ABOVE AND BELOW THE CLAUSE: A MICROLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION INTO THE CONTEXT OF A TELEVISION INTERVIEW

by

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ABSTRACT

This study was an attempt to investigate the distribution of power within the genre of a television interview, looking at the effects of context on register, especially tenor, when an ordinary man was interviewed on television.   The analysis was performed using a framework outlined in Eggins and Slade (1997), which is derived from the work of Halliday (1961, 1985, 1994).   The analysis consisted of three main stages, a lexico-grammatical mood analysis, a semantic Appraisal analysis and an exchange structure analysis.   From the analysis it could be seen that power was distributed unequally between the two interactants and although the interviewee had a reasonable amount of power the majority was with the interviewer.

This dissertation is dedicated to

my great-uncle Claude and great-aunt Phyllis,

who are no longer of this earth

but inspired me to reach for the sky.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

'Knowledge is power'

Attributed to Sir Francis Bacon, 1597, Meditationes Sacræ.

1.1   Significance of the investigation

Opportunities for students of English as a foreign language to gain experience of listening to 'authentic' English are often scarce.   Satellite television however, provides an unending source of interesting and topical programmes from which students can, if they are guided, experience and learn to listen to 'real' English.   How they are guided and by which methods, is open to some debate, but it is sure that as ELT practitioners, the more we can understand about the language of television, the more able we will be to provide support for our students. News and current affairs programmes exemplify English that is clearly but naturally spoken, and may provide a bridge between the artificial world of mono-modal textbook listening activities and the unforgiving multi-modal realm outside the classroom.

One of the main aims of most language teachers is 'to enable students to engage in successful spoken exchanges in the target language.' Burns (2001: 123).   As a teacher of English in Japan, I meet many of my students on a one hour a week basis.   These students pay large sums of money to attend classes, and as a result expect to become proficient at communicating in English.   I have noticed (unsurprisingly) that this goal is seldom attained by these students.   The most successful students study hard outside the classroom, in an attempt to reach their goals, but even with this extra-classroom study, listening still remains one of the most challenging of areas.   This is true at most levels and ages, even though students currently spend six years of their formal education going to lessons in which they study English.   This lack of ability, especially in listening, is attested to by Richards (1993: 50) who suggests in relation to Japanese high school graduates that 'many, despite six or more years of English study, have difficulty understanding, and thus responding to, a single

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question.'   This comment may be slightly overstating the case, but is not far from reality.

The language of television, especially satellite television, can be used to provide listening opportunities, but it differs in many ways from other contexts in which English is spoken. These differences must be identified and accounted for by students if they are to transfer what they learn from television to there own basket of communicative skills.   The news and current affairs programmes, still remain the most accessible form of spoken media available to many students of English as a foreign language.   Scannell (2000: 19) offers another reason to watch television: 'daily output is an inexhaustible topical resource for everyday conversations'.   This is true for news and current affairs programmes as well as less formal genres.

Syvertsen (2001: 319) offers that '[p]rogrammes based on the experiences and emotions of ordinary people are an important feature of television schedules worldwide'.   Culture must in many ways derive from the 'experiences and emotions' of ordinary people. Understanding these 'experiences and emotions', will in turn lead to the understanding of a particular culture.

Widdowson (1998: 711) argues that authentic texts leave learners as outsiders to the context, but this imbalance will often be met by students, and learning to construct their own contexts from less than complete knowledge seems like a valuable skill to attain.   Learning to deal successfully with situations in which there is an imbalance of power is of importance to any student of a foreign language.   This may be especially so where the cultural rules of conversation differ dramatically between their first language and the target language.

To become proficient at communicating with people from foreign cultures it is necessary to gain experience of the 'ways of thinking' and the 'topics of talk' of their culture.   Kress (1985) offers: 'We know that speakers from other cultures do not talk about issues in the way we do, we know that issues in our culture are not issues in other cultures, in short, that ways of thinking as well as the topics of our talk are entirely cultural constructs.' Kress, 1985: 5. Caution must however be taken, if students are not to sound like newsreaders when they are talking about football with friends in the pub.

1.2   Objectives of the investigation

This paper was an attempt to investigate how power was distributed between the participants of a television interview.   The interview was between an 'ordinary person' and an experienced and acclaimed journalist.   I use the term 'ordinary person' in a slightly different sense to Syvertsen (2001: 319) as the interviewee is (obviously) newsworthy, but hold with the rest of her definition, 'people who are not media professionals, experts [or] celebrities'.

This paper was inspired by an after work discussion about power in discourse.   In the classroom it is obvious that the teacher is the person responsible for controlling the course of the lesson, and (hopefully) is the person with the greatest level of knowledge about the subject matter.   First impressions, suggest that in a television interview, the power resides with the interviewer, who controls the direction of the discourse.   But, if 'knowledge is power' (Bacon, 1597) then the interviewee 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.   We must also not forget the unseen audience, who have the power to change channels or even turn off the television.

In all forms of communication there must be a perceived difference of power or the communication would not take place.   Kress (1985: 15) 'Most speech genres are ostensibly about difference: argument (differences of an ideological kind), interview (differences about power and knowledge), 'gossip' (difference around informal knowledge)'.   This paper has attempted identify the extent to which power and knowledge effect the proceedings and how power is created by knowledge and not only control.   It may be possible to predict some of these power differences, in the case of a television interview if we possess certain information about the participants but many differences can only be identified by methodical analysis of the text.

Many forms of spoken discourse have been analysed in recent years, using a wide range of technique: classroom discourse, telephone conversations, doctor patient discussions, to name but a few.   In all of these genres there is to some extent inequality between the two (or more) parties involved.   In some types of discourse this disparity of power is more easily

discernable than others.   The television interview, it seems reasonable to assume, especially when involving an experienced interviewer and interviewees with much less experience of the media, is an example that contains a great disparity of power.

There are numerous factors which will affect the power relationship between participants of an interview, and I have identified and analysed some of these in this paper.   These factors include those that the participants bring to the interviews and those that are created during the course of the proceedings.   The factors, amongst others, are: life history, social class, education, media experience, perceived role, etc.   All of these factors will be relevant to the course that the interview takes, and will have an effect on the discourse produced by the parties.

Racism and corruption within the Metropolitan Police Service is a particularly sensitive issue for the media to address.   There are also a number of laws which relate to how television interviewers conduct interviews and these must also be taken into consideration.

If students are to avoid sounding like newsreaders when they speak English they need to be made aware of the conventions of, and differences and similarities between everyday conversation and the language of television.   These differences are outlined in Section 5.2.

In summary, the overarching questions this paper seeks to address are listed below:

➤   How is the balance of power realised in microlinguistic terms?

➤   What factors can be identified as affecting this power sharing?

➤   What are the differences between casual conversation and a 'HARDtalk' interview?

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1   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 seems 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 2.1 below is a representation of the model adapted from Derewianka (2001: 257).   It shows the way in which a text is created from *context of culture*, *context of situation* and the *language system*.

Figure 2.1 – A Hallidayan model of language
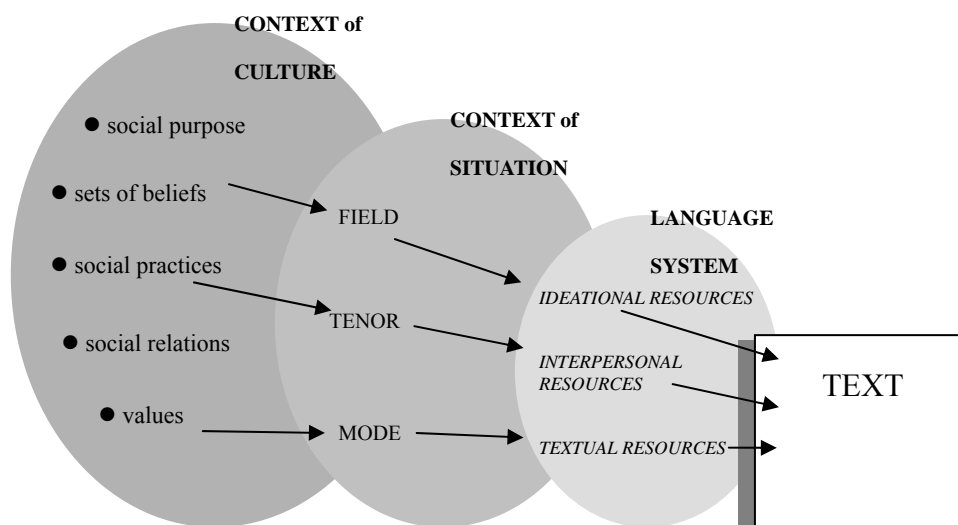
The *text* in this dissertation was from the 'HARDtalk' television interview programme on the BBC World satellite television Channel.   The complete text is given as Appendix I for reference purposes, however only the first eighty turns at speech were used in the analysis.

Context of culture is explained by Halliday and Hasan (1985: 46) 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.

<div align="right">Halliday and Hasan (1985: 46)</div>

Following on from this, *context of situation* is briefly explained by Halliday (1994: 390) who defines its constituent parts, *field*, *tenor* and *mode*. 'Field refers to the nature of the social action: what it is the interactants are about. Tenor refers to the statuses and role relationships: who is taking part in the interaction. Mode refers to 'the rhetorical channel and function of the discourse: what part the text is playing.' (Halliday, 1994: 390). These terms are further explained by Martin (2001, 152-153), *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.' (ibid.: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.' (ibid.: 153). *Mode* – 'Mode refers to the channel you select to communicate…speech and writing…e-mail, telephone, radio, television, video, film and so on.' (ibid.: 153). For the purposes of this paper, tenor was of most significance as it is concerned with the power and status of the participants.

The term *genre* has been defined by most writers engaging in text analysis of any kind, and Fairclough suggests it is: 'a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity.' Fairclough (1995: 14) in Eggins and Slade (1997: 24). This is a view from the world of Critical Discourse Analysis. Martin (2001:155), from a systemic perspective, offers: '[A] genre is a staged, goal oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture.' The genre that has been analysed in the following chapters is the genre of the television interview.

Register is defined by Halliday as: 'the set of meanings, the configuration of semantic patterns, that are typically drawn upon under the specified conditions, along with the words and structures that are used in the realization of these meanings' (Halliday, 1978: 23 in

Leckie-Tarry, 1995: 6).   This is further explained by Kress (1985: vii): 'The notion of register proposes a very intimate relationship of text to context: indeed, so intimate is the relationship, it is asserted, that the one can only be interpreted by reference to the other. Meaning is realised in language (in the form of text), which is thus shaped or patterned in response to the context of situation in which it is used.'

2.2   Learning to listen

Much has been written about the exigencies of helping EFL learners to achieve communicative competence.   Learning to listen to a foreign language takes a considerable amount of time and effort on the part of the student.   Furthermore, how exactly to attain this target is still open to debate.   Ridgway (2000) and Field (1998, 2000) offer conflicting views on the subject: Ridgway suggests graded '[p]ractice is the most important thing.' (Ridgway, 2000: 183).   Field suggests a rather different, ungraded, strategic approach, and metaphorically suggests: 'Let us improve the lifebelts rather than relegate our swimmers to the paddling pool.' (Field, 2000: 194).   Whichever of the approaches is more valid, it remains certain that a greater understanding of different kinds of texts will help the teacher to help the learner.

Much of the current literature advocates strict use of purely authentic texts, this however is also contested by Widdowson (1998: 705) who suggests 'The appropriate language for learning is language that can be appropriated for learning'.   He argues that authentic language without context is almost meaningless, and that it is impossible to create authentic contexts in the classroom (Widdowson 1998).   This also points to more research into the nature of spoken interaction being done in order to further understand the effects of context on discourse.

2.3   The television interview

2.3.1   Power in discourse

Brown and Gilman (1960) suggest that power and solidarity are dichotomous in their relationship, and that power is evident in a relationship where one participant controls the other, whereas solidarity is present when there is symmetry of power.   Power is also

inseparable from language '[b]ecause of the constant unity of language and other social matters, language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: it indexes power, expresses power, and language is involved wherever there is contention over and challenge to power.' Kress and Hodge (1979: 52) in Leckie-Tarry (1995: 41).

2.3.2 Characteristics of a journalistic interview

Eggins and Slade (1997: 217) characterise casual conversation as 'talk among equals', if this is true, how can a television interviews be characterised?   Kress 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.' Kress 1985: 23.   There is a difference in power and a difference in knowledge, and unlike the classroom the two are not combined.

Corner (1999: 37) in Ekström (2001: 563) suggests 'It is no exaggeration to say that the broadcast interview, particularly the television interview, is now one of the most widely used and extensively developed formats for public communication in the world.'   He continues to identify many of the factors which he considers are specific to the television interview (Ekström, 2001: 565):

> The journalistic interview represents a form of social interaction. In the interview situation, interviewer and interviewee assume specific roles and behave according to implicit riles, which they are both assumed to know and obey.   The news interview is an institutionalized conversation that differs from normal conversation (see Heritage, 1999; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991).   It has the following basic characteristics: (1) the interviewer (journalist) begins and ends it; (2) the journalist has the initiative and invites the respondent…to speak; (3) the respondent must take account of the fact that the interviewer has the power to set the agenda and decides what the conversation will cover; (4) the interviewee is expected to cooperate by answering the journalist's questions.   Refusal to answer is also a response to a question.   Characteristic of the news interview, furthermore, is that the interviewer assumes a formal and neutral position (Clayman, 1992).

> Ekström, 2001: 565

This provides us with some basic features of the television interview. Ekström (2001: 565) suggests 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.' This view that the interviewer is neutral seems to be rather naïve, and although 'broadcast journalists should maintain balance and impartiality in their coverage of news and current affairs' (Greatbatch, 1998: 164), there are a wide range of options available to the interviewer by which the direction of the interview can be controlled, and a number of these options will be discussed in Chapter Five.

We must also be careful not to forget another characteristic of the broadcast interview; 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. Television also tries to address each person and at the same time address everyone. This relationship is referred to by Scannell (2000) as a 'for-anyone-as-someone structure' and has also been called 'an audience of one'.

2.3.3 A question of authenticity

Is the television interview an *authentic* form of communication? Before I answer this question, I would like to look at what it means to be *authentic*. In the world of EFL teaching, *authentic* is used, in relation to materials, to mean those which have not been made specifically for teaching, but are taken from the real world. This is implies that something is either *authentic* or it is not, but this is not really the case. Even in EFL some regard authenticity as matter of degree. Richards et al. (1992: 27) define authenticity as 'the degree to which language teaching materials have the qualities of natural speech or writing'.

In other areas, *authenticity* is considered to be something which is subjective, and socio-culturally based. Van Leeuwen (2001: 395) argues that 'authenticity is relative to norms, the "norms" associated with the "social identity or role", and with the "group, office, category, relationship or association"'. He asserts (ibid 2001: 396), that '[a]uthentic talk, whether broadcast or otherwise, is talk which can be accepted as a source of the truth, beauty,

sincerity, and so on.

Montgomery (2001: 402) suggests a definition of 'the characteristics of ordinary conversation and naturally occurring data' :

> (1) …it is composed, uttered and interpreted 'in real time' by the parties to the interaction; (2) that more than one party should be involved in the creation; (3) that it has not been scripted in advance or otherwise rehearsed; [4] so that it is a joint, practical accomplishment, in situ, by the interaction; [5] in such ways that the outcomes of any one move, and the overall direction of the talk, cannot be predicted in advance; [6] and that, most likely, speaker change will recur; [7] with no prior allocation of turn types.

Montgomery, 2001: 402.

He continues to imply that much of what we see on television interviews is scripted, turns pre-allocated and the directions of talk planned in advance (ibid: 2001).   This is not the case with the 'HARDtalk' interview, as none of these things are true according to the interviewee, Gurpal Virdi (personal communication).   It is not edited after the event, interviewees are not *primed* with questions and there is no pre-allocation of turns (although in this case there are only two participants, so speaker order is fixed).   The programme appears to be authentic from my socio-cultural perspective.   I gain pleasure from watching this programme and I believe it is because it is unpredictable and appears spontaneous.   Thornborrow and Van Leeuwen (2001: 387) offer one final thought '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.'

2.4   'Discourse Analysis'

2.4.1   Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA), an ethnomethodoligical approach to analysing discourse, has its origins in sociology and although it has provided a number of insights into the structure of interaction is much criticised by linguists for its categorical inexactitude.   Fairclough (1995: 46-48) criticises the literature relating to the 'Cooperative Principle' of Grice (1975) and the

focus of Conversational Analysts, such as Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), who focus mainly on 'cooperative conversation between equals' (Fairclough, 1995: 46). Fairclough (1995: 46) also suggests that '[t]he descriptive approach has virtually elevated cooperative conversation between equals into an archetype of verbal interaction in general.'

