

Analysing Power Distribution in a Current Affairs Interview

—A journalist and a policeman—

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1.0 Introduction

This study investigated how power was distributed between the participants of a current affairs television interview when one participant was an “ordinary person” (Carpentier & Hannot, 2009) and the other an experienced journalist. It would perhaps be assumed by many people that in a television interview of this type, the power would reside with the interviewer who controls the direction of the discourse. However, if “knowledge is power” (Bacon, 1597) then the interviewee, even with less familiarity with the genre, will also have a good share of the power, especially if they are an expert guest, or as in the text studied in this paper, talking about events concerning their own life. The unseen audience, who have the power to change channels or even turn off the television, must also be considered as having power by both interactants.

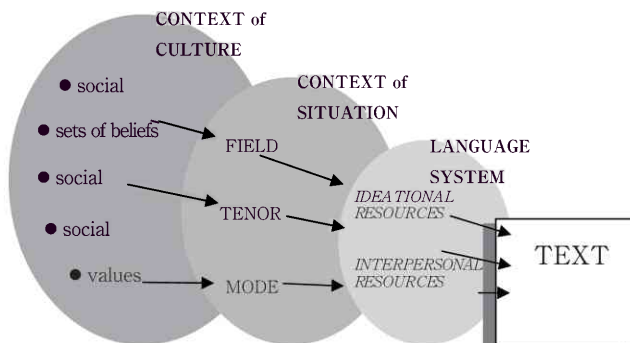
In all forms of communication there must be a perceived difference or the communication would not take place. Kress (1985) suggests, “Most speech genres are ostensibly about difference: argument (differences of an

ideological kind), interview (differences about power and knowledge), ‘gossip’ (difference around informal knowledge)” (p. 15). This paper examines the extent to which power and knowledge influence the proceedings and how power is created by knowledge and not only control. It was possible to identify by methodical analysis of the text how the differences were realised. The power relationship between participants is brought to the interview and also created as the interview unfolds. Life history, social class, education, media experience, perceived role, to name a few, are relevant to the course the interview takes, and will have an effect on the discourse produced by the parties involved.

1.1 The Hallidayan model of language

The analysis described in this paper has evolved primarily from the thoughts and ideas of Michael Halliday (1985, 1994), and it is appropriate at this stage to outline the Hallidayan model of language and attempt to define some of the terminology that accompanies the model. The model was built upon Firth’s (1957a, b) development of Malinowski’s (1923, 1935) concepts of *context of situation* and *context of culture*. Figure 1 is a representation of the model adapted from Derewianka (2001). It shows the way in which a text is created from *context of culture*, *context of situation* and the *language system*.

Figure 1. - The Hallidayan model of language



Context of culture is explained by Halliday and Hasan (1985) who define it in terms of context of situation:

any actual context of situation, the particular configuration of field, tenor and mode that has brought the text into being, not just a random jumble of features but a totality – a package, so to speak, of things that typically go together in the culture. People do these things on these occasions and attach these meanings to them; this is what culture is. (p. 46)

Context of situation is explained by Martin (2001), *Field* - “refers to what is going on, where what is going on is interpreted institutionally, in terms of some culturally recognised activity. ...Examples of fields are activities such as tennis, opera, linguistics... When people ask you what you do when first getting to know you, you tend to answer in terms of field.” (pp.152-153) *Tenor* - “Tenor refers to the way you relate to other people when doing what you do. One aspect of tenor is status ... people have power over one another.” (p. 153). *Mode* - “Mode refers to the channel you select to communicate ... speech and writing ... e-mail, telephone, radio, television, video, film and so on.” (p. 153). For the purposes of this paper, tenor was of most significance as it is concerned with the power and status of the participants.

1.2 Characteristics of a journalistic interview

Kress (1985) provides some useful insight into the characteristics of an interview: “the interview is overtly motivated by difference, and is not developed by ‘agreement’ but by ‘direction’. The textual strategies are direction and questioning on the part of the interviewer, and response, information, and definition, on the part of the interviewee.” (p. 23). In summation, there is a difference in power and a difference in knowledge.

The basic features of the television interview (Ekström, 2001) are

that the formal neutral position of the interviewer is manifested by “the avoidance of speaking in the first person (‘I’) and in the interviewer’s moving on to the next question or an entirely new subject - without evaluating or commenting on the interviewee’s answer to the preceding question.” (p. 565). The view that the interviewer is neutral seems to be rather naïve as there are alternative options available to the interviewer by which the direction of the interview can be controlled. The audience, present in the studio, or sat on the sofa at home, are the main reason for the broadcast. The interviewer is acting as agent for each person watching, trying to uncover any titbits of news on their behalf.

