam-tang kakong swumay kakyek-i elma-pnikka?
kilogram-per manufacturing purchasing price-NM how much-Q:DEF
How much is the manufacturers' purchasing price per kilogram?

07→ (0.7) ((W looks at his memos))
2nd opportunity

08→ W: yey:. ((W stops smiling))
3rd opportunity yes
Ok.

09 (0.8)

10 K: ka-se mwe-l-hay-ss-supnikka?
go-and what-AC-do-PST-Q:DEF
What did (you) do when (you) were there?

11 (0.7)

12 K: a kakong: swumay kkakyek[11] elma-pnikka?
well manufacturing purchasing price how much-Q:DEF
Well, how much is the manufacturers' purchasing price?

13→ (1.3)
4th opportunity

14→ K: ku kakyek molu-si-***ci anh***-supnikka.
the price not know-SH-**L. NEC**-Q:DEF
Don't you not know the price?
(Or '***Isn't it the case that you do not know the price?')***

15 (.)

16 K: [ca]
look
Look,

17 W: [al]-c(i)-yo,=
know-COMM:POL
Of course, (I) know (it).

18 K: =elma-pnikka.=
how much-Q:DEF
How much (is it)?

19 W: =yey. paykosip wen-i-pnita.
okay 150 won-be-DC:DEF
Okay. (It)'s 150 won.

20 (0.2) ((K is looking at his notes.))

21 K: payk:osip wen:-i [ani-ko]= ((looking at his notes))
150 won-NM be not-and
(It)'s not 150 won;

[11] K pronounced the word *kakyek* 'price' as *kkakeyk* 'price' by making the initial sound *k* tensed.

22 W: [yey : .]
okay
Okay.

23 K: =paykyuksip [wen-i-pnita.]
160 won-be-DC:DEF
(It)'s 160 won.

Extract (5.8) [Manufacturers' Purchasing Price_Long] in Korean

01 K: 에: 컨테나 한: 아니- .hh
02 그 킬로그람당 가공: 가격이
03 가공 수매 가격이 얼맙니까?
04→ (1.6) ((W smiles and looks at K))

Figure 5.4 W Smiling and Looking at K

05 K: 얼맙니까?
06 킬로그람당 가공 수매 가격이 얼맙니까?
07→ (0.7) ((W looks at his memos))
08→ W: 예:. ((W stops smiling))
09 (0.8)
10 K: 가서 뭘했습니까?
11 (0.7)
12 K: 아 가공: 수매 까격 얼맙니까?
13→ (1.3)
14→ K: 그 가격 모르시지 않습니까.
15 (.)
16 K: [자]
17 W: [알]죠,=
18 K: =얼맙니까.=
19 W: =예. 백오십 원입니다.
20 (0.2) ((K is looking at his notes.))
21 K: 백: 오십원:이 [아니고]= ((looking at his notes))

22 W: [예:.]
23 K: =백육십[원입니다.]

Before K utters his first KQ in lines 1-3, K builds a question preface that is not shown here. In the question preface, K invoked W's claim, which was made earlier during the debate, of having learned a lot by visiting various places that were directly related to the lives of the citizens in their constituency. W's claim may be heard as implying that he is knowledgeable about what matters to their citizens such as the tangerine market situation, the tangerine industry being one of the major industries in their constituency. K then continued with his preface, enunciating that the purpose of his upcoming question was to see what W had learned by visiting factories that made processed tangerine products.

In accordance with W's earlier claim and potential implication of his knowledgeability, K designs his first KQ in lines 1-3 as a wh-question, which belongs to the Type C format and thereby presupposes W's knowledge of the manufacturers' purchasing price for tangerines. Although K's KQ makes W's answer a relevant next action (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), W does not provide any verbal response and instead yields a 1.6 second silence in line 4. During this period of silence, W smiles at K, which can be interpreted as a sign that foreshadows W's trouble in answering K's KQ as shown in the analysis of Extract (3.24) in Chapter 3.

In dealing with W's silence, K renews his first KQ by repeating only the predicate part of his initial KQ, i.e., *elma-pnikka?* 'how much is (it)? with a rising intonation in line 5. After renewing the KQ, however, K does not wait for W's response. Instead, K employs a self-initiated self-repair on his KQ by saying *kakong swumay kakyek-i elma-pnikka?* 'How much is the manufacturers' purchasing price per kilogram?' in line 6 in order to specify the price he is referring to. In spite of K's second pursuit of W's response, W does not immediately provide his

response and instead yields a 0.7 second silence. In line 8 W finally provides a verbal response with the receipt token *yey* 'yes.' This response of W falls short of what is requested by K's KQ in that it merely acknowledges having understood K's KQ and nothing more. W, however, does not proceed to provide an answer to K's KQ as seen in the 0.8 second of silence in line 9.

In face of W's successive attempts to avoid answering K's KQs about the manufacturers' purchasing price of tangerines, K issues an accountability question in line 10 that seeks W's explanation on what W did instead of learning about the matter being asked about when he was visiting the factories. This accountability question thus reflects K's understanding that W does not provide an answer because W does not know the answer. W, however, does not answer this either and deals with it with a silence as seen in the 0.7 second silence of line 11.

W's successive resistance to engaging in K's KQs (and the accountability question) does not deter K from continuing his pursuit to test W's knowledgeability. In line 12 K renews his initial KQ again by saying *a kakong: swumay kkakyek elma-pnikka?*
'Well, how much is the manufacturers' purchasing price?,' thereby urging W to answer his question. In spite of K's persistence, W again refuses to answer K's KQ, producing a 1.3 second silence in line 12.

After W's numerous attempts to avoid answering virtually the same KQs issued by K, which can be seen as strong empirical evidence that W is very unlikely to know the price, K finally uses the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format in designing his KQ in line 14. K's employment of this format in a sequential environment where the interactional details between K and W strongly suggest W's ignorance of the matter at hand thus shows that the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format embodies the questioner's strong certainty towards the respondent's ignorance of the requested knowledge.

Readers who have been carefully following the analysis of this extract may be wondering why K kept using the Typical Type C KQ format before employing the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format in line 14. K's KQs in lines 5-6 and 12 certainly are located after W's vulnerability to the KQs has been established in the course of the KQ-response sequences, i.e., in a sequential environment where the Typical Type A KQ format can occur. Does this then mean that this study's analysis of the Typical Type C KQ format is incorrect?

The answer to this question lies in a close examination of lines 17 and 18. In line 17 W answers K's KQ designed in the Negative Interrogative Type A format with *al-c(i)-yo* 'I know for sure,' which includes the committal suffix *–c(i)* and shows W strongly claiming to be knowledgeable. After W's strong claim of having the knowledge in question, K renews his initial KQ once more by issuing the wh-question *elma-pnikka* 'How much is (it)?' Note how K's KQ here is designed in the Typical Type C KQ format—not in the Typical Type A or Type B KQ format. This observation thus confirms that the Typical Type C KQ format indeed presupposes the respondent's knowledge of the requested information.

That being said, why then did K use KQs in the Typical Type C KQ format in lines 5-6 and 12 and not in the Typical Type A KQ format or the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format? Two reasons are possible: by using the Typical Type C KQ format throughout his KQs, K can maintain the structural affinity between his initial KQ and his subsequent renewed KQs. This structural affinity among K's KQs helps them appear essentially the same. Refer to Tables 5.1-a and 5.1-b below where K's initial and renewed KQs are aligned with one another to demonstrate just how similar they are.

Table 5.1-a. Comparison Between K's Initial KQs and His Renewed KQs[12]

K's Initial KQ (lines 2-3)	… ku khilokulam-tang … kakong swumay kakyek-i that kilogram-per manufacturing purchasing price-NM elma-pnikka? how much-Q:DEF ***Uh. how much is… the manufacturers' purchasing price … per kilogram?***
1st renewal (line 5)	elma-pnikka? how much-Q:DEF ***How much is (it)?***
2nd renewal (line 6)	khilokulam-tang kakong swumay kakyek-i kilogram-per manufacturing purchasing price-NM elma-pnikka? how much-Q:DEF ***how much is the manufacturers' purchasing price per kilogram?***
3rd renewal (line 12)	a kakong swumay kkakyek ah manufacturing purchasing price elma-pnikka? how much-Q:DEF ***Well, how much is the manufacturers' purchasing price per kilogram?***

Table 5.1-b. Comparison Between K's Initial KQs and His Renewed KQs-Romanized Korean Only

K's initial KQ	… ku khilokulam-tang … kakong swumay kakyek-i elma-pnikka?
1st renewal	elma-pnikka?
2nd renewal	khilokulam-tang kakong swumay kakyek-i elma-pnikka?
3rd renewal	a kakong swumay kkakyek elma-pnikka?

By making it clear that K is asking virtually the same questions repeatedly, K can highlight the fact that W is not answering his initial KQ and is thus causing K to constantly renew his initial KQ. In particular, note the inclusion of the exclamation *a*, translated as 'come on,' in the beginning of the KQ in line 12 that renews K's initial KQ a second time. The exclamation *a,* which both indicates K's annoyance and urges W to respond to the KQ, further

[12] The trouble sources of self-initiated self-repair that are replaced with other expressions and fillers are not shown in Tables 5.1-a and 5.1-b.

shows that in renewing his initial KQs, K is oriented towards W's constant avoidance of providing an answer. Additionally, the Typical Type C KQs in lines 5-6 and 12 seem to index K's stance that W *should* know the manufactures' purchasing price for tangerines, and they thereby highlight the gap between this expectation of K and W's actual nonresponse suggesting his ignorance of the matter.

The occurrence of the Typical Type C KQ format in a sequential environment where this particular format does not seem to be the best fit thus shows that candidates can either choose a particular linguistic design that matches the given sequential context (e.g., K's using the Typical Type A or Pseudo-tag Question Type A KQ format in lines 5-6 and 12 to take into account W's vulnerability to the KQs displayed in the prior sequences), or they can actively reshape the meaning of the sequential context by selecting a particular linguistic format (e.g., K's using the Typical Type C KQ in lines 5-6 and 12 to emphasize the gap between the expectation that W should be able to answer the KQs and the reality that W is not answering and is likely unable to answer them).

Now, let us move on to Extract (5.9) and continue to explore the sequential context in which the Negative Interrogative Type A format occurs. In this extract, CYM and KGY are talking about transmission towers that are being built in their constituency. The transmission tower project has been causing serious conflict between the constructor Korea Electronic Power Corporation (KEPCO) and the residents who do not want to sell their plots to KEPCO for the construction of the towers. In order to test KGY's knowledge of the issues concerning the transmission tower project, CYM asks KGY in lines 1-4 to provide the number of transmission towers the plots for which were bought after reaching an agreement with the landlords. In doing

so, CYM designs his KQ as a wh-question that belongs to the Typical Type C KQ format and presupposes KGY's knowledge of the substance of his KQ.

Extract (5.9) [Transmission Towers]

01 CYM: (kulem) phalsipphal kay cwungey:,
then 88 CL among

02 .h yongci-lul mayiphe-nuntey:,
plot-AC buy-given that

03 tangsaca-wa hyepuyhe-n kes-i
party directly concerned-with negotiate-RL NOM-NM

04 myech kay-na toy-pnikka.
how many CL-approximately be-Q:DEF
Then among these 88 (transmission towers),
h approximately how many of the plots have been bought after reaching an agreement with the party directly concerned?

05 (0.9)

06 KGY: yey. tangsaca-wa silceylo, (0.2)
okay party directly concerned-with actually

07 wenmanhan hyepuy-lul kechi-n: kyengwu-to iss-ko,
amicable negotiation-AC go through-RL case-also be-and

08 CYM: a kunikka myech kay-na toy-nunya- kwu-yo.
well I mean how many CL-approximately be-Q-QT- POL
Well, what I asked is approximately how many.

09→ KGY: cenghwakhakey (.) kaysswu-nun [molu-keyss-supnita cey-ka.]
exactly number-TC not know-SUP-DC:DEF I-NM
I don't know the exact number.

10 CYM: [ani ponin-i akka]
well yourself-NM a while ago

11 *kim* hwupo-hantey .hh phalsipphal kay molu-nta-ko
Kim candidate-to 88 CL not know-DC-QT

12 mak:: mwe-la ku-te-nti (.) ponin-i .h=
harshly what-QT say-RT-but yourself-NM
Wait, you yourself were pretty harsh on candidate Kim
.hh for not knowing that (the total number of transmission towers) are
88. (.) But you yourself .h

13 KGY: =ani phalsipphal kay-nun mac-nun[tey-yo,]
well 88 CL-TC right-given that-POL
Well, 88 is right.

14 CYM: [(ey) ku]nikka (.)
uhm I mean
Uhm I mean

15→ KGY: ku-cwungey myech kay-ka cenghwakhakey
them-among how many CL-NM exactly

16→ hyepuy-lul thonghayse ha-yss-nunci swuyong celcha-lul
negotiation-AC through do-PST-OQ expropriation process-AC

17→ thonghayse ha-yss-nunci[-nun mo-]
through do-PST-OQ-TC not know
(I) don't kn(ow) exactly how many among them went through
the process of negotiation or the process of expropriation among them.

18 CYM: [kuke-n a]:cwu cwungyohan ke-canha-yo.
that-TC very important thing-you know-POL
That's very important, isn't it?

... *(CYM and KGY argue whether or not the substance CYM's KQ deals with is*
important for understanding the conflict around the construction of
... *the transmission towers in the omitted 10 lines))*

29 CYM: [camkkan] kitali [(cey-key)] (.)=
for a second wait me-to
Hold on a second. To me

30 KGY [yey yey.]
yes yes
Yes. Yes.

31 CYM: =cey-ka phalsipphal kay-c(i)-yo.
I-NM 88 CL-COMM-POL
I (have more things to say). There are surely 88 (transmission towers planned)

32 KGY: ney. ney.
yes yes
Yes. Yes.

33→ CYM: phalsipphal kay-eyse etten kim- kim hwupo-kkeyse (0.2)
88 CL-among what KGY KGY candidate-NM:hon.

34→ hyepuy-ka myech kay-ko swuyong-i myech kay-nci
negotiation-NM how many CL-and expropriation-NM how many-CL-OQ

35→ **molu**-ko kyey-si-**ci anh**-supnikka?
not know-and be:hon.-SH-**L.NEG** -Q:DEF
Don't yo- you not know, among these 88 (transmission towers), how many of the plots (have been procured) through the process of negotiation and how many (were obtained) through the process of expropriation?

(Or, Among these 88 (transmission towers), isn't it the case that you do not know how many of the plots (have been procured) through the process of negotiation and how many (were obtained) through the process of expropriation?)

36 (.)

37 KGY: ney. kuke-n cenghwakhan swusca[nun cey-ka kiek-i]=
no that-TC exact number-TC I-NM memory-NM
No. Regarding that,

38 CYM: [a kunikka molu-ko]
well so not know-and
Well, (the fact that you) do not know

39 KGY: =na-ci anh-supnita.
come out-L. NEG-DC:DEF
I cannot remember the exact numbers

Extract (5.9) [Transmission Towers] in Korean

01 CYM: (그럼) 팔십팔 개 중에:, .h
02 용지를 매입허는데:,
03 당사자와 협의헌 것이
04 몇 개나 됩니까.
05 (0.9)
06 KGY: 예. 당사자와 실제로, (0.2)
07 원만한 협의를 거친: 경우도 있고,

08 CYM: 아 그니까 몇 개나 되느냐구요.
09→ KGY: 정확하게 (.) 갯수는 [모르겠습니다 제가.]
10 CYM: [아니 본인이 아까]
11 김 후보한테 .hh 팔십팔 개 모른다고
12 막:: 뭐라 그던디 (.) 본인이 ..h=
13 KGY: =아니 팔십팔 개는 맞는[데요,]
14 CYM: [(에) 그]니까 (.)
15→ KGY: 그중에 몇 개가 정확하게
16→ 협의를 통해서 했는지
17→ 수용 절차를 통해서 했는지[는 모-]
18 CYM: [그건 아]:주 중요한거잖아요.
… *(CYM and KGY argue whether or not the substance CYM's KQ deals with is important for understanding the conflict around the construction of*
... *the transmission towers in the omitted 10 lines))*
29 CYM: [잠깐] 기다리 [(제게)] (.)=
30 KGY: [예예.]
31 CYM: =제가 팔십팔 개죠.
32 KGY: 네. 네.
33→ CYM: 팔십팔 개에서 어떤 김- 김 후보께서 (0.2)
34→ 협의가 몇 개고 수용이 몇 갠지
35→ 모르고 계시지 않습니까?
36 (.)
37 KGY: 네. 그건 정확한 숫자[는 제가 기억이] =
38 CYM: [아 그니까 모르고]
39 KGY: =나지 않습니다.

In response to CYM's KQ, KGY provides an evasive answer by resisting the action agenda set by CYM's KQ. Instead of providing the exact number of transmission towers whose plots were purchased after reaching an agreement with the landlords, KGY does not specify the number at all. As seen in lines 6-7, KGY vaguely states that some cases have actually reached an agreement with the directly concerned party without much difficulty.

Faced with KGY's evasive response, CYM reissues his initial KQ by reformulating it in a way that linguistically registers the evasiveness of KGY's response. In line 8 CYM starts his turn with the turn-initial item *-ani* 'no' to negate the appropriateness of KGY's response as an answer.

Then, CYM adds the repair initiator *kunikka* 'I mean,' which implies that KGY's response to CYM's KQ does not display KGY's proper understanding of CYM's KQ. Next, CYM explicitly asks KGY to provide the requested number by saying *myech kay-na toy-nunya-kwu-yo* 'what I asked is approximately how many.' Note that the question is designed as a *reduced indirect quotation* with *-nya-ko* 'what I asked~,' which CYM pronounces as *-nya-kwu.* According to Yeon and Brown (2011, p.394), this syntactic construction is employed when the speaker repeats his/her prior utterance due to the listener's failure to hear or carefully pay attention. We can thus see that CYM is using this particular syntactic construction in order to linguistically express that his KQ in line 8 is a repeat of his initial KQ in lines 1-4 and that KGY's response in lines 6-7 does not display an adequate understanding of CYM's KQ in lines 1-4. In other words, the syntactic design of CYM's KQ in line 8 foregrounds the evasiveness of KGY's response.

Another interesting point about the syntactic design of CYM's follow-up KQ in line 8 is that it is also designed in the Typical Type C KQ format, just as his first KQ was. Consider that CYM's follow-up KQ does not include FEs that show the focus of the question to be finding out whether the respondent knows about the substance of the question or has the ability to provide the requested information. Instead, the linguistic design of CYM's follow-up KQ focuses the KQ on its substance by asking KGY to provide the requested information. It seems that by maintaining the same Typical Type C KQ format across the first KQ and the follow-up KQ, CYM is building consistency between these two KQs, thereby making it easier to recognize the follow-up KQ as a repeat of the first KQ, just as K of Extract (5.8) did. In sum, CYM's follow-up KQ located in line 8 has multiple linguistic features that highlight the evasiveness in KGY's response.

After CYM's follow-up KQ, KGY explicitly admits his ignorance of the matter being

asked about in line 9 by saying <u>cengh</u>*wakhakey (.) kaysswu-nun molu-keyss-supnita cey-ka* 'I don't know the exact number.' This remark of KGY leads CYM in lines 10-12 to invoke KGY's prior conduct of rebuking another candidate for not knowing the total number of transmission towers. This in turn points out that KGY does not in fact know that well about the matters concerning the transmission towers either and thus should not have rebuked another candidate's ignorance. Before CYM explicitly problematizes KGY's ignorance, KGY interrupts CYM's talk in progress in line 13. Then, in lines 13 and 15-17, KGY clarifies what he knows and what he does not know about the issues concerning transmission towers. In doing so, KGY again admits that he does not know the exact number of the transmission towers that were bought after reaching an agreement with the landlords by saying that he does not know exactly how many went through the process of negotiation or the process of expropriation. Thus, KGY's remarks in line 9 and 15-17 clearly show that KGY does not know the correct answer to CYM's KQs.

Following KGY's admission of his ignorance, CYM attempts to rebuke KGY's ignorance by emphasizing how important it is to know the requested information. However, CYM's attempt gets thwarted, as KGY disagrees with CYM by maintaining that the information is not that important to know (not shown in the transcript). CYM first stops KGY's talk in line 29 and tries to get their talk back on the *right* track (from CYM's perspective) in lines 31 and 33-35 by retracting their talk to the point just before line 18 where the argument between CYM and KGY had begun.

More specifically, CYM achieves the retraction by issuing an utterance that can be heard as sequentially coming after KGY's remarks in lines 13 and 15-17 through format-tying (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). To begin with, note how CYM mirrors KGY's remark in line 13

in designing his utterance in line 31 as seen in -a[13] below. In line 13 KGY enunciates that the total number of the transmission towers planned to be built is 88 and that this number is correct by saying *ani phalsipphal kay-nun mac-nuntey-yo.* In line 31 CYM also mentions with certainty that the total number of the transmission towers is 88, using the committal suffix *–c(i)*, which is known to index the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition (Lee, 1999). In expressing this information, CYM uses the exact same phrase—*phalsipphal kay* '88'—as KGY. Additionally, CYM matches KGY's confidence embedded in the expression *mac-* 'is right' with his own certainty, using the committal suffix *–c(i)*.

Table 5.2-a. Comparison Between KGY's remark in Line 13 and CYM's Remark in Line 31

13	KGY:	=ani {**phalsipphal kay**}$_{a}$-nun {**mac**}$_{b}$-nun[tey-yo,]
		well 88 CL-TC right-given that-DC:POL
		Well, 88 is right.
31	CYM:	=cey-ka {**phalsipphal kay**}$_{a}$-{**c(i)**}$_{b}$-yo
		I-NM 88 CL-COMM-POL
		I (have more things to say).
		There are surely 88 (transmission towers planned)

CYM also extensively employs the format-tying techniques when he designs his KQ in lines 33-35. Compare CYM's KQ in lines 33-35 with KGY's remark in lines 15-17 and note the remarkable similarity between these two utterances as shown in Table 5.2-b below.

[13] In Tables 5.2-a and 5.2-b, the matching parts are indicated with { } and the matching pairs are indicated with subscripts.

Table 5.2-b. Comparison Between KGY's Remark in Lines 15-17 and CYM's Remark in Lines 33-35

15	KGY:	{**ku-cwungey**}$_{a}$ {**myech kay-ka**}$_{b\ \&\ c}$ cenghwakhakey them-among how many CL-NM exactly
16		{**hyepuy-lul thonghayse ha-yss-nunci**}$_{b}$ {**swuyong celcha-lul** negotiation-AC through do-PST-OQ expropriation process-AC
17		**tonghayse ha-yss-nunci**}$_{c}$-[nun {**mo-**}$_{d}$] through do-PST-OQ-TC not know *(I) don't kn(ow) exactly how many among them went through the process of negotiation or the process of expropriation.*
33	CYM:	{**phalsipphal kay-eyse**}$_{a}$ etten kim- kim-hwupo-kkeyse (0.2) 88 thing-among how KGY KGY-candidate-NM:hon.
34		{**hyepuy-ka myech kay-ko**}$_{b}$ {**swuyong-i myech kay-nci**}$_{c}$ negotiation-NM how many-CL-and expropriation-NM how many-CL-OQ
35		{**molu**}$_{d}$-ko kyey-si-**ci anh**-supnikka? not know-and be:ho.n-SH-**L.NEG**-Q:DEF *Don't yo- you not know, among these 88 (transmission towers), how many of the plots (have been procured) through the process of negotiation and how many (were obtained) through the process of expropriation?*

First of all, CYM matches KGY's *ku-cwungey* 'among them' with *phalsipphal kay-eyse* 'among these 88,' which specifies the reference of *ku* as the 88 transmission towers and uses *–eyse ,* the synonym of *–cwungey,* to mean 'among.' Second, CYM's clause *hyepuy-ka myech kay-ko* 'how many (of the plots have been procured through) the process of negotiation' can be paired with KGY's clause *myech kay-ka hyepuy-lul thonghayse ha-yss-nunci* 'how many went through the process of negotiation.' Although there is a difference between CYM's clause and KGY's in that the former puts *hyepuy* 'the process of negotiation' in the subject position and

myech kay 'how many' in the predicate position and vice versa in the latter,[14] the virtual meanings of the two clauses, not to mention the use of the words *hyepuy* the process of negotiation' and *myech kay* 'how many' in both clauses, are the same. Third, CYM's clause *swuyong-i myech kay-nci* 'how many were (obtained through) the process of expropriation' resonates with KGY's clause *myech kay-ka swuyong celcha-lul tonghayse ha-yss-nunci* 'how many went through the process of expropriation among them.' Similar to previous cases, these two clauses differ in that in CYM's clause *swuyong* 'the process of expropriation' takes the subject position and *myech kay* 'how many' occurs in the predicate position, whereas in KGY's clause, the order of the two expressions are reversed. However, the two clauses mean essentially the same thing. Lastly, CYM's use the verb *molu-* 'not know,' which KGY used but did not fully pronounce due to CYM's interruption as indicated in the cut-off symbol of *mo-* 'not know'.

The extensive resonance between CYM's remarks in lines 31 and 33-35 and KGY's previous utterances in lines 13 and 15-17 thus provides clear evidence that CYM's KQ in lines 33-35 is built on KGY's utterances in lines 15-17. We have now reached the point to discuss the linguistic design of CYM's KQ in lines 33-35 in regard to the epistemic dimension of KQ design. Note that CYM's KQ, which seeks KGY's confirmation that KGY himself does not know about the matter being asked about, is designed in the Negative Interrogative Type A format. Consider the sequential position where this Negative Interrogative Type A KQ occurs: CYM's KQ in the Negative Interrogative Type A format occurred after and was also built on KGY's admission of his lack of knowledge about the matter at hand, the most conspicuous and robust evidence of KGY's ignorance. CYM's use of the Negative Interrogative Type A format in this particular sequential environment thus supports the argument that the Negative Interrogative

[14] These differences in the sentential structure are not reflected in the English translation due to fundamental structural differences in English and Korean.

Type A KQ format indicates the questioner's strong belief that the respondent is very unlikely to know the matter being asked about.

5.3.4.1.3. Summary of Section 5.3.4.1

So far we have explored how candidates modulate the epistemic gap between the respondents and themselves as embodied in the Typical Type A KQ format. The Typical Type A KQ format implies the questioner's belief that the respondent may be ignorant of the matter being asked about. Candidates, however, can modify the FEs of Typical Type A KQs in order to intensify the epistemic meaning embedded in the Typical Type A KQ format. For instance, candidates include the committal suffix *–ci* in the FEs of Typical Type A KQs to form Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQs, which suggest the candidate's belief that the respondent is unlikely to know the matter at hand. In addition, they use the (long form) negation marker *–ci anh* to construct Negative Interrogative Type A KQs, which indicates the candidate's strong belief that the respondent is very unlikely to know the answer to the KQs. Thus, the epistemic gap between the questioners and the respondents becomes greater following the order of the Typical Type A, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A, and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format. The analyses of the sequential environments where the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format occur provided further empirical evidence to support this. A respondent's vulnerability to the KQs shown in the details of the interactions becomes greater and more evident in the following order: the Typical Type A KQ format, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format, and the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format.

5.3.4.2 The Typical Type B KQ Format and Epistemic Modulation

5.3.4.2.1. The Reversed Preference Type B KQ Format and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ Format

The Typical Type B KQ format embodies the questioner's expectation that the respondent may know about the matter being asked about by virtue of their linguistic design. Candidates can modulate the epistemic meaning implied in the Typical Type B KQ format using linguistic devices just as they did for the Typical Type A KQ format, although differences exist between the two. Whereas candidates modulate the Typical Type A KQ format only in the direction of intensifying the implied epistemic meaning, they modulate the Typical Type B KQ format not only to intensify but also to weaken the epistemic meaning present in the Typical Type B KQ format.

Let us first explore how candidates weaken the epistemic meaning of the Typical Type B KQ format. Candidates use negative polarity items such as *hoksi* 'by any chance' or negatively titled adverbs such as *kwayeon* 'really' to influence the preference structure of Typical Type B KQs and favor the answer that disaffirms the respondent's knowledge of the substance of the KQs over the one that affirms it. Designed as a positively formulated question that grammatically makes either a yes or no answer relevant, Typical Type B KQs normally prefer a yes answer that affirms the respondent's knowledge over a no answer that disaffirms it. However, the presence of negative polarity items or negatively tilted adverbs can reverse this preference (Heritage, 2011; Heritage & Robinson, 2011). Thus, candidates use negative polarity items or negatively tilted adverbs to linguistically express their expectation that the respondent may *not* know about the matter being asked about. I call this type of KQ format that includes either a negative polarity item or a negatively tilted modal adverb the 'Reversed Preference Type B KQ'

format. Some examples of KQs designed in the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format (i.e., Reversed Preference Type B KQs) are given below.

Example (f): Reversed Preference Type B KQ Format—this format is built out of of the Typical Type B KQ format, but it includes a negatively tilted modal adverb such as *hoksi* 'by any chance' and *kwayeon* 'really' that modifies its FE and thereby favors a no answer that disaffirms the respondent's knowledge of the matter being asked about.

(f-1)

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→*Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{hoksi/kwayeon} {a-si-pnikka?}→*FE modified by a negative polarity item*
by any chance/really know-SH- Q:DEF *or a negatively tilted adverb*
Do (you) by any chance know how much our country's annual budget is?
Do (you) really know how much our country's annual budget is?

(f-2)

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci}→*Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{hoksi/kwayeon} {malssumha-y cwu-si-l su iss-supnikka?}→ *FE modified by* a
by any chance/really tell:hon.-and give-SH-can-be-Q:DEF *negative polarity item or*
Could (you) by any chance tell (me) *a negatively tilted adverb*
how much our country's annual budget is?
Can (you) really tell (me) how much our country's annual budget is?

As mentioned earlier, the Typical Type B KQ format can also be modulated towards intensifying their epistemic meaning with the use of the committal suffix *–ci*, which displays the speaker's belief in the truth of the proposition of a question (Lee, 1999).[15] Using the committal

[15] Although candidates employ both the committal suffix *–ci* and the (long form) negation marker *–ci anh* for the epistemic modulation of the Typical Type A KQ format, they only use the committal suffix *–ci* for the modulation of the Typical Type B KQ format even though there is no grammatical constraint prohibiting the use of *–ci anh* with the Typical Type B KQ format.

suffix -*ci* in the FEs that are formed with the verbs of knowing/remembering, candidates construct a pseudo-tag question expressing the speaker's belief that the respondent is likely to know the matter being asked about. As can be seen in Example (g) below, this Typical Type B KQ format is equivalent to a positive statement plus a tag question in English. I call this pseudo-tag question format 'the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ' format.