Coulthard and Brazil (1992: 51-55) provide detailed discussion of CA and outline a number of its weaknesses. They conclude their discussion 'Conversational Analysts working with no overall descriptive framework run the risk of creating data-specific descriptive categories for each new piece of text to the last syllable of recorded conversation.' (ibid: 55). Eggins and Slade (1997: 31) list three major drawbacks of CA: 'its lack of systematic analytical categories, its "fragmentary" focus, and its mechanistic interpretation of conversation.' For these reasons it does not appear suitable for my purposes.

2.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was developed to identify hidden socio-political control which proponents of CDA believe actively constructs society on some levels. Fairclough (1995) provides us with a useful definition that encapsulates most other definitions of CDA:

> [CDA is the study of] often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power.
>
> (Fairclough 1995: 132-3)

CDA appeared to be potentially useful for my purposes, but it is in the light of a well argued paper criticising CDA by Michael Stubbs (1997) it was rejected. Stubbs exposes a number of fundamental weaknesses with the theory of CDA and claims that CDA theory is unavoidably circular in some respects. Widdowson is also outspoken in his views on CDA and at the 1999 AILA convention he labelled 'critical applied linguistics as "hypocritical applied linguistics"' (Pennycook, 2001: 170).

2.4.3 'Birmingham Discourse Analysis' (DA)

What is often called 'Birmingham Discourse Analysis' was derived from the work of Halliday (1961) by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), who originally developed the model in order to investigate classroom discourse in general secondary classrooms. McCarthy (1991: 22) says it 'is very useful for analysing patterns of interaction where talk is relatively tightly structured.' The interview I have analysed is not particularly tightly structured. Malouf (1995: 1) argues that 'DA … would seem to fall short of the full range of linguistic communication.' And although the model has been modified by a number of scholars to account for less structured discourse patterns (see Francis and Hunston 1992) such as casual conversations, a number of difficulties remain when applying the model.

2.4.4 Eclectic analysis

Eggins and Slade (1997) detail what they term 'an eclectic approach to analysing casual conversation' (ibid: 23) and argue that it is 'not only richer but also essential in dealing with the complexities of casual talk' (ibid: 23). Their 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.

2.5 Semantic analysis

Numerous writers from various specialist areas have used semantic analysis of various kinds to analyse texts. Appraisal analysis represents an attempt at the discourse semantic level, to implement the work of Halliday (1985, 1994), using it to address how interpersonal meanings are constructed within a text and between the participants. One of the first major contributions to the area of Appraisal analysis was the work of Iedema et. al (1994) which was first to outline the system of judgement. Some of other valuable contributions come from: Christie and Martin, 1997; Martin, 1995a, 1995b, 2000, 2001, 2002; White 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002.

Appraisal analysis 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 et. al(1994) in which they are categorised as assessments of human behaviour by reference to social norms. Iedema et al (1994) provides a good introduction to the area, but care must be taken as the system has evolved since its conception. White (2002) in inserted comment on Iedema et al (1994) stresses that lexical items should not be taken out of context as '[i]t is only in a given textual context that the final Judgement value of a wording can be decided.' (White, 2002, available from http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/).

Affect items are described as being those which 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 as those which refer to the speaker's 'evaluation of objects and products…by reference to aesthetic principles and other systems of social value.' White (2001: 6).

GRADUATION is defined by White (2002: 2) 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. Eggins and Slade (1997) use the term AMPLIFICATION, but this appears to have been superseded by the term GRADUATION in most recent literature.

The final category is that of ENGAGEMENT. Eggins and Slade (1997) use the term INVOLVEMENT, which appears to cover similar areas to ENGAGEMENT, albeit in a more simplified manner. White (2001:9) describes values of ENGAGEMENT as those that are 'concerned with the linguistic resources which explicitly position a text's proposals and positions inter-subjectively.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS OF ANALYSIS

3.1 Choosing a text

For this paper it was necessary to obtain a form of data which was easily accessible both to myself and to students. A programme that I enjoy watching regularly is BBC World's 'HARDtalk'. It is broadcast on weekdays, with five different programmes per week, and each programme is repeated three or four times over the course of the day. I would describe 'HARDtalk' as a serious current affairs interview programme that is devoid of the sycophancy present in many of the other interview programmes shown on international 'news' channels. I recorded a total of 15 'HARDtalk' interviews on my home video recorder over a period of three weeks, starting on the 21st January 2002. I then proceeded to watch them all. I decided against using people who were accustomed to working with the media and perhaps had been briefed by lawyers and PR companies before the interview as their speech would be the most planned. Two interviews were chosen, both with policemen, and on the subject of racism.

3.2   Transcription

I used the coding system for transcription described in Eggins and Slade (1997: 1-5) as it provided a clear means of encoding overlapping speech, which is often not represented in coding systems. I have included a summary of this system at the start of Appendix I. Initially, I transcribed two complete interviews of approximately twenty-five minutes each. This provided me with a substantial amount of data to analyse, however, it was decided that I had what Nunan (1992: 153) calls a 'data overload' and it was necessary to reduce the quantity of data. The interview with Gurpal Virdi was chosen, as he had the least amount of experience of dealing with the media. Even with one text there was too much data to provide a detailed analysis in a paper of this size, so it was decided to use only the first eighty turns at speech for the analysis, as this was much more manageable for in-depth analysis and provided more than one hundred clauses from each speaker.

3.3   Choosing the analysis tools

There appears to be a relative paucity of work done on spoken data in the literature using Systemic Functional Analysis (SFA) based approaches as commented on by Hyland (2002: 117).   Eggins and Slade (1997) give details of an SFA based framework by which to analyse casual conversation.   In chapters three, four and five (ibid: 67-225) they describe the framework which shows how the relative power of people is constructed through the text as it unfolds.

Kress (1985, 1989) has explored the interview, with connection to radio, and provides some insight into power relations in the genre.   His work however is not with the kind of interview that I wish to investigate, as 'HARDtalk' interviews are with 'experts' in their field.   Poynton (1985, 1989) also looks at power relationships, related to gender in discourse, especially with reference to naming, but does not address the extended type of transcript I am interested in.

As this dissertation is written as an attempt to identify the effects of context of situation on the participants and to look at how the power differences are negotiated between the parties as the interview develops, Eggins and Slade's (1997) framework was chosen as it appeared to be most suitable.

There are many differences between casual conversation and the television interview, but they also have a great deal in common.   The model is clear and systematic, it also provides depth of analysis, and appears transferable to other forms of spoken discourse.   Feez (online: accessed 22nd July 2002) explains the value of the approach with reference to casual conversation: 'Each new layer of analysis is laid over the previous ones to build a comprehensive picture of casual conversation and its important work in building social relations.'   I believe the model works equally well with a television interview.

3.4   Description of analysis methods

The analysis consisted of three main stages which were all based on the same text, (see appendix I, turns 1-80): Stage one, was an analysis of interpersonal meaning at the level of the clause using a mood analysis to discover how the participants negotiate their social roles and rights as the interview unfolds.   The details of this model are described in section 4.3.1

below; Stage two, was performed to show how lexical choices express the attitudes of the participants, and how these evaluative attitudes negotiate and define solidarity and differences in the positions of the interactants. An Appraisal analysis was used and is described in more detail in section 4.3.2 below; Stage three, an analysis at the discourse level used an exchange structure analysis, which is discussed further in section 4.3.3 and shows the kinds of moves the participants made during the discourse.

3.4.1 Lexico-grammatical analysis.

The first step in Eggins and Slades's (1997) framework is to transcribe the text in order to analyse it. After transcribing the text (Appendix I) it was necessary to carry out a detailed analysis of the mood structures present in order to discover the types of mood used by each participant. Firstly, the text was divided into clauses and the clauses numbered within each turn. Lower case Roman numerals were used to avoid any confusion with turn numbers which had been written in Arabic numerals. Clause division was no sinecure, as stumblings, false starts and abandoned clauses needed to be accounted for. Eggins and Slade (1997: 108) provide a list of the things to be recorded on a coding sheet:

- the turn and speaker number
- clause number, with * indicating incomplete clauses
- the distinction between independent and dependant clauses with # marking dependant clauses
- the Subject of the clause (in parentheses if elliptical)
- clause mood: declarative, interrogative, imperative, minor; elliptical or full; plus (if elliptical), the number of the turn from which the ellipsis can be recovered and the list of all ellipted constituents;
- negation, if any
- presence of Adjuncts (circumstantial, interpersonal, textual)

Eggins and Slade (1997: 108)

I will provide examples of some of the most relevant categories below, using examples from Appendix I.

3.4.1.1   The clause and above

Identifying *Turn* and *speaker number* seemed straightforward, but caused some difficulties, especially when speech was overlapping.   A number of times there were unsuccessful attempts to interrupt the person speaking, and failed attempts at interruption were classified as part of the interrupting interactant's next turn, as in turn 21 clause (i), 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==
>
> 20 TS: (i) ==Seventeen job applications you'd ==made, (ii) and seventeen had been turned == down.
>
> 21 GV: (i) ==Well seventeen.   (ii)==That's right, (iii) within==
>
> 22 TS: (i) ==You had to have been UPSET by that surely.

The example above also provides us with three examples of abandoned clauses; Turn 19 clause (iii), turn 21 clause (i) and turn 21 clause (iii).   These were coded as table 3.1, below:

Table 3.1 – Abandoned clauses (from Appendix II)

Turn no./speaker	Clause no.	Subject	Mood	Polarity	Adjuncts
GV.19	iii*	these			
GV.21	i*	seventeen			textual
	iii*				

It can be seen that these examples have no mood as they were abandoned before a mood was discernable.

The distinction between *independent* and *dependant* clauses was coded, with # marking dependant clauses.   Turn 18 below, provides an example of this *dependant* relationship. Turn 18 clause (ii) is the *independent* α clause and clause (i) is the *dependant* β clause.   A relatively simple way to identify this feature, is to see if the clauses can be reversed.   If they can be reversed, then it is a sure sign of *dependency*.

> 18 TS: (i) When these accusations came your way, (ii) they originally tried to paint you as a bitter man, didn't they?

The coding for these two clauses is shown below in table 3.2:

Table 3.2 – Dependant clauses (from Appendix II)

Turn no./speaker	Clause no.	Subject	Mood	Polarity	Adjuncts
TS/18	i#	these accusations	declarative: full		circumstantial
	ii	they	declarative: full: tagged		

The Subject of a clause is relatively easy to identify if the clause is full, but in the case of elliptical clauses a little more vision must be shown.   Turns 8-11 below provide some interesting but reasonably easy to identify exemplars of ellipted clauses:

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.

There are a total of four ellipted clauses in this section, which are shown below with their ellipted sections in parentheses:

- 9.GV – ii – I do (want a full public enquiry), yes.

- 10.TS – i – The culprits who sent the racist hate mail (need to be brought to justice)?

- 11.GV – i - The culprits who sent the racist hate mail (need to be brought to justice).

- 11.GV – ii – and the people who covered up for them (need to be brought to justice).

The coding for these items is shown below in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3 – Ellipted clauses (from Appendix II)

Turn no./speaker	Clause no.	Subject	Mood	Polarity	Adjuncts
8.TS	i	you	declarative: full: tagged		interpersonal circumstantial
9.GV	i		minor		

	ii	I	declarative: elliptical: 8 (C) S^F		textual
	iii		declarative: full		
10.TS	i	The culprits	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		
11.GV	i	The culprits	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		
	ii	the people	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		textual

The above clauses also provide examples of another area which is often problematic when coding data of this kind. Bloor and Bloor (1995: 5) offer a concise explanation of the Hallidayan system of *rank*. The scale is of a 'consists of' nature where one *rank* consists of the one or more item from the *rank* below. The above examples contain a *rankshifted, defining relative clause*. This is a postmodifying/qualifying clause which functions as part of the nominal group at a level below the clause, (see Bloor and Bloor 1995, Chapter 8 for a clear discussion of *rankshifted* clauses). It is acting at a level one *rank* lower than that of a *clause*, in that it is acting at the rank of the *group*. The defining relative clause in this case is 'who sent the racist hate mail', which defines the nominal group 'The culprits'. For the purposes of this analysis these clauses were not assigned a mood, because of their *rankshifted* nature.

3.4.1.2 Coding

An area which was relatively unproblematic was that of coding mood choice. Ellipsis and abandonment did cause a few problems, but 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' was classified as a *textual adjunct* and in others it formed a *minor clause*. It was necessary to listen to the recording many times before all of these items were correctly coded.

No and its derivatives also can be 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 quite significant as they can signal an interactant's position towards a subject. Adjuncts are defined as 'not pivotal to the clause (so, they could be left out and the clause would still make sense, although not be as informative); …[and] elements which cannot be made Subject (since they are not expressed by nominal groups' Eggins and Slade (1997: 81). These adjuncts were noted and classified in to three categories: *circumstantial*, *interpersonal* and *textual*.

Circumstantial adjuncts were defined as adjuncts that 'express information about the circumstances of a process: they convey information about such matters as place, time, manner, the associated participants' Bloor and Bloor, (1995: 52). Examples from the text are shown below:

> 19 GV: (i) <u>At, at the time</u> I wasn't bitter at all.

> 36 TS: (ii) not everybody was in the fast track <u>in the police service</u>.

Interpersonal adjuncts, termed *modal adjuncts* by Halliday (1994: 48-52) are 'those which express the speaker's judgement regarding the relevance of the message.' Halliday provides a table of examples of this type of adjunct (ibid: 49) which cover numerous areas, including adjuncts relating to: probability, usuality, typicality, obviousness, opinion, admission, persuasion and so on. This type of adjunct is of greatest significance to this investigation as it signals the interlocutors stance towards propositions. Interpersonal adjuncts form part of the Appraisal: ENGAGEMENT system and are often realised by modals in the lexico-grammar. The text was also coded for the two types of *modality*: *modalization* and *modulation*. 'Modality refers to a range of different ways in which a speaker can temper or qualify their messages.' Eggins and Slade (1997: 98). *Modalization* refers to how messages are qualified in terms of *probability, usuality, obviousness and typicality* (Butt et al. 2000: 118) and Modulation tempers the level of *obligation*, *inclination* and *capability.* Examples from the text are shown below:

> 30 TS: (i) That was <u>ABSOLUTELY</u> spelt out== to you.
> 44 TS: (i) That's <u>really</u> the limit.

Textual adjuncts, come in three varieties, *conjunctive*, *continuity* and *holding*. They function

to construct coherence and continuity in talk. Some examples from the text are shown below:

> 17 GV: (ii) <u>And</u> he also did so in the <u>ah</u>, January, <<(iii) when he,>> at the Metropolitan Police Authority meeting.
>
> 18 TS: (iv) <u>as</u>, you wanted to be a DETECTIVE Sergeant,

All of the above items were written on to a coding sheet which I have attached as Appendix II, 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.

3.4.2 Semantic analysis

The next phase in the analysis was to look at how interpersonal meanings were realised in the semantics of the text. In order to do this an Appraisal analysis was carried out. The method of Appraisal analysis outlined in Eggins and Slade (1997: Chapter 4), is a somewhat simplified version of the Appraisal analysis proposed by Martin (2000) and White (2001, 2002). I have attempted in my analysis to account for any weaknesses in the Eggins and Slade (1997) model, by reinforcing and expanding my analysis with reference to Martin (2000) and White (2001, 2002).

I will describe the methods I used and the criteria by which the text, (again Appendix I, turns 1-80), was analysed, using the Appraisal system.

The first stage, following the guidelines in Eggins and Slade (1997: 138-140), was to identify all of the Appraisal items in the text, which was done by highlighting them on a hard copy of the text. Identification of Appraisal items in itself is quite an exacting task. Many items are easy to identify but others are much more subtle. 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: 145) 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.'

The Appraisal items were then divided into one of three main categories. Eggins and Slade (1997) only deal with two categories at this stage but I decided to use the three categories

suggested by White (2002). These are ATTITUDE, GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT. The first of these, ATTITUDE, can be sub-divided into values of *Affect, Judgement,* and *Appreciation.* I will describe these categories and their sub-categories below, giving some examples of items within the text.