1.2.1 Authenticity

Montgomery (2001) implies that much of what we see on television interviews is scripted, turns pre-allocated and the directions of talk planned in advance. This is not the case with the ‘HARDtalk’ interview, as none of these things are true according to the interviewee, Gurpal Viridi (personal communication). The programme appears to be authentic because it is unpredictable and appears spontaneous. Thornborrow and Van Leeuwen (2001) explain “Interviewing practices rest upon the notion that spontaneity guarantees truth, or at least a high degree of accountability, while scripted and pre-meditated talk does not.” (p.387).

1.3 Discourse analysis

A number of potential methods and approaches for analyzing the text were considered including; Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and so called Birmingham Discourse Analysis, but these were rejected in favour of an approach suggested by Eggins and Slade (2004) that they term “an eclectic approach” (p. 23). Although originally designed to deal with the complexities of casual conversation, it

provides a very rich analysis of complex texts such as interviews. The approach has three main stages of analysis, which respectively look at three different levels of discourse: mood choice at the lexico-grammatical level, Appraisal analysis at the semantic level and exchange structure analysis at the “discourse” level.

1.3.1 Semantic analysis

Appraisal analysis, at the discourse semantic level, addresses how interpersonal meanings are constructed within a text and between the participants. It is used to examine the different values within a text that work to create interpersonal meanings. *Appraisal* is the super-ordinate term, which is subdivided into ATTITUDE, GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT. ATTITUDE is further subdivided into *Judgement*, *Affect* and *Appreciation*.

The first description of values of *Judgement* was in Iedema, Feez & White (1994) in which they are categorised as assessments of human behaviour by reference to social norms. *Affect* items are described as being those that describe the speaker’s attitude towards emotional states. Values of *Affect*, like all ATTITUDE items may be positive or negative in their evaluation. Values of *Appreciation* are defined by White (2001) as those that refer to the speaker’s “evaluation of objects and products ... by reference to aesthetic principles and other systems of social value.” (p. 6).

GRADUATION is defined by White (2002) as “Values by which (1) speakers graduate (raise or lower) the interpersonal impact, force or volume of their utterances, and (2) by which they graduate (blur or sharpen) the focus of their semantic categorisations.” (p. 2).

The final category is that of ENGAGEMENT, which Eggins and Slade (2004) term INVOLVEMENT. White (2001) describes values of ENGAGEMENT as those that are “concerned with the linguistic resources

which explicitly position a text's proposals and positions inter-subjectively."
(p. 9)

1.4 Research Questions

1. How is the balance of power realised in microlinguistic terms?
2. What factors can be identified as affecting this power sharing?

2.0 Methods

This section describes the methods used in the study.

2.1 Text

Five different 'HARDtalk' programs are broadcast per week, with each program repeated four times. 15 episodes were recorded starting 21st January 2002. The interview with Gurpal Viridi was chosen, as he was the least experienced with the media.

The coding system for transcription described in Eggins and Slade (2004) provided a clear means of encoding overlapping speech. The first eighty turns at speech were chosen, providing more than one hundred clauses from each speaker, and the beginning of the interview was thought to be most important for the negotiation of power.

2.2 Lexico-grammatical Analysis

Generally, coding mood choice was unproblematic, although ellipsis and abandonment were in some cases problematic. The area where most care needed to be taken was that of identifying minor clauses, especially with regard to the word 'yes'. In some cases the word 'yes' functioned as a *textual adjunct* and in others it formed a *minor clause*. A *minor clause* does not have a mood structure and is often formulaic, generally functioning as a prelude to negotiation. It was necessary to listen to the

Appendix C - Summary of the Exchange Structure Analysis

| Speech function | Tim Sebastian | Gurpal Viridi |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| number of turns | 41 | 39 |
| number of moves | 69 | 123 |
| number of clauses | 104 (4) | 180 (17) |
| Open | | |
| attending: salutation | 1 | |
| question: opinion | 2 | |
| question: fact | 4 | |
| state: opinion | 1 | |
| state: fact | 8 | |
| total | 16 | |
| Continue | | |
| prolong: elaborate | 10 | 25 |
| prolong: extend | 9 | 36 |
| prolong: enhance | – | 15 |
| append: elaborate | 1 | – |
| append: extend | 3 | – |
| total | 23 | 76 |
| React: responding | | |
| engage | | 1 |
| register | | 5 |
| develop: elaborate | | 1 |
| develop: extend | | 1 |
| replying: supporting | | 26 |
| replying: confronting | | 9 |
| total | | 43 |
| React: rejoinder | | |
| tracking: clarify | 5 | – |

recording numerous times before all of these items were correctly coded. 'No' and its derivatives are coded as either a *textual continuity marker* or a *minor clause* using the same criteria as for *yes*.