Example (g) the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ Format—a pseudo-tag question that includes the verbs of knowing/remembering and the committal suffix -*ci*

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci**}**→*Substance of KQ*
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ

{a-si-**c(i)-**yo?**}**→*FE formed with the verb of knowing al- 'know'*
know-SH-POL *and the committal suffix –c(i)*
(You) know how much our country's annual budget is, don't you?

Based on the aforementioned explication, we can see that the epistemic gap between a questioner of a KQ and its respondent becomes smaller following the order of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format, the Typical Type B KQ format, and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format. Accordingly, the epistemic gradient between the questioner and the respondent becomes less steep in the same order. Figure 5.5 graphically represents the epistemic gradients of these three formats.

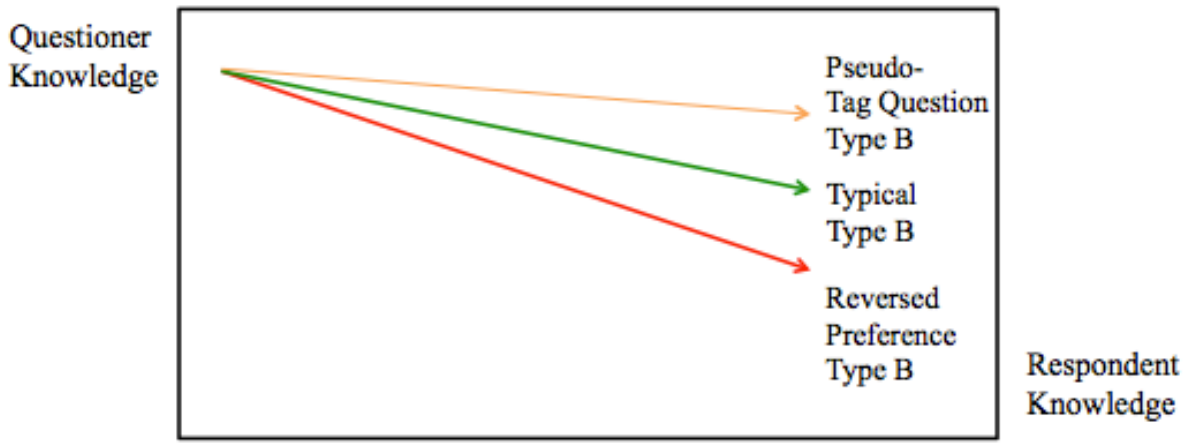


Figure 5.5. The Epistemic Gradient of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ Format, the Typical Type B KQ Format, and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ Format

5.3.4.2.2. The Reversed Preference Type B KQ Format and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ Format, and Their Sequential Environments of Occurrence

This section presents an analysis of the sequential environments where the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format occur, which provides empirical evidence of the epistemic meaning of each format. To begin with, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can appear after a respondent's turn displaying the respondent's vulnerability to the substance of a Reversed Preference Type B KQ. In particular, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can be used to construct a follow-up KQ of a Typical Type B KQ when a respondent provides an evasive response to the initial Typical Type B KQ and thereby displays his/her potential ignorance of the matter at hand. This shows that unlike the Typical Type B KQ format, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format assumes the questioner's pessimistic stance towards the respondent's knowledgeability. Extract (5.10) below, which was analyzed as Extract (4.5) in Section 4.2 of Chapter 4, illustrates a case in point.

In Extract (5.10), P issues two consecutive questions to C: the first question is a KQ that tests C's knowledge of the locations of all the vacant lots in Seoul (lines 1-2), and the second

question is a policy-probing question which seeks C's clarification on his development plan for 15 vacant lots he proposed as one of his campaign promises (lines 4-9, line 11). The analysis of this extract will focus on the design of the first question and how the first question is redesigned after C's evasive response.

Extract (5.10) [Vacant Lots_1]

01→ P: e:: *ceng* hwuponim-un: *sewul*-ey (.) ilehkey .hh yuhyupwuci-ka
uhm C candidate:hon.-- TC Seoul-in like this vacant lot-NM

02→ eti-ey ta iss-nunci: a-si-nunci-yo.
where-at all be-OQ know-SH-OQ-POL
Uhm: (I wonder) whether you know where in Seoul (.) uhm .hh
all the vacant lots are.

03 C: ney:.
yes.
Please continue.

04 P: kuliko e tto .h e: ku yeltases kay:-nun
and uhm also uhm that fifteen CL-TC

05 kaypalha-keyss-ta.
develop-intend-DC
And uhm (you said that you) would develop at least fifteen lots.

06 ce-nun sasil imi. .h ku isang pelsse
I-TC actually already that more than already

07 kaypalha-ko iss-nuntey:,
develop-and be-given that
I'm actually already in the middle of developing .h
more than that,

08 .hh <etten: kos-ey etten: kes-ul> kaypalha-keyss-ta-ko
which place-at what thing-AC develop-intend -PLN-QT

09 ha-nun kes-i-nci.
say-RL NOM-be-OQ

10 C: km km ((throat clear))
km km
km km

11 P: com mwut-ko siph-supnita,
a little bit ask-want to-DC:DEF
so (I) would like to ask (you) which lots (you) intend to develop
and what (you) intend to build on (them).

12 C: p! ((lip parting)) ku :: *sewul*-ey
that Seoul-in

13 yuhuy-pwuci-ka han sam- samsip kwuntey toy-nuntey-yo.
vacant-lots-NM about thirty CL become-given that-POL
p! There are around thir- thirty vacant lots in Seoul.

14 .h sasil ↑han payk kwuntey toy-c(i)-yo.
in fact about one hundred CL become-COMM-POL
.h In fact, there are around one hundred.

15 .hh ku cwungey samsip kos-un *sewul*-si-ey,
that among thirty CL-TC Seoul-city-to

16 twuca sinchengse-lul nay-ss-c(i)-yo:,
investment application-AC submit-PST-COMM-POL
.hh Among them, thirty lots submitted an investment application form
to the city of Seoul.

17 .h kuntey *sewul*-si-nun (0.3) ku samsip kay: cwungey
but Seoul-city-TC that thirty CL among

18 kyewu sey kay-man heka-lul hay-cw-ess-supnita
only three CL-only approve-AC do-give-PST-DC:DEF
.h But the city of Seoul (0.3) only approved three out of thirty.

19 kulayse cey-ka (0.3) way ilehkey insaykha-si-nya kulay-ss-teni,
so I-NM why like this stingy-SH-Q say-PST-and then
So I (0.3) asked why (the mayor of Seoul) is being so stingy,

20 .h *sewul*-si-ey enu kowi kongmwuwen-i (0.5)
Seoul-city-in some high-ranking official-NM

21 ku sinmwu-eytaka: malssum-ul ha-sy-ess-eyo,
that newspaper-to say:hon.-AC do-SH-PST-DC:POL
and .h a high-ranking official working in Seoul city (0.5)
said in a newspaper

22 .h ku-ke hay cwu-myen, cwupyun ttang-kaps-i ol-ase
that-thing do give-if around land-price-NM rise-because

23 thukhyey-nikka mos hay cwu-nta:. (0.2)
preferential treatment-because cannot do give-DC:PLN
that if (the mayor) were to approve (all of them), the prices of the land around the lots would rise, which would be (the same as) granting (that area) preferential treatment, so he can't. (0.2)

24 mwe kulehkey po-l swu-to iss-ciman
what like that see-can-also be-but
Well, (one) could view it like that,

25 .h cen-un ku samsip kay pwuci-lul kac-taka (0.3)
I-TC that thirty CL lots-AC have-and then

26 twuca sin[chengse-tul cwungeyse]
investment application-PL among
but as for me, with regards to those 30 lots, (0.3) among (those) investment application forms,

27→ P: [**hoksi** eti-eti iss]-nunci
by any chance where and where be-OQ

28→ a-si-[nya-kwu]-yo,
know-SH-Q-QT-POL
What (I) asked is whether (you) by any chance know where (they) are.

29 C: [ney: .]
yes
Yes.

30 C: wuli (0.2) sicang-nim-kkeyse cinan pen:
our mayor:hon.-NM:hon. last time

31 chespenccay *kwanhwun*-tholonhoy nawa-se
first Kwanhwun-debate appear-and
(You,) our (0.2) mayor, appeared in the first Kwanhwun debate,

32 .hh ku *ttwuksem*-ey iss-nun:, keki pwuci-lul ka pw-ass-teni
that Ttwuksem-at be-RL there lot-AC go try-PST-and then

33 .hh mwe yeph-ey kongwen-to iss-ko
well next-at park-also be-and

34 pwuci-ka cop-ase an hay cw-ess-ta
lots-NM small-because not do give-PST-DC
and (said that you) went to the lot in Ttwuksem
and there was a park nearby and the lot was small
so (you) didn't (give your approval).

35 ku-kes-[to hana toy-ci anh-keyss-supnikka.]
that-thing-also one become-COMM be not-SUP -Q:DEF
Wouldn't that also be one (of those?)

36 P: [ku selun kwuntey-ka koyngcanghi]
that thirty CL-NM extremely

37 cwungyohan kos-[(i-nikka-yo,)]
important place-be-because-POL
Those thirty places are extremely important.

38 C: [kulayse]
so

39 kulayse cey-ka cikum malssum-tuli-l-key-yo.
so I-NM now word:hon.-give:hon.-will-intend-DC:POL
So so I will say one thing.

40 P: ney.
yes
Yes.

Extract (5.10) [Vacant Lots_1] in Korean

01→ P: 어:: 정 후보님은: 서울에 (.) 이렇게 .hh 유휴부지가
02→ 어디에 다 있는지: 아시는지요.
03 C: 네:.
04 P: 그리고 어 또 .h 어: 그 열다섯 개:는
05 P: 개발하겠다.
06 저는 사실 이미. .h 그 이상 벌써
07 개발하고 있는데:,
08 .hh <어떤: 곳에 어떤: 것을> 개발하겠다고
09 하는 것인지.
10 C: km km ((throat clear))
11 P: 좀 묻고 싶습니다,
12 C: p! ((lip parting)) 그:: 서울에
13 유휴부지가 한 삼- 삼십 군데 되는데요.
14 .h 사실 ↑한 백 군데 되죠.
15 .hh 그 중에 삼십 곳은 서울시에,
16 투자 신청서를 냈죠:,

17 .h 근데 서울시는 (0.3) 그 삽십 개: 중에
18 겨우 세 개만 허가를 해줬습니다.
19 그래서 제가 (0.3) 왜 이렇게 인색하시냐 그랬더니,
20 .h 서울시에 어느 고위 공무원이 (0.5)
21 그 신문에다가: 말씀을 하셨어요,
22 .h 그거 해 주면, 주변 땅값이 올라서
24 뭐 그렇게 볼 수도 있지만
25 .h 저는 그 삼십 개 부지를 갖다가 (0.3)
26 투자 신 [청서들 중에서]
27→ P: [혹시 어디 어디 있]는지
28→ 아시[냐구]요,
29 C: [네:.]
30 C: 우리 (0.2) 시장님께서 지난 번:
31 첫번째 관훈토론회 나와서
32 .hh 그 뚝섬에 있는:, 거기 부지를 가봤더니
33 .hh 뭐 옆에 공원도 있고
34 부지가 좁아서 안 해 줬다
35 그것[도 하나 되지 않겠습니까.]
36 P: [그 서른 군데가 굉장히]
37 중요한 곳 [(이니까요,)]
38 C: [그래서]
39 그래서 제가 지금 말씀드릴게요.
40 P: 네.

P's initial KQ in lines 1-2 is designed in the typical Type B format in that it includes the FE *a-si-nunci-yo* '(I wonder) whether (you) know~,' which is formed with the verb of knowing *al* 'know' and makes C's knowledge of the specific locations of all the vacant lots in Seoul the explicit focus of the question. In responding to P's initial KQ, however, C does not identify the requested specific location. Instead, C moves away from the knowledge agenda that P's KQ has set and discusses the problematic aspects of P's current dealing of the vacant lots instead.

After C's evasive response, which is suggestive of his potential ignorance of the specific locations of the vacant lots in Seoul, P issues a follow-up KQ. Although this follow-up KQ virtually deals with the same substance as P's initial KQ, P designs it in a different format. By

employing the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance' and having it modify the FE *a-si-nya-kwu-yo* '(I asked) whether (you) know,' P designs his follow-up KQ in the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format.

Every socio-interactional variable remains the same between P's initial KQ and his follow-up KQ except for the sequential context of their occurrence: unlike P's initial KQ, P's follow-up KQ is positioned after C's display of his potential ignorance regarding the matter being asked about. Thus, P's choice of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format over the Typical Type B KQ format is attributable to C's displayed vulnerability to P's KQ concerning the specific locations of all the vacant lots in Seoul. The close link between P's selection of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and C's evasive response is evident in the ways P's Reversed Preference Type B KQ takes into account C's evasive response in its linguistic design: first, the phrase *eti-eti* 'where and where' (see line 27) makes it clear that C should provide the specific location of each vacant lot in Seoul, thereby implicitly portraying the total number of the vacant lots in Seoul that C provided earlier as inadequate. Second, P's Reversed Preference Type B KQ includes the indirect question quotation marker *-nya-ko,* which P pronounced as *-nya-kwu* (see line 28: *hoksi eti-eti iss-nunci a-si-**nya-kwu**-yo*). Using *-nya-ko,* P verbally marks P's current KQ as the repeat of his initial KQ generated in reference to C's evasive response (Yeon & Brown, 2011).

P's selection of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format over the Typical Type B KQ format in response to C's display of potential ignorance thus shows that unlike the Typical Type B KQ format, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format embodies a questioner's pessimistic stance towards the respondent's knowledgeability. More specifically, it implies the questioner's belief that the respondent may not know the answer.

Readers who have been carefully following the analyses of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format may wonder what the differences between the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Typical Type A KQ format are since both formats imply the questioner's belief that the respondent may not have knowledge of the matter being asked about. Further analyses of the sequential contexts where the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format appears show that there are in fact differences between the Typical Type A KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in terms of the sequential contexts of their occurrence.

As seen in the analysis of Extract (5.10), the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can occur after a turn in which the respondent displays his/her vulnerability to a KQ just like the Typical Type A KQ format. However, unlike the Typical Type A KQ format, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can also occur in the sequential context where the respondent's vulnerability to a KQ has not been demonstrated by the respondent's conduct in the course of interaction during the debate. For instance, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can occur when a KQ initiates a new sequence unrelated to the respondent's prior turn with a question preface that does not embody any expectations towards the respondent's knowledgeability as in Extract (5.11), or it can appear after a preface preface that expresses an optimistic stance towards the respondent's knowledgeability as in Extract (5.12).

In Extract (5.11), which is part of Extract (5.5), OY uses the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format when he asks BS whether BS knows what the Customized Child Care System is about in lines 5-6. What precedes OY's Reversed Preference Type B KQ is a question preface that establishes the topic of the upcoming KQ, i.e., the Customized Child Care System (see lines 1 and 3-4). This question preface does not include any information regarding whether BS is likely to know about the Customized Child Care System, not to mention any reference to BS's

conduct displaying his vulnerability to the KQ. In this sense, the question preface is neutral in terms of its stance towards BS's knowledgeability.

Extract (5.11) [Customized Child Care System_short]

01→ OY: ku taumey chil[wel il-il-pwute cikum]: (.)=
that next July first-day-from now

02 BS: [hah hah hah hah]

03→ OY: =e: sihayng yeyceng-i-n,
uh starting schedule-be-RL

04→ macchwumhyeng kyoyuk-ceyto-lanun ke-y iss-supnita.
tailored education-system-called thing-NM exist-DC:DEF
Next, there is something called the "Customized Child Care System," which is scheduled to be uhm implemented (.) starting from July 1st.

05→ .h **hoksi** i nayyong-ey tayhayse
by any chance this content-about

06→ al-ko kyey-sip-[nikka?]
know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) by any chance know
what (the Customized Child Care System) is about ?

07 BS: [ney. al]-ko iss-supnita.
yes know-and be-DC:DEF
Yes, (I) know.

08 OY: etten nayyong-i-pnikka?
what kind of content-be-Q:DEF
What is (it) about?

09 BS: .hh cilmwun-ey tayhayse cey-ka
question-about I-NM

10 ku nayyoung-ul selmyengha-myen toy-keyss-[na-yo?]
that content-AC explain-if become-SUP-I wonder-Q:POL
.hh In response to the question, would it be good enough
if I explain what it is about?

11 OY: [a coh]-supnita.
ah good-DC:DEF
Fine.

Extract (5.11) [Customized Child Care System_short] in Korean

01→ OY: 그 다음에 칠[월 일일부터 지금]: (.)=
02 BS: [하 하 하 하]
03→ OY: =어: 시행 예정인,
04→ 맞춤형 보육제도라는 게 있습니다.
05→ .h 혹시 이 내용에 대해서
06→ 알고 계십[니까?]
07 BS: [네. 알]고 있습니다.
08 OY: 어떤 내용입니까?
09 BS: .hh 질문에 대해서 제가
10 그 내용을 설명하면 되겠[나요?]
11 OY: [아 좋습]니다.

In Extract (5.12), which is part of Extract (4.7) of Chapter 4, CHJ employs the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format when he asks whether PJM knows about the origin of the district name Eunpyeong-gu and when the district was first established (see lines 9-12). Interestingly, CHJ's Reversed Preference Type B KQ occurs after CHJ's explicit comment in lines 7-8 — *i cengto-nun com al-ko kyey-si-ci anh-ulkka siph-ese:*'(I) think (you) would at least know this'— that expresses his optimistic stance towards PJM's knowledgeability about the matter being asked about.

Extract (5.12) [Eunpyeong-gu_short]

01 CHJ: yosay incey *unphyeng*-ey (0.3)
these days now Eunpyeong-at

02 manhi sayngsoha-si-l: they-ntey:,
very be unfamiliar-SH-PRS NOM-given that

03 manhun [kong]pwu-lul ha-ko kyey-si-l kes kath-supnita.
a lot studying-AC do-and be-SH-PRS NOM seem-DC:DEF
These days (0.3) (you)'re probably very unfamiliar with Eunpyeong and (I) expect that (you)'re studying a lot (about this place.)

04 PJM: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

05 CHJ: [kulay]to .shh=
however
However, .shh

06 PJM: [yey: .]
yes
Yes.

07→ CHJ: =amwuli sayngsoha-si-telato i cengto-nun
no matter how be unfamiliar-SH-even though this extent-TC

08→ com al-ko kyey-si-ci anh-ulkka siph-ese:,
a little bit know-and be:hon.-SH-COMM be not-guess want-because
no matter how unfamiliar (you) are (with this place),
(I) think (you) would at least know this.

09→ .hh wuli *unphyeng*-kwu-lanun ilum. (0.5)
our Eunpyeong-gu-called name

10→ way *unphyeng*-kwu-ka twayss-nunci::. (.)
why Eunpyeong-gu-NM became-OQ
(I wonder) whether (you) by any chance know,
regarding our district name Eunpyeong-gu,
why (it) became named Eunpyeong-gu

11→ ku encey *unphyeng*-kwu-ka sayngky-ess-nunci:. (.)
that when Eunpyeong-gu-NM established-PST-OQ

12→ **hoksi** al-ko kyey-si-nci.
by any chance know-and be:hon.-SH-OQ
and when Eunpyeong-gu was established.

13 (0.4)

14 PJM: .hh a:: (.) sasilun cey-ka
uhm in fact I-NM

15 keki-kkaci caseyhi al-ci-nun mosha-nuntey, (0.5)
there-up to in detail know-COMM-TC cannot-given that
Uhm, (.) actually, I don't specifically know about that, (0.5)

Extract (5.12) [Eunpyeong-gu_short] in Korean

01	CHJ:	요새 인제 은평에 (0.3)
02		많이 생소하실: 텐데:,
03		많은 [공]부를 하고 계실 것 같습니다.
04	PJM:	[예.]
05	CHJ:	[그래]도 .shh=
06	PJM:	[예:.]
07 →	CHJ:	=아무리 생소하시더라도 이 정도는
08 →		좀 알고 계시지 않을까 싶어서:,
09 →		.hh 우리 은평구라는 이름. (0.5)
10 →		왜 은평구가 됐는지::. (.)
11 →		그 언제 은평구가 생겼는지:. (.)
12 →		혹시 알고 계신지.
13		(0.4)
14	PJM:	.hh 아:: (.) 사실은 뭐 제가
15		거기까지 자세히 알지는 못하는데, (0.5)

As the analyses of Extracts (5.11)-(5.12) have shown, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format is different from the Typical Type A KQ format in that it can be used even when there is no interactional evidence revealing the respondent's potential ignorance about the matter at hand. Based on this observation, we can see that candidates strategically use the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format to convey their belief that the respondent to their KQs may not know the answer even in the absence of interactional evidence to support this epistemic belief.

In particular, used in the sequential context where a questioner portrays his/her expectation that the respondent is likely to know or should know the answer with the use of a question preface, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can deliver a message damaging to the respondent that the respondent may *not* have the knowledge *s/he is expected to have*. For instance, let us refer to Extract (5.12) again. In lines 7-8, CHJ presents the substance of the KQ as something very basic and essential which even someone as unfamiliar with the district as PJM would know. Then, in lines 9-12, CHJ designs his KQ in the Reversed Preference Type B KQ

format and projects his expectation that PJM may not know about the substance of the KQ. Thus, together with the question preface in lines 7-8, CHJ's Reversed Preference Type B KQ conveys the following damaging message: PJM is so unfamiliar with the district that he may not even possess very basic and essential knowledge about it. It is also interesting to note that this unfavorable portrayal of PJM by CHJ is in accordance with CHJ's initial portrayal of PJM as a figure who is likely to be not that well informed about the district to the extent that he needs to study *a lot* about the district to improve his knowledge and understanding of it (see lines 1-3).

In brief, whereas the use of the Typical Type A KQ format is restricted to the sequential context in which there is interactional evidence that reveals potential ignorance of the respondent about the matter at hand, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can be used in a wide range of sequential contexts. This observation that the use of the Typical Type A KQ format—i.e., the KQ format that includes a FE formed with the verb of not knowing '*molu-*' —is highly restricted suggests that explicitly asking the respondent to affirm or disaffirm his/her ignorance may not be a preferred way to design a KQ.

Let us now examine the sequential context in which the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format occurs. This format occurs where the respondent of a KQ is expected to know about the substance of the KQ. The grounds for such expectations are overwhelmingly related to the respondent's membership category (Sacks, 1992), as the matter at hand concerns activities that are typically associated with the respondent due to his/her membership in a particular membership category and thus the matter being asked about falls into the respondent's knowledge domain. Extracts (5.13) and (5.14) are examples of such cases.

In lines 1-2 of Extract (5.13) below, LJW asks CMS whether CMS knows how much the agricultural budget of their county is for that year. In doing so, LJW designs his KQ in the

Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format by including the committal suffix *-c(i)* in an FE formed with the verb of knowing *a(l)-* 'know.' The grounds for LJW's choice of this particular format are found in line 3.

Extract (5.13) [Agricultural Budget]

01→ LJW: .hh wuli:: nongep yeysan-i elma cengto toy-nunci
our agriculture budget-NM how much extent be-OQ

02→ olhay yeysan a-si-**c(i)-**yo.
this year budget know-SH-COMM-POL
.hh (You) know how much our agricultural budget is this year, don't you?

03→ caknyen-ey pwu-kwunswu ha-sy-ess-unikka?
last year-at vice-country governor do-SH-PST-since
Since (you) were vice county governor last year,

04 CMS: .h ol- nongep yeysan-i wuli yeysan:-ey
this year agriculture budget-NM our budget-at

05 han sipyuk: phulo
about 16 percent

06 [cengto toy-nun kel-lo al-ko iss-supnita.]=
extent be-RL NOM-as know-and be-DC:DEF
.h this- (I) know that our agricultural budget is about 16 percent of our budget

07 CMS: [((CMS starts looking through his notes))]

08 LJM: =sipyuk phlo-ka ani-c(i)-yo.
16 percent-NM not-COMM-POL
(It)'s clearly not 16 percent.

09 sipil cem phal phlo-lo naw-a iss-supnita.
11 point 8 percent-as come out-and be-DC:DEF
(It) says 11.8 percent.

Extract (5.13) [Agricultural Budget in Korean]
01→ LJW: .hh 우리:: 농업 예산이 얼마 정도 되는지
02→ 올해 예산 아시죠.
03→ 작년에 부군수 하셨으니까?
04 CMS: .h 올- 농업 예산이 우리 예산:에
05 한 십육: 프로
06 [정도 되는 걸로 알고 있습니다.]=
07 CMS: [((CMS starts looking through his notes))]
08 LJM: =십육 프로가 아니죠.
09 십일 점 팔 프로로 나와 있습니다.

In line 3, LJM adds the increment *caknyen-ey pwu-kwunswu ha-sy-ess-unikka?* 'Since (you) were vice county governor last year' to his KQ. Given that one of the important jobs of a vice county governor is to participate in establishing the county's budget and regulate its administration, LJM's increment displays LJM's expectation that CMS is likely to know (or rather, should know) the budget for this year. In this sequential environment where CMS is expected to know the amount of the agricultural budget because he was a member of the membership category *pwu-kwunswu* 'vice county governor,' LJM designs his KQ in the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format.

The close connection between CMS's social identity as ex-vice county president and LJM's expectation that CMS would know the amount of the budget, as revealed in his use of the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format, can further be evidenced by LJM's use of the causal connective *–unikka* 'since,' which is used "to express a reason for a particular state or action" (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p.264). LJM's use of *–unikka* clearly shows that the reason LJM expects CMS to know the amount of the budget is because CMS had previously served as vice county governor as well.

In Extract (5.14) the questioner HJ and the respondent YS are running for member of the

National Assembly. Similar to the questioner LJM of Extract (5.13), the questioner HJ of Extract (5.14) below uses the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format in the sequential context where there are clear grounds to assume the respondent's knowledge of the matter being asked about. In lines 2-3, HJ asks a KQ to find out whether YS knows what national interests the Republic of Korea (South Korea) is pursuing.

Extract (5.14) [National Interests]

01→ HJ: (ce) kwukhoyuywen-ul manhi ha-sy-ess-unikka:,
uhm National Assembly-AC many do-SH-PST-because
Uhm since (you)'ve served on the National Assembly many times,

02→ .h kwukka iik-i (.) um taylyak mwe-nci:
nation interest-NM uhm roughly what-OQ

03→ ilehkey a-si-**c(i)-**yo?
like this know-SH-COMM:POL
.h (you) uhm know roughly what (.) uhm (our) national interests are, don't you?

04 (0.6)

05 YS: .hhh kwukka [i : : ik : : kwuk]=
nation interest nation
.hhh National interests,

06 HJ: [*tayhanminkwuk*-ey kwukka iik-i.]
Republic of Korea-at nation interest-NM
The national interests of the Republic of Korea.

07 YS: =ka iik-ey mwe il pen-i,
interest-at what first CL-NM
regarding the national interests, well, the first,

08 HJ: yey.
yes
Yes.

09 YS: il (h) pen-i, .h iltan wuli kwukmin-tul-i::
first CL-NM above all our people in our country-PL-NM

10 phyenan:ha-ko mancoksulep-key
comfortable-and satisfactory-AD

11 mek-ko sa-l swu iss-tolok,
eat-and live-can be-in order to
the first, above all, would be that the people of our country are able to eat and live comfortably and satisfyingly,

12 HJ: yey.
yes
Yes.

Extract (5.14) [National Interests] in Korean

01→ HJ: (저) 국회의원을 많이 하셨으니까:,
02→ .h 국가 이익이 (.) 음 대략 뭔지:
03→ 이렇게 아시죠?
04 (0.6)
05 YS: .hhh 국가 [이 : : 익: : 국]=
06 HJ: [대한민국에 국가 이익이.]
07 YS: =가 이익에 뭐 일 번이,
08 HJ: 예.
09 YS: 일(h) 번이, .h 일단 우리 국민들이 ::
10 편안:하고 만족스럽게
11 먹고 살 수 있도록,
12 HJ: 예.

What is interesting is that before HJ asks the KQ, he provides background information that YS has served on the National Assembly many times (see line 1). This background information conveys HJ's expectation that YS is likely to know (or rather, should know) what the national interests of the Republic of Korea are given his long history of serving as a member of National Assembly, a position expected to pursue the national interests of the Republic of Korea. After establishing this expectation regarding YS's knowledgeability, HJ issues his KQ concerning the national interests of the Republic of Korea in the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format by using the committal suffix *-ci* (see lines 2-3). Furthermore, HJ's use of the causal connective *–unikka* at the end of his remark in line 1 explicitly conveys that HJ expects YS to

know about the national interests of the Republic of Korea as expressed in the design of his KQ due to YS's longtime history as a member of the National Assembly.

5.3.4.2.3. Summary of Section 5.3.4.2

So far we have explored how candidates modulate the epistemic gap embodied in the Typical Type B KQ format between the respondents and themselves. The Typical Type B KQ format implies the questioner's belief that the respondent may know the matter being asked about, and candidates were able to modulate the epistemic meaning of this KQ format by either weakening it or intensifying it.

Candidates used either negative polarity items such as *hoksi* 'by any chance' and negatively titled adverbs such as *kwayeon* 'really' to construct the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format. By doing so, they altered the preference structure of the Typical Type B KQ format and made an answer that disaffirmed a respondent's knowledge of the substance of a KQ favored over one that affirmed the respondent's knowledge of it. Thus, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format displays the candidate's expectation that the respondent may not know about what they are being asked, which is the opposite of the epistemic meaning of the Typical Type B KQ format.

By contrast, candidates employed the committal suffix *–ci* to construct the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format and thereby intensify the epistemic meaning embedded in the Typical Type B KQ format. The Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format implies the candidate's belief that the respondent is likely to have knowledge of the matter at hand. Thus, the epistemic gap between the questioners and the respondents becomes smaller in the following order: the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format, the Typical Type B KQ format, and the

Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format.

The analyses of the sequential environments where the Negative Polarity Item Type B format and the Pseudo-tag Question Type B format appear provided further empirical evidence to support the distinctions among these three formats. More specifically, a questioner could change the design of his/her KQ from the Typical Type B KQ format to the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in face of the respondent's remark that reveals his/her ignorance of the matter at hand. A questioner used the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format when the respondent was expected to know the matter at hand by virtue of his/her membership to a certain membership category.