3.4.2.1 Affect

The category of *Affect* is 'concerned with emotional response and disposition and is typically realised through mental processes of reaction' White (2002: 6). This appears to be related to the Hallidayan concept of *Affection* (Halliday, 1994: 118). *Affect* items can be categorised as one of two main types: *irrealis Affect* and *realis Affect*. *Irrealis Affect* is concerned with the future and unrealised actions and 'states rather than present ones.' White (2000, 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.

The distinction between *realis* and *irrealis Affect* and the sub-category dis/inclination is desiderate in the Eggins and Slade (1997) model, but was included in this analysis as a number of relevant items were discovered in the text that could not easily be accounted for. *Irrealis Affect: dis/inclination: fear* is exemplified by (Affect values underlined):

> 77 GV: (x) And then when constables started saying (xi) 'well hang on, (xii) we're <u>fearing</u> what's
> going to happen.'

Irrealis Affect: dis/inclination: desire is also present in the text as can be seen below:

> 17 GV: (vi) And I just <u>want</u> to move forward (vii) and get on with my career.

Un/happiness was unproblematic to identify in most cases and an example is below:

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

Happy somewhat ironically could be interpreted as belonging to the *dis/satisfaction* sub-category as I am uncertain 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 was thought to be more closely related to *un/happiness.*   *Bitter*, is a much more semantically slippery concept.   *Bitter* seems to be synonymous with anger, and Eggins and Slade (1997: 129) state that *un/happiness* is 'when speakers encode feelings to do with sadness, *anger*, happiness or love.' (my stress).   In contrast to this Martin (2000: 151) lists anger under the sub-category of *dis/satisfaction* in a further subcategory, displeasure.   As Eggins and Slade (1997: Chapter 4) is older and less detailed than Martin's work and as Martin seems to be widely acknowledged as perhaps the authority on Appraisal analysis it was decided to code bitter as an item of *dis/satisfaction,* as shown below in table 3.4:

Table 3.4 - *un/happiness/ dis/satisfaction* (from Appendix III)

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

There were no instances of the third sub-category of *realis Affect: in/security*.

3.4.2.2   Judgement

The next system that was coded was that of *Judgement*.   The system of *Judgement* is 'concerned with language which criticises or praises, which condemns or applauds the behaviour – the actions, deeds, sayings, beliefs, motivations etc – of human individuals and groups.' White, 2002, (Stage 2): 1.   Martin (2000: 156) provides a framework for analysing *Judgement* in English in which he outlines two sub-categories which 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: 156).   I have provided below some examples of the most common types of *Judgement* values in the text.

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 <u>racist hate mail</u>?

11 GV: (i) The culprits who sent the <u>racist hate mail</u> (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, this was 'racist hate mail'. I coded 'racist' and 'hate' as terms of *Judgement* in the sub-category of *propriety (negative)*. This coding is by no means clear cut. Hate seems to be a negative emotion, and it is not really qualifying the mail itself, but the emotions expressed through it. There is a similar case explored by White (2002, Stage 3: 6), where the term 'evil' is also classified as a *Judgement* value. The reasons for this coding are: 'the notion of 'evil' assumes volitional action by some human (or human-like) agency' (ibid: 6). The term 'hate', when collocated with mail seems to assume a similar volitional action by a human agent, i.e. the people/person who sent the mail. In White's example, 'the utterance acts directly to criticise the behaviour of Saddam Hussein by reference to a system of morality' (ibid: 6). Of course in our case 'hate' is not criticising Saddam Hussein, but instead criticising the behaviour of the 'culprits' who sent the mail, the human agents. I believe this rationale can also be applied to the term racist, although this is only my judgement (not in the Appraisal analysis sense of the word). The coding is shown below in table 4.5:

Table 4.5 – Judgement (from Appendix III)

Turn/ speaker	Clause	Lexical item	Positive/negative Attitude	Appraised	Category	Subcategory
10/TS	i	racist	negative	hate mail	Judgement	propriety
	i	hate	negative	mail	Judgement	propriety

3.4.2.3   Appreciation

The third category of ATTITUDE is that of *Appreciation*. White (2002, Stage 3:1) provides us with his conceptualisation of the concept:

> Appreciation [values are] those evaluations which are concerned with positive and negative assessments of objects, artefacts, processes and states of affairs rather than with human behaviour. In some instances however, human participants may also be "APPRECIATED" – in cases where the assessment does not directly focus on the correctness or incorrectness of their behaviour.

White 2002, Stage 3: 1 - http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/

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This definition seems at first inspection to be fairly well expounded, but it can in some instances be difficult to distinguish between *Appreciation* and *Judgement*. Martin (2000: 160) suggests that *Appreciation* is often tied up with *field,* and tends to be institutionally specific. Eggins and Slade (1997: 129) define three categories of *Appreciation*: *reaction, composition* and *valuation*. The categories of reaction and composition are further sub-divided by Martin (2000: 160). *Reaction* is divided into *impact* and *quality*, and *composition* is divided into *balance* and *complexity*. These further sub-divisions were not coded on the coding sheet as this level of delicacy was not necessary for my purposes and due to the scarcity of *Appreciation* items in the text.

3.4.2.4 Graduation/Amplification

Eggins and Slade (1997) offer two further categories to be dealt with under the semantic analysis stage. AMPLIFICATION, (what White (2001: 9) terms GRADUATION), is the next area that was coded. GRADUATION manifests itself in many lexico-grammatical forms all of which serve 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.' White (2001: 29).

Eggins and Slade (1997 : 133-137) 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.' (ibid.: 134); *Augmenting*, which 'involves amplifying attitudinal meaning' (ibid.: 134); and *Mitigation*, which attempts, as it suggests, to mitigate attitudinal meaning. I chose to allocate AMPLIFICATION items to Eggins and Slade's (1997) triadic sub-categories as this provides a readily accessible distinction between items. I will provide examples of these categories below.

All three categories were used by both interactants, and examples are numerous. *Enrichment* was at first the most slippery category to identify.

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

In this case the term 'a corrosive effect' would be much less amplifying if the neutral term 'an effect' were used in its place. This addition serves to colour the meaning.

AMPLIFICATION: *augmenting* items were the most commonly used AMPLIFICATION items used in total, 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 (2001: 29).   Some of the clauses using *augmenting* items are shown below.

> 2 Tim Sebastian: (i) Gurpal Virdi, a <u>very</u> warm welcome to the programme.

> 3 Gurpal Virdi: (i) Thank you <u>very much</u>, Tim.

The use of the terms 'very' and 'very much' are *augmenting*, in that they intensify the warmth of the welcome and intensity of the thank you.   *Augmenting* items also take the form of repetition in some cases, as this the example below shows.

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

This repetition takes the place of using a 'quantifier' such as 'a lot of' before the noun.

The third and final sub-category of AMPLIFICATION is *mitigation*.   There are, as for *augmenting*, many examples of *mitigation* in the text.   As I stated above *mitigation* items serve to mitigate attitudinal meaning, and are to be seen as having the opposite effect to *augmenting* items.

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

I the example above, 'just' was originally coded as *mitigation*, but in fact it appears to be emphasising the 'lack of complexity' in the driving course and as such must be coded as *augmenting*.   The terms 'SIMPLE' and 'BASIC' seem to have more depth to their purpose, and I have coded these as both *mitigation* and *enrichment* items. This kind of dual coding is said to be acceptable by White (2002, Stage 2: 9).   They could also be seen as Appreciation: composition, but again it very difficult to understand whether they are positive or negative.

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 <u>sort of</u> , <u>more or less</u> resigned with your LOT, at that time.

The two examples of 'vague language', above, shows how two *mitigation* items are used

together, to 'lower[s] the scaling of intensity' (White, 2001: 29) of Tim's summary of Gurpal's feelings of resignation.

3.4.2.5 Involvement/Engagement

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 (1997: 143) 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.'   Eggins and Slade (1997 : 144) list four subsystems of INVOLVEMENT, which are: '*"naming"*; *technicality*; *swearing*; *slang or anti-language.*'   These factors are more common in multi-party talk, and in fact only one of these subsystems is used in the text, the subsystem of '*naming*'.   In the case of two party talk, naming is termed a redundant vocative, as it is unnecessary as the fact that there are only two people 'in' the interview means they must be addressing each other.   This may be seen as 'an attempt by the addresser to establish a closer relationship with the addressee' Eggins and Slade (1997 : 145), in effect, an attempt to create some kind of solidarity.

There are three instances of 'naming' in the text, which I will explain below.   The first two come at the start of the interview in turns two and three:

> 2 Tim Sebastian: (i) <u>Gurpal Virdi</u>, a very warm welcome to the programme.

> 3 Gurpal Virdi: (i) Thank you very much, <u>Tim</u>.   (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 Virdi', serves another purpose, that 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, <u>Tim</u>, (v) before we talk about this.

This also could be construed as an attempt at establishing a closer relationship, in a sense it seems like a plea to be believed. It was coded as an INVOLVEMENT as it appears to be trying to create a sense of solidarity.

I have also included some other items under the INVOLVEMENT banner. They are items which I feel are also attempts to also establish a closer relationship between the interactants, but are not included under the framework specified by Eggins and Slade (1997). These are all underlined below:

15 GV: (ii) <u>I mean</u> the Commissioner gave a very, a written apology to us.

27 GV: (iv) <u>That's like</u>, (v) in the eighties that used to happen.

37 GV: (vii) <u>You know</u>, that just shows the level of um racism that goes on within the metropolitan police.

39 GV: (iv) But when it happens internally (v) it <u>does</u> hurt,

43 GV: (i) Well, <u>I'll be quite honest with you</u>,

55 GV: (iii) <u>Let's</u> just, (iv) <u>let's</u> just make one thing clear, Tim,

59 GV: (vii) <u>You know</u>, given the worst posting ever. (viii) <u>You know</u>, but you carry on

65 GV: (iii) <u>I mean</u>, I was,

71 GV: (xii) So, erm, there was things going on in the background, which <u>I suppose</u> the senior management didn't like.

It stands out that all of these items are produced by Gurpal, and they may be a reaction to the lack of feedback and personal opinion, that Tim is not allowed by law to express. These items could largely be seen as an attempt to extract sympathy or acknowledgement of what is right, and in that way involve the listener in what the speaker is saying and therefore I see them as contributing to the interpersonal function, and for this reason I have coded them as INVOLVEMENT items. The items are: '<u>I mean</u>', '<u>That's like</u>', '<u>You know</u>' '<u>I'll be honest with you</u>', and '<u>Let's</u>'.

There were two remaining items that were also felt to be attempts at INVOLVEMENT, 'it <u>does</u> hurt' and '<u>I suppose</u>'. The first of these 'it <u>does</u> hurt', where the auxiliary is stressed (or marked), as 'it hurts' would have carried the same meaning, fits into White's (2002, Stage 5) system of ENGAGEMENT as a *Proclaim: Pronounce* item. 'I suppose' also fits into the ENGAGEMENT system as a *Probablise* item. These items were coded as INVOLVEMENT, more for ease of coding than any other reason.

3.4.3   Exchange structure analysis

The final analysis stage that was performed from Eggins and Slade (1997) was an exchange structure analysis of the text.   Other methods of Discourse analysis were considered but Eggins and Slade's (1997) framework was considered to be 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 (1997: 169-225). The model has forty-four possible speech function codings, and space prevents me from describing them in any detail.   I however will attempt to concisely outline how the Discourse analysis was carried out and items coded in this section. The model is used to separate the text into moves of various natures, and these moves are then further divided into speech functions.

Having already performed the other two main stages of analysis, I was now very familiar with the text, and therefore this stage was much less demanding to perform.   The first stage was to identify the moves.   Moves are to a large extent dependant on grammatical mood, but they do not correspond on a one to one basis as prosodic factors also 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. The move is defined by Eggins and Slade (1997: 186) as 'a unit after which speaker change could occur without turn transfer being seen as an interruption.'

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Initial analysis

There are numerous aspects of a situation which will 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: 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, although 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: 393) calls his 'symbolic value' 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.

● Identities - Tim Sebastian: Tim is 50 years old. In his career as a journalist, he has been awarded a number of honours including: The British Academy of Film and Television Arts Richard Dimbleby Award, the Royal Television Society Television Journalist of the year award and the Royal Television Society Interviewer of the Year

Award for 2000 and 2001.   He has been a foreign correspondent for the BBC in Warsaw, Moscow and Washington and he has 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 has travelled the world interviewing people from all walks of life, ranging from kings to policemen, presidents to musicians.

Gurpal Virdi: Gurpal is 43 years old.   He is a sergeant in the Metropolitan Police Service.   He has a degree in Law and speaks four languages: English, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu.   He was of course less accustomed to being on television than Tim, although he had been interviewed on television prior to this, but for shorter lengths of time. 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 (personal correspondence, 28th August 2002).

Syvertsen (2001: 320) suggests 'the reasons why people go on television are complex and diverse, and…must be understood within the context of the [participants'] own lives, rather than on the basis of how academics perceive the genres from the safe distance of their offices and living rooms.'   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 co-operate 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.

4.2 Lexico-grammatical analysis

The first main stage of the analysis involved a lexico-grammatical mood analysis using Eggins and Slade's (1997) method.   A summary of the results is shown below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 - Summary of mood choices in text from Appendix II.

Mood (clause type)	Tim Sebastian	Gurpal Virdi
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 choice	*I* 1 *you (=Gurpal)* 40 *you (=Gurpal and others)* 1 *we* 3 *various 3rd person singular* 33 *various 3rd person plural* 9 *there* 5 *everyday* 1 *seventeen* 1 *my guest* 1 *ambitions* 1	*I* 47 *you (=Tim)* 1 *you (=Gurpal)* 1 *you (generic)* 14 *we* 8 *various 3rd person singular* 37 *various 3rd person plural* 22 *there* 6 *seventeen* 2 *let's* 2

		what 1
negation	7	25
Adjuncts		
circumstantial	33	39
interpersonal	15	28
textual	23	82
Modalization **(i) probability**		
high	4	1
median	3	2
low	-	-
(ii) usuality		
high	2	-
median	-	-
low	-	-
Modulation **capability**		1
total no. of modalities	9	4

Percentages are of the total number of clauses made by each speaker.

4.2.1 Interpreting mood choices

Table 4.1, above summarises the analysis of the text and allows us to make some claims about the status of the participants of the text.

- Number of clauses – Gurpal produced a significantly higher proportion of the clauses than Tim. In casual conversation this would be a sign of dominance, but the meaning in the case of a television interview is rather ambiguous. It is similar to the case of the language classroom, a dominant but successful teacher may control the proceedings of a lesson but talk for a relatively short percentage of the time. The audience, in this case, wanted to hear Gurpal's story and that is what happened. The centrality of Gurpal's contribution as interviewee was most important, this, however, does not equate with dominance, especially in the form of control.

- Number of incomplete clauses – Tim produced a lower percentage of incomplete clauses which indicates that his speech was more planned, and indeed he made no incomplete

clauses until the forty-fourth turn at speech.   The first 14 of his clauses, I presume, were planned in advance, after that his speech appeared to become more spontaneous.   All but one of Tim's incomplete clauses came mid-turn which is a sign of dominance as it shows that he did not have to compete for the turn at speech.   Gurpal produced a much higher proportion of incomplete clauses, this initially suggested that he too dominated the proceedings and didn't have to fight to maintain his turn, but on close scrutiny it appears that on seven occasions the incomplete clauses were due to being cut off before he had finished what he was saying.   This is a significant difference to casual conversation, as it is considered rather impolite to interrupt people during their turn at speech, but is a feature of television interviews, especially 'HARDtalk' interviews.

- Declaratives – Both Tim and Gurpal produced a high percentage of declaratives, both full and elliptical.   Tim's slightly higher percentage of elliptical declaratives points to a more supporting role, but this is inconclusive.

- Polar interrogatives, tagged declaratives and wh-interrogatives – Gurpal produced none of these forms in the analysed part of the interview.   This is to be expected in a television interview, and shows an understanding of the genre by Gurpal.   Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, only twenty percent of Tim's clauses were questions in terms of mood.   Polar interrogatives are used to engage other parties in talk, whilst at the same time controlling the course of the discussion and maintaining the role of initiator.

- Imperatives – There were few imperatives in the text.   Tim produced two imperatives, both of which were direct quotes from the racist hate mail, and as such cannot be truly allocated to him.   Tim's avoidance of the imperative mood was in a sense a modulation of power, using imperative clauses would have been a direct assertion of power, which perhaps Tim was eager to avoid as it would have alienated him from the audience, perhaps due to what Kress (1985: 55) labels a '"politeness" convention' and suggests that 'the powerful should not normally openly assert their power.' (ibid: 5).