Negation was also noted and adjuncts were identified. Negations are important as they can signal an interactant's position towards a subject. Adjuncts are defined as (Eggins & Slade, 2004) "not pivotal to the clause ... [and] elements which cannot be made subject" (p. 81). These adjuncts were noted and classified in to three categories: *circumstantial*, *interpersonal* and *textual*, on to a coding sheet, a summary of which is attached as Appendix A, for reference purposes. In the first instance, only the transcript was used to code the data, but it was then checked against the recording and a number of items re-coded.

2.3 Semantic Analysis

The first stage of the Appraisal analysis was to identify all of the Appraisal items in the text. An Appraisal item was defined as any item that carried some degree of interpersonal meaning, expressing attitude towards the world or the other participant in the text. Martin (2000) offers further definition of the term Appraisal, as 'the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations.' (p. 145).

Affect items are categorised as one of two main types: *irrealis Affect* and *realis Affect*. *Irrealis Affect* is concerned with the future and unrealised actions and (White, 2000) 'states rather than present ones.' (p. 150). It has only one sub-category, *dis/inclination*, but can be positive or negative. *Realis Affect* values can be described as reactions to a stimulus, and have three sub-categories, which are: *un/happiness*, *in/security* and *dis/satisfaction*. Again these values can be positive or negative.

Un/happiness is shown in clause (ii) in the example below:

19 GV: (i) At, at the time I wasn't bitter at all. (ii) I mean I was quite happy with my career. (iii) Ah these==

The term “Happy” could be interpreted as belonging to the *dis/satisfaction* sub-category, as it is ambiguous whether being happy with a job is more closely related to *dis/satisfaction* or *un/happiness*. However, it was coded as an *un/happiness* item as it seemed to be related to *un/happiness*. *Bitter* (clause (i)), is a much more semantically slippery concept. *Bitter* seems to be synonymous with anger, and Eggins and Slade (2004) state that *un/happiness* is “when speakers encode feelings to do with sadness, *anger*, happiness or love” (p. 129). In contrast to this Martin & White (2005) list anger under the sub-category of *dis/satisfaction* in a further subcategory, *displeasure*. As Eggins and Slade (2004) is less detailed than Martin’s work and as Martin seems to be widely acknowledged as the authority on Appraisal analysis, it was decided to code bitter as an item of *dis/satisfaction*, as shown below in table 1.

Table 1 - *un/happiness/dis/satisfaction*

| Turn/ speaker | Clause | Lexical item | Positive/ negative Attitude | Appraised | Category | Subcategory |
|------------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| 19/GV | i | bitter | negative | I (Gurpal) | Affect | dis/ satisfaction |
| | ii | happy | positive | I (Gurpal) | Affect | un/happiness |

Martin (2000) provides a framework for analysing *Judgement* in English, in which he outlines two sub-categories that contain five sub-categories of *Judgement* in total. The three sub-categories that come under the *social esteem* umbrella are: *normality*, *capacity* and, *tenacity*. The remaining two sub-categories of *social sanction* are: *veracity* and *propriety*. All categories contain both positive and negative values (see Martin 2000).

8 TS: (i) But you still want a full public inquiry, don't you?

9 GV: (i) Yes. (ii) I do, yes. (iii) These culprits need to be brought to justice.

10 TS: (i) The culprits who sent the racist hate mail

11 GV: (i) The culprits who sent the racist hate mail (ii) and the people who covered up for them.

Turns at speech 8-11 above provided one of the most problematic nominal groups to code in "racist hate mail". "Racist" and "hate" were coded as terms of *Judgement* in the sub-category of *propriety (negative)*. Hate seems to be a negative emotion, and it is not really qualifying the mail itself, but the emotions expressed through it. The term hate when collocated with mail seems to assume a volitional action by a human agent. It follows that this rationale can also be applied to the term "racist".

The third category of ATTITUDE is that of *Appreciation*, but few items were present in the text. Martin (2000) suggests that *Appreciation* is often tied up with *field*, and tends to be institutionally specific.

GRADUATION was the next area coded. GRADUATION manifests itself in many lexico-grammatical forms all of which serve, according to White (2002a) to "scale other meanings along two possible parameters - either locating them on a scale from low to high intensity, or from core to marginal membership of a category." (p. 29).