5.3.4.3. The Typical Type C KQ Format and Epistemic Modulation

5.3.4.3.1. The Conditional Type C KQ Format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ Format

The Typical Type C KQ format linguistically embodies the questioner's expectation that the respondent has knowledge about the substance of the KQ. Although this format most strongly presupposes the respondent's knowledgeability out of the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ formats, candidates can nevertheless modulate the epistemic meaning implied in the Typical Type C KQ format.

First, candidates can use a conditional clause that aims at suspending the aforementioned presupposition of the Typical Type C KQ format. More specifically, the candidates can embed the substance of a KQ into the conditional expression *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyeon* 'If (you) know' as the grammatical object (e.g., *olhay choyceimkum-ul al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know this year's minimum wage') or the complement of the verb *al-* 'know'

(e.g., *olhay choyceimkum-ey kwanhayse al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know about this year's minimum wage'). By doing so, the candidates can present the respondent's knowledge of the requested information as a possibility rather than an assumption. Thus, using the conditional clause involving *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know,' the candidates express both their belief that the respondent *may* know the substance of the KQ and their uncertainty regarding whether the respondent actually does have that knowledge (see Example (h) below). I call this KQ format that modulates the Typical Type C KQ format with the conditional clause (i.e., the substance of a KQ plus *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know') the 'Conditional Type C' KQ format.

Example (h): The Conditional Type C KQ Format—this format is based on the Typical Type C KQ format and has a conditional clause formed with the substance of a KQ plus *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-u-myen* 'if (you) know.'

{wuli nala il nyen yeysan-i elma-i-nci**}**→ *Substance of KQ* as the object
our country one year budget-NM how much-be-OQ *of al- 'know'*

{al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen } → *'if (you) know '*
know-and be:hon.-SH-if/know-and be-if

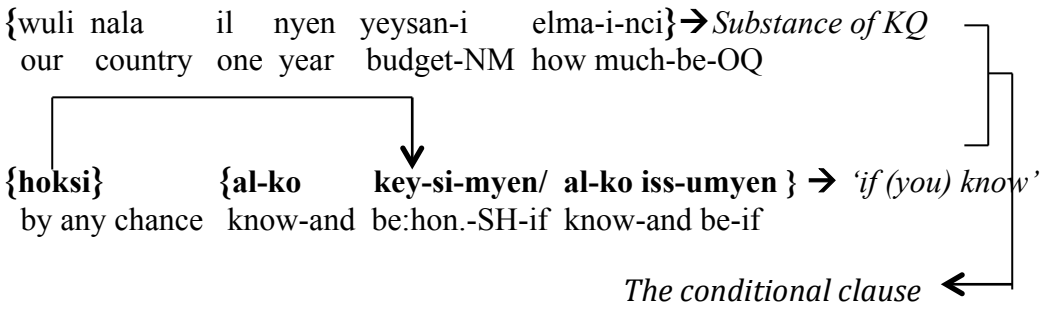
The conditional clause that consists of the substance of the KQ plus al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen 'if (you) know'

malssumha-y cwu-si-ki-l pala-pnita.
tell-and give-SH-NOM-AC wish- DC:DEF
If (you) know how much our country's annual budget is, I would like you to tell (me it).

Second, candidates can employ the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance' to modify the Conditional Type C KQ format, or more precisely, to modify the conditional expression *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know' as shown in Example (i) below. I call this KQ format built out of the Conditional Type C KQ format—and ultimately based on the

Typical Type C KQ format—that has the modifying conditional expression *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know' the 'Modified Conditional Type C KQ' format.

Example (i): the Modified Conditional Type C KQ Format—this format not only has a conditional clause formed with the substance of a KQ plus *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-u-myen* 'if (you) know, but it also has the negative polarity item *hoksi*.



malssumha-y cwu-si-ki-l pala-pnita.
tell-and give-SH-NOM-AC wish- DC:DEF

If you by any chance know how much our country's annual budget is, I would like you to tell (me it).

In Korean, the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance' is used to indicate an unlikely possibility (The National Institute of Korean Language, 2008). Accordingly, by having the low probability adverb *hoksi* modify the conditional expression *al-ko key-si-myen* 'if (you) know,' the questioner of the KQ can present his/her pessimistic epistemic stance that the respondent may not know about its substance, which is the opposite of the questioner's optimistic epistemic implied in the Conditional Type C format.

In sum, the Typical Type C KQ format, the Conditional Type C KQ format, and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format differ in terms of the epistemic gap between the questioner and respondent. As explicated above, the Typical Type C KQ format presupposes the respondent's knowledge of the answer, whereas the Conditional Type C KQ format does not

presuppose that the respondent knows the answer and thus expresses a bigger epistemic gap. The epistemic gap embodied by the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format, however, is even larger than that of the Conditional Type C KQ format, as the former presupposes the questioner's belief that the respondent may *not* have the requested information, whereas the latter presupposes the questioner's belief that the respondent may have it. Figure 5.6 below provides a summary of these differences.

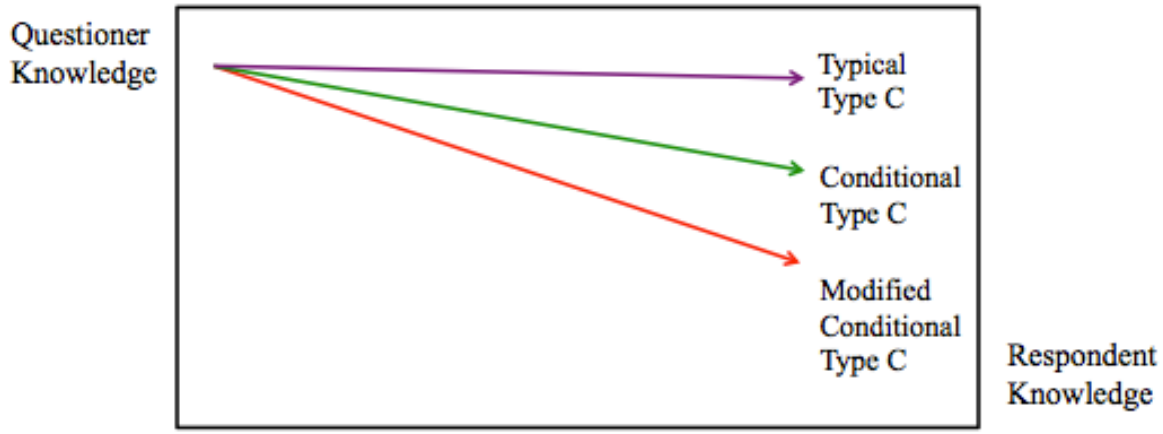


Figure 5.6. The Epistemic Gradient of the Conditional Type C KQ Format, the Modified Type C KQ Format and the Typical Type C KQ Format

5.3.4.3.2. The Conditional Type C KQ Format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ Format, and Their Sequential Environments of Occurrence

What follows is an analysis of how candidates actually employ the Conditional Type C KQ format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format during campaign debates. Let us begin by examining the candidates' use of the Conditional Type C KQ format. Unlike the Typical Type C KQ format, the Conditional Type C KQ format never appears in a turn after the respondent-to-be explicitly claim to have knowledge of the substance of the KQs. Thus the fact that the Conditional Type C KQ format is not used in this particular sequential position provides further

evidence that this format does not presuppose the respondent's knowledgeability. The format instead occurs in the sequential context where there is no clear evidence during the course of interaction supporting the respondent's knowledgeability as in Extracts (5.15) below.

Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (5.15), JWT raised an issue with HBD's campaign banner portraying the central government's approval of the project to construct a local public library as HBD's own accomplishment by asking HBD to explain what HBD did to receive the approval. Immediately after that, in lines 1-9 JWT zeroes in on the issue of HBD's knowledge concerning the administrative procedures for receiving approval of the budget for such projects.

Extract (5.15) [Library Project]

01	JWT:	tto han kaci-nun .h ku:: (.) i:: (0.6) cwungang-eyse ikes-i
		also one CL-TC that this central government-in this-NM
02		kyelcengtway-se, (0.2) cithuk-ulo
		be decided- and Special Accounting for Local Development
03		ha-ki wihayse-nun, (0.3) ku:: thwuca simsa-lul, (0.3)
		do-NOM in order to-TC that investment evaluation-AC
04		to-eyse, (.) hayngcapwu-eytaka <u>hay</u>-ya-toy-pnita. (0.3)
		'Do' province-from the Ministry of the Interior-to do-must-be-DC:DEF
		Another thing is that .h uhm uhm (0.6) to get this (project) approved by the central government (0.2) and make it part of the Special Accounting for Local Development (0.3), the province (.) has to request the Ministry of the Interior (0.3) to evaluate the investment. (0.3)
05→		ilen sinkyu saept thwuca-lul ha-ki wihayse-nun, (0.3)
		like this new project investment-AC do-NOM in order to-TC
06→		e:: (0.3) elma kumayk-i isang-i toy-myen-un (0.3)
		uhm what amount-NM or more-NM become-if-TC
07→		ilen (.) thwuca (0.3) e simsa-lul
		that-AC investment uhm evaluation-AC
08→		pat-key toy-nunci. (.) **kukes-ul,** (0.2)
		receive- become-OQ that-AC

09→ **al-ko** **key-si-myen**, (.)
know-and be:hon. -SH-if

10→ palkhye-cwu-si-ki pala-pnita.
state clearly-give-SH-NOM hope-DC:DEF
If (you) know (0.3) uhm (0.3) starting from what amount (0.3) you will need to receive such (.) investment (0.2) uhm evaluations in order to carry out this kind of new project investments (as special accounts for local development), (.) (I) would like (you) to state (the answer) clearly.

11 MOD: yey. tappyenha-si-c(i)-yo,
yes answer-SH-COMM-POL
Yes, please respond.

12 (.)

13 HBD: p! (lip parting)) (0.8) i mwuncey-ey tayhayse-n,
this issue-about-TC

14 cey-ka pwunmyenghi malssumtuli-keyss-supnita:. (.)
I-NM clearly tell:hon.-will-DEF:DC
p! (lip parting)) (0.8) I would like to be clear on the issue (of my contribution to the project in relation to my campaign banner). (.)

15 cey-ka:, cinan: (.) tholonhoy ttay
I-NM previous debate time

16 malssumtuli-n kes-chelem:, (0.6)
tell:hon. -RL NOM-like
As I said during the previous (.) debate (0.6)

Extract (5.15) [Library Project] in Korean

01 JWT: 또 한 가지는 .h 그:: (.) 이:: (0.6) 중앙에서 이것이
02 결정돼서, (0.2) 지특으로
03 하기 위해서는, (0.3) 그:: 투자 심사를, (0.3)
04 도에서, (.) 행자부에다가 해야됩니다. (0.3)
05→ 이런 신규 사업 투자를 하기 위해서는, (0.3)
06→ 어:: (0.3) 얼마 금액이 이상이 되면은 (0.3)
07→ 이런 (.) 투자 (0.3) 어 심사를
08→ 받게 되는지. (.) 그것을, (0.2)
09→ 알고 계시면, (.)
10→ 밝혀주시기 바랍니다.
11 MOD: 예. 답변하시죠,
12 (.)
13 HBD: p! ((lip parting)) (0.8) 이 문제에 대해선,

14 제가 분명히 말씀드리겠습니다:. (.)
15 제가:, 지난: (.) 토론회 때
16 말씀드린 것처럼:, (0.6)……

In probing HBD's knowledge of the budget approval process concerning the library project, JWT first provides background information that makes his upcoming KQ intelligible and relevant. More specifically, JWT explicates in lines 1-4 that in order to implement the library project as the Special Accounting for Local Development, the project needs to receive an investment evaluation by the Ministry of the Interior. By doing so, JWT informs the viewers that the budget for the library project comes from the Special Accounting for Local Development and that the library project underwent investment evaluation by the Ministry of the Interior. This background information thus establishes knowledge of the process of receiving an investment evaluation by the Ministry of the Interior for a project to be included in the Special Accounting for Local Development as necessary for implementing the library project.

After establishing the relevance, in lines 5-10 JWT tests HBD's knowledge of the minimum amount of a project's budget that would require receiving an investment evaluation by the Ministry of the Interior in the case where the Special Accounting for Local Development is the preferred financial source. JWT's KQ is designed in the Conditional Type C KQ format as seen in the conditional expression *al-ko key-si-myen* 'if (you) know' (see line 9). Note that the sequential position in which this format appears is after the question preface that provides background information for JWT's KQ, but the question preface does not include any information that can be used to infer whether HBD can provide the requested information or not. Thus, the sequential position where JWT's Conditional Type C KQ occurs provides empirical evidence that the Conditional Type C format is different from the Typical Type C KQ format in

that the former regards the respondent's informedness about the substance of a KQ only as a possibility, whereas the latter firmly presupposes the respondent's knowledgeability.

Just like the Conditional Type C KQ format, candidates can use the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format in the sequential environment where there is no interactional evidence that supports the respondent's potential ignorance. However, unlike the Conditional Type C KQ format, the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format can express the questioner's pessimistic stance towards the possibility that the respondent has the requested knowledge, even when nothing said or done by the respondent has betrayed his/her ignorance. This feature is also what makes the Modified Conditional Type C KQ similar to the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format.

Extract (5.16) below illustrates the strategic use of the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format. This extract concerns the negative effects of the deregulation of the Seoul metropolitan area by the previous and current administration on the local economy of Cheonan, the constituency for which the questioner YSC and the respondent JSP are now running. In particular, YSC tests JSP's knowledge in lines 6 and 12-17 regarding the change in the number of companies that relocated to Cheonan from the Seoul metropolitan area before and after the deregulation policy in order to gauge how thoroughly JSP has grasped the negative influence the deregulation policy has had on attracting companies to Cheonan. In doing so, YSC employs the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format as can be seen in the presence of the low probability adverb *hoksi* 'by any chance' (line 6) and the conditional expression *(enu cengto) kwucheycekulo alko iss-umyen* 'if (you) know the details to some extent' (line 16).

Extract (5.16) [Abolishment of the Deregulation]

01 YSC: yey. *cengswunpyeng*: hwuponim:, (.)
okay JSP candidate:hon.

02 swutokwen kyucey wanhwa-lul
Seoul metropolitan area regulation relaxation-AC

03 chelpyeyha-nta:-nun kongyak-ul nayseyw-ess-nuntey-yo, (0.4)
abolish-DC-RL pledge-AC make-PST-and -POL
Okay, candidate JSP, (.) (you) pledged that (you) would abolish the deregulation of the Seoul metropolitan area. (0.4)

04 (°yey°) ku kongyak-ey tayhay-n ce-to cencekulo: (.)
okay that pledge-about-TC I-also completely

05 tongkamha-pnita. (.)
agree-DC:DEF
I also completely (.) agree with (you) on that pledge. (.)

06→ s.hh (.) hoksi ku cengswunpyeng hwuponim. (0.3)
by any chance uhm JSP candidate:hon.

07 swutokwen kyucey:: (0.2) wanhwa-lul. (.)
Seoul metropolitan area regulation relaxation-AC

08 wuli *imyengpak* taythonglyeng-kkeyse
our Lee Myung-bak president-NM:hon.

09 wanhwaha-ko (0.4) i-kes-ul ie-se (.)
relax-and this-thing-AC continue-and

10 *pakkunhyey* taythonglyeng-kkeyse
Park Geun-hye president-NM:hon.

11 wanhwa-lul te (0.2) te wanhwaha-ci anh-ass-supnikka? (0.6)
relaxation-AC more more relaxation-L. NEG -PST-Q:DEF
s.hh (.) uhm Candidate JSP, (0.3) didn't our (former) president Lee Myung-bak (.) deregulate (0.2) the Seoul metropolitan area, and (0.4) didn't (our) president Park Geun-hye continue on with this deregulation further, (0.2) deregulated it furthermore? (0.6)

12→ ku swutokwen kyucey (0.2) wanhwa cenk-wa:, (0.3)
the Seoul metropolitan area regulation relaxation before-and

13→ wanhwa hwuey (0.3)
relaxation after

14→ (etten) swutokwen:-i (0.4) kiep-i, (0.3)
what Seoul metropolitan area-NM company-NM

15→ chenan-ey (.) naylyeo-nun kiep swu-ey tayhayse
Cheonnan-to come down-RL company number-about

16→ **(enu cengto) kwucheycekulo al-ko iss-umyen**
what extent specifically know-and be-if

com malssumha-y cwu-si-ki pala-pnita.
17→ a bit tell:hon.-and give-SH-NOM wish-DC:DEF
If (you) by any chance know to some extent the specific number of companies (0.4) that have relocated (.) to Cheonan in the Seoul metropolitan area (0.3) before (0.3) and (0.3) after the deregulation (0.2) of the Seoul metropolitan area, (I) would like (you) to tell (me).

18 (0.6)

19 MOD: ney. *cengswunpyen*g hwupo tappyenha-y cwu-si-psyo.
okay JSP candidate answer-and give-SH-IM:DEF
Okay. Candidate JSP please respond.

20 (0.2)

21 JSP: ney:. (1.2) e: (0.5) camsi ceney
okay uhm a moment ago

22 JSP: wuli *ichangswu* hwuponim-kkeyse-twu
our LCS candidate:hon.-NM:hon.-also

23 incey kathun malssum-ul ha-sy-ess-ki ttaymwuney
now same word:hon.-AC do-SH-PST-NOM-because

24 selmyengul camkkan tuly-ess-nuntey-yo, (1.6)
explanation-AC briefly give:hon.-PST-but-POL
Okay. (1.2) Uhm (0.5) our candidate LCS also asked me regarding the same issue (of abolishing the deregulation of the Seoul capital area) a moment ago and (as I) have briefly explained (to him), (1.6)

25 ocwu-ha-myen-un, (1.0) caknyen: (.) silcek-i
indeed-do-if-TC last year outcome-NM

26 ceylo-ka toy-keyss-supnikka. (1.0)
zero-NM become-would-Q:DEF
Would last year's (.) figures amount to zero (1.0) if the situation hadn't been so bad? (1.0)

27 a swutokwen kyucey:, (0.5) wanhwa
ah Seoul metropolitanl area regulation relaxation

28 pantusi chelpyeyha-yya toy-pnita.
surely abolish-must-DC:DEF
Ah the deregulations of the Seoul metropolitan area (0.5) must be abolished no matter what.

Extract (5.16) [Abolishment of the Deregulation] in Korean

01 YSC: 예. 정순평: 후보님:, (.)
02 수도권 규제 완화를
03 철폐한다:는 공약을 내세웠는데요, (0.4)
04 (°예°) 그 공약에 대핸 저도 전적으로: (.)
05 동감합니다. (.)
06→ s.hh (.) 혹시 그 정순평 후보님. (0.3)
07 수도권 규제:: (0.2) 완화를. (.)
08 우리 이명박 대통령께서
09 완화하고 (0.4) 이것을 이어서 (.)
10 박근혜 대통령께서
11 완화를 더 (0.2) 더 완화하지 않았습니까? (0.6)
12→ 그 수도권 규제 (0.2) 완화 전과:, (0.3)
13→ 완화 후에 (0.3)
14→ (어떤) 수도권:이 (0.4) 기업이, (0.3)
15→ 천안에 (.) 내려오는 기업 수에 대해서
16→ (어느 정도) 구체적으로 알고 있으면
17→ 좀 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다.
18 (0.6)
19 MOD: 네. 정순평 후보 답변해 주십쇼.
20 (0.2)
21 JSP: 네:. (1.2) 어: (0.5) 잠시 전에
22 우리 이창수 후보님께서두
23 인제 같은 말씀을 하셨기 때문에
24 설명을 잠깐 드렸는데요, (1.6)
25 오죽하면은, (1.0) 작년: (.) 실적이
26 제로가 되겠습니까. (1.0)
27 아 수도권 규제:, (0.5) 완화
28 반드시 철폐해야 됩니다.

Now let us examine the sequential environment in which YSC's Modified Conditional Type C KQ occurs. Before YSC issues the KQ, YSC mentions JSP's campaign pledge of abolishing the deregulation of the Seoul metropolitan area in lines 1-3. Then, in lines 4-5 YSC explicitly expresses his strong agreement with JSP's pledge, which is not that surprising given that one of YSC's campaign pledges is to strengthen the regulation of the Seoul metropolitan area. To put it another way, JSP's pledge is virtually the same as YSC's pledge. YSC's question preface in lines 1-5 thus does not include any information that would lead to the conclusion that JSP lacks knowledge about the substance of YSC's KQ. Instead, it suggests that JSP is aware of the negative effects the deregulation policy has had on the economic situation of Cheonan since JSP is strongly against the deregulation of the Seoul metropolitan area. In fact, prior to the exchange shown in the extract above, JSP pointed out while engaging in the debate with another candidate (LCS) that the deregulation policy contributed to the drastic decrease in the number of the corporations relocating to Cheonan from the Seoul metropolitan area by mentioning that not even a single corporation relocated to Cheonan last year (see lines 21-26).

In line 6 YSC starts producing his KQ with the low probability adverb *hoksi* 'by any chance,' but in lines 7-11 YSC stops the progress of the KQ and provides extra information in the form of a parenthetical insert. Here YSC explicates that the ex-president Lee Myung-bak started the deregulation process and the current president Park Geun-hye furthered it**,** thereby displaying his own knowledge of the deregulation process of the Seoul metropolitan area. Then, in line 12-17 YSC resumes and completes his KQ asking JSP to provide the number of companies that were relocated to Cheonan from the Seoul metropolitan area before and after the deregulation policy. Occurring with the conditional expression *(enu cengto) kwucheycekulo alko iss-umyen* 'if (you) know to some extent the specific number' (line 16), the turn-initial position

of *hoksi* 'by any chance' implicitly displays YSC's pessimistic expectation that JSP may not know the specifics of the substance of his KQ, although JSP in fact does knows about it at a somewhat general level as JSP revealed in his prior interaction with LCS.

What can YSC then gain by taking a pessimistic stance towards the possibility that JSP knows the details of the substance of the KQ? More simply speaking, why does YSC use the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format here? The answer to this question can be found by taking into account the fact that YSC and JSP propose essentially the same pledge of strengthening the regulation of the Seoul metropolitan area. In other words, YSC faces the unavoidable issue of having to make a distinction between JSP and himself while also promising the same pledge. By employing the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format and thereby portraying JSP as potentially not having grasped the details of the corporation relocation problem caused by the deregulation, YSC can present himself as the more knowledgeable candidate who understands this important problem in a more detailed and thorough manner. This epistemic implication of YSC's KQ thus contributes to portraying YSC as being more invested in and accordingly more capable of solving a critical problem compared to JSP.

YSC's strategic use of the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format bears fruit in that JSP fails to provide the sought-after information in a detailed way. As JSP admits in lines 21-24, JSP only repeats what he said earlier, i.e., that none of the corporations from the Seoul metropolitan area relocated to Cheonan last year after the deregulation (see lines 25-26). He is not able to provide more detailed information, for instance, regarding how many corporations from the Seoul metropolitan area relocated to Cheonan before the deregulation. Then, instead of lingering on the issue of his knowledge, which would only expose his insufficient understanding of the matter at hand, JSP quickly moves the focus of his response from the issue of his

knowledge set by YSC's KQ to emphasizing the necessity of abolishing the deregulation (in lines 27-28).

Readers who have been carefully following the analyses of the epistemic meanings embedded in the Conditional Type C KQ format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format may have noticed how similar they are to the Typical Type B KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in terms of their epistemic meaning. Consider how both the Conditional Type C KQ format and the Typical Type B KQ format embody the questioner's stance that the respondent may know about the substance of a KQ, whereas both the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format imply the questioner's belief that the respondent may not know about the substance of a KQ. Then, what are the unique features of the Conditional Type C KQ format and the Modified Conditional Type C format that make them distinct from the Typical Type B KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format? This question is what we will investigate next.

The Conditional Type C KQ format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format are distinct in that they explicitly ask the respondent to provide the requested information in order to prove their knowledgeability. For instance, JWT's Conditional Type C KQ in Extract (5.15) requires HBD to provide the minimum amount of a project's budget that would require an investment evaluation by the Ministry of the Interior if he has that knowledge. Likewise, YSC's Modified Conditional Type C KQ in Extract (5.16) asks JSP to provide the number of companies that relocated from the Seoul metropolitan area to Cheonan before and after the deregulation policy more or less in detail in order for JSP to prove his knowledgeability. The KQs in these formats explicitly ask the respondent to tell or state the answer as seen in the presence of the expressions such as *palkhye-cwu-si-ki pala-pnita* '(I) would like (you) to state clearly (the

answer)' (see line 10 of Extract (5.15)) and *com malssumha-y cwu-si-ki pala-pnita* '(I) would like (you) to tell (me)' (see line 17 of Extract (5.16)).

On the other hand, the grammatical designs of the Typical Type B KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format allow the respondent's mere claim of having the knowledge about the matter at hand to be a grammatically, though not pragmatically, acceptable answer as seen in Extracts (5.17) and (5.18) below, which were introduced as Extracts (3.13) and (5.6) earlier, respectively. Because the background information of these two extracts have already been explained in detail earlier, it will not be repeated here.

In lines 5-6 of Extract (5.17), KJ issues a KQ that tests KM's knowledge of what the KT center does using the Typical Type KQ B format. Note that this KQ includes the FE *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know~?' which explicitly marks the focus of a question as finding out whether KM *knows* what the data center does. Accordingly, based on its grammatical design, KJ's KQ sets KM's confirmation or disconfirmation of the proposition that he knows the answer as the relevant next action. KM's subsequent response given in line 7 clearly shows that KM is oriented to this very property of KJ's KQ.

Extract (5.17) [Data Center_copy]

01	KM:	keyithi seynthe-yo? KT center-Q:POL ***(Do you mean) the KT center?***
02		(0.5)
03	KJ:	teyithe seynthe. data center ***The data center.***
04		(0.5)

05 KJ: i-ke mwe-ha-nun kos-i-nci
this-thing what-do-RL place-be-OQ

06 [a-si-pnikka?]
know-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know what this (center) does?

07→ KM: [teyithe seynthe.] al-ci-yo.
data center know-COMM-POL
The data center. (I) certainly do..

08→ KJ: mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y.
what-do-RL place-be-Q:DEF this-thing-NM
What does it do?

09 KM: teyithe seynthe-ka: ku: ceongpo:
data center-NM that information

10 seykyeyceki-n cengpo thongsin-ul (.) hay-se
global-be-RL information communication-AC do-and
The data center does information, world-renown infocommunication.

11 ilpon-uy *sophuthupayngkhu* teyithe seynthe. (0.2) ka
Japan-POS SoftBank data center NM

12 cikum ha-ko an iss-supnikka.
now do-and not be-Q:DEF
Hasn't the Japanese (company) SoftBank been running
their data center there?

13 [tul-e w-a iss-e-]
enter-and come-and be-and
(The company's data center) has already moved in.

14 KJ: [i-ke-y samchen myeng]-kka- (.) koyung hyokwa.
this-thing-NM 3,000 CL-up to employmen effect

15 KJ: ike iss-supnikka.
this be-Q:DEF
Does this have the effect of employing 3,000 people?

16 KM: sam[chen myeng]
3,000 CL
3,000 people

17 KJ: [elmana] koyonghay-ss-supnikka.
how many hire-PST-Q:DEF
How many (people) have been hired?

Extract (5.17) [Data Center_copy] in Korean

01 KM: 케이티 센터요?
02 (0.5)
03 KJ: 데이터 센터.
04 (0.5)
05 KJ: 이거 뭐하는 곳인지
06 [아십니까?]
07→ KM: [데이터 센터.] 알지요.
08→ KJ: 뭐하는 곳입니까 이게.
09 KM: 데이터 센터가: 그: 정보:
10 세계적인 정보 통신을 (.) 해서
11 일본의 소프트 뱅크 데이터 센터. (0.2)가
12 지금 하고 안 있습니까.
13 [들어 와 있어-]
14 KJ: [이게 삼천 명]까- (.) 고용 효과.
15 KJ: 이거 있습니까.
16 KM: 삼[천 명]
17 KJ: [얼마나] 고용했습니까.

In line 7, what KM does is merely confirm that he knows what the data center does by saying *teyithe seynthe al-ci-yo* 'The data center. (I) certainly do' without providing any explanation of what the data center does. This response of KM is interesting in that it complies with the action agenda set by the grammatical design of KJ's KQ but is resistant to its pragmatic purpose. KJ's follow-up question in line 8 makes it evident that KJ's question in lines 5-6, as a KQ aiming to test KM's knowledge about the data center, implicitly expected KM to display his knowledge of the data center in order for KM to prove his knowledgeability. Thus, line 8 shows KJ continuing to pursue the pragmatic action agenda set by his initial KQ in face of KM's resistant response by explicitly asking KM to explain what the data center does by using the typical Type C KQ format *mwe-ha-nun kos-i-pnikka i-ke-y* 'What does it do?'

The analysis of Extract (5.17) thus illuminates the sequential consequences of using the Typical Type B KQ format. Specifically, in the case where the respondent of a Typical Type B KQ provides a response that claims to have knowledge of the matter at hand but does not display it, the questioner needs to issue a follow-up KQ to deal with the resistant response and accomplish the goal of his/her initial KQ, which then leads to another KQ-response sequence and thereby could possibly make the questioner spend more time than s/he initially planned to delve into the issue of the respondent's knowledgeability. The Reversed Preference Type B KQ format resembles the Typical Type B KQ format in this respect as seen in Extract (5.18) below.

In Extract (5.18), the respondent LC strategically exploits the grammatical property of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format by responding to LH's Reversed Preference Type B KQ with a claim to have the requested knowledge in order to conceal his ignorance of the matter being tested about. Let us delve into the sequential unfolding of the interaction between LC and LH step by step. To begin with, in lines 1-2 LH issues a Reversed Preference Type B KQ with the use of the negative polarity item *hoksi* 'by any chance' and the FE *a-si-pnikka?* 'Do (you) know?' and tests LC's knowledge of the portable 3D scanner project.

Extract (5.18) [Portable 3D Scanner_long]

01	LH:	kukey	cikum	etten	saep-i-nci
		that	now	what kind of	project-be-OQ
02		hoksi		a-si-pnikka?	
		by any chance		know-SH-Q:DEF	
		Do (you) by any chance know what kind of project that is?			
03		(0.2)			
04→	LC:	al-c(i)-yo.=	((with a head nod))		
		know-COMM-POL			
		(I) certainly do.			