  Gurpal produced a similar percentage of imperatives, four in total.   Two of Gurpal's imperative clauses were represented as either direct reporting of speech or thought, one

being his own thought.

> 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.'

Gurpal didn't attribute either of these imperatives directly to himself.   The first one was attributed to common sense and the generic 'you'.   The second one was the thoughts of his colleagues.

The other two imperatives that he produced used the word 'let's' and are known as 'inclusive' imperatives, and are not really full imperatives.   Their function seems in this case to be an assertion that Tim should be clear about Gurpal's knowledge, and may also be an attempt by Gurpal to control Tim's insinuations.   These 'inclusive' imperatives are used at a time in the dialogue where Tim has been insinuating that the Metropolitan Police Force is racist and trying to induce Gurpal into commenting on the level of racism present.

- Minor clauses – 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 nearly complete absence of minor clauses is indicative of his role.   He is legally unable to give his own opinions, and in some cases minor clauses of acknowledgement could be misinterpreted as agreement, and therefore he may consciously avoid using them.

- Most frequent subject choice – Again indicative of role, 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 stopped him from 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 and forming some sense of

solidarity with them. The overuse of 'I' when talking about his own feelings would have served to distance him from the audience. This form of depersonalisation is often achieved in scientific writing by using the pronoun 'one'. However, in spoken English it would appear to be inappropriate, and would probably sound stilted. Garces-Conejos and Sanchez-Macarro (1998: 185) 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.' This appears consonant with the effect of using 'you' instead of 'I' when talking about one's self. The speaker depersonalises the emotion by transforming it into a shared emotion with the community as a whole, making them the emotions that would be felt by other members of the community if they were in the same situation.

Unsurprisingly, Tim's most common subject choice was 'you', referring to Gurpal. He did produce the subject 'I' on one occasion, but this was a direct speech quotation from Gurpal's wife. Subject choice for both parties is confined by, and indicative of their roles within the interview. Differences in the subject choices used would have created less compassion for Gurpal's situation and less respect for Tim.

- Negative clauses – Gurpal produced a significantly higher proportion of negative clauses than Tim. Many of these clauses were to deny or challenge claims made by Tim. This situation may have been consciously planned by Tim, who perhaps tried to distance himself from negativity, and present himself in a positive light. This subtle form of power was only available to Tim as he was controlling or directing the interview. The majority of the negative clauses produced by Tim were used to talk about Gurpal's feelings or actions.

- Modality- 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.   This is due, in part, to his role as interviewer.

4.3   Semantic Analysis

A semantic analysis of the text was carried out, as described in Chapter 3, the first stage using the Appraisal Analysis framework described in Eggins and Slade (1997: 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 below in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 - Summary of Appraisal items in text from Appendix III.

	Tim Sebastian	**Gurpal Virdi**
total Appraisal items total clauses	79 104	88 180
Appreciation reaction composition valuation total	 1 (1 pos.) - 1 (1 pos.) 2	 - - - -

Affect
irrealis – dis/inclination
realis –   un/happiness
         in/security
         dis/satisfaction
total
	
	5 (4 pos. 1 neg.)
	6 (6 neg.)
	-
	4 (1 pos. 3 neg.)
	15
		
		3 (2 pos. 1 neg.)
		7 (2 pos. 5 neg.)
		-
		4 (4 pos.)
		14

Judgement
social sanction – propriety
                 veracity
social esteem –   tenacity
                 normality
                 capacity
total
	
	29 (1 pos. 28 neg.)
	-
	4 (1 pos. 3 neg.)
	-
	-
	33
		
		29 (4 pos. 25 neg.)
		-
		9 (6 pos. 3 neg.)
		-
		-
		36

Attitude total	50 (9 pos. 41 neg.)	50 (18 pos. 32 neg.)
Amplification enrichment augmenting	 7 19	 6 16

mitigation	3	16
total	29	36

4.3.1　Interpretation of Appraisal items

From the table above (Table 4.2) we can see that in terms of total number of ATTITUDE items, the participants produced an equal amount. If we take into account the total number of clauses produced, we attain a different picture. For every ten clauses Tim produced, he produced 4.9 ATTITUDE items. For every ten clauses Gurpal produced, he produced 3.6 ATTITUDE items. This difference is quite significant, and suggests that Tim is relatively more evaluative in his attitude than Gurpal.

We can also see that 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 what we saw in the mood analysis. It may of course be a personal difference between the two parties, and I would speculate that an award-winning journalist and novelist would perhaps use more ATTITUDE items in everyday conversation than a policeman.

Let us now consider the types of ATTITUDE item, in order to arrive at a more complete picture of Appraisal items in the interview. We can see that Tim is the only party that produces *Appreciation* items. The number of *Appreciation* items is too small however to make any claims to their significance.

Appraising items related to *Affect* are fairly evenly distributed between the two parties. In most of the cases though, the *emoter* (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 overtly 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 seventeen 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, as in the example below:

> 54 TS: ==(i) And people targeted you did they?
>
> 55 GV: (i) Well, I wasn't like targeted specifically, (ii) but there were <u>one or two</u> individuals. (iii) Let's <u>just,</u> (iv) let's <u>just</u> make one thing clear, Tim, (v) before we talk about this. (vi) <u>Not all of</u> the Metropolitan Police are racists, (vii) there are VERY good, fine officers in the service. (viii) And er, you know I would back them hundred percent. (ix) But we do HAVE <u>a few</u> bad apples, (x) and these are the people I need to target. (xi) These are people   the senior officers need to target. (xii) Yes, (xiii) I was a victim of those <u>few</u> individuals.

Tim's question was interpreted by Gurpal as an insinuation about the level of racism in the Metropolitan Police Service. Gurpal proceeded to 'play down' the amount of racism that he encountered. He used the mitigating items 'one or two', 'Not all of', 'a few' and 'those few' to assess the racist elements within the Police and diminish the scale of the problem.

> 30 TS: (i) That was <u>ABSOLUTELY</u> <u>spelt out</u>== to you.
>
> 31 GV: (i) ==Oh, that was <u>absolutely</u> made clear to you

The example above, from turns thirty and thirty-one, highlights how Tim used an *augmenting* item to further increase the *enrichment* item 'spelt out', this increased the force of what would already have been an AMPLIFICATION item. Gurpal, although he used 'absolutely' opted to use 'made clear' instead of Tim's 'spelt out', which actually served to mitigate Tim's utterance to some degree. The Collins Cobuild Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2001: 1499) listing for *spell out* reads 'If you spell something out, you explain it in detail or in a very clear way', from which we can infer that it is more *augmenting* than 'make clear'.

Enrichment is a particularly subjective area, and may be quite sensitive to 'reader positioning'. Both Tim and Gurpal produced a similar amount of *enrichment* items, seven and six respectively. This equality in *enrichment* items, and their scarcity leads me to conclude that their significance is minimal in the interview, as what I was really trying to locate was difference.

INVOLVEMENT – Gurpal made a number of attempts to construct solidarity with Tim which were naturally unreciprocated. The exact motivation for having done this is open to speculation – but I believe that the attempts were to create solidarity with both Tim and the audience. In other cases the involvement items could be seen as a means of tempering what he was saying in order to accommodate alternative view points within the audience. This type of interpersonal item appears to be similar to those used in casual conversation.

4. 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. Table 4.3 below provides a summary of the discourse speech functions contained in the text:

Table 4.3 - Summary of speech function choices in text from Appendix IV

Speech function	Tim Sebastian	Gurpal Virdi
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	-
tracking: confirm	4	-
tracking: probe	18	-
reacting: resolve	-	3
challenging: rebound	2	-
challenging: counter	-	1
total	29	4
unable to code	1	-

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. If we look at clauses per move, he produced 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 (1997: 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.

Much fewer Continuing speech functions were produced by Tim, less than one third as many as Gurpal. This difference alone accounts for most of the difference in the number of clauses they 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.

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. 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 (1997: 216), in which approximately 6% are *replying*. In our 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 *tracing: 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 (1997: 218) this is indicative of the roles of provocateur and dependent-respondent.

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.

CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

In this chapter I will attempt to collate and interpret the results of the analysis, identifying how power is realised and how it is distributed between the participants. 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 is effected by a plethora of variables. There are an almost infinite number of choices available in terms of the language that each interactant produces, choices which may or may not be conscious. In Chapter One, I listed three overarching research questions for this paper and I shall attempt to address them below.

5.1 The distribution of power

Eggins and Slade (1997: 22) suggest that 'casual conversation involves a constant movement between establishing solidarity and exploring difference' and this may 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 a significant feature of the genre.

Many people would assume that the interviewer would be the most powerful person in an interview and this does not seem unreasonable, but Tim Sebastian, as a journalist is constrained by a number of factors. Legally he is unable to give his own opinions when interviewing and unable to condone or condemn the acts of others. Also 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 been a subtle way of colouring the audience's feelings towards Gurpal.

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

Tim, as we saw from the exchange structure analysis, 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 a personal characteristic as a novelist and award winning journalist may be rather more eloquent than an 'ordinary' person. He did not have to fight for the turn at speech and was seldom interrupted.

Tim was in possession of a great deal of knowledge about the events of Gurpal's case, probably provided by his researchers, which 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 as his claims were refuted by Gurpal.

Tim's erroneous information was a major factor in increasing Gurpal's status and with it power in the interview. Gurpal could refute Tim's claims clearly showing that he was in possession of the 'facts', giving himself the status of 'expert' and increasing his relative power. Gurpal is an 'ordinary' person like most members of the audience, and this served to increase his power, as the audience could relate more closely to him than to Tim. Power of vulnerability or weakness may also have been a factor in the amount of power Gurpal claimed. Paradoxically, weakness and apparent vulnerability can be used to create power, as is often shown by successful negotiators in the business and political arenas.

Gurpal dominated in terms of number of clauses and in casual conversation this would be seen as power. The significance of this fact is somewhat ambiguous in the television interview. Were the interviewer to produce more clauses the interaction would really cease to be an interview. The interviewer would have failed in their job. The successful

interviewer would not want to generate more clauses. Furthermore, success and power are often synonymous implying that by producing less clauses the interviewer is also being powerful. Gurpal, however may have been talking too much for Tim's liking and this may have been another reason that he was interrupted so often.

Poynton (1985, 1989: 76-77) gives details of a systemic-functional framework, which extends the work of Brown and Gilman (1960), describing tenor in terms of three dimensions, *contact*, *affect* and *power*. The power dimension is most relevant to this paper. Poynton (ibid: 76-77) suggests that power ranges from equal to unequal along a cline, and that power is derived from four variables: *force*, *authority*, *status* and *expertise*. *Force* is to do with physical strength and of little relevance to this interview. Authority is of interest as it is concerned with 'socially-legitimated inherently unequal role relationships' (ibid: 76), and we can see that in this case we have the relationship of interviewer – interviewee, which is unequal in most cases. *Status* in this case is related to social standing and achievement, and I think many people would assume a novelist and TV journalist to have more *status* than a police sergeant, although this may be coloured by my own 'reading position'. The status of a victim of racism is unclear, but it is certain that most people would have sympathised with Gurpal's experiences. The fourth and perhaps most significant dimension is expertise, defined as 'the extent to which an individual possesses knowledge or skill' (ibid: 77). We must assume that Gurpal has greater knowledge of his own life than Tim, but can attribute greater skill and knowledge of interviews to Tim, so this dimension of power seems to be divided between the interlocutors.

There was one occasion in the text where Tim quoted Gurpal's wife, and at first I felt that this was quite innocuous, perhaps even supporting Gurpal's position, but after consideration of the surrounding discourse it appears to be far from supportive. The fact that Tim uses what may be seen as a neutral preface to the quote i.e. 'Your wife said…', is completely obscured by the fact that it is Gurpal's own wife. I believe it was in fact an attempt by Tim to use Gurpal's wife against him, a 'power play' if you will. Gurpal must have felt somewhat aggrieved by having his own wife quoted at him, and against his own claims that he was not bitter about his treatment before the incident. In some of the literature this use of another person's voice by

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the interviewer or journalist is called 'ventriloquism' (see Maynard, 1997 for further discussion).

There appears from what I have found to be a separation of power. 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, which 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.

5.2   Casual conversation and the 'HARDtalk' interview

As noted above, 'Most speech genres are ostensibly about difference' (Kress, 1985: 15), and this is certainly true for the 'HARDtalk' interview investigated in this paper. The level of power difference is much greater than that found in the casual conversations analysed by Eggins and Slade (1997), but is not as great as that found in most classrooms. Areas of equality found in casual conversation are not to be found in the 'HARDtalk' interview. Questions are only asked by the interviewer, who usually controls the direction of the interview. In casual conversation control is open to the parties involved. The 'HARDtalk' interview has a relatively clear purpose, to inform the viewing public and continue to do so for approximately twenty three minutes of airtime. Casual conversation often has little purpose other than provide stimulation for the participants and is seldom constrained by time.

Casual conversation between strangers (if there is such a thing) may be restricted by the 'politeness conventions' identified by ethnomethodological scholars, however I believe this is

seldom the case between close friends. The 'HARDtalk' interview I have examined here does not adhere to the constraints of politeness, either. There are numerous instances of interruption and contiguous and overlapping speech within the text by both interlocutors.

The interviewee, as the weaker interactant in the 'HARDtalk' interview, is also the dominant party in terms of clauses produced. This differs from the casual conversation analysed by Eggins and Slade (1997), in that the dominant party was also most powerful in relation to control of direction. Furthermore, in casual conversation each party has the opportunity to direct the conversation towards an area of there own interest or away from something they do not wish to talk about. The interviewee however, has little power in this area, and appears largely dependent on the interviewer, although should not be considered as completely helpless.

The interviewer, although powerful in terms of directing the discourse is also constrained by law and unable to voice personal opinions overtly, however these constraints can often be circumvented by the use of 'ventriloquism' and implication. Participants in a casual conversation are constrained by little more than a sense of appropriateness for the situation of context. However, constraint may often be removed when drugs, such as alcohol have been imbibed.

The audience also plays an important but silent role in the discourse, effectively constraining both participants to some degree. Both participants must be careful not to alienate themselves from the audience which will be from numerous cultural groups. The casual conversation usually heard by those participating in it and interlocutors have therefore only to take into account the people present.

5.3   Implications for EFL students

I believe that television interviews of this kind can be used to raise students' consciousness of the genre and provide access to what is a huge resource of natural English, which is often difficult to find for a student learning English in their own culture. A strategic approach to study as described by Field (2000) would appear to provide suitable access to this medium. In contradistinction to the scripted television drama or comedy the 'HARDtalk' interview

seems to provide a much more authentic form of English, both in terms of discourse and prosodic factors.   Unfortunately, this type of programme may not be as interesting to watch and study as say a comedy programme, especially for less mature students.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 General conclusions

In the prefatory chapters of this dissertation I have discussed the literature relating to 'discourse analysis' and applied a suitable framework to a text taken from a television interview in order to identify the balance of power between the interlocutors. I have shown that the power in a television interview was not dichotomous, although it was unequally distributed, in this case. I have suggested that 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

In the classroom the teachers are often omnipotent, they control the direction of the proceedings and possess the greater level of knowledge. If expressed in political terms it would have most in common with an autocracy. In casual conversation, all parties have equal opportunity to control the direction of the proceedings and potentially have equal knowledge, in practice however some people tend to dominate. Again, in political terms this has much in common with democracy. How then does an interview fit into this image?

The interviewer attempts to control the direction of the proceedings, and possess a good degree of knowledge about the situation. The interviewee has more of the knowledge, but has little visible control over the direction of the interview, although the knowledge he imparts does have an effect on the direction. The interview in political terms may have much in common with what actually happens in a democracy. Ministers in office have, on the surface, much of the power in terms of authority to control the direction of events. They are

however restrained by laws and rules as is the interviewer. Officially, civil servants often termed 'mandarins', are duty bound to supply the ministers with information. The 'mandarins', like the interviewee, have little control on the surface, but by supplying information or knowledge they can in fact have some control of the ministers' actions. They do not say what they do not want the minister to know, and perhaps only supply information which suits their purposes. I am not suggesting in the case of this interview that Gurpal is more powerful than Tim, but his possession of the 'facts' does 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).

I started Chapter One with a quotation attributed to Sir Francis Bacon (1597), 'knowledge is power'. It does seem he was right, however in the case of the 'HARDtalk' interview I have analysed, that power is much more than just knowledge. It is made up of a variety of factors, and in this case the power of control was more influential on the discourse than knowledge.