Egins and Slade (2004) identify three sub-categories of AMPLIFICATION: *enrichment*, which "involves a speaker adding an additional colouring to a meaning when a core, neutral word could be used." (p. 134); *Augmenting*, which "involves amplifying attitudinal meaning" (p. 134); and *Mitigation*, which attempts, as it suggests, to mitigate attitudinal meaning. AMPLIFICATION items were allocated to Egins and Slade's (2004) triadic sub-categories as this provided a readily accessible distinction between items. All three categories were used by

both interactants, and examples are numerous. *Enrichment* was at first the most slippery category to identify. In this case the term “a corrosive effect” would be much less amplifying if the neutral term “an effect” were used in its place.

38 TS: (viii) It MUST have a corrosive effect on you, doesn't it, after a while?

AMPLIFICATION: *augmenting* items were the most commonly used AMPLIFICATION items, and there are more than thirty examples in the text. Items were coded as *augmenting* if they were amplified using what have typically been called “‘intensifiers’ ‘amplifiers’ and ‘emphatics’” (White, 2002b, p. 29). Two of the clauses using *augmenting* items are shown below.

2 TS: (i) Gurpal Virdi, a very warm welcome to the programme.

3 GV: (i) Thank you very much, Tim.

The use of the terms “very” and “very much” are *augmenting* the warmth of the welcome, and intensity of the thank you. *Augmenting* items also take the form of repetition in some cases, instead of a quantifier, as this the example below shows.

38 TS: (vi) You're putting in for application after application, job after job, course after course,

37 GV: (iv) I applied for a driving course, just a SIMPLE, BASIC, driving course.

In the example above, “just” is emphasising the lack of complexity in the driving course, and as such was coded as *augmenting*. The terms ‘SIMPLE’ and ‘BASIC’ seem to have more depth to their purpose, and were coded as both *mitigation* and *enrichment* items. This kind of dual coding is said to be acceptable by White (2002).

Another way in which evaluations can be *mitigated* is by the use of ‘vague talk’, which also provides a way to lower the intensity of an

evaluation by making it less precise.

64 TS: (iv) you were sort of , more or less resigned with your LOT,
at that time.

The two examples of “vague language” above, show how two *mitigation* items are used together to “lower[s] the scaling of intensity” (White, 2002b, p. 29) of Tim’s summary of Gurpal’s feelings of resignation.

INVOLVEMENT/ENGAGEMENT was the final system to be addressed in the discourse semantic analysis. INVOLVEMENT is not usually classed as part of the Appraisal system, but can be used to identify values of ENGAGEMENT, which are part of the Appraisal system. Eggins and Slade (2004) define INVOLVEMENT as “the name given to a range of semantic systems which offer interactants ways to realize, construct and vary the level of intimacy of an interaction” (p. 143). Eggins and Slade (2004) list four subsystems of INVOLVEMENT, which are: “*naming*’; *technicality*; *swearing*; *slang or anti-language*” (p. 144). Only “*naming*” is used in the text. In the case of two party talk, naming is termed a redundant vocative, as it is unnecessary because there are only two people in the interview, meaning they must be addressing each other. This may be seen as (Eggins & Slade, 2004) “an attempt by the addresser to establish a closer relationship with the addressee” (p. 145), in effect, an attempt to create some kind of solidarity. Of the three instances of “*naming*” in the text two come at the start of the interview in turns two and three.

2 TS: (i) Gurpal Viridi, a very warm welcome to the programme.

3 GV: (i) Thank you very much, Tim. (ii) It’s taken a year == and
a bit.

It appears that both of the vocatives used serve the purpose of establishing a closer relationship between the interactants, and they were coded as being Involvement items. However, Tim’s use of Gurpal’s full name, addressing him as “Gurpal Viridi”, serves that the purpose of

introducing Gurpal to the audience. The other vocative used is in turn 55.

55.GV: (iii) Let's just, (iv) let's just make one thing clear, Tim, (v)
before we talk about this.

This also could be construed as an attempt at establishing a closer relationship, and was thus coded as INVOLVEMENT as it appears to be trying to create a sense of solidarity.

2.4 Exchange Structure Analysis

Although other methods were considered, Eggins and Slade's (2004) framework was chosen as the most complementary to the previous stages and suitable for assessing the effects of context on register. The methods of analysis are described in detail in Chapter 5 of Eggins and Slade (2004, pp. 169-225). The model has forty-four possible speech function codings, and space prevents description in any detail. The model is used to separate the text into moves of various natures, and these moves are then further divided into speech functions.