05→ LH: =yey. etten saep-i-pnikka?
yes what kind of project-be-Q:DEF
Okay. What kind of project is (it)?

06 cikum kwucheycekulo (0.3) ccalpkey
now specifically briefly

07 ce-to cey sikan iss-unikkan .hh
I-also my time be-since

08 samsip cho (0.6) kelly-ese malssum-lul ha-y cwu–si-psio.
30 second take-and word: xx-AC do-and give-SH-:IM:DEF
Now, (0.3) briefly, in 30 (0.6) seconds,
since I have only limited time allotted to me,
.hh please tell me specifically what kind of project it is.

09 LC: .h ku ceyhanha-l philyo-nun eps-nun ke-ko-yo.
that limit-RL need-TC not exist-RL NOM-QT-POL
.h Uhm (you) don't have to limit (my response time).

10 [ey.]
yes
You don't.

11 LH: [ey.]
yes
Okay.

12 LC: .hhh e:: cey-ka (1.0) 2014-nyen
uh I-NM 2014-year

13 yeykyelwi
the (National Assembly) Special Committee on Budget and Accounts

14 kansa-lul ha-ss-upnita,=
an administrative secretary-AC do-PST-DC:DEF
.hhh Uh, I (1.0) served as an administrative secretary of the (National Assembly) Special Committee on Budget and Accounts in 2014.

15 LH: =ani etten saep-i-nya-kwu-yo.
no what project-be-Q-POL
Well, what (I) asked was what kind of project it is.

Extract (5.18) [Portable 3-D Scanner_long] in Korean

01	LH:	그게 지금 어떤 사업인지
02		혹시 아십니까?
03		(0.2)
04→	LC:	알죠.=
05→	LH:	=예. 어떤 사업입니까?
06		지금 구체적으로 (0.3) 짧게
07		저도 제 시간 있으니깐 .hh
08		삼십 초 (0.6) 걸려서 말씀을 해주십시오.
09	LC:	.h 그 제한할 필요는 없는거고요.
10		[에.]
11	LH:	[에.]
12	LC:	.hhh 어:: 제가 (1.0) 2014년
13		예결위
14		간사를 했습니다,=
15	LH:	=아니 어떤 사업이냐구요.

LH's Reversed Preference Type B KQ seeks LC's (dis)confirmation of having any knowledge about the portable 3D scanner project by virtue of its grammatical design. In addition, at a pragmatic level, this KQ of LH implicitly requests LC to explain the portable 3D scanner project to some extent if he knows about it since LH's intention behind employing a KQ is to test LC's knowledge of the project. LC, however, responds to LH's KQ merely by claiming to have this knowledge (i.e., *al-c(i)-yo* ' (I) certainly do,' see line 4) without actually displaying his knowledge about the project, thereby meeting only the action agenda set by the grammatical organization of the KQ.

In responding to LC's answer resisting the pragmatic action agenda set by his KQ, LH first acknowledges it with *yey* 'okay' (see line 5). Afterwards, LH pursues the issue of LC's knowledgeability by asking a follow-up KQ in the Typical Type C KQ format, which explicitly requests LC to explain what kind of the project the portable 3D scanner project is (see line 5). In doing so, LH puts further constraints on LC's response turn by adding extra instructions to LC:

provide specifics of the project and limit the response time to 30 seconds (see lines 6-8). What follows LH's follow-up KQ, however, is LC's evasive response. Instead of focusing on the substance of KQ, LC first raises issues with the time limit given by LH (see lines 9-10). Then, in lines 12-14 LC goes off topic and introduces the information of having served as an administrative secretary of the National Assembly Special Committee on Budget and Accounts in 2014. When LC shifts the topic agenda initially set by LH's follow-up KQ in this way, LH interrupts him in line 15 and reminds LC that what he asked him was what kind of project the portable 3D scanner project is, thereby explicitly registering the evasiveness of LC's response.

LC's evasive response in lines 9 and 12-14 that drifts away from the substance of LH's KQ thus suggests that LC does not know the portable 3D scanner project that well. In light of this, we can see that LC's claim of having the knowledge in question in line 4 was a strategic response to LH's initial Reversed Preference Type B KQ that allowed him to avoid explaining the portable 3D scanner project and thereby conceal his ignorance on the matter.

The analyses of Extracts (5.17) and (5.18) have shown that unlike the Conditional Type C KQ format or the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format, the grammatical design of the Typical Type B KQ format or the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format allow mere claims of having the requested knowledge as an answer. Consequently, the respondents sometimes strategically claim to have certain knowledge without actually displaying it in order to cover up their ignorance, which leads the questioners to employ a follow-up KQ to pursue their aim of testing the respondents' knowledgeability.

The questioners' awareness of the design feature of the Typical Type B KQ format or the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format is visible in Extract (5.19) below. In Extract (5.19) MHS is issuing a KQ to the other two candidates, GSM and PJJ. The KQ concerns the amount of

budget allocated for the National Agency for Administrative City Construction. In lines 3-8 MHS employs the Typical Type B KQ format using the FE *a-si-nunci* '(I wonder) whether (you) know,' which foregrounds the issue of the two respondents' knowledgeability. However, in line 9 MHS adds an extra remark—that is, *a-si-nta-myen (0.5) hanpen (.) tappyenha-y po-si-ki pala-pnita* 'and if you do, (0.5) (I) would like (you) to tell (me how much).' Designed in the Conditional Type C KQ format, this added remark explicitly requests that the two respondents provide the amount of budget if they know it, thereby disqualifying beforehand any response that merely claims that they have the knowledge. By using this hybrid format of starting with the Typical Type B KQ format and ending with the Conditional Type C KQ format, MHS thus displays his orientation to the potential disadvantage of using only the Typical Type B KQ format.

Extract (5.19) [Budget for the NA for Administrative City Construction]

01	MHS:	yey. .hh twu hwuponim motwu-eykey (0.2)
		okay two candidate:hon. all-to
02		yeccwup-keyss-supnita. (1.0)
		ask-will-DC:DEF
		Okay. .hh (I) will now ask (0.2) both candidates. (1.0)
03→		ye:: hayngpok-tosi-kensel-cheng yeysan, (0.5)-i:, (0.7)
		uhm happy-city-construction-national agency budget-NM
04→		ey: (0.4) ichenyuk nyen-pwuthe, (0.4)
		uhm 2006 year-from
05→		cinan-hay ichensipo nyen-kkaci, (0.2) elma-y-ess-ko:, (0.8)
		last-year 2015 year-to how much-be-PST-and
06→		tto (0.4) kum-nyento:, ichensipyuk nyen-pwuthe (0.4)
		also this-year 2016 year-from

07→ ichen (0.2)<u>sam</u>sip nyen-kkaci (0.4)
2030 year-to

08→ elma-i-nci (.) <u>a</u>-si-nunci, (0.6)
how much-be-OQ know-SH-OQ
Uhm (I wonder) whether (you) know (.) how much the National Agency for Administrative City Construction budget (0.7) was uhm (0.4) from 2006 (0.4) to 2015 last year (0.2) and (0.4) from 2016 this year (0.4) to 2030, (0.6)

09→ a-si-nta-myen (0.5) hanpen (.) tappyenha-y po-si-ki pala-pnita.
know-SH-DC-if once answer-and try-SH-NOM wish-DC:DEF
and if you do, (0.5) (I) would like(you) to tell (me how much).

10 mence *<u>kwu</u>* hwuponim.
first GSM candidate:hon.
(I would like) Candidate GSM to respond first.

Extract (5.19) [Budget for the NA for Administrative City Construction] in Korean

01 MHS: 예. .hh 두 후보님 모두에게 (0.2)
02 여쭙겠습니다. (1.0)
03→ 에:: 행복도시건설청 예산, (0.5)이:, (0.7)
04→ 에: (0.4) 이천육 년부터, (0.4)
05→ 지난해 이천십오 년까지, (0.2) 얼마였고:, (0.8)
06→ 또 (0.4) 금년도:, 이천십육 년부터 (0.4)
07→ 이천 (0.2)<u>삼</u>십 년까지 (0.4)
08→ 얼마인지 (.) <u>아</u>시는지, (0.6)
09→ 아신다면 (0.5) 한번 (.) 답변해 보시기 바랍니다.
10 먼저 <u>구</u> 후보님.

Although KQs in either the Conditional Type C KQ format or the Modified Conditional Type C format do not linguistically foreground whether the respondent knows the answer to the question as much as the KQs in either the Typical Type B KQ format or the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format do, they have advantages for the questioner in that they do not allow—neither grammatically nor pragmatically—the claim of the respondent of merely having the knowledge to be an acceptable answer. This explains why MHS in Extract (5.19) employs the Conditional Type C KQ format in addition to the Typical Type B KQ format as we have already examined.

5.3.4.4. Summary of Sections 5.3.1 through 5.3.4

Sections 5.3.1 through 5.3.4 have so far examined linguistic variations in designing KQs and how different KQ formats embody different degrees of the questioner's epistemic certainty regarding how likely the respondent is to know or not know the answer. A total of nine types of KQ designs were identified, along with an examination of their respective epistemic meanings. The findings are summarized in Table 5.3 below

Table 5.3. Epistemic Meanings of the Nine KQ Formats

Increased certainty of likelihood of not knowing		
↑	Very unlikely to know	(1) Negative Interrogative Type A
	Unlikely to know	(2) Pseudo-Tag Question Type A
	May not know	(3) Typical Type A (4) Reversed Preference Type B (5) Modified Conditional Type C
	May know	(6) Typical Type B (7) Conditional Type C
	Likely to know	(8) Pseudo-Tag Question Type B
↓	Knows	(9) Typical Type C
Increased certainty of likelihood of knowing		

The questioner of a KQ is normally assumed to know about the substance of the KQ, as often evidenced by his/her ability to judge the correctness of the answer given by the respondent of the KQ. This means that the questioner of the KQ occupies a K+ position on an epistemic gradient. Taking this into account, we can illustrate the different degrees of epistemic gap between the questioner and the respondent implied in each of the nine KQ formats on an epistemic gradient graph as shown in Figure 5.7 below.

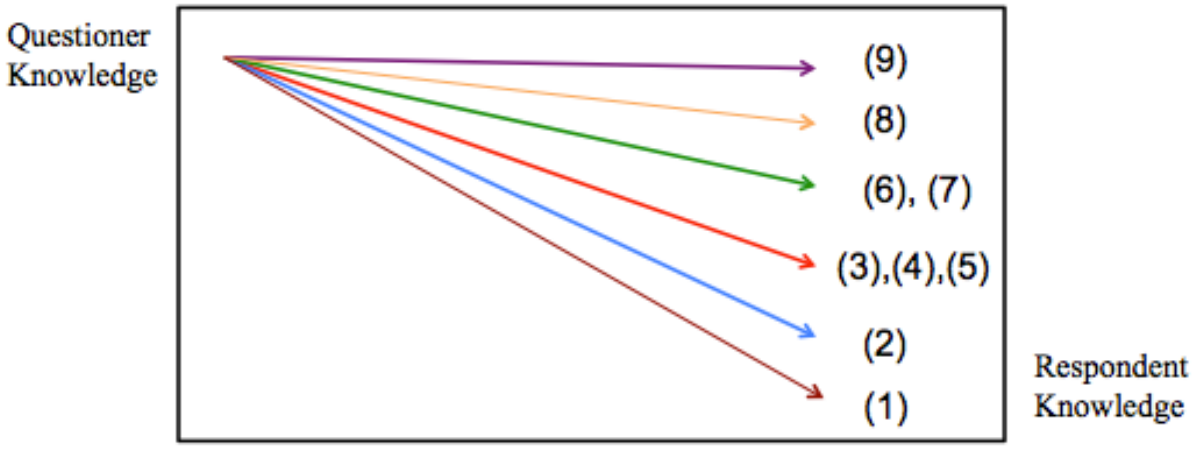


Figure 5.7. The Epistemic Gradient of the Nine KQ Formats[16]

The epistemic gap between the questioner and the respondent is the largest in the case of the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format (line (1)), followed by the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format (line (2)). The Typical Type A (line (3)), the Reversed Preference Type B (line (4)), and the Modified Conditional Type C (line (5)) KQ formats all occupy the same position on the epistemic gradient graph, indicating an epistemic gap between the questioner and the respondent that is smaller than the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format but larger than the Typical Type B (line (6)) and the Conditional Type C (line (7)) KQ formats. However, the Typical Type B (line (6)) and the Conditional Type C (line (7)) KQ formats, which indicate the same degree of epistemic gap between the questioner and the respondent, embody a larger epistemic gap than that of the Typical Type C KQ format. Among the nine formats, the Typical Type C KQ format (line (9)) embodies the smallest epistemic gap between the questioner and the

[16] This figure comparing the epistemic gradients of the nine KQ formats shows an interesting contrast to the epistemic gradients of the four information-seeking question formats presented in T. In the latter, the wh-question format embodied the steepest gradient among the four information-seeking question formats, while the remaining three formats had the effect of flattening the gradient. Here, by contrast, the Typical Type C KQ format including the wh-question format realizes the flattest gradient among the nine formats, and the remaining eight formats have the effect of making the gradient steeper. This use of linguistic formats in KQs corresponds to the candidate's project of casting their opponent's knowledge and competence into doubt.

respondent.

In addition to exploring the aforementioned epistemic differences among the nine formats of KQ design, we examined different properties among the formats that have virtually the same epistemic meaning. More specifically, the Typical Type A KQ format, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format, and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format all indicate the questioner's belief that the respondent may not know the answer to the KQ. However, the Typical Type A KQ format is different from the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in that the former is used only when the respondent's conduct in the prior turn revealed his/her potential ignorance of the substance of the KQ. Both the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format can strategically be used in the sequential environment where the respondent's conduct does not provide any clue to his/her ignorance of the matter at hand: for instance, to deliver a message damaging to the respondent that s/he may *not* know about *what s/he is expected to know,* or to highlight the questioner's belief that the respondent is less knowledgeable than the questioner. In spite of this similarity, a distinction can be made between the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format in that the grammatical design of the former allows the respondent to claim to have the requested knowledge without actually displaying it.

The point of distinction is also applicable to the Typical Type B KQ format and the Conditional Type C KQ format, both of which embody the questioner's belief that the respondent may know about the matter at hand. That is, the grammatical design of a Typical Type B KQ allows the respondent to merely claim to have the knowledge by way of his/her answer, whereas the respondent cannot respond in the same way to a Conditional Type C KQ. Thus, the Typical Type B KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format can be

both advantageous to the questioner since they make whether the respondent knows or does not know about the matter being asked about the focus of the question, and disadvantageous to the questioner since the respondent may exploit the grammatical property of these two question formats and use a claim to possess the knowledge at issue as a way to conceal their ignorance of the matter being asked about.

The findings of Sections 5.3.1 through 5.3.4 have looked at the whole repertoire of KQ formats regarding the epistemic aspect of KQ design and the distinctions among the KQ formats in terms of their epistemic meanings (and action agendas they set for the responses). Based on these findings, the following section will examine the overall distribution of the formats in order to provide a bird's-eye view of their usage.

5.3.5. The Overall Distribution of the Nine KQ Formats

In this section, I will examine the frequency of occurrence of the nine KQ formats concerning the epistemic dimension of KQ design. The formats are divided into three groups based on their structural affinity. The first group is the "Type A" KQ format group, which comprises the Typical Type A KQ format and the two formats based on this format, the Negative Interrogative Type A and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ formats. The second group is the "Type B" KQ format group, which comprises the Typical Type B KQ format and the two formats based on this format, the Reversed Preference Type B and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ formats. Finally, the third group is the "Type C" KQ format group, which comprises the Typical Type C KQ format and the two formats based on this format, the Modified Conditional Type C and the Conditional Type C KQ formats. I first explore the frequency of occurrence among these three groups and then focus on the frequency distribution within each group. Afterwards, I investigate

the use of the nine KQ formats according to the epistemic meanings they embody.

As shown in Table 5.4 below, candidates very rarely mix KQ formats belonging to different groups to create hybrid formats. There is only one such case (0.5%) out of the 190 KQs examined for this study (see Extract (5.19)). This distributional feature thus empirically supports the categorization of KQ formats into the three distinctive groups—Type A, B, and C—I have defined above. The KQ formats of both the Type B and Type C groups occur noticeably frequently compared to those of the Type A group: the Type B KQ formats accounts for 43.7% (n=83) of all the occurrences of KQs (n=190) and the Type C KQ formats amount to 52.6% (n=100), whereas the KQ formats of the Type A group account for a mere 3.2% (n=3.2) of all cases.

Table 5.4. Frequency Distribution of KQ Formats According to Group Type

Group Types	Specific Format Types	Number of occurrence	Total
Type A	- Typical Type A - Negative Interrogative Type A - Pseudo-Tag Question Type A	6 (3.2%)	190 (100%)
Type B	- Typical Type B - Reversed Preference Type B - Pseudo-Tag Question Type B	83 (43.7%)	
Type C	- Typical Type C - Conditional Type C - Modified Conditional Type C	100 (52.6%)	
Hybrid	- Typical Type B + Conditional Type C	1 (0.5%)	

The scarcity of KQs that belongs to the Type A group is not surprising when we take into account their highly restricted occurrence as I have examined in Sections 5.3.2.1 and 5.3.4.1.2: KQs designed in the Type A KQ formats only occurred where the respondent's ignorance of the matter being tested can reasonably be inferred based on the very acts of the respondent during the debate. The highly restricted and rare occurrence of the Type A KQ formats seems to suggest

the candidates' concerns regarding their opponent and ultimately their own face. Note that the Type A KQ formats all have FEs formed with the verb of unknowing *molu-* 'not know.' Thus, KQs of the Type A group explicitly request the respondent to confirm or disconfirm that they do *not* know about the matter being asked about. In other words, KQs of the Type A group explicitly threaten the respondent's positive face want (i.e., the want to appear in front of the viewers as a knowledgeable candidate) (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Used outside of the sequential environment explained earlier, Type A KQs can thus be viewed as impolite and discourteous and can thereby negatively affect the positive face of the candidates who issued the KQ in that they could be regarded as offensive and ill-mannered.

The argument that attributes the rare occurrence of Type A KQs to the candidates' face concern can further be supported when we consider the large number of KQs of the Type B group (n=83, 43.7%). Type B KQs are formed with FEs that have verbs of knowing/remembering/expressing the ability to verbally provide the requested information. Thus, Type B KQs request the respondents to confirm or disconfirm that they *know/remember/can explain* the information being asked about, and for this reason these KQs can be seen as less face-threatening than those of the Type A group. In particular,
71 Type B KQs have FEs formed with *al-* 'know,' the exact antonym of the verb *molu-* 'not know,' thereby accounting for 80.7% of all 83 KQs in the Type B group.

The KQ formats of the Type C group occurred most frequently among the KQ formats of the Type A, B, and C groups (n=100, 52.6%). As will be shown in Table 5.7 later, the prominence of the KQ formats of the Type C group is attributable to the prevalence of the Typical Type C KQ format, which accounts for 97% (n=97) of all KQ formats of the Type C group. The Typical Type C KQ format presupposes the respondent's knowledgeability and thus

can be regarded as the least face-threatening format among the Type A, B, and C KQ formats. Furthermore, the Typical Type C KQ format has a very broad range of sequential environments (see Section 5.3.2.3 & Footnote 9 on p.275): the Typical Type C KQ format can occur in the sequential environments where the KQ formats of the Type A or C group can be used, but only the Typical Type C KQ format can be employed after a respondent's claim of knowledgeability. In brief, the face-saving and versatile nature of the Typical Type C KQ format thus explains the prevalence of the KQ formats of the Type C group.

Let us now move on to examining the frequency of occurrence within each group of the KQ formats in detail following the order of Type A, B, and C groups. In addition to delving into usage patterns of KQ formats belonging to the same group, these analyses will provide empirical justification for seeing the Typical Type A, the Typical Type B, and the Typical Type C KQ formats as the most frequently occurring and thus the base formats of the Type A, B, and C groups, respectively.

First of all, the frequency distribution of the occurrence of Type A KQ formats is summarized in Table 5.5 below. Although the small number of occurrence makes the findings in Table 5.5 hard to generalize, the table shows that the Typical Type A format is used the most (n=3, 50%), the Negative Interrogative Type A format (n=2, 33.3%) follows next, and the Pseudo-tag Question Type A format (n=1, 16.7%) is used the least.

Table 5.5. The Type A KQ Formats and Their Frequency of Occurrence

The Type A KQ Formats	Epistemic Meanings	Number of Occurrence	Total
Negative Interrogative Type A	You are very unlikely to know X	2 (33.3%)	6 (100%)
Pseudo-Tag Question Type A	You are unlikely to know X	1 (16.7%)	
Typical Type A	You may not know X	3 (50%)	

Second, the frequency distribution of the occurrence of the Type B KQ formats is presented in Table 5.6 below. As already mentioned, all Type B KQ formats are constituted with FEs formed with verbs of knowing/remembering/expressing the ability to verbally provide the requested information (e.g., *al-* 'know,' *kiekha-* 'remember,' *malha-l su-iss-* 'can tell.') The Typical Type B KQ format (n=47, 56.6%) was most frequently employed, and the Reversed Preference Type B format (n=31, 37.3%) followed the next. Unlike the Typical Type B KQ format and the Reversed Preference Type B format, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format occurred very infrequently (n=5, 6.0%).

Table 5.6. The Type B KQ Formats and Their Frequency of Occurrence[17]

The Type B KQ Formats	Epistemic Meanings	Number of Occurrence	Total
Reversed Preference Type B	You may not know X	31 (37.3%)	83 (100%)
Typical Type B	You may know X	47 (56.6%)	
Pseudo-Tag Question Type B	You are likely to know X	5 (6.0%)	

Third, the frequency distribution of the occurrence of Type C KQ formats is illustrated in Table 5.7 below. Type C KQ formats all explicitly request the respondents to display their

[17]The sum of the percentages in the column of 'Number of Occurrence' of Table 5.6 is not equal to 100% because each percentage was rounded to the first decimal place.

knowledgeability. Table 5.7 shows that candidates predominantly utilize the Typical Type C KQ format among the three formats in this group. The Typical Type C KQ format amounts to 97% (n=97), whereas Modified Conditional Type C format and Conditional Type C format only take up 1% (n=1) and 2% (n=2) of all the Type C KQs, respectively. The results thus reveal that when candidates choose to use a KQ format in the Type C group, they overwhelmingly design their KQs in the Typical Type C KQ format and barely use the two other modulated formats.

Table 5.7. The Type C KQ Formats and Their Frequency of Occurrence

The Type C KQ Formats	Epistemic Meanings	Number of Occurrence	Total
Modified Conditional Type C	You may not know X	1 (1%)	100 (100%)
Conditional Type C	You may know X	2 (2%)	
Typical Type C	You know X	97 (97%)	

The frequency of occurrence of each group of KQ formats we have examined so far allows us to identify what the most commonly occurring format of each group is—that is, the Typical Type A, the Typical Type B, and the Typical Type C KQ formats. More specifically, KQs in the Typical Type A format account for 50% of all Type A KQs; KQs in the Typical B format account for 57.3% of all Type B KQs; and KQs in the Typical Type C KQ format account for 97% of all Type C KQs. This quantitative information empirically supports the designation of these three formats as the basic and representative KQ format for each KQ group.

The nine KQ formats from the Type A, B, and C groups embody epistemic meanings by virtue of their syntactic and lexical design as shown in the 'Epistemic Meanings' columns of Tables 5.5-5.7. To put it more precisely, the nine KQ formats realize the questioner's stance towards how likely they assume the respondent is to know the answers to their KQs. What follows is the investigation on the use of the nine KQ formats according to their epistemic meanings. The analytic focus is both on what epistemic meanings are commonly instantiated by

the nine KQ formats and what KQ format is most frequently employed to realize a particular epistemic meaning. The findings are summarized in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8. The Use of the Nine KQ formats According to Epistemic Meaning

Epistemic meanings	KQ Format Types	Number of Occurrence	
Very unlikely to know	Negative Interrogative Type A	2 (1.1%)	
Unlikely to know	Pseudo-Tag Question Type A	1 (0.5%)	
May not know	Typical Type A	3 (1.6%)	35 (18.5%)
	Reversed Preference Type B	31 (16.4)	
	Modified Conditional Type C	1 (0.5)	
May know	Typical Type B	47 (24.9)	52 (27.5%)
	Conditional Type C	2 (1.1%)	
Likely to know	Pseudo-Tag Question Type B	5 (2.6%)	
Knows	Typical Type C	97 (51.3%)	
Total		189 (100%)	

When we exclude one KQ that is designed in the hybrid format (i.e., the Typical Type B KQ format plus the Conditional Type C KQ format) and examine the remaining 189 KQs, about half of them linguistically embody the questioner's full-blown optimistic stance towards the possibility of the respondent's knowledgeability: 51.3% (n=97) of all the 189 KQs indicate the questioner's belief that the respondent *knows* the answers to their KQs. 27.5% (n=52) of all the 189 KQs realize the questioner's moderate optimism that the respondent *may know* the answers. These two epistemic meanings were the top two most frequently occurring epistemic meanings instantiated by the nine KQ formats, together accounting for 78.8% (n=149) of all occurrences of the KQs (n=189). These findings become very interesting when we consider that the goal of KQs used in political campaign debates is to reveal the respondent's ignorance, not the respondent's knowledgeability, by testing the respondent's knowledge of the matter at hand. The candidates' frequent employment of KQ formats indicating the respondent's optimistic stance towards the likelihood of the respondent's knowing the requested information thus can be understood as a

linguistic strategy to soften the adversarial, unpleasant, and face-threatening aspect of KQs.

The candidates' concern of the face issue is also visible in the fact that when the candidates express their pessimistic stance towards the likelihood of the respondent's knowing the requested information, they tend to choose KQ formats associated with moderate pessimism (n=35, 18.5%)—in particular, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format (n=31, 16.4%). The Reversed Preference Type B KQ format of the Type B group request the respondents to confirm or disconfirm that they *know/remember/can explain* the information being asked about by virtue of their linguistic design, and for this reason these KQs can be seen as less face-threatening than the Typical Type A KQ format of the Type A group that request the respondents to confirm or disconfirm that they *do not know* about the information being asked about by virtue of their linguistic design. In addition, the less-face threatening Reversed Preference Type B KQ format has a sequential advantage over the Typical Type A KQ format in that unlike the latter, the former can appear where the respondent's vulnerability to KQs has not been established through the respondent's conduct. Thus, candidates can strategically employ the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format to express their moderate pessimistic stance towards the respondent's likelihood of knowing the answers to their KQs in the absence of concrete evidence to support it. This shows that the use of a particular KQ design is not only constrained by the sequential environment that corresponds with the epistemic meaning of a particular format as in the case of the Typical Type A KQ format, but also can be deployed strategically to invoke an epistemic meaning.

Let us continue to pursue the issue of distinguishing between the KQ formats that realize the same epistemic meaning. As can be seen in the Table 5.8 above, the candidates' moderate pessimism can also be expressed with the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format. As we have

examined in Section 5.3.4.3.2, the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format is different from the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in that the grammatical design of the former explicitly requests the respondents to provide the requested information, whereas the latter grammatically allows the respondents to merely claim that they have the requested information. The rare occurrence of the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format suggests that in embodying the candidates' moderate pessimism, the advantage of the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format over the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format is not that great from the candidates' perspective. This seems to be related with the fact that just like the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format, the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format pragmatically requests the respondents to provide the requested information if they possess it (see Section 3.2.3 of Chapter 3 for this matter), although the respondents can exploit the grammatical organization of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ and merely claim that they know the answers without displaying them. A similar account can be given to explain the predominance of the Typical Type B format over the Conditional Type C KQ format in expressing the candidates' moderate optimism. The Conditional Type C KQ format has an advantage of explicitly requesting the respondents to display their knowledgeability, but the Typical Type B KQ format also pragmatically, though not grammatically, requests the respondents to do so.

The prevalence of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Typical Type B KQ format over the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format and the Conditional Type C KQ format seem to be attributable to the fact that the advantage of using the latter as an alternative to the former is not so prominent because the former pragmatically, though not grammatically asks the respondents to display their knowledgeability as proof that they know the answer. This observation thus also provides empirical grounds for treating the Modified Conditional Type C

KQ format and the Conditional Type C KQ format as a modulated format of the Typical Type C KQ format, not as alternatives to the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Typical Type B KQ format: these two formats are more clearly distinct from the Typical Type C KQ format in that they suspend the questioner's belief in the respondent's knowledgeability presupposed in the Typical Type C KQ format.

Lastly, we will examine which KQ format is most frequently employed to realize a particular epistemic meaning. As summarized in Table 5.8, the questioner's strongest pessimism towards the likelihood of the respondent's informedness is expressed by the Negative Interrogative Type A KQ format. The Pseudo-Tag Question Type A KQ format also strongly expresses pessimism albeit to a lesser degree, and a more moderate degree of pessimism than these two is normally embodied by the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format. The questioner's moderate optimism towards the likelihood of the respondent's informedness is frequently indicated by the Typical Type B KQ format; a stronger optimism is expressed by the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format; and lastly, the questioner's strongest optimism is indicated by the Typical Type C KQ format.

The frequency analyses of the use of the nine KQ formats concerning the epistemic dimension empirically justify designating the Typical Type A, B, and C KQ formats as the base format of the Type A, B, and C KQ groups, respectively, as well as the categorization of the Conditional Type C and Modified Conditional Type C KQ formats into the Type C, not the Type B KQ group. More importantly, the candidates' frequent use of the Typical Type C KQ format and the Typical Type B KQ format, which embody their optimistic stance towards the likelihood of the respondents' informedness about the matter being asked about, has shown that the candidates pay attention to the face-threatening nature of their KQs and tend to choose epistemic

KQ formats that linguistically soften this adversarial aspect of their KQs. The candidates' orientation to the face issue has also been observed in their frequent use of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format over the Typical Type A KQ format as a means to express their moderate pessimism, as the former requests the respondents to confirm or disconfirm that they *know/remember/can explain* the requested information, instead of confirming or disconfirming that they do *not know* it. The candidates' attention given to their opponents' face in the selection of the KQ formats seems to show the candidates' dual orientation towards adversarialness and decorum in issuing KQs.

In Section 5.3, we have examined the epistemic dimension of KQ design. In Section 5.4 to follow, we will explore the precision dimension of KQ design and see how questioners vary the linguistic forms of KQs in order to set the boundaries of an acceptable answer to varying degrees.