6.2   Recommendations for further research

The language of the media is studied for many reasons by scholars from numerous fields. The spoken language of television is a readily available resource for EFL students who may not have access to other forms of authentic spoken English within their own culture. For teachers of EFL it is necessary to understand the genres of television in order to provide strategies by which our students can gain access to this valuable resource. More research needs to be done into the spoken genres of television, in order to help teachers help learners.

I believe the model used in this dissertation has provided me with valuable knowledge about the genre and this interview can be used as a comparison with other interviews in future research. It would be useful for a corpus to be made for this genre as it would provide much more conclusive results than what has been little more than a preliminary investigation in the case of this dissertation.

APPENDIX I – Transcript of text

Key to transcription – adapted from Eggins and Slade (1997: 5).

Symbol	Meaning
.	certainty, completion (typically falling tone)
No end of turn punctuation	implies non-termination (no final intonation)
,	parcelling of talk; breathing time (silent beats in Halliday's 1985a/94 system)
?	uncertainty (rising tone, or wh-interrogative)
!	"surprised" intonation (rising-falling tone 5 in Halliday's 1994 system)
WORDS IN CAPITALS	emphatic stress and/or increased volume
""	change in voice quality in reported speech
()	untranscribable talk
(words in parentheses)	guessed transcription
==	overlap (contiguity, simultaneity)
…	short hesitation within a turn.

HARDtalk – 26th February 2002 – Gurpal Virdi - transcript

1 Tim Sebastian: (i) Four years ago, my guest was a London policeman returning with his FAMILY from a holiday in Portugal. (ii) He was arrested by a small ARMY of fellow officers (iii) and accused of sending racist hate mail. (iv) Dismissed by the force (v) he was later himself found to have been the VICTIM of racial discrimination (vi) and was reinstated with compensation and a public apology. (vii) Today he finally goes back to work for the first time since his arrest. (viii) Is he SATISFIED (ix) that the police force has made amends?

Screenshot: HARDtalk with Tim Sebastian

2 Tim Sebastian: (i) Gurpal Virdi, a very warm welcome to the programme.
3 Gurpal Virdi: (i) Thank you very much, Tim. (ii) It's taken a year == and a bit.
4 TS: ==(i) The, the West Midlands police have started a REINVESTIGATION of this case, (ii) but you have said (iii) that you won't take part in that. (iv) Why not?
5 GV: (i) No, no. (ii) I've not refused to take part in it. (iii) I will assist them. (iv) Ah, we did have a little problem with West Midlands police, (v) Um, the Police

Complaints Authority, however now passed the matter on to the ah, Welsh Constabulary, (vi) so they're now dealing with it.

6 TS: (i) And you ARE going to co-operate fully with them?

7 GV: (i) Yes. (ii) I have made a written submission and a statement to the Police Complaints Authority, (iii) and we'll go ahead from there.

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.

12 TS: (i) Are you BITTER about the treatment that you received?

13 GV: (i) It's not a matter of being bitter. (ii) It's um… (iii) An injustice has been done. (iv) And er we we need to see justice BEING done in order to satisfy the Londoners and the communities which the Metropolitan Police serves== (today)

14 TS: (i) ==And JUSTICE isn't the compensation that you've received. (ii) It's not the apologies that you received? (iii) What, what do you actually WANT in terms of justice?

15 GV: (i) Well, we, we have got some justice. (ii) I mean the Commissioner gave a very, a written apology to us. (iii) Ian Blair the Deputy Commissioner's also given us a verbal apology==

16 TS: ==(i) Back in two thousand, wasn't it?

17 GV: (i) Yes. (ii) And he also did so in the ah, January, <<(iii) when he,>> at the Metropolitan Police Authority meeting. (iv) Yes, we've had two apologies (v) so um that's, that's made a lot of the amends. (vi) And I just want to move forward (vii) and get on with my career.

18 TS: (i) When these accusations came your way, (ii) they originally tried to paint you as a bitter man, didn't they? (iii) Somebody who had been passed over for promotion, (iv) as, you wanted to be a DETECTIVE Sergeant, (v) you were stuck as a UNIFORMED Sergeant. (vi) To what extent WERE you bitter about that?

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==

20 TS: (i) ==Seventeen job applications you'd ==made, (ii) and seventeen had been turned == down.

21 GV: (i) ==Well seventeen. (ii)==That's right, (iii) within==

22 TS: (i) ==You had to have been UPSET by that surely.

23 GV: (i)No, (ii) when you know racism exists, (iii) you don't, (iv) you don't get upset, (v) and there's the police==

24 TS: (i) ==You just put it all down to racism did you?

25 GV: (i) Well not all of them.   (ii) Some of them were due to like financial constraints, (iii) some were due to personality clashes, (iv) so it wasn't all racism, (v) but majority was, (vi) did have an underlying racism to it.

26 TS: (i) How did you know that?

27 GV: (i) Well, initially when I used to put the application, (ii) people used to come up to me and say (iii)you're not being selected because of your background.   (iv) That's like, (v) in the eighties that used to happen.

28 TS: (i) That's your background in the force or your ethnic background?

29 GV: (i) Ethnic background.

30 TS: (i) That was ABSOLUTELY spelt out== to you.

31 GV: (i) ==Oh, that was absolutely made clear to you <<(ii) when,>>in the eighties, (iii)yes.

32 TS: (i) Such as, Special Branch for instance.   (ii)==( )

33 GV: (i) ==Special Branch (ii) and there was another CID posting I applied for then.

34 TS: (i) Your wife said (ii) 'he was constantly being passed over for promotion (iii) and refused permission for courses that OTHER officers would get on as a matter of routine.'

35 GV: (i) Mm.

36 TS: (i) But there were other people, (ii) not everybody was in the fast track in the police service.   (iii) There are people who never even make sergeant, aren't there?   (iv) Go through all their lives as as constables.

37 GV: (i) Yeah, you're absolutely right.   (ii) Um, but when like for myself, (iii) I can talk for myself.   (iv) I applied for a driving course, just a SIMPLE, BASIC driving course.   (v) I haven't HAD that.   (vi) Now I've been passed over for that.   (vii) You know, that just shows the level of um racism that goes on within the metropolitan police.

38 TS: (i) But here you are somebody who, who wanted to join the police for a long time. (ii) You wanted to make a difference.   (iii) You say (iv) you WEREN'T bitter, (v) but you must have been deeply upset by this.   (vi) You're putting in for application after application, job after job, course after course, (vii) and you're getting turned ba down.   (viii) It MUST have a corrosive effect on you, doesn't it, after a while?

39 GV: (i) No, (ii) because when you're dealing with members of public (iii) you face a lot more racism through them.   (iv) But when it happens internally (v) it does hurt, (vi) but you wouldn't goes as far as being bitter (vii) and, sort of, going to the extent you're saying.

40 TS: (i) So you were HURT, (ii) you had a GRIEVANCE.

41 GV: (i) You're hurt yes, (ii) and but you wanna fight on (iii) because at the end of the day you joined the police service to serve members of the public, (iv) that's what you're there for.

42 TS: (i) And what about ambitions for moving up through the service?

43 GV: (i) Well, I'll be quite honest with you, (ii) I have   (iii) I have no ambitions.   Ah, not to go promo, (iv) I got, (v) I have no bash, ambitions to be a Commissioner, for a start. (vi) Ah, I was looking for the next two ranks (vii) and that's it, within, within thirty years service.

44 TS: (i) That's really the limit.   (ii) You weren't pushing to, ==to

45 GV: ==(i) No, no, (ii) I was not.   (iii) Like I said, I wasn't PUSHING to become commissioner, no.   (iv) That ==was

46 TS: ==(i) But you PUSHED for seventeen jobs at the same time.

47 GV: (i) Well, I think seventeen might be an overestimate.   (ii) There might be some duplicate applications in there.   (iii) Um, without looking at the file (iv) I wouldn't be able to comment on that.

48 TS: (i) You always made clear (ii) that you wouldn't tolerate RACISM around you.

49 GV: (i) Mm.

50 TS: (i) Your colleagues presumably knew that.

51 GV: (i) That's right yes.

52 TS: (i) Were you the butt of racist comments?   (ii) DESPITE that, (iii) despite making that known to your colleagues.

53 GV: (i) Well, initially when I joined in the eighties (ii) I was the only person around, at the station.   (iii) Ah, So I was a visible target, (iv) but as I moved up, um through my career.==

54 TS: ==(i) And people targeted you did they?

55 GV: (i) Well, I wasn't like targeted specifically, (ii) but there were one or two individuals. (iii) Let's just, (iv) let's just make one thing clear, Tim, (v) before we talk about this. (vi) Not all of the Metropolitan Police are racists, (vii) there are VERY good, fine officers in the service.   (viii) And er, you know I would back them hundred percent. (ix) But we do HAVE a few bad apples, (x) and these are the people I need to target. (xi) These are people the senior officers need to target.   (xii) Yes, (xiii) I was a victim of those few individuals.

56 TS: (i) What are we talking about as a victim?   (ii) We're talking about innuendoes? (iii) Jokes?

57 GV: (i) Yeah.

58 TS: (i) Nasty comments?

59 GV: (i) Yeah, (ii) lockers being broken into.   (iii) Lot of messages, horrible messages

being left in your trays.   (iv) Your correspondence being moved (v) so you look, (vi) you can't perform professionally.   (vii) You know, given the worst posting ever. (viii) You know, but you carry on (ix) because at the end of the day I joined the Police Service to join, to help the public (x) and that's our duty.

60 TS: (i) Never thought of leaving?   (ii) Never got so downcast (iii) that you thought, (iv) I've had enough of this?

61 GV: (i) Well, I was seriously considering leaving, (ii) um, after what they did to me.   (iii) But then the Commissioner interviewed, intervened (iv) and the MPA intervened. (v) And they assured me (vi) that racism will be dealt with.   (vii) And they supported me a hundred percent (viii) and that's why (ix) I decided to come back.

62 TS: (i) By December 1997, which was the time ==when the racist hate mail, the first BATCH ==was sent.

63 GV: ==(i) That's right.   ==(ii) Mm, mm.

64 TS: (i) So you were, (ii) you were resigned to not getting any further in the Police Force. (iii) You were, (iv) you were sort of , more or less resigned with your LOT, at that time.

65 GV: (i) No, (ii) I wouldn't say resigned.   (iii) I mean, I was, (iv) I was going to go for <<(v) like I said>> the next, the next rank, (vi) and I would have been more than happy with that.   (vii) But no,<< (viii) like I said,>> I've no ambitions of being Commissioner.

66 TS: (i) There were reports (ii) that you had threatened to expose some of your fellow colleagues for racist attitudes.   ==(iii) Was that true at ==the time?

67 GV: ==(i) That's right.   ==(ii) Yes, (iii) it is, yes.

68 TS: (i) So that was FESTERING at the time.

69 GV: (i) Yes (ii)it was.   (iii) And it all culminated with the stabbings and that what I dealt with in March 1998.   (iv) Where a senior officer was not performing (v) as he should have been doing.   (vi) And I threatened to expose him.

70 TS: (i) But at the time when the first batch was sent (ii) there was this SIMMERING row going on, (iii) you had threatened some of your colleagues.

71 GV: (i) No, (ii) no, (iii) no, (iv) no, (v) no, (vi) not at that time.   (vii) What was happening at that time was (viii) as a sergeant, a lot of ethnic constables and civilian staff were coming to me for help.   (ix) I was merely taking up their cases, as well as women constables, as well as white constables.   (x) I was taking up their cases. (xi) They saw me as a sergeant that would support them.   (xii) So, erm, there was things going on in the background, which I suppose the senior management didn't like.   (xiii) But I was not going to tolerate injustice to anybody.

72 TS: (i) But on the eve, early in the morning on CHRISTMAS Eve, 1997, thirteen officers

including you yourself received racist literature. (ii) It was COPIED on a computer,<< (iii) they discovered >> using YOUR log-on.

73 GV: (i) Mm.

74 TS: (i) And it said (ii) 'Memo', (iii) it carried a black face, (iv) and it said (v) 'Memo: (vi) not wanted. (vii) Keep the police force white. (viii) Leave now or else. (ix) Signed N. F.' (x) Presumably for the National Front.

75 GV: (i) Mm.

76 TS: (i) What was your reaction (ii) when you received, received this?

77 GV: (i) Well, initially we, we thought (ii) it was a horrible joke. (iii) Christmas time, (iv) people, (v) somebody must have got drunk, (vi) and they'd done this. (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.' (xiii) And the, the,==

78 TS: ==(i) How do you mean (ii) they're fearing what was going to happen?

79 GV: (i) Well, it was one of their own colleagues (ii) doing this to them. ==(iii) Because

80 TS: ==(i) So it was CLEAR (ii) this was from someone in the, ==inside the police.==

81 GV: ==Oh, it was. ==It was internal. And the NAMES of ethnic officers only, no white officers.

82 TS: But you didn't realise at that time, that it had come from your computer.

83 GV: No.

84 TS: Using your log-on.

85 GV: No, not at all. And um, when they said that, I mean, I was shocked, I was horrified. Um, like I said my colleagues were in fear. I started getting worried as well. I thought, you know, we could be dealing with a, a major incident and somebody or a colleague of ours could be stabbing us in the back. It, it, it was very fearful at the time.

86 TS: And at that time when that first batch of hate mail went around, you didn't realise that eventually you would become a suspect== . . . in this case.

87 GV: ==No, not at all. It's only three months later that I found out that I was a suspect for it.

88 TS: They went BACK over the events of that night in some detail, didn't they?

89 GV: That's right.

90 TS: And they, they, they discovered that the mail was actually printed between 3.55 and 4 o'clock on the morning of December the twenty-fourth==

91 GV: ==Well, that's==

92 TS: ==Did you have an alibi for that time?

93 GV: I did have an alibi. But that was the evidence according to the investigating officer,

which we know was now, which is now described as flawed.   So whether the run was done at that time we're not sure.   But that particular time I was actually giving somebody a lift home.   And then I was covering for my ==(colleagues)

94 TS: ==You've had somebody confirm that?

95 GV: Oh, yes.   And then I was covering for my colleagues at Acton police station, who were having their Christmas meal.   So I was nowhere NEAR when this was happening.

96 TS: Who would have a motive for putting your log-on?   How do you explain that this came to YOUR door?

97 GV: Well, Tim, the evidence like I said at the tribunal, and subsequent evidence to come out, it proves that the evidence they used was flawed.   The computer evidence was not, ah, reliable.   So, we need to investigate this whole matter again and keep an open mind.   So, before I start saying who did what at a particular time, let's investigate it properly.

98 TS: But there have been investigations that have already taken place.   Are you SO dissatisfied with what took place?   Do you really believe that they've made no progress what so ever?   Or that they've simply sat on information that they have discovered?

99 GV: Well, I look at it this way, that they do not keep an open mind.   The court has confirmed that and also they did NOT look at other factors.   What they did was they got a suspect and put the evidence around a suspect.   They did not get the EVIDENCE to get the suspect.

100 TS: Did you believe though that, at first you were, this was coming to your door?   But did you, did you believe as things went on that it was, you were SERIOUSLY going to be charged with this?

101 GV: NO, I had, like I said I had no idea.   And when I got arrested in the middle of the street, I thought, what the hell's going on?   You know, I'll wake up in a minute.   It was like a nightmare.   And then, on top of that, for seven hours they searched my house with a terrorist team.   Something was definitely wrong.   Something was definitely wrong.

102 TS: You were set up, then?   This is, this is your view.   You were set up?

103 GV: I was set up==

104 TS: ==You were framed for this.

105 GV: I was set up and, ==and

106 TS: ==INSIDE job.   INSIDE the Police Force.

107 GV: Well, that's what it leads to, yes.   But, ehm==

108 TS: =='Cos who else would have had access to your log-on?

109 GV: Not only my log-on, but access to the information of ethnic officers, and ethnic civilian staff.   So it had to be somebody within the police service.

110 TS: You mentioned the incident in Hanwell in March '98.   There was a row with fellow officers over the handling of a local stabbing, wasn't there?

111 GV: Mm.

112 TS: There were TWO victims, one was Indian, one was Iraqi.

113 GV: Mm.

114 TS: And two were found not guilty, and three were successfully prosecuted.

115 GV: Mm.

116 TS: You accused fellow officers of failing to VIGOROUSLY investigate the crime and of making dreadful basic mistakes.

117 GV: That's right.

118 TS: Why did you say that?

119 GV: Because they did.   And only last ==week

120 TS: ==There were successful prosecutions weren't there?

121 GV: Well, it wasn't prosecuted under the a, the racist banner.   They were prosecuted without the racist element.   If they had been they would have added on more sentence to them.