The first step of the analysis was to identify the moves. Moves are to a large extent dependant on grammatical mood, but do not correspond on a one-to-one basis because prosodic factors have an influence. The end of a move was defined by a point of possible turn transfer, that is, a place where a speaker could stop.

3.0 Findings

3.1 Initial Analysis

There are numerous aspects of a situation that have an influence on the language and proceedings of any communicative event. Some of these aspects are more obvious than others to participants and onlookers alike. Holborow (1991, pp. 26-27) provides us with a list of six factors that helps to initially assess the context of situation:

- 1 Setting;
- 2 Topic/subject/theme;
- 3 Activity/activities of speech participants;
- 4 Addressor/addressee identities (social, personal, age, sex, etc.);
- 5 Addressor/addressee relationships (boss/employee, mother/child, teacher/student, etc.);
- 6 Socio-cultural context.

The setting in the case of this paper is the television studio. This setting is much more familiar to Tim, as a television interviewer, than to Gurpal as a police officer. Gurpal did have some experience of television interviews before this one.

The general theme of the interview was racism, and almost entirely about Gurpal's own experience of racism within the Metropolitan Police Service. This gives Gurpal what Van Leeuwen (2001) calls his "symbolic value" (p. 393) as that of a victim of racism.

The activities of the participants differed greatly. In simple terms, Tim asked all the questions and Gurpal provided the answers. The participants however may have shared similar goals, in that they wished to inform the viewing public about Gurpal's situation.

Tim Sebastian: At the time of the interview, Tim was 50 years old. In his career as a journalist, he had been awarded a number of honours and awards. He had been a foreign correspondent for the BBC in Warsaw, Moscow and Washington and had written six novels and two non-fiction books. He also speaks German and Russian and holds a degree in Modern Languages from Oxford University. For 'HARDtalk', Tim interviewed people from all walks of life, ranging from kings to policemen.

Gurpal Viridi: At the time of the interview, Gurpal was 43 years old. He was a sergeant in the Metropolitan Police Service. He holds a master's degree in Law and speaks four languages: English, Hindi, Punjabi and

Urdu. Before appearing on the programme he recalls seeing it twice whilst on holiday. He also remembered Tim from his days as a foreign correspondent and admits to having been very nervous before the interview. Commenting on his reasons for appearing on the programme, Gurpal (personal correspondence, 28th August 2002) said “the truth need [ed] to be brought out into the public domain.”

The interviewer - interviewee relationship carries with it certain rules and expected patterns of behaviour. The interviewer is expected to control and direct the proceedings and the interviewee is expected to cooperate with the interviewer and answer the given questions.

The socio-cultural context is that of a television interview, which is controlled by shared assumptions about behaviour, rules and norms, seen to be appropriate by the interlocutors. In the television interview these rules will be related to how the participants take turns at speaking, what can be talked about and so on. Both of the interactants in this case shared knowledge about Gurpal's story, although only Gurpal had all the facts.

3.2 Lexico-grammatical Analysis

Appendix A summarises the mood analysis of the text and allows some claims about the status of the participants to be made, as in turn 77 from Gurpal.

77 GV: (vii) But then you think (viii) 'hang on, (ix) something's not right here.' (x) And then when constables started saying (xi) 'well hang on, (xii) we're fearing what's going to happen.'

The only minor clause produced by Tim was a greeting. In marked contrast to this Gurpal produced 24 minor clauses. This shows a major difference in the participants' behaviour. Many of the minor clauses produced by Gurpal were in response to statements and questions by Tim.

Tim's absence of minor clauses was indicative of his role. He was legally unable to give his own opinions, and in some cases minor clauses of acknowledgement could have been misinterpreted as agreement, and therefore he may consciously have avoided using them.

Gurpal's most frequent choice of subject was "I", referring to himself. This is not unexpected in an interview about his experiences. Another interesting subject choice was the generic or inclusive 'you'. This was used almost exclusively when talking about his own feelings and emotions. This avoided distancing himself from Tim and the audience, creating a sense that they too would have felt the same way if it happened to them, in effect making him just an ordinary person and part of society as a whole, forming some sense of solidarity.

Although depersonalisation is often achieved in scientific writing by using the pronoun "one", in spoken English it would sound stilted. Garcés-Conejos and Sanchez-Macarro (1998) commenting on why "one" is often used in scientific discourse offer: "The writer depersonalizes him/herself becoming one with the whole esoteric community, thus giving his/her claims more universality by making them a part not only of his/her experience - and therefore responsibility - but that of the community as a whole" (p. 185). This appears consonant with the effect of using 'you' instead of 'I' when talking about *one's* self in spoken discourse.