5.4. The Precision Dimension of KQs

The analyses of linguistic variations in KQs reveal that questioners vary the linguistic forms of KQs in order to set the boundaries of an acceptable answer to varying degrees. To put it another way, questioners exploit different types of KQ designs to constrain how precise and specific the knowledge provided by the respondent should be in order to prove his/her knowledgeability. I call this the precision dimension of KQ designs.

KQ formats can be grouped into two categories according to the precision dimension. The first group includes KQs formed without any explicit expressions constraining the degree of preciseness/specificity of the requested knowledge. I call this precision-unspecified KQ format the Type I KQ format. The second group includes KQs formed with explicit expressions

constraining the degree of the preciseness/specificity of the requested knowledge. KQs in the second group can be further divided into two subcategories according to whether the precision-relevant expressions are used to inform the respondent that his/her answer should be precise/specific, or whether they exist to let the respondent know that a general/approximate answer is also acceptable. I call the former the Type II KQ format, and the latter the Type III KQ format. Sections 5.4.1 through 5.4.3 explores how candidates construct and use each format in the order of the Type I, Type II, and Type III KQ format. Section 5.4.4 presents the frequency of occurrence for each format to illustrate their overall distribution in the data and to gain further insight regarding the use of each format.

5.4.1. The Type I KQ Format and Its Use

The Type I KQ format is formed without any overt expressions specifying whether the respondent's answer should be precise/specific (e.g., *cenghawkhi*/*cenghwakhakey* 'exactly,' *kwucheycenkulo* 'specifically') or whether the answers can be general/approximate (e.g., *han* 'around,' *cengto* 'degree/extent,' *-na* 'approximately,' *taykang/taylayk* 'roughly (speaking)') as in Extracts (5.20) and (5.21).

The participants in Extract (5.20), JSH and KSB, are running for Governor of Boeun County. Jujube farming is important in this region because Boeun is known for its high-quality jujubes. In lines 4-5, JSH, the incumbent governor of the county, asks KSB whether he knows how many farms jujube farming has increased to since 2010 (i.e., when JSH's term as governor began) in order to undermine KSB's accusation that JSH completely neglected jujube farming. In asking the number, JSH employs the Type I KQ format: JSH does not include any expressions of precision or approximation (e.g., *myech nongka* ***cengto****-lo nul-ena-ss-nunci~* '**approximately**

how many (farms jujube farming) has increased to~ ' / ***cenghwakhakey*** *myech-thulo nul-ena-ss-nunci* '**exactly** how many (farms jujube farming) has increased to) as seen in his remark *myech-thulo nul-ena-ss-nunci* 'how many (farms jujube farming) has increased to.'

Extract (5.20) [Jujube Farms]

01	JSH:	taychcwu:(.)-nun ta soholhi ha-ko jujub-TC all negligently do-and
02		mwe lilehkey hay-ss-ta-kwu kula-nuntey (1.3) what like this do-PST-DC-QT say-but ***(You) said I completely neglected (.)jujube (farming) and all that, (1.3)***
03		eti-se nwu-ka kulen yayki-l-ha-pnikka? (0.8) where-at who-NM like that talk-AC-do-Q:DEF ***but who said those things (to you) and where? (0.8)***
04→		taychwu nongka-ka. (0.2) ichensip nyen-ey (0.4) se jujube farmhouse-NM 2010 year-from
05→		cikum myech-thulo nul-ena-ss-nunci a-si-pnikka? now how many-to increase-become-PST-OQ know-SH-Q:DEF ***Do (you) know how many farms jujube farming has increased to since 2010?***
06		(3.0)
07	KSB:	taychwu nongka-ka cwungyohan ke-y ani-la jujube farmhouse-NM be important NOM-NM not-but
08		taychwu cikcay myencek-i cwungyo[ha-pnita cikum,] jujub plantation area-NM be important-DC:DEF now ***It's not (the number) of jujube farms that is important but the (total) farming area of jujubes that is important right now.***
09	JSH:	[s i k c a y] plantation
10		myencek-to (0.4) <u>em</u>chengnakey nul-ena-ss-eyo. (0.4) area-also greatly increase-become-PST-DC:POL ***The farming area (0.4) has greatly increased as well. (0.4)***

11 sapayk: han osip hyektha-eyse chilpaykil hayktha-lo
400 about 50 hectares-from 701 hectares-to

12 nul-ena-ss-supnita. (0.3)
increase-become-PST-DC:DEF
(It) has increased from around 450 hectares to 701 hectares. (0.3)

13 taychwu nongka-ka (.) kwupayksamsip ho-eyse (0.3)
jujub farmhouse-NM 930 CL-from

14 cikum: chensapayk (0.8) isipo ho-lo
now 1425 CL-to

15 nul-ena-ss-supnita.:. (0.5)
increase-become-PST-DC:DEF
The jujube farms (.) have increased from 930 (0.8) to 1425 (0.8) now. (0.5)

Extract (5.20) [[Jujube Farms] in Korean

01 JSH: 대추: (.)는 다 소홀히 하고
02 뭐 이렇게 했다구 그라는데 (1.3)
03 어디서 누가 그런 얘길합니까? (0.8)
04→ 대추 농가가. (0.2) 이천십년에 (0.4) 서
05→ 지금 몇트로 늘어났는지 아십니까?
06 (3.0)
07 KSB: 대추 농가가 중요한 게 아니라
08 대추 식재 면적이 중요[합니다 지금,]
09 JSH: [식 재]
10 면적도 (0.4) 엄청나게 늘어났어요. (0.4)
11 사백: 한 오십 헥타에서 칠백일 핵타로
12 늘어났습니다. (0.3)
13 대추농가가 (.) 구백삼십 호에서 (0.3)
14 지금: 천사백 (0.8) 이십오 호로
15 늘어났습니다.:. (0.5)

Candidates use the Type I KQ format not only to ask questions regarding numbers but also to ask questions on nonquantifiable information such important social issues, definitions of technical terms, names of a place or a person, locations of certain buildings, and so on. Extract (5.21) below illustrates how candidates' use of the Type I KQ format for testing nonquantifiable knowledge of the respondents. The participants of Extract (5.21), KTH and CBS, are running for

member of the 20th National Assembly. In this exchange, they are talking about the Sewol Ferry disaster that occurred on April 16th of 2014, about two years prior to the debate. This tragic incident involved the sinking of a passenger ship named Sewol and the delayed response of the government, resulting in over 300 passengers dead or missing. In lines 2-4 KTH tests CBS's knowledge of what the bereaved families of the Sewol Ferry disaster are demanding that the 20th National Assembly resolve no matter what.

Extract (5.21) [Sewol Ferry Disaster]

01 KTH: e kyeysok yenkwantoyn cilmwun tuli-kyess-supnita.
uh continually related question give-will-DC:DEF
Uh (I) will continue with related questions.

02→ yukacok-tul-i:, i-sip tay kwukhoy-eyse pantusi
bereaved family-PL-NM 20 line National Assembly-in at all costs

03→ haykyel-ha-y tal-la-ko:, yochengha-ko iss-nun kes-tul-i
resolve-do-and give-IM-QT request-and be-RL thing-PL-NM

04→ mwues-i-nci:, malssumha-y cwu-si-ki pala-pnita.
what-be-OQ tell:hon.-and give-SH-NOM wish-DC:DEF
Please tell (me) what the bereaved families (of the Sewol Ferry disaster) are demanding that the 20th National Assembly must resolve.

05 CBS: .hhh *seywelho* chamsa-uy ku wenin-ul kyumyengha-y
Sewol Ferry disaster-of that cause-AC uncover-and

06 tal-la-nun kes-i-c-yo.
give-IM-RL thing-be-COMM-POL

07 kuliko chaykim- (.) chaykim socay-lul
and responsibility responsibility whereabouts-AC

08 pwunmyenghi hay tal-la-nun kes-i-pnita
clearly do-and give-IM-RL thing-be-DC:DEF
.hhh (They) want the causes of the Sewol Ferry disaster to be uncovered, of course. Also, (they) want to make it clear where the responsibility- (.) responsibility lies.

09 (2.2)

10 KTH: ((lip parting) .hhhh yey.
yes
.hhhh Ok.

11 seywelho cinsan-gkyumyeng. ches penccay yokwu-pnita.
Sewol Ferry cause-uncover first demand-DC:DEF
Uncover the truth of the Sewol Ferry (disaster)
(That is their) first demand.

12 twu penccay-nun seywelho-uy oncenhan inyang. (0.3) kwa:, .hhh
second-TC Sewol Ferry-POS entire salvage and

13 ey (0.7) miswuswupca. swuswup-i-pnita. (0.9)
uh missing person collect-be-DC:DEF
(Their) second (demand) is the entire salvage of the Sewol ferry (0.3) and .hhh uh (0.7) the recovery of the bodies that have not been collected. (0.9)

14 e sey penccay-nun:, (0.8) ey:: cwungtay cayhay (.) kiep. (0.2)
uh third-TC uh major disaster company

15 chapel ceyto sinsel-kwa ancenhakey ilha-l
punishment system new establishment-and safely work-RL

16 kwenli-wa pocang-i-pnita. (0.6)
right-and gurantee-be-DC:DEF
Uh (their) third demand (0.8) uh is to make a new law that can punish (0.2) companies (.) that have caused major disasters and to have and be guaranteed the right to work safely. (0.6)

17 e ney penccay-lo-nun sa- e sailyuk:, (0.5) phihayca (.)
uh fourth-as-TC Apr- uh April sixteenth victim

18 cwucey. il- (.) e ciwen <u>thuk</u>pyul-pep-i-pnita. (0.4)
aid work uh support special-law-be-DC:DEF
Uh (their) fourth (demand) is uh the Special Act for the Aid, Work- (.) uh and Support (.) of the Apr- uh April sixteenth (0.5) victims. (0.4)

19 e: ike-n (1.2) <u>kkok</u> com chayngky-e cwu-si-ki pala-pnita.
uh this-TC surely please take care-and give-SH-NOM wish-DC:DEF
Uh (I) hope you will make sure to take care of (1.2) these (demands if you are elected as a member of the National Assembly).

Extract (5.21) [Sewol Ferry Disaster] in Korean

01	KTH:	어 계속 연관된 질문 드리겠습니다.
02→		유가족들이:, 이십 대 국회에서 반드시
03→		해결해 달라고:, 요청하고 있는 것들이
04→		무엇인지:, 말씀해주시기 바랍니다.
05	CBS:	.hhh 세월호 참사의 그 원인을 규명해
06		달라는 것이죠.
07		그리고 책임- (.) 책임 소재를
08		분명히 해달라는 것입니다
09		(2.2)
10	KTH:	((lip parting) .hhhh 예.
11		세월호 진상규명. 첫 번째 요굽니다.
12		두 번째는 세월호의 온전한 인양. (0.3)과:, .hhh
13		에 (0.7) 미수습자. 수습입니다. (0.9)
14		어: 세 번째는:, (0.8) 에:: 중대 재해 (.) 기업. (0.2)
15		처벌 제도 신설과 안전하게 일할
16		권리와 보장입니다. (0.6)
17		어 네 번째로는 사- 어 사일육:, (0.5) 피해자 (.)
18		구제. 일- (.) 어 지원 특별법입니다. (0.4)
19		어: 이건 (1.2) 꼭 좀 챙겨주시기 바랍니다.

What is interesting about the Type I KQ format is that in spite of the absence of the overt expressions of precision or approximation, the questioners and respondents alike treat the Type I KQ format as requesting precise/specific information rather than general/approximate information. In the following, we will first examine how questioners themselves provide correct answers to KQs designed in the Type I KQ format (i.e., Type I KQs) and then how respondents answer them.

Let us revisit Extracts (5.20) and (5.21). In lines 13-15 of Extract (5.20), the questioner JSH provides the correct answer to his own Type I KQ by stating the exact number of jujube farms currently in the area with the numeral plus classifier/counter expression *chen-sa-payk (0.8) i-sip-o ho* '1,425 farms.' Note that JSH's answer does not include any expressions of approximation such as the determiner *han* 'around,' which JSH used earlier in stating the total

farming area of jujubes in the past (i.e., *sa-payk:* ***han*** *o-sip hyektha-eyse* 'from around 450 hectares'). Likewise, in lines 11-18 of Extract (5.21), the questioner KTH supplies the accurate and precise answer to his own Type I KQ by enumerating the demands of the bereaved families of the Sewol Ferry disaster without any expressions of approximation/generalness such as *taykang/taylayk* 'roughly (speaking).' The way JSH and KTH each provide the exact and precise answer to their own Type I KQ thus shows that KQs designed in the Type I KQ format are intended to request precise/specific answers from their respondents even though they do not explicitly include expressions of precision/specificity.

The way respondents construct their answers to the KQs also shows how Type I KQs are treated as KQs seeking precise/specific answers. Take a look at Extract (5.21) to see how CBS designs her answer to KTH's Type I KQ. In lines 5-8, CBS provides her answer without any expressions of approximation or generalness. By doing so, CBS implies that the two demands she is relaying are indeed a precise and accurate representation of the demands of the bereaved families of Sewol Ferry disaster, and that her answer also meets the precision parameter implicitly set by KTH's Type I KQ.

Extract (5.22), part of which was introduced in Extract (4.6) of Chapter 4, provides another instance clearly showing that Type I KQs require respondents to provide precise/specific knowledge of the matter being asked about, and that the respondents are oriented to the very property of Type I KQs. As mentioned in the analysis of Extract (4.6), LJ issues a compound KQ about minimum wages in lines 4-5 and 7-9 and follow-up KQs in lines 27 and 29 after referring to PK's gaffe during another campaign debate in lines 1-2 where PK had provided an incorrect answer to the moderator's question asking the current amount of the minimum wage.

Extract (5.22) [Minimum Wage_2]

01 LJ: choyce-imkum elma-nci a-si-nya
minimum wage how much-OQ know-SH-Q:PLN
"Do (you) know how much the minimum wage is?"

02 taytap mos ha-sy-ess-nuntey, yeccwup-ko [sip-supnita.]=
answer not do-SH-PST-given that ask-want to-DC:DEF
and (you) couldn't answer (the question).

03 PK: [encey-yo?]
when-Q:POL
When?

04→ LJ: =cikum choyce-imkum elma-nci:, .h
now minimum-wage how much-OQ

05→ nay-nyen choyce-imkum-un elma-nci [:, tto]=
next-year minimum-wage-TC how much-OQ and

06 PK: [h h]
h h
hh

07→ LJ: =choyce-imkum-to mos pat-nun
minimum-wage-even not receive-RL

08→ notongca-tul elma-nci. (0.3)
worker-PL how many-OQ (0.3)

09→ kutongan com phaak↑ha-sy-ess-nunci-yo.
meantime a little grasp-SH-PST-OQ-POL
(I'd like to ask) whether (you)'ve grasped (0.3)
how much the minimum wage is now,
how much the minimum wage will be next year,
and how many workers there are that cannot even
receive the minimum wage.

10 PK: yey. ku choyce-imkum-kwa kwanlyenha-y kaci-ko,
yes that minimum-wage-with relate-have-and
Well, regarding the minimum wage (question that I previously received)

. *((To deal with L2's adversarial account of PK's gaffe in lines 3-7,*
. *PK explains why she was not able to answer the question*
. *asking about the current minimum wage during the primary debate*
. *of her own party))*

25 PK: choyce (0.3) e imkum::-ey tayhayse ku molu-n-ta-nun
minimum uhm wage-about that not know-IN-DC-RL

26 ke-nun mal-i an toy-c(i)-yo:, yey.
thing-TC speech-NM not become-COMM-POL yes
(It) is absurd not to know about minimum wages, indeed.

27→ LJ: elm[a- nka- yo ?]
how much-Q-POL?
How much is (it)?

28→ PK: [sachenopayk]phalsip wen.
4,580 won
4,580 won.

29→ LJ: naynyen-ey-n [elma-nka-yo?]
next year-in -TC how much-Q-POL?
How much will it be next year?

30→ PK: [kuntey yeki-]
but here
But here-

31 sachen: (0.3) sachen: (0.3) phalpaykyuksip wen.
four thousand four thousand eight hundred sixty won
4 thousand (0.3) 4 thousand (0.3) and 860 won.

Extract (5.22) [Minimum Wage_2] in Korean

01 LJ: 최저임금 얼만지 아시냐
02 대답 못하셨는데, 여쭙고 [싶습니다.] =
03 PK: [언 제 요?]
04→ LJ: =지금은 얼만지:, .h
05→ 내년 최저임금은 얼만지[:, 또]=
06 PK: [h h]
07→ LJ: =최저임금도 못 받는
08→ 노동자들 얼만지. (0.3)
09→ 그동안 좀 파악↑하셨는지요.
10 PK: 예. 그 최저 임금과 관련해 가지고,
. *((To deal with L2's adversarial account of PK's gaffe in lines 3-7,*
. *PK explains why she was not able to answer the question*
. *asking about the current minimum wage during the primary debate*
. *of her own party))*
25 PK: 최저 (0.3) 어 임금::에 대해서 그 모른다는
26 거는 말이 안돼죠:, 예.
27→ LJ: 얼ㅁ[ㅏㄴ가요?]

28 → PK: [사천오백팔]십 원.
29 → LJ: 내년엔 [얼만가요?]
30 → PK: [근데 여기-]
31 사천: (0.3) 사천: (0.3) 팔백육십 원.

By taking into account the broader social context in which LJ's KQs are embedded, we can easily see that LJ's KQs are designed to request precise and accurate information on minimum wages from PK in order to show that PK, in fact, cannot provide the requested information. Considering this context, note how LJ composes her KQs in lines 4-5, 7-9, 27, and 29. LJ designed her KQs in the Type I KQ format without employing any expressions of precision or approximation. This indicates that the Type I KQ format, in spite of the absence of such expressions, is meant to be understood as asking for precise/specific information to test the respondent's knowledge. In lines 28 and 30, PK indeed provides both the exact amount of the current and following year's minimum wages using expressions consisting of a numeral and a numeral classifier/counter (i.e., *sachenopaykphalsip wen* '4580 won'; *sachen: (0.3) phalpaykyuksip wen* '4860 won').

By examining Extracts (5.20)-(5.22), we have seen that although Type I KQs are formed without any expressions of precision or approximation, they are treated by both questioners and respondents as requesting precise/specific knowledge about the matter at hand. What follows are analyses on the compositional features of the Type II KQ format and its pragmatic uses.

5.4.2. The Type II KQ Format and Its Use

The Type II KQ format is constituted with overt expressions conveying to the respondent that his/her answer should be precise/specific. Adverbial and adjective expressions such as *kwucheycekulo* 'specifically/in detail'*/kwucheycekin* 'specific' and *cenghwakhakey*

'exactly'/*cenghwakhan* 'exact' are often used to construct such overt expressions of precision/specificity. Extracts (5.23)-(5.25) are instances of KQs in the Type II KQ format.

In Extract (5.23), KYT is testing KGY's knowledge of the employment rate of their constituency, Gunsan, in order to show that KGY, who is the incumbent member of the National Assembly, does not have a good grasp of the low employment rate of Gunsan, and by extension, has not paid proper attention to its difficult economic situation. In pursuing this interactional agenda, KYT issues two interrelated KQs: an initial KQ in lines 2-4, and a follow-up KQ in lines 9-10. Although our analytic focus will be on the design of KYT's follow-up KQ as it is designed in the Type II KQ format, we will start by examining KYT's initial KQ-response sequence because it helps us understand the sequential environment in which the Type II KQ format is employed and thereby allows us to gain a deeper understanding of its pragmatic function.

Extract (5.23) [Employment Rate of Gunsan]

01	KGY:	mukenwun chaykimkam-[ul (.) nukki-ko iss-supnita.]	
		great responsiblility-AC feel-and be-DC:DEF	
		(I) feel (.) a great responsibility.	
02	KYT:	[icen-ey-to cilmwun tuly-ess-nun]tey	
		before-at-also question give:hon.-PST-but	
		(I) asked (you) this before,	
03		hyencay *kwusan* ciyek-ey koyonglyul-i	
		currently Gunsan area-at employment rate-NM	
04		myech pheseynthu-na toy-nunci a-si-pnikka?	
		what percent-approximately become-OQ know-SH-Q:DEF	
		but do (you) know approximately what percent the employment rate in the Gunsan area currently is?	
05	KGY:	koyonglyul-un cinan pwen-ey	
		employment rate-TC last time-at	

06 malssum tuly-ess-supnita-man-un .hh
word:hon. give: hon.-PST-DC-but-TC
(I) talked about the employment rate before, .hh

07 cenkwuk phyengkwun-pota:
national average-compared to

08 yakkan nacun swucwun-[i-p n i t a.]
slightly lower level-be-DC:DEF
but (it) is at a slightly lower level than the national average.

09→ KYT: [cenghwakhakey]
exactly

10→ myech pheseynthu-nci al-ko kyey-si-pnikka?=
what percent-OQ know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know exactly what percent it is?

11 KGY: =yey:. (.) cey-ka te isang yeykiha-ci anh-keyss-supnita:.
yes I-NM more more talk-COMM be not-do-will-DC:DEF
Well, (.) I will not talk (about this) any more.

12 [ku pwupwun-un.]
that part-TC
As for that part.

13 KYT: [ney. molu-nun] kel-lo al-ko (iss-supnita.)
yes do not-RL thing-towards know-and be-DC:DEF
Fine. (As far as I know), (you) don't know (it).

14 [tasi] han pen malssum tuli-myen=
again one CL word:hon. give:hon.-if
To repeat

15 KGY: [ney:.]
yes
Alright.

16 KYT: =[cenkwuk phyengkyun-i]
national average-NM
The national average (of the employment rate)

17 KGY: =[ney. osipsa pu]lo-pnita. (0.2)
yes 54 percent-DC: DEF
Alright. (The employment rate) of Gunsan is 54 percent.

18 osipsa pulo.
54 percent
54 percent.

19 KYT: cenkwuk-i osip[sa pu]lo-ko [wuli]=
nation-NM 54 percent-and our
The national (employment rate) is 54 percent

20 KGY: [ney.] [h h]
yes h h
Okay. h h

21 KYT: =[*kwun*]*san*-i sa[sip]phal pulo-pnita.
Gunsan-NM 48 percent-DC:DEF
And (the employment rate) of Gunsan is 48 percent.

22 KGY: =[h] [yey.]
h yes
h Okay.

Extract (5.23) [Employment Rate of Gunsan] in Korean

01 KGY: 무거운 책임감[을 (.) 느끼고 있습니다.]
02 KYT [이전에도 질문 드렸는]데
03 현재 군산 지역에 고용률이
04 몇 퍼센트나 되는지 아십니까?
05 KGY: 고용률은 지난 번에
06 말씀 드렸습니다만은 .hh
07 전국 평균보다:
08 약간 낮은 수준[입니다.]
09→ KYT: [정확하게]
10→ 몇 퍼센튼지 알고 계십니까?=
11 KGY: =예:. (.) 제가 더 이상 얘기하지 않겠습니다:.
12 [그 부분은.]
13 KYT: [네. 모르는] 걸로 알고 (있습니다).
14 [다시] 한 번 말씀 드리면=
15 KGY: [네:.]
16 KYT: =[전국 평균이]
17 KGY: =[네. 오십사 프]롭니다. (0.2)
18 오십사 프로.
19 KYT: 전국이 오십[사 프]로고 [우리]=
20 KGY: [네.] [h h]=
21 KYT: =[군]산이 사[십]팔 프롭니다.
22 KGY: = [h] [예.]

To begin with, in lines 2-4 KYT asks KGY whether KGY knows the approximate percentage of the current employment rate of Gunsan. In responding to KYT's KQ, KGY provides an evasive response that does not quite fit the terms of KYT's KQ. Although KYT asks about the approximate percentage of the employment rate of Gunsan as seen in the expression *myech pheseynthu-na* 'approximately what percent,' KGY does not provide the requested information. Instead, in lines 7-8 KGY vaguely states that the employment rate of Gunsan is at a slightly lower level than the national average. This response interestingly signals both that KGY has some general understanding of the employment rate of Gunsan and at the same time may be unable to provide an approximate percentage in the format of a number.

The KQ designed in the Type II KQ format (i.e., Type II KQ) occurs after KGY's evasive response. In lines 9-10 KYT issues a follow-up Type II KQ. With the expression of precision *cenghwakhakey* 'exactly' that modifies the phrase *myech pheseynthu* 'what percent,' KTY's follow-up Type II KQ limits the range of acceptable answers: KGY is expected to provide the *exact* percentage of Gunsan's employment rate. Thus, the design of KYT's follow-up KQ clearly indicates that a general and vague response such as that given in lines 7-8 is no longer acceptable.

A similar pattern can be found in Extract (5.24) below, which concerns the respondent's knowledge of nonquantifiable information. Since this extract is part of Extract (4.13), which was analyzed in great detail in Section 4.4 of Chapter 4, the following analysis will be briefer. At the time of the debate shown in Extract (5.24), issues pertinent to the expansion of the airport in the constituency of K and W—for instance, compensation for land acquisition and environmental noise pollution—were hot issues. In lines 1-3 K is attempting to build a KQ that aims to probe W's knowledge about how many residents filed civil petitions on these issues to the public

petition office located in the Seongsan-eup Office. In constituting the KQ, however, K encounters trouble recalling the official name of the public petition office and becomes involved in a word search as shown in lines 2-3. After K's word search sequence displaying K's inability to recall the official name of the public petition office, W seizes this chance to test K's knowledge of the official name.

Extract (5.24) [Official Name_3]

01	K:	=ku taum-ey cikum myech pwun cengto-ka
		that next-at now how many CL degree-NM
		Next, currently around how many people are
02		ku:: cikum ku: (0.6) ceki ce: (.) ceki (0.4)
		that now that there that over there there
		uhm right now, uhm (0.6) uhm uh (.) uhm (0.4)
03		konghang:-hawkchwung (0.3) e :: (.) ceki mwe-pnikka. (0.7)
		airport-expansion uhm there what-Q:DEF
		the Airport Expansion uhm (.) what is it, (0.7)
04→	W:	etten: (0.4) [malssumha-y cwu-si-psio. yey.] yey.
		what tell:hon.-give-SH-IM:DEF yes yes
		Tell (me) please what (you are trying to say). (I)'m listening.
05	K:	[ku ce ani ku]
		that that over there I mean that
		Uhm, uhm I mean uhm
06	K:	.h cwumin-tul-i myech pwun cengto-ka ka-se. (0.4)
		resident-PL-NM how many CL degree-NM go-and
07		ku [mwuncey:]-ey ce i=
		that problem-at that over there this
		.h Around how many residents went (there) (0.4)
		and regarding the problems uhm uhm
08→	W:	[ceki]
		there
		Well,

09→ W: =cey-key cey-key [mwul-ess-unikka [: .]]
I-to I-to ask-PST-because
(you are the one that) asked me (this question before),

10 K: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

11 K: [((looking down at his notes))]

12 (.) ((K keeps looking at his notes))

13→ W: [ku ceng- cenghwakhan myengching-i mwe]-pnikka?=
that exact name-NM what-Q:DEF
What ex- exactly is the (official) name?

14 K: [((K keeps looking at his notes))]

15 W: =po-ci ma-si-ko
look-COMM stop-SH-and

16 mal[ssumha-y cwu-(ko.) ce- .h]
speak-and give-and I
Tell (me) without looking.

17 K: [a po-ci anh-ulkkey-yo. po-ci]= ((K shakes his head 'no'))
ah look-COMM be not-will-POL look-COMM
Of course, (I) won't look.

18 W: =[ce-to po-myen]=
I-also look-if
If I- .h I look,

19 K: =[anh-ul ke-yey-yo. yey.]=
be not-PRS NOM-be-DC:POL yes
(I) won't look. Fine,

20 W: =[yaykiha-l swu iss-supnita. yey.]
say-can-be-DC:DEF yes.
(I) can say (it) too. I can.

21 K: =[yey. yey. yey. yey.]
fine fine fine fine
Fine, fine, fine, fine.

22 (0.3)

23 K: ey:: konghang:-hwakcwung, (.)
uhm airport-expansion

24 e minwen:-cheli-ponpwu-pnita.
uhm civil petition- process-headquarter-DC:DEF
Uhm, (it's) Headquarters for uhm Processing Civil Petitions
(.) on Airport Expansion.

25 (0.4)

26 K: ey.
yes
Yes.

27 (0.4)

28 K: kuntey .h keki myech pen (0.7)
but there how many time

29 ceki ce: ka-ss-ta o-sy-ess-supnikka?
there that over there go-PST-and come-SH-PST-Q:DEF
By the way, .h how many times (0.7) have you uhm uh visited there?

30 (0.5)

31 W: um: .h ce-nun: ikey i-kos-ul:
uhm I-TC like this this-place-AC

32 pangmwunha-y po-ci-n mos ha-yss-supnita
visit-try-COMM-TC not do-PST-DC:DEF
Uhm, .h I uhm haven't been able to visit it (yet).

Extract (5.24) [Official Name_3] in Korean

01 K: =그 다음에 지금 몇 분 정도가
02 그:: 지금 그: (0.6) 저기 저: (.) 저기 (0.4)
03 공항: 확충 (0.3) 어:: (.) 저기 뭡니까. (0.7)
04→ W: 어떤: (0.4) [말씀해주십시오. 예.]예.
05 K: [그 저 아니 그]
06 K: .h 주민들이 몇 분 정도가 가서. (0.4)
07 그 [문제:]에 저 이=
08→ W: [저기]
09→ W: =제게 제게 물[었으니까[: .]]

10 K: [예.]
11 K: [((looking down at his notes))]
12 (.) ((K keeps looking at his notes))
13→ W: [그 정- 정확한 명칭이 뭡]니까? =
14 K: [((K keeps looking at his notes)]
15 W: =보지 마시고
16 말[씀해주(고.) 저- .h]=
17 K: [아 보지 않을께요. 보지]= ((K shakes his head 'no'))
18 W: =[저도 보면]=
19 K: =[않을 거예요. 예.] =
20 W: =[얘기 할 수 있습니다.예.]
21 K: =[예. 예. 예. 예.]
22 (0.3)
23 K: 에:: 공항: 확충, (.)
24 어 민원: 처리 본붑니다.
25 (0.4)
26 K: 에.
27 (0.4)
28 K: 근데 .h 거기 몇 번 (0.7)
29 저기 저: 갔다 오셨습니까?
30 (0.5)
31 W: 음: .h 저는: 이케 이곳을:
32 방문해 보진 못했습니다.