122 TS: Ealing's Chief Superintendent, Peter Goulding, said it was thoroughly investigated.

123 GV: Well,==

124 TS: ==The whole incident.

125 GV: Well, that's his opinion.   I, I tend to disagree, and only last week I was commended for my actions on that, that night.   Where as initially, the Chief Superintendent at the time was reprimanding me for it.   So there you go, you get two different views there. Somebody independent looks at the papers and they commendate me, give me a commendation.   One was willing to reprimand me.   There is something, definitely something wrong at Ealing police station.

126 TS: And you feel this is another reason, BECAUSE you complained about your colleagues, why you were later victimised?   Why you were later arrested?

127 GV: Tim, I wouldn't like, ==wouldn't like

128 TS: ==Why you were fitted up for the sending of racist hate mail?

129 GV: Well, their motives um, I wouldn't like to say, because there are other factors going on.   And there's an investigation going on and I'd rather keep quiet about that at the moment.

130 TS: The arrest took place in April '98 as we said, and a search followed.   A humiliating search.

131 GV: Mm.

132 TS: What was done?   Why was it so humiliating?

133 GV: Well, it was the first time they actually used a 'Pulsar' team, which is used for terrorists, on a police officer.

134 TS: What is that team?

135 GV: Well they normally do searches on terrorist places.   They go through every single inch of your house==

136 TS: ==This is a group of people specialising,==

137 GV: ==Yes, specialised people, yes.   And we had children in the house.   We had my nephew and niece staying with us at the time.   They were frightened out of their wits. And what, furthermore what they did was, they started searching the kids.   These are kids, most of them like under ten at the time.   It was HORRIBLE.   I mean, I have never ever searched a child.   This was, the acts what they did was, was totally wrong.

138 TS: Was nothing found?

139 GV: Well, it was fishing expedition.   They took everything they could lay their hands on. Even the computer, which we bought for our daughter on her tenth birthday. Receipts AFTER the event.   They took that away.

140 TS: There were reports that they found a microfiche that you weren't supposed to have with you.   Is that correct?

141 GV: Well, that's their opinion, yes.

142 TS: But you had this microfiche?

143 GV: Well, I'd rather not go into that at this stage.

144 TS: And they talked about envelopes, which were the same as the batch used to distribute some of the hate mail.   White envelopes.

145 GV: Yeah, we originally found out that, that batch was of five thousand, envelopes.

146 TS: Can you see why... CIRCUMSTANTIALLY there were those who believed that, you might have been guilty of this?

147 GV: No, I can't, Tim.   No, I, I disagree, because what the investigator did, and which the employment tribunal found, was they were racist against me, and what they did was got a suspect, in order to save a white colleague, they got an Asian, or a (Afro-Caribbean) black, they got an ethnic suspect and put the evidence around the suspect.   This is wrong.   This is conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.   We're talking of VERY serious offences, and if the investigation is to found that there is somebody else that's doing it, you're looking at not only the initial investigating TEAM who were doing this, also senior officers rubber stamped the whole thing, you're looking at very serious offences.   They're putting a colleague of theirs in prison, or they're trying, attempting to put a colleague of theirs in prison, which is not

right, which is not justice.

148 TS: What was the tone of the police disciplinary panel, when you were called== before that?

149 GV: ==It was a kangaroo court.

150 TS: How do you mean, why?

151 GV: Well,==

152 TS: ==In what way?

153 GV: They um, they decided that er, without hearing the case I was guilty and they just went along with it.

154 TS: But you were questioned, weren't you?

155 GV: I was questioned , YES.

156 TS: In some detail.

157 GV: Yes, but when we were getting um, when my team were getting, legal team were getting into the ins and outs of the situation, they would stop the hearing for a, a tea break, or a, postpone it for another day.

158 TS: So you WEREN'T able to say the things that you wanted, nor your legal team.

159 GV: Well, we were…

160 TS: But you got to the end of the disciplinary hearing and you hadn't said, you hadn't made the points you wanted to make.

170 GV: No, and plus the documents w, w, w, documents weren't being released to us, it's only towards the end, when we were threatening judicial review, that they released some of the documents. So we were in a disciplinary hearing, with our hands tied up, trying to fight a case against the a, the police service. Which is totally wrong. It was corrupt, the whole thing was corrupt.

171 TS: And when you were found guilty, how did you feel then?

172 GV: I, uh, I mean all the PRESS thing was arranged. We had a senior officer at front door, criticising me, calling me all sorts of names. And then he was on the TV saying the same thing. Now it was all pre-planned, everything was done in order to discredit me, my community and my family. This was totally wrong, and THAT'S why we fought.

173 TS: WHY, why did they want to discredit you? Why was it so important that they discredit you? Because after all they'd been under fire for being, you know, a racist institution, um a lot of cases of racism within the metropolitan police. Why would they want this one as well? Why would they want to throw the book at you?

174 GV: Well er, I don't know, I mean, I can guess why, because if senior officers are going to lose their jobs, what's worse for the metropolitan police, do they get rid of one sergeant or five or six senior officers? I think they'd rather get rid of a sergeant.

175 TS: Is that SUFFICIENT reason to go through all this, and endure all the BAD publicity that the metropolitan police has had as a result of your case? 'Cos they HAVE, they've had huge, incredible bad publicity, haven't they?.

176 GV: Well it's==

177 TS: ==Was it worth it to them to go ==through all this?

178 GV: ==Well, I think that's a question we should, need to ask the metropolitan police, I mean, although I'm a part of the metropolitan police, but there are certain senior officers who made that decision. They, they got to answer that. As far as I was concerned, I was there to determined to clear my name, which I've done.

179 TS: Have you done it to your satisfaction, because the employment tribunal didn't look at the evidence against you, they, they DISCOVERED that you were vindicated on the grounds of racial discrimination, weren't they, that's, that's what vindicated you.

180 GV: No, I think they vindicated with the evidence as well, that the evidence did not TALLY with what they were saying.

181 TS: But you were, you were found to have been discriminated against== by the employment tribunal.

182 GV: ==Yes.

183 TS: That is what you got compensation for==…isn't it?

184 GV: ==That's right, yes. Initially, yes.

185 TS: Do you feel though that that vindicates your name because the evidence against you has never been tested in a public forum, has it?

186 GV: Well, they're quite welcome to. The CPS dropped it. I was quite looking to fighting that case in crime, in crime court.

187 TS: The CPS said initially, the Crown Prosecution said initially that there was COGENT and CREDIBLE evidence against you.

188 GV: Well they certainly changed their tune when my MP started raising these questions with them. And um, now the commissioner's apologised and he's written in the apology letter that I am not the suspect, I've been vindicated. Now the top man is saying that. What more do you want?

189 TS: What more do YOU want? You want this investigation to go ahead, don't== you?

190 GV: ==I want==

191 TS: ==You want culprits found, don't you?

192 GV: I want the investigation to go ahead to get the culprits, and the senior officers who did this. What I want to do is I want to get back to my CAREER, get back to my JOB and put everything past me. I've SUFFERED enough, my family have suffered enough. I've lost my parents. I just want to get on now. I think that it's time to move on.

193 TS: Ian Blair, the Deputy Commissioner, said it was a COURAGEOUS act for you to go back to work at the Metropolitan police. Do you think it, do you think it's a courageous act? Is it going to be, how hard is it for you to be going back again==…after four years.

194 GV: ==Well it's going…it's going to be hard, and I, I've got to look over my shoulder, I mean who is behind me. I'm going to go in there with an open mind, Tim, and I hope the Metropolitan Police receive me with an open mind. I have been given assurances by the Commissioner and by Assistant Commissioner Ghaffur, so let's hope that we can work together in order to ah, move the Metropolitan Police on forward.

195 TS: Have you still QUALMS about addressing or meeting those people who, there is a whispering campaign, isn't there? Still going on around you. There are people who still don't BELIEVE your version of the story, you've said that in the past. How do you feel about confronting them?

196 GV: I don't need to confront them at all. People start whispering campaigns because they're worried about themselves. They've done something wrong. That's why they start whispering campaigns. People who've done nothing wrong, they will keep an open mind. So er, it's not me who's got to worry it's them who's got to worry.

197 TS: What sort of place is it for ethnic minorities to work in, for people considering, from ethnic minorities, they're trying to get more and more people in to the Metropolitan Police, what would you say to those who are CONSIDERING it from ethnic minorities?

198 GV: Well, a, a, at the end of the day, it's an individual choice, I mean I wanted to join the police service, I made a positive decision to join the Metropolitan Police. There have been changes. Some have been very good, and it's all been done through the black police association, who put, passed quite a few rules and regulations in order to assist the senior managers. West London has suffered quite a lot, because that's where I live. And er, the recruiting drive there has gone down hill. It's time we need to pick that up. We need to get youngsters in the police service. It's the only way to improve the service. We have VERY good role models. I mean we've got Mr Tarique Ghaffur, the Assistant Commissioner at the moment. And we got Mr Mike Fuller who's a DAC at the moment.

199 TS: DAC?

200 GV: Deputy Assistant Commissioner. Now these people have done a lot of good hard work, and they're good role models, and let's the ah youngsters follow them.

201 TS: How nervous are you going to be walking through the door?

202 GV: I already been, so ah, I'm not that nervous.

203 TS: It's alright, you're prepared for it?

204 GV: I'm prepared for it, let's not forget, Tim, as I say, there's only a few people.   A lot of people have backed me.   A lot of people supported me.   Two individuals, Inspector Bahar and David Michael, they supported me throughout this case.   And erm, if they're next to me, I've got no qualms.

205 TS: Gurpal Virdi, pleasure having you on the programme.==   Good luck to ==you.

206 GV: ==Great, ==Thank you== very much.

207 TS: ==Thank you.   Thanks.

Appendix II – Lexico-grammatical coding

Coding Sheet for Mood Analysis – Gurpal Virdi interview

Turn no./speaker	Clause no.	Subject	Mood	Polarity	Adjuncts
1.TS	i	my guest	declarative: full		circumstantial
	ii	He	declarative: full		
	iii	(he)	declarative: elliptical: 1 (SF)PC		
	iv#		non-finite clause		
	v	he	declarative: full		circumstantial
	vi	(he)	declarative: elliptical: 1 (S)FPC		
	vii	he	declarative: full		circumstantial interpersonal circumstantial
	viii	he	interrogative: polar: full		
	ix#	the Police Force	declarative: full		
2.TS	i		minor		interpersonal circumstantial
3.GV	i		minor		interpersonal
	ii	It	declarative: full		
4.TS	i	The West Midlands Police	declarative: full		
	ii	you	declarative: full		
	iii#	you	declarative: full	negative	
	iv	(you)	interrogative-wh: elliptical: 4 (FSPC)		
5.GV	i		minor	negative	

	ii	I	declarative: full	negative	textual
	iii	I	declarative: full		
	iv	We	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	v	The Police Complaints Authority	declarative: full		textual textual circumstantial textual
	vi	they	declarative: full		textual
6.TS	i	you	declarative: full		textual interpersonal
7.GV	i		minor		
	ii	I	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	iii	We	declarative: full		textual
8.TS	i	you	declarative: full: tagged		interpersonal circumstantial
9.GV	i		minor		
	ii	I	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		textual
	iii	These culprits	declarative: full		
10.TS	i	The culprits	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		
11.GV	i	The culprits	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		
	ii	the people	declarative: elliptical: 9 (S)FPC		textual
12.TS	i	you	interrogative-polar: full		
13.GV	i	It	declarative: full	negative	
	ii*	it			textual
	iii	an injustice	declarative: full		

	iv	we,we	declarative: full		textual
					textual
					circumstantial
14.TS	i	justice	declarative: full	negative	textual
	ii	it	declarative: full	negative	
	iii	you	interrogative-wh: full		circumstantial
15.GV	i	we,we	declarative: full		textual
	ii	the Commissioner	declarative: full		textual
	iii	Ian Blair the Deputy Commissioner	declarative: full		textual
16.TS	i	(It)	declarative: tagged: elliptical (SF)A		circumstantial
17.GV	i		minor		
	ii	he	declarative: full		textual
					circumstantial
					textual
					circumstantial
	iii*	he			
	iv	we	declarative: full		textual
	v	that, that	declarative: full		textual
					textual
	vi	I	declarative: full		textual
					interpersonal
	vii	(I)	declarative: elliptical:17 (SFP)PC		textual
18.TS	i#	these accusations	declarative: full		circumstantial
	ii	they	declarative: full: tagged		
	iii	Somebody	declarative: full		
	iv	you	declarative: full		textual
	v	you	declarative: full		
	vi	you	interrogative-w		

			h: full		
19.GV	i	I	declarative: full		circumstantial
	ii	I	declarative: full		textual interpersonal
	iii*	these			
20.TS	i	you	declarative: full		
	ii	seventeen	declarative: full		textual
21.GV	i*	seventeen			textual
	ii	That	declarative: full		
	iii*				
22.TS	i	you	declarative: full		interpersonal
23.GV	i		minor	negative	
	ii #	you	declarative: full		
	iii*	you	declarative: full	negative	
	iv	you	declarative: full	negative	
	v	there	declarative: full		textual
24.TS	i	you	declarative: tagged: full		interpersonal
25.GV	i	(I)	declarative: elliptical: 24 (SFP)AC		textual
	ii	Some of them	declarative: full		interpersonal
	iii	some	declarative: full		
	iv	it	declarative: full		textual
	v	majority	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
26.TS	i	you	interrogative-wh: full		
27.GV	i#	I	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	ii	people	declarative: full		
	iii	you	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iv*	that	declarative: full		
	v	that	declarative: full		circumstantial
28.TS	i	That	declarative: full		
29.GV	i	(That)	declarative:		

			elliptical: 28 (SF)C		
30.TS	i	That	declarative: full		interpersonal
31.GV	i	that	declarative: full		interpersonal circumstantial circumstantial
	ii*				
	iii		minor		
32.TS	i	(you)	declarative: elliptical: 27 (SF/P)ACA		textual textual
	ii	( )			
33.GV	i	(I)	declarative: elliptical: 27 (SF/P)C		
	ii	there	declarative: full		
34.TS	i	Your wife	declarative: full		
	ii	he	declarative: full		interpersonal
	iii	(he)	declarative: elliptical: 34 (SF)APC		circumstantial
35.GV	i		minor		
36.TS	i	there	declarative: full		textual
	ii	everyday	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iii	There	declarative: full: tagged		interpersonal
	iv	(There)	declarative: elliptical: 36 (SFC)C		
37.GV	i	you	declarative: full		textual interpersonal
	ii*				textual textual
	iii	I	declarative: full		
	iv	I	declarative: full		interpersonal
	v	I	declarative: full	negative	

	vi	I	declarative: full		interpersonal
	vii	that	declarative: full		interpersonal
38.TS	i	you	declarative: full		textual circumstantial circumstantial
	ii	You	declarative: full		
	iii	You	declarative: full		
	iv	you	declarative: full	negative	
	v	you	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	vi	You	declarative: full		
	vii	you	declarative: full		textual
	viii	It	declarative: tagged: full		circumstantial
39.GV	i		minor	negative	
	ii#	you	declarative: full		textual textual
	iii	you	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iv#	it	declarative: full		textual
	v	it	declarative: full		
	vi	you	declarative: full	negative	textual
	vii#		non-finite clause		textual interpersonal
40.TS	i	you	declarative: full		textual
	ii	you	declarative: full		
41.GV	i	you	declarative: full		textual
	ii	you	declarative: full		textual
	iii	you	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	iv	that	declarative: full		
42.TS	i	ambitions	interrogative-wh: full		textual
43.GV	i	I	declarative: full		textual
	ii*	I			
	iii	I	declarative: full		
	iv*	I			

	v	I	declarative: full		circumstantial circumstantial
	vi	I	declarative: full		
	vii	that	declarative: full		textual
44.TS	i	that	declarative		interpersonal
	ii*	you	declarative: elliptical: 43 (C)S^F	negative	
45.GV	i		minor		
	ii	I	declarative: elliptical- 43 (PC)S^F	negative	textual
	iii	I	declarative: full		textual
	iv#	I	declarative: full	negative	circumstantial textual
	v*	That			
46.TS	i	you	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
47.GV	i	seventeen	declarative: full		textual interpersonal
	ii	There	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iii#		non-finite clause	negative	textual
	iv	I	declarative: full	negative	circumstantial
48.TS	i	You	declarative		interpersonal
	ii#	you	declarative	negative	circumstantial
49.GV	i		minor		
50.TS	i	Your colleagues	declarative		interpersonal
51.GV	i	That	declarative: full		textual
52.TS	i	you	interrogative-polar: full		
	ii*	that			textual
	iii	that	non- finite clause		textual
53.GV	i#	I	declarative: full		textual circumstantial

	ii	I	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iii	I	declarative: full		textual textual
	iv(#)	I	declarative: full		textual textual
54.TS	i	people	declarative: full: tagged		textual
55.GV	i	I	declarative: full	negative	textual interpersonal interpersonal
	ii	there	declarative: full		textual
	iii*	Let's	imperative		interpersonal
	iv	Let's	imperative		interpersonal interpersonal
	v#	we	declarative: full		circumstantial
	vi	Not all of the Metropolitan Police	declarative: full		
	vii	there	declarative: full		circumstantial
	viii	I	declarative: full		textual textual interpersonal
	ix	we	declarative: full		textual
	x	these	declarative: full		textual
	xi	these	declarative: full		
	xii		minor		
	xiii	I	declarative: full		circumstantial
56.TS	i	we	interrogative-wh: full		circumstantial
	ii	we	declarative: full		
	iii	(we)	declarative: elliptical: 56 (SFP)C		
57.GV	i		minor		
58.TS	i	(we)	declarative: elliptical: 56		