Gurpal produced a higher proportion of negative clauses than Tim, usually to deny or challenge Tim's claims. The majority of the negative clauses produced by Tim were used to talk about Gurpal's feelings or actions.

As Gurpal produced considerably more clauses than Tim, the fact that he produced less than half as many modalities signifies a great deal about his position. The combination of low modalities and high negation emphasises that Gurpal was definite about his propositions. He was not

concerned with nuances, but instead saw his position as certain and right. Tim offered much more in the way of uncertainties, and these were mostly to do with details about Gurpal's case.

3.3 Semantic Analysis

A semantic analysis of the text was carried out using the Appraisal Analysis framework described in Eggins and Slade (2004, pp. 116-140). It was necessary to consult other texts in order to fully appreciate the framework's applications. A summary of the Appraisal items in the text is shown in Appendix B.

3.3.1 Interpretation of appraisal items

For every ten clauses Tim produced, he produced 4.8 ATTITUDE items. For every ten clauses Gurpal produced, he produced 2.8 ATTITUDE items. This difference is quite important, and suggests that Tim is relatively more evaluative in his attitude than Gurpal.

Less than twenty percent of Tim's ATTITUDE items are positive, whereas thirty-six percent of Gurpal's are positive. This is perhaps another trait of the television interview, and appears congruent with the mood analysis. It may of course be a personal difference between the two parties, however it seems reasonable to speculate that an award-winning journalist and novelist would use more ATTITUDE items in everyday conversation than a policeman.

Appraising items related to *Affect* are fairly evenly distributed between the two parties. In most of the cases though, the *emoter* (see White, 2002) of the *Affect* is Gurpal, that is the feelings or emotions being assessed emanate from him. Gurpal in many cases used the generic 'you', when he was talking about his own feelings. We can also see that Tim was remaining on the correct side of the law, by not showing any of his own

feelings, as he was on no occasion the *emoter* of the *Affect*.

Judgement items accounted for a high proportion of Appraisal items for both parties. The majority of these were in the social *sanction - propriety* group. This should not really be surprising in an interview about racism and corruption. Both parties also used *Judgement* items of *social esteem - tenacity* and these also relate to Gurpal's *tenacity*.

Both parties used numerous AMPLIFICATION/GRADUATION items. Perhaps the most noticeable difference is that Gurpal produced sixteen instances of *mitigation* and Tim only three. This shows that although Tim was quite restricted in what he said he used this lack of *mitigation* to increase his power. More than half of the *mitigation* items produced by Gurpal were used to correct erroneous statements or temper the force of Tim's statements.

3.4 Exchange structure analysis

On its own, the exchange structure analysis provides a one-dimensional view of the text. Tim asks all the questions and supplies statements for Gurpal to answer and confirm or refute. This seems like a largely one-sided affair. Appendix C provides a summary of the discourse speech functions contained in the text.

The number of turns per speaker was determined by the fact that there were only two participants and therefore provides little insight about the discourse. Tim had an average of 1.68 moves per turn, while Gurpal realises 3.15, considerably more value per turn, signifying, one may think, dominance. Although Tim produced sixty-nine moves in his forty-one turns it should be noted that he only produced a hundred and four clauses, with 1.5 clauses per move. If we compare this with Gurpal, we find a very similar figure of 1.46. This implies a similar complexity and richness to their speech in terms of clauses. This is, according to Eggins and Slade

(2004, p. 217), is also to be expected from casual conversation.

Tim produced all of the *Opening* moves, a total of sixteen, this is one area in which he was obliged to dominate and Gurpal was dependant on him to do so. A statement of fact was his preferred opening move, often followed by a “question” in the same move.

Tim produced less than one third of the *Continuing* speech functions that Gurpal did. This difference alone accounts for most of the difference in the number of clauses produced. Gurpal was the interactant telling his story, and in order to narrate the events of the story he used a lot of *Continuing: prolonging* moves. Only Tim used *Appending* moves and these were usually after Gurpal had registered what he was saying. As Tim on no occasion produced any form of a *React: responding* move, there was no situation in which a *Continue: appending* move was necessary for Gurpal.

Gurpal used all three forms of the *Prolonging* speech function, with nearly half of them *extending*. This points to him seeing his role as provider of information. Slightly less than half of Tim’s *Continuing* moves were *Prolong: extend*, although four from nine were in his opening monologue.