In pursing the interactional goal of testing K's knowledge of the official name of the public petition office, W issues two KQs that are the same in essence but different in terms of explicitness. The first KQ in line 4 indirectly requests K to provide the official name by urging K to continue with his talk in which the requested name is the next item due. By contrast, the second KQ in lines 9 and 13 explicitly request K to provide the name. Unlike the first KQ, the second KQ is designed in the Type II KQ format with the expression of precision *cenghwakhan* 'exact' in line 13. By modifying the noun phrase *myengching-i* 'name-NM,' the adjective *cenghwakhan* 'exact' makes it clear that K should provide the precise and accurate name of the public petition office and that approximate versions of the name will be considered unacceptable.

As in the case of Extract (5.23), the use of the Type II KQ format in Extract (5.24) is related with K's evasive response to W's initial KQ. K exploits the indirect nature of W's initial KQ and treats it a request for clarification rather than as a KQ. K then tries to reformulate his question in lines 6-7 without using the official name of the public petition office. W in turn redesigns his KQ to deal with this evasive response and overtly asks K to provide the *exact* name of the public petition office as seen in line 13. W's explicit and precise follow-up KQ thus limits the range of acceptable responses K may give.

Now, let us examine Extract (5.25) in order to examine Type II KQs formed with the adverb *kwucheycenkulo* 'specifically/in detail.' The participants of this exchange, NSC and KKH, are running for Governor of Sinan County, which consists mostly of islands. As the county had a relatively high percentage of multicultural families, one of the major social issues of the county at the time of the debate was how to support these multicultural families. In lines 5-9, NSC asks KKH a KQ to test whether KKH has a concrete understanding of the reality of the support multicultural families have currently been receiving from the government.

Extract (5.25) [Multicultural Families]

01	NSC:	.hh	e:	.h	e	tamwunhwa	kaceng	ciwen-pep-un: (.)
			uh		uh	multicultural	family	support-law-TC
02		pantusi	iss-supnita.					
		surely	be-DC:DEF.					
		.hh Uh .h uh the Multicultural Families Support Act (.) surely exists.						
03→		iss-nuntey, (0.3)	e:	cey-ka	mwut-ko	sip-un	ke-nun,	.hh
		be-but	uh	I-NM	ask-want	to–RL	NOM-TC	
		(***It) exists. (0.3) but uh what I would like to ask is (this). .hh***						
04→		kwu:cheycekulo	>phokwalcekulo		tappyenha-ci	ma-si-ko,< (0.3)		
		specifically	broadly		reply-COMM	not-SH-and		
		Please reply in detail and not in broad terms. (0.3)						

05→ tamwunhwa kaceng-ey cikum yey-lul tul-ese
multicultural family-to now example-AC give-so

06→ yen: il-nyen-ey (0.2) yey-lul tul-e
year one-year-in example-AC give-so

07→ kupwun-tul: icwuha-yss-ul cek-ey.
they-PL relocate-PST-PRS event-at

08→ saynghwalha-si-l cek-ey. mwues-i elma-na[18]
live everyday life-SH-PRS event-at what-NM how-approximately

[18] The particle *-na* has the meaning of approximation when it is attached to question words that express quantity as in the case of this extract (e.g., Yeon & Brown, 2011, p.142). What's interesting about this extract, however, is that the approximation particle *-na* co-occurs with the expression of precision/specificity *kwu:ceycekulo* 'specifically' (line 4). When the approximation particle *–na* and an expression of precision/specificity co-occur, they together seem to indicate that the respondent's response regarding the quantity in question does not have to be specific/precise in an absolute sense but still good enough to be considered as generally precise/specific as shown in line 5 of Example (j) below.

Example (j)

01 A: swu co wen-i-la malssumha-sy-ess-nuntey,
several trillion won-be-DC say:hon.-SH-PST-given that

02→ kwucheycekulo elma-na tuleka-l kes kath-supnikka?
specifically how much-approximately enter-PRS NOM look like-Q:DEF
(You) said several trillion won,
so then specifically how much do (you) think (we) will need (for the project)?

03 B: *((The eight lines in which B explains the process of his calculation in detail*
… *are omitted))*

11→ 7 cho wen cengto-ka tuleka-l ke-la yeysangtoy-pnita.
7 trillion won extent-NM enter-PRS NOM-QT be estimated-DC:DEF
(I) estimate that (it) will take around 7 trillion won.

(Excerpted from the novel *Mwuhyul-uy Sitay 9* 'The Era of Mwuhyul vol.9' (Twukyeng, 2017, p.73)

Similar effects can also be achieved by modifying the expressions of precision/specificity with the expressions of approximation such as *enu cengto* 'to some extent' as in line 13 of Extract (5.16) (refer to p. 335 for the transcript of this Extract (5.16)).

09→ cikum cikuptoy-ko iss-ta-ko sangkakha-si-pnikka.
now be given-and exist-DC-QT think-SH-Q:DEF
What and how much (of it) do (you) think is currently being given to multicultural families, for instance, (0.2) yearly- in a year for everyday expenses of multicultural families formed by a Korean parent and a non-Korean parent who left their country of origin and relocated to Korea for marriage?

10 KKH mwues-ul elma-na [cikup]toy-ko iss-ta. (0.4) i-
what-AC how much- approximately be given-and exist-DC:PLN this
(Regarding the issue of) what and how much (of it) is being given, (0.4) this-

11 MOD: [ah:]
ah
Ah,

12 MOD: kokilho hwupo, (.) [il pwun]=
KKH candidate one minute
Candidate KKH, (.)

13 KKH: [ney : .]
yes
Yes.

14 MOD: samsip cho::, tappyen[ha-y cwu]-si-ki pa[la-pnita.]
30 second answer-and give:hon.-SH-NOM wish-DC:DEF
please answer within one minute and 30 seconds.

15 KKH: [yey : .] [mwues-ul]
yes what-AC

16 el::ma-na cikuptoy-ko iss-nya-nun
how much-approximately be provided-and exist-Q-RL

17 hyen sanghwang-un:, (0.3) silcilcekulo
present situation-TC realistically

18 .h phokwalcekulo yayki malssum-ul tuli-myen, (0.5)
broadly story word: hon.-AC give:hon.-if
Yes. In reality, .h in broad terms (0.3) regarding the present situation about what and how much (of it) is really being provided, (0.5) Regarding the present situation about what and how much (of it) is really being provided, (0.5) if (I) were to speak in realistic and .h broad terms,

19 ey:: ponin-tul-i c: cenhye mancokha-l
uhm a person directly concerned-PL-NM a- at all be satisfied-PRS

20 swucwun-i an toy-pnita. (0.5)
level-NM not become-DC:DEF
uhm it is by no means satisfactory to the families themselves a- at all. (0.5)

Extract (5.25) [Multicultural Families] in Korean

01 NSC: .hh 어: .h 어 다문화 가정 지원법은: (.)
02 반드시 있습니다.
03→ 있는데, (0.3) 어: 제가 묻고 싶은 거는, .hh
04→ 구:체적으로 >포괄적으로 답변하지 마시고,< (0.3)
05→ 다문화 가정에 지금 예를 들어서
06→ 연: 일년에 (0.2) 예를 들어
07→ 그분들: 이주했을 적에.
08→ 생활하실 적에. 무엇이 얼마나
09→ 지금 지급되고 있다고 생각하십니까.
10 KKH: 무엇을 얼마나 [지급]되고 있다. (0.4) 이-
11 MOD: [아:]
12 MOD: 고길호 후보, (.) [일 분]=
13 KKH: [네:.]
14 MOD: 삼심 초::, 답변[해 주]시기 바[랍니다.]
15 KKH: [예:.] [무엇을]
16 얼::마나 지급되고 있냐는
17 현 상황은:, (0.3) 실질적으로
18 .h 포괄적으로 얘기 말씀을 드리면, (0.5)
19 에:: 본인들이 ㅈ: 전혀 만족할
20 수준이 안 됩니다. (0.5)

NSC designs his KQ in the Type II KQ format by placing the prefatory remark *kwucheycenkulo* 'specifically/in detail' in line 4, which overtly indicates before issuing the actual KQ that KKH's response should be specific. NSC emphasizes this point again by parenthetically inserting the utterance >*phokwalcekulo tappyenha-ci ma-si-ko,*< 'Please do not reply in broad terms' in line 4. This utterance explicitly excludes beforehand any kind of broad or general kind of response on KKH's part from the range of acceptable answers. In brief, the two prefatory

remarks located in line 4 (i.e., *kwu:ceycekulo* and >*phokwalcekulo tappyenha-ci ma-si-ko,*<), which can be translated into English as saying 'please reply in detail and not in broad terms,' overtly convey that NSC's upcoming KQ requires a specific and precise answer and thereby constitute NSC's upcoming KQ as a Type II KQ.

In response to NSC's KQ located in lines 5-9 concerning what and how much multicultural families are currently being provided with yearly for their everyday expenses, KKH fails to satisfy the requirements for precision/specificity. Instead of providing a specific and precise answer to NSC's KQ, KKH provides a very broad and vague response: without specifying the kind and amount of support, he simply says that the support these multicultural families are currently receiving is by no means satisfactory to the families themselves (see lines 19 and 20).

Interestingly, just before this response, KKH attempts to modify the precision/specificity constraint set by NSC's KQ, which shows how respondents take the precision/specificity dimension of KQ designs seriously. First, KKH employs a strategy which Clayman and Heritage (2002b) terms as *word repeats*, i.e., "preserving some of the exact wording of the question in the initial response (p.275)." As shown in Table 5.9 below, KKH starts his response by repeating the three key lexical items—*mwues* 'what,' *elma-na* 'how much,' and *cikuptoy-ko iss-* 'be being given'—from NSC's KQ as indicated in boldface.

Table 5.9. Comparison Between NSC's Original KQ and KKH's Repeat of the KQ

NSC's original KQ in lines 8-9
mwues-i **elma-na** cikum **cikuptoy-ko** **iss**-ta-ko what-NM how much-approximately now be given-and exist-DC-QT sangkakha-si-pnikka. think-SH-Q:DEF ***'What** and **how much (of it)** do (you) think (multicultural families) **are** currently **being given** (to multicultural families) ?'*
KKH's word repeats in line 10
mwues-ul **elma-na** [**cikup]toy-ko** **iss-ta**. what-AC how much-approximately be given-and exist-DC:PLN ***(**Regarding the issue of) **what and how much (of it) is being given** (to multicultural families) **,***
KKH's word repeats in lines 15-17
mwues-ul **el::ma-na** **cikuptoy-ko** **iss**-nya-nun what-AC how much-approximately be provided-and exist-Q-RL hyen sanghwang-un:, present situation-TC ***'**Regarding the present situation about **what and how much (of it) is** really **being given** (to multicultural families),*

In particular, KKH's remark in lines 15-17 establishes the present situation regarding what and how much support is really being provided for multicultural families—an adequate summary of NSC's original question— as the explicit topic agenda by repeating the key words and using the topic marker *-un* attached to the phrase *hyen sanghwang* 'the present situation.' By utilizing the strategy of word repeats, KKH creates the impression that he is being straightforward in dealing with NSC's KQ as it was presented to him.

After employing this disguise strategy, KKH transforms the parameters of NSC's original question in a way that allows him to give a broader and more general answer to NSC's KQ. Even though NSC had explicitly enunciated in line 4 that KKH should reply in detail and not in broad terms before issuing his KQ, KKH nevertheless alters the terms of this KQ preface while

carefully relating his response to the conditions NSC has set in the preface prior to his KQ. Table 5.10 below shows how the design of KKH's response corresponds with that of NSC's KQ preface, creating the appearance that KKH is faithfully complying with the constraints set by NSC's KQ.

Table 5.10. Comparison Between NSC's KQ Preface and KKH's Response

	Line 4: NSC's KQ preface ***(Please reply in detail and not in broad terms.)***	*Lines 17-18: KKH's operation NSC's KQ preface in his response (**If (I) were to speak in realistic .h and broad terms)***
Adverb	kwu:ceycekulo 'specifically'	silcilcekulo .h 'realistically'
Adverb	>phokwalcekulo 'broadly'	phokwalcekulo 'broadly'
Expression involving verbs of saying	tappyenha-ci 'reply-COMM'	yayki malssum-ul tuli-myen, 'story word: hon.-AC give:hon.-if'
	ma-si-ko,< (0.3) '**not**-SH-and'	*No negation*

Consider how both KKH's response and NSC's KQ preface have the sentence structure of 'adverb + adverb + expression involving verbs of saying.' The first adverb *silcilcekulo* 'realistically' in KKH's response matches the adverb *kwu:ceycekulo* 'specifically' in NSC's KQ preface in surface structure. Both of these adverbs consist of five syllables (i.e., *sil·cil·cek·u·lo*, *kwu·cey·cek·u·lo*). Not only that, these adverbs share the adnominal suffix *-cek* and adverb-driving suffix *-u·lo,* which is located in the ante-penultimate syllable position and the penultimate and the final syllable positions, respectively. The second adverb *phokwalcekulo* 'broadly' in KKH's response is the exact same word that NSC used in the KQ preface. The third element *yayki malssum-ul tuli-myen* 'If (I) were to speak in' in KKH's remark corresponds to the expression *tappyenha-* 'reply' in NSC's remark.

In spite of the striking structural similarities between KKH's response and NSC's KQ preface, KKH does the exact opposite of what NSC's KQ preface asked for by designing his response in a way that positively affirms and emphasizes the word *phokwalcekulo* 'broadly' instead of negating it as NSC's KQ preface does so with the negation marker *ma-*. By doing so, KKH adjusts the original terms of NSC's KQ preface and foreshadows that his response to NSC's KQ will be given in broad terms.

KKH's initial response that involves the strategy of word repeats and modifications of the terms of NSC's KQ preface thus clearly shows that KKH is paying close attention to the precision/specification dimension embodied in the design of NSC's KQ preface. This shows that candidates indeed orient to the precision/specification dimension of KQ designs and sometimes employ measures to relax these constraints so that they can present their general and vague response as a legitimate answer and thereby conceal their insufficient understanding of the matter being asked about.

Compared to Extracts (5.23) and (5.24), Extract (5.25) above illustrates a somewhat different sequential context in which Type II KQs may appear. For this reason, it is worthwhile to examine the sequential context in which NSC's Type II KQ occurs. In the cases of Extracts (5.23) and (5.24), the questioners employed the Type II KQ format to deal with the respondents' evasive responses to their initial KQs. In other words, the Type II KQs in Extracts (5.23) and (5.24) can be seen as revised versions of the initial KQs. By contrast, the Type II KQ in Extract (5.25) does not have any preceding KQ of which it can be considered a modified version.

NSC's choice of the Type II KQ format in designing his KQ (lines 3-9) seems to have been triggered by KKH's previous remark suggesting that KKH likely only has a rough understanding of the substance of NSC's KQ. Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (5.25),

KKH was responding to the moderator's question that asked for KKH's position and policies on the issue of supporting special educational needs of children from multicultural families. In the course of responding to the question, KKH displayed some general knowledge that had to do with multicultural families. For instance, KKH mentioned that the laws and systems related to governmental support of multicultural families have been well studied and prepared. He also provided demographic information on multicultural families by saying that there were about 300 multicultural family households in the county. Additionally, KKH pointed out that he had organized meetings with multicultural families in the county and listened to their concerns when he had been the governor of the county. KKH's response, however, did not provide any specific policies to meet the educational needs of children from multicultural families nor did it mention any specific information on the content of the current laws and systems established for the support of these multicultural families. The lack of specificity in KKH's response suggests that although he understands the issues related to multicultural families to some degree, it is unlikely that this understanding is detailed or in depth. This epistemic implication embedded in KKH's remarks seem to provide NSC with good reason to believe that KKH may respond to NSC's upcoming KQ in broad and vague terms by relying only on such cursory understanding. In this particular sequential context where KKH's evasive response could be expected, NSC designs his KQ in the Type II KQ format, which tightens the precision dimension of a KQ and thereby seems to attempt to forestall KKH's broad and vague response. As we have already examined, KKH, however, finds a way to get around NSC's strategy and instead respond to NSC's KQ in a very broad and vague manner.

So far we have examined how questioners design their KQs in the Type II KQ format and the sequential contexts in which they appear. Questioners constituted their KQs using overt

expressions of precision/specificity when the respondents provided evasive responses to their initial KQs (e.g., Extracts (5.23)-(5.24)) or when they expected that evasive responses would be given (Extract (5.25)), thus tightening the precision dimension of their KQs. However, these findings do not mean that the Type II KQ format is the only available resource for tightening the precision dimension of KQs. Questioners can also achieve this by specifying the terms of their initial KQs without using overt expressions of precision/specificity. I call this format of designing KQs the Substance-Specified KQ format. Before moving on to the KQs formed with the Type III KQ format, let us briefly examine the Substance-Specified KQ format by looking at Extracts (5.26) and (5.27 a-b).

In lines 1-2 of Extract (5.26), KGY asks CYM a KQ that tests CYM's knowledge of the current location of Saemangeum Development and Investment Agency, an agency dedicated to the government's land reclamation and development project called the Saemangeum Project. CYM had previously pledged to relocate the Saemangeum Development and Investment Agency to Gunsan, the city in which KGY and CYM are running for member of the National Assembly. In designing the KQ, KGY uses the wh-word *eti:ey* 'where,' which does not specify the granularity with which the location should be given in the answer (for instance, compare *eti:ey* 'where' with *enu si-ey* 'which city,' *enu dong-ey* 'which neighborhood,' and *enu kenmwul* 'which building'). In lines 3-4, CYM answers that it is located in Sejong city by saying *seycong-seycong-si-ey iss-eyo.* In lines 6-7, however, KGY narrows down the range of possible answers by issuing a follow-up KQ asking CYM to specifically provide the location of the agency's office within Sejong city.

Extract (5.26) [Saemangeum D & I Agency]

01 KGY: *saymankumkaypalcheng*-i cikium hyencay
Saemangeum Development and Investment Agency-NM now currently

02 eti:ey wichi[ha-y iss]-supnikka?
where-at located-and be-Q:DEF
Where is the Saemangeum Development and Investment Agency currently located?

03 CYM: [*seycong*-]
Sejong
Sejong-

04 CYM: *seycong*-si-ey iss-eyo.
Sejong-city-at be-DC:POL
(It) is in Sejong city.

05 (0.2)

06→ KGY: *seycong*-si-ey (0.3) eti-ey(.)se cikum: (0.3)
Sejong-city-in where-at now

07→ chengsa-lo ssu-ko iss-nunci-nun al-ko kyey-si-pnikka?
office-as use-and be-OQ -TC know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know whe(.)re (0.3) in Sejong city (0.3) (they are) using as their office?

08 CYM: hathun ku imtayha-yse sayongha-ko iss-ta-ko
anyway the rent-and use-and be-DC-QT

09 al-ko iss-supnita.
know-and be-DC:DEF
Anyway, (I) know that (they) are renting (the place they are) using.

10 KGY: ney. cikum s*eycong*-si-ey .hh *ecin*-tong-ey
okay. now Sejong-city-at Eojin-dong-at
Okay.

11 iss-nun cwu:min seyntha-lul:,
be-RL community center-AC

12 CYM: yey.=
yes
Yes.

13 KGY: =imsilo,
temporarily

14 CYM: yey.=
yes
Yes.

15 KGY: =imchahay-se sayongtoy-ko iss-nuntey (0.4)
rent-and be used-and be-given that
Currently, (they are) renting the Community Service Center at Eojin-dong in Sejong city,

16 ku: cwumin-seynthe-ey sayong kihan-i
that community-center-POS use period-NM

17 manlyo-ka twa-yss-supnita
expiration-NM become-PST-DC:DEF
but the lease for the Community Service Center has expired.

Extract (5.26) [Saemangeum D & I Agency] in Korean

01 KGY: 새만금개발청이 지금 현재 어디:에
02 어디:에 위치[해 있]습니까?
03 CYM: [세종-]
04 CYM: 세종시에 있어요.
05 (0.2)
06→ KGY: 세종시에 (0.3) 어디에(.)서 지금: (0.3)
07→ 청사로 쓰고 있는지는 알고 계십니까?
08 CYM: 하튼 그 임대해서 사용하고 있다고
09 알고 있습니다.
10 KGY: 네. 지금 세종시에 .hh 어진동에
11 있는 주:민 센타를:,
12 CYM: 예.=
13 KGY: =임시로,
14 CYM: 예.=
15 KGY: =임차해서 사용되고 있는데 (0.4)
16 그: 주민센터에 사용 기한이
17 만료가 됐습니다.

More specifically, KGY specifies the wh-word *eti:ey* 'where' by saying *seycong-si-ey (0.3) eti-ey(.)se* 'where in Sejong city' (line 6). In addition, the adverbial phrase *seycong-si-ey (0.3) eti-ey(.)se* semantically functions as the object of the predicate *chengsa-lo ssu-ko iss-* '(are)

using as its office' (line 7), which further narrows down the scope of the location as a particular place such as a building that can be used as an office.

In lines 8-9 CYM fails to meet the precision constraints set by KGY's follow-up question. Unable to provide the location of the office of Saemangeum Development and Investment Agency within Sejong city in more specific and precise terms, CYM instead merely shares something he knows about the place the agency is using as its office**.** In doing so, CYM first registers the digression of his response from the topical agenda set by KGY's follow-up KQ by beginning his response with the adverb *hathun* 'anyway,' (Drew & Holt, 1998) and then mentions that he knows that the agency is renting the place it is using.

After CYM's failure to answer KGY's follow-up KQ, KGY himself provides the answer in lines 10, 11, 13, and 15-17 by identifying the precision location as the Community Service Center at Eojin-dong in Sejong city and adding extra information that the lease for the place has expired. By displaying his detailed knowledge of the current location and situation of the Saemangeum Development and Investment Agency, KGY creates the impression that he is more knowledgeable of and invested in the issue concerning the agency's relocation than CYM, who had pledged to relocate it to their city.

In Extracts (5.27-a) and (5.27-b), NSR also designs a follow-up question in the Substance-Specified KQ format (lines 5-6 of Extract (5.27-b)). Before investigating the design of the follow-up question in detail, let us first briefly examine the design of NSR's initial KQ, whose terms NSR specifies in his follow-up question. As seen in lines 1-2 of Extract (5.27-a), NSR's initial KQ emerges as a way to probe the credibility of HPH's remark during the debate that HPH, as Governor of Hongcheon, was able to increase the population by over 1,000 last year.

Extract (5.27-a) [Population Growth_Initial]

01	NSR:	cikum	*hongche*n-ey	inkwu-ka:,	
		now	Hongcheon-in	population-NM	
02		.h chen	myeng-i	nulu-sy-ess-ta	kulay-ss-nuntey .h
		1000	CL-NM	increase-SH-PST-DC	say like that-PST-so
03		eti-eti-se		ilehkey manh:i	nul-ess-nunci (.)
		where-where-in		like this a lot of	increase-PST-OQ
04		malssumha-y	cwu-si-kwu-yo.		
		tell:hon.-and	give-SH-and-POL		

(You) said just a moment ago that the population of Hongcheon .h increased by 1,000 .h. So please tell (us) where and where there was such an increase.

Extract (5.27-a) [Population Growth_Initial] in Korean

01	NSR:	지금 홍천에 인구가:,
02		.h 천 명이 늘으셨다 그랬는데 .h
03		어디어디서 이렇게 많:이 늘었는지 (.)
04		말씀해 주시구요.

NSR's initial KQ is designed with the reduplicated wh-word *eti-eti-se* 'where and where,' which was intended to refer to multiple geographical areas showing population increase as NSR's follow-up question suggests (lines 5-6 of Extract (5.27-b)). In the context of this debate, it can also be understood as referring to categories of population growth. HPH understands *eti-eti-se* 'where and where' to mean the latter and explains that there was an increase of around 1,000 in the category of the urban population returning back to the farming villages of Hongcheon and around 500 in the category of natural population growth, amounting to a net increase in the population of Hongcheon of around 1,500 (not shown in the transcript).

NSR deals with HPH's response in Extract (5.27-b). NSR first characterizes it as an evasive response by pointing out that HPH does not seem to know the point of his question very well, meaning that HPH's response misses the point (lines 2-4). Then, in lines 5-6, NSR issues a follow-up KQ that clarifies his initial KQ. In doing so, NSR chooses a different wh-expression.

Instead of using the wh-word *eti-eti-se* 'where and where,' NSR employs the wh-expression *enu myen-ey enu ciyek-eyse* 'in which districts of which myeons' (line 5). Unlike the former, the latter clearly indicates that NSR is asking about geographical areas, as *myen* refers to the administrative unit 'myeon' and *ciyek* refers to a geographical area or region. In addition, the question designates a very specific template HPH is expected to follow in providing his response: HPH should identify which districts of which myeons the population has increased. We can thus clearly see that NSR's follow-up KQ is designed with more specific terms compared to his initial KQ. In responding to NSR's follow-up KQ, HPH shows his orientation towards the precision/specificity constraint set by NSR's follow-up KQ by mentioning Nam-myeon as one geographical area in which the population has increased.

Extract (5.27-b) [Population Growth_Follow-up]

01 MOD: cilmwunha-y cwu[-si-cy-o.]
ask-and give:hon.-SH-COMM-IM:POL
(***You) may go ahead and ask a (follow-up) question.***

02 NSR: [y e y : .] (0.2) wuli *he* hwuponim-kkeyse, (.)
yes our HPH candidate:hon.-NM:hon.

03 cilmwun-ey yoci-lul: ama cal
question-GM point-AC probably well

04 molusinun kes kath-supnita.
not know NOM seem-DC:DEF
Okay. It seems like you do not know very well what the point of the question is.

05→ .hh (ceyka-) pangkum cen-ey, enu myen-ey enu ciyek-eyse
I just now before-at which myeon-POS which district-in

06→ inkwu-ka nul-ess-nyako .hh malssum tuly-ess-supnita. (0.2)
population-NM increase-PST-QT word:hon. give-PST-DC:DEC
.hh Just a moment ago, I asked (you) .hh in which districts of which myeons the population has increased . (0.2)

… *((The five lines in which NSR continues his follow-up question regarding the number of visitors of the Kkong-kkong*
… *(Frozen Stiff) Festival are omitted))*

12 NSR: yeki-ey tayhayse kwucheycekulo tasi han pen. (0.5)
here-regarding specifically again one CL

13 cilmwun-ul tuli-kess-supita.[19]
question-AC give:hon.-will-DC:DEF
(***I) would like to ask (you) about these (issues) again more specifically.***

14 (0.6)

15 MOD: ney. (.) tappyenha-y cwu-si-ki-l pala-pnita.
yes. answer-and give-SH-NOM-AC wish-DC:DEF
Okay. Please respond.

16 (0.4)

17 HPH ney::. malssum tuli-ntaylwu: inkwu cungka-nun: (0.3) e
yes word:hon. give:hon.-as population increase-TC uh
Yes. As I've said, the population growth is (0.3), uh

18 *((HPH continues to explain that about 1000 people have moved to Hongcheon to return to farming and that the construction of the military apartments in Nam-myeon, the construction of which he secured, is also a significant factor contributing to the increase in the population.*

Extract (5.27-b) [Population Growth_Follow-up] in Korean

01 MOD: 질문해 주[시죠.]
02 NSR: [예:.] (0.2) 우리 허 후보님께서, (.)
03 질문에 요지를: 아마 잘
04 모르시는 것 같습니다.
05→ .hh (제가-) 방금 전에, 어느 면에 어느 지역에서
06→ 인구가 늘었냐고 .hh 말씀 드렸습니다. (0.2)
... *((The five lines in which NSR continues his follow-up question regarding the number of visitors of the Kkong-kkong*
… *(Frozen Stiff) Festival are omitted))*
12 여기에 대해서 구체적으로 다시 한 번. (0.5)
13 질문을 드리겠습니다.
14 (0.6)

[19] In lines 12-13 NSR employs the Type II KQ format as seen in the inclusion of the word *kwucheycekulo* 'specifically.' By characterizing the questions NSR has been asking as new, more specified versions of his previous questions, NSR lets HPH know that HPH's answer should also be more specific and detailed.

15 MOD: 네. (.) 답변해 주시길 바랍니다.
16 (0.4)
17 HPH: 네::. 말씀 드린대루: 인구 증가는: (0.3) 어
18 *((HPH continues to explain that about 1,000 people have moved to Hongcheon to return to farming and that the construction of the military apartments in Nam-myeon, the construction of which he secured, is also a significant factor contributing to the increase in the population.*

The analyses of Extracts (5.26) and (5.27 a-b) have shown that the questioners employ the Substance-Specified KQ format to narrow down and thus further probe the answers respondents provided, or to deal with their evasive responses. Both the Substance-Specified KQ format and the Type II KQ format can be employed to deal with evasive responses by tightening the precision dimension of KQs in spite of the differences in how they go about this. The following section will move on to the analyses of the Type III KQ format and its uses.

5.4.3. The Type III Format and Its Use

The Type III KQ format is constituted with overt expressions that let the respondent know that he or she may provide a general and approximate answer to a questioner's KQ. These expressions frequently involve words of approximation that belong to a variety of syntactic categories, such as the determiners *han* and *yak* 'about/around/approximately'; the approximation particles *ccum* and *-(i)na* 'about/around/approximately'; the nouns *cengto* and *karayng* 'degree/extent'; and the adverbs *taylyak/taykang*/*taychwung* 'about/around/approximately/roughly/in broad terms' (see Choo & Kwak, 2008; Yeon & Brown, 2011). Extracts (5.28)-(5.31) are cases in point. Extracts (5.28)-(5.30) show the use of the Type III KQ format for quantifiable matters while Extract (5.31) demonstrates the use of the Type III KQ format for nonquantifiable matters.

Extracts (5.28)-(5.30) were selected over other instances of the Type III KQ format dealing with quantifiable matters for the following two reasons. First, the questioners in these extracts design their KQs in the Type III KQ format (i.e., the Type III KQs) by employing the noun *cengto* 'degree/extent' or the approximation particle *-(i)na* 'about/around/approximately.' These were the two most frequently occurring expressions of approximation used to constitute the Type III KQs in the data collected for this study. Second, these extracts well demonstrate the variety of responses that can be given by respondents in addressing Type III KQs. Let us start with Extract (5.28), in which a Type III KQ formed with the noun *cengto* 'degree/extent' is issued and the respondent provides an answer that complies to the degree of the precision requested by the questioner's KQ.