			(SFP)C		
59.GV	i		minor		
	ii	Lockers	declarative: full		
	iii	Lot of messages, horrible messages	declarative: full		
	iv	Your correspondence	declarative: full		
	v*	you	declarative: elliptical: 59 (C)S^F/P		textual
	vi	you	declarative: full	negative	
	vii	(you)	declarative: elliptical: 59 (SF)PC		interpersonal interpersonal
	viii	You (generic)	declarative: elliptical: 59 (C)SF/P		interpersonal textual
	ix	I	declarative: full		textual circumstantial circumstantial
	x	that	declarative: full		textual
60.TS	i	(you)	interrogative-polar: elliptical: 60 (FS)APC		
	ii	(you)	interrogative-polar: elliptical: 60 (FS)APC		
	iii#	you	declarative: full		
	iv#	I	declarative: full		
61.GV	i	I	declarative: full		textual interpersonal
	ii#	they	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	iii	the Commissioner	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	iv	the MPA	declarative: full		textual

	v	they	declarative: full		textual
	vi#	racism	declarative: full		
	vii	they	declarative		textual interpersonal
	viii	that	declarative: full		textual
	ix	I	declarative: full		
62.TS	i	the racist hate-mail, the first batch	declarative: full		circumstantial circumstantial
63.GV	i	That	declarative: full		
	ii		minor		
64.TS	i*	you	declarative: full		textual
	ii	you	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iii*	you	declarative: full		
	iv	you	declarative: full		interpersonal interpersonal circumstantial
65.GV	i		minor	negative	
	ii	I	declarative: full	negative	
	iii*	I	declarative*		interpersonal
	iv#	I	declarative: full		
	v	I	declarative: full		interpersonal
	vi	I	declarative: full		textual interpersonal
	vii#	I	declarative: full		circumstantial
	viii	I	declarative: full		interpersonal
66.TS	i	There	declarative: full		
	ii#	you	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iii	that	interrogative-polar: full		circumstantial
67.GV	i	That	declarative: full		
	ii		minor		
	iii	it	declarative: elliptical: 66: (C) SF		textual

68.TS	i	that	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
69.GV	i		minor		
	ii	it	declarative: elliptical: 68: (C) SF		
	iii	it	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	iv#	a senior officer	declarative	negative	
	v#	he	declarative		
	vi	I	declarative		textual
70.TS	i#	this first batch	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	ii	there	declarative: full		
	iii	you	declarative: full		
71.GV	i		minor	negative	
	ii		minor	negative	
	iii		minor	negative	
	iv		minor	negative	
	v		minor	negative	
	vi	(I)	declarative: elliptical: 70 (SFPC)A	negative	circumstantial
	vii	What was happening	declarative: full		circumstantial circumstantial
	viii#	A lot of ethnic constables and civilian staff	declarative: full		circumstantial
	ix	I	declarative: full		interpersonal
	x	I	declarative: full		
	xi	They	declarative: full		
	xii	there	declarative: full		textual circumstantial interpersonal
	xiii	I	declarative: full	negative	textual
72.TS	i	thirteen officers	declarative: full		textual

		including you yourself			circumstantial circumstantial circumstantial
	ii#	It	declarative: full		circumstantial
	iii	they	declarative: full:		
73.GV	i		minor		
74.TS	i	it	declarative: full		textual
	ii*				
	iii	it	declarative: full		
	iv	it	declarative: full		textual
	v*				
	vi	(You)	declarative: elliptical: 74 (SF)P	negative	
	vii		imperative: full		circumstantial
	viii		imperative: full		
	ix*				
	x	(it)	declarative: elliptical: 74 (SF)PC		interpersonal circumstantial
75.GV	i		minor		
76.TS	i	your reaction	interrogative-wh: full		
	ii#	you	declarative: full		
77.GV	i	we, we	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	ii#	it	declarative: full		
	iii	(It)	declarative: elliptical: 77 (SF)C		
	iv*	People			
	v	somebody	declarative: full		interpersonal
	vi	they	declarative: full		textual
	vii	you	declarative: full		textual circumstantial
	viii		imperative		

	ix	something	declarative: full	negative	
	x	constables	declarative: full		textual circumstantial circumstantial
	xi		imperative		textual
	xii	we	declarative: full		
	xiii*				textual
78.TS	i	you	interrogative-wh: full		
	ii#	they	declarative: full		
79.GV	i	it	declarative: full		textual
	ii#		non- finite clause		circumstantial
	iii*				textual
80.TS	i	it	declarative: full		textual
	ii	this	declarative: full		circumstantial

APPENDIX III – Appraisal analysis

Coding Sheet for Appraisal Analysis – Gurpal Virdi interview

Turn/ speaker	Clause	Lexical item	Positive/negative Attitude	Appraised	Category	Subcategory
1/TS	ii	a small ARMY	negative	of fellow officers	Amplification Judgement	enrichment propriety
	ii	fellow	negative	officers	Amplification Judgement	enrichment propriety
	iii	racist	negative	hate mail	Judgement	propriety
	iii	hate	negative	mail	Judgement	propriety
	v	himself		he (Gurpal)	Amplification	enrichment
	v	victim	negative	he (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	v	racial	negative	discrimination	Judgement	propriety
	v	discrimination	negative	(Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	vii	finally		goes back to work	Amplification	enrichment
	viii	satisfied	positive	that the police force has made amends	Affect	dissatisfaction
2/TS	i	Gurpal Virdi			Involvement	
	i	very		warm welcome	Amplification	augmenting
	i	warm	positive	welcome	Appreciation	valuation
3/GV	i	very much		Thank you	Amplification	augmenting
	i	Tim			Involvement	
4/TS	ii	but	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
5/GV	iv	little		problem	Amplification	mitigation
8/TS	i	still		want	Amplification	augmenting
	i	want	positive	a full public enquiry	Appreciation	reaction
9/GV	iii	culprits		(people/person who sent the mail)	Amplification	enrichment
10/TS	i	racist	negative	hate mail	Judgement	propriety

	i	hate	negative	mail	Judgement	propriety
11/GV	i	culprits		(people/person who sent the mail)	Amplification	enrichment
	i	racist	negative	hate mail	Judgement	propriety
	i	hate	negative	mail	Judgement	propriety
	ii	cover up		(by senior management)	Amplification	enrichment
12/TS	i	bitter	negative	you (Gurpal)	Affect	dissatisfaction
13/GV	i	bitter	negative	(I)	Affect	dissatisfaction
	iii	an injustice	negative	(against Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	iv	justice	positive	(resolution of the injustice)	Judgement	propriety
14/TS	i	justice	positive	(Gurpal's compensation)	Judgement	propriety
	iii	actually		want	Amplification	mitigation
	iii	want	positive	you (Gurpal)	Appreciation	reaction
15/GV	i	some		justice	Amplification	mitigation
	i	justice	positive	(resolution of the injustice)	Judgement	propriety
	ii	I mean			Involvement	
	ii	very		-	Amplification	augmenting
17/GV	v	a lot of		the amends	Amplification	augmenting
	vi	just		want	Amplification	mitigation
	vi	want	positive	to move forward	Appreciation	reaction
18/TS	iv	wanted	positive	to be a detective sergeant	Appreciation	reaction
	v	stuck		as a uniformed sergeant	Amplification	enrichment
	vi	bitter	negative	you (Gurpal)	Affect	dissatisfaction
19/GV	i	bitter	negative	I (Gurpal)	Affect	dissatisfaction
	ii	happy	positive	I (Gurpal)	Affect	unhappiness
20/TS	i	Seventeen		job applications	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	seventeen		(job applications)	Amplification	augmenting
21/GV	i	seventeen		(job applications)	Amplification	augmenting
22/TS	i	upset	negative	You (Gurpal)	Affect	unhappiness
23/GV	ii	racism	negative	you (generic)	Judgement	propriety

	iv	upset	negative	you (generic)	Affect	unhappiness
24/TS	i	racism	negative	You (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
25/GV	iii	personality clashes	negative	(between Gurpal and other officers)	Affect	unhappiness
	iv	racism	negative	it	Judgement	propriety
27/GV	iv	That's like			Involvement	
	v	used to happen	negative	that	Judgement	propriety
30/TS	i	absolutely		spelt out	Amplification	augmenting
	i	spelt out		that	Amplification	enrichment
31/GV	i	absolutely		made clear	Amplification	augmenting
34/TS	ii	constantly		passed over	Amplification	augmenting
	iii	refused permission for courses that other officers would get on as a matter of routine	negative	(the Police Force)	Judgement	propriety
36/TS	iii	never even		make sergeant	Amplification	augmenting
37/GV	i	absolutely		right	Amplification	augmenting
	iv	just		a simple basic driving course	Amplification	augmenting
	iv	simple		basic driving course	Amplification	mitigation/enrichment
	iv	basic		driving course	Amplification	mitigation/enrichment
	v	I haven't had that	negative	(the Police Force)	Judgement	propriety
	vi	passed over	negative	(the Police Force)	Judgement	propriety
	vii	You know			Involvement	
	vii	just		shows	Amplification	mitigation
	vii	the level of racism	negative	within the Metropolitan Police	Judgement	propriety
38/TS	i	wanted	positive	to join the Police	Appreciation	reaction
	ii	wanted	positive	to make a	Appreciation	reaction

				difference		
	iv	bitter	negative	you (Gurpal)	Affect	dissatisfaction
	v	deeply		upset	Amplification	augmenting
	v	upset	negative	you (Gurpal)	Affect	unhappiness
	vi	after application		application	Amplification	augmenting
	vi	after job		job	Amplification	augmenting
	vi	after course		course	Amplification	augmenting
	viii	corrosive effect		It	Amplification	augmenting
39/GV	iii	a lot more		racism	Amplification	augmenting
	iii	racism	negative	you (generic)	Judgement	propriety
	v	does			Involvement	
	v	hurt	negative	it	Affect	unhappiness
	vi	bitter	negative	you (generic)	Affect	dissatisfaction
	vii	sort of		going to the extent you're saying	Amplification	mitigation
40/TS	i	hurt	negative	you (Gurpal)	Affect	unhappiness
	ii	a grievance	negative	you (Gurpal)	Affect	unhappiness
41/GV	i	hurt	negative	you (generic)	Affect	unhappiness
	ii	wanna	positive	fight on	Appreciation	reaction
	ii	fight on	positive	you (generic)	Judgement	tenacity
43/GV	i	I'll be quite honest with you			Involvement	
	vii	that's it		the next two ranks	Amplification	mitigation
44/TS	i	really		That	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	pushing		you (Gurpal)	Judgement	tenacity
46/TS	i	But	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	i	pushed	positive	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	tenacity
	i	seventeen		jobs	Amplification	augmenting
47/GV	i	seventeen		(jobs)	Amplification	augmenting
48/TS	ii	racism	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
52/TS	i	racist	negative	comments	Judgement	propriety
	ii	Despite	negative	that	Judgement	propriety
	iii	despite	negative	making that known	Judgement	propriety
53/GV	ii	only		person	Amplification	mitigation

	iii	target	negative	I (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
54/TS	i	targeted	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
55/GV	i	targeted	negative	I (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	ii	one or two		individuals	Amplification	mitigation
	iii	Let's			Involvement	
	iii	just		(make one thing clear)	Amplification	mitigation
	iv	let's			Involvement	
	iv	just		make one thing clear	Amplification	mitigation
	iv	Tim			Involvement	
	vi	Not all of		the Metropolitan Police	Amplification	mitigation
	vi	racists	negative	the Metropolitan Police	Judgement	propriety
	vii	very		good	Amplification	augmenting
	vii	good	positive	officers	Judgement	propriety
	vii	fine	positive	officers	Judgement	propriety
	viii	you know			Involvement	
	viii	I would back them hundred percent	positive	(the good, fine officers)	Judgement	tenacity
	ix	a few		bad apples	Amplification	mitigation
	ix	bad apples	negative	(racist officers)	Judgement	propriety
	x	target	negative	(racist officers)	Judgement	propriety/tenacity
	xi	target	negative	(racist officers)	Judgement	propriety/tenacity
	xiii	victim	negative	I (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	xiii	few		individuals	Amplification	mitigation
56/TS	i	victim	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
	ii	innuendoes	negative	(you (Gurpal))	Judgement	propriety
	iii	jokes	negative	(you (Gurpal))	Judgement	propriety
58/TS	i	Nasty comments	negative	(you (Gurpal))	Judgement	propriety
59/GV	iii	horrible	negative	(you (Gurpal))	Judgement	propriety

		messages				
	vii	You know			Involvement	
	vii	the worst		posting	Amplification	augmenting
	vii	ever		posting	Amplification	augmenting
	viii	You know			Involvement	
60/TS	i	Never		(you (Gurpal))	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	Never		(you (Gurpal))	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	so		downcast	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	downcast	negative	(you (Gurpal))	Affect	unhappiness
61/GV	i	seriously		considering leaving	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	after what they did	negative	me	Judgement	propriety
	v	assured	positive	me	Judgement	tenacity
	vi	racism	negative	it	Judgement	propriety
	vi	be dealt with	positive	racism	Judgement	tenacity
	vii	supported	positive	me	Judgement	tenacity
	vii	a hundred percent	positive	supported me	Judgement	tenacity
62/TS	i	racist	negative	hate mail	Judgement	propriety
	i	hate	negative	mail	Judgement	propriety
64/TS	ii	resigned	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	tenacity
	iv	sort of		resigned	Amplification	mitigation
	iv	more or less		resigned	Amplification	mitigation
	iv	resigned	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	tenacity
65/GV	ii	resigned	negative	I (Gurpal)	Judgement	tenacity
	iii	I mean			Involvement	
	vi	more than		happy	Amplification	augmenting
	vi	happy	positive	I (Gurpal)	Affect	unhappiness
66/TS	ii	fellow		colleagues	Amplification	augmenting
			negative		Judgement	propriety
	ii	racist	negative	attitudes	Judgement	propriety
68/TS	i	festering		that	Amplification	enrichment
69/GV	v	not performing as he should have been	negative	a senior officer	Judgement	propriety

		doing				
70/TS	ii	simmering		row	Amplification	augmenting
	ii	row	negative	there	Affect	unhappiness
71/GV	i – v	No, no, no, no, no		-	Amplification	augmenting
	ix	merely		taking up their cases	Amplification	mitigation
	xii	I suppose			Involvement	
	xii	like	negative	the senior management	Affect	dissatisfaction
	xiii	tolerate		injustice	Amplification	enrichment
	xiii	injustice	negative	you (Gurpal)	Judgement	propriety
72/TS	i	racist	negative	literature	Judgement	propriety
74/TS	i	not wanted	negative	(ethnic officers)	Appreciation	reaction
	vii	Keep the Police Force white	negative	-	Judgement	propriety
	viii	Leave now or else	negative	-	Judgement	propriety
77/GV	ii	horrible	negative	joke	Appreciation	reaction
	ix	not right	negative	something	Judgement	propriety
	xii	fearing	negative	we (constables)	Affect	unhappiness
79/GV	i	one of their own	negative	colleagues	Amplification Judgement	augmenting propriety
	ii	doing this to	negative	them	Judgement	propriety