The *Reacting: responding* moves were all produced by Gurpal. The area of *Replying: confronting* and *Replying: supporting* also provide us with hard facts about the level of confrontation. Is ‘HARDtalk’ HARD? Well, it appears that in nearly 75% of *Replying* moves support was achieved, and *confrontation* in only 25% percent of cases. The text provides a much richer source of *replying* moves than the one in Eggins and Slade (2004, p. 216), in which approximately 6% are *replying*. In this text over 18% of all moves were *replying*.

Reacting: rejoinder moves provide an area of contrast. All but two of Tim’s twenty-nine moves in this area were *tracking*. He used three of the four possible *tracking* move types: *confirm*, *clarify* and *probe*. The

tracking: probe move, which often offers details for confirmation by the previous speaker was the most commonly used. This type of move accounted for more than a quarter of all Tim's moves and was his most used speech function. This type of move is used to some extent, to support the conversation and to keep it flowing, which would probably be seen as part of the interviewer's role. According to Eggins and Slade (2004, p. 218) this is indicative of the roles of provocateur and dependent-responder.

Initiating moves were as one would expect, all produced by Tim. From the mood analysis it can be seen that there were a number of different mood types used to realise this function. The constant use of the interrogative mood would lead to something that sounded more like an interrogation than an interview. Interrogatives are used more often as tracking moves. We can see that Gurpal avoids 'questions' in terms of interrogative mood and *initiating* or *tracking* speech functions.

4.0 Interpretation of Findings

It is obvious that both parties in a two party interview are integral to the course of the interview, however the roles of the interlocutors, as constrained by genre, and how they perform in the interview are affected by a plethora of variables. There are an almost infinite number of choices available in terms of the language that each interactant produces, and these are choices that may or may not be conscious.

4.1 The Distribution of Power

Eggins and Slade (2004) suggest that "casual conversation involves a constant movement between establishing solidarity and exploring difference" (p. 22) and this is also be true for the "HARDtalk" interview although the movement may be much more subtle and less apparent. The differences are constrained by genre and the role of each interlocutor

within the interview. Establishing solidarity is not at all straightforward as the interactants must attempt to not only make a connection with the person in front of them, but also with the unseen audience and this is an important feature of the genre.

Tim Sebastian, as a journalist, is legally unable to give his own opinions when interviewing and unable to condone or condemn the acts of others. In addition he must take into account the audience watching at home and try to provide interesting viewing, taking care not to alienate himself. Tim produced only one minor clause and probably this scarcity was as a result of him not being able to overtly give his own opinions. He was careful with the use of clauses with negative polarity and produced few in conjunction with a great deal of negative ATTITUDE items and few *mitigations*. This positioned Gurpal so that he had to produce more negative clauses, which may have coloured the audience's feelings towards Gurpal.

There was little visible aggression from Tim, in comparison to interviews with people of higher standing, and this was perhaps because he did not see Gurpal as an "ordinary" person, as a threat to his status. As an "ordinary" person the audience is likely to be more sympathetic towards him, and forceful attack would have appeared to be unfair.

Tim asked all the questions and initiated all of the exchanges, which gave him all of the control over the direction of the interview. He also had less abandoned clauses, which points to him having been more prepared for the encounter, although again this may just be his familiarity with the genre. He did not have to fight for the turn at speech and was seldom interrupted. Tim's possession of a great deal of knowledge about the events of Gurpal's case, probably provided by his researchers, potentially gave him a means to usurp Gurpal's status as expert. However, Tim's information was on a number of occasions apparently incorrect, and this

served to undermine his authority, when claims were refuted by Gurpal.

There is evidence of a number of kinds of power, the two most obvious being power derived from *control* and power derived from *knowledge* or *expertise*. Tim possesses almost all of the power of *control*, and due to his research team a great deal of information resulting in power of *knowledge*. Gurpal has little power of control, although the answers and the information he provides may to some extent control the direction of the interview. He does however possess the most complete account of the facts, as the interview is about his own experience of racism, this gives him the greatest power of *knowledge*, particularly as Tim's information appears erroneous on a number of occasions. There may be another form of power, power of *self-expression*, which by law Tim is unable to show, although there are ways to circumvent the restrictions, by using quoted sources for instance. Tim's interviewing skills were developed as a journalist in the field, and I feel if this interview had taken place outside the studio, without the cameras, he would have been much less restricted in his comments, asserting some of his own opinions.