In line 4 of Extract (5.28), which is part of Extract (3.21) that has been analyzed in Section 3.3.3 of Chapter 3, K is asking W about the production cost of tangerines, as W previously mentioned that he would implement the minimum price policy to set and guarantee a minimum price for tangerines. In doing so, K explicitly lets W know that W does not need to provide the precise production cost of tangerines by placing the noun *cengto* 'degree/extent' next to the wh-word of quantity *elma* 'how much' and thereby forming the expression of approximation *elma cengto* 'approximately how much.'

Extract (5.28) [Production Cost of Tangerines_Part]

01	K:	kulemyen	kamkyul	saysan-pi			
		then	tangerine	production-cost			
		Then the production cost of tangerines					
02		(ku	ce-)	(.)	<cengchayk-ul>	kulayto	com
		that	pol-		policy-AC	however	a little bit
03		al-aya toy-pnita.					
		know-must-DC:DEF					
		Uhm pol- (.) (you) still have to know (things relevant to your) policy.					

04→ kamkyul [sayngsan] pi-ka elma cengto toy-p(hi)ni(h)kka. h
tangerine production cost-NM how much extent become-Q:DEF
Approximately how much i(hh)s the production cost for tangerines? h

05 W: [y e y.]
yes
Yes.

06 (0.7)

07 W: kamkyul[: :] [sayng]san:-[pi-ka]=
tangerine production-cost-NM
As far as (I) know, the production cost for tangerines is,

08 K: [(ke-) hh]h h h [h] [ey :.] ((looking at his notes))
that uhm
that hhhhh

09 W: =(0.8) e: khillokulam-tang a khi- >ikhey<
uhm kilogram-per uhm kil- like this
(0.8) uhm per kilogram, uhm kil- uhm

10 sip-khilo-tang:, (0.3) e: man wen: (0.5)
10-kilogram-per uhm 10,000 won
per 10 kilograms, (0.3) uhm 10,000 won (0.5),

11 man wen cengto, (0.2) toy-nun
10,000 won extent become-RL

12 kel-[lo] [al-ko iss-supnita]
thing-as know-and be-DC:DEF
(0.2) approximately 10,000 won.

13 K: [a] i [ko ku-ke-n :]
well that-thing-TC

14 ku-ke-n [a]ni-ko-yo. (.)=
that-thing-TC not-and-DC:POL
Well, that, that isn't right. And (.)

15 W: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

Extract (5.28) [Production Cost of Tangerines_Part] in Korean

01	K:	그러면 감귤 생산비
02		(그 저-) (.) <정책을> 그래도 좀
03		알아야 됩니다.
04→		감귤 [생산] 비가 얼마 정도 됩(h)니(h)까. h
05	W:	[예.]
06		(0.7)
07	W:	감귤[: :] [생]산:[비가]=
08	K:	[(거-) h h]h hh [h] [에:.] ((looking at his notes))
09	W:	=(0.8) 어: 킬로그람당 아 키- >이케<
10		십키로당:, (0.3) 어: 만 원: (0.5)
11		만 원 정도, (0.2) 되는
12		걸[로] [알고 있습니다]
13	K:	[아]이[고 그건:]
14		그건 [아]니고요. (.)=
15	W:	[예.]

W's response to K's Type III KQ displays W's orientation to the features of the KQ's design. In lines 7 and 9-12 W replies that the production cost per ten kilograms of tangerines is approximately 10,000 won. W initially seems to display some uncertainty and hesitation towards the amount he gives as seen in the insertion of the filler 'e' *uhm* before saying *man wen:* '10,000 won' (0.5), the elongation on *wen* as indicated by the ':' symbol next to it, and the following 0.5 second pause (line 10). W, however, then repeats the cost *man wen* without these features of uncertainty and hesitation, thereby displaying his commitment to this figure (line 11). He then attaches the noun *cengto* 'degree/extent' to it and marks the figure as an approximation rather than the precise amount of the cost (line 11). Note that by doing so, W is carefully matching the surface format of his answer with that of K's question. More specifically, W has replaced the question word *elma* 'how much' in K's KQ with the cost *man wen*' 10,000 won.' He has then chosen the exact same expression of approximation that K had used, i.e., the noun *cengto* 'degree/extent.' Consider that W could have used other expressions of approximation such as the

determiner *han or yak* ‘about/around/approximately’ (e.g., *han man-wen* ‘around 10,000 won,’ *yak man wen* ‘about 10,000 won’) or the approximation particle *-ccum (e.g., man wen-ccum* ‘around man won’). The structural resonance between K’s approximation expression *‘elma cengto’* and W’s answer ‘*man wen cengto’* thus reveals that W has been paying very close attention to the design feature of K’s KQ concerning the precision dimension even to the details of its surface form.

In Extract (5.29), which is part of Extract (3.12) that was introduced in Section 3.2.3 of Chapter 3, K is asking about the amount of the subsidy the provincial government provides manufacturers producing tangerine products such as tangerine juice and tangerine chocolate when they purchase tangerines from farmers at the set price of 160 won per one kilogram of tangerines (lines 2 and 3). Just as in Extract (5.28), K designs the KQ in the Type III KQ format as seen in the presence of the overt expression of approximation *elma cengto* ‘approximately how much,’ which is formed by placing the noun *cengto* ‘degree/extent’ next to the question word *elma* ‘how much.’ Using this overt expression of approximation, K sets the precision constraint of his KQ a bit loosely and thereby allows an approximate amount of the subsidy as an acceptable answer.

Extract (5.29) [Subsidy to Manufacturers]

01	W:	[yey.]					
		yes					
		Yes.					
02→	K:	[yey.]	kule-myen (0.8)	to:-ka		elma	cengto
		okay.	like that-if	local government-NM		how much	extent

03→ ciwenha-pnikka?
support-Q:DEF
Okay. Then (0.8) approximately how much does the local government subsidize (out of 160 won)?

04 (0.3)

05 W: tch! to-ka-yo. osip wen ciwenha-pnita.=
provincial government-NM-POL 50 won subsidize-DC:DEF
Tch! The provincial government subsidizes 50 won.

06 K: =yey. o[sip wen] ku mac-supnita.
yes 50 won that correct-DC:DEF
Yes. 50 won. That is correct.

07 W: [yey : .]
yes
Yes.

Extract (5.29) [Subsidy to Manufacturers] in Korean

01 W: [예.]
02→ K: [예.] 그러면 (0.8) 도:가 얼마 정도
03→ 지원합니까?
04 (0.3)
05 W: tch! 도가요. 오십 원 지원합니다.=
06 K: =예. 오 [십 원] 그 맞습니다.
07 W: [예 :.]

In responding to K's KQ asking for the approximate amount of the subsidy, W provides the amount, not an approximate but the exact number. In line 5 W says *to-ka-yo. osip wen ciwenha-pnita.* 'The provincial government subsidizes 50 won.' Here, *osip wen* '50 won' does not occur with any of the expressions of approximation and thus refers exactly to 50 won. In line 6 K confirms that the amount of the subsidy W has provided is indeed correct. W's providing the precise answer in the context where an approximate would have also been acceptable seems to be a way to demonstrate W's knowledgeability regarding the matter being asked about: W can highlight how precise his knowledge is of the matter at hand.

Extract (5.30), which is part of Extract (5.23), shows the Type III KQ format constituted

with the approximation particle *-(i)na* 'about/around/approximately.' In addition, it demonstrates how the respondents can provide an even broader response than what is originally requested by the questioners. To begin with, let us refer to lines 3-4 where the Type III KQ format occurs. Here, KYT asks KGY whether KGY knows the approximate percentage of the current employment rate of their constituency, Gunsan. In doing so, KYT employs the expression of approximation *myech pheseynthu-na* 'approximately what percent,' which consists of the wh-word *myech* 'what,' the bound noun *pheseynthu* 'percent,' and the approximation particle *–na* 'about/around/approximately.'

Extract (5.30) [Employment Rate of Gunsan_Part]

01 KGY: mukenwun chaykimkam-[ul (.) nukki-ko iss-supnita.]
great responsibility-AC feel-and be-DC:DEF
(I) feel (.) a great responsibility.

02 KYT: [icen-ey-to cilmwun tuly-ess-nun] tey
before-at-also question give:hon.-PST-but
(I) asked (you) this before,

03→ hyencay *kwusan* ciyek-ey koyonglyul-i
currently Gunsan area-at employment rate-NM

04→ myech pheseynthu-na toy-nunci a-si-pnikka?
what percent-approximately become-OQ know-SH-Q:DEF
but do (you) know approximately what percent the employment rate in the Gunsan area currently is?

05 KGY: koyonglyul-un cinan pwen-ey
employment rate-TC last time-at

06 malssum tuly-ess-supnita-man-un .hh
word:hon. give: hon.-PST-DC-but-TC
(I) talked about the employment rate before, .hh

07 cenkwuk phyengkwun-pota:
national average-compared to

08 yakkan nacun swucwun-[i-p n i t a.]
slightly lower level-be-DC:DEF
but (it) is at a slightly lower level than the national average.

09 KYT: [cenghwakhakey]
exactly

10 myech pheseynthu-nci al-ko kyey-si-pnikka?=
what percent-OQ know-and be:hon.-SH-Q:DEF
Do (you) know exactly what percent it is?

Extract (5.30) [Employment Rate of Gunsan_Part] in Korean

01 KGY: 무거운 책임감[을 (.) 느끼고 있습니다.]
02 KYT [이전에도 질문 드렸는]데
03→ 현재 군산 지역에 고용률이
04→ 몇 퍼센트나 되는지 아십니까?
05 KGY: 고용률은 지난 번에
06 말씀 드렸습니다만은 .hh
07 전국 평균보다:
08 약간 낮은 수준[입니다.]
09 KYT: [정확하게]
10 몇 퍼센튼지 알고 계십니까?=

As mentioned earlier in analyzing Extract (5.23), KGY provides an evasive response to KYT's KQ. In lines 7-8 KGY broadly states that the employment rate of Gunsan is at a slightly lower level than the national average, which does not quite fit the terms of KYT's KQ. Note that the terms of KYT's KQ *myech pheseynthu-na* 'approximately what percent' asks that KGY provide the percentage of Gunsan's employment rate in an approximate number. To deal with KGY's evasive response that falls short of the precision limits initially set by KYT's KQ, KYT employs the Type II KQ format in designing his follow-up KQ and thereby further tightens the precision constraints (lines 9-10).

The Type III KQ format is not only employed for quantifiable matters but also for nonquantifiable matters as seen in Extract (5.31) below, part of which was introduced in Extract (5.14). Prior to the exchange shown in Extract (5.31), HJ introduced the notion of "political

cliques" as a representative case of being politically backwards and explained that in such political culture, people only pursue personal gains or their own clique's interests without any consideration at the national level. Then, in lines 2 and 3 HJ asks a KQ to find out whether YS knows what national interests the Republic of Korea (South Korea) is pursuing as a lead-up to asking how much YS thinks his party respects and serves the national interest (not shown). In doing so, HJ designs this KQ in the Type III KQ format with the overt expression of approximation *taylyak* 'roughly.' In other words, HJ's KQ explicitly allows HJ to *roughly* identify what the national interests of South Korea are; YS is not expected to lay out the minute details of the national interests of South Korea and instead may roughly provide the gist of them.

Extract (5.31) [National Interests_Long]

01	HJ:	(ce) kwukhoyuywen-ul manhi ha-sy-ess-unikka:,
		uhm National Assembly-AC a lot do-SH-PST-becuase
		Uhm since (you)'ve served on the National Assembly many times,
02→		.h kwukka iik-i (.) um
		nation interest-NM uhm .
03→		taylyak mwe-nci: ilehkey a-si-c-yo?
		roughly what-OQ like this know-SH-COMM:POL
		.h (you) know roughly what (.) uhm (our) national interests are,
		don't you?
04		(0.6)
05	YS:	.hhh kwukka [i : : ik : : kwuk]=
		nation interest nation
		.hhh National interests,
06	HJ:	[*tayhanminkwuk*-ey kwukka iik-i.]
		Republic of Korea-at nation interest-NM
		The national interests of the Republic of Korea.

07 YS: =ka iik-ey mwe il pen-i,
interest-at what first CL-NM
regarding the national interests, well, the first,

08 HJ: yey.
yes
Yes.

... *((15 lines in which YS enumerates the following two components of the national interests of the Republic of Korea and HS displays listenership with the continuer yey 'yes' are omitted: (i) guaranteeing that the people of the Republic of Korea can eat and live comfortably and satisfyingly, and (ii) protecting the country from the invasion by foreign powers or from certain pressures from outside and thereby maintaining its autonomous and independent*
... *status.))*

24 YS: i-kes-i kwukka iik-ey: .h
this-thing-NM nation interest-of

25 e cwungyohan twu kaci yoso-ta:.
uhn important two thing factor-DC:PLN

26 ilehkey sayngkak-ul ha-pnita.
like this thought-AC do-DC:DEF
In (my) opinion, these are the two important components in terms of our national interests.

27 HJ: h tayhanminkwuk kwukka iik-un
Republic of Korea nation interest-TC

28 khukey tases kaci-lo
largely five thing-as

29 ikhey cikum pwunlyu-ka tway iss-eyo,
like this now categorization-NM become-be-DC:POL
.h The national interests of the Republic of Korea are largely divided into five categories as the following.

30 YS: yey [:.]
yes
Yes.

31 HJ: [i]cey henpep-ul (.) kicwunulo hay-se
now Constitution-AC standard-as do-and

32 ilehkey nao-nuntey,
like this come out-and

33 ku-ke-y icey .h chespenccay-nun…
that-thing-NM now the first-TC
Based on (.) the Constitution, it is presented as the following: .h
The first is……

34 *((HJ explains five different types of national*
interests as illustrated in the Constitution of the Republic of Korea))

Extract (5.31) [National Interests_Long] in Korean

01 HJ: (저) 국회의원을 많이 하셨으니까:,
02→ .h 국가 이익이 (.) 음
03→ 대략 뭔지: 이렇게 아시죠?
04 (0.6)
05 YS: .hhh 국가 [이 : : 익: : 국]=
06 HJ: [대한민국에 국가 이익이.]
07 YS: =가 이익에 뭐 일번이,
08 HJ: 예.
... *((15 lines in which YS enumerates the following two components of the national interests of the Republic of Korea and HS displays listenership with the continuer yey 'yes' are omitted: (i) guaranteeing that the people of the Republic of Korea can eat and live comfortably and satisfyingly, and (ii) protecting the country from the invasion by foreign powers or from certain pressures from outside and thereby maintaining its autonomous and independent*
... *status.))*
24 YS: 이것이 국가 이익에: .h
25 어 중요한 두 가지 요소다:.
26 이렇게 생각을 합니다.
27 HJ: .h 대한민국 국가 이익은
28 크게 다섯 가지로
29 이케 지금 분류가 돼 있어요,
30 YS: 예 [:.]
31 HJ: [이]제 헌법을 (.) 기준으로 해서
32 이렇게 나오는데,
33 그게 이제 .h 첫번째는……
34 *((HJ explains five different types of national*
interests as illustrated in the Constitution of the Republic of Korea))

In responding to HJ's KQ, YS identifies guaranteeing the well-being of the citizens of South Korea and securing the national security as the national interests of South Korea (not shown). YS then refers to them as *kwukka iik-ey: .h e cwungyohan twu kaci yoso* 'two important components in terms of the national interests' (lines 24-26). This remark of YS implies that YS did not provide every single component of the national interests of South Korea in a comprehensive and detailed manner but only the two that he judged most significant. YS's justification for his response seems to exploit the way HJ's KQ does not tightly constrain the precision/specificity of YS's response as indicated in the term *taylyak* 'roughly' in HJ's KQ, thereby displaying YS's orientation towards the design of HJ's KQ as a Type III KQ.

In sum, the analyses of Extracts (5.28)-(5.31) have shown that the Type III KQ format is formed with overt expressions of approximation and that the Type III KQ format is employed to relax the precision constraint of a KQ in a way that allows a general and approximate answer on both quantifiable and nonquantifiable matters. Additionally, the analyses of these excerpts have shown that respondents exploit the design feature of the Type III KQ format in providing both evasive responses and answers containing the requested information.

Sections 5.4.1 through 5.4.3 have so far examined the Type I, II, and III KQ formats by focusing on their compositional features and usages. These three formats that realize the precision dimension of KQs are different in terms of the surface form they take. The Type I KQ format does not involve any overt expressions constraining the degree of the preciseness/specificity of the requested knowledge, whereas the Type II KQ format has expressions of precision, and the Type III KQ format has expressions of approximation.

The analyses of how the questioners and respondents of Type I KQs treat this format reveal that the questioners use it to seek precise/specific answers from their respondents even in

the absence of expressions of precision. Why then do some questioners use the Type II KQ format and not the Type I KQ format instead? The analysis on the sequential position in which the Type II KQ format occurs gives us a hint. The Type II KQ format has a special use, i.e., this format is employed when the respondents provide evasive responses to the questioners' initial KQs or when the questioners can reasonably expect that the respondents will give evasive responses. By employing the Type II KQ format, the questioners can explicitly tighten the precision constraints of their KQs in order to make it evident that the respondents are being requested to provide precise/specific answers. By contrast, the questioners employ the Type III KQ format to relax the precision constraint of their KQs and thereby let the respondents know that they can provide general/approximate answers. The respondents' orientation towards the overt expressions of precision and approximation in designing their responses to the questioners' KQs through format-tying as in Extracts (5.25) and (5.28) further reveals that the respondents also pay close attention to the surface linguistic formats that realize the precision dimension of KQs.

The differences among the Type I, II, and III KQ formats in terms of the degree of precision requested by the formats and the sequential position of their occurrence suggest that these three different precision formats are not random variations but systematic interactional resources the questioners can use to adjust the boundaries of acceptable answers and thus achieve a certain interactional goal at the moment of interaction. In what follows, the systematic differences in these three precision formats will further be explored by examining their overall distribution in the data.

5.4.4. The Overall Distribution of the Type I, II, and III KQ Formats

In this section, we will examine the overall distribution of the Type I, II, and III KQ formats in order to get a bigger picture of the usage of each format. Before we delve into this, however, we should spend some time discussing what would be the appropriate unit to use for counting.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 Data and Methods, a question can address multiple substances as in Extract (5.32) below. Here, MHS asks the other two candidates PJJ and GSM about the following four distinctive but related matters concerning the issue of population settlement in their district, Sejong city, which has recently been established as the central administrative capital city of South Korea: i) the number of officials belonging to the central administrative agency located in Sejong city, ii) the approximate number of officials actually living in Sejong city, iii) the reason many officials of the central administrative agency do not reside in Sejong city, and iv) the solution that can encourage officials to live in Sejong city. In addressing the four different substances, MHS packages them syntactically into one question by using additional connectives such as *-ko* 'and' and *-mye* 'and' (Yeon & Brown, 2011) and by designing each substance as an objective clause of the same predicate *taytapha-y cwu-* 'Please tell.'

Extract (5.32) [Officials in Sejong]

01 MHS: twu hwuponim motwu:-eykey yeccwup-ko sip-untey-yo,
both candidate:hon. all-to ask-want to-given that-POL
(I) would like to address (this question) to both candidates.

02 sub1→ cikum ku: cwungang-hayngceng-kikwan: (.) um sosok (0.4) e:
now uhm central-administrative-agency uhm affiliation uhm

03 sub1→ kongmwuwen swuca-ka cenpwu elma:-ka toy-ko, (0.4)
official number-NM all how many-NM become-and
Please tell (me) currently, uhm how many officials in total (0.4) uhm belong to (.) uhm the central administrative agency (in our Sejong city), (0.4)

04 sub2→ ku: kawuntey, (0.2) kwayen cengcwuha-ko iss-nun .hh ey: (0.9)
them among actually live-and be-RL uhm

05 sub2→ kongmwuwen-tul:-un, elma-na toy-ko, (1.0)
official-PL-TC how many-approximately become-and
approximately how many of them .hh uhm (0.9) actually live (here in Sejong city), (1.0)

06 sub3→ kulehkey cengcwuha-ci mosha-ko iss-nun: (0.4)
like that live-cannot-COMM be not-and be-RL

07 sub3→ iyu: (0.3)-ka mwues-i-mye,
reason-NM what-be-and
what (0.3) the reason (0.4) (so many of them) are unable to reside here is,

08 sub4 ku taychayk-i mwues-i-nci, .hhh
the solution-NM what-be-OQ
and what the solution for this issue is. .hhh

09 ey: mence wuli *pak*(.)*congcwun* hwupo-kkeyse (0.3)
uhm first our PJJ candidate-NM:hon.

10 taytapha-y cwu-si-myen komap-keyss-supnita.
answer-and give-SH-if grateful-will-DC:DEF
(I) would like to have our candidate PJJ respond first.

Extract (5.32) [Officials in Sejong] in Korean

01 MHS: 두 후보님 모두:에게 여쭙고 싶은데요,
02 sub1→ 지금 그: 중앙행정기관: (.) 음 소속 (0.4) 어:
03 sub1→ 공무원 숫자가 전부 얼마:가 되고, (0.4)
04 sub2→ 그: 가운데, (0.2) 과연 정주하고 있는 .hh 에: (0.9)
05 sub2→ 공무원들:은, 얼마나 되고, (1.0)
06 sub3→ 그렇게 정주하지 못하고 있는: (0.4)
07 sub3→ 이유: (0.3)가 무엇이며,
08 sub4 그 대책이 무엇인지, .hhh
09 에: 먼저 우리 박(.)종준 후보께서 (0.3)
10 대답해 주시면 고맙겠습니다.

Among the four substances, the first three deal with factual matters relevant to the population settlement in Sejong city that test PJJ and GSM's knowledge while the last one tests

their policies. As the focus of this study is on KQs, only the first three substances will be examined here. What is interesting about the way MHS realizes the first three substances is how he mixes different formats of precision dimension. More specifically, MHS employs the Type I KQ format for the first and third substances, whereas he uses the Type III KQ format for the second substance as seen in the presence of the approximation particle *–na* next to the question word *elma* 'how many.' The use of the Type I KQ format for the first substance and the use of the Type III KQ format for the second substance are particularly notable in that both of them deal with the number of the officials and employ the same question word *elma* 'how many,' yet they are designed using different formats.

The possibility that each substance in a question may not be realized in the same precision format, unlike the KQ formats that realize the epistemic dimension of KQs,[20] calls for an examination of how the three different precision formats are used depending on the substance of the question. Among the 190 KQs observed in this study, 20 KQs dealt with more than one substance, and three of these 20 KQs were designed by deploying different precision formats in one question as in Extract (5.32). When each substance of the 190 KQs was counted as a unit of frequency analyses for the KQ formats concerning the precision dimension, the total number of substances amounted to 212.

The overall distribution of the three formats that embody the precision dimension of KQs reveals that the Type I KQ format occurred the most frequently among the three formats. As seen in Table 5.11, 76.4% (n=162) of all KQ substances (n=212) being asked about were designed in

[20] Within the data collected for this study, multiple substances in a KQ were designed using the same epistemic format, although this by no means excludes the possibility of different epistemic formats being used in such cases. What accounts for the difference between the KQ precision formats and the KQ epistemic formats remains to be explored. One possibility is that it has to do with differences in the syntactic features of the grammatical/lexical resources that are used to construct these two categories of formats.

the Type I KQ format. The prevalence of the Type I KQ format among the KQs suggest that the Type I KQ format, which does not included any overt expressions that specify whether the respondent's answer should be precise/specific or can be general/approximate, is probably a default or normative way to substantiate the precision dimension of KQs.

Table 5.11. Frequency of Occurrence of the Type I, II, and III KQ Formats

Format Type	Number of Occurrences	Total
Type I KQ	162 (76.4%)	212 (100%)
Type II KQ	8 (3.9%)	
Type III KQ	42 (19.8%)	

In contrast, the Type II KQ format, which includes overt expressions that convey to the respondent that his/her answer should be precise/specific, was the least occurring format among the three. Only 3.9% (n=8) of all KQ substances (n=212) were designed using this format. Such low figures suggest that the Type II KQ format is a marked form of instantiating the precision dimension of KQs and is likely to have its own specialized usage. The analysis of the sequential contexts where the Type II KQ format appears indeed has shown that the use of this format has to do with tightening the precision of KQs in face of or in anticipation of evasive responses.[21]

The Type III KQ format accounted for 19.8% (n=42) of all KQ substances (n=212). Although the Type III KQ format occurred less frequently than the Type I KQ format, it occurred far more frequently than the Type II KQ format. The Type III KQ format does not seem to have a particular sequential position in which it tended to occur. Rather, its occurrence appears

[21] The Substance-Specified KQ format, which can also be used to deal with evasive responses, tended to co-occur with the Type II KQ format. In total, three instances of the Substance-Specified KQ format were found in the data, with two of them (66.7%) co-occurring with the Type II KQ format as in Excerpt (5.27-b). The only instance that the Substance-Specified KQ format was used by itself was in the case of Excerpt (5.26). It seems that by using the Substance-Specified KQ format and the Type II KQ format together and thereby doubly requesting the respondents to provide a precise/specific answer, questioners can tighten the precision constraint even further.

to be closely tied to the nature of the substance being asked about. As seen in Table 5.12 below, the occurrence of the Type III KQ format is drastically skewed toward the substance that deals with numerical information (e.g., inflation rates, employment rates, various types of budgets, amount of tax income).

Table 5.12. Frequency of Occurrence of the Type I, II, and III KQ Formats According to the Nature of the Substance

Format Type	Numerical	Non-numerical	Total
Type I KQ	72 (44.4%)	90 (55.6%)	162(100%)
Type II KQ	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	8 (100%)
Type III KQ	38 (90.5%)	4 (9.5%)	42 (100%)
Total	114 (55.1%)	93 (44.9%)	212 (100%)

The numerical substances amounted to 90.5% (n=38) of all substances (n=42) asked in the Type III KQ format, whereas the non-numerical substances only accounted for 9.5% (n=4) of them. The strong association between the nature of the substance and the use of the Type III KQ format becomes more visible when the ratio of the numerical substances of the Type III KQ format are compared with that of either the Type I or Type II KQ format. The numerical substances consist of 44.4% (n=72) of all substances (n=162) asked in the Type I KQ format and 62.5% (n=5) of all substances (n=8) asked in the Type II KQ format.

Employing the Type III KQ format for numerical substances seems to be a way to soften the potential negative perception of KQs asking about numbers as nitpicking or trivial, which might be used by respondents as a basis for not answering the KQs. Extracts (5.33) and (5.34) below illustrate such negative perceptions from the respondents towards KQs concerning numerical information. In this extract, the respondent PK, who was asked by the questioner LJ about the amount of minimum wages and the number of workers whose wages are lower than the

minimum wage set for the year (refer to Extract (5.22) to see LJ's KQs), is providing a commentary on LJ's KQs.

Extract (5.33) [Commentary on Minimum Wages]

01→ PK: kuntey ilen: [ku:] (0.6)=
by the way like this uhm

02 LJ: [ney:,]
yes
Yes.

03→ PK: =ku taysen-hwupo-tholon-ey naw-a kaciko:, .h
uhm presidential-candidate-debate-at come out-and

04→ i sumwukokay ha-tusi s.h
this twenty questions do-like

05→ 'i-ke-lul sangtay-ka moll-umyenun
this-thing-AC opponent-NM not know-if

06→ kolthang-ul hanpen meyk-y-eya-ci'
great loss-AC once eat-CAS-must-COMM

07 LJ: [h h h h]
h h h h
hhhh

08→ PK: [ha-nun sik(h)-u(h)lo] .h
do-RL way-as

09→ kyey:sok sumwukokay ha-tusi .h
continually twenty questions do-like

10→ ilen-sik-ulo ha-nun kes-un
like this-way-as do-RL NOM-TC

11→ s.h pyello kulehkey palamcikha-n:,
particularly like that desire-RL

12→ taysen: h tholon-i ani-lako sayngkakha-pnita:,
presidential debate-NM be not-QT think-DC:DEF
By the way, (I) don't think s.h it is a proper presidential .h debate to come out .h in a uhm (0.6) uhm presidential candidate debate like this. .h and act as if playing twenty questions s.h, keep acting as if playing twenty questions .h, assuming an attitude of "if the opponent doesn't know (this), (I) will embarrass (him or her)."

13→ wuli-ka .h etten milay-ey:, khun picen-ul nohko:,
we-NM some future-at big vision-AC put-and

14→ u, .hh ettehkey ha-myenun, (.) kwukmin-eykey
uhm how do-if people-to

15→ huymang-ul tuli-ko, .h
hope-AC give-and

16→ ettehkey nala-lul ikkul-e ka-l ke-nka
how country-AC lead-and go-RL thing-Q

17→ ilen: kes-ul .h e yaykiha-ki-to pappu-ntey,……
like this thing-AC uhm talk-NOM-also busy-but
We .h already have enough to talk about, .h uhm such as .hh how (we) will give (.) (our) people hope, .h and how (we) will lead the country while focusing on the bigger picture (we) envision for the future .
But ……

Extract (5.33) [Commentary on Minimum Wage] in Korean

01→ PK: 근데 이런: [그:] (0.6)=
02 LJ: [네:,]
03→ PK: =그 대선후보토론에 나와가지고:, .h
04→ 이 스무고개 하듯이 s.h
05→ '이거를 상대가 몰르면은
06→ 골탕을 한번 멕여야지'
07 LJ: [h h h h]
08→ PK: [하는 식(h)으(h)로] .h
09→ 계:속 스무고개 하듯이 .h
10→ 이런식으로 하는 것은
11→ s.h 별로 그렇게 바람직한:,
12→ 대선: .h 토론이 아니라고 생각합니다:,
13→ 우리가 .h 어떤 미래에:, 큰 비전을 놓고:,
14→ 으, .hh 어떻게 하면은, (.) 국민에게
15→ 희망을 드리고, .h
16→ 어떻게 나라를 이끌어 갈건가

17→ 이런: 것을 .h 어 얘기하기도 바쁜데,……

In lines 1, 3-6, and 8-12, PK explicitly expresses her negative evaluation on LJ's KQs concerning numerical information. More specifically, PK first equates LJ's practice of issuing the KQs with that of playing *twenty questions* (line 4). In the game twenty questions, one player chooses a subject/object that the other players try to guess by asking a maximum of 20 questions. In order to win, the player chooses something that would be difficult to identify within the limit of 20 questions. Considering the nature of this game, we can see that PK mentions twenty questions in order to point out that LJ is intentionally issuing KQs that LJ assumes PK would find difficult to answer. PK then explicitly criticizes LJ's motivation to ask such KQs in her subsequent remark in lines 5-6. Here, PK conjectures what LJ is thinking using the direct reported speech format with the utterance '*i-ke-lul sangtay-ka moll-umyenun kolthang-ul hanpen meyk-y-eya-ci'* 'if the opponent doesn't know (this), (I) will embarrass (him or her**).**' This utterance of PK basically means that LJ's KQs aim to reveal PK's ignorance regarding the matter being asked about, thereby embarrassing PK in front of the eyes of the viewers. After pointing out the nitpicking aspect of LJ's KQs—i.e., finding fault with PK's understanding of the matter at hand and embarrassing PK in public—PK negatively evaluates LJ's practice of issuing the KQs once more by saying that such behavior seems inappropriate for presidential debates (lines 11-12). Then, in lines 13-17 PK enumerates what she considers as proper topic agenda for a presidential debate, i.e., discussions on how they will give the people of South Korea hope and how they will lead the country while focusing on the bigger picture they envision for the future. By doing so, PK implicitly portrays LJ's KQs as relatively insignificant and unnecessarily detailed questions that are not quite suitable for presidential debates.