APPENDIX IV – Exchange structure analysis

Coding sheet for exchange structure analysis

conversational structure	turn/move	speaker	text (numbered for clauses)
O:I: give fact	1/a	TS	(i) Four years ago, my guest was a London policeman returning with his FAMILY from a holiday in Portugal.
P: extend	1/b		(ii) He was arrested by a small ARMY of fellow officers (iii) and accused of sending racist hate mail.
P: extend	1/c		(iv) Dismissed by the force (v) he was later himself found to have been the VICTIM of racial discrimination
P: extend	1/d		(vi) and was reinstated with compensation and a public apology.
P: extend	1/e		(vii) Today he finally goes back to work for the first time since his arrest.
R: track: probe	1/f		(viii) Is he SATISFIED (ix) that the police force has made amends?
			Screenshot: HARDtalk with Tim Sebastian
O:A: salutation	2	TS	(i) Gurpal Virdi, a very warm welcome to the programme.
R: engage	3/a	GV	(i) Thank you very much, Tim.
P: extend	3/b		(ii) It's taken a year == and a bit.
O:I: give fact	4/a	TS	==(i) The, the West Midlands police have started a REINVESTIGATION of this case, (ii) but you have said (iii) that you won't take part in that.
R: track: confirm	4/b		(iv) Why not?
R: c: contradict	5/a	GV	(i) No, no. (ii) I've not refused to take part in it.
P: elaborate	5/b		(iii) I will assist them.
P: extend	5/c		(iv) Ah, we did have a little problem with West Midlands police,
P: extend	5/d		(v) Um, the Police Complaints Authority, however now passed the matter on to the ah, Welsh Constabulary,

P: enhance	5/e		(vi) so they're now dealing with it.
O: I: question: fact	6	TS	(i) And you ARE going to co-operate fully with them?
R: s: affirm	7/a	GV	(i) Yes.
P: extend	7/b		(ii) I have made a written submission and a statement to the Police Complaints Authority, (iii) and we'll go ahead from there.
R: track: probe	8	TS	(i) But you still want a full public inquiry, don't you?
R: s: affirm	9/a	GV	(i)Yes.
R: s: affirm	9/b		(ii)I do, yes.
P: enhance	9/c		(iii) These culprits need to be brought to justice.
R: track: clarify	10	TS	(i) The culprits who sent the racist hate mail?
R: resolve	11	GV	(i) The culprits who sent the racist hate mail (ii) and the people who covered up for them.
O: I: question: fact	12	TS	(i) Are you BITTER about the treatment that you received?
R: challenge: counter	13/a	GV	(i) It's not a matter of being bitter.
P: elaborate	*13/b		(ii) It's um…
P: elaborate	13/c		(iii) An injustice has been done.
P: extend	13/d		(iv) And er we we need to see justice BEING done in order to satisfy the Londoners and the communities which the Metropolitan Police serves== (today)
R: challenge: rebound	14/a	TS	(i) ==And JUSTICE isn't the compensation that you've received.
R: challenge: rebound	14/b		(ii) It's not the apologies that you received?
O: I: question: opinion	14/c		(iii) What, what do you actually WANT in terms of justice?
R: s: answer	15/a	GV	(i) Well, we, we have got some justice. (ii) I mean the Commissioner gave a very, a written apology to us.
P: extend	15/b		(iii) Ian Blair the Deputy Commissioner's also given us a verbal apology==
R: track: probe	16	TS	==(i) Back in two thousand, wasn't it?
R: s: affirm	17/a	GV	(i) Yes.

P: extend	17/b		(ii) And he also did so in the ah, January, <<(iii) when he,>> at the Metropolitan Police Authority meeting.
P: enhance	17/c		(iv) Yes, we've had two apologies (v) so um that's, that's made a lot of the amends.
P: extend	17/d		(vi) And I just want to move forward (vii) and get on with my career.
O: I: question: fact	18/a	TS	(i) When these accusations came your way, (ii) they originally tried to paint you as a bitter man, didn't they?
P: elaborate	18/b		(iii) Somebody who had been passed over for promotion, (iv) as, you wanted to be a DETECTIVE Sergeant, (v) you were stuck as a UNIFORMED Sergeant.
R: track: probe	18/c		(vi) To what extent WERE you bitter about that?
R: s: answer	19/a	GV	(i) At, at the time I wasn't bitter at all. (ii)I mean I was quite happy with my career.
?P: elaborate	*19/b		(iii) Ah these==
O:I: give fact	20/a	TS	==Seventeen job applications you'd ==made,
P: elaborate	20/b		(ii) and seventeen had been turned == down.
R: c: contradict	*21/a	GV	(i) ==Well seventeen
R: s: acknowledge	21/b		(ii)==That's right,
P: enhance	*21/c		(iii) within==
R: track: probe	22	TS	(i) ==You had to have been UPSET by that surely.
R: c: contradict	23/a	GV	(i)No,
P: enhance	23/b		(ii) when you know racism exists, (iii) you don't, (iv) you don't get upset,
P: extend	*23/c		(v) and there's the police==
R: track: probe	24	TS	(i) ==You just put it all down to racism did you?
R: c: contradict	25/a	GV	(i) Well not all of them.
P: elaborate	25/b		(ii) Some of them were due to like financial constraints,
P: elaborate	25/c		(iii) some were due to personality clashes,
P: enhance	25/d		(iv) so it wasn't all racism, (v) but majority was, (vi) did have an underlying racism to it.

R: track: probe	26	TS	(i) How did you know that?
R: s: answer	27/a	GV	(i) Well, initially when I used to put the application (ii) people used to come up to me and say (iii)you're not being selected because of your background.
P: elaborate	*27/b		(iv) That's like,
P: enhance	27/c		(v) in the eighties that used to happen.
R: track: clarify	28	TS	(i) That's your background in the force or your ethnic background?
R: resolve	29	GV	(i) Ethnic background.
R: track: confirm	30	TS	(i) That was ABSOLUTELY spelt out== to you.
R: s: affirm	31/a	GV	(i) ==Oh, that was absolutely made clear to you <<(ii) when,>>in the eighties,
R: s: affirm	31/b		(iii)yes.
R: track: clarify	32/a	TS	(i) Such as, Special Branch for instance.
?	*32/b		(ii)==( )
R: resolve	33	GV	(i) ==Special Branch (ii) and there was another CID posting I applied for then.
O:I: give fact	34	TS	(i) Your wife said (ii) 'he was constantly being passed over for promotion (iii) and refused permission for courses that OTHER officers would get on as a matter of routine.'
R: register	35	GV	(i) Mm.
A: extend	36/a	TS	(i) But there were other people,
P: elaborate	36/b		(ii) not everybody was in the fast track in the police service.
R: track: probe	36/c		(iii) There are people who never even make sergeant, aren't there?
P: elaborate	36/d		(iv) Go through all their lives as as constables.
R: s: affirm	37/a	GV	(i) Yeah, you're absolutely right.
P: extend	37/b		(ii) Um, but when like for myself, (iii) I can talk for myself.
P: elaborate	37/c		(iv) I applied for a driving course, just a SIMPLE, BASIC driving course.
P: extend	37/d		(v) I haven't HAD that.
P: extend	37/e		(vi) Now I've been passed over for that.

P: elaborate	37/f		(vii) You know, that just shows the level of um racism that goes on within the metropolitan police.
O: I: give opinion	38/a	TS	(i) But here you are somebody who, who wanted to join the police for a long time. (ii) You wanted to make a difference.
P: extend	38/b		(iii) You say (iv) you WEREN'T bitter, (v) but you must have been deeply upset by this.
P: extend	38/c		(vi) You're putting in for application after application, job after job, course after course, (vii) and you're getting turned ba down.
R: track: probe	38/d		(viii) It MUST have a corrosive effect on you, doesn't it, after a while?
R: c: disagree	39/a	GV	(i) No,
P: enhance	39/b		(ii) because when you're dealing with members of public (iii) you face a lot more racism through them.
P: extend	39/c		(iv) But when it happens internally (v) it does hurt,
P: extend	39/d		(vi) but you wouldn't goes as far as being bitter (vii) and, sort of, going to the extent you're saying.
R: track: confirm	40/a	TS	(i) So you were HURT,
P: elaborate	40/b		(ii) you had a GRIEVANCE.
R: s: agree	41/a	GV	(i) You're hurt yes,
P: extend	41/b		(ii) and but you wanna fight on (iii) because at the end of the day you joined the police service to serve members of the public,
P: enhance	41/c		(iv) that's what you're there for.
O: I: question: opinion	42	TS	(i) And what about ambitions for moving up through the service?
R: answer	43/a	GV	(i) Well, I'll be quite honest with you, (ii) I have (iii) I have no ambitions. Ah, not to go promo,
P: elaborate	43/b		(iv) I got, (v) I have no bash, ambitions to be a Commissioner, for a start.
P: elaborate	43/c		(vi) Ah, I was looking for the next two ranks (vii)and that's it, within, within thirty years service.
R: track: probe	44/a	TS	(i) That's really the limit.
P: elaborate	*44/b		(ii) You weren't pushing to, ==to

R: c: disagree	45/a	GV	==(i)No, no,
P: elaborate	45/b		(ii) I was not. (iii)Like I said, I wasn't PUSHING to become commissioner, no.
P: enhance	45/c		(iv) That ==was
R: track: clarify	46	TS	==(i) But you PUSHED for seventeen jobs at the same time.
R: c: contradict	47/a	GV	(i) Well, I think seventeen might be an overestimate.
P: elaborate	47/b		(ii)There might be some duplicate applications in there.
P: extend	47/c		(iii) Um, without looking at the file (iv) I wouldn't be able to comment on that.
O:I: give fact	48	TS	(i) You always made clear (ii) that you wouldn't tolerate RACISM around you.
R: register	49	GV	(i) Mm.
R: track: probe	50	TS	(i) Your colleagues presumably knew that.
R: s: agree	51	GV	(i) That's right yes.
R: track: probe	52/a	TS	(i) Were you the butt of racist comments?
P: extend	52/b		(ii) DESPITE that, (iii) despite making that known to your colleagues.
R: D: elaborate	53/a	GV	(i) Well, initially when I joined in the eighties (ii) I was the only person around, at the station.
P: enhance	53/b		(iii) Ah, So I was a visible target,
P: extend	53/c		(iv) but as I moved up, um through my career.==
R: track: clarify	54	TS	==(i) And people targeted you did they?
R: D: extend	55/a	GV	(i) Well, I wasn't like targeted specifically, (ii) but there were one or two individuals.
P: extend	55/b		(iii) Let's just, (iv) let's just make one thing clear, Tim, (v) before we talk about this.
P: elaborate	55/c		(vi) Not all of the Metropolitan Police are racists,
P: elaborate	55/d		(vii) there are VERY good, fine officers in the service.
P: extend	55/e		(viii) And er, you know I would back them hundred percent.
P: extend	55/f		(ix) But we do HAVE a few bad apples,
P: extend	55/g		(x) and these are the people I need to target.
P: extend	55/h		(xi) These are people the senior officers need to

			target.
R: s: affirm	55/i		(xii) Yes, (xiii) I was a victim of those few individuals.
R: track: probe	56/a	TS	(i) What are we talking about as a victim?
P: elaborate	56/b		(ii) We're talking about innuendoes? (iii) Jokes?
R: s: affirm	57	GV	(i) Yeah.
A: elaborate	58	TS	(i) Nasty comments?
R: s: affirm	59/a	GV	(i) Yeah,
P: elaborate	59/b		(ii) lockers being broken into.
P: elaborate	59/c		(iii) Lot of messages, horrible messages being left in your trays.
P: elaborate	59/d		(iv) Your correspondence being moved (v) so you look, (vi) you can't perform professionally.
P: elaborate	59/e		(vii) You know, given the worst posting ever.
P: extend	59/f		(viii) You know, but you carry on
P: enhance	59/g		(ix) because at the end of the day I joined the Police Service to join, to help the public (x) and that's our duty.
O: I: question: fact	60/a	TS	(i) Never thought of leaving?
P: elaborate	60/b		(ii) Never got so downcast (iii) that you thought, (iv) I've had enough of this?
R: s: affirm	61/a	GV	(i) Well, I was seriously considering leaving, (ii) um, after what they did to me.
P: extend	61/b		(iii) But then the Commissioner interviewed, intervened (iv) and the MPA intervened.
P: extend	61/c		(v) And they assured me (vi) that racism will be dealt with.
P: extend	61/d		(vii) And they supported me a hundred percent (viii) and that's why (ix) I decided to come back.
O: I: give fact	62	TS	(i) By December 1997, which was the time ==when the racist hate mail, the first BATCH ==was sent.
R: s: agree	63/a	GV	==(i) That's right.
R: register	63/b		==(ii) Mm, mm.
A: extend	64/a	TS	(i) So you were, (ii) you were resigned to not getting any further in the Police Force.

P: elaborate	64/b		(iii) You were, (iv) you were sort of , more or less resigned with your LOT, at that time.
R: c: contradict	65/a	GV	(i) No,
P: elaborate	65/b		(ii) I wouldn't say resigned.
P: elaborate	65/c		(iii) I mean, I was, (iv) I was going to go for <<(v) like I said>> the next, the next rank,
P: extend	65/d		(vi) and I would have been more than happy with that.
P: extend	65/e		(vii) But no,<< (viii) like I said,>> I've no ambitions of being Commissioner.
O:I: give fact	66/a	TS	(i) There were reports (ii) that you had threatened to expose some of your fellow colleagues for racist attitudes.
R: track: confirm	66/b		==(iii) Was that true at ==the time?
R: s: affirm	67/a	GV	==(i) That's right.
R: s: affirm	67/b		==(ii) Yes,
R: s: affirm	67/c		(iii) it is, yes.
R: track: probe	68	TS	(i) So that was FESTERING at the time.
R: s: agree	69/a	GV	(i) Yes
R: s: agree	69/b		(ii)it was.
P: extend	69/c		(iii) And it all culminated with the stabbings and that what I dealt with in March 1998.
P: enhance	69/d		(iv) Where a senior officer was not performing (v) as he should have been doing.
P: extend	69/e		(vi) And I threatened to expose him.
R: track: probe	70/a	TS	(i) But at the time when the first batch was sent (ii) there was this SIMMERING row going on,
P: elaborate	70/b		(iii) you had threatened some of your colleagues.
R: c: contradict	71/a	GV	(i) No, (ii) no, (iii) no, (iv) no, (v) no, (vi) not at that time.
P: enhance	71/b		(vii) What was happening at that time was (viii) as a sergeant, a lot of ethnic constables and civilian staff were coming to me for help.
P: extend	71/c		(ix) I was merely taking up their cases, as well as women constables, as well as white constables.

P: elaborate	71/d		(x) I was taking up their cases.
P: elaborate	71/e		(xi) They saw me as a sergeant that would support them.
P: enhance	71/f		(xii) So, erm, there was things going on in the background, which I suppose the senior management didn't like.
P: extend	71/g		(xiii) But I was not going to tolerate injustice to anybody.
O:I: give fact	72/a	TS	(i) But on the eve, early in the morning on CHRISTMAS Eve, 1997, thirteen officers including you yourself received racist literature.
P: extend	72/b		(ii) It was COPIED on a computer,<< (iii) they discovered >> using YOUR log-on.
R: register	73	GV	(i) Mm.
A: extend	74/a	TS	(i) And it said (ii) 'Memo', (iii) it carried a black face, (iv) and it said (v) 'Memo: (vi) not wanted. (vii) Keep the police force white. (viii) Leave now or else. (ix) Signed N. F.'
P: extend	74/b		(x) Presumably for the National Front.
R: register	75	GV	(i) Mm.
R: track: probe	76	TS	(i) What was your reaction (ii) when you received, received this?
R: s: answer	77/a	GV	(i) Well, initially we, we thought (ii) it was a horrible joke.
P: elaborate	77/b		(iii) Christmas time, (iv) people, (v) somebody must have got drunk,
P: extend	77/c		(vi) and they'd done this.
P: extend	77/d		(vii) But then you think (viii) 'hang on, (ix) something's not right here.'
P: extend	77/e		(x) And then when constables started saying (xi) 'well hang on, (xii) we're fearing what's going to happen.'
P: extend	77/f		(xiii) And the, the,==
R: track: probe	78	TS	==(i) How do you mean (ii) they're fearing what was going to happen?
R: s: answer	79/a	GV	(i) Well, it was one of their own colleagues (ii) doing

			this to them
P: extend	79/b		==(iii) Because
R: track: probe	80	TS	==(i) So it was CLEAR (ii) this was from someone in the, ==inside the police.==

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