5.0 Conclusions

In the prefatory sections of this chapter it has been suggested that the power in a television interview was dichotomous, although unequally distributed, in this case. A co-dependency exists between the participants and that ultimately they may share many of the same goals.

The interviewer controlled the direction of the interview by initiating exchanges and probing for information. The interviewer was more careful with his speech, and this may have been due in part to planning but also to experience of the genre. The interviewee, dependant on the interviewer for direction, was the dominant participant in terms of clauses and moves and supplied the majority of the 'facts'. The interviewer

was also dependent on the interviewee to provide information and answer his questions.

The interviewer attempted to control the direction of the proceedings, and possessed a good degree of knowledge about the situation. The interviewee had more of the knowledge, but little control over the direction of the interview. The knowledge he imparted though, had an effect on the direction. It is not being suggested in the case of this interview that Gural was more powerful than Tim, but his possession of the 'facts' did give him much more power, in the sense that knowledge is power, than the type of interviewees studied in radio interviews by Kress (1985, 1989). In the case of the 'HARDtalk' interview analysed, power was much more than just knowledge. It was made up of a variety of factors, and the power of control was more influential on the discourse than knowledge.

The model used in this analysis has provided valuable knowledge about the genre and this interview, and can be used as a comparison with other interviews in future research. It would be useful for a corpus to be made for the genre that would provide much more conclusive information about what has been little more than a preliminary investigation in the case of this study.

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Appendix A - Summary of the Lexical-grammatical Mood Analysis

| Mood (clause type) | Tim Sebastian | Gurpal Viridi |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| number of clauses | 104 | 180 |
| (incomplete clauses) | 7 (6.7%) | 17 (9.4%) |
| declarative | | |
| full / elliptical | 62 (59.6%) / 11 (10.6%) | 119 (66.7%) / 15 (7.8%) |
| polar interrogative | | |
| full / elliptical | 4 (3.8%) / 2 (1.9%) | |
| tagged declarative | | |
| full / elliptical | 6 (5.8%) / 1 (1%) | |
| wh-interrogative | | |
| full / elliptical | 7 (6.7%) / 1 (1%) | |
| imperative | 2 (1.9%) | 4 (2.2%) |
| minor | 1 (1%) | 24 (13.3%) |
| moodless | 2 (1.9%) | |
| most frequent subject | you (=Gurpal) 40 | I 47 |
| choice | you (=Gurpal and others) 1 | you (=Tim) 1 |
| | we 3 | you (=Gurpal) 1 |
| | various 3 rd person singular | you (generic) 14 |
| | 33 | we 8 |
| | various 3 rd person plural 9 | various 3 rd person singular |
| | there 5 | 37 |
| | | various 3 rd person plural 22 |
| negation | 7 | 25 |
| Adjuncts | | |
| circumstantial | 33 | 39 |
| interpersonal | 15 | 28 |
| textual | 23 | 82 |
| total no. of modalities | 9 | 4 |

Appendix B - Summary of the Semantic Appraisal Analysis

| | Tim Sebastian | Gurpal Viridi |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| total Appraisal items | 79 | 88 |
| total clauses | 104 | 180 |
| Appreciation | | |
| reaction | 1 (1 pos.) | – |
| composition | – | – |
| valuation | 1 (1 pos.) | – |
| total | 2 | – |
| Affect | | |
| irrealis - dis/inclination | 5 (4 pos. 1 neg.) | 3 (2 pos. 1 neg.) |
| realis - un/happiness | 6 (6 neg.) | 7 (2 pos. 5 neg.) |
| in/security | – | – |
| dis/satisfaction | 4 (1 pos. 3 neg.) | 4 (4 pos.) |
| total | 15 | 14 |
| Judgement | | |
| social sanction - propriety | 29 (1 pos. 28 neg.) | 29 (4 pos. 25 neg.) |
| veracity | – | – |
| social esteem - tenacity | 4 (1 pos. 3 neg.) | 9 (6 pos. 3 neg.) |
| normality | – | – |
| capacity | – | – |
| total | 33 | 36 |
| Attitude total | 50 (9 pos. 41 neg.) | 50 (18 pos. 32 neg.) |
| Amplification | | |
| enrichment | 7 | 6 |
| augmenting | 19 | 16 |
| mitigation | 3 | 16 |
| total | 29 | 36 |

| | | |
|----------------------|----|---|
| tracking: confirm | 4 | - |
| tracking: probe | 18 | - |
| reacting: resolve | - | 3 |
| challenging: rebound | 2 | - |
| challenging: counter | - | 1 |
| total | 29 | 4 |