The respondents' negative characterization of KQs concerning numerical information as a trivial is also illustrated in Extract (5.34). In lines 1-2 CYM issues a KQ that tests KGY's knowledge of the amount of money the central government is providing for a project related to establishing aerospace research centers in their district. In lines 11 and 12, KGY explicitly characterizes CYM's KQ as being trivial with the phrase *sasohan cilmwun* 'trival question' before providing the answer *chilsipek* '7 billion (won).'

Extract (5. 34) [Aerospace Research Center]

01 CYM: ku ihwuey incey alapo-nta-kwu ha-yss-nuntey (0.4)
that after now look into-DC:PLN-QT do-PST-but
(You) said that (you) would start looking into it, (0.4)

02 ipen ku: h (.) kyeyyakkum-i, (0.2)
this time uhm down payment-NM

03 kwuk-pi-ka elma:ka ciwentoy-n ke-l-lo
government-expense-NM how much-NM be provided-RL NOM-AC-as

al-ko iss-supnikka?
know-and be-Q:DEF
so then as far as (you) know, h (.) how much funding (0.2) is the (central) government providing for this project?

05 (0.4)

06 KGY: .h (0.5) ney:. kwucheycekin:
okay specific
.h (0.5) Okay.

07 CYM: p!= ((lip parting sound))

08 KGY: =kumayk-un mwullon cey-ka ta
amount-TC of course I-NM all

09 alapw-ass-supnita-man(h)-[un]=
look into-PST-DC:DEF-but-TC
Of course I've looked into the specific figures,

10 CYM: [yey.]
yes
Yes.

11→ KGY: =machi mwe kumayk-ul kaciko kulen: sasohan
as if uhm amount-AC with like that trivial

12→ cil[mwun-ul ha-si-nun kes kath-]
question-AC do-SH-RL NOM seem
but (You) seem to be asking uhm a trivial question about (some) figures.

13 CYM [ani- ppalli (ha-y cwu-si-psio.)]=
well quickly do-and give-SH-IM:DEF
Well, please (just) hurry up and (answer the question).

14 KGY: =yey. [chilsip]ek-i-pnita.
okay 7 billion-be-DC:DEF
Okay. (It)'s 7 billion (won).

15 CYM: [talun-]
other
Other-

16 CYM: yey.
yes
Yes.

17 KGY: yey.
yes
Yes.

Extract (5.34) [Aerospace Research Center] in Korean

01 CYM: 그 이후에 인제 알아 본다구 했는데 (0.4)
02 이번 그: h (.) 계약금이, (0.2)
03 국비가 얼마:가 지원된 걸로
04 알고 있습니까?
05 (0.4)
06 KGY: .h (0.5) 네:. 구체적인:
07 CYM: p!= ((lip parting sound))
08 KGY: =금액은 물론 제가 다
09 알아 봤습니다만(h)[은]=
10 CYM: [예.]
11→ KGY: =마치 뭐 금액을 가지고 그런: 사소한
12→ 질[문을 하시는 것 같-]
13 CYM: [아니- 빨리 (해 주십시오.)]=

14 KGY: =예. [칠십]억입니다.
15 CYM: [다른-]
16 CYM: 예.
17 KGY: 예.

Taking into account the fact that the legitimacy of KQs asking about numerical information as a solid political-campaign-debate question may be undermined by characterizing the KQ as nitpicking or trivial as shown in Extracts (5.33) and (5.34), the questioners' frequent use of the Type III KQ format on substances concerning numerical information can be understood as a strategic. In other words, by allowing the respondents to provide approximate numbers with the use of the Type III KQ format, questioners can present themselves as not paying excessive attention to the accuracy of the respondents' responses and show that they are willing to accept approximate numbers as good enough. This stance embedded in the Type III KQ format can alleviate the seemingly nitpicking aspect of their KQs regarding specific figures, and may contribute to circumventing the respondents' refusal to answer and their attack on the legitimacy of the questioners' KQs.

The frequency analyses of the Type I, II, and III KQ formats so far have revealed interesting findings that supplement earlier findings on these formats introduced in Sections 5.4.1 through 5.4.3, which were gained from qualitative analyses on individual instances of these formats. First, the Type I KQ format, which includes overt expressions that specify whether the respondent's answer should be precise/specific or general/approximate, occurred the most frequently. This suggests that the Type I KQ format was likely to be an unmarked/normative way to realize the precision dimension of KQs.

Second, the Type II KQ format, which has overt expressions that convey to the respondent that his/her answer should be precise/specific, occurred the least frequently. The infrequent occurrence of the Type II KQ format suggests that the Type II KQ format is a marked

form of instantiating the precision dimension of KQs. The sequential environment where the Type II KQ format tended to occur indeed supports this finding: the Type II KQ format occurred after an evasive response has been given from the respondent or in the position where the questioner could reasonably anticipate an evasive response. The quantitative and qualitative analyses of the Type II KQ format together thus show that the Type II KQ format is a special interactional resource for tightening the precision of KQs in face or anticipation of evasive responses.

Third, the Type III KQ format, which is constituted with overt expressions of approximation, occurred less frequently than the Type I KQ format but more frequently than the Type II KQ format. Of particular note was how the occurrence of the Type III KQ format was drastically skewed toward KQ substances that dealt with numerical information. Considering how respondents can characterize KQs asking about numerical information as nitpicking or trivial, the findings on the distribution of the Type III KQ seem to suggest that employing the Type III KQ format for numerical substances might be a way to soften the potential negative perception of such KQs by loosening the constraints placed on the level of accuracy regarding the requested numerical information.

The findings on the uses of the Type I, II, and III KQ formats thus have shown that the variation in the surface forms for realizing the precision dimension of KQs is an accountable, systematic phenomenon: questioners do not randomly select one precision format over another but choose a particular format for a reason.

5.5. Chapter Summary

Chapter 5 has so far investigated the issue of turn design in KQs and uncovered two parameters that explain linguistic variations in designing KQs. The first parameter concerns the epistemic dimension of KQs and the second parameter the precision dimension of KQs.

We identified the nine types of KQ formats realizing the former and the three types of KQ formats instantiating the latter.

Let us first summarize the findings on the nine KQ formats of epistemic dimension. According to Heritage and Raymond (2012), in the case of typical information-seeking questions, epistemic variations in linguistic structures focus on conveying whether the questioners themselves have access to the matter being asked about, and if they do, signaling the extent of the questioners; certainty of *their own knowledge* regarding the sought-after information. However, in designing KQs where the knowledgeability of the respondents, not the questioners themselves, was at stake, the questioners employed the nine epistemic formats to index the extent of their expectations about *the respondents' informedness,* i.e., how likely the respondents were to know about the requested information**.**

The nine epistemic formats of KQs can be further categorized into three groups—Type A, B, and C—according to their structural affinity. Typical Type A, Typical Type B, and Typical Type C KQ formats form the base format for each group: they were the most commonly employed format within each group, and the other formats were modulated versions of these formats. The Type A group consists of the Negative Interrogative Type A, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A, and the Typical Type A KQ formats. All three formats in this group are commonly formed with FEs that have the verb of not knowing *molu-* 'not know' and realize the questioners' varying degrees of pessimism towards the respondents' likelihood of knowing the

answers. Furthermore, they only appear where the respondents' ignorance of the matter being tested about can be reasonably inferred based on the very acts of the respondents during the debate.

The Type B group is constituted by the Reversed Preference Type B, the Typical Type B, and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ formats. These formats are formed with FEs that have verbs of knowing/remembering/expressing the ability to verbally provide the requested information. The Reversed Preference Type B KQ format instantiates the questioners' moderate pessimism about the probability of the respondents' knowing the answers; the Typical Type B KQ format the questioners' moderate optimism; and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format the questioners' strong optimism towards this probability. Unlike the KQ formats of the Type A group, the KQ formats of the Type B group—the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in particular— can appear in a sequential environment where there is no interactional evidence that supports the respondents' potential ignorance.

The Type C group is composed of the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format, the Conditional Type C KQ format, and the Typical Type C KQ format. All three of these formats are constituted with expressions that explicitly request the respondents to display their knowledge in their answers. In particular, the Typical Type C KQ format, which indicates the questioners' full-blown optimism towards the likelihood of the respondents' informedness, is the only format that can appear after the respondents' claim that they know the answers to the questioners' KQs. This means that the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format and the Conditional Type C KQ format do not appear in such sequential positions, as they have the conditional expression *al-ko key-si-myen/al-ko iss-umyen* 'If (you) know' and thereby do not presuppose the respondents' knowledgeability. Rather, the Modified Conditional Type C KQ

format indicates the questioners' moderate pessimism towards the likelihood of the respondents' informedness, and the Conditional Type C KQ format indicates the questioners' moderate optimism.

The frequency analyses of the occurrence of the nine epistemic formats further revealed that the questioners themselves are oriented towards the adversarial and face-threatening nature of KQs—i.e., KQs are used to demonstrate the respondents' *ignorance* of the matter being asked about. Although the goal of KQs is to prove the respondents' ignorance while promoting the questioners' knowledgeability, the questioners predominantly selected the KQ formats that linguistically embody their optimistic stance towards the likelihood of the respondents' possessing the requested information. More specifically, the Typical Type C KQ format and the Typical Type B KQ format were the two most frequently employed formats among the nine formats. Furthermore, in expressing their moderate pessimistic stance, the questioners overwhelmingly employed the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format, which grammatically requests the respondents to confirm or disconfirm that they *know/remember/can explain* the requested information. By contrast, the questioners avoided employing the KQ formats of the Type A group—even the Typical Type A KQ format, which indexes the questioners' moderate pessimism, similar to the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format—unless the respondents' vulnerability to the KQs had already been established in the respondents' conduct during the debate. This is because the KQ formats of the Type A group not only indicate the varying degree of the questioners' *pessimism* towards the likelihood of the respondents; knowing the answer but also request the respondents to confirm or disconfirm that they *do not know* about the information being asked about by virtue of their linguistic design. To put it another way, the KQ formats of the Type A group have a relatively strong face-threatening effect compared to those

of the Type B and C groups. By selecting the KQ formats of the Type B and C groups over the KQ formats of the Type A group, the questioners seem to seek to linguistically alleviate the adversarial and face-threatening force of their KQs.

KQ formats concerning the precision dimension of KQs can be categorized into the Type 1, II, and III KQ formats. These three formats are different in terms of the surface form they take. The Type I KQ format does not involve any overt expressions constraining the degree of the preciseness/specificity of the requested knowledge, whereas the Type II KQ format has expressions of precision, and the Type III KQ format has expressions of approximation. More importantly, these three formats are different in terms of the degree of precision they set for acceptable answers.

The sequential and frequency analyses of Type I, II, and III KQ formats reveal their usage patterns as follows. The Type I KQ format was the most frequently employed format among the three and was used to seek precise/specific answers from their respondents even in the absence of expressions of precision. Unlike the Type I KQ format, the Type II KQ format occurred very infrequently, suggesting its marked status. The Type II KQ format was used as a special interactional resource for explicitly tightening the precision of KQs in face or anticipation of evasive responses. By contrast, the questioners employed the Type III KQ format to relax the precision constraint of their KQs and thereby let the respondents know that they can provide general/approximate answers. The occurrence of the Type III KQ format was drastically skewed toward KQ substances that dealt with numerical information. Considering how respondents can characterize KQs asking about numerical information as nitpicking or trivial, this finding of the distribution of the Type III KQ seems to suggest that employing the Type III KQ format for numerical substances might be a way to soften the potential negative perception of such KQs by

loosening the constraints placed on the level of accuracy regarding the requested numerical information.

The findings of linguistic variations in KQ designs thus show that the variation in the surface forms for realizing the epistemic and precision dimension of KQs is an accountable, systematic phenomenon. Furthermore, they suggest the close relationship between form and function. First, as discussed in Section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3, KQs are in stark contrast with information-seeking questions in terms of their usage. As a type of known-answer question where the questioners already know or are assumed by others to know the answers, KQs are used to probe whether the respondents have knowledge of a specific, established factual matter. For this reason, what matters in KQs is the respondents' knowledgeability, not the questioners'. Note that the nine epistemic formats of KQs all concern the questioners' expectations about *the respondents' informedness*. Second, as discussed in Section 3.2.3 of Chapter 3, KQs serve as a tool for the questioners to demonstrate whether or not the respondents have definite knowledge of the matters at hand as the respondents' answers to KQs can be evaluated by the questioners in terms of their correctness. Thus, setting the boundaries of an acceptable answer tightly or loosely by using different KQ formats of precision dimension is directly related with the questioners' evaluating whether the respondents' response can be accepted as correct or not. Third, the candidates' frequent selection of KQs formats that soften the adversarial, face-threatening, and nit-picking aspects of the KQs—i.e., the Typical Type B and C KQ formats that indicate the questioners' optimistic stance towards the likelihood of the respondents' informedness and the Type III KQ format used for numeral information—further demonstrate the close link between the form and function of KQs. More specifically speaking, as the primary function of KQs is to probe the respondents' knowledge of specific factual matters, KQs can be considered as

impolite, nitpicking, and trivial. In this sense, the candidates' choice of the aforementioned KQ formats can be understood as linguistic strategies for achieving the hostile function of KQs while linguistically appearing courteous to their respondents, thereby displaying the candidates' dual orientation to politeness and the face-threatening function of their KQs. In sum, the findings of Chapter 5 support the argument that linguistic variations in KQ design are systematic and geared towards effectively implementing the main function of KQs as a linguistic device for testing the respondents' knowledge and proving their ignorance.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary[22]

'Knowledge-testing' questions (KQs) are distinctive from information-seeking questions we commonly encounter in everyday life as they implicate a different set of social or epistemic relations between questioners and the respondents. Whereas information-seeking questions assume the respondents' informedness, KQs assume the questioners' informedness. To put it another way, KQs construct the questioners as relatively more knowledgeable and the respondents as relatively less knowledgeable, the exact reverse of routine information-seeking questions. This unique feature of KQs allows them to be used as a vital interactional tool during political campaign debates. Consider how candidates compete to secure the electorate's votes by persuading the electorate that they are better qualified for public office than their opponents, one way being the display of their knowledge of public affairs and political issues.

This dissertation has aimed to discover the systematic properties of KQs employed in the institutional context of political campaign debates in order to broaden our understanding of the action of knowledge-testing via questions. In pursuing the goal, this study examined 190 KQs obtained from cross-examinations among political candidates, which were embedded in 116 Korean political campaign debates (155 hours and 23 minutes in total). Within the methodological and analytic framework of CA, the defining features, the emergence, and compositional forms of KQs were explored in great detail.

In Chapter 3, the defining features of KQs were examined to determine the phenomenon of this study. This step is vital for this study in two ways: First, a valid and justifiable way to identify KQs must be established in advance to systematically analyze the emergence and

[22] As each analytic chapter of this dissertation includes a summary, readers may find some portions of the summary presented here overlapping with the summary sections of each chapter.

compositional forms of KQs. Second, clearly defining KQs and thus setting the boundaries of the application of this study's findings can prevent their extrapolation to other types of questions unrelated to KQs.

The defining features of KQ were investigated from two perspectives. One was to explore the actions/interactional functions of KQs used during cross-examinations of political campaign debates. The other was to examine the resources candidates relied on to produce and recognize questions as KQs—the very resources analysts can utilize in identifying KQs. The findings showed that KQs occurring in political campaign debates have two specialized functions. The primary function of KQs was to expose the respondents' lack of definite knowledge about the matters being asked about and thereby discredit the respondents' qualifications as a candidate. The secondary function of KQs was to advertise the questioners' own knowledgeability. The dual use of KQs was then explained in relation to the dual institutional role of the candidates: the candidates issuing KQs are not only questioners of a cross-examination that need to probe the qualifications of the respondents as candidates but are also candidates who need to prove their own qualifications as candidates.

Next, we focused on the aforementioned primary function to investigate how KQs can be differentiated from other types of questions occurring in political campaign debates that may expose the respondents' insufficient mastery of knowledge. The differences among KQs, policy questions, and general knowledgeability questions were examined in particular. The analyses showed that KQs were different from these questions in terms of their explicit focus or granularity of the knowledge they dealt with. Compared to policy questions, the explicit focus of KQs was on finding out whether the respondents possessed the requested knowledge, not on eliciting the respondents' plans for resolving sociopolitical issues. Unlike general

knowledgeability questions, the knowledge requested by KQs covered specific factual matters rather than general activities or experience germane to acquiring knowledge of a certain domain. Furthermore, as KQs dealt with specific factual matters, candidates could *demonstrate* their respondents' ignorance via KQs by evaluating the correctness of the respondents' answers.

The remainder of Chapter 3 explored the linguistic, interactional, or broad social resources candidates used to produce or recognize a question as a KQ. The findings showed that candidates may utilize linguistic framing expressions (FEs) (e.g., *molu-si-pnikka?* 'Do you (not) know,' *a-sip-nikka?* 'Do (you) know~') overtly conveying that the explicit focus of their questions were on probing the respondents' knowledgeability. Candidates may also pay attention to the substance of the questions, the course of moment-by-moment interaction, and the epistemic status of a questioner vis-à-vis that of the respondent as implicated in their respective institutional roles as cross-examiner and cross-examinee. Finally, candidates can resort to sequential resources such as specific question prefaces (e.g., prefaces stating that the respondents should know the requested knowledge), immediately preceding sequences that constrain the understanding of the present questions as KQs (e.g., the previous KQ-response sequence), and candidates' subsequent response in the third turn to other candidates' responses to KQs. However, it is crucial to note that the action import of a question as a KQ can change as candidates transform the action import of a turn in and through the course of interaction.

Chapter 4 examined the contexts in which KQs emerge during the cross-examinations of political campaign debates to understand how their emergence is locally managed on a case-by-case basis in the absence of rules constraining their occurrence. The findings of this chapter have demonstrated the following three distinctive but potentially co-existing contexts in which KQs occur: (a) where questioners have good reason to believe that the respondents are vulnerable to

KQs (e.g., after the respondents' repair-initiation on the questioners' questions; after the respondents' overly general policies/promises in response to the questioners' initial policy/promise questions; after their claim of having knowledge or evasive answer to the questioners' initial KQs; when the respondents previously made false statements during or prior to the debates; when the respondents are newcomer politicians to the constituency), (b) where questioners are involved in undermining the respondents' policies/promises/claims, and (c) where current questioners fail to provide the correct answers to the KQs issued by the previous questioners and subsequently attempt to show that the previous questioners have the same weakness as themselves regarding a domain of knowledge. These three major contexts that trigger the occurrence of KQs thus revealed that the occurrence of KQs can be explicated both by referring to the probability of succeeding in exposing the recipients' ignorance of the requested knowledge (e.g., (a)) and the nature of the sequential projects the questioners of KQs are involved in (e.g., (b) and (c)).

The varied but patterned contexts in which KQs occur also let us further understand when political candidates perceive KQs as a useful political campaign debate strategy. The candidates' use of KQs when they have good grounds to believe that their respondents were unlikely to provide the requested knowledge shows that the candidates perceived KQs as a useful tool to expose their respondents' insufficient or lack of the knowledge being asked about. In addition, the candidates found KQs useful in undermining the respondents' promises/claims by showing that the latter lacked definite knowledge necessary to substantiate their promises/claims and were thus all talk without sincerity. Lastly, the candidates employed KQs as a tit-for-tat strategy to deal with damage done on their political face with their failure to answer KQs issued by their respondents earlier. By issuing KQs to the respondents, who had been the knowledge testers

portraying themselves as informed about the matters being asked about, the candidates sought to show that the respondents were in fact not that knowledgeable and had the same weakness as the candidates themselves. It should be emphasized, however, that the usefulness of KQs as a tool to undermine the respondents' promises/claims or as a tit-for-tat strategy is based on their basic function of exposing the respondents' uninformedness. The differences in the nature of the sequential contexts where KQs occur seem to contribute to the diversified imports of KQs as a political campaign debate strategy.

In Chapter 5, we explored the compositional forms of KQs by focusing particularly on identifying parameters that explained linguistic variations in KQ designs and discovering various imports each KQ format delivered in implementing the action of knowledge-testing. We identified two parameters (or dimensions) of KQ designs—the epistemic parameter and precision parameter—and uncovered nine types of KQ formats realizing the former and the three types of KQ formats instantiating the latter.

Based on structural affinity, the nine epistemic formats of KQs were further categorized into three groups —Type A, B, and C. Typical Type A, Typical Type B, and Typical Type C KQ formats formed the base format for each group as they were the most commonly utilized format within each group, and the other formats were modulated versions of these formats.

The Type A group consisted of the Negative Interrogative Type A, the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A, and the Typical Type A KQ formats. All three formats in this group were formed with FEs that have the verb of not knowing *molu-* 'not know.' These formats realized the questioners' varying degrees of their pessimism toward the respondents' likelihood of knowing the answers: the Negative Interrogative Type A embodied the strongest pessimism among the three; the Pseudo-Tag Question Type A embodied strong pessimism; and the Typical Type A

KQ format, moderate pessimism. In terms of sequential position of occurrence, these three formats only appeared where the respondents' ignorance of the matter being tested about could be reasonably inferred based on the very acts of the respondents during the debate. This restriction in the sequential environment of occurrence is possibly associated with the fact that these formats appear very infrequently.

The Type B group was composed of the Reversed Preference Type B, the Typical Type B, and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ formats. These formats were constituted with FEs that have verbs of knowing/remembering or verbs of expressing the ability to verbally provide the requested information. The Reversed Preference Type B KQ format instantiated the questioners' moderate pessimism about the probability of the respondents' knowing the answers; the Typical Type B KQ format embodied the questioners' moderate optimism; and the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format, the questioners' strong optimism towards this probability. Unlike the Type A group, the KQ formats of the Type B group could appear in a sequential environment with no interactional evidence supporting the respondents' potential ignorance. In particular, candidates could strategically employ the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format in the sequential context where the respondents were expected to have the requested knowledge to deliver a message damaging to the respondents: that the respondents may *not* have the knowledge they are expected to have. Furthermore, the formats of this group appeared relatively frequently except for the Pseudo-Tag Question Type B KQ format, which occurred in the sequential context where the respondents of KQs were expected to know about the substance of the KQs dealing with matters associated with the respondents' membership categories.

The Type C group consisted of the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format, the Conditional Type C KQ format, and the Typical Type C KQ format. All three of these formats

were constituted with expressions that explicitly requested the respondents to display their knowledge in their answers. The Typical Type C KQ format, which indicated the questioners' full-blown optimism towards the likelihood of the respondents' informedness, was the only format that could appear after the respondents' claim that they knew the answers to the questioners' KQs. The Modified Conditional Type C KQ format indicated the questioners' moderate pessimism toward the likelihood of the respondents' informedness, and the Conditional Type C KQ format indicated the questioners' moderate optimism. In terms of frequency of occurrence, the Typical Type C KQ format predominantly occurred among the three formats of the Type C group. In fact, it was the most frequently employed format among all nine epistemic formats of KQs. However, the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format and the Conditional Type C KQ format occurred far less frequently, probably due to the frequent occurrence of the Reversed Preference Type B KQ format and the Typical Type B KQ format, which have very similar epistemic meanings with the Modified Conditional Type C KQ format and the Conditional Type C KQ format, respectively.

The three types of KQ formats concerning the precision dimension of KQs were the Type 1, II, and III KQ formats. The Type I KQ format did not involve any overt expressions constraining the degree of the preciseness/specificity of the requested knowledge, whereas the Type II KQ format had expressions of precision, and the Type III KQ format had expressions of approximation.

Candidates discretely employed these three KQ formats in order to vary the degree of precision their KQs set for acceptable answers. The Type I KQ format, which occurred most frequently among the three, was used to seek precise/specific answers from their respondents even in the absence of expressions of precision. The Type II KQ format, which occurred very

infrequently, was used as a special interactional resource for explicitly tightening the precision of KQs in face or anticipation of evasive responses. By contrast, the Type III KQ format was employed to relax the precision constraint of KQs and allow the respondents to provide general/approximate answers. The occurrence of the Type III KQ format was drastically skewed toward KQ substances that dealt with numerical information. This suggested that asking about numerical information with the Type III KQ format might be a way to mitigate the potential negative perception of KQs about numbers as nitpicking and trivial and thereby contribute to guarding the legitimacy of KQs as valid cross-examination questions that should be answered by the respondents. Consider how the Type III KQ format loosened the constraints placed on the level of accuracy regarding the requested numerical information.

The findings of linguistic variations in KQ designs thus show that the variation in the surface forms for realizing the epistemic and precision dimensions of KQs is an accountable, systematic phenomenon geared towards effectively implementing the main function of KQs as a linguistic device for testing the respondents' knowledge and proving their ignorance. Note that the nine epistemic formats of KQs all concern the questioners' expectations about *the respondents'* informedness. In addition, the three precision formats of KQs were directly related to the questioners' evaluation of whether the respondents' response could be accepted as correct or not as they concerned setting the boundaries of an acceptable answer.

So far we have surveyed the findings of this dissertation concerning the defining features, the emergence, and compositional forms of KQs. As a rare study that examines the candidates' uses of KQs in the context of political campaign debates, this dissertation adds to our understanding of the institutional uses of KQs, linguistic strategies for political campaign debates,

and question design in Korean, thereby contributing to the multiple fields of conversational analysis, political communication, and linguistics.

6.2. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The present study sets itself apart as a detailed, comprehensive conversation analytic study of KQs used in political campaign debates based on a considerable collection of KQs. It does not, however, exhaust research of the interactional organization of KQ-response sequences. Given that this study focuses primarily on KQs requesting their respondents to create an answer during Korean political campaign debates, we still have much to discover regarding the systematic properties of KQ-response sequences beyond the scope of the present study. The following are suggestions for future research on KQ-response sequences that build on the findings of the current study.

First, we can implement a study that focuses on the candidates' responses to KQs during Korean political campaign debates. More specifically, we can analyze candidates' various practices of designing responses to KQs according to the types of responses—such as providing answers, acknowledging their inability to answer the KQs, or resisting KQs. This study would broaden our understanding of how candidates use their responses to deal with the adversarial, face-threatening function of KQs that seeks to expose the candidates' uninformedness while promoting their opponents' informedness.

Second, we can explore the interactional organization of true-false KQs used in Korean political campaign debates—i.e., KQs inviting respondents to evaluate the truth value of the proposition of KQs instead of requesting them to answer with the requested knowledge—in terms of their interactional functions, emergence, and compositional forms. As true-false KQs set

different action agenda for their respondents from the KQs examined here, this study would shed light on how different manners of testing the respondents' knowledge influence the interactional organization of the action of knowledge-testing.

Third, we can envision a comparative study of KQ design across various institutional contexts where one or more of the interactants' competence may be under scrutiny (e.g., pedagogical interaction, job interviews, partisan news interviews, news interviews with political candidates, political campaign debates, legal proceedings, and talk shows, etc.) in order to uncover how differences in institutional goals and roles influence the linguistic repertoire of KQ design and vice versa. We may discover other parameters explaining the linguistic variations of KQ design or different linguistic formats comprising the same parameters as those explored in the present study, which can illuminate the distinctiveness of each institutional context.

Fourth, we can conduct a cross-linguistic study of KQ designs by including languages other than Korean. This kind of cross-linguistic study would reveal interesting findings regarding how syntactic and pragmatic differences/similarities across multiple languages shape the linguistic repertoire of KQ design and influence the usage of KQs. Such findings can provide insight into language-specific and language-independent properties of KQ designs and uses.

These research agendas are highly relevant to multiple disciplines interested in KQ-response sequences such as conversation analysis, linguistics, and communication studies. Pursuing these directions will greatly contribute to the understanding of KQ-response sequences as a building block of diverse social institutions across different language communities.

APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[	Start point of overlapping speech
[	
]	End point of overlapping speech
]	
=	Contiguous utterance (no discernible pause)
(0.5)	Length of silence timed in tenths of a second
(.)	Micropause
.	Falling, or final intonation (not necessarily end of sentence)
,	Continuing intonation (not necessarily between clauses/sentences)
?	Rising intonation (not necessarily question)
::	Sound stretches
-	Cut-off
words	Some form of stress or emphasis
° °	Passage of talk quieter than surrounding talk
wo:rd	Inflected rising (i.e., 'up-to-down') intonation contour
↑	Marked rising shift in intonation
> <	Bracketed utterance is speeded up compared to surrounding talk
< >	Bracketed utterance is slowed down compared to surrounding talk
:	Inflected rising intonation contour
hh	Aspiration indicating exhalation or laughter; number of h corresponds to length
.hh	Inhalation
(( ))	Transcriber's description of events
(word)	Uncertainty on the part of transcriber
( )	Something is being said, but no hearing can be achieved

(Adapted from Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, ix-xvi;
Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996, pp.461-465)

APPENDIX II: ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Accusative particle
AD	Adverbial suffix; adverbializer
CL	Numeral classifier (counter)
COMM	Commital suffix
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DEF	Deferential speech level
ENDER	Sentence/clause ender
hon.	honorific word
IM	Imperative sentence-type suffix
IN	Indicative mood suffix
L. NEG	long-form negation marker
NM	Nominative case particle
OQ	Oblique question marker
PL	Plural suffix or particle
PLN	Plain speech level or suffix
POL	Polite speech level, suffix, or particle
POS	Possessive particle
PR	Propositive sentence-type suffix
PRS	Prospective modal suffix
PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
Q	Question marker
QT	Quotative particle

RL	Relativizer (or abnominal modifier)
RT	Retrospective mood suffix
SH	Subject honorific suffix
SUP	Suppositive mood suffix
TC	Topic-contrast particle

(Adapted and modified from Sohn (1999, xix-xx))

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